HYMNODY OF EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA

GERMAN MENNONITE COMMUNITIES:

NOTENBÜCHLEIN (MANUSCRIPT SONGBOOKS) FROM 1780 TO 1835

by

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ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: HYMNODY OF EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN MENNONITE COMMUNITIES: *NOTENBÜCHLEIN* (MANUSCRIPT SONGBOOKS) FROM 1780 TO 1835

Suzanne E. Gross, Doctor of Philosophy, 1994

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As part of an effort to maintain their German culture, the late eighteenth-century Mennonites of Eastern Pennsylvania instituted hymn-singing instruction in the elementary community schoolhouse curriculum. Beginning in 1780 (or perhaps earlier), much of the hymn-tune repertoire, previously an oral tradition, was recorded in musical notation in manuscript songbooks (Notenbüchlein) compiled by local schoolmasters in Mennonite communities north of Philadelphia. The practice of giving manuscript songbooks to diligent singing students continued until 1835 or later.

These manuscript songbooks are the only extant clue to the hymn repertoire and performance practice of these Mennonite communities at the turn of the nineteenth century. By identifying the tunes that recur most frequently, one can determine the core repertoire of the Franconia Mennonites at this time, a repertoire that, on balance, is strongly pietistic in nature.

Musically, the Notenbüchlein document the shift that occured when these Mennonite communities incorporated written transmission into their oral tradition. Elements of oral tradition written down in the Notenbüchlein include ornamentation using small black notes, and pitch variations within a single tune.

The majority of the tunes are in monophonic form notated in whole and half note values. A significant portion of the repertoire is in two- three- and even four-part harmony. Harmonized settings are found scattered throughout the repertoire. Various harmonic

styles suggest an evolving harmonic vocabulary, styles that include archaic parallel folk harmonies reflective of an oral tradition, unresolved dissonance, and contemporary eighteenth-century fuging tunes borrowed from the surrounding Anglo-American culture and set to German texts. Such harmonizations eventually led to the organizing of evening singing-schools similar to those popular in much of rural eastern America during the nineteenth century.

INTRODUCTION

The *Notenbüchlein* Tradition of the Franconia Mennonites

The manuscript songbooks of sacred music compiled in Eastern Pennsylvania during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries reflect the musical life of the Pennsylvania German communities during that time. The manuscript hymnals of the Ephrata Cloister, beautifully illuminated books that include both complete texts and hymns, are well known and documented.[1] Another category of manuscript songbooks includes those that were intended to be a reference for the tunes of the day, but not for the texts. Incipits of the texts indicated which hymns were to be sung to the given tune. The texts, presumably, were to be found in the hymnals, which at this time were mostly without tunes.[2]

Three examples falling within the latter category are the *Notenbücher*, compiled by Mennonite congregational songleaders; copybooks used by the Schwenkfelder people in which tunes were in harmonized settings, along with the hymn number for quick reference to their hymnal;[3] and the *Notenbüchlein* (music booklets) coming from the interdenominationally supported community schools, and intended for teaching the skills of singing from notation.

The majority of the Notenbüchlein, the subject of this dissertation, come from Mennonite communities in Eastern Pennsylvania, east of Lancaster County and north of

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[1] See Betty Jean Martin, "The Ephrata Cloister and Its Music, 1732-1785: The Cultural, Religious, and Bibliographical Background" (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1974).

[2] This practice of separating the text and tune was common in the New England singing-school books of the mid-eighteenth century. By the late eighteenth century, text and tune were wedded in the English oblong singing-school books. German Pennsylvania seems to have been several decades behind in this regard.

[3] The Schwenkfelders took their name from Caspar Schenckfeld, a sixteenth-century forerunner of Pietism. For more on the Schwenkfelder copy books, see J. Edward Moyer, "The Hymn-Tunes of the Schwenkfelders" (unpublished master's thesis, Westminster Choir College, Princeton, N.J., 1942).

Philadelphia, an area for which the term Franconia is used.[1] It is this body of

Notenbüchlein, found in public collections in the United States, that comprises the source

material of the present study.[2] The Notenbüchlein coming from Lancaster (Mennonite)

Conference communities as well as non-Mennonite communities remain the subject of

future research.

The Notenbüchlein in question are not unknown to the scholarly world. Their

beautiful title pages have been studied by cultural historians. Known as *Fraktur*, this type

of art, popular throughout the Pennsylvania-German culture during the late eighteenth and

nineteenth centuries, was child-oriented and education-related. This Pennsylvania-German

art has been studied at length by scholars of folk art, and is therefore dealt with in this

dissertation only in passing.[3] The musical contents of these booklets, however, have not

been studied. A window into the contemporary music repertoire, these Notenbüchlein are a

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[1] While Skippack was for a long time the center of Mennonite activity north of Philadelphia, the little village of Franconia came to be associated with the region, largely because of a semiannual ministers' meeting held in the Franconia Meetinghouse just outside the village of Franconia. By 1840, the area represented by these meetings included twenty-two congregations in Montgomery, Bucks, Chester, Berks, and Lehigh counties. Today, the area is referred to as the Franconia Conference of the Mennonite Church. See J. C. Wenger, *History of the Mennonites of the Franconia Conference* (Telford, Pa.: Franconia Mennonite Historical Society, 1937), 48-56.

[2] Notenb_chlein in private collections as well as the four booklets in the Jordan Museum of the Twenty, in Ontario, Canada, are not included in this study.

Based on the relatively small number of extant Notenb_chlein that originated in the Lancaster area, we can presume that the tradition never took hold there as it did in the Franconia area. The Free Public Library does have one manuscript songbook in its collection from Manor township in Lancaster. Written for Johann Jacob Koch by schoolmaster Jacob Botz, this so-called Botz Hymnal seems to have served a different function from that of the Franconia booklets. The book includes several verses for each hymn, for example, suggesting that it was viewed as a hymnal, and not as a note-reading book. We can therefore assume that the Notenb_chlein tradition, as defined below, is limited to the Franconia area, as well as to Southern Ontario, where many Franconia people migrated because of the Revolutionary War. See Michael S. Bird, *Ontario Fraktur: A Pennsylvania-German Folk Tradition in Early Canada* (Toronto: M.F. Feheley, 1977).

[3] For an up-to-date bibliography on the study of Fraktur, see *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Vol. V (Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1990), 310.

record not only of texts known to the community, but also of musical performance practice, descriptions of which have not yet appeared in print.

State of Present Research

American Mennonite hymnody in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries has received little attention to date. Richard Byron Rosewall of the University of Minnesota wrote a dissertation in 1969 on the singing school movement in Pennsylvania during the nineteenth century in which he included information about several Notenbüchlein.[1] He largely overlooked the early years of Notenbüchlein production (1780-1800), and furthermore claimed that these manuscript booklets were part of the nineteenth-century weeknight singing school movement, when, as will appear, in fact, they were part of the school curriculum for children.

A German dissertation by Ada Kadelbach (1971) presents an overview of the hymnody as reflected in the published hymnals of the period.[2] Also serving as an overview is a dissertation written by Paul Yoder on nineteenth-century sacred music in the Mennonite Church.[3] Philip Stoltzfus has written a lengthy senior seminar paper at Goshen College (1987) on the 1804 Lancaster hymnal, the *Unpartheyisch Gesangbuch*, in which he outlines theological themes found in the hymn texts.[4] However, there is as yet no study of Franconia hymnody at the turn of the nineteenth century. This dissertation, therefore, attempts to break new ground in the study of the music of the Pennsylvania German Mennonites in the early post-colonial period of the United States.

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[1] Richard Byron Rosewall, "Singing Schools of Pennsylvania, 1800-1900" (University of Minnesota, Ph.D. dissertation, 1969).
[2] Ada Kadelbach, "Die Hymnodie der Mennoniten in Nordamerika (1742-1860)" (Johannes Gutenberg-Universit_t, Mainz, Ph.D. dissertation, 1971).
[3] Paul M. Yoder, "Nineteenth-Century Sacred Music of the Mennonite Church in the United States" (Florida State University, Ph.D. dissertation, 1961).
[4] Philip Stoltzfus, "Partheyisch or Unpartheyisch?: Theological Themes in the Hymns of Ein Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch" (Senior Seminar paper, Goshen College, Goshen, Ind., 1987).

Methodology

Since no systematic work on the Notenbüchlein in Mennonite communities has been done to date, the first step in this study was to transcribe the verbal and musical contents of the booklets. Appendix B presents the written contents of each of the booklets studied. Appendix D lists the musical incipits for each tune, indicating the Notenbüchlein in which that tune is found.

The second step was to trace the hymns, both text and tune (Appendices C and E, respectively). I was able to identify over eighty percent of the texts in pre-existing sources. Much more difficult was the task of tracing the tunes. Approximately one-half of the tunes are traceable through text incipit. The genius of hymnody is such, however, that tunes and texts often lead separate existences. Systematically combing through Zahn's *Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder*,[1] and all of the possible English-American publications that might have been used as sources for tunes only, would be a sizeable undertaking and is left for future research.[2] Within the framework of a single dissertation, an analysis of the tunes based on internal data is possible, however, and has proven to be musicologically very fruitful.

Of equal interest to the provenance of the hymns is an interpretation of the corpus with regard to Mennonite history and culture. The first two chapters establish a historical and musical context, making possible a discussion of the contents from a cultural point of view. Chapter One focuses on the European setting that gave birth to the Anabaptist movements, some groups of which later came to be called Mennonites. This is followed by the story of their emigration to Eastern Pennsylvania. The aim of Chapter Two is to

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[1] Johannes Zahn, *Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder, aus den Quellen gesch_pft und mitgeteilt*, 6 vols. (G_tersloh, 1893, reprinted in Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1963).

[2] While an additional handful of tunes have been identified in this manner (in passing, as it were), identifying the rest is beyond the scope of this study.

provide a sketch of the hymnodies of the various religious groups whose interaction in Pennsylvania led to the eclectic hymnody of Pennsylvania Mennonites.

The singing tradition of the Franconia Mennonites in both private and public worship, as well as in the interdenominational schoolhouse, is also addressed in this chapter. The former is done through a recounting of oral history as told by Brethren and Mennonite historian Isaac Clarence Kulp.[1] For the latter, I explore what is known about three contemporary schoolmasters, two of whom were Mennonite, the third a Lutheran. Together, schoolmasters Christopher Dock, Andreas Kolb, and Johann Adam Eyer provide some understanding of the interdenominational schoolhouse at the end of the eighteenth century. The question of who the schoolmasters in the various schools actually were in the period following Johann Adam Eyer and Andreas Kolb, both of whom taught in Mennonite communities until 1787 and 1803, respectively, is largely unanswered. Records are scanty, and documents such as the Notenbüchlein are, for the most part, not signed. While Fraktur experts have speculated as to authorship based on artistic styles, much more research remains to be done in the area of schoolhouses and schoolmasters -- again, research that goes beyond the limits of this dissertation.

Building upon the historical and cultural context of the first chapters, the remaining chapters focus on the Notenbüchlein themselves. Chapter Three introduces the Notenbüchlein as a genre by describing the various characteristics that define them. Chapters Four and Five deal with the texts. The first of these chapters provides an overview of the complete repertoire. The following highlights thematic material in translation, the sum of which offers an understanding of the theology taught in the inter-denominational schools. The chapter begins by providing the theological context for

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[1] Isaac Clarence Kulp has been interested in the Pennsylvania-Mennonite and Dunker tradition ever since his youth. He has a wealth of information gleaned from discussions held over the years with older members of the community, many of whom have since died. These include his Great Uncle Reinhardt Gottschall, a Franconia Mennonite Vors_nger (song leader) who taught Kulp much about the nineteenth-century singing tradition.

establishing the Anabaptist-Pietist theological continuum that characterizes the Franconia communities at this time. Forty-six hymns whose incipits are found in fifty percent and more of the Notenbüchlein are then examined from the point of view of Anabaptism and Pietism. The chapter concludes with a summary of the repertoire found in the eighty-one texted hymns, also from the point of view of Anabaptism and Pietism.

Chapters Six and Seven focus on the tunes. The first of these deals with issues of notation. The following chapter examines the repertoire from the point of view of tune ancestry. Chapter Eight concludes with a discussion of the phenomenon of a culture caught between the "old way" and the "new way," the former being the slow, non-rhythmic, monophonic musical style, and the latter being music characterized by diversified rhythm and harmony.

Throughout Chapters Three through Eight, the interpretation of the contents revolves around two assumptions: 1) that the texts and tunes of the Notenbüchlein reflect the theology and aesthetics taught in the schoolhouse, and 2) that this pedagogy, in turn, reinforced, if not influenced, the world view and aesthetics of turn-of-the-century Franconia Mennonites.

Typographical Conventions

Capitalization of German. Capitalization of words in the original sources is inconsistent, even within the same source. Therefore, in keeping with guidelines of German scholarship dealing with similar materials, all nouns are given in lower case, the exceptions being: first letter of first word in a sentence or title, the words "Gott," "Herr," "Jesus," and names of people and places.[1]

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[1] See Johannes Schultze, "Richtlinien f_r die _u_ere Textgestaltung bei Herausgabe von Quellen zur neueren deutschen Geschichte," in *Bl_tter f_r deutsche Landesgeschichte* (Neue Folge des Korrespondenzbl_tter, herausg. von Georg Wilhelm Saute u. Otto Renkhoff, 98. Jahrg. 1962), 10.

Use of the word Notenbüchlein. While not all of the booklets include the word Notenbüchlein on the title page, enough carry this designation to warrant the use of the term to represent the genre as a whole. Notenbüchlein is both a singular and a plural noun.

Spelling of school names and place names. American place names are given in the American English spelling. And finally, I have chosen the term Anglo-American to refer to anything of British or English-American origin.

Acknowledgements

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter Three: The Notenbüchlein

      The Schoolmasters

      Owners

      Physical Characteristics
            Size
            Number of Tunes
            Locales
            Title page

      Paper
            Watermarks

      General description of the contents
            Texts
            Tune settings
            Introduction to the rudiments

      Possible origins and Dissemination of the Notenbüchlein
            Specific origins of the Notenbüchlein
            Books related through contents

      Summary

Chapter Four: Origins of the Hymn Texts

      Overview of the Notenbüchlein Text Repertoire by Denominational and Cultural
Origin
            Protestant State Church: Lutheran and Reformed
            Catholic
            Brethren
            Mennonite
            Anabaptist
            Moravian
            Pietist and Schwenkfelder
            Pennsylvania
            The Psalms
            Hymns of English-language origin

            Secular Texts
            Unidentified

      Statistical Analysis of Frequently Encountered Repertoire

      Summary

Chapter Five: Frequently Encountered hymns, and Fully Texted Hymns in the
Notenbüchlein

Musical Settings: the "Old Way" and the "New Way"

The Schism of 1847

Appendices:

LIST OF TABLES, FIGURES, AND EXAMPLES

6.1. "O Gott vater, wir loben dich" -- two contrasting tunes sung by the Amish (Martin Ressler, "Hymnbooks Used by the Old Order Amish", *The Hymn*, Vol. 28, No. 1 [Jan. 1977], 13,15.)

6.2. Facsimile and transcription of "Der lieben sonne, licht und pracht" -- 1810^b (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 337)

6.3. Facsimile and transcription of "Fahre fort" -- 1821^b (text taken from Zahn, Z. 4791)

6.4. Facsimile and transcription, "Lebt friedsam, sprach Christus" -- 1787^a (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 370)

6.5. "In dir ist freude" -- 1787^a, 1810^b, respectively

6.6. "Ach, Gott und Herr," half-notes with phrases ending or beginning (or both) with whole notes -- facsimile of 1815^c (reduced to 64%)

6.7. "Ach, Gott und Herr," whole notes only -- facsimile of 1784^a (reduced to 64%)

6.8. "Ach, Gott und Herr," shape notes -- facsimile of 1828^b (reduced to 64%)

6.9. "Ach, Gott und Herr" -- ornamented version -- facsimile of 1780 (reduced to 64%)

6.10. Facsimile (reduced to 64%) and transcription of "Da Joseph" set to *Greenfields* -- [1826]: black notation (text taken from 1817^c Notenbüchlein)

6.11. Facsimile (reduced to 64%) of "Da Joseph" set to Greenfields: hybrid notation -- 1817^c

6.12. "Wie lachet der Himmel" -- 1787^a, $1810^b a$, $1810^b b$ (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 72)

6.13. "Allein, Gott, in der hüh" -- 1815^c, 1780 and 1788 respectively (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 17)

6.14. "O ihr auserwülten kinder" -- 1821^b, 1816, respectively (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 115)

6.15. "Schau wie so fein und" (Ps. 133) -- 1817^c (text taken from *Zionsharfe*, 37)

6.16. "Jesulein, bleibe mein," -- 1784^b and 1817^b (text taken from 1784^b)

6.17. "Meine Sorgen, angst und plagen" -- 1821^b, 1819^a, 1787^a respectively (text taken from *Zionsharfe*, 297)

6.18. "Setze dich, mein geist, ein wenig" -- 1807, 1821^b, 1816 (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 42)

6.19. "Wann ich es recht betracht" -- 1810^b (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 296)

6.20. "Nun sich der tag geendet hat" -- 1784^a (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 333)

6.21. "Du, unbegreiflich hüchstes gut" -- two-part version as found in 1817^c (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 132)

6.22. "Mein heüland, habe auf mich acht" -- 1821[b] (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 150)

6.23. "Frisch auf, mein seel" -- 1815[c] (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 362)

6.24. "Gott des himmels und der erde" -- 1810[b] (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 311)

6.25. Polyphonic and homorhythmic: Facsimile and transcription of "Ach, Gott, erhür mein seufzen" -- 1783[a] (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 134)

6.26. Facsimile and transcription of "Aus meines hertzensgrunde" -- 1810[b] (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 318)

6.27. Harmonized setting of Psalm I from *Psalmi aliquot Davidici* (1681) as transcribed by Nicholas Temperley

6.28. Facsimile and transcription of "Alle menschen müssen sterben" -- 1817[c] (text from the *Zionsharfe*, 248)

6.29. Facsimile and transcription of "Wachet auf" -- 1817[c] (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 157)

6.30. Facsimile and transcription of "Rusia" -- [1826] (used as setting in other books, among other texts, to "Ach, Gott, wie manches hertze"; text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 298)

6.31. Facsimile and transcription: "Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend" -- 1810[b] (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 3)

6.32. Facsimile and transcription of "Halleluja" -- 1810[b] (text taken from Henry Johnson's 1826 Notenbuch [Mennonite Historians of Eastern Pennsylvania, Harleysville, Pennsylvania])

7.1. "Skippack." Set to "Mensch, was ist dein volles leben" -- [1826] (full text is not available)

7.2. "Hilltown." Set to "Bringt her den Herren lob" -- [1826] (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 216)

7.3. "Perkiomen." Set to "Schwing dich auf zu deinem Gott" -- [1826] (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 170)

7.4. "Pennsylvania." Set to "O wie selig sind die seelen" -- [1826] (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 179)

7.5. "Abendlied." Set to "Der tag ist hin, mein Gott" -- 1807 (text taken from 1807 Notenbüchlein)

7.6. "Von Gott will ich nicht lassen" -- 1780 (text taken from *Zionsharfe*, 68)

7.7. "Hilf mir, Gottes güte preisen" -- 1803[a] (text taken from Zahn, 5264a)

7.8. "Meine hoffnung stehet" -- 1784[b]. Poetic meter: 8.7.8.7.3.3.7. (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 342)

7.9. "Eü, was frag ich" -- 1810[b]. Poetic meter: 8.7.8.7.8.8 (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 359)

7.10. "Liebster Jesu, liebstes leben" -- Z. 5412b, 1807, respectively. Poetic meter: 8.7.7.8.8.7.7.8; 8.7.7.8.8.8.7.7.10.8.7.7.6.10.6.10 (text taken from Zahn, 5413)

7.11. "Es seü dem schüpfer" -- 1810[b], poetic meter: 8.8.6. (Text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 342)

7.12. "O, Jesu Christe, wahres licht" -- 1784[b]. Poetic meter: 8.8.8.8 (taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 6)

7.13. "Mein künig, schreib mir dein gesetz" -- 1810[b]. Poetic meter: 8.8.6.8.8.6. (Text taken from Zahn, Z. 2443)

7.14. "Wie schün ist unsers künigs" -- 1787[a]. Poetic meter: 8.8.8.8.10.10 (text taken from *Zionsharfe*, 290)

7.15. "Mein lebensfaden laufft zu ende" -- 1803[d] (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 122)

7.16. "Befehl du deine wege" 1787[b], 1803[d], 1807 respectively (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 31)

7.17. Facsimile of Psalm 1 (*Lobwasser* [Marburg und Frankfurt, 1765])

7.18. Facsimile of Psalm 1 -- 1783[a] (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 1)

7.19. "Morgenglüntz der ewigkeit" -- Halle (1741) version (Z.3427), 1803[d], 1807 respectively (text taken from Zahn, 3427)

7.20. "Macht auf die thor der gerechtigkeit" -- 1787[a], 1807, Halle Gesangbuch (1708, 1741, 1771), respectively (text taken from Zahn 8177)

7.21. "O, das ich tausent zungen" -- 1741 Halle Gesangbuch, 1787[a] Notenbüchlein, respectively (Text taken from Zahn 2860a)

7.22. "Gott sorgt für uns" set to "Rochester" -- melody from *Kentucky Harmony*, 1815[b], and [1826], respectively (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 409)

7.23. "Sagt, was hilff alle welt" Aylesbury: facsimile of Kentucky Harmony and transcription of 1817[c] (text taken from the *Zionsharfe,* 359)

7.24. "Es glüntzet der christen" -- 1787[a], 1810[b], Isaac Clarence Kulp version (performed for the author in 1989), learned from his great uncle Reinhardt Gottschall (text is taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 381)

CHAPTER ONE

European and Colonial American Mennonite History

Origins and Early History of the Radical Reformation

In response to William Penn's invitation to join the so-called Holy Experiment in the New World, German-speaking peoples began arriving at Germantown, now a part of Philadelphia, in the late 1600s. Among the first to arrive was a group from the Krefeld area of Northern Germany composed mostly of Low-Country Mennonites who had converted to Quakerism during the 1650s. Treated as religious dissidents in their place of origin, these people viewed the tract of land that is now Pennsylvania as a place where religious toleration and separation of church and state would allow people like them to live according to their beliefs in relative freedom.[1]

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[1] Religious toleration in Pennsylvania, of course, was not absolute, nor was the concept of separation of church and state as yet worked through as a formal declaration. Yet these ideas were hard at work, and implicit within the societal structures of the Holy Experiment unfolding in "Penn's Woods." On the Colonial Pennsylvania experience, see Theodore Thayer, *Pennsylvania Politics and the Growth of Democracy, 1740-1776* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1953); Dietmar Rothermund, *Layman's Progress: Religious and Political Experience in Colonial Pennsylvania, 1740-1770* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press [1962, c. 1961]); Edwin Bonner, *William Penn's Holy Experiment: the Founding of Pennsylvania, 1681-1701* (New York, 1962); Gary B. Nash, *Quakers and Politics: Pennsylvania, Sixteen Eighty-One to Seventeen Twenty-Six* (Princeton, 1968); Albert B. Faust, *German Element in the United States* (New York, 1909,

The Mennonites and the Quakers, both heirs of radical reformations that originated in Switzerland and Holland in the early sixteenth century, and in England later in the century, had been heavily persecuted for their beliefs.[1] At the core of the message of these reformers was their dream of a new society based on the New Testament vision as found in the Gospels, where the people would not be slaves to the law, nor at the mercy of the

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reprint New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969); James Knauss, *Social Conditions Among Pennsylvania Germans in the Eighteenth Century* (Lancaster: [Press of the New Era Printing Company], 1922); John Bodnar, *The Ethnic Experience in Pennsylvania* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press 1973).

[1] The Mennonites were direct heirs of Swiss and Dutch Anabaptism. The Quakers (Society of Friends) arose out of the ferment of the Puritan revolution in England. Yet the radical nature of each group was in many respects of one essence, espousing as both groups did a life based upon the way of love and peace, including a nonviolent approach to life. This of course opens up the question of what the earlier roots of the Society of Friends may have been, possibly going back to English Anabaptism, which in turn may well have had Continental roots. See, for example, Irvin B. Horst, *The Radical Brethren: Anabaptism and the English Reformation to 1558* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1972); Rufus M. Jones, *Spiritual Reformers in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1914); R. C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1912, rev. 1955), Douglas Gwyn, *Apocalypse of the Word: The Life and Message of George Fox* (Richmond, Indiana: Friends United Press, 1986). For references to the history and nature of Swiss and Dutch Anabaptism, see footnotes, below.

whims of the powerful, but where a new reality would be created based on a *rachlos* (non-vengeful) and *wehrlos* (weaponless) society, where all adult members of a community would voluntarily commit themselves to full and peaceful participation in all aspects of the life and health of that community.[1]

This idea was a significant departure from the religious and political structures that existed in sixteenth-century Europe. Since the fourth century, citizens throughout much of Europe automatically became subjects of the church at the time of their birth; the church

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[1] The Anabaptists based their view of a new society largely on the Sermon on the Mount as found in Matthew 5-7. Matthew 18:15-20, which deals with church discipline, was also influential in shaping how the members of the community interacted with each other. Lengthy discussion of these ideas can be found in one particular history of Anabaptism in the hands of Colonial Mennonites: that of Tieleman Tielen van Sittert, written in 1664, entitled: *Eine kurze Darstellung des Glaubens des wehr- und rachlosen Christentums, und dessen Zustandes*, published in many editions, most easily found as an appendix in *Die ernsthafte Christenpflicht* (1708, the earliest known European edition, and printed for the first time in Pennsylvania at Ephrata in 1745.) As the title suggests, the idea of a way of life without weapons and without retaliation was central to the beliefs of Colonial Mennonites, evidenced in part by the widespread popularity of this small volume among many Mennonite groups. The volume in North America alone has gone through 56 reprintings, the latest being in 1990 (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press).

served the interests of the state, which in turn controlled the agenda of the church: the state

and the church were one.[1]

In such a system, where power was in the hands of a few, the desire for reform

was never far from the surface. The year 1517 is traditionally cited as the beginning of the

Reformation, with Martin Luther and the ensuing schism he inadvertently brought about.

Luther's reformation, and the parallel reformation in Switzerland headed by the theologian

Ulrich Zwingli, planted the seed for what is commonly referred to as the radical

reformation, the adherents of which refused to give in to the demands of the state-church.[2]

It therefore comes as no surprise that the rulers were literally up in arms for centuries trying

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[1] For the "Constantinization" of the church, see G. J. Heering, *The Fall of the Church* (originally published in 1943, translated by J. W. Thompson, New York: Garland Pub., 1972), along with most general volumes on church history. Anabaptist sources on this theme include Tieleman Jansz van Braght, *Het Bloedig Tooneel der Doops-Gesinde en Weereloose Christenen . . .* (Dordrecht, 1660), published in German in 1748-49 in Colonial Pennsylvania (with many reprints); and in English in 1837, and 1886 (with many reprints of the latter, up to the present time), under the title *The Bloody Theatre, or Martyrs Mirror of the Defenseless Christians . . .* (Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1950).

[2] The most evident examples of such radicalism, as a response to the more moderate responses of Luther and Zwingli, include the Zwickau Prophets, Thomas M_ntzer, Karlstadt, and emerging Anabaptism in all its manifestations, from the peaceful (the Swiss Brethren, and the Dutch Mennonites), to the revolutionary (the "kingdom" of M_nster).

to stamp out a movement, springing up in many forms all over Europe, that became known as the Anabaptist movement.[1]

Early Anabaptist Sects and their Leaders

The early Anabaptists were zealous reformers who pointed to the corruption of society and invited people to join them in creating an alternative community. While all the Anabaptist groups were adamantly opposed to the idea of the state-church,[2] a few did not remain peaceful, the Münster Anabaptists of 1534-35 being the most notorious in this regard. After 1535, all major Anabaptist groups, including those whose history and culture are traced below, were firmly committed to nonviolence and to the idea of separation of church and state.

The Swiss Anabaptists. The Swiss Anabaptists, often called the Swiss Brethren, originated in Zurich under the charismatic leader of the Swiss Reformed movement, Ulrich Zwingli. A few of his young theology students including Conrad Grebel and Felix Mantz became more radical than Zwingli himself. Zwingli subsequently moderated his views, ultimately siding with the traditional state-church relationship.

A small group of Zwingli's students, under the leadership of Grebel, began advocating the separation of church and state. Since they believed in a so-called free

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[1] The term Anabaptist is the Greek form of the German "Wiedert_ufer," or simply "T_ufer," as the group was later called. Referring to the practice of adult baptism, viewed by the state as a second baptism, this was a derogatory name, and not used by the adherents of the various groups who fell into this category. Swiss Brethren, for example, referred to themselves simply as Brethren.

[2] Balthasar Hubmaier's "magisterial Anabaptism," and the M_nster chapters of Anabaptism of 1534-35 are two exceptions to this opposition to a strict separation of state and church.

church, separate from the state,[1] and since they saw infant baptism as a major force undergirding the state-church concept, a practice not found in the New Testament, they soon became convinced that believers' baptism was the only true baptism. The belief in believers' baptism, by definition, brought a separation between church and state. Furthermore, believers' baptism, in contrast to infant baptism, aligned with their view of the church as being composed of voluntary members only, a church not compulsory for anyone. For them, the church could not be truly reformed as long as it was compulsory and linked to the state.

Compulsory military service, at least in Switzerland, was a second, major problem for this new group of believers, who already in 1524 were espousing the way of peace and nonviolence on biblical grounds.[2] Fighting for the state was, therefore, not part of their vision, and something they refused to do.

Zwingli took, among others, the idea of believers' baptism before the City Council of Zurich, which rejected it. Whereas Zwingli acquiesced to the wishes of the Council, Grebel and Mantz did not. They and several others sympathetic to their vision met in a private home to explore further what it meant to be a believers' church, and began to

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[1] See Grebel's epistle to Thomas M_ntzer, of 1524, where the idea of a persecuted minority surfaces. This, then, became programmatic by 1527, within the Schleitheim Confession of that year. See Leland Harder, *The Sources of Swiss Anabaptism: the Grebel Letters and Related Documents* (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1985), and John H. Yoder, The *Legacy of Michael Sattler* (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1973).

[2] Grebel to M_ntzer, 1524, op. cit. Zwingli, too, in his earlier years of reform, was firmly opposed to military service, including the sending of young men into foreign mercenary service. By the year 1525, when Anabaptism came into being, Zwingli had sided with the magistracy, and later, himself, fell in battle in 1531.

administer the baptismal rite to each other as adults, a powerful symbol that could potentially undermine the church-state power over its subjects.

Indeed, the state considered believers' baptism a heresy; anyone adhering to the idea of adult baptism was subject to the death penalty. Felix Mantz was among the first to be convicted of this heresy, and was drowned, publicly, in the Limat River in Zurich, in 1527. As persecution increased, the growing movement was forced into hiding. In an effort to escape the authorities, members fled to the mountains and met in caves.[1]

One way to escape persecution was to migrate. An offshoot of the Anabaptists, which became known as the Hutterites, migrated to Moravia during the second quarter of the sixteenth century where local rulers granted them freedom for a time. These people practiced community of goods. In the 1870s they immigrated to the United States and Canada, where they live communally to this day.[2]

Other groups moved from Zurich to the Jura area of Canton Bern, which at that time was under the rule of the bishopric of Basel. The Bishop of Basel agreed to allow the

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[1] The classic work on this early Swiss Anabaptist era is Fritz Blanke, *Br_der in Christo* (Zurich, 1955), translated into English and entitled *Brothers in Christ* (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press [1961]). The massive volume by George Huntston Williams, *The Radical Reformation* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1962; second edition, 1992, Kirksville, Mo.), takes the whole of Anabaptist history and thought from the 1520s into the 1560s.

[2] On the Hutterian story see John Horsch, *The Hutterian Brethren, 1528-1931* (Goshen, Indiana, 1931); Leonard Gross, *The Golden Years of the Hutterites* (Scottdale, Pa., 1980) (which also includes something of the Swiss Brethren's sojourn in Moravia); and *The Chronicle of the Hutterian Brethren* (Rifton, New York, 1987).

Anabaptists to live in areas that exceeded one-thousand meters in elevation, on very poor

farm land, with the tacit agreement that these people not communicate with the citizens in

the valleys. The Anabaptists turned this land into productive fields, and gained a reputation

for being good farmers. Repression continued, however, well into the nineteenth century.

At times, it turned, again, into severe persecution.[1]

In the seventeenth century, following the Thirty Years' War, when the rulers of the

Palatine area of Germany wanted to repopulate their lands, they turned to the Swiss

Anabaptists, inviting them to live in that part of Germany in peace, under the condition that

they not proselytize, and on the basis of payment of higher taxes than what was expected of

other inhabitants.[2] In spite of such restrictions, many Swiss Brethren accepted the

invitation and moved to the Palatinate.[3]

Anabaptism in the Low Countries. The Reformation in the Low Countries

of Northern Europe developed contemporaneously with that of Switzerland. Whereas the

Calvinists were creating what would become the Dutch Reformed Church, others, among

them, the Anabaptists, were advocating more radical reforms. The severe persecution of

Anabaptists in this geographic area is recorded in the *Martyrs Mirror*, a Dutch publication

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[1] See Samuel H. Geiser, *Die Taufgesinnten Gemeinden . . .* (2nd ed.,
Courgenay, Switzerland: Christian Schmutz, 1971), Delbert L.
Gratz, *Bernese Anabaptists and their American Descendants*
(Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1953).

[2] Richard K. MacMaster, *Land, Piety, Peoplehood* (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald
Press, 1985), 33-34.

[3] See Christian Hege, *Die T_ufer in der Kurpfalz* (Frankfurt-am-Main:
Kommissionsverlag von H. Minjon, 1908); and Gerhard Hein,
"Palatinate," *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Vol. III, (Scottdale,
Pa, 1959), 106-12.

recounting in words and etchings the story of Christian martyrdom from the first century, A.D., to the sixteenth century.[1] Influence of late sixteenthth-century humanism as found in Holland and North Germany, however, had created a more open atmosphere in this general region than was the case in contemporary Switzerland. As early as 1579, in large part due to the newly won independence of the Dutch provinces under the Duke of Orange, Dutch Anabaptists began to experience a level of toleration unknown in most parts of Europe. In fact, many Dutch Anabaptists soon were to become prominent and influential merchants.[2]

In 1536, a former Catholic Priest, Menno Simons (1496-1561) became one of the more outspoken of the Dutch Anabaptists. Menno, who wrote extensively on matters of theology, had to elude the authorities on various occasions as he traveled far and wide in spite of a decree of outlawry issued against him in 1542. Because of him, the Anabaptists became known as the Mennists, Mennonists, or Mennonites.[3]

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[1] See the extensive article by N. van der Zijpp, "Netherlands," *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Vol. III, 825-41.

[2] The Union of Utrecht (1579) stipulated that no person was to be persecuted for religious reasons. See N. van der Zijpp, op. cit.

[3] See Harold Stauffer Bender, "A Brief Biography of Menno Simons," in *The Complete Writings of Menno Simons . . .* (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1956). The most up-to-date volume on the Anabaptist-Mennonite tradition is *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Vol. V. A good, general history of the same is C. J. Dyck, *An Introduction to Mennonite History* (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1981). Although the Swiss Brethren are not technically "Mennonites," i.e., followers of Menno Simons, the term Mennonite, as used

The Advent of Pietism

Meanwhile, during the seventeenth century, another movement emerged, both within the state-church structure, as well as in opposition to the state-church. The movement was Pietism and it had considerable influence on Mennonite communities on the Continent and in North America.

Pietism originated as a renewal movement within the Lutheran church and grew out of a reaction to Lutheran Orthodoxy with its formal, doctrinal approach to religion. The pietists sought renewal through an emphasis on personal religious experience. Personal conversion and concern for one's daily devotional life were at the center of Pietism. It added the warmth of mutuality and community to the religious experience that was felt to be lacking otherwise, and, as a pan-Protestant movement, played an important role in all the German Protestant groups, with the exception of the Amish.[1]

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throughout this dissertation, refers to groups having either Swiss or Dutch Anabaptist origins, or both.

[1] The Amish are the result of a schism among the Swiss Mennonites in 1693, in part over the relationship between the Pietists and the Mennonites. Many of the state-church pietists were quite sympathetic to the Mennonite cause, some of them being former Mennonites. They often hid Mennonites who were being pursued. These so-called *Halbt_ufer* (half-Anabaptists) were considered by some Mennonites to be among the faithful, and therefore were valued members of the community, even though they did not join the movement. Jakob Ammann, a leader who was at the forefront of a Mennonite group that later took his name felt that these Halbt_ufer were not disciplined enough and therefore were to be shunned. His followers left the Mennonite church in 1693 and

Just as the Protestant Reformation spawned its Radical Reformers in the form of Anabaptists, the Pietist movement, which was an outgrowth of a state-church tradition, spawned Radical Pietism, many adherents of which split off completely from the State Church. Some of these, like the earlier Anabaptists, also refused to baptize infants. Present-day religious groups that trace their heritage back to Radical Pietism are the Moravians, and the Dunkers or German Baptists (also called Church of the Brethren).[1]

In 1675, the generally acknowledged founder of Pietism, Philipp Jakob Spener, published his *Pia Desideria* in which he enumerates six aims that came to characterize the Pietistic movement. These were: biblical study, lay activity, ethical revival, turning away from theological polemics, reform of theological education, and renewal of evangelical preaching.[2] These areas were to have far-reaching effects on religious thought in German and English-speaking lands, as well as in society at large.

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began what is known today as the Old Order Amish. Pietism, then, did not make inroads into the Amish communities. When the Amish also began to emigrate to North America in the 1720s, they chose to settle at a distance from the other Mennonites already established in Germantown and in other settlements further to the north. For a general study of the Amish, see John A. Hostetler's *Amish Society*, (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins, latest reprint 1993).

[1] While the Moravians trace their origins back to the fifteenth century, the revival of the Moravians under the leadership of Count Ludwig von Zinzendorf, who gave the struggling community refuge on his estate at Herrnhut, was largely influenced by the Pietist movement.

[2] Jaroslav Pelikan, in *Dictionary of the History of Ideas* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1968, 1973), Vol. III, 293.

Pietism as it emerged in the context of the state-church played an important role in North America when the new Pennsylvania-German culture was being forged during the first half of the eighteenth century, and was compatible, in a superficial way, with all of the sects interacting in Pennsylvania. At the heart of this Pietism, however, was an individualistic approach to religious life that was quite incompatible with Anabaptist views. Anabaptist and Mennonite scholar Robert Friedmann summarizes some of these differences as follows:

> Pietism in the larger sense is a quiet conventicle-Christianity which is primarily concerned with the inner experiences of salvation and only secondarily with the expression of love toward the brotherhood, and not at all in a radical world transformation. . . . [1]

> Radical Pietism as embodied in such groups as the Brethren and the Moravians,[2] on the other hand, also a strong element in the New World, had more in common with Anabaptism, with agreement in such areas as adult baptism and opposition to military service. There were differences, however. Because severe persecution did not shape the Pietist movement, terms shared by both groups had different meanings. For example, *Gelassenheit* (yieldedness),[3] for the Anabaptists, meant a willingness to suffer in the face

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[1] Robert Friedmann, op. cit., 11.

[2] More is said about these groups below.

[3] A single, good translation of the word *Gelassenheit* is problematic.   The term was used regularly among the sixteenth century Anabaptists, a term they likely borrowed from the mystics of the late fifteenth century (see Leonard Gross, *The Golden Years of the Hutterites*, [Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1980], p 32).   In the context of the Anabaptist and Hutterites' assertive mission and outreach, *Gelassenheit* for them meant yieldedness or surrender to God, and not resignation.   Later in the seventeenth century, some pietists

of real persecution. For the Pietists, the same word meant a spiritual resignation to Christ in one's search for personal salvation. The Anabaptists viewed Christ as the "bitter Christ" who led the believer through suffering. The Pietists, on the other hand, often referred to the "sweet Jesus" who gave rest and comfort to the believer. While these differences were significant enough to keep the various groups from merging, the commonalities of the two faiths explain how Pietism came to have such influence on Mennonite culture. Both emphasized renewal, personal faith, going directly to scripture, and a warm, mutually supportive community.[1]

The Quaker-Mennonite Relationship in Europe

During the early part of the seventeenth century, the desire for reform spread to the British Isles. The radical wing of these reforms produced the Society of Friends, or English Quakers.[2] During the latter part of the 1650s, the English Quakers took their

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used Gelassenheit in a context that suggested resignation. Chapter Five explores hymn texts that reflect this second definition of *Gelassenheit*.

[1] MacMaster, op. cit., 165. A few recent volumes interpreting Pietism are Martin Schmidt, *Wiedergeburt und neuer Mensch* (Witten, 1969); Heinrich Bornkamm (and others), *Der Pietismus in Gestalten und Wirkungen* (Bielefeld, 1975); F. Ernest Stoeffler, *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism* (Leiden: Brill, 1965); and F. Ernest Stoeffler, ed., *Continental Pietism and Early American Christianity* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1976).

[2] The Quaker movement is rooted most directly in the ferment brought about by the Puritan revolution in England; harder to prove, yet most likely, was the influence, at least indirectly, of Continental radicalism. See Irvin B. Horst, *The Radical*

message to Holland and Germany, as far south as the Palatinate. Their purpose was to convert the Mennonites to Quakerism, an effort that proved, in part, successful.[1] Partly because of the Quakers' outspokenness against the state, the authorities again began to harass the members of radical religious groups. Renewed persecution following in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, along with the economic restrictions already in place, were both major factors in the decision in 1683 on the part of these Quaker-Mennonite communities to begin emigrating to the New World at the invitation of William Penn -- himself a Quaker.[2]

The idea of emigrating to North America was planted as early as 1677, when Penn accompanied the founder of Quakerism, George Fox, on a tour of Holland and Germany. Fox had visited North America and found the land suitable as a haven for the religious sects not tolerated in Europe. It was not until 1681, when King Charles II gave Penn the tract of land in what is now Pennsylvania and Delaware as a payment for a debt owed him, that steps were taken to populate the new settlements with English and German Protestant sects such as the Quakers and the Mennonites. That year, a former Mennonite turned Quaker, Jacob Telner, became "Penn's chief agent in the promotion of Quaker and Mennonite

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Brethren: Anabaptism and the English Reformation to 1558 (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1972).

[1] MacMaster, 39-40. See also, E. Russel, *The History of Quakerism* (New York, 1942); M. H. Bacon, *The Quiet Rebels: The Story of the Quakers in America* (New York: Basic Books, [1969]).

[2] For more on the situation of Mennonites in Europe, see C. Henry Smith *The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania*, (Norristown, Pa., 1929), chapters Two and Three.

emigration from Krefeld and its neighborhood to the New World."[1] The eventual result was the founding of Germantown, Pennsylvania in 1683. It was here that North American Mennonite culture took root.

The First German Settlement in North America

The first German immigrants to form a permanent settlement in North America were the Quaker-Mennonites from the Low Countries in and around the Krefeld area of Germany,[2] as well as Pietists from Frankfurt, who arrived in 1683.[3] William Penn offered to these German-speaking immigrants six-hundred acres north of Philadelphia, land to be shared by the Frankfurt Pietists and Quaker-Mennonites. The newcomers named the

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[1] A quotation from the Streepers mss., housed at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., quoted in Richard MacMaster, *Land Piety and Peoplehood*, op. cit., 35.

[2] The Low Countries today include the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg. During the seventeenth century, however, the Low Countries included parts of present-day northern Germany, including the town of Krefeld, the home of the first Mennonite-Quaker immigrants.

[3] The earliest two groups to arrive were the Pietists from Frankfurt am Main led by Daniel Francis Pastorius. The second ship, which arrived six weeks after the first, included thirteen families -- former Dutch Mennonites as well as other Low Country Mennonites, most of whom had joined the Quaker faith.

Some Dutch Mennonites emigrated to the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam, but were not tolerated well and were soon absorbed into the Dutch Reformed communities (MacMaster, 32-33). A Mennonite by the name of Plockhoy established a semi-communal settlement along the Delaware bay. The settlement was destroyed during the Dutch/English wars and was not rebuilt (Smith, 27-28).

village they formed Germantown. For the next several years, Mennonites arrived regularly in small numbers.

From the very beginning, the Pennsylvania community growing out of this and subsequent groups of immigrants, including Lutherans and Reformed, had strong ecumenical tendencies, while at the same time allowing for each group's heritage to remain alive. Indeed, the reality of ecumenism characterized the German-speaking communities until the early 1740s, when sectarianism surfaced in reaction to an attempt at a formal unity, promoted by the Moravian leader, Count Ludwig Nicholas von Zinzendorf.

Separation of the Mennonites and Quakers. Slowly, the Mennonite-Quaker connection weakened until, by the end of the 1680s, Mennonites were meeting separately from the Quakers.[1] A formal Mennonite organization was established in 1698,

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[1] The parting happened for several reasons. One was that the population of Mennonites was growing. Another was a major split within the Quaker community which came to be called the Keithien controversy. George Keith, a leading Scottish Quaker who arrived in America in 1684, was critical of the Quakers in several areas. One issue was whether the inner light was sufficient to direct one's path, or whether, as he saw it, the Scriptures were also essential. He also criticized the Quakers for compromising on various issues, including their stand on nonviolence. While some Quakers of Mennonite background joined with Keith, other Quakers of Mennonite background distanced themselves from the Quakers entirely, some taking on their former Mennonite identity. (For more information on the Keithien controversy, see Samuel W. Pennypacker, *Historical and Biographical Sketches*, [Philadelphia, Pa.: Robert A. Tripple, 1883], pp. 210 ff.)

One further point of contention among Quakers of Mennonite background was the issue of slavery. Slavery was seen by many Quakers as an acceptable option in the face of the hard physical

when William Rittenhouse was elected minister and Jan Neuss deacon of the Germantown Mennonite Community.[1]

Mennonite Immigrants from the Palatinate. The first group of Mennonites to emigrate from the Palatine area of Germany arrived in 1707. This was the beginning of a great wave of Mennonite and Amish immigrants who found their way to the New World with the financial help of the wealthier Dutch Mennonites and their organization, the Commission for Foreign Needs, with headquarters in Amsterdam.[2]

This second wave of immigrants brought with it a culture different from the first wave. Unlike the Dutch and North German Mennonite immigrants, who came with skills in such urban trades as weaving and paper manufacturing, the Mennonites of the Palatinate, Swiss in origin, were rural farmers.[3]

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labor necessary to clear the wilderness. Others in the community were opposed to the institution. In 1688, several people drafted a protest against slavery to be presented at the Quaker monthly meeting. Those who signed the petition were Garret Hendricks, Derick op den Graeff, Abraham op den Graeff, and Francis Daniel Pastorius. The first three were Quaker-Mennonites, the fourth, a Pietist. (For a complete text of the petition, see Smith, pp. 107-109.) The petition was passed from meeting to meeting until it reached the annual Quaker meeting, where apparently nothing came of it. With one known exception, Mennonites were opposed to the idea of holding slaves.

[1] MacMaster, op. cit., 44.

[2] For more on the Dutch aid, see MacMaster, 52-78.

[3] John Ruth discusses the professions of the first immigrants on pp. 56-70 of *Maintaining the Right Fellowship* (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press,

The Swiss-German Mennonite immigrants who settled among the already established Dutch and North German Mennonites, kept to themselves for a short while before assimilating. In 1708, one year after their arrival, the first Mennonite meetinghouse was built, and both the Dutch and Swiss groups gathered together for worship. The Dutch language soon gave way to German, but the Dutch foundation laid by the first immigrants continued to influence the culture of those living in Germantown as well as the daughter communities that sprang up in areas north of Germantown, a network of communities forming the Franconia area.

Unifying and Divisive Religious Factors Among the Pennsylvania German Groups

Many other religious traditions existed side by side in Pennsylvania. Indeed, the colonists cooperated with each other and mingled freely as they settled the area of eastern Pennsylvania. Schwenkfeldian leader Christopher Schultz of Hereford Township in Berks County wrote to friends in Europe in 1768: "You can hardly imagine how many denominations you will find here when you attend a big gathering like at Abram Heydrich's or Abraham Jaeckel's funeral." He went on to say:

> We are always at peace with each other.... Everybody speaks his mind
> freely. A Mennonite preacher is my next neighbor and I could not wish for
> a better one. On the other side I have a big Catholic church. ... Next to
> them the Lutherans and Reformed have their congregations.... We are all
> going to and fro like fish in water.[1]

1984). A description of the Palatinate immigrants is found on pp. 80ff.

[1] Quoted in MacMaster, 138.

The Schwenkfelders, who emigrated to North America in 1734, were one group that lived alongside the Mennonites and Quakers.[1] Other neighbors were the German Lutherans and German Reformed who began emigrating along with the Palatinate Mennonites during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Coming from a state-church tradition where properly ordained ministers were required to establish a parish, the Lutheran and Reformed groups took much longer to become organized. The German Reformed group had only four ministers for fifteen-thousand people, while the Lutherans had only three for a similar population.[2] The first Lutheran church building was not completed until 1748.[3] Until then, many Lutherans attended Dunker and Mennonite meetings, some joining these groups.

The German Baptist Brethren, or Dunkers as they were called because of their mode of baptism, were perhaps the closest "relative" of the eighteenth-century Mennonites to join in the migration to the New World.[4] Claiming Anabaptist and Pietist roots, the Dunkers practiced adult baptism and nonviolence. They began arriving in Germantown in 1719 and soon became known for their proselytizing. An offshoot of the Dunkers that

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[1] For more on the Schwenkfelders, see H. W. Kriebel, *The Schwenkfelders in Pennsylvania* (Lancaster, 1904, reprinted New York: AMS, 1971); and P. C. Erb, *Schwenckfeld in his Reformation Setting* (1975).

[2] Hostetler, 30.

[3] Edward Christopher Wolf, "Lutheran Church Music in America during the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries." (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1960,) 143.

[4] For more on the Brethren, see *The Brethren Encyclopedia* (Philadelphia, and Oak Brook Ill.: The Brethren Encyclopedia Inc., 1983); D. F. Durnbaugh, *The Brethren in Colonial America*, (Elgin, Ill.: Brethren Press, (1967).

emerged in this country in 1724 was the community at Ephrata known then as the Seventh-Day Baptists, and which later became a monastic group known as the Ephrata Cloister.[1]

Yet another group was the Moravians, or Unitas Fratrum. A group that owes much to the Pietistic movement, the Moravians trace their heritage back to the reforms of John Hus. In 1722 the scattered few who remained as part of the movement in Moravia found their way to the estate of the sympathetic Count Ludwig Nickolaus von Zinzendorf, who at first gave refuge to the fellowship at Herrnhut, in Saxony, and later joined the group himself. The Moravians especially reflected the Pietistic emphasis on a personal devotion to the person of Christ.

Zinzendorf's agenda for the various loosely related German sects in Pennsylvania harks back to one of the six central themes of the Pietistic reform: unity of the heart as opposed to division based on theological polemics.[2] To achieve his goal, Zinzendorf organized a series of synods in 1742, one of the purposes of which was to dispel rumors

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[1] For more on the Ephrata community, see J. Max Hark, tr., *Chronicon Ephratense: A History of Seventh Day Baptists at Ephrata, (Lancaster County, Pa.*, 1889), and Julius Friedrich Sachse, *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania, 1708-1742*, (Philadelphia: Printed by the author, 1899.)

[2] For more on the history of the Moravians, see J. Taylor and K. G. Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church* (Bethlehem, Pa.: Interprovincial Board of Christian Education, Moravian Church in America, 1967]), John R. Weinlick, "Colonial Moravians: Their Status Among the Churches." *Pennsylvania History* 26 (1959) and *Count Zinzendorf*, (Nashville: Abingdon, 1956).

and slanderous remarks that groups had made against each other. Several groups

represented, including the Mennonites, withdrew following the second meeting.[1]

One of the problems for the Mennonites was the lack of representation with vested

authority, as well as the lack of any official statements of doctrine. While the Mennonites

could have used the Dordrecht Confession of Faith reprinted in 1725 to dispel rumors

revolving around their views regarding the deity of Christ, none of the Mennonites present

invoked this confession. Rather, they seem to have reflected a position according to which

individuals and doctrines did not carry authority. At the encouragement of the presiding

officer, who visited the Mennonite elders several days following the first synod, the elders

did write a brief statement of doctrine to dispel rumors alleging they did not believe in the

deity of Christ.[2]

So it was that the various German sects in North America became entrenched in

their differences. Perhaps only coincidentally, but more likely in direct response to the

upheaval following the many spoken and unspoken disagreements that developed in the

synods, efforts were launched in the 1740s by Pennsylvania Mennonites to have printed

various writings that reflected specifically their own history and tradition.

The Preservation of Mennonite Traditions Through the Reprinting of Mennonite Documents

The *Ausbund* and *Martyrs Mirror*.[3] The first sizeable American Mennonite

publication at this time was a reprinting of the *Ausbund* in Germantown in 1742 by the

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[1] The groups represented were: Baptists, Dunkers, Hermits, Inspirationalists, Lutherans, Mennonites, Moravians, Quakers, Reformed, Sabbatarians, Schwenkfelders, and Separatists, (Hostetler, 45-47).

[2] See Hostetler, 42-53, for more on the Zinzendorf effort.

[3] See the next chapter for bibliographical information on the `Ausbund`.

Dunker printer Christopher Saur. The *Ausbund* was the hymnal used by the Anabaptists of

Switzerland and Austria which is discussed at length in the next chapter. Here it only need

be said that the contents of the *Ausbund* include many hymns by and about martyrs in

sixteenth-century Europe, hymns about the inevitable sufferings of the "visible" church, a

prominent Mennonite theme.

The most impressive Pennsylvania magnum opus, however, was the translation

and printing of the *Martyrs Mirror*.[1] This was a seventeenth-century Dutch tome by

Thieleman J. van Braght containing stories about and etchings of Christian martyrs. The

Mennonites of the Skippack congregation wrote to the Mennonites in Holland in October of

1745, sharing with them their reasons for having the book translated and printed in

Pennsylvania:

> It cannot be known, now that the flames of war seem to be mounting higher
> and higher, whether cross and tribulation may not all the sooner fall to the
> lot of the nonresistant Christian. It therefore becomes us to arm ourselves
> for such cases with patience and endurance, and to make every preparation
> for steadfast constancy in our faith. It was therefore unanimously favored
> by the brotherhood in this land, to see if we could manage to have Dielman
> Jans van Braght's *Bloedig Tooneel (Martyrs Mirror)* translated into
> German, especially since here in this country in our brotherhood many
> young people have grown up and greatly increase in number, so that our
> posterity may have before their eyes the traces of those loyal witnesses of
> the truth, who walked in the way of truth and have given their lives for it.[2]

The Ephrata community agreed to undertake the task of translating and printing the

sizeable book, and the translator, John Peter Miller, took three years to complete the work.

In 1748, work on setting the manuscript in type began, with the complete edition appearing

in 1749. This publication, along with a Mennonite collection of martyr epistles and prayers

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[1] See footnote four for bibliographic information.
[2] "A Pennsylvania Letter of 1745 to the Mennonites in Holland," tr. by Elizabeth Bender, *Mennonite Historical Bulletin*, 23 (October 1971), 3-4. The original letter is in the Archives of the Mennonite Church, Goshen, Ind.

of a pietistic nature called *Güldene Aepffel in Silbern Schalen* (*Golden Apples in Silver Bowls*), was read by both Mennonites and such Radical Pietists as the Dunkers.[1]

The 1740s, then, marked an attempt at a revival of the older Mennonite identity which included the experience and conviction of the suffering church that remained faithful, even unto death. In a land where religious tolerance was a given, literature was one of the few ways to keep the memory of a European experience of persecution alive. In reaction to the pressure to join in Zinzendorf's ecumenical effort, Mennonite church leaders seem to have agreed that the time had come to assert the distinctive Mennonite point of view. A summary of the tenets expressed in the publications described above follows, the goal of which is to establish a clear theological framework needed as a point of reference for the balance of this dissertation.

Summary of Mennonite Theological Themes

The core of Mennonite belief could be said to be summarized in the concept of a people separate from the world. To the European Anabaptists, the "world" meant infant baptism: a symbol of religion imposed by the state. For Anabaptists, the sword was a symbol of the coercive state, and the taking of the oath symbolized allegiance and obeisance to the state. They therefore advocated adult (or believer's) baptism and nonviolence, and they refused to take oaths. The result was persecution, which they understood as inevitable. The "true" church was a suffering church because the "true" church existed in

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[1] *G_ldene Aepffel in Silbern Schalen oder sch_ne und n_tzliche Worte und Warheiten zur Gottseligkeit . . .* , 1702. There was a reprinting of this volume in Basel in 1742, and again in Ephrata, Pennsylvania, in 1745. (Goshen Historical Library has copies of all three printings.) This book is discussed in detail in the next chapter.

direct opposition to the existing world order, a conviction perpetuated even in the more tolerant atmosphere of Pennsylvania.

The Mennonites in Pennsylvania even considered Zinzendorf's plea for superficial religious unity to be a threat to the identity outlined above. Indeed, the mere idea of doctrinal unity was problematic, at least for the Mennonites and the Radical Pietists, who were not oriented toward doctrine *per se*. This was perhaps best reflected in the worship services which, unlike in the state-church traditions, included no recitation of a confession of faith. One could argue that their one principal doctrine was that of believer's baptism, but even that is not understood so much as a doctrine of right belief as it is a symbol pointing to a commitment to a way of life. Their other beliefs were also oriented toward a way of life as opposed to right doctrine.

Given their adherence to the idea of believer's baptism, as the Mennonites and Dunkers saw it, reconciling the Lutheran and Reformed tradition of infant baptism with adult believer's baptism was impossible. Believer's baptism still carried with it the important symbol of a voluntary commitment to a church community based on equality and *Gelassenheit*; infant baptism was a reminder of the strict church hierarchy that, in Europe, had symbolized oppression. This position taken by the Mennonites in America again separated them from the rest of society.

When seventeenth-century Pietism emerged, many of its elements were attractive to a church worn down by persecution. The Pietists' emphasis on the inner spiritual experience and the desire for inner peace and for liberation from the hardships of life was incorporated into the Mennonite ethos. Pietism thus defined served as a unifying factor among the various denominations represented in Pennsylvania.

The art form most conducive to giving both personal and corporate expression to Pietistic belief was hymnody, and the place where hymns and tunes seem to have been exchanged most freely was in the non-denominational community schoolhouse in the form of the manuscript songbook, the *Notenbüchlein*, the focus of this dissertation. A

discussion of the various hymn traditions interacting in Pennsylvania, however, must precede any examination of the Notenbüchlein.

CHAPTER TWO

Mennonite Hymnody in German-speaking Europe and America

The religious and cultural tradition the Mennonites brought with them when they emigrated to Pennsylvania did not become static. How did the new environment affect the faith of the Mennonites as it expressed itself culturally? It is in answering this question that hymnody takes on a major role of providing insights into the evolution of Mennonite belief and culture in Pennsylvania during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Based on the printings and reprintings of hymnals, as well as the emergence of the *Notenbüchlein*, it is clear that hymnody enjoyed a prominent role in the cultural life of Franconia Mennonites.

Several of the components of the Mennonite musical culture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are discussed below in order to establish a context for the era of the Notenbüchlein (1780-1835). These include attitudes toward music and hymn repertoires inherited from Anabaptists and European Mennonites, Reformed, Lutheran, and Pietists. Also addressed are the hymnals in use in Pennsylvania that represent these various groups, and the degree to which these influenced Pennsylvania Mennonite culture. This is followed by an overview of the role music played in the church and school life of the Franconia Mennonites.

Church Music in European Society During the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

As is well known, church music in European society during the sixteenth century was a hotly debated issue especially among Protestant reformers, the question being the place of music among the faithful, specifically in a worship service. Music in the Catholic Mass had come to embody the display and ostentation that contributed, in part, to the more radical tendencies of the Reformation. Solutions to the perceived problem of music in the church ranged from extreme austerity to musical creativity.

Anabaptists

The Anabaptists were not of one mind when it came to the proper place of music. Influenced by the austere Zwingli, some Anabaptist leaders felt the need to purge the state-church of what it saw to be pomp and excess. Indeed, the purging of music on the part of Zwinglian reforms included such extreme acts as destroying pipe organs.[1] There is no record of any Swiss Anabaptists participating in these destructive acts.

The few written accounts of the Anabaptists' attitudes toward singing suggest that early leaders disagreed on its value. For example Conrad Grebel, under Zwingli's influence, was opposed to the use of music in worship, basing his view on the writings of the Apostle Paul.[2] Balthasar Hubmaier (d. 1528), on the other hand, was not opposed to singing, but cautioned that unless one sang with correct understanding, a good heart, and with the Holy Spirit, singing would not be pleasing to God.[3]

Two other factors play a role in the view of music among the Anabaptists. Although many of the original leaders of the movement were university educated, the movement attracted most of its adherents from the rural communities of less educated peasants. Here the folk ballad and folk song played a significant role in Anabaptist hymnody, doubtless because of the rural roots of the adherents.[4] For a people dependent

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[1] Paul Nettl, *Luther and Music* (New York, 1948; Russel and Russel, [1967]), 5.

[2] The verse referred to is found in Ephesians 5:19 which reads, "Sing and make music in your heart," *New International Version*.

[3] Helen Martens, "Singing," *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Vol. V, 825.

[4] Arnold Snyder, in his article "Orality, Literacy, and the Study of Anabaptism" (*The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, LXV [Oct., 1991], 371-92) suggests that much work needs to be done to uncover the testimonies of the

largely on oral tradition, expressing stories and beliefs in hymns was a vital element of the

Anabaptist movement. Stories of martyrs singing hymns as they were being executed

appear over and over again in documents such as the *Martyrs Mirror*. The other factor

shaping early Anabaptist hymnody, then, was the ever-present threat and reality of

persecution expressed, among other ways, in the persecution ballad which was the

dominant genre of early Anabaptist hymnody.

An anonymous Anabaptist-Mennonite source from the more pietistic seventeenth

century portrays an understanding of music reminiscent of Hubmaier's view. The 1702

publication *Güldene Aepffel in silbern Schalen* (*Golden Apples in Silver Bowls*) includes

an anonymous catechism called "Instruction on Christian Singing."[1] Reprinted in 1745 in

Ephrata, Pennsylvania, this collection of writings likely reflects the views of eighteenth-

century Pennsylvania Mennonites as well. Because this catechism so clearly links

European and North American Mennonitism during the eighteenth century, a translation

follows:

> First Question: Is it in accord with God's Word that we sing?
> Answer: Yes, for examples and commandments are found in both the Old
> and New Testament (Ps. 68:5, 33; Mt. 26:30; Eph. 5:19; Jas. 5:13)
>
> Second Question: Who then shall sing?

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majority of Anabaptists, who, in actuality, were illiterate. A
fertile source of testimony is their hymnody, where many of the
texts were first passed around orally, and only later written
down. Snyder says, "These hymns and songs place us closer to the
populist, oral tradition, not only through their mode of
composition but also because such songs were learned, remembered
and sung in the Anabaptist communities, forming an important
doctrinal deposit for later generations," (p. 387).

[1] See Chapter One, footnote 50. The title is taken from Proverbs 25:11: "A word aptly
spoken is like apples of gold in settings of silver," *New International Version.*

Answer: All the saints of God, whose hearts and mouths are filled with praise, gratitude and prayer.

Third Question: Can the ungodly not sing a song in a way that is acceptable to God?
Answer: Oh no! For like the prayers of the ungodly, their singing is also an abomination to the Lord; he does not like the noise of their singing (Amos 5).

Fourth Question: Why are such people unable to sing properly?
Answer: They do not have the Spirit of Christ, who must give within us the right tone and song.

Fifth Question: What was the singing of the early Christians like?
Answer: One of the ancient writers says this about it: The farmer, following his plow, sings a joyful Hallelujah; the careful reaper finds enjoyment in the Psalms, and the vintner sings something from David's hymns of praise, and so on.

Sixth Question: Did they also sing together in their meetings?
Answer: Yes! For when they met, before daybreak, they read something, offered prayers, and in simplicity sang hymns in praise of Christ, as the heathen writers testified of them.

Seventh Question: Did they sing at the table?
Answer: Yes! Instead of shameful laughter and idle chatter they sang hymns of praise and thanks at the table with wife and children and guests.
Eighth Question: What should be the state of the heart if one wants to sing?
Answer: After the heart has been crushed by the Law and been made sad with longing for God, the Holy Spirit comes and brings peace and joy to the heart, so that the mouth overflows in praising God.

Ninth Question: What does the psaltery, the instrument with ten strings mentioned by David, signify?
Answer: Since ten is a perfect number -- for when one has counted to ten, he begins again with one -- therefore Christ is our psaltery on ten strings whose perfection and perfecting is always to be sung with our mouths and in our hearts.

Tenth Question: Who teaches us to sing right?
Answer: The Holy Spirit, as the true songmaster, can turn the heart into a heavenly harp and instrument of God, even without external instrument or sound, and often without an audible voice.

Eleventh Question: Is it not sufficient for a beautiful melody simply to be heard?

Answer: Oh no! Paul says, sing to the Lord in or with your hearts; even

the lips of the ungodly are able to produce a lovely voice.[1]

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[1] *Golden Apples in Silver Bowls*, Leonard Gross, ed., (Lancaster, Pa.: Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society, at press).

We have here an apology for singing based not only on scripture (First Question), but also on what was known of the early church, which was of great importance to the Anabaptists (Fifth Question). The specifics of what is acceptable and what is not are not spelled out in musical terms; quality of sound and textual content are not the central issue. Rather, good music grows out of the right disposition of the heart as inspired by God and divine laws (Third Question). One might say that the criteria for what is acceptable to God reflect the medieval neo-Platonic view of music as divinely inspired (Fourth Question) and are thus a reflection of the divine order, not a reflection of the human spirit and human capabilities as portrayed in the Renaissance world view that shaped the leaders of the Reformation. Also present are elements of medieval Christian mysticism with its particular emphasis on symbols pointing to the divine (Ninth Question).

Among the Anabaptists, then, are views on music ranging from hostility (Grebel) to the acceptance of music, provided it is performed in the right spirit (Hubmaier and the *Güldene Aepfel*). In practice, we know that singing was a vital expression of belief for the Anabaptists. Many martyr stories include evidence of hymn singing which served the dual purpose of proselytizing, and giving courage to other members of the Anabaptist community. Hymns, original compositions reflecting former and contemporary experiences of martyrs, as well as strictly devotional texts were composed and sung in prison. These were written down and printed in the *Ausbund*, a collection of Anabaptist hymns still in print and used by the Old Order Amish.

The *Ausbund*. The *Ausbund* was the hymnal of the sixteenth-century Anabaptists of Switzerland, Austria, and Southern Germany. This first Anabaptist hymnal was compiled anonymously during the first few decades of heavy persecution (1527-1564). It originated among a group of approximately sixty Swiss Brethren, a group often called the Philippites who originated in 1527, who had found temporary freedom in Moravia, but were again forced to flee for their lives. They were apprehended at Passau in 1535, and were imprisoned there until 1540. While none was killed outright, many died in

prison.[1] These Anabaptists composed fifty-three persecution ballads ranging in length from three to seventy-one stanzas.[2] Although many of them are anonymous, a handful have initials referring to the authors of the texts. One text lists several initials, suggesting it was jointly composed. The title page of the only extant copy of the first known edition, now in the Historical Library on the campus of Goshen College, Goshen Indiana, reads in full:

> *Etliche schüne Christliche Geseng / wie sie in der Gefengkniss zu Passaw*
>
> *im Schloss von den Schweitzer Brüdern durch Gottes gnad geticht und*
>
> *gesungen worden.* M D. LXIIII.

Given the fact that most Anabaptist publications were proscribed, the publisher and place of publication is very often omitted, as it is here, to protect the publisher.

Another collection of hymns of a more traditional devotional nature was compiled anonymously several years later and added to the already existing collection, thus its name

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[1] Robert Friedmann, "Philippites," *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Vol. IV, 166.

[2] The Dutch Mennonites had their own collection of martyr ballads and spiritual songs published in 1560: *Veelderhande Liedekan*. In the seventeenth century, the hymnal was replaced by numerous hymnal compilations, borrowing heavily from the Reformed tradition. For example, the Hamburg-Altona community, which at this time was Dutch, published a hymnal in 1685: *Gesanghbock of Gesanghen, orn op alle feestdangen en vor en na de predicatie in de vergaderingen te singen*. Some of the early immigrants to Germantown were from this community. They presumably brought with them the contemporary Reformed tradition, although there are no known copies of any Dutch hymnals extant anywhere among the Pennsylvania Mennonites.

Ausbund. The earliest extant edition of the full *Ausbund* with its two parts bound together

is that of 1585.[1] The *Ausbund* in its bipartite form has changed relatively little over the

centuries and is still in print, serving the Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonites.[2]

Like the Lutheran reformers, the Anabaptists borrowed and transformed both

secular texts and tunes. They also borrowed from other sacred repertoires including the

Catholic tradition (e.g., a German translation of "Pange lingua glorioso") and the Lutheran

tradition (e.g., "Aus tiefer Noth").

The various editions of the *Ausbund* have never included musical notation for the

tunes to which the hymns are to be sung. Rather, one or more suggested tune titles follows

the title of the hymn. The tune names include many of secular origin.[1]

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[1] *Aussbund, Etlicher sch_ner Christlicher Geseng / wie die in der*

Gefengnuss zu Passaw im Schloss von den Schweitzern / und auch von

andern rechtgl_ubigen Christen hin vnd her gedicht worden. Allen

vnd jeden Christen / welcher Religion sie auch seyen / unparteiich

vnd fast n_zlich zu brauchen. 1583.

The second part had a separate title page:
> *Etliche sehr sch_ne Christliche Gesenge / wie*
> *dieselbigen zu Passaw / von den Schweitzerbr_dern /*
> *in der Gefengnuss im Schloss / durch Gottes gnad*
> *gedicht und gesungen worden. 1583.*

Based on records of a debate between Anabaptists and the authorities held in Frankenthal in 1571, known as the Frankenthaler debate, it appears that an edition of the book in two parts was printed as early as 1570. Records of this debate include a condemnation of the *Ausbund* as "containing many dangerous ideas." Rosella Reimer Duerkson, "Anabaptist Hymnody in the Sixteenth Century" (Ph. D. Dissertation, Union Theological Seminary, 1956), 16.

[2] The edition reprinted by the Amish today is *Ausbund*... 13th edition.

[Lancaster, Pa.]: Verlag von den Amischen Gemeinden in Lancaster

County, Pa., 1935. This edition of the Ausbund was last reprinted

in 1991.

Of interest here is the fact that the texts were newly composed, and reflected the experiences of the adherents of Anabaptism. As the Anabaptist movement waned, however, other hymn traditions entered Mennonite literature. The *Ausbund* repertoire was maintained in many Mennonite communities alongside the Reformed, Lutheran, and Pietist hymns that began entering the repertoire. One notable exception to the use of *Ausbund* hymnody is the area of Holland and North Germany, the cultural origins of the Franconia area of Pennsylvania. Here, the German *Ausbund* was not known. Although a Dutch collection of martyr hymns was printed in 1563 with ten subsequent editions, the last reprinting of this collection took place in 1599. After this, Dutch Mennonites seem to have abandoned martyr balladry in favor of spiritual songs.[2]

Perhaps owing to their Dutch origins the hymnody of the Franconia Mennonites includes only a small number of *Ausbund* hymns. Anabaptist-Mennonite history was recounted in such publications as a translation of the *Martyrs Mirror* and a reprinting of the *Güldene Aepfel in silbern Schalen*. The function of hymns, on the other hand, seems to have been to reflect religious experience, and not history. Hymns were borrowed from many traditions with this end in mind, the three main denominations being the German Reformed, the Lutheran, and the Brethren.

Reformed

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[1] See Duerkson for discussion of tune repertoire in the *Ausbund*.

[2] The martyr hymnal is the *Lietboecxken van den Offer des Heeren*. The first collection of spiritual songs was *Veelderhande Liedekens*, in six editions (1560, 1562, 1566, 1569, 1579, and 1580). See H. S. Bender, "Hymnology of the Anabaptists," *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Vol. II, 869-71.

The Reformed tradition of Germany influenced Mennonite culture extensively. One hymnal in use by many German-speaking Mennonite groups of Southern German and Switzerland was the late sixteenth and seventeenth-century hymnal of the German Reformed Church which included the Geneva psalms translated by Ambrosii Lobwasser (1515-1585).[1] The *Lobwasser* texts were reprinted in various forms until the turn of the nineteenth century. While the various editions of the *Lobwasser* hymnal varied widely, all had in common a section of *Lobwasser*'s translations of the psalms, followed by a section of spiritual hymns, many of which were by the Reformed hymn writer Joachim Neander.

The Lobwasser. The *Lobwasser* was in use in the late seventeenth century by Swiss and South German Mennonites while still in Europe. Of the various *Lobwasser* editions, the one that seems to have been available to the emigrating Palatine Mennonites was the Marburg edition with the title *Neu vermehrt und vollstündiges Gesang-Buch*.[2]

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[1] The first edition appeared in 1573, with many subsequent editions. After 1700, many other hymns were added to the original collection of psalms.

[2] *Neu vermehrt und vollst_ndiges Gesang-Buch, Worinnen sowohl die Psalmen Davids, Nach D. Ambrosii Lobwassers _bersetzung hin und wieder verbessert, Als auch 700. ausserlesener alter und neuer geistreichen Liedern begriffen sind, welche anjetzo s_mtlich in denen Reformierten Kirchen der Hessisch-Hanauischen-Pf_ltzischen und vielen andern angr_ntzenden Landen zu singen gebr_uchlich, ... Marburg 1746/47.*

The Meeting Place Library of Harleysville Pennsylvania, has in its collection three *Lobwasser* hymnals all printed in Marburg, in 1722, 1752, and 1759, respectively.

This edition includes notation for melodies in monophonic setting.[1] The popularity of the *Lobwasser* in Pennsylvania is further confirmed by the fact that it was printed twice in Pennsylvania, in 1753 and 1763, in the printshop of Christopher Saur.[2]

Another Reformed hymnal known to have been in use in the Palatinate during the second half of the eighteenth century was the *Churpfültzisch Allgemeines Reformiertes Gesangbuch* (Mannheim and Frankfurt, 1749). A hymnal containing 700 texts including monophonic tune settings for a portion of the texts, this book was the official Mennonite hymnal until 1832.[3]

Lutherans

While still in Europe, Mennonites from Switzerland and Southern Germany interacted with the Reformed church since the territories they lived in were under Reformed rule. While texts of Lutheran origin, by this time, had entered the Reformed repertoire,

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[1] The Bern edition of the Lobwasser, under the musical direction of Ulrich Sulzberger (1638-1701) provides not only musical instruction, but settings in four-part harmony of the psalms and hymn tunes. This edition was known in Mennonite communities in Switzerland, as evidenced by the many extant copies found in a Swiss Mennonite collection in Jeangisboden, near Tramelan, Switzerland. For more bibliographical information on the editions of the hymnals in the hands of Swiss Mennonites, see the complete listing of the holdings of the Jeangisboden collection at the Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana.

[2] Harold S. Bender, "Hymnology of American Mennonites," *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Vol. II, 879-86 (see esp. p. 880).

[3] The preface to the *Christliches Gesangbuch* (Worms, 1832), published by Palatine Mennonites, mentions the *Churpf_ltzisch Gesangbuch* as the hymnal used by the Palatinate Mennonites prior to 1832.

Lutheran hymnals per se were not in use among these Mennonites. Once in Pennsylvania, however, Lutheran publications, including hymnals, were available to and used by Mennonites.

The Lutheran's high regard for music, especially their hymn repertoire, influenced Pennsylvania Mennonite culture greatly. As argued below in Chapter Three, the Notenbüchlein provide evidence of a lively singing culture inspired in part, it seems, by Pennsylvania Lutheran schoolmaster Johann Adam Eyer (discussed below). In addition, the Lutheran hymnals in use in Pennsylvania were the source of a large number of hymn texts.

The Lutheran immigrants had brought, among other hymnals, the *Marburger* and the *Halle*.[1] When they began to organize their parishes in the New World, a decision

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[1] See Edward Christopher Wolf, op. cit., for more on Lutheran hymnals used in America.

The complete title for the `Marburger` reads: `Marburger Gesang-buch zur _bung der Gottseligkeit, in 615 Christlichen und trostreichen psalmen und ges_ngen Hrn. D. Martin Luthers und anderer Gottseliger lehrer, ordentlich in XII. theile verfasset auch zur bef_rderung des sowohl offentlichen kirchen als privat-Gottesdienstes, mit erbaulichen morgen, abend, buss, beicht, und communion geb_tern vermehret.`

The full title of the `Halle` reads, `Geistreiches Gesang-Buch, den Kern alter und neuer Lieder in sich haltend: Jetzo von neuen so eingerichtet, Das alle Ges_nge, so in den vorhin unter diesem Namen alhier herausgekommenen Gesang-B_chern befindlich, unter ihre Rubriquen zusammengebracht, auch die Noten aller alten und neuen Melodeyen beygef_get worden, und mit einem Vorbericht`

needed to be made as to which hymnal would be used for worship. The first great

Lutheran organizer, Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg (1711-87), who arrived in

Pennsylvania in 1742 and established the Lutheran Synod of Pennsylvania in 1748,

maintained contacts with the city of Halle. The fact that a shipment of *Halle* hymnals

arrived in 1773 suggests that he chose this to be the official Lutheran hymnal.[1]

       The *Halle* and *Marburger* hymnals. The *Halle* hymnal, compiled by the

Pietist hymnwriter, J. A. Freylinghausen (1670-1739) and first published in 1704,

contains melodies, along with figured bass for use with organ accompaniment.[2] There

never was an American edition of this hymnal. The *Marburger* hymnal, on the other hand,

came to be the unofficial hymnal not only of Pennsylvania Lutherans, but of all other

German Protestant sects. This hymnal never included notation. The 1757 American

edition, from the printshop of Christopher Saur, was identical to the European edition of

1716, with two exceptions: there were no Latin texts, and there was an *Anhang* of thirty-

four new hymns. The *Marburger* in this form underwent six subsequent reprintings,

including a pocket edition in 1799.

Pietists

       The only Pietist sectarians who influenced Franconia Mennonite culture in a

significant way were the German Baptist Brethren. A Brethren hymnal commonly used

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herausgegeben von Gotthilf August Francken, Halle, in Verlegung

des W_ysenhauses.

[1] Ibid., 144.

[2] See Dianne Marie McMullen, "The Geistreiches Gesangbuch of Johann Anastasius

Freylinghausen (1670-1739): a German Pietist Hymnal" (Ph.D. dissertation,

University of California, Los Angeles, 1987).

among the Mennonites was *Das Kleine Davidische Psalterspiel*.[1]   Although a North

American collection with no counterpart in Europe, the origins of this Brethren hymnal are

European. A larger *Davidische Psalterspiel* was published in Schaffhausen, Germany, in

1718, and used by many sectarian groups in Europe including the Brethren. This large

hymnal contains 1047 hymns. In 1744, the Germantown printer Christopher Saur agreed

to print a hymnal for the Brethren, selecting hymns from the *Davidische Psalterspiel*. He

also included previously unpublished hymns that were written by early Brethren settlers.

True to the origins of the Brethren, this hymnal is heavily pietistic.[2]

Based on the findings of this dissertation, the repertoires of other sects falling under

the category of Pietists, such as the Ephrata Cloister, the Moravians, and the

Schwenkfelders, played a relatively insignificant role in Mennonite culture. These

traditions will not, therefore, be discussed.[3]

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[1] *Das kleine Davidische Psalterspiel der kinder zions, von alten und neuen auserlesenen geistes-ges_ngen, allen wahren heilsbegierigen s_uglingen der weisheit, insonderheit aber denen gemeinden des Herrn, zum dienst und gebrauch mit fleiss zusammengetragen in gegenw_rtiger beliebiger form und ordnung. Nebst einem dreyfachen, darzu n_tzlichen und der materien halben n_thigen register.* Philadelphia: Christopher Saur, 1744.

[2] The last printing of the `Kleine Davidische Psalterspiel` was 1829, having gone through nine printings. (Seidensticker, *The First Century of German Printing in America, 1728-1830* [Philadelphia, 1873], 23.)

[3] There are only seven texts from Ephrata in the Notenb_chlein, and only eight of Moravian origin, six of these by M. Wei_e, of the Bohemian Brethren, who were forerunners of the Moravians. Mark Kroeger, Moravian scholar, states: "The music

The First Two American Mennonite Hymnals

It has been established thus far that the *Lobwasser, Marburger, Kleine Davidische Psalterspiel*, and to a small degree, the *Ausbund* hymnals were all in use in Franconia Mennonite communities during the second half of the eighteenth century. All are reflected in the repertoire of the Notenbüchlein, the earliest known example of which is dated 1780, as well as in the first two Pennsylvania Mennonite hymnals, published only one year apart by the Franconia community in 1803 and by Lancaster in 1804. The story of how the Pennsylvania Mennonite communities living in such close proximity arrived at the decision to publish two different hymnals reveals how two different singing traditions, that of the Franconians, and that of the Lancaster Mennonites, had evolved over a period of several generations.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Mennonite communities of North America agreed that it would be desirable to have a common hymnal. Tired of using numerous hymnals, especially at larger gatherings, leaders in the communities decided to proceed with the project. The process of producing a common hymnal proved more difficult than anticipated, however. A portion of a letter dated February 20, 1821, from Lancaster deacon Martin Müllinger to his relatives in the Rhenish Palatinate, tells the story well:

> And now I want to tell you how it went when the first book was to be printed. Since we had all sorts of hymnbooks, the old Swiss songbooks [the *Ausbund*] and the Reformed hymnbooks [the *Lobwasser*], and not enough of what we had, our brethren decided to have a hymnbook printed for ourselves.... After a time, two Skippack brethren came together with

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of the eighteenth and nineteenth-century American Moravians was not widely known beyond the limits of their towns [and] ... had little or no direct influence on the main stream of contemporary American sacred music." (*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Stanley Sadie, ed., Vol. 12 [London, 1980], 563.)

two of our leading bishops in my house to examine the hymns which had been collected. The Skippack brethren, since they have a large and strong church as well as a large district and are well-trained in singing, had brought together enough hymns for a complete hymnbook and had three-thousand subscriptions in advance. We also had many hymns from Virginia, from Jacob's Creek, and from our vicinity, which were to go into the book. So it was feared that the book would become too large. In addition our brethren wanted to include a number of psalms and notes. In short, the difference was so great that the Skippack brethren said that their hymns had been handed in by so many brethren and dared not be omitted, and so many had already subscribed, and there was a lengthy discussion.... And so the outcome was that they had as many printed as we. But that made no difference to us or them, for we love one another, and we visit them and they visit us every year. And still it is a pity that it had to be so. ... [1]

Müllinger claimed that the Lancaster people had "many hymns from Virginia, from Jacob's Creek, and from our vicinity," hymns apparently foreign to the Franconia communities. In addition, the Lancaster people wanted to include many of the old Swiss *Ausbund* songs. The Franconians, on the other hand, disagreed as is reflected both in the above quote as well as by the inclusion in their hymnal of relatively few *Ausbund* hymns, with a much larger proportion reflective of Pietism.

The Franconia hymnal, published late in 1803, was called:

Die kleine geistliche Harfe der Kinder Zions, oder auserlesene geistreiche Gesünge allen wahren heilsbegierigen Süuglingen der Weisheit, insonderheit aber allen Christlichen Gemeinden des Herrn zum Dienst und Gebrauch mit Fleiss zusammen getragen, und in gegenwürtiger Form und Ordnung gestellt, nebst einm dreyfachen Register. Erste Auflage. Auf Verordnung der Mennonisten Gemeinde, Germantaun: Gedruckt bey Michael Billmeyer, im Jahr 1803 (hereafter called the *Zionsharfe*).[2]

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[1] Harold Bender, "The Correspondence of Martin Melinger," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, V (Jan., 1931), 42-64.

[2] The first edition included forty psalms and 474 spiritual hymns. The hymns are divided according to forty-two rubrics and conclude with an Anhang. Subsequent reprintings are: 1811 and 1820 at Germantown, 1834 in Northhampton, Pa., 1848 in Doylestown, Pa., 1870 in Lancaster, and 1904 in Elkhart, Ind.

Hitherto unpublished correspondence between the Germantown printer Michael Billmeyer

and various brethren from Lancaster and Franconia reveals additional information.[1] It

appears that, once the Franconia hymnal was published in 1803, the Lancaster Mennonites

would have been willing to adopt it for themselves, had it not been for the concerns of the

"Vorpitters" (Vorpitt is likely a corruption of Fort Pitt which is now the Pittsburgh area of

Western Pennsylvania). A letter read before the meeting in Lancaster suggests how and

why their decision to publish their own collection of hymns was finally reached. Lancaster

deacon Martin Müllinger writes to Michael Billmeyer explaining the following:
> The reason for my not having written sooner after our conversation is that
> just after our meeting a letter from the Vorpitter congregations arrived and
> was read [to the hymnal committee] -- that they would like to have tunes
> with texts for each hymn. And so, the makeup of the hymnal was
> reconsidered, on the basis of the desires [of the Vorpitters]. Then the men
> who had taken on the project said, "Such a hymnal [i.e., the Franconian's]
> would not at all be what the Vorpitters want." Many others who were not
> otherwise part of the decision would have been in agreement with what
> already was in print. In this manner the matter remained unresolved.[2]

Deacon Müllinger, however, was still hoping that the communities could agree on using the

Franconia book. Müllinger continued in the letter:
> Then, a few days after the same meeting, I had a visitor from Vorpitt, the
> exact place where the idea for such a book had originated -- the visitor in
> fact being a member of the hymnal committee whom I personally know
> well. I told him about the course of events, how it appears there should be
> two hymnals. In short, I immediately presented him with my copy of the
> *[Zionsharfe]*, that he should examine it to see if they might want to adopt it -
> - stating that they could have their quota of books immediately. In short, I

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[1] Martin Ressler refers to this correspondence in "Ein Unpartheyisches Gesang-

Buch,"(*Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage*, II [Oct., 1979], 14). No

translation of the original text is provided, however.

[2] Letter from Martin M_llinger, dated Nov. 19, 1803, to Mr. Michael Billmeyer, Printer, Germantown. These letters are in the Robert Ulle collection in the Meeting Place Library, Harleysville, Pa., and are used here by permission. (Author's own translation.) The German text reads: "Die Ursach, da_ ich nach unserer abred nicht ehentr geschrieben, ist weil an unserer zusammenkunft eben ein brief von den Vorpiter gemeinten eingekommen und gel_ssen worden, da_ sie gerne noten h_tten, auf ein verst auf ein jetewei_. So ist da_ buch besehen und betrachtet worden, und aus der sach geretet worden, so sagten aber die mann die sich der sach angenommen haben, 'Es w_r da_ buch gar nicht wo die Vorpiter wolten.' Viel andere wo nicht an der sach weiters geschaft, w_ren mit dem getruckten einig, so blieb die sach liegen."

> sent along a letter with him, with the same content as that which I read to [the hymnal committee], and how we can have books from you.... I am now waiting daily for the news, whether or not they want the books.[1]

The Vorpitters apparently never replied. Nevertheless, the Lancaster group decided to move forward with the printing of their own book.

The Lancaster book was called:

> *Unpartheyisches Gesang-buch, enthaltend Geistreiche Lieder und Psalmen,*
>
> *zum Allgemeinen Gebrauch des Wahren Gottesdienstes. Auf Begehren*
>
> *gesammelt, Mit einem drey fachen Register.* Zum Erstenmal ans Licht
>
> gestellt. Lancaster: Gedruckt bey Johann Albrecht, 1804 (hereafter called
>
> *the Unpartheyisch.*) [2]

Of the two hymnals, the *Zionsharfe* was by far the more "unpartheyisch," or non-denominational, the Lancaster title notwithstanding. The committee in charge of the Lancaster hymnal, it seems, was more partial to a specifically Mennonite hymnody as evidenced by their inclusion of sixty-seven hymns from the older Swiss hymnal, the *Ausbund*; only three were included in the *Zionsharfe*.[3] The inclusion of so many *Ausbund*

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[1] Ibid. The German reads: "So aber etlich tag nach derselben zusammenkunft hatte ich ein besuch von Vorpitt eben von dem plats wo da_ buch seinen anfang nahm, und eben ein mithelfen zu dem buch, und auch ein rechter bekanter zu mir. Dem sagte wie es sich zugetragen, als ob es sich ansehen lies, als solten es zwey b_cher geben. Kurtz, ich hab ihm mein buch gleich verehret, und solte es besehen lassen, ob sie dass buch nicht wolten annehmen. Und wie sie sogleich ihre anzahl b_cher haben k_nten. Kurtz, ich hab ihm ein brief mit gegeben, der den n_mlichen inhalt hat als der den ich die gelessen, und wie wir die b_cher haben k_nnen von dir.... Jetzt warte ich t_glich auf ein nachricht, ob sie die b_cher wollen oder nicht."

[2] The Lancaster book includes sixty-two psalms, 390 hymns and three appendices containing additional hymns as well as devotional reading material. There have been thirty-three reprintings of the Unpartheisch. The latest publishing information reads: Verlag von den Amischen Gemeinden in Lancaster County, Pa., 1985 (Lancaster, Pa.: Lancaster Press). (Both the `Ausbund` and the `Unpartheisch` are available from Pathway Publishers in La Grange, Indiana.)

[3] Philip Stoltzfus, "Partheyisch or Unpartheyisch?: Theological Themes in the Hymns of Ein Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch," Senior Seminar paper, Goshen College, 1987, Appendix E.

hymns gives the *Unpartheyisch* a specifically Swiss-Mennonite stamp that the *Zionsharfe* does not have.

Hymn-singing in the Franconia Mennonite Communities

The relative eclecticism of Franconia hymnody described above is mirrored in the Notenbüchlein. Their widespread use strongly suggests that the art of hymn-singing was not only a valued subject of the school curriculum, but also an important form of cultural expression for the whole community. One major change the Notenbüchlein reflect has to do with the transmission of hymns. As I shall demonstrate below, in the Franconian communities, throughout much of the eighteenth century, transmission of hymn tunes was done orally, while hymn texts were always transmitted in written form through hymnals and broadsides. During the last part of the eighteenth century, however, there evolved an interest in the skill of reading music notation (see Chapter Six). Such strong interest in reading music, an interest that seems to have begun with the Notenbüchlein, is a clue to understanding the origin of the reputation of the Franconians as being good singers by the time the *Zionsharfe* (1803) was published.

If this is true, Mennonites learned to sing well, even in the absence of instrumental accompaniment in church meetings. While this contradicts Temperley's work on singing in

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The many extant eighteenth-century American exemplars of the *Ausbund* come mostly from the Lancaster area. There are only a few extant copies of the *Ausbund* from Mennonite homes in Franconia. The historical library for the Franconia area, The Meeting Place Library in Harleysville, Pa., for instance, has only one *Ausbund* that is clearly of Franconia Mennonite origin.

the English parish churches,[1] where he argues that the prohibition on instruments brought about the demise of good singing in those congregations, many Mennonites to this day are convinced of the opposite: that the introduction of instrumental accompaniment in formal worship can potentially destroy strong singing.[2]   **Role of musical instruments**.

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[1] See Chapter Four, "Commonwealth and Restoration (1644-1700)," in Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, Vol 1. (London, 1979).

[2] A Mennonite periodical, *Gospel Herald*, for example, published an article as recently as 1986 on the proper place of the organ.   In the article "The Pipe Organ's Second Wind" (*Gospel Herald*, Sept. 9, 1986 [Vol. 79, No. 36], 606-607), Glenn M. Lehman addresses the wish of many Mennonite congregations to retain their strong four- part *a capella* singing.   The use of the organ, some fear, will bring about the demise of this tradition.   Lehman also claims that the option of using musical instruments in the Mennonite church for worship services is only twenty-five years old.

Helen Martens, in *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Vol. V, says the following about musical instruments in the Mennonite church: "During the 20th c. the use of instruments has been resisted in the Mennonite Church (MC) because they were 'worldly' and because of fear that the tradition of four-part congregational singing would suffer....   A significant change that has taken place in the Mennonite Church, beginning in the 1960s, was the addition of pianos or organs or both; however, many congregations still prefer to sing without instruments and use the organ or piano only for preludes and postludes...." p. 826.

Instruments were not completely absent from Franconian culture, however. There is evidence that musical instruments were used in the home in Franconian communities, presumably as accompaniment to singing in the home.[1] In the early part of the nineteenth century, cabinet pipe organs were built by and for Mennonites. The Goschenhoppen Folk Museum in Greenville, Pennsylvania, has one of the four instruments built in 1830 by the Mennonite cabinet maker John Ziegler (1795-1852) for Heinrich Kolb.[2] Kolb was a songleader at the Upper Skippack Mennonite meeting, and played his cabinet organ in his home.[3] Zithers were another instrument played in the home. Several of these, once owned by Mennonite families, are in the Mercer Museum in Doylestown, Pennsylvania.[4]

It might be argued, then, that the use of instruments, however limited, encouraged musical literacy, which, in turn, reinforced strong singing. Musical instruments, however, did not enjoy as prominent a position among the Mennonites as they did in the Lutheran and Reformed churches. Rather, the a capella singing of hymns was the backbone of Mennonite music.

Community members participated in the myriad of gatherings where hymn-singing played a role: Sunday morning worship, weddings, funerals, frolics (young people's

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[1] The use of musical instruments in Franconia stands in contrast to Lancaster Conference which discouraged, if not prohibited the use of musical instruments even in the home.

[2] See Raymond J. Brunner, *"That Ingenious Business," Pennsylvania German Organ Builders* (Birdsboro, Pa.: The Pennsylvania German Society, 1990).

[3] Ruth, 227.

[4] For more on zithers, see Ralph Lee Smith's *The Story of the Dulcimer* (Crosby, Tenn.: Crying Creek Publishers, 1986).

gatherings),[1] home singings on Sunday afternoons, and singing in the non-denominational community schoolhouse.

The better singers in the community usually led the singing at these various occasions. Women often led in the home singings; men led in the more formal gatherings and held the title of *Vorsünger*. While little is known about specific women who were reputed to be good singers, one family story recounted in the Hunsberger genealogy hails Abraham Hunsberger's (1755-1816) daughters, Magdelena (1787-1864) and Hannah (1800-1878), as great singers.[2] Magdalena Hunsberger apparently knew a tune for every hymn in the *Zionsharfe*. Magdalena's sister, Hannah, was given the title of best singer in a school in Limerick township.[3]

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[1] Isaac Clarence Kulp uses the word "frolic" to describe young people's gatherings, as well as community work bees. The word also appears in one of the few English texts contained in the Notenb_chlein, to be discussed in Chapter Five, and so was presumably in the Pennsylvania English vocabulary in the early nineteenth century.

[2] George S. Hunsberger, *The Hunsbergers* (Germantown, N.Y. 1969), 603, 657.

[3] Ruth, 179. We have no record of Magdalena or Hannah's owning a Notenb_chlein. Magdalena married William Z. Gottschall (1784-1875), whose 1795 Notenb_chlein is in the collection at the Free Public Library in Philadelphia (uncatalogued). She was very likely schooled in the Notenb_chlein tradition as well.

Magdalena and Hannah were the daughters of Abraham Hunsberger, who is said to have sung his way out of prison in Philadelphia during the Revolutionary War. He was arrested on the charge of being a spy because he was selling goods in the Philadelphia market at a time when Philadelphia was controlled by the British. (Ruth, 149-50.)

The Vorsünger. The *Vorsünger* were the central figures in the formal musical life of the Franconia communities. Isaac Clarence Kulp reflected on the tradition as explained to him by his great Uncle Reinhart Gottschall (1880-1976), who was a *Vorsünger* in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries:

> The *Vorsünger* were like a self-propagating minor clergy. Unlike other posts in the Mennonite church, the *Vorsünger* were not ordained for their position, nor were they chosen by the congregation.[1] An interested young man would apprentice himself to an older *Vorsünger*. Through listening to him, accompanying him to singings where the *Vorsünger* would get

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When William Z. Gottschall, whose *Notenb_chlein* is in the Free Public Library collection, married Magdalena, daughter of Abraham and Catherine Tyson Hunsberger, the two family lines joined. Many of the Gottschalls in this line were known for their musical leadership. William Z. and Magdalena had a son, William H., who was a schoolmaster at Salford, who, in turn, had a son William K., a known song-leader at Salford. William K.'s son, Moses, married a Dunker woman, and joined the Dunkers. Moses was the father of Reinhard, whose nephew is Isaac Clarence Kulp. (Rev. N. B. Grubb, *A Genealogical History of the Gottschall Family Descendants of Rev. Jacob Gottschall, With the Complete Record of the Descendants of William Ziegler Gottschall*, [Gottschall Family Association, 1924], 17.)

[1] Ordination in the Mennonite Church at this time was done by lot. Candidates were to choose a book, usually a hymnal or Bible, which had slips of paper in them. The candidate who happened to have the slip with the quotation from Proverbs 16:33 on it ("The lot is cast into the lap; but the disposing thereof is of the Lord") was thus "ordained." The other slips of paper were blank. This practice is still used among conservative Mennonites where seminary training is not a part of their tradition. Other Mennonites draw on graduates of Mennonite seminaries where ordination, in some sense, is part of the training process. (See H. S. Bender, "Lot," *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Vol. III, 399-400, for more on the lot.)

together to compare and practice tunes, he would learn the art of leading the singing. After he felt confident enough to try leading by himself, an older *Vorsünger* would invite him to sit on the *Vorsüngerbank* [the song leaders' bench]. In the Mennonite meetinghouses in Franconia, it was the front bench of the elevated benches to the men's side of the *Predigerstuhl* [preachers' bench]. The *Vorsünger* remained seated to lead the singing. They would sit up straight and the voice of the one leading would carry out over the meetinghouse. The young apprentice would then be given the chance to lead one hymn, and if successful, he was informally received into the ranks of the *Vorsünger*.[1]

As early as c. 1790 there were two types of *Vorsünger*, one who learned the tunes through oral transmission, and another that learned music from notation. Some of the latter used actual *Notenbücher*, the larger manuscript tune books used by adults (as compared to the smaller Notenbüchlein intended for children). Others inserted slips of paper with tunes written on them directly into the hymnals of the text to be sung.[2]

Because the earliest surviving Mennonite Notenbücher are dated no earlier than the 1790s, one might assume that it was only during the latter part of the eighteenth century that the use of notation was beginning to take over the oral transmission of hymn tunes.

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[1] Isaac Clarence Kulp, interview, Nov. 30, 1989.

[2] Isaac Clarence Kulp owns a Notenbuch dated 17?? (likely 1790's) compiled by Jacob Gottschall. The library at the Meeting Place in Harleysville owns a Notenbuch by the Mennonite schoolmaster Henry Johnson, dated 1826. The same library has several examples of hymnals containing tiny slips of paper with tunes written on them.

The *Vorsünger* who used a Notenbuch also had a hymnal at hand from which he sang the many verses of each hymn.[1]

The Schoolhouse. Not all schools had a separate schoolhouse; some met in the meeting houses proper. In all cases except one, however, the school was sited on the meetinghouse property, and was therefore under the authority of the trustees of the congregation.[2]

Although the schools were non-denominational, the communities themselves were often predominately of one religious faith, though the schoolmasters were not necessarily

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[1] Sally Landis (b. 1865) remembered a *Vors_nger*, Elihu Clemmer, who put the *Zionsharfe* on one knee, and his *Notenbuch* on the other. (Retold by Kulp, interview Nov. 30, 1989.)

The form for hymn singing as practiced in Franconia was as follows: Following the announcement of the page number, the preacher would recite the hymn as poetry. Then he would line out the hymn. After each line, the *Vors_nger* would bring in the congregation in song. There was a saying among the Lutheran and Reformed people: "Die Menniste singe ihr Lieder drei mal" ("The Mennonites sing their hymns three times"). (Isaac Clarence Kulp interview, Nov. 30, 1989.) The usual explanation given for the practice of lining is that it allowed congregations without hymnals to sing hymns corporately. In nineteenth-century Mennonite communities, however, where almost everyone owned a hymnal, the practice seems to have taken on the characteristics of a liturgical tradition.

[2] An exception to this is the schoolhouse built by Jacob Gottschall on his farm. (Ruth, 189.)

of the same faith as the majority in the community. There are several instances of Lutheran schoolmasters teaching in schoolhouses of predominately Mennonite communities.[1]

The actual tuition and school instruction followed the model of the subscription schools of the late eighteenth century.[2] The members of the community would enter into an arrangement whereby each family pledged a certain sum. From these funds, the community would hire a schoolmaster.[3] Although little is known about most of the schoolmasters, extant information about three schoolmasters who taught in Mennonite communities provides some idea of the schoolhouse activities during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These schoolmasters are Christopher Dock, Johann Adam Eyer, and Andreas Kolb.

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[1] One important example of this is Johann Adam Eyer, a Lutheran schoolmaster who taught in several Mennonite schools during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Eyer is discussed further below. Other Lutheran schoolmasters who taught in Mennonite communities are Herman M. Ache (d. 1815), a resident of Lower Salford who taught in Mennonite communities from 1756 to 1770, and Durs Rudy, who taught at Skippack from 1804 to 1806. (Mary Jane Lederach Hershey, "Fraktur," *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Vol. V, 309.)

[2] In many of the colonies, subscription schools were on their way out by the end of the eighteenth century, but among Mennonites, they lasted into the second half of the nineteenth century. (Melvin Gingerich, "Elementary Education," *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Vol. II, 182.)

[3] For more on education in Pennsylvania, see James Pyle Wickersham's *A History of Education in Pennsylvania, Private and Public, Elementary and Higher. From the Time the Swedes settled on the Delaware to the Present Day* (Lancaster, Pa.: Inquirer Publishing, 1886).

Christopher Dock. Christopher Dock (d. 1773) was born in Germany and came to America c. 1714.[1] Based on evidence that Dock was already trained as a school teacher in Germany, it is unlikely that he came from a Mennonite background in Europe, since Mennonites were restricted there in their interactions with society at large.[2] His writings show him to be quite pietistic, but in a way not incompatible with the specific Mennonite point of view.

Whatever denomination Dock came from, he was soon found worshiping among Mennonites. He attended the Skippack Mennonite Church, married a Mennonite woman, and his children all remained active Mennonites. If, in fact, Dock had not been of Mennonite origin, his marriage to a Mennonite and his work in the Mennonite communities

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[1] The following biographical information is taken from the appendix of Gerald Studer's *Christopher Dock: Colonial Schoolmaster* (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1967), in which is included all the writings of Dock, translated by the late Elizabeth Horsch Bender. (For more on Bender, see *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Vol. V, 66-67.) Dock's writings used here are: "A Simple and Thoroughly Prepared School Management," and a catechism, both printed by Christopher Saur in his publication, *Geistliche Magazin*. The original *Geistliche Magazin* is found in the Mennonite Historical Library, Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana.

[2] Of his experience in the German school system of the time, Dock said: "I was already acquainted with schoolteaching in [North America] and knew that it is quite different from teaching in Germany, where the school stands on such pillars that it cannot be overthrown by the common man" (Studer, 271). This suggests that Dock taught in a formal school setting, where a professed Mennonite would not have been allowed to hold a post.

is evidence of the blurring of denominational lines during this period, especially in North America.

Except for ten years spent as a farmer, Dock devoted his entire life to teaching. He worked in Germantown, Skippack, and Salford, all predominately Mennonite communities.[1]

Dock's reputation was that of the saintly schoolmaster. His philosophy of education is summarized in his *Schul-Ordnung*, (*School Management*), an enlightened approach to school teaching, and the earliest known pedagogical publication of its kind in North America. Commissioned by the Germantown printer Christopher Saur in 1750, the *Schul-Ordnung* was not published until 1770.[2] Saur's reason for publishing the pedagogy reveals something about the average schoolmaster of the time period. He explains in the Publisher's Preface that he published the work

> [so that] other teachers also who are concerned to teach the children well but
> do not themselves have such rich teaching gifts, might find something in the
> *(School Management)* that they can teach better. And others who are
> indifferent whether they teach the children something or not, if they only get
> their money, would thereby be put to shame by such *(School Management)*
> when they see that the parents too know how a well-managed school should
> be run. Finally, this publication would report to the parents themselves
> how one dealt with those children whom one wanted to teach something
> good, because many parents in this country have to teach their children by

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[1] Ibid., 269.

[2] In the "Publisher's Preface," Saur explains: "He could not bring himself to have it printed, out of a certain modesty, because it might seem as if he wanted to erect a monument to himself and this would be detrimental to him" (Studer, 265).

necessity themselves (and many should be glad to do it rather than send

their children to such teachers whose lives are stained with wickedness).[1]

Dock's pedagogy addresses aspects of curriculae as well as discipline. Significant

for the purposes here are Dock's views on punishment and reward, and his use of hymns

as a teaching tool.

Dock advocates impartiality toward all children, whether rich or poor. While the

rod is not out of the question, he discourages its use. He promotes, instead, a system of

rewards for good work. He gives students a "certificate" for work completed.[2] This

"certificate" no doubt refers to pieces of illuminated text, given to students who excelled, an

art form known as *Fraktur (see definition in Introduction).* Dock used Fraktur in his

classroom, both as an aid to teaching the skills of writing as well as part of his system of

reward.

One of Dock's principal aims was the encouragement of good character. To

achieve this end, he drew from the teachings of the New Testament as well as from the

hymnal. Although he could not teach any one denominational catechism, since his classes

included children of various denominations, he nonetheless felt free to use devotional

material in his teaching:

> During the time that I have taught school here I have received in my schools
> children of various religious opinions and practices [denominations] so that
> I have not been able to instruct them in a uniform catechism. Nor have I
> been required to teach a catechism.... I have been given freedom in singing
> to teach hymns and psalms. And so I have sung hymns and psalms with
> them, because the Holy Spirit is the creator of both, namely, spiritual songs
> and psalms.

Both spiritual songs and psalms, in Dock's view, were inspired by the Holy Spirit.

The fact that he states this suggests that he was trying to counter the Calvinist view still

held by some that the psalms were the only legitimate sacred text, since they were found in

the Scriptures.

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[1] Studer, 264.

[2] Ibid, 273.

Dock goes on to describe what his overall goal was in his use of devotional material:

> In addition to this exercise I have sought to bring it about that they become very familiar with the New Testament by looking up and finding the chapters.... When I had opened this door to them, I sought to bring it about that they would amply gather the little flowers in this noble garden of Paradise, the Holy Scriptures, not only because of their beauty, but also because of their lovely fragrance. To this end, as much as I was able to be of help to them in my limited capacity, I have taught them which verses have a fragrance of life unto life if one used them in the manner in which they have been revealed, in accord with their power and effectiveness, also, on the other hand, which verses have an odor of death within them; so that they may have a knowledge of both qualities from the Holy Scriptures and might see [the truth for themselves]. . . . [Love] is also a fragrance of life unto life to him who follows it. But hate, envy, and enmity have an odor of death in them, and lead to death and destruction him who follows them. For they are opposite and contrary to love.[1]

The message Dock puts forth here, in his characteristic humble manner, is not rigidly doctrinal. Rather, elements of a warm, perhaps simple, Pietism surface, whereby having a right heart is seen as central to the life of the faithful, and not a right creed.

Familiarity with the New Testament seems to have been a primary goal for Dock. He describes various games he used to help his students learn the contents of the New Testament, his goal having been, to bring about an understanding of what he called "the fragrance of life." While the body of Dock's *Schul-Ordnung* does not include specific references to Bible verses, he added an appendix of questions and answers regarding the Bible.[2] Hymns, for Dock, served as a reinforcement of these teachings of Scripture:

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[1] Ibid., 302-03.

[2] For a summary of Dock's catechism, see Appendix A-2.

I remind them of the chapter which was read to them and present to them the teachings contained therein to my instruction and theirs. Because such doctrines are also found in other portions of the Holy Scriptures, these are looked up and read. Then a song containing this teaching is sung.[1]

A regular part of the schoolroom experience, then, was hymn singing, although not, apparently, the deciphering of notation. Hymn singing was incorporated into other activities, and was not, as it was to become later, a separate part of the curriculum. For Dock, the singing of hymns seems to have been a tool for teaching religious principles, and not an end in itself. One generation later, however, with the introduction of the Notenbüchlein, hymn singing took on the additional dimension of sight-singing, where melodies were separated from their text and learned, using solfege syllables and/or note names.[2]

Johann Adam Eyer. While Dock is the only known schoolmaster to leave behind such a detailed description of what actually happened in the schoolroom during the second half of the eighteenth century, one other schoolmaster of the late eighteenth century, the Lutheran Johann Adam Eyer, left behind documents which suggest that he, too, took his profession seriously. Extant are a roster of the students he taught in the predominately Mennonite schools of Birckenseh, Tiep Ronn and Hilltaun schools (Perkasie, Deep Run, Hilltown, respectively), as well as many examples of his Fraktur art, some of it signed.[3]

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[1] Ibid., 278.

[2] Many of the booklets begin with the solfege syllables or note names (see Chapter Three).

[3] Frederick S. Weiser has documented the life of Eyer in "I A E S D: The Story of Johann Adam Eyer (1755-1837), Schoolmaster and Fraktur Artist with a Translation of his Roster Book, 1779-1787", in *Ebbes fer Alle-Ebber Ebbes fer Dich. Something for Everyone-Something for You, Publications of the*

Johann Adam Eyer (1755-1787), born in Bedminster Township in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, began teaching in 1779 in Upper and Lower Hilltown, and two years later, in Deep Run.[1] Eyer used Fraktur extensively in his classrooms to encourage diligence among his students. The various types of Fraktur used include *Vorschriften* (writing examples), *Vorschrift-b*ü*chlein* (writing example booklets), single sheet rewards for merit, especially for good singing, and Notenbüchlein (music booklets). Eyer was the first known Pennsylvania Fraktur artist to make use of the booklets as a form of instruction.[2] The earliest extant Notenbüchlein are in fact attributed to Eyer by Fraktur experts Frederick Weiser and Mary Jane Hershey.[3]

Eyer was not only a good Fraktur artist, he seems to have been a trained musician pianist and organist. In his book collection was found C. F. Gellert's *Geistliche Oden und Lieder mit Melodien*, zweyter Theil (Hamburg, 1774).[4] All this leads one to suspect that Eyer is responsible for introducing the idea of the Notenbüchlein into the school

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Pennsylvania German Society, Vol. XIV (Breinigsville, Pa., 1980), 437-506.

[1] Upper Hilltown was the location of the Birkenseh school; the location of Lower Hilltown is not clear (Weiser, 439).

[2] Weiser, 449.

[3] Attributions of the Notenb_chlein are discussed in Chapter Three.

[4] This has survived in the Snyder County Historical Society. Inside is written, "This musically, spiritually rich book belongs to Johann Adam Eyer, schoolmaster in Birckenseh & Tieffronn, written 26 September. An. Dom. 1785," (translated in Weiser, "The Story of Johann Adam Eyer...," p. 460. The original German is found in a facsimile on p. 461 and reads, "Dieses musicalisch geistreiche buch geh_ret Johann Adam Eyer schuldiener in Birkenseh und Tieffronn, geschr.: den 26ste Sept. An. Dom. 1785").

curriculum. If it was he, where he got the idea is not known, but the seed he likely planted spread quickly to other schools in the Franconia area.[1]

Andreas Kolb. Yet another schoolmaster, whose Fraktur art in several Notenbüchlein has been identified by Hershey and Weiser, was Andreas Kolb (1749-1811). Kolb had been a student of Christopher Dock, and taught in both the Salford and Saucon schools.[2]

Details of Kolb's and Eyer's pedagogical methods for teaching music are not known. Based on evidence of one remaining Mennonite schoolhouse at Deep Run, however, it seems that schoolmasters taught sight-singing to the whole class by pointing to notes inscribed on the exposed ceiling joists of the schoolhouse.[3] The Notenbüchlein prepared by Kolb and other schoolmasters seem to have been prepared as rewards for the

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[1] Weiser mentions that the writing-example booklet was used in certain parts of Switzerland, possibly the origin of this practice (p. 449).

[2] Mary Jane Lederach Hershey, op. cit., 309.

[3] The original log cabin school house at Deep Run was torn down in 1842 and replaced that same year. The structure standing today was repaired during the late 1920s by the Historical Society of Bucks County (J. C. Wenger, *History of the Mennonites of the Franconia Conference* [Telford, Pa.: Franconia Mennonite Historical Society, 1937], 187). I visited the building and could still detect faint traces of music notation. The Mennonite Historians Society of Pennsylvania in Harleysville has a large black-and-white photo of the interior of the schoolhouse taken sometime in the 1970s on which the musical notation is quite clear, however.

more diligent students, a notion supported by the fact that four of the books include the word "fleissigem singschuler" ("[to a] diligent singing student") on the title page.[1]

Summary

The various elements that played a role in forming the Franconia Mennonite identity at the turn of the nineteenth century had their origins in the theological belief systems of Anabaptism and Pietism. The Anabaptist heritage was transmitted in Pennsylvania through translating and printing the *Martyrs Mirror*, and reprinting the *Güldene Aepfel in silbern Schalen* and the *Ausbund*. The hymnody of the Franconians, however, included very few Anabaptist hymns. Owing, in part, to the Dutch origins of the Franconia community, it seems that hymnody served not to retell the corporate story of the Anabaptists and their faith, but to express one's personal spiritual experience, an orientation much more in tune with pietism. While the hymnody proves to be eclectic, pietism surfaces over and over again throughout the contents of the *Zionsharfe* as well as in the repertoire of the Notenbüchlein.

Also established in these two chapters is that, by the end of the eighteenth century, a vigorous singing tradition in Franconia was in place, as evidenced in contemporary correspondence whereby the Lancaster brethren acknowledge the Franconians to be "well-trained in singing."   Further evidence of a love of music is embodied in the widespread use of the Notenbüchlein, beginning as early as 1780. Whether the practice of teaching the skills of music-making in the schools was the impetus behind the strong singing of Franconia Mennonites, or a reinforcement of an already strong tradition, cannot be known. What is known is that hymn-singing at the turn of the nineteenth century was not only a vital reinforcement of the pietistic world view, but also a source of diversion and pride.

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[1] The four books are dated 1791, 1800[a], 1809, 1810[a], respectively (see Appendix D for name of owner and place of origin).

The following chapters deal exclusively with the phenomenon of the Notenbüchlein, first, by looking at the characteristics that tie them together as a genre. This is followed by a study of the hymn repertoire, the hymns' theological themes, the tune repertoire, and the musicological issues that arise from a study of the notational practices.

CHAPTER THREE

The Notenbüchlein

This chapter focuses on the Notenbüchlein themselves: the characteristics which identify them as a genre, as well as the differences and irregularities among the corpus. Interpretation and more in-depth analysis of the texts and tunes is presented in later chapters.

The Notenbüchlein are all small manuscript songbooks in oblong format similar to that of eighteenth-century printed tunebooks, and include a title page decorated in Pennsylvania-German Fraktur.[1] Most comprise monophonic hymn tunes without text, the music written in what appears to be a mature adult hand. As discussed in the previous chapter, it appears that Notenbüchlein were usually prepared by a schoolmaster for particular students as a reward for "diligent" ("fleissig") singing. Beyond these general characteristics, the booklets vary considerably, making it difficult to group them into families of related Notenbüchlein according to physical characteristics and content. The work of Fraktur art expert Mary Jane Lederach Hershey serves as a starting point for identifying possible subgroups in the overall corpus of the sixty-eight books that are the subject of this dissertation. A general description of the physical characteristics of the Notenbüchlein follows, including size, number of leaves, number of tunes, and paper

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[1] See Introduction for definition of Fraktur. There are extant Notenb_chlein whose title pages have been torn out. Conversely, there are extant title pages that have been separated from the rest of the Notenb_chlein, none of which is included in this study. Although the scribes of some of the Notenb_chlein without title page might be identifiable based on hand, it would be difficult to know with certainty whether or not a given title page belonged to any one specific Notenb_chlein without title page.

used. This chapter concludes with an analysis of the Notenbüchlein grouped according to their contents. Throughout this and the following chapters, reference to specific Notenbüchlein is made by year, with superscript letters differentiating multiple Notenbüchlein for a given year.[1]

The Schoolmasters

According to Hershey, the scribes of only twenty-six of the sixty-eight Notenbüchlein in this study are identifiable.[2] Six are credited to Johann Adam Eyer: 1780, 1781, 1783[a,b], and 1787[a,b]. Johann Adam's brother Johann Friedrich Eyer compiled the 1791 Pikeland book. The 1800[a], 1809 and 1810[a] books, originating in the Vincent school, are by one or the other of the Eyer brothers, according to Hershey. Schoolmaster Andreas Kolb compiled the 1788, 1794, 1798, 1800[b], and 1803[b] books.[3] Schoolmaster Henry G. Johnson (1806-1879) compiled a Notenbuch in 1826; its hand and content are identical to an undated Notenbüchlein that belonged to Elizabeth Kolb. We can therefore assume that Johnson compiled this book for his student in or soon after 1826.

The style of eleven other books is that of two anonymous artists known respectively as the "Brown Leaf" artist and the "Swirl" artist. The artwork of the following books is attributed to the former: 1812[a,b], 1814[a,d], and 1815[a,c]. Those of the latter are

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[1] Appendix D opens with a chronological list of the 68 Notenb_chlein, which includes name of owner and school attended. Appendix B-1 provides a diplomatic copy of all verbal contents of the Notenb_chlein.

[2] The following information was compiled by Mary Jane Lederach Hershey, who is preparing a book on the Fraktur of the Franconia area. This information is used with her permission.

[3] For more on Kolb, see Hershey, "Andreas Kolb, (1749-1811): Mennonite Schoolmaster and Fraktur Artist," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 61 (1987), 120-201.

dated 1829, 1830[a,b,c], and 1833. As seen below, however, the fact that two Notenbüchlein share the same hand is not predictive of physical characteristics or content.

Owners

Very little can be said with certainty about the owners, because many of the names were very common in Mennonite circles. Based on birth and death dates added in pencil to the William Gottschall Notenbüchlein (1795), this was the Notenbüchlein of William Z. Gottschall (1784-1875) who was chosen as deacon in 1818 of "Gottschall's" congregation (today the Eden Mennonite Church, Schwenksville, Pa.). Gottschall would have been eleven years old when he received his Notenbüchlein.[1]

As for the other Notenbüchlein, one can only speculate as to ownership, based on the birth dates. A Heinrich Honsperger (1768-1854), ordained minister at Perkasie in 1807, who later became bishop, was possibly the owner of the 1780 Notenbüchlein.[2] A Jacob Hunsicker (1770-1856), minister at Perkasie, might have been the owner of the 1783 booklet.[3] Johannes Groü (1814-1903), ordained at Deep Run in 1852, is possibly the owner of the 1822 Notenbüchlein from the Deep Run school. He married a Catharine Wismer, who might have been the owner of the 1828 Notenbüchlein from the same school.[4] Finally, Abraham Geissinger's book, dated 1810, stands apart from the rest with its 683 tunes, all written in the same hand. If the owner of this book was Abraham Geissinger (1789-1871), minister of the Springfield, Pa., congregation from 1844 to 1871,

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[1] J. C. Wenger, *History of the Mennonites of the Franconia Conference* (Telford, Pa.: Franconia Mennonite Historical Society, 1937), 266.

[2] Ibid., 270.

[3] Ibid., 271.

[4] Ibid., 267.

it seems likely that Geissinger himself compiled this book in his early twenties.[1] The fact that Geissinger's signature appears twice in the Notenbüchlein is further evidence that the owner and compiler of this book is the same person, unlike the other Notenbüchlein, which were typically copied by an adult for a child. The minister Geissinger married a Barbara Meyer, possibly the owner of the 1817 booklet, also from Springfield.[2]

Physical Characteristics

The aim of the following discussion is to describe in detail the physical characteristics of the collection of sixty-eight Notenbüchlein used in this study. Although there proves to be no correlation between dimension, number of leaves, and number of tunes, the boundaries of what defines the Notenbüchlein can nonetheless be established in the description that follows. Tables for the following discussion can be found in Appendix A-1.

Size. With two exceptions, the sixty-eight Notenbüchlein measure between 9.5-11 x 15.5-21 cm. Fifty-eight of them fall between 9.5-10 x 15.5-17 cm. Eight are slightly larger. The 1817[a] and [1826] books stand apart in size, the former measuring only 9 x 12 cm, and the latter 13 x 24 cm. As for number of leaves, there are two categories. Thirty-nine of the Notenbüchlein are relatively small, comprising between eight and twenty-six leaves sewn together into a cardboard cover. Twenty-eight contain 40 to 104 leaves and are constructed with multiple gatherings held together by a leather spine. Thirteen of these have between forty and seventy-six leaves and fifteen, between 80 and 104. The one remaining book, 1817[a], has only four leaves.

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[1] Ibid., 264.

[2] Ibid.

Number of Tunes. The number of tunes contained in the booklets ranges from 5 to 683. The 1814^e book of forty-three pages has only five tunes.[1] Nine books contain between seventeen and twenty-seven tunes; ten contain between thirty-six and seventy; twenty-four contain between seventy and ninety-nine; nineteen contain between 100 and 177; and five contain between 230 and 323 tunes. Remaining is the 1810^b book of ninety-two leaves which stands apart from the rest with 683 tunes.

The total number of tunes covered in this study is 6,945. This number divided by sixty-eight suggests an average of 102 tunes per Notenbüchlein. However, this number is not representative for two reasons. Firstly, the 1814^5 and 1810^b books, which contain five and 683 tunes respectively, fall outside the norm to such an extent as to warrant exclusion from a count to determine an average. Without them the average is ninety-five.[2] Secondly, fifteen of the Notenbüchlein in this study contain two or more hands.[3] With the exception of 1800^b and 1820^c, the contents are clearly grouped in large, integral sections

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[1] Based on the tune numbering, however, which jumps from number 4 to 15, it is clear that pages are missing.

[2] The total number of tunes without these two books is 6,257.

[3] Twelve books change hands mid-way, and three books include three different hands. This leaves fifty-three that have the same hand throughout.

two hands: 1791, 1800^b, 1803^a, 1803^d, 1814^a, 1815^{a,b} 1816, 1817^a, 1818^b, 1827

three hands: 1820^c, 1828^{a,b}, 1830^c

The 1800^b book has one hand on the recto sides, and a different one on the verso sides. 1820^c has two different hands interspersed throughout without apparent pattern. The remaining examples change half-way through, or toward the end. (See Appendix B-1 for details.)

of tunes. The entire tune count in these books, therefore, does not reflect the original

number included when the Notenbüchlein was first compiled. If one counts only the group

of tunes copied in the first hand, excluding those in the second and third hands the number

of tunes is 5,623, which, divided by sixty-six, brings the average to eighty-five, an

average reflected in the chart below.[1]

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[1] This number includes neither the 1810^b nor the 1814^e books with their
683 and five tunes (respectively). The 1800^b and 1820^c
Notenb_chlein stand apart in that the two and three hands,
respectively, are interspersed rather than in two or three
sequential sections. The recurrence of the original hand suggests
that they were copied at roughly the same time, unlike books where
new sections of tunes suggest a later date. These two books have
therefore been counted as integral.

Figure 3.1.   Number of Tunes in the Notenbüchlein. (The short
               horizontal lines refer to the stopping point of the first hand.

Fifty-three of the sixty-eight books, then, are integral. Tune-books with an
alphabetical organization clearly support this claim. These include the 1780, 1781, 1795,
1803^a, 1807, 1810^b, and 1821^b booklets.[1] The fifteen books with two or more hands

[1] The 1803^a book is alphabetical through tune sixty-eight. Tunes
sixty-nine through eighty-four are in a different hand.

cannot be described as commonplace, however, where one or more individuals collected and copied tunes over an extended period of time into a single manuscript book. Rather, it seems that even here, the intention of the compilers seemed to be integral, but the manuscript nature allowed for subsequent sections of tunes to be added, either for the same owner, but by a different scribe or, perhaps, for a subsequent owner. The Notenbüchlein are therefore treated as integral, although dating tunes in any section except the first with any certainty is clearly impossible, a fact acknowledged in any discussion of text or tune in subsequent chapters.

Locales. Figure 3.2 is a map showing only the communities from which the Notenbüchlein used for this study originated. A more detailed map of the area on the same scale is found in Appendix A-3.

Figure 3.2.   Map of Schools Represented in the Notenbüchlein


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ü      Lehigh County                              ü
ü            üSaucon üSpringfield              ü
ü       üUpper Milford                         ü
ü             üSalem                      ü
ü           üSwamp                          ü
ü                        üPlumstead      ü
ü                      üDeep Run          ü
ü               üPerkasie                  ü
ü                                      ü
ü               üRockhill     Bucks County     ü
ü            üFranconia  üHilltown             ü
ü                       üNew Britain       ü
ü           üSalford                     ü
ü      Montgomery County                        ü
ü           üSkippack                     ü
ü                                     ü
ü               üWorcester               ü
ü    üVincent                            ü
ü       Chester County            (Philadelphia) ü
ü  üPikeland                       ü      ü

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According to Mennonite historian J. C. Wenger, the earliest Mennonite communities to settle in the area shown in Figure 3.2 were Skippack (1725)[1] and Franconia (1730). The nearby communities of Rockhill and Salford were established in 1737 and 1738 respectively. Daughter communities developed to the north in Swamp (1735), Milford and Saucon (sometime between 1734 and 1738), and Springfield (1773); to the east in Bucks County, Deep Run (1746), Perkasie (1753); and to the south, Worcester (sometime between 1739 and 1771) and Vincent (1765). New Britain (now Doylestown) and Plumstead were daughter communities of the Deep Run congregation, the former begun in 1774, the latter, according to Wenger, in 1806. Wenger's date for Plumstead is in conflict with the 1803 Notenbüchlein whose title page gives Plumstead as the school.[2]

Information is scarce concerning the Mennonite communities at Pikeland, Hilltown, and Salem. The Charlestown Mennonite congregation located near Pikeland was in existence as early as 1789.[3] The name Hilltown may refer to Perkasie, which is in Hilltown township.[4] As for Salem, the only information I have found is that a Salem Mennonite church joined what became the General Conference Mennonite Church following the schism of 1847.[5]

The older communities of Montgomery County seem to be far less represented than those of Bucks County. Indeed, based on the sixty-eight Notenbüchlein studied, the two

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[1] Op. cit., 21. John Ruth suggests there was a meetinghouse as early as 1721 in Skippack (*Maintaining the Right Fellowship* [Scottdale, Pa., Herald Press, 1984], 101).

[2] Op cit., 200.

[3] Ibid., 209.

[4] Ibid., 178.

[5] Ibid., 371. See Chapter Eight for more on this schism.

schools that form the heart of the Notenbüchlein tradition are Perkasie and Deep Run. Twenty-eight of the books come out of these two schools, both of which produced Notenbüchlein from c. 1780 to 1828. Skippack, on the other hand, produced none in the early years, and only one later, ostensibly dating from 1826.[1] From the Franconia school are two early books, both dated 1784. There is no evidence of Notenbüchlein from this school after 1784, however.

Other schools that produced Notenbüchlein covered in this study in or before 1800 include: Swamp (1), Pikeland (1), Springfield (4), Upper Saucon (3), and Vincent (3). Seven books from Plumstead, Salford, Worcester, and Rockhill, were produced between the years 1802 and 1815. Together, New Britain, Hilltown, Milford, Skippack, and Salem produced twelve books between the years 1817 and 1830. The seven remaining books covered in this study include no school name on the title page.

If the Notenbüchlein covered in this study are representative, the practice of creating such books began in the Perkasie and Deep Run schools, spread to Franconia, and from there fanned out to the north and south-west. The last schools to adopt the tradition were to the south-east and northwest, i.e., Hilltown, New Britain, and Upper Milford.

As for correlations between size, number of leaves, number of tunes, and place of origin, we note that, of the fifty-eight books that measure between 9.5-10 and 15.5-17 cm, twenty-two contain eight and twenty-six leaves and 70 and 140 tunes. Ten of these are from the Perkasie and Deep Run schools; twelve are from schools that, based on the contents of the Notenbüchlein, suggest relatedness (see below for discussion of concordances). The remaining forty-six books do not fall into any pattern. Yet another approach to finding relationships among the books is to compare content. This is done

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[1] The date is ascribed to the undated document based on the fact that, in 1826, schoolmaster Henry Johnson compiled a Notenbuch, the hand and contents of which are identical to Kolb's book from tune one to thirty-nine.

below following a description of two additional physical characteristics: the title page and the paper.

       Title page. Each of the books studied has a Pennsylvania-German Fraktur title page that includes the owner's name, the year it was compiled, and, in most cases, the name of the school the child attended. Some of the title pages are decorated with proverbs, and most have such typical Fraktur figures as robins, angels, tulips or sunflowers, and abstract designs.[1] The name of the Fraktur artist and compiler is in none of the books, except the 1791 book from the Pikeland school, in which the initials JFE appear at the bottom of the title page. Hershey has identified this as the initials of schoolmaster Johann Friederich Eyer, the brother of Johann Adam Eyer, who was discussed in the previous chapter.[2]

       The pictorial characteristics of the title pages are not dealt with in this dissertation; such a study is left for scholars of folk art. The written contents of the title page, however, are relevant to this discussion and are examined below.

       Many of the title pages include short proverbs, some related to music, most of which reflect the pietist outlook of the times. I have identified the proverb when possible. Below are all of them as found on the title pages.

> 1780: Lerne wie du kannst allein, singerbuch und tempel seün. Wer etwas kan, den hült man werth; den ungeschickten, niemand geehrt. ("Learn by yourself, as you can, to be as a singing book and temple. Whoever can do something is held in high esteem; whoever is incompetent is honored by no one").

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[1] See Don Yoder, "Fraktur in Mennonite Culture," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 68 (July 1974), 305-42, for discussion of the origin of symbols commonly found in Pennsylvania Mennonite Fraktur.

[2] Hershey includes this piece of Fraktur in her forthcoming book on Franconia Mennonite Fraktur and asserts that, based on other writing samples, this is indeed the hand of Johann Friedrich Eyer (Interview, Nov. 30, 1989).

1781: Wer etwas kan, den hült man werth, den ungeschickten niemand geehrt. (See above for translation.)

1783[a]: Sing, büt, und geh auf Gottes wegen, gericht das deine nur getreu. ("Sing, pray, and follow God's path; set your course that yours will be true." This is the very last phrase of the Lutheran hymn, "Wer nur den lieben Gott lüsst walten.")

1800[b]: Fleuch die sünde, lieb die tugend. ("Flee from sin, love virtue.")

1803[d], 1807, 1814[a]: Lerne wie du kanst allein, singerbuch und tempel seyn. Wie ein blümlein bald vergehet, so ist unser leben. Sehet! (See above for translation of the first proverb. Translation of second proverb: "Just as a small flower soon wilts: so, also, is our life. Take note!")

1803[c]: Singet und spielet dem Herrn in euren hertzen. Lerne wie du kanst allein, singerbuch und tempel seyn. ("Sing and play to the Lord in your hearts." From Ephesians 5:19. See above for translation of second proverb.)

1805[a], 1815[c]: Wie ein blümlein bald vergehet, so ist unser leben. Sehet! (See above for translation.)

1815[a], 1820[b], 1821[a,b]: Lerne wie du kanst allein, singerbuch und tempel seyn. (See above for translation.)

1815[b]: Gloria für dir, gesungen mit menschen und engel zungen. ("Glory to you, sung with the tongues, both human and angelic.")

1781, 1815[d]: Hür, büchlein, was ich dier will sagen: Wenn dich jemand will wegtragen, so sprich, "Laü mich lieg in guter ruh. Ich [g']hür dem armen geistlieger, zu. Gebrauche es zur guten Lehr." Und Gott, dier gehürt die Ehr. ("Listen, little book, what I want to tell you: if someone wants to take you away, say thus: 'Do not disturb me. I belong to a poor cleric. Use it [and learn of] good teaching.' And, God, to you belongs the honor." (The 1781 book includes only the first sentence.)

1817[c]: Gebrauge es zur guten lehr und Gott zur ehr. (This is the third sentence of the preceding quote: "Use it for good teaching, and to praise God.")

The prevalent themes in these proverbs include self-improvement and competence (Lerne wie du kannst allein..., Wer etwas kan...), and the transience of life (Wie ein Blümlein...). A noteworthy proverb is Ephesians 5:19, "Singet und spielet dem Herrn in euren hertzen," a verse quoted by those Anabaptists opposed to singing aloud. The use of the verse in the context of a songbook seems to condone audible singing. A less common

theme found on title pages is that of sin and fear of God's judgment. And finally, the

books belonging to Anna Geissinger of Saucon school (1815) and Catharina Hunsicker of

Perkasie (1781) include a quote that suggests that the Notenbüchlein were valued as

precious objects, as well as teachers and protectors.[1]

Below is a facsimile of a typical title page that includes the characteristics described

above.[2] The artwork is attributed to the so-called Brown Leaf artist, created in 1815 for

Sara Oberholzer of the Deep Run school.

The text of the facsimile reads:

Wie ein blümlein bald	Just as a small flower soon
vergehet, so ist unser leben sehet.	wilts: so, also, is our life. Take note!
Dieses	This
harmonische melodeyen büchlein	harmonious melody booklet
gehüret	belongs to
Sara Oberholzerin	Sara Oberholzer
sing schüler in der Tieffronner	singing student in the Deep Run
schule geschrieben d. 5ten	school, written the 5th of
februarius im jahr	February in the year
Anno 1815	Anno 1815
Lerne wie du kanst allein,	Learn by yourself, as you can,
singer buch und temple seyn	to be a singing book, and temple.

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[1] Jacob Dirstein's 1812 book has inserted in its front cover, a printed copy, in English,

of Christ's Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5-7), a biblical passage central to

Anabaptist-Mennonite theology.   Given the overall absence of English in the

Notenb_chlein, it can be assumed that Dirstein himself did not affix this to the cover,

but that it was added later in the century.   Its inclusion is nonetheless significant as

it reflects the essence of Anabaptist and not Pietist theology.   (See Chapter One,

footnote 3, for discussion of the Sermon on the Mount.)

[2] Reproductions of the Fraktur covers of the Notenb_chlein held in the Free Library

in Philadelphia are in printed in *The Pennsylvania German Fraktur of the*

Free Library of Philadelphia: an Illustrated Catalogue, compiled

by Frederick S. Weiser & Howell J. Heaney. 2 vols. (Breinigsville,

Pa.: The Pennsylvania German Society, 1976).

Figure 3.3.   Typical Title Page: Sarah Oberholzer's Notenbüchlein (in
               the Mennonite Historians of Eastern Pennsylvania collection,
               actual size).

Paper

The paper used for the booklets appears to have been imported until c. 1800, at which time paper of local production came to be used. It was not until 1775, in the aftermath of the Stamp Act which imposed a tax on imported goods, that paper began to be widely produced in the colonies.[1] It appears, however, that imported paper continued to be used in Eastern Pennsylvania for a quarter of a century following the stamp act.

Beginning in 1800, one finds paper made in the wove mold, a technology that replaced wires and chains in the late 1780s. The result was a paper with no chain marks. By 1820, this type of paper mold had almost completely replaced the laid molds, which, in turn, were slowly being superseded by machines. It was not until the mid-1830s, however, that machine-made paper became common.[2] Both wove and machine-made paper were used in the Notenbüchlein.

Watermarks. Five different partial watermarks and nine different names and initials were found in the sixty-eight Notenbüchlein examined. Two of the watermarks

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[1] Thomas L. Gravell and George Miller, *A Catalogue of American Watermarks, 1690–1835* (New York & London: Garland Publishing Inc. 1979), Introduction.

Paper was produced in Pennsylvania already at the turn of the eighteenth century. The first paper mill constructed in Pennsylvania was the Rittenhouse mill, built in 1690 and operated by the Mennonites William and Nicholas Rittenhouse. For more on the Rittenhouse mill, see James Green, *The Rittenhouse Mill and the Beginnings of Papermaking in America* (Philadelphia: The Library Company of Philadelphia and Friends of Historic Rittenhouse Town, 1990).

[2] Gravell and Miller, Introduction.

appear to be of European origin, and two of American origin. The fifth is too small a

fragment to identify. Below are the tracings of watermarks and countermarks presented in

chronological order with comment regarding their origins where possible.

1784[a]: partial watermark: unidentified

1787[b]: "K[?]M" with two portions of a watermark.
This watermark is impossible to identify
with certainty.

1791: "GUN"?

1795: "PB"?

1798: "RILEY"?

1800[a]: "PP"?

1803[d]:   "JH&Zoonennig" with a partial watermark:
This is a watermark from Holland from
Jacob Honig an Zonen (sons). This
family remained in the paper-making
business until the mid-nineteenth
century.[1]

1803[b]:   partial watermark: The fragment is too small
to identify.

1805[a]: "PB:" PB refers to Peter Bechtel who operated two paper mills in
Germantown by 1800. Bechtel ordered a mold from Nathan Sellers in 1797
and, again, in 1798. The second order included the countermark "PB."[2]

1805[b]: "JH&Zoone" with the same partial watermark as 1803[d].

1810[a]: "AB"

1814[a]: "LB" or "BB" or "LP"

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[1] Thomas Gravell and George Miller, *A Catalogue of Foreign Watermarks Found on Paper Used in America, 1700-1835* (New York & London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1983), 230.
[2] Gravell and Miller, *American Watermarks...*, 159.

1814^c: "PB"

1815^a: "mies" in cursive script. Thomas Amies and his sons produced paper at a mill known as Dove Mill, located on Mill creek in Lower Merion township, Montgomery County, Pa. The mill was begun in 1798, and operated by that family for the next fifty years. One watermark is "Amies" written in cursive.[1]

1815^d: "CH:" These initials are possibly those of Conrad Herbst, who operated a paper mill in partnership with Adam Rahn in Maidencreek township, Berks county, Pennsylvania. He purchased a watermarked mold from Nathan Sellers in 1794, 1802, and 1809.[2]

1820^b: "MATTHEUS:" As noted above, John Matthews ordered a mold from Nathan Sellers in 1807 with four "Matthews" and four Brittanias. The mill was sold by his son Thomas in 1859.[3]

1820^c: "D[??]H" with a three-leaf clover watermark. A three-leaf clover watermark was used by Hans Jacob Hagey's mill located on Trout Run in Whitemarsh township, Montgomery county, Pa. Two sons Daniel and William took over the mill; the sons died in 1810 and 1834, respectively.[4]

Beginning in 1812 wove paper became much more common, although laid paper was still used occasionally.[5] One Notenbüchlein of interest in this regard is one hitherto thought to be Susanna Hackmann's 1799 booklet. The title page is a loose sheet of the older laid paper with the characteristic chain marks. The actual gathering of eight folios (sixteen pages) of the Notenbüchlein, however, is on the later wove paper, leading one to conclude that the title page does not belong to the rest of the book. Rather, it seems likely that the title page was torn away from its 1799 Notenbüchlein, and later placed with an unidentified Notenbüchlein. Based on the type of paper used, as well as the notational

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[1] Ibid., 157-58.   This is the only example of wove paper with a watermark.

[2] Ibid., 182.

[3] Ibid., 192.

[4] Ibid., 180.

[5] The following booklets dated after 1812 use paper with chain marks: 1814^{d,e}, 1815^d, 1817^b, 1818^b, 1820^{b,c}.

style which includes shape-notes, the unidentified Notenbüchlein appears to be of a much later date.[1]

The three Notenbüchlein dated 1830 appear to use machine-made paper. Faint lines, presumably to guide in handwriting assignments, are present.

General description of the contents.

Texts. Chapters Four and Five are devoted to a discussion of the textual contents of the Notenbüchlein. Comments of a general nature belong here, however. Most of the tunes are identified only by means of textual incipit above the tune, with no text underlay. There are exceptions in which the scribe wrote one or more verses of a hymn in various other positions including under the melody or on the facing or following verso side in stanza form.

Five books (1780, 1781, 1784[a,b], and 1788) refer the user to the *Marburger* for the text to be sung, suggesting the latter was the immediate source. The title page of 1780, for example, reads as follows: "Hermonisches [sic] melodeüen büchlein über die bekannteste lieder im *Marburger gesang-buch*...." ("Harmonic melody booklet of the best-known songs in the *Marburger Songbook*.") The 1783[a] book credits the *Lobwasser* Psalms, not on the title page, but on the page following, where it says, "Der erste theil enthült die leichtesten Lobwasserisch Psalmen." ("The first part contains the easiest Lobwasser Psalms.")

Tune settings. Chapters Six and Seven are devoted to the musical contents. Below, however, are general comments intended to provide the reader with an overview.

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[1] This booklet is in the Free Public Library collection in Philadelphia. Since this dissertation deals with only with dated Notenb_chlein, this booklet, which does not represent the date 1799, is not included in the study.

Most of the Notenbüchlein contain only monophonic tune settings. There are enough exceptions to this, however, to suggest that two styles of singing were taught in the schools, namely monophony and a style in two-, three-, and four-part harmony. Harmony appears as early as 1783, but was notated on one staff only, as seems to have been the practice in the early years. The melody notes were set down in whole note values, and the harmony lines in black notes (see examples 6.25-26 in Chapter Six).[1] This style of notating harmony occurs in 1783[a], 1787[a], 1788, 1803[c,d], and 1810[b].

Harmonized settings where each line is given its own staff are found in 1805[b], 1808, 1812[b], 1816, 1817[b], 1817[c], 1820[a] and [1826].[2] The 1805[b] book is the only one to include numerous four-part settings.[3] The 1808 book includes only harmonized settings, two of which are in four parts. The 1812[b], 1816, 1817[b,c], 1820[a] and [1826] books begin with a section of three-part harmonized settings followed by a section of monophonic settings. Three of these (1812[b], 1816, and 1817[c]) refer to their booklets as "Neue musichalische...." The word "neue" likely refers to the section of harmonized settings. If so, such settings represent a new element in the Franconia singing tradition: part-singing.

Introduction to the rudiments. Many of the booklets copied between 1780 and 1818 begin with a simple chart to introduce what are often referred to as "Semitonien"[4]

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[1] This was a common way to notate two voices on one staff as early as the fifteenth century.

[2] The 1803[d] book also includes harmony in this style. However, the fact that such tunes are toward the back in a different hand means these do not represent the year 1803.

[3] There is one, four-part setting in the 1808 book. Otherwise, the settings in this book are all three-part.

[4] Another term used is "scala."

and "Interfallen." The former refers, in fact, to the diatonic notes of the major scale. The latter demonstrates the intervals beginning with the octave and proceeding to the unison, followed by a demonstration of thirds and fifths.

Some books use the German alphabet system while others use the solfege system. Those introducing the note-names using the German alphabet system are: 1780, 1781, 1791, 1800[a], 1809, and 1810[a,b]. The schools represented here are Perkasie, Pikeland, and Vincent, schools in which the Lutheran Eyers taught. Those using the solfege syllable names are: 1783[b], 1794, 1795, 1800[b], 1803, 1807, 1815[b,d], and 1818[b]. The 1784[a,b], 1788, and 1798 books use solfege syllables in the ascending scale, and the alphabet system in the descending scale. The 1787[b] book includes the scale and intervals on the cover page's Fraktur design. The 1804, 1817[a], 1818[a] books introduce only the scale using solfege syllables and nothing about the intervals.

The books using solfege syllables seem not to be related to each other as are those using the German system. This suggests that solfege syllables were more commonly taught, a pedagogical method that made the adoption of the shape-note method very easy.

Sara Nonemacher's book of 1815[b], and Enos Staud's book of 1823[b] have the shapes for fa sol la mi, the former at the very end of the book, the latter at the beginning.[1] These and many of the other books include shape-notes, but have no diagram explaining them.

An explanation of the symbols for flats and sharps is found in 1780, 1781, 1783[b], and 1795. With the exception of 1795, these are all evidently by Johann Adam Eyer. The instruction in the 1780 books reads:

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[1] Although 1815 is early in the history of shape notes, these occur in a different hand at the very end of the book and therefore are not coeval with the date on the title page.

"Wann ein ü vor einer note stehet, so bedeutet es einen halben thon

niederer. Wann aber ein ü stehet, bedeuts einen halben thon hüher."

("When a ü is before a note, it means a half tone lower. But when there is a

ü, this means a half tone higher.")

The introductions in the other books just cited are substantially the same. Presumably, the

schoolmaster explained the rest of the rudiments of music in the classroom.[1]

Part of the introductory material in fifteen booklets preceding the year 1818 consists

of "Probation" (practice), or "Proportion" as seen in example 3.4. The two tunes used for

this purpose are "Jesulein, bleibe mein brüderlein" ("Little Jesus, remain my little

brother"), and "Ach, mein hertzliebes Jesulein" ("O, my beloved little Jesus"). These

usually are included as a pair and are found in books that use the German alphabet system,

as well as in those using the solfege system. Below is a facsimile of the first page of

notation of Maria Büchtel's 1788 book which contains the above-mentioned characteristics.

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[1] These sparse instructions stand in contrast to the numerous pages of instruction
found in the printed singing-school books of the nineteenth century.

Example 3.1. Facsimile of first page of Maria Büchtel's 1788 book (Schwenkfelder Library, Pottstown, Pa.)

Both tunes are in a soprano c clef, as evidenced by the placement of the sharps or

flats as key signatures. The text for the two bottom tunes reads:
Jesulein, bleibe mein brüderlein, ich bin dein, nimm doch dein küchlein ein, Jesulein.
Ach, mein herzliebes Jesulein, mach dir ein rein sanfft bettelein, zu ruhn in meines üen schrei[n ...]

The last phrase of text in "Ach, mein herzliebes Jesulein" is missing. In other

Notenbüchlein that include this text, the last phrase is "das ich nimmer vergesse dein." See

Example 6.16 for a transcription of "Jesulein, bleibe mein." According to the 1783[b] book,

the purpose of "Ach, mein hertzliebes Jesulein" was to give each of the four voice ranges

(tenor, alto, soprano, and bass) one phrase. (The four phrases are labeled tenor, altus,

discant, baso" respectively.) A discussion of notation, including the likely performance of

rhythmic values, is found in Chapter Six below.

After 1817, introductory material no longer appears. One possible explanation for

this is that the years following 1817 represent a fossilization of the tradition. Symptomatic

of this fossilization is the fact that, with the exception of two Notenbüchlein (1820[a] and

[1826]), harmonized settings disappear altogether. Instead, there is a return to the core

monophonic repertoire, a familiar repertoire for which notation would have served to

remind the singer rather than instruct.

More difficult to explain is that shape-notes begin to appear regularly after 1817,

but without written discussion of how the system works. One possible explanation for this

absence is that the schoolmaster taught the shapes in the classroom making such

information unnecessary in written form.   Rhythmic values, for the most part, are

absent from the introductory page of rudiments. One of the two exceptions is Abraham

Geissinger's book dated 1810[b], which has a section demonstrating rhythmic relationships.

The rhythmic values are labeled as follows: "Eine ganze note, halbe, 4tels, 8tels, 16tels,

32tels." His is one of few books in which are notated complex rhythmic relationships

where such note values are needed. The other is Enos Staud's book of 1823[b], which has a

rhythm chart in a different hand on the page preceding the title page, suggesting that it was added at a later date. The chart includes "ganze," "halbe," "fürtel," and "achtel," each given in the four shape-note shapes.

To summarize the above characteristics, it is helpful to divide the fifty-year span of Notenbüchlein production into three periods. The first period is 1780 to 1802 and is characterized by monophonic tunes, tunes in parallel harmonies, and a brief introduction to the rudiments without mention of rhythmic values. The next period runs from 1803 to 1817. Although the monophonic style characteristic of the first period continues, compilers during the middle period sought to expand the core repertoire to include new tunes as well as three-part harmonized settings. These books are dated 1803[d], 1805[b], 1807, 1808, 1810[b], 1812[b], 1816, 1817[b,c], and [1826]. The third period, 1818 to 1835 (the 1820[a] and [1826] books excepted), is characterized by a return to the monophonic core repertoire. A new element, shape notes, is incorporated, but used, however, to notate the old German chorales.

Possible Origins and Dissemination of the Notenbüchlein

Specific origins of the Notenbüchlein. It has already been noted that the earliest extant Notenbüchlein are by Johann Adam Eyer who was teaching in the Perkasie school during the early 1780s. Beginning in 1784, the first Notenbüchlein, written by an unknown Fraktur artist and schoolmaster appeared in Montgomery County. There is no way of knowing whether the 1784 tune books of Elisabeth Schwarz and Elisabeth Hege were the first to come from this area or whether there were indeed earlier books from Franconia. Did an anonymous Mennonite schoolmaster introduce an idea that Johann Adam Eyer adopted, or was it the other way around? Based on the information we have, one can argue that the Lutheran Eyer, a trained musician and schoolmaster working in Mennonite communities, brought the skills of sight-reading into the curriculum in a

significant way and perhaps planted the seed for the Notenbüchlein, which then spread rapidly to other nearby Mennonite communities.

Assuming the attributions of Hershey and Weiser are correct, and that Eyer indeed compiled many of the earliest Notenbüchlein, one would expect to find a similarity of content among these earliest books. This is not the case, however. The 1780 Notenbüchlein, which, based on Eyer's extant school roster, is the only Notenbüchlein positively identified as being by Eyer, indicates on the title page that the tunes are "die bekanntesten lieder im Marburger gesang-buch" ("the best-known songs from the Marburg hymnal").[1] The 1781 book attributed to Eyer has the same hand and, generally, the same ordering of the hymns as the 1780 book. A Notenbüchlein dating from three years later, also attributed to Eyer, differs considerably, however. This one features tunes from the *Lobwasser Gesangbuch*: first the Psalms, and then spiritual hymns. While the contents of 1780 and 1783[a] overlap, the ordering throughout is completely different. Furthermore, while the format is very similar, the handwriting is not the same. The 1783[b] and 1787[a,b] books are also attributed to Eyer. The 1783[b] hand is quite clearly the same as the 1783[a] hand; the 1787[a,b] hands are different from all mentioned thus far. Below are handwriting samples demonstrating the differences in handwritings found in the 1780, 1783[a], and 1787[a] books.   The commonly found incipit "Ach, Gott, erhür mein seufzen" is used to demonstrate the hands.

Figure 3.4.   Hands in 1780, 1783[a], and 1787[a]

1780

1783[a]

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[1] See footnote 46 in Chapter Two for bibliographical information on Eyer's roster.

1787^a

The capital A in "Ach" is slightly different from one copy to the next. A different pen might account for the differences between the first two. The third, however, appears to be a different hand entirely. Perhaps the Fraktur title page was created by Eyer and filled in by someone else, or the compiler copied Eyer's Fraktur style.

The title pages and written contents of the 1812[a], 1814[a,b,c,d], and 1815[a,c] books, attributed to the Brown Leaf artist, have identical hands, as do those attributed to the Swirl artist, 1830[a,b,c], and 1833. Below is a sample of their respective hands.

Figure 3.5.   Sample of hands of Brown Leaf artist (1812[a] and 1815[a])
                   and Swirl artist (1830[a,b]).

1812^a

1815^a

1830^a

1830^b

Even with the capital letter "G" differing in the first pair, and the letter "A" in the second, these two pairs are quite clearly the same hand. Again, content is not necessarily shared,

however, as can be seen below in the study of books related through content. While the 1812[a], 1814[b,c,d], and 1815[c] books share tune ordering, the 1814[a] and 1815[a] do not. All of the books attributable to the Swirl artist share content as well.

Books related through contents. Physical characteristics aside, one final element reflecting possible relatedness is content. While a thematic discussion of textual contents belongs in Chapter Five, an analysis of the ordering of the text incipits, as indicative of a possible stemma, belongs in this chapter. A family of books whose handwritings often differ widely share content in a way that suggests that a common source was circulated among several of the communities.

The earliest Notenbüchlein in a series of books related through their content is Maria Fretz's book of 1787, prepared at the Deep Run school. The first fourteen hymns of Fretz's Notenbüchlein appear in eighteen subsequent booklets, accounting for close to a third of the books studied. Fretz's book, however, is not the source book, because the others have tunes and versions not in Fretz's. Chronologically, the next two books, both dated 1803, are close to being identical, having 138 tunes in common (the first fourteen of which are also the same as in Fretz's). Below is a table and stemma showing possible relationships in this large subset, a stemma that groups the books according to content that distinguishes one group from the others. The last group of five books includes too few tunes to place it accurately in the chart.

Table 3.1.   Notenbüchlein related through content

1787[a] -- Maria Fretzin, Deep Run: 14 tunes

1803[d] -- Jacob Oberholzer, Deep Run
1803[c] -- Elisabeth Oberholzer, Plumstead
1805[a] -- Jacob Meyer, Deep Run
1821[a] -- David Augene, Hilltown
1822 -- Johannes Groü, Deep Run
1828[a] -- Levi Meüer, Deep Run[1]

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[1] This book has two sections and two hands. The second section begins the tune-numbering over, and this latter section has the order of tunes in question here. In effect, the 1828[a] book is two books in one.

1812^a -- Anna Ladtermanin, Deep Run
1815^c -- Sarah Oberholzerin, Deep Run

1829 -- Sophia Groüin, Hilltown
1830^a -- Johannes Brackter, Hilltown
1830^b -- Johannes Schittinger, Hilltown[1]

1814^b -- Anna Oberholtzerin, Deep Run
1814^c -- Elisabeth Oberholzerin, Deep Run

1820^b -- Daniel Schelly, Lower Milford
1823^a -- Jacob Kratz, Hilltown
1823^c -- Angenes Meüerin, Plumstead
1825 -- Johannes Hoch, Deep Run
1833 -- Chatarina Fulmerin, New Britain

This list suggests that the Bucks County schools at Deep Run, Plumstead, Hilltown, Lower Milford, and New Britain related closely with one another. Except for Lower Milford, these schools were relatively close geographically (see figure 3.2 above). The above list breaks down further into several subgroups from which one can postulate an archetype. Below is an attempt at a stemma.[2]

The 1803^{c,d} books seem to be the first in a long line of copies of the source book, although these, too, are possibly contaminated in the sense that they contain tunes from other sources. Except for three tunes found in 1803^d and not in any of the other books in the above list, and the inclusion of "Befehl du deine wege" in 1803^c as tune 102, 1803^c and 1803^d share the first 138 tunes, at which point 1803^c ends.[3]

These two books point to an ordering of the repertoire likely contained in the source. One can account for the four extra tunes in two ways. Either these tunes were not

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[1] The 1830^{a,b} books are close to identical. The 1830^c has pages missing at the beginning of the book. The extant pages begin with number 41, paralleling the numbering in the other books dated the same year. It seems likely that the missing pages were identical to those extant in the other two books.

[2] See Appendix A-2 for a chart of the same.

[3] All of these 138 tunes are common to the larger repertoire as well.

in the original source and were added only in these tune books, or they were also in the original source but excluded from subsequent books, possibly because of their obscurity. The latter seems the more likely, as three of these tunes are relatively obscure, based on frequency of inclusion in the larger repertoire. "Befehl du deine wege," added in the 1803^c, occurs in no other book in this subset, and only eight times in the larger repertoire. Two of the three tunes included in 1803^d are also found relatively infrequently. These are "Prezepthor bin ich genannt" (five times) and "Ach, hür das süsse lallen" (four times). "Mensch, sag an, was ist dein leben" is found in over half the entire corpus of booklets, suggesting it was a relatively popular text. The reason for its exclusion in this position in subsequent books is not clear. The following discussion uses the booklets dated 1803^{c,d}, minus the four tunes discussed above, as the point of reference.

The 1805^a book is the same as 1803^{c,d} until tune 112, except for the exclusion of "Ander melod. Sag, was hilf alle welt." The 1821^a has the same order as 1803^c until tune eighty, at which point the order changes completely. 1822 and 1828^a books also have the same order as 1803^c.[1] The first stops at tune seventy-six; the second changes both hand and ordering at tune sixty-seven.

The 1812^a and 1815^c books are both the same as 1803^{c,d} until number sixty-eight, which, according to the pattern, should be "Wann wir im hüchsten nüthen seün." This tune is missing in both books. "Zweiter chor" is called "Ander melod." in 1812, and "Zweüter Chor, Erstanden" in 1815^c. Both are the same until tune eighty, at which point 1812^a ends. 1815^c continues differently from 1803^{c,d}, as well as from any of the others.

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[1] The book dated 1828^a has two sections with different hands. The first section has no tune numbering. The second section begins its tune numbering with "1." It is only the second section that shares the order in question.

The 1829 book has three tunes out of order as compared to 1803[d]: numbers seventeen, eighteen and nineteen are in reverse order. With this exception, 1829 and 1830[a,b] are very similar. All three have no "Ander melod." for "Zeuch mich," "Sag was hilfft," and "Zweiter chor" or "Ander melod." for "Erstanden ist der heilig Christ." Again, it could be that these alternate tunes were not familiar to the schoolmaster and were therefore omitted. Beyond these exceptions, the 1829 has the same repertoire as 1803[c,d] through tune ninety-six. 1830[a,b], in addition to not having the alternate tunes, have two different tunes for numbers eighty-three and eighty-four, but are otherwise the same as 1803[c,d] until tune ninety-five, after which they are completely different.

The 1814[b] book is missing the very first tune, but is otherwise in the same order as 1803[c,d], except for twenty-five through twenty-eight where the tunes are in a different order for this book, as well as 1814[c]. The latter begins with the same tune as all the others, however. The order for both books dated 1814 is the same until tune sixty, at which point the tunes are completely different from any of the others, as well as from each other.

There remains a short list of books in this line of descent which have relatively few tunes, making it difficult to tell how they fit into the stemma. The 1820[b] book has only twenty tunes, the first sixteen of which are like 1803[c,d]. The 1823[a] book adds two tunes, but is otherwise the same through its final tune, which is number thirty-two. 1823[c] includes one additional tune and excludes two tunes. The balance of its thirty-six tunes are the same as in 1803[c,d]. 1825 and 1833 have only twenty-four and twenty-eight tunes respectively, all of which are in the same order as 1803[c,d].

The above discussion of related books suggests the following stemma. The data suggests contamination in which there were, in addition to the original source, a number of smaller books in circulation.

Table 3.2.   Stemma of related books

Lost Original

$$1820^b$$
$$1823^c$$
$$1825$$
$$1833$$

$$1787^a$$

$$1823^a$$

$$1803^{c,d} \qquad 1829 \quad 1830^{a,b}$$

$$1812^a \quad 1805^a$$
$$1815^c \qquad 1821^a$$
$$1822$$
$$1828^a$$

$$1814^b \quad 1814^c$$

For the most part, the musical details of key and accidentals are transmitted consistently in this group. As would be predicted, the 1787^a book is the exception to this generalization. "Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend," for example, is in Mixolydian mode in Fretz's book, but in G major in all the others in this subset.

The most significant variation among the books belonging to this subset has to do with notational style. The 1828^a book uses shape-notes while retaining the same tunes in the same order as found already in 1787ff. While one would expect to find a whole new repertoire of tunes accompanying a new style of notation, one finds, instead, the old style of notation converted into the newer style, while retaining not only the same repertoire, but the same ordering. Considerable facility in both round-note and shape-note notation would have been necessary to perform the conversion.

In terms of shared content, other pairs of books are related in varying degrees. For example, 1780 and 1781 are closely related. The two 1784 books coming from the Franconia school are also similar. The 1814^a Notenbüchlein of Anna Honsperger, coming from the Perkasie School, resembles closely Johannes Honsperger's, dated 1815^a, of the same school. Eleanor Ruth's 1800^a book is related to Isaac Grubb's book of 1810^a, both

from the Vincent school. The books dated 1818[a,b], and 1819[a,b], appear to be related, based on the opening hymns. Three of these are from Deep Run, the other from Perkasie. Beyond these possible relationships, the books are related only in terms of format and general repertoire, but they do not seem to have a specific link with one another.

Summary

The contents of the extant Notenbüchlein as a corpus have many characteristics in common that define them as a genre. The average Notenbüchlein is an oblong booklet measuring 9.5x15.5 cm. Generally, there are thin Notenbüchlein that have between nine and twenty-six pages, and thicker ones that have between 80 and 100 pages. All studied here have a title page that includes the name of the scholar, the date of compilation, and usually, the school attended.

For the most part the generalization can be made that these are integral books whose purpose it was to record the tunes only, be they monophonic or harmonized. The monophonic and harmonized versions generally are not mixed with one another. Rather, if there is a section of harmonized settings, these come at the beginning, followed by a section of monophonic tune settings. Notenbüchlein in this format appear during the middle period, after which there is a return to monophonic settings only, in both round notes and shape notes.

The common thread that ties all the books together, however, is a shared core repertoire of tunes, regardless of order, that appears throughout the decades during which the booklets were created. The overall repertoire and a thematic analysis of the frequently encountered and fully-texted repertoires are the subjects of the next two chapters.

CHAPTER FOUR

Origins of the Notenbüchlein Hymn Texts

As noted in the Introduction, most of the Notenbüchlein contain only the incipits of the texts. Indeed, of the 795 different hymn titles, only eighty, or ten percent, are texted with one or more verses in one or more of the Notenbüchlein.[1] The incipits almost always give enough information to point to only one possible text.[2] Of the total number of texts, roughly eighty-four percent have been traced; the remainder have been found nowhere except in the Notenbüchlein.[3]

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[1] This style of tune-book with incipits only is reminiscent of the early New England tune books such as Thomas Walter's *The Grounds and Rules of Musick* (1721), and John Tufts' *An Introduction to the Art of Singing Psalm-Tunes* (1721), both a record of tunes without textual underlay.

[2] The few ambiguous cases are noted in Appendix C.

[3] Hymnals and tune-books consulted are listed in the bibliography.   Reference works consulted include: Albert Knapp, *Evangelischer Liederschatz* (Stuttgart, 1891); Ludwig Erk and Franz B_hme, *Deutscher Liederhort* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und H_rtel, 1925); Philipp Wackernagel, *Das Deutsche Kirchenlied* (Leipzig, 1864-77 reprinting, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1964); Johannes Zahn, *Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder* (G_tersloh, 1893, reprint in Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1963); Gottfried Lebrecht Richter, *Allgemeines biographisches Lexikon alter und neuer geistlicher Liederdichter* (Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der

Following is a list of the origins of the tunes by denomination and, in the case of Lutheran and Reformed texts, by time period. The question marks indicate that some hymns included in that category are found only in that denomination's hymnal(s) known to have been used in Pennsylvania.[1] The fact that none of these source hymnals, the *Marburger*, the *Lobwasser*, and the *Davidischer Psalterspiel*, includes any information on authorship renders those hymns undatable.

Table 4.1.	Denominational (and temporal) Origins of Hymn Texts
		Found in the sixty-eight Notenbüchlein

Luth. to 1570	55
Luth. 1570-1618	34
Luth. 1618-48	42
Luth. 1648-75	80
Luth. 1675-1700	59
Luth. 1700-57	102
Luth. 1767-1820	5
Luth. ??	20
Ref. 16th cen	11
Ref. 17th cen	48
Ref. 18th cen	8
Ref. ??	22
Psalms	58
Catholic	25
David. Psalt. (1718)	1
Brethren	6
Brethren?	13
Ephrata	7
Pietist	1
Mennonite	5
Mennonite?	14
Pennsylvania	10
Anabaptist	8
Moravian	9
Schwenkfelder	1
Texts in English or of English language origin	6
German Folk Song	2
Authors, but no information on them	15

Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1970); Jorg Erb, *Dichter und S_nger des Kirchenliedes* (Baden: Verl., der Sankt-Johannis-Dr_ckerei, Schweickhardt, 1970); L. Ellinwood and E. Lockwood, eds, *Dictionary of American Hymnology* (New York, 1983).

[1] For a discussion of hymnals used in Pennsylvania, see Chapter Two.

Total Identified:	667
Of Unknown origin:	128
Total:	795

Overview of the Notenbüchlein Text Repertoire by Denomination and Cultural Origin

Protestant State Church: Lutheran and Reformed.[1] Hymns of Lutheran and Reformed origin constitute roughly eighty percent of the traceable hymns (sixty-eight percent of the whole Notenbüchlein repertoire). This comes as no surprise, given the popularity of the *Marburger* and *Lobwasser* hymnals in Pennsylvania in the late eighteenth

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[1] In Germany, the Lutheran and Reformed traditions were both state-church traditions, the boundaries of which became blurred over time, especially in adjacent territories. For example, the territory of the Kurpfalz went back and forth between Lutheranism and Calvinism: under Ott Heinrich (1556-1559) it was Lutheran, but under Frederick III (1559-76) it became Calvinist. Under Ludwig VI (1576-1583) the region returned to Lutheranism.

Since the 1670s, Calvinist territories referred to themselves as "Reformed," while the territories following the lead of Luther called themselves "Lutherans." Before this, the word "reformed" generally referred to all groups that had broken with Rome.

While the northern parts of Germany have remained orthodox Lutheran, some areas of the south-west have developed a state-church with elements of both Lutheran and Reformed traditions. The Lutheran and Reformed are therefore addressed together in this chapter. (See the standard source for German church history: Karl Heussi, *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte* [T_bingen: Verlag von J.C.B. Mohr, [12th edition] 1960], 349-350.)

century. 554 of the hymns, including fifty-eight Lobwasser translations of the Geneva psalms, come from these two mainstream Protestant traditions.

With the Pennsylvania Germans' tendency toward Pietism, one would expect to find a predominance of hymns coming from the time between the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) and the end of the seventeenth century. While the era of classical Pietism was a force only during the last quarter of the century, characteristics of Pietism, such as the use of the pronoun "I" in hymn texts, and a portrayal of the world as full of sorrow, accompanied by a longing for death as a release from the toil and hardship of life on earth, appeared as early as 1648. The 229 hymns originating in the period of the Thirty Years' War to the end of the seventeenth century constitute close to half (forty-two percent) of the Lutheran and Reformed repertoire represented in the Notenbüchlein, and much of it is pietist in manner.[1]

A detailed discussion of authorship is not one of the goals of this overview. For information regarding authorship, the reader is referred to Appendix C below in which the known authors of all the traceable texts are given, organized according to denomination and historical era. A knowledge of the handful of authors whose hymns have an unusually high degree of representation in the Notenbüchlein, however, is pertinent to an understanding of the repertoire as a whole. Lutheran and Reformed hymn-writers having ten or more hymns in the Notenbüchlein repertoire are listed below.

Table 4.2.   Authors with more than Ten Hymns in the Notenbüchlein

Name	Number of texts
Joachim Neander (1650-1680):	40
Benjamin Schmolck (1672-1737):	21
Paul Gerhardt (1607-1667):	17
Martin Luther (1483-1546):	15
Gottfried Arnold (1666-1714):	11
Christian Richter (1676-1711):	11

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[1] This number includes seventeenth-century Reformed hymns, most of which express the pietist view of the world as well.

Assuming the Notenbüchlein repertoire generally reflects the tastes of the Franconia Mennonite communities (and not just the schoolhouse), these well-known Protestant hymnists were apparently popular in Franconia Mennonite circles. Luther alone represents the early era of Protestant hymnody. Gerhardt, whose writing was affected by the horrors of the Thirty Years' War, paves the way for Pietism, which emerges later in the century and which is reflected in the hymns of Reformed hymn-writer Neander and Lutherans Richter and Arnold.[1] The hymns of Benjamin Schmolck do not reflect the pietism of his contemporaries. Rather, this Lutheran author is characterized by hymnologist Julian as having "a warm and living practical Christianity, but churchly in tone and not pietistic."[2]

Catholic. While the hymns of Catholic origin number twenty-five, eighteen of these are by Johannes Scheffler (1624-1677), a seventeenth-century convert to Catholicism; therefore these eighteen do not represent the older Catholic tradition. Scheffler came to Catholicism through exposure to medieval Catholic mysticism. This element, reflected in his hymns, must have resonated with the Franconia Mennonites, given the relatively high number of Notenbüchlein hymns by this Catholic author (see Appendix C).

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[1] Of these, Gottfried Arnold, a Lutheran Pietist with radical tendencies, seems to have had considerable influence in Mennonite circles. Arnold's writings, including his controversial historiographic critique of church history in which he challenged the marriage of state and church, the *Unpartheiische Kirchen- und Ketzer Historie* (Frankfurt-a.-M., 1699-1700), were known to Mennonites in Europe as well as in North America, and seem to have resonated with their beliefs. See Robert Friedmann, "Arnold, Gottfried," *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Vol. I, 164.

[2] Julian, Vol. 2, 1011.

Brethren. As many as twenty-six of the hymns are possibly of Brethren origin; seven of these are from Ephrata publications. The earliest known source for thirteen of these is the *Kleine Davidische Psalterspiel*, published in Germantown in 1744.[1] The remainder have been traced to their authors, though questions of attribution remain (see Appendix C).

Mennonite. Of the nineteen texts possibly by Mennonite writers, only four are provable. Christopher Dock published three hymns in Christopher Saur's *Geistliche Magazin*.[2] Christian Herr (1780-1853), a Lancaster Mennonite leader of the early nineteenth century, wrote the hymn, "Nun gute nacht, ihr liebsten."[3] Abraham Meyer (1794-1877) published a small collection of hymns in which he appears to have written a number of the texts.[4] Two of these are included in the Notenbüchlein and are possibly by him: "Morgens früh, wann ich aufsteh," (1803[d],[5] 1807, 1810[b]) and "Ach, Gott, wo soll ich fliehen" (1834). One hymn, "Im grabe ist ruh, im grabe ist ruh," found in the 1803[d]

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[1] Two of these thirteen were actually added to a 1777 edition of the *Kleine Davidische Psalterspiel*.

[2] See Chapter Two.

[3] For more on Herr, see J. F. Funk, *A Biographical Sketch of Bishop Christian Herr* (Elkhart, Ind.: Mennonite Publishing Co., 1887).

[4] *Geistliche Lieder Gedichtet und zum Theil gesammelt von Abraham A. Meyer an der Deep Run in Bedminster Taunschip, Bucks County, Pa.* (Gestorben am 16ten Mai, 1877, in seinem 83sten Lebensjahre). Herausgegeben von den Hinterbliebenen. Milford Square, Pa: J. G. Stauffer, 1877.

[5] This text is number 192 and is in a different hand from the first half of the book. The date 1803 therefore does not reflect when this text was copied.

book, but copied some time after this date,[1] appears only in Samuel Musselman's non-denominational printed singing-school book (1844).[2] As for the rest, the only clue to their origin is that they are found only in the *Zionsharfe* (1803) or the *Unpartheyisch* (1804), both Mennonite hymnals.

Anabaptist. Noticeable is the small number of hymns of Anabaptist origin. Only slightly over one percent of the identified hymns derive from sixteenth-century Anabaptism. Six of the seven are by Swiss-Anabaptist authors; the seventh is Dutch Anabaptist. All except the text "Warum betrübst du dich" by Jürg Wagner are found in the *Ausbund*. As explained earlier, the *Ausbund*, the major source of Anabaptist hymnody, found little use in the Franconia communities.

Moravian. Nine of the hymns appear to be of Moravian origin. One is by J. Horn, and six are by Michael Weiüe, both Bohemian Brethren. One additional text is by an anonymous Bohemian Brother. The last is from the Moravian *Gesangbuch* from Herrnhut (1735).[3]

While the Moravians are famous for their relatively sophisicated musical tradition, their hymn repertoire exhibits an extreme pietism that appears not to have been absorbed by Mennonite communities, for very little of the Moravian hymnody is present in the repertoire of the Notenbüchlein.

Pietist and Schwenkfelder. Many of the texts are from the Pietist period within the Lutheran tradition. One text, however, is by a Radical Pietist, C. L. Edeling.

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[1] "Im grabe ist ruh" is found in the second half of the book in a hand different from the first part. The date of copying, therefore, cannot be known.

[2] Musselman is a Mennonite name found in Franconia as well as in Lancaster. Information about this specific Samuel Musselman is not available at this time.

[3] *Das Gesangbuch der Gemeine in Herrnhut*, 1735.

One hymn, authored by Adam Reissner, stems from the Schwenkfelders, a forerunner group to Radical Pietism.

Pennsylvania. Ten of the texts are found only in Pennsylvania sources, eight of these in nineteenth-century non-denominational, printed singing-school books published in Pennsylvania for the German-speaking population. There is a possibility that these were written by Pennsylvania-Germans. The books include Joseph Doll's *Leichte Unterricht* (1815) and T. R. Weber's *Pennsylvanische Choral Harmonie* (1859). In addition to these, one text, "Wilt du bald ein dokter [sic] werden," was printed in Pennsylvania in the form of an undated broadside.[1] Finally, Christopher Saur's *Geistliches Magazin* printed a text by one U. Grumbacher in 1764.

The Psalms. The psalms in themselves constitute a unit (Reformed in tradition) worthy of analysis. Based on the incipits, the fifty-eight psalms appear to be Lobwasser translations. The fact that, with two exceptions, the tune settings are all Geneva psalm tunes reinforces this assumption.

Forty-eight of these are named according to the first phrase and psalm number; ten are named only by the psalm number. Most of the Notenbüchlein identify the psalms by incipit, and include them among the other hymns. Three booklets name the psalms according to psalm number alone: 1783[a], 1787[b], and 1792. Only 1783[a] has a separate section devoted to the psalms in which the compiler claims to have included the "easiest" Lobwasser psalms ("die leichtesten Lobwasserisch psalmen"). The term "easy" might

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[1] The broadside is in the Free Public Library Rare Book broadside collection (no accession number).

simply refer to the degree of familiarity.[1] Altogether, these fifty-eight psalms fall into the

following categories:[2]

17	Psalms of praise: Ps. 8, 9, 19, 29, 33, 65, 81, 89, 95, 96, 99, 100, 103, 116, 118, 134, 146
14	Laments: Ps. 5, 12, 25, 31, 35, 39, 41, 43, 58, 77, 79, 85, 86, 141
7	Wisdom Psalms: Ps. 1, 24, 37, 78, 91, 101, 128
5	Penitential Psalms: Ps. 6, 38, 51, 130, 143
4	Psalms of Thanksgiving: Ps. 30, 34, 92, 138
4	Trust in Yahweh: Ps. 23, 62, 121, 121 v. 3
2	Reflective Psalms: Ps. 36, 139
1	National Narrative: Ps. 105
3	Prophetic Psalms: Ps. 47, 50, 93
1	Messianic Psalm: Ps. 110

Several familiar psalms are noticeably absent. These include the famous lament of

Psalm 22; Psalm 46, which inspired Luther's battle hymn, "Ein feste Burg"; and two of the

seven penitential psalms, 38 and 102.

Three psalms chosen for the *Zionsharfe*, but not included in the Notenbüchlein are

Psalm 84, a hymn in praise of God and Jerusalem; Psalm 97, one of the enthronement

psalms; and Psalm 133, speaking to the theme of brotherly fellowship. Conversely, many

of the psalms included in the Notenbüchlein were not chosen for the *Zionsharfe*. While the

reason in many cases was probably simply space-related, several of the psalms that

propound violence in the face of enemies might have been omitted owing to their

incompatibility with the ethic of nonviolence. These include psalms 9, 33, 58, and 79.

In terms of frequency of inclusion, only Psalm 81 is found in over half the

Notenbüchlein. On the one hand this is surprising, given the popularity of the Lobwasser

hymnal during the eighteenth century, both in Europe and in North America. It seems

likely, however, that the *Lobwasser* was used not for its psalm translations, but for the

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[1] The twenty-two Psalms considered to be "easy" are: 1; 5:64; 6; 8; 9; 19; 23; 24:62, 95, 111; 25; 29; 30:76, 139; 31:71; 33:67; 34; 37; 38; 39; 42; 43; 47; 100; 101.

[2] These categories are based on standard interpretations of the psalms as found in most commentaries.

second section of the hymnal, which included Reformed hymn texts by such authors as Joachim Neander. The general scarcity of psalms reinforces the thesis that Franconia communities were adopting, to a certain extent, the Lutheran approach to hymnody, which did not feature metrical translations of psalms.

Hymns of English-language origin. Hymns in the English language are placed in one category, although they represent several eras and cultures in the history of hymnody. The fact that they are in English raises several questions, however. How widespread was the use of English? Were the Franconia Mennonites already borrowing English-language hymnody in the early nineteenth century?

There are only six hymns in English or of English-language origin. Two are actually tune names and say nothing about which text was sung to the tune. These are Russia L M and Wesley C M M C, both included in Elisabeth Kolb's 1826 book.[1] The text incipit "Only a Contrite Heart" in the 1830^c book is in a different hand than the ones found before, and was likely added later than the 1830 date on the title page. "Evening Shade" is the last hymn of the 1803^d book. Given its position in the book, as well as the fact that it is in a different hand from the rest, it appears that this, too, was added at a later date. "My Soul, thy Great Creator" is in the 1795 booklet belonging to William Gottschall. The hymn is alone on the verso side of folio twelve and does not have a tune number as do the hymns before and after. This, too, appears to have been added at a later date.

Two hymns are translations, one from English into German, the other from German into English. "Da Joseph sein brüder ansah," a hymn found in twelve of the Notenbüchlein, is a German translation of John Newton's hymn, "When Joseph his brethren beheld." A reverse phenomenon exists in a hymn that is in English in the

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[1] "Russia" is, in fact, the tune by Daniel Reed. "Wesley" CM is attributed to Moore. These are both discussed in Chapter Seven. Although the letters C M usually stand for Common Meter, the meaning of C M M C is not clear.

Notenbüchlein, but not of English-language origin. "Young people who delight in sin,"
found in Jacob Oberholzer's book dated 1803, is a translation of a German *Trauerlied*
(dirge), entitled *"Trauriges ende von Polly*, also called [Ein trauergesch]ichte eines
müdgens [sic] Namens Polly J., welche im Jahr 1806, bey Littel-York in Pennsylvanien
geschehen ist." (A sad tale about a girl named Polly J., which happened in the year 1806
in Little-York, Pennsylvania).[1] Published in at least two broadside versions, this
Trauerlied is of Pennsylvania origin.[2]

   As for the dating of this *Trauerlied*, the Notenbüchlein in which this text is found
has two different hands. "Young People who Delight in Sin" is in the second section,

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[1] Thomas R. Brendle and William S. Troxell, in *Pennsylvania Songs and Legends*
(George Korson, ed., Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania
Press, 1949) writes of the Trauerlied. "[It] represents a type of
indigenous ballad once common in the Pennsylvania Dutch
countryside.... Murderers, hangings, and other local events of
violence or tragedy were commemorated in ballads printed on penny
broadsides.... They recounted actual events, attributed the cause
of violence or tragic events to godlessness, and admonished the
unfaithful to obey God" (pp. 120-21).

The most popular Trauerlied of the nineteenth century was
"Ein Trauerlied enthaltend Die Geschichte der Susanna Cox, welche
in Reading wegen Ermordung ihres Kindes hingerichtet wurde." This
ballad, written in 1810, consists of thirty-two stanzas, and was
translated into English in c. 1845 by Ludwig Schtark (Brendle and
Troxell, 121). Similarly, "Young People who Delight in Sin" was
translated from German into English, perhaps also by Schtark.

[2] The two broadsides are in the MHEP collection in Harleysville, Pennsylvania.

making it very difficult to date accurately. The tunes that follow "Young People" are, for the most part, harmonized in choral fashion. Such harmonized tunes occur as early as 1805 and following. The translated text, "Young People who Delight in Sin," might therefore have been added at the earliest in the latter part of the first decade of the nineteenth century. Whatever the date of the tune is, this is a unique example of the use of English during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. With this one exception, texts in English seem not to have been a significant part of the standard repertoire in the schools between 1780 and 1835.

Secular Texts. Only two instances of secular texts are found in the Notenbüchlein. Oberholzer's book dated 1803 includes the complete text, "O Strassburg, O Strassburg," a folk ballad from Europe, the text of which bemoans the loss of a soldier in war.[1] Also in Oberholzer's book are two verses to the secular song "Ein jegerslied." This hunting song is also found in 1830[b] (one verse only), and in incipit form in six of the Notenbüchlein.

Unidentified. There remain fifteen texts for which authors have been found, but for whom information is otherwise not available. In addition to these, 128 hymns have not been located in any of the sources examined. Two possibilities exist as to their origins. One is that some of these incipits are not the first line of the first verse, but the first line of a subsequent verse, as seen already in "Ach, mein hertzliebes Jesulein" which is in fact verse thirteen of the well-known text "Vom himmel hoch." Another possibility is that some of these are actually translations of English texts, as with "Da Joseph sein brüder." Exploring

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[1] Ludwig Erk, Franz D. B_hme, *Deutscher Liederhort. Auswahl der vorz_glicheren Deutschen Volkslieder, nach Wort und Weise aus der Vorzeit und Gegenwart* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und H_rtel, 1925), no. 1392. In this source, it is called "Der Unerbittliche Hauptmann." This text is discussed briefly in the next chapter.

either possibility in a thorough and systematic way must remain the subject of further research.

Statistical Analysis of Frequently Encountered Repertoire

The above discussion characterizes the Notenbüchlein texts as a whole. What Table 4.1 does not show is how many of the sixty-eight Notenbüchlein include any given hymn. A thematic analysis of the frequently encountered repertoire takes place in Chapter Five; a statistical comparison of this repertoire vis-ü-vis the whole repertoire belongs here, however.

The hymn repertoire found in fifty percent and more (thirty-four through sixty-eight) of the Notenbüchlein, comprising forty-six hymns, does not prove to be a microcosm of the entire Notenbüchlein repertoire. A list of these hymns appears as Appendix B-3. Below is a table comparing the percentages of hymns in denominational and historical categories from the standpoint of the entire repertoire represented in this study (left column), and the frequency of the category's appearance in the forty-six most frequently encountered hymns (right column).

Table 4.3.   Comparison of the Core Repertoire to the Entire Notenbüchlein Repertoire

Era	% of the 795	% of 46 most frequently encountered hymns
Luth. to 1570:	7	17
Luth. 1570-1618:	4	10
Luth. 1618-48:	5	10
Luth. 1648-75:	10	26
Luth. 1675-1700:	6	9
Luth. 1700-57:	12	4
Ref. 17th cen.:	6	13
Psalms	7.5	2
Schwenkfelder:	.1	2
Catholic:	3	2
Pietist:	.1	2

The proportions between the two columns are, very roughly, one to two, with two exceptions: Lutheran hymns from 1700-57, and the psalms. The early eighteenth century represents the largest percentage (twelve percent) of the total repertoire; this period

constitutes only four percent of the list of forty-six frequently encountered hymns. A three-to-one proportion in a direction opposite to the rest of the repertoire suggests that the numerous, relatively recent hymns were not part of the stable repertoire, but were on the periphery of the Franconia hymnody. The Lutheran hymns as a whole, however, conform (roughly) to the 1 - 2 ratio, and at seventy-six percent of the frequently-encountered repertoire, are emblematic of the pervasiveness of Lutheran hymnody even in a multi-religious context.

Summary

A study of the overall corpus of texts contained in the Notenbüchlein demonstrates that the predominant repertoire is of Lutheran and Reformed ancestry originating especially in the seventeenth century. Yet the repertoire is significantly eclectic, drawing on many traditions, including Catholic, Brethren, and Anabaptist. A handful of texts appearing to be by Pennsylvania authors indicates a willingness to adopt newer repertoire. Notably absent are large numbers of texts borrowed from Moravian and Schwenkfelder hymnody, both of which represented a lively musical tradition at this time.

Even allowing for the possibility that some of the untraceable texts are German translations of English texts, it would seem fair to say that, as far as one can tell, the English repertoire seems to have had significantly little influence. It appears, rather, that Franconia Mennonites at the turn of the nineteenth century were steeped in a hymn repertoire with a strong link to seventeenth-century Pietistic Germany. This assertion is borne out by a study in the following chapter, of the theological themes found in the hymns.

CHAPTER FIVE

Theological Themes In Frequently Encountered Texts and Fully Texted Hymns

Thus far, the texts of the Franconia Notenbüchlein have been treated as a single corpus through an overview of the origins of the entire repertoire of hymns contained in the Notenbüchlein. The present chapter deals with the internal themes contained in the texts. A study of the themes serves to characterize the religious instruction of children as reflected in their hymnody. First described, based on the documentation at hand, are significant elements of the Franconia worldview at the turn of the nineteenth century. We then turn to two categories of hymns: frequently encountered hymns whose incipits alone are found in fifty percent and more of the Notenbüchlein, and hymns for which one or more verses of text were included in the Notenbüchlein themselves.[1]

Naturally, the repertoire contained in any given hymnal does not tell us which hymns a specific congregation actually performed. Yet, by analyzing the overlapping contents of sixty-eight different collections of repertoire (the Notenbüchlein used in this study), we gain insights as to what the core Franconia hymnody actually was. It can be argued that the forty-six hymns recurring in fifty percent and more of the Notenbüchlein comprise this core repertoire at the turn of the nineteenth century. One assumption made regarding the frequently encountered texts is, therefore, that frequency of inclusion correlates with how well-known a given text was in the Franconia area. Another assumption is that these frequently encountered texts reflect the standard theology taught in

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[1] Any formula for establishing textual frequency is at best arbitrary in nature. A decision, however, needs to be made in this regard. I decided to set the cut-off point at fifty percent. Any hymn found in fifty percent or more of the Notenb_chlein, i.e., in at least thirty-four of the Notenb_chlein, is deemed to belong to a category referred to as "frequently-encountered hymns," and is thus in the purview of this chapter.

the schools. The question of how this theology fits with Anabaptist-Pietist beliefs of the

day is addressed throughout the chapter. We begin, however, with a summary of late

eighteenth-century Mennonite theology.

Late Eighteenth-Century Mennonite Theology

As discussed in Chapter Two, during the last part of the seventeenth century,

Pietism had begun to influence the European Mennonite ethos. The most profound effect

Pietism had on the Mennonites was in the area of christology. The bitter Christ of the

Anabaptists gave way to the sweet, personal Christ of the Pietists. Faith for the Pietist was

subjective and introspective; for the Anabaptists, it was concrete and lived out in

community. While the Pietists were critical of the secular world, their criticism was not so

much of the status quo as of the spiritual enemies threatening the individual believer.[1] A

noteworthy manifestation of this shift in theology was the change from the outspoken

criticism of the state by the sixteenth-century Anabaptists, to the quieter, reflective,

personal character of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Mennonites (influenced by

Pietism), a time that might be characterized by the term "humility" -- a theme that surfaces

in much of the writings of this time period. The Anabaptists sought to create an alternative

community in the midst of an evil world; the Pietists sought to escape from a world of

sorrow and woe through death and into eternal life.[2]

Remnants of the Anabaptist outlook continued within the Mennonite tradition as

long as German was the dominant language, however, until the end of the nineteenth

century.[3] Those Anabaptist ideas remaining include believer's baptism and a two-kingdom

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[1] Except for the so-called Radical Pietists, most Pietists, in general, did not choose to separate themselves from the established (church-state) church structure.

[2] See Chapter One for more on Anabaptism and Pietism.

[3] During the first half of the twentieth century, when English became the dominant language of the Mennonites, Anabaptist thought was replaced by contemporary theological trends until the 1940s when Mennonite scholars set out in the quest of rediscovering their roots, translating and interpreting many of the Dutch and German writings. Since then, there has been a resurgence of interest in the Anabaptist past (see Leonard Gross, "The

theology in which the faithful separate themselves from the ways of the world in order to create a new reality. Their approach to faith was not doctrinal. Rather, it was based on discipleship, concretely lived out in community, in which postures of humility and nonviolence were cornerstones.[1]

Part of the Anabaptist mission was to issue apocalyptic warnings that called the people to faithfulness so that on the day of judgment they would find themselves on the right side. The day of judgment would confirm, according to Mennonite historian Walter Klaassen, "that God had always been on the side of the little, despised, persecuted, faithful flock. The anticipation of that grand reversal steeled the resolve and fueled the ecstasy of many a[n Anabaptist] martyr . . .".[2]

Both Pietist and Anabaptist ideas, then, existed side by side during the time period under study (1780-1835). This was true especially for the Franconia area.[3] While these two approaches might seem to contradict each other, in certain ways they in fact complemented each other. Anabaptism served well the needs and agenda of the gathered group; Pietism served the devotional needs of the individual. Since hymns are by definition of a devotional nature, it is perhaps not surprising that pietistic themes surface over and over again in the hymn repertoire of this time, as seen below.

Frequently Encountered Hymns

Doctrinal Era of the Mennonite Church," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, Vol 50 [Jan. 1986], 83-104).

[1] See Chapter One for an analysis of Anabaptist thought.

[2] *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Vol. V, 29. Klaassen includes an extended bibliography on the subject of apocalyptic writings and Anabaptism.

[3] As early as mid-seventeenth century, the Franconia Mennonites distinguished themselves culturally from those of Lancaster. For more on Lancaster's singing tradition, which clearly retained much more of the Swiss *Ausbund* repertoire, and less of the newer Pietist repertoire, see Philip Stoltzfus' senior seminar paper, "Partheyisch or Unpartheyisch?: Theological Themes in the Hymns of *Ein Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch*," Goshen (Indiana) College, 1987.

The texts of all of the most frequently encountered hymns (those found in at least fifty percent of the Notenbüchlein) are found solely as incipits in the Notenbüchlein. Therefore, in a strict sense, the actual text version used in the schoolhouses cannot be known. All but three of these incipits appear in the *Zionsharfe*. Although not published until 1803, for purposes of discussion here, this hymnal seems a logical source for the full texts. Given the fact that the *Zionsharfe* is a Franconia Mennonite collection, it also serves as a barometer of the compatibility of a hymn with the Mennonite point of view, at least as perceived by the compilers of the hymnal.

Theological Themes of the Forty-six Most Frequently Encountered Hymns

The purpose of the following discussion is not to provide the reader with a handbook for these forty-six hymns, many familiar to this day, but to uncover the religious instruction current during this time in Mennonite communities (see Appendix 3-b for the list of frequently encountered texts). To facilitate a thematic discussion, pertinent sections that capture the overall spirit of the hymn are quoted and translated.[1] The discussion is summarized in the following chart, which outlines the thematic categories of the frequently encountered hymns.

Table 5.1   Frequently encountered Hymns According to Thematic Categories

Thematic Categories		**Number of hymns**
Relationship to the world		
Humility in the face of an ephemeral world:		7
Longing for death:		4
Readiness and judgment:	3	
Spiritual enemies:	3	
Faith		
Hymns of despair:		6
Hymns of hope:	4	
Theology of substitution:	4	
Theology of transformation:	2	
Characterization of Jesus and the Holy Spirit		

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[1] The translations are the author's.

Sweet Jesus:	5	
Wounded Jesus:		1
Holy Spirit:	2	
Jesus as Example:	5	
Total	46	

Relationship to the world

Most of the fourteen hymns dealing with one's relationship with the world reflect the pietist belief that the world is ephemeral. One longs for death as an escape from this "vale of tears." The theme of humility surfaces in many hymns, in which faithful individuals, facing life's difficulties, do not rely on their own resources for spiritual sustenance and direction, but only on God and Jesus.

Humility in the face of an ephemeral world. The following hymns describe the world as fleeting, in contrast to the eternity of heaven. The world with its vanity is not to be trusted. Rather, the faithful are to be humble and trust in the eternal. The message is that we are to separate ourselves from the world. Both Anabaptism and Pietism espoused separation from the world. The Anabaptists understood this, in part, as separating oneself from the corruption of wealth and power. The Pietists internalized the idea of separation, where the soul desired to remain free of the troubled world, a goal achieved completely only in death and its release into heaven.

A seventeenth-century Reformed hymn, "Meine hoffnung stehet veste," celebrates the believer's hope in God, who is faithful when compared to the falseness of the world, "Who can build firm castles in the air and wind? It all disappears; nothing remains of what is here on earth. But God's kindness is always there into eternity; He who nourishes people and animals is always ready to help."[1]

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[1] V. 2. ". . . Wer kan veste schl_sser bauen in der luft und in dem wind? Es vergehn, nichts besteht, was ihr hier auf erden seht. V. 3. Aber Gottes g_te w_hret immer und in ewigkeit; er, der vieh und menschen n_hret, ist zu helfen stets bereit: Alles hat seine gnad dargereichet fr_h und sp_t."

"Sagt, was hilft alle welt?" lists symbols of the world -- the high throne and scepter, the crown, beauty, roses, golden hair, crystal clear eyes, ruby red lips, gold, jewels, red robes, and silk, and warns of their transitory nature.[1] "Of what use are these?" asks the hymn-writer. All will fade, and are of no worth in eternal terms. The message of this hymn, written during the time of the Thirty Years' War, is in keeping with the Anabaptist-Mennonite and Pietist emphasis on rejection of wealth and power.

"Kommt her zu mir, spricht Gottes sohn," written during the time of the Counter-Reformation, warns of the dangers of the vanities of the world. Verse four reads,

The world would also like to be saved, if only the agony were not so severe

. . . . Today the earthling is beautifully young and tall; behold, tomorrow

he is weak and sick; soon he must even die: just as the flowers in the field,

so also the vile world must perish in a flash.[2]

The last phrase is not in keeping with Anabaptism, whose intention it was to bring the world into the kingdom of God, not destroy it.[3]

A hymn written in the aftermath of the Thirty Years' War, "Nun, Gottlob, es ist vollbracht," includes images of the world as being full of sorrow, pain and loud vanity. Opening with the familiar quote from John 19:30, one of the "Sieben Würter Christo am Kreuz," the text reads,

So, thank God, it is finished, all the woe, fear and pain: . . . Think about

what the world is! What is human life? What is great fame and wealth, and

---

[1] V. 2. "Was hilft der hohe thron, das scepter und die kron? Scepter und regiment hat alles bald ein end. V. 3. Was hilft seyn h_bsch und fein. . . V. 4. Was hilft ein gold-gelb haar, Augen crystallen-klar? Lefzen corlalen roth?. . . V. 5. Was ist das g_lden st_ck, von gold, zierd und geschm_ck?. . .V. 6. Was ist das roth gewand, das purpur wird genannt? . . . V. 7. Was ist der seiden-pracht?. . ."

[2] "Gern wollt die welt auch selig seyn, wenn nur nicht w_r die schwere pein. . . V. 6. Heut ist der mensch sch_n jung und lang, sieh! morgen ist er schwach und krank, bald muss er auch gar sterben; gleichwie die blumen auf dem feld, also mu_ auch die schn_de welt in einem huy verderben."

[3] This holds true in general for the Swiss Brethren after 1527, the Hutterites after 1528, and Low Country Anabaptism after 1536.

to soar in high honor? Nothing more than pure vanity, the cares of the

world, worry and heartbreak; a soon-to-be death will spoil it, then our place

will be forgotten. The scepter and golden crown cannot escape death . . . .

So, God, it is finished. I will now travel with joy to a thousand good

nights. May God keep you all, those of you who have loved me and who

have grieved over me, . . . follow nimbly, allow yourselves heavenly life.[1]

Death, here, is the leveling factor, and a reminder to be humble.

Two hymns speak of humility not only as a response to our mortality, but also as a

way of rising above worldly vices. The result is a transformation of the individual here and

now, a message familiar to Anabaptism.

Written during the era of classical Pietism, verse one of "Mensch, sag an, was ist

dein leben" concludes, ". . . think on these things, human children, for we are all mortal."

Verse two continues,

. . . what is it to be high-ranking? Must not a lord also experience the pain

of death alongside his servants? . . . What is wisdom, what is talent, what

is learnedness? . . . Human daughters, human sons, listen to this: if you are

young, rich and pretty, you will be poor in death; if you have, here, a nice

place to live in, after death come the worms -- ouch![2]

---

[1] V. 1. "Nun, Gott lob! es ist vollbracht; aller jammer, angst und schmerzen: welt, zu tausend gute nacht, ich erfreue mich von herzen, . . . V. 2.   Denket doch, was ist die welt! Was ist aller menschen leben! Was ist grosses gut und geld, und in hohen ehren schweben? Nichts als lauter eitelkeit, kummer, sorg und herzeleid; baldiges sterben, wird es verderben, dann wird vergessen, wo wir gesessen. V. 4.   Scepter und die g_ld'ne kron m_gen nicht dem tod entlaufen, . . . V. 7.   Nun Gott lob, es ist vollbracht, so will ich mit freuden fahren, nun zu tausend guter nacht, Gott, der wolle euch bewahren: alle die ihr mich geliebt, und euch _ber mich betr_bt . . . folget behende, lasset euch geben himmlisches leben."

[2] ". . . dis bedenke, menschen-kind! weil wir alle sterblich sind. V. 2. . . . was ist hoch geboren seyn, mu_ der herr doch mit dem knechte leiden bittre todes-pein;. . . V. 3. Was ist weisheit, was sind gaben, was ist hochgelehrte kunst; . . . V. 8. Menschen t_chter, menschen s_hne, la_t euch dis gesaget seyn, seyd ihr jung, reich und auch sch_ne, doch nur arme todten-bein, hier ein wohlgeschm_ckter bau, nach dem tod der w_rmer, au."

Verses ten through twelve speak to the Anabaptist understanding of faith as transforming the individual believer to one who puts aside the ways of the world. Humility also figures into this ethos, "Put aside ill-will, jealousy, and hate; love humility; let go of pride . . . . Whoever considers this wisely will, as a true Christian, lay aside guile and malice . . . and will think about how he wants [his life] to end, when his last day breaks forth."[1]

Another hymn implying humility is the seventeenth-century Reformed hymn, "Ehre seü jetzo mit freuden gesungen," a response to worldly human power. The majestic King is praised for the bread of life, freely given. The writer then reminds the believer to look, not to human powers, but to the divine. Verse four reads,

Whoever places trust in princes is poor, blessed is the one who builds on

the truly powerful. Whoever clings to human [power] is deceived; whoever

lives solely in Jesus is blessed.[2]

The message here is in keeping with the Anabaptist-Mennonite rejection of the spiritual authority of the state.

The final hymn in this section speaks of worldly vanity but offers a response that embodies a posture of toughness, and not of humility. Entitled "Ringe recht, wenn Gottes gnade," this hymn, written during the first half of the eighteenth century, opens with a command to struggle for conversion, a concept foreign to Anabaptism. The text reads, "Struggle honestly, when God's grace pulls you and converts you, that your spirit will be rightly relieved of the load burdening it."[3]

Verses eight and nine remind the believer to hold onto his crown in a "valiant way," and encourage one to be "armed day and night," images foreign to an Anabaptist understanding

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[1] V. 10. "Leg ab mi_gunst, neid und hassen; demuth lieb; la_ hoffart seyn . . . V. 11. Wer dis [sic] kl_glich wird erw_gen, der wird als ein wahrer Christ, falsch und bosheit von sich legen, . . . denken . . . wie er m_chte fertig seyn, wann sein letzter tag bricht ein."

[2] "Elend ist, wer auf die f_rsten vertrauet! Selig ist, wer auf den m_chtigen bauet! Der ist betrogen, wer menschen anklebet; Der ist gesegnet, wer Jesum nur lebet."

[3] "Ringe recht, wenn Gottes gnade dich nun ziehet und bekehrt, da_ dein geist sich recht entlade von der last, die ihn beschwert."

of humility. The author writes, "Hold on tightly to your crown; hold onto what you have in a valiant way, truly persisting is the best way; relapse is bad company. Do not let your eye stare at vile vanity; remain armed day and night; run away from idleness and security."[1]

      Longing for death. Four hymns reflect the pietistic desire for escape from the world through death. The world is seen as a place of sorrow and want, a place of turmoil, a vale of tears. The promise of heaven, which is splendid, peaceful, and joyful, allows the believer to cope with life in the world. This desire for escape from the suffering in the world represents a significant departure from Anabaptism.

      The heaviness of such texts might seem inappropriate to a hymn repertoire aimed at children. Death, including infant and childhood death, was commonplace at this time, however. Such hymns would therefore have been part of the reality in anyone's childhood in nineteenth-century Pennsylvania.

      A hymn written in the aftermath of the Thirty Years' War, "Nun sich der tag geendet hat," is the text found the most frequently in the Notenbüchlein, appearing, often, in more than one melodic version. This evening hymn touches on several images of the world, typical of Pietism. "Now that the day is done, and the sun shines no longer, everything is sleeping that has become weary, and had been crying."[2] The text concludes, in verses 9 and 10, "Should this night be the last, in this vale of tears, lead me to heaven to the chosen flock. And hence I am living and dying for you . . . . In death and life, help me overcome every fear and difficulty."[3]

---

[1] V. 8. "Halt ja deine krone veste, halte m_nnlich was du hast: recht beharren ist das beste; r_ckfall ist ein b_ser gast. V. 9. La_ dein auge ja nicht gaffen nach der schn_den eitelkeit; bleibe tag und nacht in waffen, fliehe tr_g- und sicherheit."

[2] "Nun sich der tag geendet hat, Und keine sonn mehr scheint, schl_ft alles, was sich abgematt, und was zuvor geweint."

[3] "Soll diese nacht die letzte seyn, in diesem jammerthal, so f_hre mich in himmel ein, zur auserw_hlten schaar. Und also leb und sterb ich dir, . . . Im tod und leben hilf du mir aus aller angst und noth."

Another evening song is the popular post-Thirty Years' War Lutheran chorale, "Nun ruhen alle wülder." Again, the pietistic image of the world as a vale of tears, and of heaven as a place where the believer will be free from misery and work, conveys the message of deliverance from life on earth, "When can I leave this vale of tears, my God? . . . Heart, rejoice; you shall be freed from the misery of this earth, and from working by the sweat of your brow."[1]

A hymn of unknown origin, but found in the Lutheran *Marburger Gesangbuch* (1759), "Betrübtes hertz seü wohlgemuth," opens with the confidence of future happiness,

Sad heart, be cheerful, do not despair so much, everything will be all right,

all your pain and anguish will be transformed shortly into pure happiness.[2]

Concern for the poor is addressed in verse two, with the promise of redemption from misery. The implicit message is that heaven is the release from suffering, "He takes pity on those in misery, and hears intently the cries of the poor; he will not leave them forever in their misery, but will rescue them from it."[3]

"Alle menschen müssen sterben" opens with a portrayal of life on earth as fleeting. "All people must die, all flesh perishes, like hay . . ."[4] Written in the aftermath of the Thirty Years' War, the author looks to heaven for joy, "I will travel there with joy, leaving this worldly turmoil, and entering God's beautiful heaven; there shall I be forever in the presence of the Trinity."[5]

---

[1] V. 3. ". . . wann mich wird heissen gehen, mein Gott, aus diesem jammerthal." V. 5. ". . . Herz, freu dich, du sollst werden vom elend dieser erden und von der s_nden arbeit frey."

[2] "Betr_btes herz! Sey wohlgemuth, thu nicht so sehr verzagen :,: Es wird noch alles werden gut, al dein schmerzen und klagen wird sich in lauter fr_lichkeit verwandeln in gar kurzer zeit, . . ."

[3] ". . . er sich thut erbarmen, der elenden, und hab sein lust an dem schreyen der armen, die will er nicht in ewigkeit lassen in ihren herzeleid, sondern daraus erretten."

[4] "Alle menschen m_ssen sterben, alles fleisch vergeht, wie heu. . . ."

[5] V. 3. ". . . drum fahr ich mit freud dahin, hier aus diesem welt-get_mmel, in den sch_nen Gottes-himmel, da ich werde allzeit schauen die dreyeinigkeit."

Readiness and judgment. The themes of readiness and judgment are arguably an extension of the subject of death addressed above. Whereas the hymns reflecting a longing for death view death as a release, the following three hymns speak to the theme of warning and of being ready for death and for the end times. The charge in "Bedenke, mensch, das ende," is that we be ready for our own death. The hymn, written during the time following the Thirty Years' War, concludes, "Help me, God! that I may prepare myself in time, all the way to my last day, with repentance, dying daily . . .".[1]

Another hymn about readiness, "Es ist gewiülich an der zeit" speaks to the harshness promised on the day of judgment. A Lutheran hymn written during the upheaval of the Counter-Reformation, this text gives a harsh message of doom to the unfaithful,

> Then, someone will soon read from a book, where it is written what all
>
> people, young and old, have sown, so that certainly everyone will hear
>
> what one has done in his whole life. O woe to those who despised the
>
> word of the Lord on earth, early and late, striving for great material wealth.
>
> Nakedly they will indeed be confronted, and with Satan will have to leave
>
> Christ and enter hell. At the same time, on the basis of your wounds, help
>
> me, O Jesus, to be found in the book of the saints.[2]

The concern in the two texts just discussed is for the individual and is not in keeping with the Anabaptist concern for the gathered community. The third text addressing the theme of readiness is concerned with the urgency of reforming the world. "Ach, wachet, wachet auf," a seventeenth-century Reformed hymn, describes the urgency of

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[1] "Hilf, Gott! da_ ich bey zeiten auf meinen letzten tag mit busse mich bereiten und t_glich sterben mag . . .".

[2] V. 3. "Darnach wird man ablesen bald ein buch, darinn geschrieben, was alle menschen, jung und alt, auf erden hat getrieben: da denn gewi_ ein jederman wird h_ren was er hat gethan in seinem ganzen leben. V. 4. O weh demselben, welcher hat des herren wort verachtet, und nur auf erden fr_h und sp_t nach grossem gut getrachtet! Der wird f_rwahr gar kahl bestehn, und mit dem Satan m_ssen gehn von Christo in die h_lle. V. 5. O Jesu! hilf zur selben zeit, von wegen deiner wunden, da_ ich im buch der seligkeit werd eingezeichnet funden. . . ."

transforming the world. The goal of "binding the world" is in tune with Anabaptism, "Oh wake up! . . . These times are dangerous; now is the time of strife; the world, the devil, with their sins, are loosed, and still in need of binding . . . . Wake up, grace is still available!"[1]

Spiritual enemies

Three hymns address the pietistic theme of the threat of spiritual enemies. All three use the character of the devil to embody such spiritual adversaries.

"Zeuch mich, zeuch mich mit" is a seventeenth-century Reformed hymn in which the focus is on Jesus, who can pull one away from the threat of enemies. Verses three, four, and five read, "Satan roars near me as does a lion on guard. Lord, he wants to devour your child; help me overcome him in faith. Soul-murderer, old serpent, conjurer: shame on you; I am not alarmed, for my Jesus comforts me."[2]

A hymn written during the time of Classical Pietism, "Mache dich, mein geist, bereit" emphasizes the themes of readiness and the threat of spiritual enemies personified in Satan. The path to heaven is long and full of sorrow, imagery familiar to Pietism. Verse two reads, "But first, wake up truly from your sinful sleep, for otherwise there follows a long road, and sorrow . . . . Wake up, so that Satan's craftiness will not fall upon you in your sleep."[3]

"Aus meines hertzensgrunde" also describes the world as full of turmoil and the believer as threatened by the power of Satan, "You also want to watch over me graciously,

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[1] V. 4. ". . . gef_hrlich sind die zeiten. Ach! wachet, wachet auf, nun ist die zeit zu streiten; Welt, teufel, mit den s_nden sind los, und noch zu binden." V. 6. "Ach! wachet, wachet auf, die gnade steht noch offen . . .".

[2] V. 3. ". . .der Satan br_llet, um mich wie ein l_we wacht: Herr! er will dein kind verschlingen; hilf im glauben ihn bezwingen. V. 4. Seelen-m_rder! alte schlange! Tausendk_nstler, sch_me dich; sch_me dich, mir ist nicht bange, dann mein Jesus tr_stet mich . . .".

[3] V. 2. "Aber wache erst recht auf von dem s_nden-schlafe, denn es folget sonst darauf eine lange stra_e, und die noth. . . V. 5. Wache! da_ dich Satans list nicht im schlaf antreffe . . .".

this day, from the devil's craftiness and rage, from sins and weakness, from fire and flood, from poverty and disgrace, from chains and bonds, from an evil and quick death. I will surrender to you my body, soul, life, wife, earthly goods, honor and child, . . . Let your angels stay . . ., to drive Satan away, so that here in this vale of tears the enemy cannot practice his malice on me . . .".[1]

Faith

   While the Anabaptists understood faith as a process of transformation of the individual, as well as the community, from corruption into righteousness, faith for the Pietists was manifested as despair on one hand and assurance of salvation on the other. Salvation for the Pietists was understood as Jesus' suffering and dying in our stead; salvation for the Anabaptists was experienced in the context of discipleship and community in which the individual was transformed. I call these contrasting views theology of substitution and theology of transformation, respectively. Below are hymns exploring, first, the Pietist orientation toward faith, followed by two hymns reflecting the Anabaptist understanding of faith.

   Hymns of despair. The writer of "Hilf, Herr Gott, uns würmelein," despairs of the sorrow in the world, and wonders if God, in his anger, has forgotten his promise of redemption. The hymn opens, "Help us, Lord God, we lowly worms; otherwise we must despair. Why are you so angry, even wanting to give us up? Are we not your inherited possessions, acquired through your precious blood? O Lord, have pity on us. Discord, famine; everywhere, disease and pestilence: all are ready for quarrel, to trouble our

---

[1] V. 3. "Du wollest auch beh_ten mich gn_dig diesen tag, f_rs teufels list und w_ten, f_r s_nden und f_r schwach, f_r feu'r und wassers-noth, f_r armuth und f_r schanden, f_r ketten und f_r banden, f_r b_sen schnellen tod. V. 4. Den leib, die seel, das leben, mein weib, gut, ehr, und kind, will ich _bergeben . . . V. 5. La_ deine engel bleiben . . . den Satan zu vertreiben, auf da_ der feind allhier, in diesen jammerthal, sein t_ck an mir nich _be . . .".

borders. Wake up, wake up, dearest beloved God! Don't abandon us in this misery; O

Lord!, have pity on us . . .".[1]

In verse two the author pleads, "Incline your ear of grace toward me; listen to my plea; act

A Schwenkfelder hymn, "In dich hab ich gehoffet, Herr," also embodies despair.

on my behalf. Come soon to save me from fear and pain, whether I am lying down or

standing. Help me out of my trouble."[2]

In the characteristically Pietiest hymn, "Ach, Gott, erhür mein seufzen," written

during the era of classical Pietism, the writer sighs and complains, despairing of sorrow

and pain,

> O God, hear my sighing and my complaining. Do not let me despair in my
>
> sorrow; you know my pain, you discern my heart. You put this on me,
>
> now help me bear it. Nothing can happen to me without your will; you can
>
> curse and then again bless: I am your child, and have earned [what has
>
> come my way]. Give me warm sunshine after muddy rain. Through your
>
> Spirit, plant genuine patience in my heart . . . . In your own time, avert my
>
> sorrow.[3]

This plea for avoidance of suffering, and the view of an impetuous God, are not in tune

with the Anabaptist view of suffering and of a loving God, but are familiar to Pietism.

---

[1] "Hilf Herre Gott! uns w_rmelein, sonst m_ssen wir verzagen, warum willt du
so zornig seyn, dich unser gar entschlagen? Sind wir doch dein ererbtes gut,
erworben durch dein theuresblut, Ach Herr! erbarm dich unser. V. 2.
"Unfried, theurung, auf aller seit, krankheit und pestilenze, hab'n sich schon
stark zum streit bereit, zu plagen uns're grenze. Wach auf, wach auf,
hertzliebster Gott! Verla_ uns nicht in dieser noth, ach Herr! erbarm dich
unser."

[2] V. 2. "Dein gn_dig ohr neig her zu mir, erh_r mein bitt, thu dich herf_r: Eil
bald, mich zu erretten, in angst und weh, Ich lieg od'r steh, hilf mir aus
meinen n_then."

[3] V. 1. "Ach, Gott, erh_r mein seufzen und wehklagen, La_ mich in meiner
noth nicht gar verzagen, du wei_t mein'n schmerz, erkennst mein herz, hast
du mirs aufgelegt, so hilf mirs tragen. V. 2. Ohn' deinen willen kan mir nichts
begegnen, du kanst verfluchen und auch wieder segnen: Ich bin dein kind,
und habs verdient, gib warmen sonenschein nach tr_ben regen. V. 3. Pflanz
nur gedult durch dein'n geist in mein herze, . . . zu deiner zeit wend ab mein
leid . . .".

"Ich ruf zu dir, Herr Jesu" has elements of despair but ends on a more triumphant note. An early Lutheran hymn, the dominant themes include an emphasis on grace, personal faith and one's relationship with God. The hymn opens,

> I call to you, Lord Jesus Christ! I plead, listen to my complaints! Lend me your grace for this extension of time, do not let me give up hope: the right faith, Lord! . . . also give me hope in advance, so that when I must go from here, I may be faithful to you and not build on any of my own works, otherwise I will regret it.[1]

The hymn concludes with a desire for humility, a theme in keeping with both Anabaptism and Pietism, as noted above.

A hymn portraying a dark view of human nature with no hope of escape or transformation is, "Der tag ist hin, mein Jesu." An evening hymn from the seventeenth-century Reformed tradition, this text serves as a contrast to hymns discussed thus far. Phrases such as "I am still lacking in holding steadfast to the good, . . . I stumble like a dependent child, . . . Forgive me, Lord, for what my conscience tells me . . ." Absent is either the reassurance that Jesus has set things right, or the hope of transformation.[2]

In "Nun danket alle Gott," which dates from the Thirty Years' War, the writer begins in a tone of hope,

> May the eternally bounteous God be willing, in our lives, to give us a constantly happy heart and precious peace, and hold us in his grace forever, saving us from all danger here, and there.[3]

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[1] "Ich ruf zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ! Ich bitt, erh_r mein klagen! Verleih mir gnad zu dieser frist, la_ mich doch nicht verzagen: den rechten glauben, Herr! . . . die hoffnung gib darneben, voraus, wann ich mu_ hie davon, da_ ich dir m_g vertrauen, und nicht bauen auf irgend eignes thun, sonst wird michs ewig reuen."

[2] V. 3. ". . .Best_ndigkeit im guten mir noch fehlet; . . . Ich strauchele noch, wie ein unm_ndiger. V. 4. Vergib es, Herr! was mir sagt mein gewissen."

[3] V. 2. "Der ewig reiche Gott woll uns bey unserm leben ein immer fr_lich herz und edlen frieden geben, und uns in seiner gnad erhalten fort und fort, und aus aller noth erl_sen hier und dort."

The hopeful tone changes to despair in an assessment of the reality of the world, "I will continue crying to you in my fear; you will lend me your aid . . . . One hears nothing but danger and fear in all lands."[1]

Hymns of hope. Written in the years following the Thirty Years' War, "Wer nur den lieben Gott lüsst walten" speaks to the pietist desire to dispel sorrow and to experience God's goodness,

> We only make our cross and suffering bigger through our sorrow. A
> person should quietly stop awhile, and be satisfied with one's self, in
> accordance with God's will.[2]

The writer continues, in verse four, "When [God] has found us faithful, and finds no hypocrisy, God will come, and he will look after us and allow good things to happen."[3] The dark view of human nature found in many of the hymns discussed thus far is absent in this hymn. Rather, we are to "be satisfied with one's self" in order to overcome our sorrow. This possiblity of transformation into goodness, with no hypocrisy, is in keeping with Anabaptism.

In "Was Gott thut, das ist wohlgethan," the virtue of patience as an element of faith is extoled. The text reads, "And I am so satisfied with [God's] grace, having patience; he will reverse my bad luck, for my life is in his hands . . .".[4] The writer, writing in the aftermath of the Thirty Years' War, petitions for the strength to taste the cup,

> If I must taste the cup, the bitterness is only in my imagination. Let me not
> be afraid of anything, because in the end, I will be delighted with the sweet
> comfort in my heart, with all pain giving way.[5]

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[1] V. 6. " . . . Ich fahre fort zu schreyen in meiner angst zu dir, du wirst mir h_lf verleihen . . . V. 7. Man h_ret nichts als noth und angst in allen landen . . .".

[2] V. 2. "Wir machen unser creutz und leid nur gr_sser durch die traurigkeit. V. 3. Man halte nur ein wenig stille, und sey doch in sich selbst vergn_gt, wie unsers Gottes gnaden-wille, . . .".

[3] "Wenn er uns nur hat treu erfunden, und merket keine heucheley, so kommt Gott, er wirt uns versehn und l_sset uns viel guts geschehn."

[4] V. 2. ". . . so la_ ich begn_gen an seiner huld, und hab geduld; er wird mein ungl_ck wenden, es steht in seinen h_nden."

[5] "Mu_ ich den kelch gleich schmecken, der bitter ist nach meinem wahn, la_ ich mich doch nichts schrecken; weil doch zuletzt ich werd ergetzt mit s_ssem trost im herzen, da weichen alle schmerzen."

While this imagery of the bitter suffering of Christ is in keeping with Anabaptist-Mennonite teachings, the message here is that this bitterness is an illusion, and in reality is sweet. This is Pietistic and not Anabaptist in its understanding of suffering.

"Auf meinen lieben Gott," portrays God as one willing to help those who reach out in their sorrow and fear. A Lutheran hymn written during the time of the Counter-Reformation, the text opens, "I trust in my dear God in fear and danger; he can always rescue me from tribulation, fear and dangers."[1] The emphasis here on a personal, loving God, who is a source of strength, is familiar to both Pietism and Anabaptism.

"Singt mit freüer stimm" (Psalm 81) is a Psalm of praise, celebrating God's goodness. This familiar psalm, in which music is the primary mode of praise, is the only psalm found in fifty percent or more of the Notenbüchlein.

Theology of substitution. Four hymns incorporate a theology of substitution, in which Jesus is understood as having suffered and died so that we would not have to do the same. A doctrine foreign to Anabaptism, this view of Christ's mission was central to Pietism.

Written in the years following the Thirty Years' War, "Schwing dich auf zu deinem Gott" reminds the believer, who feels his soul to be in constant threat of spiritual enemies, to soar up to God. Particularly non-Anabaptist are the following lines of verse four, "If I have done something wrong, I am truly sorry. On the other hand, I am taking on Jesus' blood and pain: He is the ransom for my misdeeds, which I bring before God's throne; I have been well advised."[2]

The tone of "Ach, Gott und Herr," a hymn from the period of the Counter-Reformation, is, again, not in keeping with Anabaptism. The writer pleads with God not

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[1] "Auf meinen lieben Gott trau ich in angst und noth; Er kan mich allzeit retten aus tr_bsal, angst und n_then."
[2] "Hab ich was nicht recht gethan, ist mirs leid von herzen; da hingegen nehm ich an Christi blut und schmerzen: dem das ist die ranzion meiner missethaten, bring ich dis vor Gottes thron, ist mir wohl gerathen."

to be angry, and not to invoke justice, because Jesus has reconciled him. He goes on, "Should it be so, that punishment and pain must follow as a consequence of sin, I must be punished; let me make amends here and now."[1] The idea of a loving God, and of the transformation of the individual, is absent.

The early Lutheran Christmas hymn, "Lobt Gott, ihr christen allzugleich," in addition to placing great emphasis on the doctrinal details of Christ's birth, states in verse seven, "Christ becomes a servant, and I, a lord."[2] This message is in direct opposition to the Anabaptist-Mennonite view of discipleship which emphasizes following humbly in Jesus' servanthood. Predictably, the text is not included in the *Zionsharfe*.

Theology of transformation. Two hymns express a view of Christ's mission in keeping with Anabaptism. Another early Lutheran Christmas hymn, "Herr Christ, der ein'ge Gottessohn," includes two themes familiar to Anabaptism, Christ's breaking death's bonds, and an emphasis on healing on earth. Verse one reads, "death for us was broken, heaven opened up, life returned."   The final verse concludes, " . . . Awaken us with your grace; make ill the old man; that this new man may live, right here on this earth."[3]

"Christ lag in todesbanden" is an early Lutheran passion text. The ideas of life conquering death and the believer being transformed in the light of the resurrection, are both central to Anabaptism. Verse seven reads, "We live well, and are now eating Easter offerings, the old leaven dare not be at hand alongside the word of [God's] grace."[4]

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[1] V. 3. ". . . Ach Gott! z_rn nicht, geh nicht ins g'richt, dein sohn hat mich vers_hnet." V. 4. "Solls ja so seyn, da_ straf und pein auf s_nde folgen m_ssen; . . . la_ mich hie wohl b_ssen."

[2] "Er wird ein knecht, und ich, ein herr."

[3] ". . . den tod f_r uns zerbrochen, den himmel aufgeschlossen, das leben wiederbracht. ... erweck uns durch dein gnad, den alten menschen kr_nke, da_ der neu leben mag wohl hier auf dieser erden . . .".

[4] V. 4. ". . . [das leben] hat den tod verschlungen; V. 7.   Wir leben wohl und essen nun die rechten ostergaben, der alte sauerteig nicht soll seyn bey dem wort der gnaden."

View of Jesus and the Holy Spirit

The personal relationship with Jesus and the Holy Spirit cultivated by the Pietists is reflected in the eight following hymns. Five of these characterize Jesus with "sweet Jesus" imagery; one refers to a "wounded Jesus." Two hymns petition the presence of the Holy Spirit.

Sweet Jesus. A text familiar to present-day Protestantism is the Lutheran hymn from the time period following the Thirty Years' War, "Jesu, meine freude." This hymn, which is not included in the *Zionsharfe*, uses pietist imagery reminiscent of love poetry. "Jesus my joy, my heart's meadow; Jesus my ornament, oh, how long the heart is anxious and longs for you."[1] The writer continues in verse four,

Away with all earthly treasures! You are my delight, Jesus, my pleasure.

Away, vain honor! I do not want to hear you, remain unknown to me.

Destitution, sorrow, cross, shame, and death shall not separate me from

Jesus, although I suffer deeply.[2]

Separating oneself from vanity was part of the Anabaptist creed, as was the assertion that no suffering could deter the faithful. As for its exclusion from the *Zionsharfe*, perhaps the extreme pietist imagery made this text unacceptable in the opinion of the *Zionsharfe* committee.

"Seelenbrüutigam, Jesu, Gotteslamm" is a hymn from the era of classical Pietism. Jesus is portrayed as the Soul's Bride, the Prize, the Rose of Sharon. Jesus' love purifies and gives one strength to face the world, with the knowledge that heaven awaits the faithful. In verse thirteen, the world and heaven are contrasted, "Here, in mockery and

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[1] V. 1. "Jesu meine freude, meines herzens weyde, Jesu, meine zier, Ach, wie lang, ach, lange, ist dem herzen bange, und verlangt nach dir!"
[2] V. 4. "Weg mit allen sch_tzen! Du bist mein erg_tzen, Jesu, meine lust, weg mit eitlen ehren! Ich mag euch nicht h_ren, bleibt mir unbewu_t! Elend, noth, kreuz, schmach und tod, soll mich, ob ich viel mu_ leiden, nicht von Jesu scheiden."

disdain; there, the crown of honor. Here in hope and faith, there in having and seeing."[1]

This message is familiar from hymns discussed above in the section on the pietist

description of the world and of heaven.

In the Christmas hymn, "Vom himmel hoch da komm ich," the promise is that

Jesus "will lead you out of sorrow . . .". Verse thirteen -- "Ach, mein hertzliebes Jesulein"

-- serves as a sight-singing exercise in eighteen of the Notenbüchlein studied (see Chapter

Four). Although written during the early Lutheran period, the "sweet Jesus" imagery of

this verse reflects well the pietist's relationship with Jesus.

"O traurigkeit, O herzeleid" is a passion hymn written during the Thirty Years'

War. "Sweet Jesus" imagery appears in verse six, "O beloved picture! beautiful, delicate

and mild; you, little son of the virgin! No one can look to your warm blood without

remorse."[2]

The hymn concludes, "O Jesus, you, my peace and quiet! I plead with you with tears; help

me that I will long for you until the grave."[3]

"Jesus, Jesus, nichts als Jesus" is not found in the *Zionsharfe*. A seventeenth-

century hymn with a "sweet Jesus" message, verse one reads, "Jesus, Jesus, nothing but

Jesus, shall be my wish and my goal! I now make an alliance, that I desire what Jesus

desires; for my heart filled with him can only call: Lord, may your will; Lord, your will be

done!"[4]

Wounded Jesus. One hymn expresses a relationship to the wounded Jesus.

"Gott des himmels und der erde" first thanks God for protection from fear, sorrow, pain

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[1] V. 13. "Hier durch spott und hohn, dort die ehren-kron: hier im hoffen und im glauben, dort im haben und im schauen."

[2] "O liebstes bild! Sch_n, zart und mild, du, s_hnlein der jungfrauen! Niemand kan dein heisses blut sonder reu anschauen."

[3] "O Jesu, du! Mein fried und ruh! Ich bitte dich mit thr_nen; hilf, da_ ich mich bis ins grab m_ge nach dir sehnen."

[4] V. 1. "Jesus, Jesus, nichts als Jesus, soll mein wunsch seyn und mein ziel! Ietzund mach ich ein verb_ndni_, da_ ich will was Jesus will; denn mein hertz, mit ihm erf_llt, ruffet nur: Herr, wie, Herr wie du wilt!" (The text here is taken from a 1744 edition of the `Kleine Davidische Psalterspiel.`)

and the devil.[1] The author, writing during the chaos of the Thirty Years' War, continues in verse three, "Let the night of my sins also slip by with the passing of this night. O Lord Jesus, let me find your open wounds, only there is help, and counsel for my failures, to be found."[2]

Holy Spirit. Two hymns petition the presence of the Holy Spirit. A Lutheran hymn from the period following the inter-denominational bloodshed of the Thirty Years' War, "Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend" asks that the Holy Spirit might come, to lead us on the path to truth, and prepare a thoughtful heart.[3] This message is in keeping with the Anabaptist view of faith as a journey or path.   "O Heiliger Geist, kehr bey uns" is a Pentecost hymn also from the post-Thirty-Years' War period. The hymnwriter asks for the presence of the Holy Spirit in order "that we, in the unity of faith of all Christendom, might teach [the Spirit's] inner witness."[4] This message is part of the Pietist agenda discussed in Chapter One.

Jesus as example. In contrast to the above pietistic characterizations of Jesus, the following hymns express the Anabaptist relationship between the believer and Jesus. The Anabaptist understanding rests on the idea of discipleship, in which the believer does not so much cultivate a relationship with Jesus, but joins Jesus, the light of the world, in creating a peaceful and equitable world, knowing that to follow him includes suffering and death.

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[1] "Da_ du mich in dieser nacht f_r gefahr, angst, noth und schmerzen, hast beh_tet und bewacht, Da_ des b_sen feindes list mein nicht m_chtig worden ist."

[2] "La_ die nacht auch meiner s_nden, jetzt mit dieser nacht vergehn, O Herr Jesu! La_ mich finden deine wunden offen stehn, da alleine h_lf und rath ist f_r meine missethat."

[3] V. 1. ". . . den Heil'gen Geist du zu uns send, Der uns mit seiner gnad regier, Und uns den weg zur wahrheit f_hr. V. 2. . . . bereit das herz zur andacht sein . . .".

[4] ". . . da_ wir in glaubens-einigkeit auch k_nnen aller Christenheit dein inners zeugni_ lehren."

"O Jesus Christ, wahres Licht" is a Lutheran hymn from the period of the Counter-Reformation, in which Jesus is characterized as the "true light." The text continues in an evangelistic spirit,

> . . .Enlighten those who do not know you . . . and bring them to your
>
> flock, so that their souls also will be saved. Fill with your grace those who
>
> have been led astray into misdeeds, also those who struggle internally with
>
> vain illusions.[1]

This message is without the threat of damnation encountered in some of the hymns above. Rather, there is the hope for blessing and life, a message in keeping with the spirit of Anabaptism.

"Gelobet seüst du, Jesu Christ," also from the early Lutheran period, concludes with a message that is, in part, compatible with an Anabaptist christology. Verse five reads, "There, eternal light goes in and gives the world a new light, . . . making us children of the light . . .".   In verse six, however, the message departs from an Anabaptist understanding of suffering, actively, with Christ. The verse reads, "He became a stranger in the world, and leads us out of the valley of woe; he makes us heirs to his kingdom."[2]

"Allein Gott in der hüh," an early Lutheran hymn, includes a message in keeping with Anabaptism. The last two phrases of verse one read, "There is peace without end, all strife has come to an end." In verse three, Jesus is described as "reconciler of those lost," and "a quieter of our quarrels."[3] These characterizations are all in keeping with the Anabaptist emphasis on peace and reconciliation. The final plea for avoidance of suffering

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[1] V. 1. ". . . Erleuchte die, dich kennen nicht, Und bringe sie zu deiner heerd, da_ ihre seel auch selig werd. V. 2. Erf_ll mit deinem gnadenschein, die in irrthum verf_hret seyn, auch die, so heimlich fichtet an, in ihrem sinn ein falscher wahn."

[2] "Das ew'ge licht geht da herein, gibt der welt ein'n neuen schein, . . . und uns des lichtes kinder macht. . . . Ein gast in der welt er ward, und f_hrt uns aus dem jammerthal, er macht uns eren in sein'm saal."

[3] "Nun ist gro_ fried ohn unterla_, all streit hat nun ein ende . . . . O Jesu Christ, vers_hner der'r, die war'n verlorn, du stiller unsers haders."

has more in common with Pietism, however, since it reads, "Divert all our sorrow and need, that has been our lot."[1]

"Frisch auf, mein seel" deals with the theme of hardship, and the promise that God is on the side of the poor and suffering, a prominent Anabaptist theme, found here in a Lutheran hymn from the period of the Counter Reformation. The text reads,

> Be quick, my soul, do not despair; God will take pity on you. Counsel and
>
> help he will share with you, he is a refuge for the poor. Although life is
>
> often difficult, one cannot always be sitting in a rose garden: whoever
>
> trusts in God has built well, and will be forever protected . . . .[2]

"Mir nach, spricht Christus, unser held" is categorized in the *Zionsharfe* as a discipleship hymn ("von der Nachfolge"). Written by a seventeenth-century Catholic convert, Johann Scheffler, this hymn can be found in the collection of spiritual writings, printed for Mennonite use, *Güldene Aepffel in Silbern Schalen* of 1702, and so had likely been popular among Mennonites for quite some time.[3] The hymn touches on many familiar Anabaptist themes, namely, taking up one's cross in suffering and humility. The text reads,

> Follow me . . . . Deny yourselves, leave behind this world, follow my call
>
> and ring; Take up your cross and hardship, follow in my way. . . .
>
> Whoever comes and follows me, will not soar into darkness; I am the way,
>
> I show with certainty how a person truly is to walk.[4]

---

[1] "Wend ab all unsern jamm'r und noth, darzu wir uns verlassen."

[2] "Frisch auf, mein seel, verzage nicht, Gott wird sich dein erbarmen; rath, h_lf wird er dir theilen mit, er ist ein schutz der armen. Obs oft geht hart, im rosengart kan man nicht allzeit sitzen: wer Gott vertraut, hat wohl gebaut, den will er ewig sch_tzen."

[3] See Chapter Two for discussion of *G_ldene Aepffel*.

[4] "Mir nach! spricht Christus . . . verleugnet euch, verla_t die welt, folgt meinem ruf und schalle; nehmt euer creutz und ungemach auf euch, folgt meinem wandel nach. Wer zu mir kommt und folget mir, darf nicht in finstern schweben; Ich bin der weg, ich weise wohl, wie man wahrhaftig wandeln soll."

Verse three has a flavor of pietism in the following segment, "My heart is full of humility,

my soul is full of love, my mouth constantly overflows with the oil of sweet gentleness."[1]

The hymn concludes with a resolve of courage and confidence in the face of suffering,

characteristic of Anabaptist writings, "So let us, then, follow our dear Lord with body and

soul; standing with him in suffering courageously, confidently, and willingly. For

whoever does not fight will not wear the crown of everlasting life."[2]

Hymns with Complete Texts in the Notenbüchlein
Overview of the texted hymns

Altogether there are eighty-one hymns for which one or more verses of text are

written out in the Notenbüchlein, mostly in block form, that is, not underlaid to the tune.

Of these, thirty-three are found in European sources, and ten in contemporary Pennsylvania

sources. Thirty-eight have been found nowhere except in the Notenbüchlein.[3]

The texted hymns are significant simply because they were written out. One likely

reason for their having been included in full is that many of them seem not to have been

part of the hymn repertoire accessible through the local source hymnals. Thirty-three of

them are found in European sources, but twenty-four of these are not included in any of the

hymnals available in Pennsylvania. Ten of these twenty-four are from the eighteenth

century, which might explain their exclusion, for they likely entered the German-American

cultural stream after the source hymnals were printed in the 1740s. Ten hymns available in

local sources were written out nonetheless.

Nine of the texted hymns traceable to printed sources are from contemporary

Pennsylvania prints, but all appeared in print after the date of the earliest Notenbüchlein in

---

[1] "Mein herz ist voll dem_thigkeit, voll liebe meine seele, mein mund der fleu_t zu jeder zeit von s_ssem sanftmuths_le, . . .".

[2] V. 7. "So la_t uns denn dem lieben Herrn mit leib und seel nachgehen, und wohlgemuth, getrost und gern bey ihm im leiden stehen! Denn wer nicht k_mpft, tr_gt auch die kron des ew'gen lebens nicht davon."

[3] See Appendix C for list of text titles according to origin.

which the particular text was included.[1] The thirty-seven non-traceable hymns point further to a body of texts that was otherwise not available.

All this suggests that the reason seventy-one (eighty percent) of these hymns were written out was because of unavailability in the local printed source hymnals. Given their exclusion from what is arguably the more conservative, classical repertoire of hymnals, one could argue that the hymns contained in this corpus of texted hymns represent a popular, perhaps peripheral hymnody, possibly even representing, in some instances, a written record of oral tradition. Indeed, the subject matter and poetic style of many of these hymns betrays a popular, albeit mostly religious literature.

Religious Themes Encountered in the Texted Hymns

The internal themes of the texted hymns conform to many of the thematic categories addressed already in the discussion of frequently encountered texts. Over half (sixty percent) of the hymns reflect themes characteristic of Pietism. These include readiness and longing for death, a personal relationship with Jesus, and a view of the world as full of sorrows in which human nature is sinful. Other hymns interpret themes in a way compatible with both Pietism and Anabaptism. These hymns deal with stories central to any Christian denomination: the nativity, the story of the resurrection, and the second coming. Also included here are songs of praise for God's goodness, again a theme that cuts accross denominational lines. And finally, several texts address themes reflective of Anabaptist principles, including discipleship as servanthood, and emphasis on one's character. Below is a table organizing the fully-texted hymns according to thematic category. For a complete list of text names, see Appendix B-3.

Table 5.2   Thematic categories of fully-texted hymns.

Neo-pietist themes: 57

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[1] The prints include the *Zionsharfe* (1803) Doll's *Leichte Unterricht* (1822), Musselman's *Die Neue Choral Harmonie* (1844), and Pennsylvania-German Broadsides (n.d.).

14: Personal relationship with Jesus
11: Pietist view of the world: vale of tears
8: Readiness
8: Longing for death
4: Spiritual suffering
3: Threat of last judgment
3: Patience and humility
3: Unity
2: Purity of soul
1: Threat of spiritual enemies

General Protestant Themes: 13
6: Praise hymns
4: Resurrection hymns
2: Christmas hymns
1: Second Coming

Anataptist theme: 5
5: Discipleship as servanthood

Nominally sacred and secular texts: 6
3: Nominally sacred
3: Secular

The majority of the thematic categories have already been addressed above. Rather than discuss each text separately, then, only the texts that are interesting from the standpoint of style or content are discussed below. The balance of the complete texts in the original German are in Appendix B-2.

Unusual Texts

Old Testament and Classical Personages. Several hymns use Old Testament and Classical personages to personify the human condition and the world. "O mensch, steh ab von deiner sünd" (1810[b]) stands out for its use of Old Testament, Greek and Roman characters. The text opens with the warning, "O man, separate yourself from your sin, prepare yourself for death . . .". The balance of the text discusses characters, such as Adam, Hezekiah, Methuselah, Solomon, Absalom, Lucretia, Helen, and Susannah, all of whom had noble traits but who died nonetheless. The implicit reminder is to be humble in the face of death. (See Appendix B-2 for original German.)

Another text in which Old Testament characters and place names symbolize the world and the human tendency to sin is "Egypten, gute nacht" (1787[a], 1807, 1830[a,b]). A text from the classical Pietist period, the Egyptians, Gomorrah, and Babel are symbols of the world from which the writer wants to be free. Verse six reads, "So everything, good night: Egypt, good night, with your slavery; Gomorrah, good night; I am free of Babel. My Jesus, who loves me, has also made me free. So everything, good night."

"Steh Ephraim" (1787[a], 1807) uses the characterization of the people of Ephraim, described in Isaiah 28, as an image of the world. The hymn opens, "Stand still, Ephraim, remember yourself, you hurry toward decay . . .". The pessimistic tone continues in verse two, "You flee from the one who calls after you, out of a heart kindled with love; . . . o poor creature, stand still, think about it, I have entrusted my picture to you, and you want a devil's bride."

"Comet" hymn. Such pietistic pessimism is also reflected in "Herr, was hast du im sinn," (1807) a lamentation about a comet, dated 1827. An accompanying annotation refers to the comet, supposedly having appeared in 1769 and 1784.[1] Reflective of a medieval cosmology, the lamentation opens with a plea for understanding the divine meaning behind the cosmic happening, "Lord, what do you have in mind, what are you thinking of in your zeal? About which new misery should the sky be telling us; what does the new star mean for us, poor people?" The second verse refers to the burning comets as "traurige prophete" ("sad prophets"), and the subsequent verses comment on the sad state of the human spiritual condition. Verse five, for example claims, "The world is

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[1] Dieses ist eine lamentation _ber die cometon im jahr 1769, und 1784, geschrieben den 18[ten] Februari, Anno 1827.
    The exact comet this lament is referring to is difficult to ascertain. No comets appeared in either of these years. The comet Lexell appeared in 1770, Biela in 1772, and Encke in 1786. The only comet with a 15-year period is the Schwassmann-Wachmann I comet, but it was first seen only in 1925. (*New Encyclopedia Britanica*, vol. 3 [Micropaedia] 1991, 483.)

undisciplined; faith is on the run, faithfulness is constrained, truth has disappeared, compassion and love are seldom in the air."

Sacred love poem. A text that could pass for secular love poetry, were it not for the character of Jesus is "Jesu, las mich mit verlangen" (1807), "Jesus, let me take you up with desire, that I may experience you, my salvation. I can share myself with you, my lord . . . . Jesus, let me warm myself in your arms, O, my bridegroom, kindle the fire of love."

Texts specifically for children. "Ihr kinder, was ist wohl" (1788) teaches that Jesus, and not the world, is the source of wisdom, "You children, what is the crown of youth? Jesus alone is the source of wisdom and virtue . . .".

Another text that seems to have been composed with school children in mind is the hymn, "Wilt du bald ein dokter werden," found in Anna Landes's book of 1807 (no school), but added, according to an annotation, in 1827. This is a pedagogical hymn that reinforces not only the alphabet, but also religious mores. The text teaches the virtues of humility, eternal life, patience, holy living, and of carrying one's cross with joy, all themes in harmony with Anabaptism. Verse two reads, "'A' stands for giving up all things; such as being bad, which stands for 'B', 'C' means carrying one's cross with joy, 'D' stands for "Demuth" ("humility") . . .".

Nominally sacred and secular texts. Three texts stand apart from the rest of the sacred texted repertoire in their subject matter and message. One text, "Musik ist ein edles ding" speaks to the value of music. Embedded in the text is the hint that at the turn of the nineteenth century the value of music was still a controversial issue. The author argues for the merits of music.

Lauding music as a "noble thing" that "uplifts my heart because it sings a heavenly choir," this text is in keeping with the spirit of the Mennonite catechism found in the

Güldene Aepffel in Silbern Schalen, without the warning against ungodly singing.[1] The

text reads,

> Music is something noble; yet many a person belittles it. Music is
>
> [sometimes] viewed as being bad and some people deride it. For me, music
>
> is worth a great deal, and therefore held in high honor; music lifts my
>
> tongue upward, because it sings of heaven's choir.

The text "Prezepthor bin ich genannt" praises the schoolmaster and appears *in toto*

in several of the Notenbüchlein. The text translates,

> 'Preceptor' they title me, because I teach the youth; I am pleased with my
>
> profession, and this is my honor. When the school children sing, this is my
>
> delight; and even if I do not please all people, if I might only please God,
>
> that is my delight, that is my joy.[2]

"Wie lachet der himmel" (1788) is a poem celebrating the beauty and light-

heartedness of summer. The first verse reads, "How the heavens laugh, how the earth

shimmers; how joyful everything is because summer is coming, how lovely, how merry,

how splendid and beautiful: everything in the woods and fields is in bloom." Only two of

six verses are included in the 1788 Notenbüchlein.[3] Without the last verse, which

transforms the poem into a description, not of earth, but of heaven, the hymn has the flavor

of a secular German *Wanderlied.*

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[1] See Chapter Two for discussion of `G_ldene Aepffel in Silbern Schalen`.

[2] John Ruth, in `Maintaining the Right Fellowship`, includes a brief discussion of this hymn. Ruth quotes Sally Moyer Landis (b. 1865), who claims that this hymn was very popular even during the late nineteenth century (p. 556, endnote 33). Isaac Clarence Kulp, also quoting Landis, tells of a parody of this hymn, sung at young people's gatherings. The names of a couple replaced "Prezepthor" and "jugend," and "liebe" replaced "lehre." (Interview, October 1989.) The complete text is found in 1788, 1816, and 1817[C].

[3] The six verses are found in the `Zionsharfe`, to date the only printed source of this text.

There are three secular texts in the texted repertoire of the Notenbüchlein. "Frisch auf zum frohen jagen" (1803[d], 1830[a,b]) is a hunting song,

> Get going on the happy hunt, in the green heather, the day is dawning, it is
>
> the right time . . . . Load your horns with powder and with lead, and honor
>
> the hunt with happy cries.

While the Mennonites have always objected to the use of weapons in human affairs, for hunting, the Mennonites commonly used guns, a theme celebrated in this text.

Two texts represent a significant departure from the Mennonite stand on nonviolence, however. "O Strassburg" (1803[d]), discussed briefly in Chapter Four, is a ballad about two parents looking for their son, a soldier, who died in the city of Strasbourg. The central character is a soldier, a profession quite foreign to the Mennonite reality. The story, however, captures well the grief of war and might have been attractive for that reason. Strasbourg was also the area from which many Mennonites fled during the first half of the eighteenth century.

"Brüder, thut euch wohl besinnen" (1818[a], 1819[a]) is a call to arms, speaking ostensibly of the time of the crusades. The text reads, "Brothers, remember well, for spring is approaching, then more than one-hundred-thousand men will be brought together, who will be ordered into the field of action, seeing many a foreign land. Take up your weapons, fight for the fatherland."

Considering the Mennonite ethic on nonviolence, the inclusion of these last two texts is puzzling indeed, but suggests that there was some freedom on the part of Franconia Mennonites to explore cultural elements foreign to Mennonite beliefs. Such elements never became part of the formal Mennonite ethos, however.

Summary

As might be expected, given the cultural heritage of Franconia, on balance, the themes contained in both the frequently encountered hymn repertoire, as well as the texted

hymns, many of which are of a more popular nature, reflect more the spirit of Pietism than that of Anabaptism. While there are a handful of hymns that capture elements of Anabaptist theology, namely discipleship, peace, and transformation of the individual and community, most of the hymns reflect more of a pietist orientation in which the individual experiences life as full of sorrow and turmoil, cultivates a personal relationship with Jesus, and longs for escape into the everlasting life of heaven. As argued earlier, these two approaches must have been viewed as complementary and not contradictory, where the former addresses an agenda of the gathered community, while the latter approach addresses the needs of the individual living in a difficult world.

Additionally, it is important to keep in mind that the repertoire in these Notenbüchlein represents, directly, what circulated in the interdenominational schoolhouse, and only indirectly a repertoire performed by the Mennonite community. One would therefore expect to find texts that run counter to the late-eighteenth century Mennonite belief. In the absence of strict censorship, how, then, were boundaries maintained?

The answer lies, in part, in the distinction made between the formal repertoire made available in the *Zionsharfe* and the informal repertoire reflected especially in the fully texted manuscript hymns of the Notenbüchlein.   Based on the type of text excluded from the *Zionsharfe* collection, it appears that the Franconia Mennonites drew the line when it came to two areas: extreme "sweet Jesus" imagery, and doctrinal hymns emphasizing a theology of substitution. On balance, however, the tone of the majority of the hymns discussed above reflects a non-sectiarian, late seventeenth-century pietist worldview, conserved into the mid- to late nineteenth century in the German hymnody of Eastern Pennsylvania, a worldview that seems to have permeated all aspects of Franconia culture, including the community elementary schoolhouse.

CHAPTER SIX

Notation: Context, Role, and Characteristics

As noted in Chapter Two, the various hymnals used in formal worship in
Mennonite communities until the early twentieth century had very little, if any, notation in
them. Without notation, it is difficult to know whether the tunes named at the top of each
hymn were, in fact, sung to the given text. If so, how was the tune performed? These are
questions that remain largely unanswered for the period preceding the use of notation in
Mennonite hymnals in the Franconia area, a practice which began only in 1902.[1]
Furthermore, there is no collateral evidence in the form of organ accompaniment books,
because instrumental accompaniment to hymn-singing in formal worship was not part of
the Mennonite tradition.[2] Indeed, it would appear that, until the late eighteenth century, the
time when the Notenbüchlein and Notenbücher first appeared, the transmission of hymn
tunes among Mennonites in Pennsylvania was largely effected through oral tradition. The
Notenbüchlein therefore represent a point in the history of the Franconia Mennonites in
which written transmission intersects with what was formerly a purely oral tradition, a
situation that produced a complex variety of notational styles, versions of tunes, textural
settings, and, generally, a heterogeneous repertoire. Given the absence of written

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[1] Singing-school books and hymnals with notation were used informally
among Mennonites already during the second half of the nineteenth century.
The Church and Sunday School Hymnal (Scottdale, Pa: Mennonite
Publishing House) first appeared in 1902. This English
hymnal with an appendix of German hymns replaced the
Zionsharfe in Franconia Conference Mennonite churches. (John
Ruth, *Maintaining the Right Fellowship* [Scottdale, Pa.:
Herald Press, 1984], 462.)

[2] Many Mennonite communities, including congregations in the Franconia
area, began to use the piano, electronic organ, and guitar during the 1960's
and 1970's. Their use as accompaniment for congregational singing is not a
given, however. Many congregations still practice a capella singing of
familiar hymns. For more on Mennonite singing practices in the twentieth
century, see Helen Martens, "Singing," *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*,
Vol. V, 825-27.

documentation other than the Notenbüchlein themselves, it is difficult to uncover the development of this tradition, the reasons for the use of notation in the years following 1780, the relationship between the notation and the performance outcome, and the immediate sources of the repertoire.

Establishing a musicological context for the Notenbüchlein is the first step toward answering the above questions. We open this chapter with a review of Mennonite hymnody in Colonial Pennsylvania. This is followed by a reconstruction of the Notenbüchlein's probable role in the Franconia culture. Musicological issues that arise out of this discussion are addressed next. We then move to the heart of the chapter: a description of the notation and musical styles of the Notenbüchlein as a corpus.

Context: Review of Mennonite hymnody in early Colonial Pennsylvania

The first Mennonite immigrants to Pennsylvania were of Dutch and North German origin. There is no extant documentation of their hymnody in Pennsylvania, either in manuscript form or in printed hymnals. With the large influx of German-speaking immigrants in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, German soon became the dominant language of the Franconia community.[1]

Written materials published in German for Mennonite use in Pennsylvania beginning in 1740 provide indirect documentation of the Franconia Mennonite hymn tradition during the second half of the eighteenth century. The catechism on music published in the *Güldene Aepfel in silbern Schalen* (Europe; [n.p.], 1702; Ephrata, Pa., 1745) suggests a rather simple approach to music-making in which "having a right heart" was valued over a "right performance" (see Chapter Two). While the hymnal of Anabaptist origin, the *Ausbund*, was published in Germantown in 1742, there are very few extant copies whose owners were Franconia Mennonites, this in contrast to the many extant copies from the Lancaster area. The *Ausbund* seems, therefore, to have had little use

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[1] Chapter One covers the immigration patterns in more detail.

among Franconia Mennonites. The Germantown editions of the Reformed *Lobwasser*, the Brethren *Kleine Davidische Psalterspiel* and the Lutheran *Marburger*, on the other hand, were owned by many Mennonites in the Franconia area.

The monophonic *a capella* style coupled with the fact that, except for the *Lobwasser*, notation was not included in the above-mentioned hymnals, means that the oral tradition and performance practice cannot be reconstructed for most of the eighteenth century. This changed during the last quarter of the eighteenth century when it became common to record repertoire in notation. In short, what was formerly a purely oral tradition became, in part, a written tradition recorded in the Notenbüchlein.   A reconstruction of the role the Notenbüchlein played begins with written historical evidence.

Reconstruction of the Role of the Notenbüchlein

Based on several of the title pages, we know that the Notenbüchlein were given to "diligent" ("fleiüiger") singers, many of whom later became vorsingers and leaders in other capacities in the community.[1] Musically talented boys, then, were being groomed for future potential leadership in formal aspects of community life; musically gifted girls were learning the skills necessary to lead music in the homes. None of this, however, explains why, beginning in 1780, notation came to be used, considering that notation played little, if any, role in transmission in the centuries prior to 1780. Indeed, notation is not an essential ingredient either for transmission of music or for an extensive and varied repertoire; many, if not the majority of musical traditions in the world are perpetuated without any form of notation.

Possible Roles of Notation. The music traditions of Gregorian chant, British and New England psalmody, and Iranian classical music provide three different roles served by the introduction of notation. In the case of Gregorian chant, while there is disagreement on specific points, there is general agreement that the introduction of notation

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[1] See Chapter Three.

during the course of the ninth century was part of the Carolingian Renaissance and an effort

to unify an empire by standardizing Catholic liturgy and practice.[1] The original function of

notation, then, would have been to describe and thereby promote one chant tradition, the

so-called Gregorian chant.[2]

In contrast to ninth-century Europe, in seventeenth-century Britain and New

England, a system of notation was already in place. Parishioners in rural congregations,

however, were not necessarily musically literate. The hymn repertoire and practice in such

communities was perpetuated orally, a practice referred to in various contemporary writings

as the "common" or "old way."[3] Characteristics of the "old way" include, for one, a slow

tempo. Temperley calculates, based on the diaries of Samuel Pepys, that "the speed of

singing would have been two or three seconds to a note."[4] A second characteristic is a

standardization of the rhythms. Whereas a given tune might have originated with relatively

complex rhythms, these tended to disappear over time. Temperley reports, "by the time

Playford came to print the psalm tunes in his *Introduction to Music* (1658) and *Whole*

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[1] For more on the liturgical reforms of Charlemagne, see Gerard Ellard, *Master Alcuin, Liturgist* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1956).

[2] Scholarship pertaining to the use of notation in chant includes Solange Corbin, "Les notations neumatiques en France _ l'_poque carolingienne," *Revue d'histoire de l'_glise en France* 38 (1952), 225-32; Leo Treitler, "Homer and Gregory: The Transmission of Epic Poetry and Plainchant," (*The Musical Quarterly* 60:333-72), 367-8; Helmut Hucke, "Toward a New Historical View of Gregorian Chant," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* (1980) 33:437-67; and Kenneth Levy's controversial article, "Charlemagne's Archetype of Gregorian Chant," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* (1987) 40:1-30, 25.

[3] Both Gilbert Chase and Nicholas Temperley describe the style of the "old way," the former in *America's Music from the Pilgrims to the Present*, (Foreward by Richard Crawford and discographic essay by William Brooks. Rev. 3rd ed. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987) Chapter Two; the latter in *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 2 vols. (London: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 91-98.

[4] Temperley, p. 92.

Book of Psalms in Three Parts (1677), the rhythms of many tunes had become standardized: each line began and ended with a semibreve, with minims between."[1]

Accompanying the above characteristics was the phenomenon of ornamentation. Two New England reformers, Nathaniel Chauncey and Thomas Walter, describe this practice in their publications aimed at abolishing the "old way." Chauncey described the "old way" as using "many quavers and semiquavers" and Walter writes that the tunes "are now miserably tortured, and twisted, and quavered, in some churches, into an horrid medley of confused and disorderly noises."[2]

The urban, educated church leaders viewed the rural musical style as inferior and in need of reform. To achieve their goal, reformers instituted singing schools where reading from notation was taught from printed tune books. Such tune books included elaborate introductions to the "regular" way of singing, followed by a collection of tunes edited to meet the standards of the "regular" way. In this regard, such tune books may be described as prescriptive, where the goal of notation was to prescribe the "regular way," thereby, in the minds of the reformers, improving the quality of singing.

The Classical tradition of Iran began to be notated even before 1900, using the western system of notation. The predominant mode of transmission until 1970 remained oral, however. Today, three notated versions of the basic musical material (the *radif*) are used in the performance of classical Persian music, this in contrast to the many versions passed on orally by the many teachers of classical music. Bruno Nettl suggests the following regarding the impact notation had on this music tradition:

> The introduction of notation may have allowed Persian music to survive,
> and the fact that it could actually be notated made it possible for its
> practitioners to hold their heads up in the face of encroaching Western
> musical culture. But gone is the reverence with which a student had

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[1] Ibid., 93.
[2] The two quotes are cited by Chase, p. 23 and 26 respectively.

formerly held his master's *radif* . . . . Notation has on the whole permitted Persian music to develop a broader scope and style, but at the center of its practice is a core comprising possibly the majority of performances, which are similar to each other and thus represent a narrowing of the tradition.[1]

Notation in the case of Persian classical music, then, served to document only a few performing schools of this tradition. While notation perhaps preserved a tradition that otherwise would have died off, there was a tradeoff. Notation has allowed for a broader scope and style, but the core musical material has narrowed.

Notation in Franconia Communities. Since, as documented below, much of the notation in the Notenbüchlein reflects characteristics of the "old way," it seems unlikely that the Notenbüchlein were introduced in a spirit of reform. Given the availability of the printing press, it also seems unlikely that standardization of the repertoire was a goal, for the printing of books would have been a much more efficient method of achieving standardization. Perhaps the notation was introduced as a measure to preserve a culture, akin to the Iranian situation described above. I propose that the Notenbüchlein were introduced to bolster the Pennsylvania-German Mennonite culture at a time when growing English dominance as well as the American Revolution and its accompanying patriotism were threatening the Franconia Mennonite cultural identity. As seen in Chapter Two, the publication of Mennonite literature served to reassert the Mennonite point of view in the 1740s. In the same vein, the Notenbüchlein helped maintain and perpetuate a German tradition in the midst of the surrounding English-speaking majority. The push on the part of the English-speaking government during the second half of the eighteenth century to abolish the community school system in favor of so-called charity schools where English would be the principal language of instruction is one example of the cultural threat exerted

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[1] Bruno Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Twenty-Nine Issues and Concepts* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1983), 191.

on the Pennsylvania-Germans. William Smith, a contemporary historian, explains the

following agenda inherent in the charity school idea:

> "Faithful Protestant Ministers, and School-masters, should be sent and supported among them [the Germans], to warn them against the Horrors of Popish Slavery; to teach them sound Principles of Government, and instruct their Children in the English Tongue, and the Value of those Privileges to which they are born among us. If this can be done, and the French driven from the Ohio, so as to have no Communication with our Germans for twenty or thirty Years, till they are taught the Value of the Protestant Religion, understand our Language, and see that they have but one Interest with us; they will for the future bravely fight for their own Property, and prove an impregnable Barrier against the Enemy."[1]

An outspoken opponent of charity schools was the Germantown Brethren printer,

Christopher Saur, the printer of choice of Franconia Mennonites during the second half of

the eighteenth century. Saur understood the institution of charity schools as having been

created "to bring the country into servitude, so that each [citizen] may look to his own

private advantage."[2] Such a goal stood in opposition to the emphasis on community

espoused by the Mennonites, Brethren, and other sectarians.

The above evidence suggests that the educational system was one cultural

battleground in the forging of the new American culture. Without community support,

however, the charity school idea did not take hold among the German-speakers of

Pennsylvania. The result of the conflict, however, seems to have been a greater awareness

than before on the part of the Franconia Mennonites of the need to preserve the German

cultural identity. The fact that the Notenbüchlein were given to children suggests a

conscious attempt on the part of the adult Mennonite community to give children an active

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[1] William Smith, *A Brief History of the Charitable Scheme, for Instructing Poor Germans in Pennsylvania, &c.* (Philadelphia, 1755), 7-9, as quoted in Paul Sack, *History of Higher Education in Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1963), Vol. 1, 141.

[2] The late nineteenth-century historian Martin Brumbaugh includes this quote by Saur in *An Educational Struggle in Colonial Pennsylvania* [Lancaster, 1898], 17, (cited in Sacks, p. 143).

role in their own religious culture.[1] One musical goal would therefore have been to describe the repertoire and practice as it was already being sung. If so, the Notenbüchlein are, in part at least, a writing down of what previously had been transmitted orally. This suggests that their original use was not to instruct but to remind the singer of the melodic contour of a given tune. Additional evidence of their use as reminder is the fact that Notenbücher were used by some Vorsünger who would place their hymnal on one knee and their Notenbuch on the other.[2] Since the parishioners did not have notation, it can be assumed that the Vorsünger led already familiar repertoire, with the memory aid of his Notenbuch. Similarly, the Notenbüchlein were a memory aid for potential future song leaders.

Such a use would account for, what is in fact, the majority (seventy-six percent) of the repertoire: monophonic tunes with very little, if any, rhythmic differentiation and with varying degrees of ornamentation, a style that fits Temperley's description of the "old way" of singing in Britain and New England. Accounting for tunes that do not fit the above description, namely tunes with rhythmic differentiation or in a harmonized, requires additional consideration. Such tunes and settings suggest that, apart from the formal hymnody of worship, there was also what seems to have been a recreational hymnody consisting of tunes new to the Franconian community and harmonized settings. It is known that singing accompanied many social events in the community, including weddings, Sunday afternoon home singings, and work bees.[3] It seems plausible that a different repertoire served such events.

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[1] The Notenb_chlein did not flourish in Lutheran and Reformed communities or in Mennonite communities in Lancaster, however. Since Lancaster was further removed from Philadelphia, it could be that these communities felt less culturally threatened during the cultural turmoil of the American Revolution. As for the Lutherans and Reformed, it could be that since religious instruction was in the hands of the clergy and not the laity as it was in Mennonite communities, conscious cultural and religious preservation was not fostered in the schools.

[2] See Chapter Two.

[3] See Chapter Two.

A contemporary study of the Old Order Amish gives support to the foregoing hypothesis. The second hymn sung at every Amish Sunday morning worship service is hymn number 131, known as "Das Loblied," from the *Ausbund*. Joseph W. Yoder transcribed the tune in 1942 in his *Amische Lieder* as a slow, chant-like melody. In the same publication, he includes a different setting of this same text, however, a tune used in the Amish communities of Belleville, Pa., for occasions such as weddings. The tune is a livelier dance-like melody in six-eight time called "The Great Physician."[1] Below are the two tunes in contrasting styles.

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[1] Martin E. Ressler, "Hymnbooks Used by the Old Order Amish," *The Hymn*, Vol. 28, No. 1 [Jan. 1977], 11-15.

Example 6.1. "O Gott vater, wir loben dich" -- two contrasting tunes sung by the Amish
             (Martin Ressler, "Hymnbooks Used by the Old Order Amish", *The Hymn*,
             Vol. 28, No. 1 [Jan. 1977], 13,15.)

           In the case of the Notenbüchlein, it is impossible to know with certainty which

tunes were linked to which events. It may be, however, that tunes that fit the description of

the "old way" were performed in such formal, conservative settings as worship services.

Tunes with rhythmic differentiation and harmony, on the other hand, were likely performed

in less formal social gatherings. Examples representing both categories are found

throughout this and the following two chapters.

           In both the formal and informal repertoires, the immediate source of the repertoire

seems to have been oral tradition, for in only a very few instances does a given tune

version reflect without question a pre-existing written source. In other words, most of the

tunes whose origins are recognizable are not exact copies of any single version. Rather

they reflect what is commonly referred to in historical musicology as "corrupted" versions.

Ethnomusicology names such a process "change," the term used for the balance of this dissertation to account for variations of what seems to be a single tune, in the Notenbüchlein themselves as well as vis ü vis pre-existing sources.[1] Indeed, of the fifty different Notenbüchlein tunes quoted in this and the following chapter, thirty-seven are identifiable, but thirteen are not at this point. Of the identifiable ones, only a few suggest any direct relationship to a pre-existing printed source.

Generalizations about the Notation

Having recreated, to the extent possible, the musical context of the Notenbüchlein, we now turn to the notation and repertoire itself. With very few exceptions, the tunes in the Notenbüchlein are not texted but have only text incipits for identification. The tunes for which text is provided usually include no textual underlay, the text appearing in block form. The text underlay is supplied for the musical examples in this and the following chapters. As was done for the chapters on texts, the texts are taken, when possible, from the Notenbüchlein. In cases where no Notenbüchlein includes text, the latter are taken from two early nineteenth-century Mennonite hymnals: the *Zionsharfe* (1803) and the *Unpartheiisch* (1804). Texts not included in these sources are taken from Zahn's *Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder.*

Clef. The majority of tunes in the Notenbüchlein use a C clef where the bottom line represents c[1] (see examples 6.2 and 6.3).[2] In this dissertation, I have transcribed the

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[1] Isaac Clarence Kulp refers to the phenomenon of variants from one micro-community to another in present-day Old Order communities as "zersingen." "Zersingen" is defined in `Heath's German and English Dictionary` (1906) as "to alter or spoil by frequent singing, to change the original character (of a song)." "Alter(ing) by frequent singing" would fit the intent of Kulp's use of the term. Kulp says, "melodies simply change in all of the communities and groups by the process of 'zersingen.'" (Interview, November 30, 1989.)

[2] There are many instances where no clef is indicated at all. The fact that, in most of these instances, the same tune can be found in other Notenb_chlein using the same pitches as those with a C clef on the bottom line, suggests that the same clef is assumed unless indicated otherwise.

quoted tunes in this and the following chapter, as well as the music and text incipits in Appendix D, using modern clefs.

There are instances of treble, alto, and bass clefs, but these occur mostly in harmonized tunes in which each line is given its own staff. Tunes using shape notes also often employ the treble (G) clef.

Meter. Meter indications include C, , , or no time signature at all. Less common are time signatures ü, 2/4, 3/4, 6/4, and 6/8. In addition to these are rare instances of an archaic form of compound time signatures in which a cut time signature is followed by a 3/4 meter.[1] As with the other time signatures, whereas one Notenbüchlein might include a tune with a compound time signature, the same tune can be found in another Notenbüchlein with simply a signature or no time signature at all.

The inconsistent use of time signatures is in keeping with the general ambiguity surrounding the contemporary use of time signatures as indicated by the writings of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European theorists, including Etienne Loulie and Michel de Monteclair. The former claims: "All these time-signatures [C, , ü] were in use among the ancients . . . ; foreigners have retained some in their works, but the practice of them is not very certain, some use them in one way, some in another."[2] Speaking specifically to the time signature, Monteclair reports, "There is a time-signature marked by , of which the usage is no longer well defined; it is used in different manners for lack of willingness to recognize its character."[3] It seems, therefore, that the most commonly used time signature, , was merely a convention of notation, and held little if any metrical

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[1] Such occurrences include "O wie selig sind die Seelen" in 1787[a],   "O das ich tausend Zungen" and "Ihr Kinder, was ist wohl" in 1788, and "Name voller gute" in 1810[b].
[2] *Elements . . . de musique*, Paris 1696, p. 69, as quoted in Robert Donnington, *The Interpretation of Early Music*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1963), p. 346.
[3] *Petite Methode* (Paris [c.1730]), 48, quoted in Robert Donnington, p. 346.

meaning. This is further supported by the fact that the time signature was frequently omitted altogether (as seen in example 6.4.)

Key Signature. There seems to have been an understanding of key signatures in the modern sense, for many of the Notenbüchlein include varied key signatures, some up to five sharps. As would be expected of notation in manuscript sources, there are many errors, including the complete omission of key signature, and, in a few instances, mixed key signatures in which a sharp and flat are both found. The latter appear to be errors, and not an intentional mixed key signature.

There are also several examples of the sharp symbol occurring in the course of the tune. This always meant raising the pitch a half step, and was used, as was the case in the seventeenth century, as a natural sign is used today. The practice continued in Pennsylvania-German sources into the nineteenth century. Natural signs are also found. As might be expected, there are Notenbüchlein that seem to omit completely the details of key signature and accidentals, further support for the thesis that, for some, notation was used as a reminder for the already familiar, and not as an instructor of new repertoire.

Symbols. Symbols having to do with performance include lines through the staff ( ), repeat signs and fermatas. The most frequent use of lines through the staff was to set off textual musical phrases. (See example 6.3 below.) The more modern use for defining musical meter is also found, however. (See example 6.2.) Even here, however, the signature conflicts with what appears to be a common time pattern of beats, a feature supporting the claim of imprecise usage made by the French theorists quoted above.

Repeat signs consist of either the two dots before or after the bar line (:ü:), or a more archaic four dots (ü). Fermatas are used to indicate the ends of phrases, and tend to be found only in tunes in instances where a bar line conflicts with the end of a musical

phrase, a use familiar from printed chorale books. The example below is a tune originating

in the 1708 Halle Gesangbuch and set to the text, "Der lieben sonne, licht und pracht."[1]

Example 6.2. Facsimile and transcription of "Der lieben sonne, licht und pracht" -- 1810[b]
(text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 337)

The sign :ü: is used, for the most part, to indicate repetition of a phrase of text, and

is found both in the printed hymn texts as well as above the musical staves of the

Notenbüchlein. Two examples below demonstrate the meaning of this symbol. The first

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[1] As with much of the repertoire, the scribe's immediate source is not known.
The larger issue of sources is dealt with in Chapter Seven. For present
purposes, a brief comparison between pre-existing sources and the version
found in the Notenb_chlein is given.
    While the tune is similar to the 1708 *Halle Gesangbuch* version
quoted in Zahn (Z. 5659), it is not an exact copy. The Halle
version has two flats in the key signature, concludes the A
section with a dotted rhythm, notates half notes followed by
a quarter rest instead of fermatas in the B section, and
concludes with a different melisma on the final cadence (e-c-
b-d). It is therefore doubtful that the Halle hymnal was the
immediate source used as the model for the Notenb_chlein.
Rather, it seems that the scribe was writing down the version
learned through oral tradition. The prescriptive rhythms and
modern barring suggest that the scribe was familiar with the
notational style of the *Halle Gesangbuch*, however, and other
contemporary notational practices.

example is an eighteenth-century chorale in which a repetition of the first short phrase,

"Fahre fort" is clearly indicated.[1]

Example 6.3. Facsimile and transcription of "Fahre fort" -- 1821[b] (text taken from Zahn,
Z. 4791)

Example 6.4 is a tune not found in pre-existing sources, but used as a setting for

the text "Lebt friedsam, sprach Christus." This tune defines more clearly the meaning of

the symbol :ü:. Already established is that the symbol indicates repetition of text that came

before. In this instance, however, were one to repeat all the text that came before, the

remaining notation following the sign would not be sufficient. The sign therefore appears

to mean repeating the previous phrase only, a solution that works in this case. Both of

these notational techniques may be found in printed music of the sixteenth century.

Example 6.4. Facsimile and transcription, "Lebt friedsam, sprach Christus" -- 1787[a] (text
taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 370)

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[1] A tune originating in the 1704 edition of the Halle Gesangbuch (see Z. 4791),
the Notenb_chlein version, while sharing the same pitches, bears no
rhythmic resemblance to the Halle version.

The meter of this tune is actually 3/4 with a quarter-note anacrusis. A triple meter works

throughout with the exception of the penultimate measure where the final *a* should be a half

note.

Beaming notes together and the use of slur markings are often interchangeable.

Demonstrating this are two diplomatic copies of the first phrase of the familiar tune "In dir

ist freude." (The remainder of the tune contains only half notes in both sources.)

Example 6.5. "In dir ist freude" -- 1787[a], 1810[b], respectively

This example suggests that eighth notes beamed to half notes do not necessarily mean a rhythmic pattern different from uniform half notes.

Verbal instructions. It is exceptional to find verbal instructions. Several tunes include the instruction "D.C. al fine." The tune for "Halleluja" in Abraham Geissinger's book includes the rubrics "piano" and "forte." (See example 6.32 below.) In contrast to much of the rest of the repertoire, which is clearly intended for congregational use, this tune suggests musical training beyond that of the average parishioner.

Notational Styles

White notation.[1] The majority of the tunes are notated in a style I call "white notation" in which the noteheads are whole and half notes.[2] This style can be further divided into three substyles illustrated by the following facsimiles of settings of "Ach, Gott und Herr."[3] Example 6.6 represents the most common white notational substyle, in which the first and last notes of each phrase are whole notes, the remainder being straight half notes. Example 6.7 uses whole notes only and 6.8 uses shape-notes.

Example 6.6. "Ach, Gott und Herr," half-notes with phrases ending or beginning (or both) with whole notes -- facsimile of 1815[c] (reduced to 64%)[4]

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[1] The limitation of rhythmic values to breves and minims is reminiscent of the rhythm found in *musique mesuree* settings of Le Jeune and others from the last quarter of the sixteenth century.

[2] A rare notational style is found only in three tunes, two in 1816 and one in 1817[c]. These noteheads are:

The hand used for the incipit, as well as the ink used for the notation is no different from the surrounding tunes. The notation used otherwise in this manuscript is the usual whole note followed by half notes. This style of notehead, as used for two or three tunes only, is puzzling.

[3] See Z. 2051 for earliest prints and subsequent versions of this tune. None matches the rhythmic version found in the Notenb_chlein. Additionally, there are slight pitch differences suggesting that the two pre-existing sources accounted for in Zahn were not used by the Notenb_chlein scribe.

[4] Forty-nine books include this style: 1780, 1781, 1783[a,b], 1787[a,b], 1788, 1791, 1792, 1794, 1795, 1800[a], 1803[a,b], 1803[c,d], 1804, 1805[a,b], 1807, 1808, 1809, 1810[a,b], 1812[a], 1814[a,c,d,e],

Example 6.7. "Ach, Gott und Herr," whole notes only -- facsimile of 1784^a (reduced to 64%)[1]

Example 6.8. "Ach, Gott und Herr," shape notes -- facsimile of 1828^b (reduced to 64%)[2]

An additional feature of white notation is the inclusion of ornamentation either in the form of small black eighth notes or simply dots without stems. Below is "Ach, Gott und Herr" in an ornamented version, as found in the 1780 Notenbüchlein.

Example 6.9. "Ach, Gott und Herr" -- ornamented version -- facsimile of 1780 (reduced 64%)

The fact that examples 6.7 through 6.9 notate the tune for "Ach, Gott und Herr" in different rhythmic conventions supports the view that metrical indications, as well as rhythmic

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1815^{a,b} 1816, 1817^{b,c}, 1818^{a,b}, 1819^{a,b}, 1820^{a,c}, 1821^{a,b}, 1823^{a,b}, 1826, 1827, 1828^{a,b}, and 1830^c.

[1] Ten include this style: 1784^a, 1784^b, 1791, 1798, 1800^b, 1802, 1814^a, 1815^a. 1820^d, and 1828^a.

[2] Ten books include uniform half notes: 1812^b, 1823^b, 1826, 1827, 1828^{a,b}, 1830^{a,b,c}, and 1834.

values, in white notation represent a notational convention that had little to do with the rhythmic performance. Rather, such notation serves as a memory aid for the performer already familiar with the tune.

Black and hybrid notational styles. Two other styles of notation encountered reflect the rhythmic notation of the eighteenth century. The first I call "black" notation, since the quarter note is equivalent to one beat. The second, which combines white noteheads with flagged stems (indicating eighth- and sixteenth-note values), I call "hybrid" notation. Dotted rhythms are also commonly found in both black and hybrid notation.

In contrast to white notation, these two styles are characterized by their greater rhythmic differentiation when compared with white notation. It cannot be known with certainty how such rhythms were actually performed. Nevertheless, given the fact that several Notenbüchlein include a rhythm chart, it seems likely that rhythmic values were understood and practiced, and they were, in fact, performed as written.

Example 6.10 demonstrates a straightforward use of black notation, which accounts for only 20 percent of the repertoire. The Anglo-American tune, "Greenfields," used as the setting for the German translation of Watt's text "When Joseph his Brethren beheld" is found in three different notational styles.[1] Five books (1805[b], 1812[b], 1816, 1817[b], and [1826]) include this tune in a harmonized version; all five use the same rhythms.

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[1] George Pullen Jackson, in *Spiritual Folk-Songs of Early America*. J. (New York: J. J. Augustin Publisher, 1937), reports that the secular tune that seems to have inspired "Greenfields" is the air, "Farewell, Ye Green Fields and Sweet Groves," found in *Vocal Music, or the Songster's Companion*, second edition, 1782 (p. 92-93). *Missouri Harmony* (1820) represents its earliest appearance in an American tune book.
    The tune is included in at least one copy of Joseph Funk's German collection *Die allgemein n_tzliche Choral-music* (Harrisonburg, 1816) on the last page following the index. (See copy in Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. This evidence does not invalidate Jackson's dating, however, since it is not in the main body of the work.) Funk subsequently included it in his English collection, the *Harmonia Sacra* (published originally as *Genuine Church Music*, 1832),

Example 6.10. Facsimile (reduced to 64%) and transcription of "Da Joseph" set to *Greenfields* -- [1826]: black notation; melody in middle voice (text taken from 1817^c Notenbüchlein)

crediting a certain DeFleury as the author. Jackson does not mention DeFleury.

The 1817[c] book includes the same tune in harmonized form, but in hybrid notation (the noteheads are white, but the stems represent contemporary rhythmic values). This version seems to be an attempt to notate a greater degree of rhythmic differentiation in the familiar framework of white notation.

Example 6.11. Facsimile (reduced to 64%) of "Da Joseph" set to Greenfields: hybrid notation -- 1817[c]

This same tune appears in yet a third notational style: six Notenbüchlein contain a monophonic setting of "Greenfields" in white notation in uniform half notes, each phrase beginning and ending with a whole note.

The variation in notation described above suggests that notational style might be dependent on the mode of transmission in cases in which a tune transmitted orally in a tradition of monophonic singing would predictably undergo a regularization of rhythm. The same tune transmitted in written form, on the other hand, suggests a performance style in keeping with the contemporary Anglo-American hymn style.

The phenomenon of multiple notational styles for a single tune brings into focus the question of performance outcome as well as immediate source. Was the version of "Greenfields" that comes down in white notation performed with equal note lengths, as other tunes in the same notational style appear to have been, or were the rhythmic proportions reflected in the black and hybrid versions transmitted orally, but simply not notated in the white-note versions? The fact that there are several examples of a tune appearing in two different notational styles within the same Notenbüchlein suggests that the performance outcome was indeed different, otherwise such repetition would have been unnecessary.

Additionally, the notational styles suggest different modes of transmission. Below is a tune the variants of which support the claim that notational style represents different transmission histories and performance outcomes. "Wie lachet der Himmel" is found in three different versions in the Notenbüchlein. Although the tune has no known pre-existing source, the variation among the three versions quoted below also suggests different modes of transmission.

Example 6.12. "Wie lachet der himmel" -- 1787[a], 1810[b]a, 1810[b]b (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 72)

Two explanations of this song history might be: a two-voice tune originally created in written form was either composed anonymously in, or transmitted to Pennsylvania and applied to a new text. The contemporaneous-sounding bass line as well as the characteristically Baroque sequences suggest a learnedness associated with written compositions, a learnedness not found in most of the Notenbüchlein repertoire. Through the process of oral transmission, the antecedent - consequent contrast of the two-part version was merged into a monophonic version.[1] Suggestive of contrafact origins is the fact that the text applied to versions 1810[b]a and 1810[b]b is two phrases too short, calling for what could only have been a repetition of the first two phrases. The tune was subsequently modified to exclude the first two phrases to better accommodate the text.

Except for the most commonly found white notation, no Notenbüchlein studied uses one style of notation to the exclusion of the others. Rather, black, white, and hybrid are interspersed, as are shape notes and round notes. Below is a chart summarizing the various notational styles discussed above. The percentages reflect the total number of tunes found in any given notation style. Since shape notes reflect either the rhythms of white notation or black notation, they are counted in these categories and not given one of their own.

Table 6.1.   Breakdown of Notational Styles

Notational Style of Tunes	% of Total Repertoire
White notation only	(817 tunes) 76%
Hybrid notation only	(21 tunes) 2%
Black notation only	(183 tunes) 17%
Tunes found in more than one notational style	(54 tunes) 5%

Ornamentation

A significant minority of tunes in white notation includes some type of ornamentation. Of the 787 tunes found only in white notation, 207 are found consistently

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[1] The 1788 Notenb_chlein includes a slightly different monophonic version. The differences are ornamental and not structural.

with neumatic elaboration, some with extended melismas, and seventy-eight are found in both unadorned syllabic style as well as ornamented versions.

The goal of the following discussion is first to describe the types of melodic styles. This is followed by examples of less common phenomena discussed together in a section called "anomalies."

Melodic Styles.

The term "melodic style" refers to the categories "syllabic," "neumatic" and "melismatic," terms used to characterize plain-chant melodies. The present section deals only with tunes exhibiting melodic styles other than syllabic, i.e., neumatic and melismatic styles. Tunes in these melodic styles reflect either "ornamentation" or "melodic elaboration."[1] The term "ornamentation" suggests that certain notes are viewed as superfluous to the structure of a given tune. The term "melodic elaboration," on the other hand, presupposes that, to the performer, the embellishment is structural and not ornamental. Purely oral *a capella* hymn traditions tend to illustrate "melodic elaboration" in which the embellishments are perceived as a structural component of the melody.

It seems likely that in the *a capella* oral tradition of the Franconia Mennonites the embellishment of monophonic melodies would have been the norm. The introduction of notation, however, seems to have brought with it an awareness of the difference between an embellished and an unembellished version. This awareness is suggested by the fact that numerous tunes are found in syllabic as well as different neumatic or melismatic styles, the ornamentation of which usually differs significantly from one book to the next. In a seeming attempt to describe accurately how such tunes were sung, some copyists added the embellishing notes; other scribes wrote the tunes in their plain form.

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[1] Sheila Brett articulates this division well in "Shape-Note Tune Books and Primitive Hymns," *Journal of the Society of Ethnomusicology,* 26 (1982), 11–26.

The experience of Isaac Clarence Kulp offers further evidence of awareness of melodic styles, attributable, in part, to interaction between the Lutheran and Reformed on one hand, and the Mennonites and Brethren on the other. Kulp reported: "The hymns that I learned to sing as a child in German were pretty much the same hymns that I heard in the Lutheran and Reformed churches while they were still using German, except they were sung slightly differently. [The Lutheran and Reformed followed] the musical accompaniment, where we always tended to sing them slower [without accompaniment], and added all the ornamentation and slurs."[1] Although Kulp's experience represents Franconia culture a century after the time period of the Notenbüchlein, such denominational interaction was already the norm in the early years of Franconia (see Chapter Two), suggesting that Kulp's cross-denominational awareness would have been true of the late eighteenth century as well.

In addition to the above circumstantial evidence, the Notenbüchlein themselves suggest an awareness of differentiation on the part of the notator between the structural melody notes and the embellishing notes, a difference magnified through the use of notation. The choice of the term "ornamentation" therefore seems appropriate to describe tunes for which syllabic and neumatic or melismatic versions of a single tune exist in the Notenbüchlein.

The extent to which the notation of such ornamentation represents actual performance cannot be known. It could be that instances of notated ornaments reflect only one individual's style, each person embellishing differently, a congregational performance that would have resulted in the heterophony that Thomas Walter described as "a horrid medley of confused and disorderly noises" in the New England singing tradition of the early eighteenth century.[2] Given the reputation of the Franconians as being "well-trained" in singing, it seems unlikely that "horrid medley" characterized the contemporaneous

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[1] Interview, March 1990.
[2] See footnote 10 above.

perception of the Franconians' congregational singing.[1] Additionally, solo performances were not part of the tradition, excluding this as a possible explanation of the variation in ornamentation. It is plausible, however, that the different versions of ornamentation reflect variation from one microcommunity to another, where, through oral transmission, different embellishments evolved in different congregations.

Common Ornaments. Three tunes, all found in unornamented form as well as varying kinds of ornamentation, illustrate and summarize, to a great extent, the types of ornamentation encountered in the Notenbüchlein. These include escape and cambiata notes, auxiliary tones, movement by thirds, turns, and passing tones, some filling in thirds, others, larger intervals.

The first tune is the early Lutheran chorale "Allein, Gott, in der hüh." No version derives unchanged from any known pre-existing printed source.[2] The plainer version, with only cadential ornamentation, is given first followed by two different ornamented versions. Noticeably absent from the two ornamented versions is the use of passing tones, perhaps to avoid obscuring the melodic structure characterizing this tune. Additionally, both tend to ornament the penultimate note leading to the last note of each phrase. The one exception is the first phrase after the repeat sign in the 1780 book, where the cadential ornament is missing. It seems likely that this omission was simply a scribal omission since all other cadences are ornamented. Repeated notes are also, for the most part, ornamented. Here again, the exception is in the 1780 book in the last phrase. The parallel second phrase, however, is ornamented, again suggesting a scribal omission. The main difference between the two ornamented versions appears in the first two phrases, the 1788 book notates a more neumatic style than the 1780, with leaps and escape and cambiata tones.

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[1] See the M_llinger letter in Chapter Two in which the process of creating two separate American Mennonite hymnals is discussed.

[2] See Zahn, Z. 4457. The accidentals found in 1780 and 1788 are proposed as musica ficta in Zahn.

Both ornamented versions appear early in their respective Notenbüchlein and are therefore not later additions.

Example 6.13. "Allein, Gott, in der hüh" -- 1815^c, 1780 and 1788, respectively (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 17)

Example 6.14, also found in plain as well as in two different ornamented versions, illustrates even greater ornamentational divergence. The mid-eighteenth-century chorale, "O, ihr auserwülten kinder" opens in the 1821^b book with movement by thirds, a style

seen already in the previous example.[1] The 1816 book includes this tune in a melismatic style with three-note melismas in stepwise motion.

The text underlay works well for 1816, but is problematic in the 1821[b] version in the second phrase. Following the meaning of :ü: established above, in this version, the phrase "und was euren" is repeated. The meaning of the same symbol in the first phrase after the repeat is not clear, however, since repeating the text would mean too many syllables. (Since the plain version is easily derived from the ornamented versions, this is not quoted.)

Example 6.14. "O ihr auserwülten kinder" -- 1821[b], 1816, respectively (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 115)

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[1] No version in Zahn bears a close resemblance to the version quoted in the Notenb_chlein. (See Z. 6515.)

The Geneva Psalter tune for Ps. 133: "Schau wie so fein und lieblich" is one of only two ornamented psalms. Found in two Notenbüchlein, both in ornamented form, the tune is clearly an ornamented version of the Geneva Psalter tune for Psalm 133. The ornaments notated in Barbara Meyer's 1817^c book include filling in an ascending interval of a fifth, a commonly-found context for ornamentation in the Notenbüchlein. (The tune in plain form is easily derived from the ornamented version and is therefore not quoted.)

Example 6.15. "Schau wie so fein und" (Ps. 133) -- 1817^c (text taken from *Zionsharfe*, 37)

Only the first two phrases of the tune are ornamented. Because this seems to be an unlikely mode of performance, the ornamentation of the first two phrases was likely applied to the entire tune in performance.

Three additional tunes warranting discussion in a section on ornamentation are "Jesulein, bleibe mein," "Meine sorgen, angst und plagen," and "Setze dich, mein geist, ein wenig." None has been found in pre-existing sources, suggesting that they are possibly local Pennsylvania creations. They are found in considerably different ornamented versions in the Notenbüchlein.

"Jesulein, bleibe mein," while commonly found in its plain version, is also found in two ornamented versions. The inclusion of ornamentation for this tune in nine of the

Notenbüchlein is significant. Established in Chapter Three is the fact that "Jesulein, bleibe

mein" was one of the two tunes used to instruct the basic principles of reading from

notation. The presence of ornamented versions of this tune is further proof that there was

an awareness of ornamentation as well as a conscious attempt to teach this art, thereby

perpetuating the "old way."   The two tunes copied below include different combinations of

auxiliary and escape tones, and turns. (The plain version can easily be derived from the

ornamented versions, and is therefore not quoted.)

Example 6.16. "Jesulein, bleibe mein," -- 1784[b] and 1817[b] (text taken from 1784[b])

"Meine sorgen, angst und plagen" is found in three different ornamented versions,

all of which include movement by thirds.   The difference comes in amount of

ornamentation. The tune is in ternary form. Read literally, the 1821[b] and 1819[a] books

present the first *a* section in a syllabic style, but ornament the return of the *a* section in a

neumatic style. In the 1787[a] book, on the other hand, both phrases are ornamented in the

same manner.

Example 6.17. "Meine Sorgen, angst und plagen" -- 1821^{b} [1], 1819^{a}, 1787^{a} respectively
(text taken from *Zionsharfe*, 297)

One tune for "Setze dich, mein geist, ein wenig" is a similar example. The three

versions quoted below all include arpeggiation with motion in thirds as well as seconds.

(Again, the plain version can easily be derived from the ornamented versions and is

therefore not quoted.)

[1] The G following the repeat sign in 1821^{b} `is likely an error and should be an A.`

Example 6.18. "Setze dich, mein geist, ein wenig" -- 1807, 1821^b, 1816 (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 42)

The large intervals in this instance are not filled in with passing tones, but with movement by thirds, a feature shared by all three ornamented versions. The difference between the three lies in the text underlay. The 1807 book suggests beginning a syllable with an ornamental and not structural note, a feature rarely encountered in the entire repertoire. The other two, by contrast, begin a syllable with a melodic note followed by an ornamental note. The slight pitch variations in the second half of the tune are a common phenomenon, dealt with in detail in Chapter Eight.

The ornamentation discussed thus far includes the following predictable melodic contexts: repeated notes, ascending and descending seconds and thirds, and ascending fourths and fifths. Cadence notes are generally left unornamented. The types of ornamentation include escape and cambiata tones, passing tones, neighbor tones,

movement by thirds, and turns. Also discussed was the absence of passing tones in certain

contexts, apparently to preserve the melodic character of the tune. There are exceptions to

the above generalization, however, as seen in the following examples.

       Anomalies. The tune used as a setting for "Wann ich es recht betracht" (no

known pre-existing source) is found mostly in its plain form. Geissinger's 1810^b book

includes the tune in the following version with two- and three-note ornaments, one of these

in the unusual position of the final note of the first phrase. Since the first note of the

subsequent phrase is the same as the preceding note, it seems that the tendency to ornament

repeated notes is applied even across two different phrases.

Example 6.19. "Wann ich es recht betracht" -- 1810^b (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 296)

       The filling in of ascending fourths and fifths is commonly found in the repertoire.

Rarer are downward leaps filled in with passing tones. Only one example is found

demonstrating such ornamentation. The 1784^a book includes the tune "Nun sich der tag

geendet hat" as follows. The ornamental dots are as in the original.[1]

Example 6.20. "Nun sich der tag geendet hat" -- 1784^a (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*,
         333)

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[1] Zahn (Z. 212) documents nine variations of this tune, none of which is the
same as the one quoted here.

Several of the ornamented versions quoted above include relatively elaborate embellishments. One tune ornamented in what is referred to in the Notenbüchlein as "Laufnoten" ("running notes") seems to have been perceived as a virtuosic version of "Du, unbegreiflich hüchstes gut." Jacob Meyer's book dated 1816 refers to the added notes as "Laufnoten, gar springnoten" ("running notes, even jumping notes").

This sixteenth-century chorale appears in plain as well as in two ornamented forms in which each main melody note is linked to the next by sixteenth-note turns: the two versions appear separately in all Notenbüchlein, except in the 1817^c book, which bars the two lines together in score fashion. This suggests that the two were, on occasion, sung together, creating counterpoint. Again, the plain version is easily derived from the ornamented versions and is therefore not quoted. Below is a transcription of the two-voice version as found in the 1817^c Notenbüchlein.

Example 6.21. "Du, unbegreiflich hüchstes gut" -- two-voice version found in 1817^c (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 132)[1]

[1] The following books include the top line only: 1788, 1794, 1795, $1803^{b,c,d}$, 1814^a, 1815^a, 1816, 1817^b, 1820^a, and 1820^c. The 1794, 1803^d, and 1810^b books include only the second line.

The consistent, rhythmically uniform use of four notes to a syllable is unique to this piece, and strikes one as instrumental rather than vocal. The *moto perpetuum* style of ornamentation could be said to be a vocal counterpart to the late Renaissance and early Baroque toccata and prelude.

Summary of ornamentation. With only one exception (example 6.16) the principal melody notes in the Notenbüchlein always begin on the beat; any ornamentation occurs between beats. Additionally, repeated notes, ascending and descending seconds, and ascending fourths and fifths, were ornamented. Beginning and ending notes of a phrase were generally not ornamented. Thirds were often not filled in, perhaps to preserve the melodic character. Descending fourths and fifths were also generally not filled in, presumably also to preserve the melodic character.

The above general description matches Temperley's characterization of ornamentation in British psalmody performed the "old way," an oral hymn tradition with characteristics similar to aspects of the Notenbüchlein, described above.

> The principal notes of the tune always begin where they are supposed to begin -- on the beat; any additional notes occur between beats, and consist largely of stepwise connecting notes. Often they form a simple scale linking one note of the tune to the next; but sometimes they go beyond the next note and return to it. Conspicuously absent are the appoggiature, turn, shake and other ornaments characteristic of eighteenth-century art music, which begin on the upper note and delay the main note until after the beat.[1]

Melodic Elaborations

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[1] *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 2 vols. (London: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 94.

In contrast to ornamentation, embellishment categorized as "melodic elaboration" describes tunes found only in ornamented form and which are furthermore always embellished in nearly the same fashion. This relative consistency suggests that such embellishments were viewed by the Franconia singers as part of the melodic structure, and not added ornamental features.

Tunes that consistently include melodic elaborations in the Notenbüchlein are found mostly in the form of extended melismas in various positions. If they occur at the end of the tune, they tend to fall either on the penultimate phrase or the concluding phrase. If they fall earlier in the tune, their placement is less predictable.[1] Below are three examples of such embellishment.

The tune for "Mein heüland, habe auf mich" (found in no pre-existing sources) always includes a melisma in the penultimate measure in all twenty-four Notenbüchlein that include this tune.[2]

Example 6.22. "Mein heüland, habe auf mich acht" -- 1821[b] (text taken from the
    Zionsharfe, 150)

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[1] In addition to the tunes quoted below are the following, also with extended flourishes. "O lamm Gottes, unschuldig" has a short flourish leading to the final cadential note. "Heute mir und morgen dir" has a longer flourish also leading to the last note. "Es gieng ein s_man aus" has a flourish leading up to the beginning of the last phrase, as in "Mein he_land, habe auf mich acht."
[2] See Appendix D for list of Notenb_chlein that contain this tune. There are slight ornamental variations in the B section from book to book.

The text underlay for the extended melisma is unclear, resolved perhaps by setting the last word of the penultimate phrase, "schafft," to the last note of the melisma. The meaning of the first two signs :ü: follows the definition established earlier. The meaning of the same sign following the melisma is not clear, however.

The early sixteenth-century chorale "Frisch auf, mein seel" also includes extended flourishes leading to the cadences in all of the forty-four Notenbüchlein that include this tune.[1] With only one exception, the tune appears as quoted below.[2]

Example 6.23. "Frisch auf, mein seel" -- 1815^c (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 362)

One final example of structural melismas is "Gott des himmels und der erde," a tune with no known pre-existing origins which includes a melisma in the unusual position of the

[1] Zahn (Z.5690) documents five different versions, none of which has the final cadential ornament. Although clearly related to the tune quoted in Zahn, the Notenb_chlein version seems to reflect oral memory rather than a written antecedent.

[2] The one exception is the 1817^c book which, in addition to the structural melismas, ornaments the tune.

very first phrase in both the 1794 and 1810[b] books. The descending melisma brings

attention to the word "erde" ("earth"), an example of word painting.

Example 6.24. "Gott des himmels und der erde" -- 1810[b] (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*,

    311)

Harmony

Thus far, the discussion of the tune repertoire has focused on monophonic versions

of tunes and their notational and melodic styles. While monophony constitutes the majority

of the tunes contained in the repertoire as a whole, polyphony in two, three, and on

occasion four voices is also found.

Harmonization appears almost from the beginning, in 1783[a]. From 1783 to 1803,

two ways of notating harmony are found. The first is where the two or three lines are

notated on a single staff with the melody notes in white notation, and the harmony notes in

black (see Examples 6.25 and 6.26). In this manner of notation, some pieces are

polyphonic throughout and others are partially monophonic and partially polyphonic. With

respect to the polyphonic sections of both types, two styles are seen: homorhythmic and

ornamented. In another notational style the harmony line has its own staff and is labeled

any of the following: *discant, hoch weiss, treble, bass, alt.*[1] The third style is in score

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[1] There are instances, as already discussed, in which what is in fact a harmony
line is simply labeled "Andere melodie."

fashion where each line is given its own staff, and all three or four lines barred together at the left. Below is a tabulation of these notational styles. The percentage refers to the entire corpus of harmonized settings, which totals 325.

Table 6.2   Notational Styles of Harmony
Single staff:	17%	
Labeled harmony lines:		16%
Score style:	67%	

While the notational styles represent roughly a chronological progression from single-staff to score notation, the notational style does not correspond consistently with any specific harmonic style. The harmonic styles encountered suggest the following categories as outlined in Table 6.3.[1] Examples of each follow the table.

Table 6.3   Harmony Styles
Archaic harmonizations:		60 (17%)
Parallel:	11	
Open fifths and dissonance:	49	
Eighteenth-century voice leading:		155 (44%)
Fuging tunes:		18 (5%)
Two-voice settings in thirds:		111 (32%)
Problematic[2]:		5 (2%)
Total:		349

Parallel harmonies. "Ach, Gott, erhür mein seufzen" is quoted below as an example of polyphonic, homorhythmic parallel harmony in single-staff notation.

Example 6.25. Polyphonic and homorhythmic: Facsimile and transcription of "Ach, Gott, erhür mein seufzen" -- 1783[a] (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 134)

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[1] See Appendix I for the lists of tune names that belong to each category.
[2] Nine harmonic settings either lack clefs or have clefs such that the pieces resist plausible reconstruction.

The harmonization here is reminiscent of improvised discant documented in many forms in both past and present cultures.[1] Unlike many folk harmonizations which feature fourths and fifths, the motion here is in parallel triads except in instances where a tritone would result in strict parallel motion. In these instances, the harmony is an open fifth without the third, the bottom note repeated at the octave.

The immediate source of this harmonization, as well as of the tune itself, is not known.[2] It seems likely that this harmonization is a notational representation of an oral

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[1] Examples include ninth-century parallel organum, the practice of *cantare super librum* (Tinctoris, in Book Two, Chapter Twenty of *Liber de arte contrapuncti* [1477]) or "chanter sur le livre" (eighteenth-century France, see below), or the Primitive Baptists. (See also discussions of discant and fauxbourdon, etc.)

Adrien de La Fage, in the nineteenth century, suggests that "chanter sur le livre" is practiced above all in France, but that it is heard in the Papal Chapel "in a constant harmony of thirds . . . ; it does, however, [have one very shocking drawback] which is the very frequent use of a progression that involves the false relation of the tritone." And in another chapter of his book, La Fage mentions that chant sur le livre was also practiced in Germany. (Adrien de La Fage, *Nouveau manuel*, Part 2, Vol. III, p. 196, cited in Jean Prim, "*Chant sur le livre* in French Churches in the eighteenth Century," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, [1961], 14:37-49, 46).

[2] A version included in three Notenb_chlein bears considerable resemblance to the tune found in *Praxis Pietatis* (Frankfurt 1662) quoted in Zahn (Z. 1831a). The tune below is copied from the 1780 Notenb_chlein.

tradition practiced in Pennsylvania during the eighteenth century. It is not known whether this harmonization has European origins.

Open fourths and fifths. Also representing an archaic style is a tune that is partially polyphonic and partially monophonic: "Aus meines Herzensgrunde," a chorale dating from the late sixteenth century.[1] Abraham Geissinger's 1810[b] book includes the tune in a harmonized version where the shared notes in the two voices are accounted for in the notation with small dots with stems included in or beside the white melody note. An archaic sound is achieved in this harmonization when the second voice moves to the sixth whenever the second degree of the scale is touched upon in the melody. This setting additionally notates ornamentation in the second line. Although only in two voices, this example stands apart from the majority of two-voice settings with the absence of movement in thirds.

Example 6.26. Facsimile and transcription of "Aus meines hertzensgrunde" -- 1810[b] (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 318)

With the exception of the first interval of the second phrase (a third in the Notenb_chlein and a fourth in the *Praxis Pietatis*) and the rhythmic values, the pitches and mode are the same. (The Notenb_chlein transpose the tune up a fourth from d minor to g minor, perhaps to avoid the use of ledger lines.)
 The version more commonly found in the Notenb_chlein (quoted in example 6.25) departs in significant ways from the first version quoted. The most noticeable difference is the opening interval of a fourth, a change that effectively changes the mode of the tune from minor to major. While Zahn does record a later printed version (1720) of the tune opening with a fourth, the remainder of the tune is different enough to refute any relatedness to this printed source. It seems, therefore, that the source of the better-known version is oral tradition.
[1] Zahn includes six versions of this tune, evidence he feels suggests that it was sung long before it was written down (Z. 5269, Vol. III, p. 356).

This harmonization produces a heterophonic texture, the sound of which is characteristic of several sacred traditions that evolved orally. Chant scholar Peter Jeffery suggests that Japanese Togaku, the repertory of the Indonesian gamelan, and Gregorian chant all share a form of transmission in which the process of "slowing down" affects musical transmission, both harmonically as well as melodically.[1] The harmonies of Example 6.25 bear striking resemblance to the harmonies produced in Japanese Togaku, especially the mouth organ or Sh. Togaku performed on the Sh produces slow, harmonized versions of melodies inherited from the ancient Tang dynasty of China (tenth to twelfth centuries), harmonies that include many unisons, seconds and fourths.[2] It appears that this sort of oral harmony occurred in the Pennsylvania-German hymnody as well.

Another tradition of oral harmony is documented in seventeenth-century British psalmody. Nicholas Temperley discusses an oral phenomenon in British psalmody in which a two-part harmonization that goes back and forth between unison and harmony in thirds eventually leads to two different tunes. He claims, ". . . there is no doubt that several psalm tunes 'generated' other tunes as faburdens or descants, which then took on a

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[1] Ibid., 117.
[2] Peter Jeffery, *Re-envisioning Past Musical Cultures* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 117.

separate life of their own."[1] An example of this process is the Anglo-American tune

"Coleshill," the origins of which, according to Temperley, are a harmony line to

"Windsor," a setting of Psalm I shown in example 6.27. The lower voice became

"Coleshill."

Example 6.27. Harmonized setting of Psalm I from *Psalmi aliquot Davidici* (1681) as
transcribed by Nicholas Temperley[2]

Contrary motion with open fifths and dissonance. The 1817[c] book

includes a harmonized setting of the late seventeenth-century tune "Alle menschen müssen

sterben."[3] While this setting does not use consistent parallel motion, an archaic sound is

achieved in the use of cadential open fifths and unresolved dissonances. The open fifths

are marked with one *, unresolved sevenths are labeled as such. Two instances of parallel

motion are marked with bracketed parallel lines.

Considering the readings in other Notenbüchlein that include this tune, it is clear

that it is in a major mode and that the absence of a key signature is an error in the notation.

The *f* sharp is therefore added in the transcription below.

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[1] Nicholas Temperley, "The Old Way of Singing: Its Origins and Development," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 1981 (34), 530-31.

[2] Ibid., 531. The full title of Temperley's source is *Psalmi aliquot Davidici in metrum latinum traducti. Cum adjectione decem psalmorum ad notas suas musicas (ut in anglicana versione) compositorum. In usum accademiae cum conciones habeantur ad clerum.* Londini: Excudebat M.F. & venales prostant apud Ric. Davis, Oxonii. 1681. The only known copy of this book is at the University of Illinois.

[3] The melody is documented in Zahn (Z. 6779a) along with seven variations. None seems to be the antecedent of the melody found in the Notenb_chlein. The origins of the harmonization are also obscure.

Example 6.28. Facsimile and transcription of "Alle menschen müssen sterben" -- 1817[c]
(text from the *Zionsharfe*, 248)

The dissonance found in chords built on the first degree is the major seventh; dissonance found in chords built on the sixth degree of the scale is a minor seventh that eventually resolves to a dominant. Dissonances found in chords built on the fifth degree are elevenths. None is resolved according to eighteenth-century rules of harmony and counterpoint.

The above dissonances appear frequently enough to suggest that their inclusion is intentional and not simply attributable to error. There does appear to be an error in the notation in example 6.26, however. Although there is no dissonance, the *f* sharp in the last chord in the penultimate measure should be *g* to produce a IV chord, albeit without the third degree.

While the harmony of most three-part settings consists of combinations of triads and open fifths, not all include the dissonances encountered in example 6.27. Example 6.29 is a three-part setting of the late sixteenth-century German chorale tune "Wachet auf" where the dissonances of the seventh and the second are absent. Parallel fifths and octaves, and triads without the third are readily perceived, however. The former are marked with parallel lines, the latter with asterisks.

The immediate source of the tune is not known. While it is similar to one of the versions of this tune quoted in Zahn (Z. 8405a) the pitch and rhythmic differences make their direct relatedness unlikely.

Example 6.29. Facsimile and transcription of "Wachet auf" -- 1817^c (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 157)

Although there is no key signature, in most of the Notenbüchlein that include this tune, the mode is likely major and not dorian. The two sharps are therefore added in brackets. There also appear to be two scribal errors that I have altered in the transcription below. The last note in the bass line in measure two is a *d* in the manuscript, but should be an *a*; the third-to-last note in the alto line is a *b* in the manuscript but should be an *a*.

One final example of a three-part harmonized setting represents a departure from the chorales quoted thus far. As already noted, the Anglo-American tune repertoire represents a small but significant part of the repertoire, significant because it signals the beginnings of a long process of assimilation into the majority culture. Example 6.31 is a three-part setting of the fuging tune "Russia" by Daniel Reed. The setting is triadic and follows the construction that defines the fuging tune: imitation in the second section. Unisons at the beginning and ending of phrases, and a dissonant but then resolved second on the last beat of measure nine between the upper and middle voices excepted, the archaic sound of previous examples is absent.

The source of this tune seems to have been *Kentucky Harmony* (1816), for the cantus, tenor, and bass lines are close to identical. The differences are: no *g* sharps, no dotted rhythms in the last phrase and no repeated *d* in the fourth measure, tenor line.

Example 6.30. Facsimile and transcription of "Rusia" -- [1826] (used as setting in other books, among other texts, to "Ach, Gott, wie manches hertze"; text taken from *the Zionsharfe*, 298)[1]

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[1] A harmonized version is found only in 1800^b, 1808, 1816, $1817^{b,c}$ and [1826].

Two-Voiced Settings: movement in thirds. Of the sixty-seven instances of

two-voice settings, most involve simple harmony at the third. Two stand apart, however.

A harmonized version of the seventeenth-century chorale "Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns

wend" includes ornamentation in both melody and harmony lines.[1] The style is

reminiscent of Baroque elaborations and voice-leading; the archaic sound of previous

examples is not present here.

Example 6.31. Facsimile and transcription: "Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend" -- 1810[b]
                (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 3)

One of the more musically sophisticated pieces of the entire repertoire is a two-part

setting of a tune found, to date, only in Abraham Geissinger's 1810[2] Notenbüchlein and

schoolmaster Henry Johnson's 1826 Notenbuch. Johnson includes the text as well, which

is quoted in Example 6.31 below.[2] The harmonies created by the two equal lines follow

the rules of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century tertian harmony. Additional Baroque

characteristics are the echo effect suggested by the directives "piano" and "forte" and voice

exchange.

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[1] The version quoted in Zahn (Z.624) is identical to the melody in the Notenb_chlein, albeit without rhythmic variation. The immediate source for this version, however, is not known.
[2] Henry Johnson's Notenbuch is in the Mennonite Historians of Eastern Pennsylvania collection in Harleysville, Pennsylvania.

Example 6.32. Facsimile and transcription of "Halleluja" -- 1810^b (text taken from Henry Johnson's 1826 Notenbuch [Mennonite Historians of Eastern Pennsylvania, Harleysville, Pennsylvania])

Summary

It was suggested at the beginning of this chapter that the Notenbüchlein represent, in large part, the writing down of an oral tradition. The oral tradition is reflected notationally in the following ways: undifferentiated rhythms, ornamentation, and archaic harmonies. Alongside such a repertoire, however, is what I am arguing was a recreational

repertoire characterized by its prescriptive rhythms and eighteenth-century harmonizations, including relatively sophisticated part settings such as "Halleluja."

Mentioned in passing is the absence of immediate sources for the versions of the tunes included in the Notenbüchlein, although many of the tunes are clearly related to tunes with pre-existing sources. The overall composition of the repertoire from the standpoint of tune ancestry, as well as from immediate sources is the focus of the following chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Tune Ancestry and Sources

As suggested in the previous chapter, many of the tunes in the Notenbüchlein can be identified with earlier printed versions of these tunes, although the immediate source of the tunes is unclear. The question of immediate source, as opposed to ancestry of the tune, is therefore addressed separately, for while roughly fifty percent of the tunes are identifiable, only a very few appear to have been, in fact, copied from a specific pre-existing source.

This chapter begins with an overview of the ancestry of the repertoire, including an discussion of tunes serving multiple texts and texts set to multiple tunes. The chapter concludes with a discussion of immediate sources.

Tune Origins

Identifying the hymn tunes of the Notenbüchlein with earlier printed versions is an ongoing project, begun in this dissertation. The first step in the tracing process was the compilation of an index of tune incipits in notation. The index made it possible to create a computerized database of tunes using numbers to represent pitches of the first phrase, which allowed me to identify tunes which are used for more than one text.[1] These tunes, represented by their incipits, were subsequently checked against each other in their entirety in order to determine the degree of similarity.

Using Zahn's *Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder*, Waldo Selden Pratt's *The Music of the French Psalter of 1562*, Temperley and Mann's *Fuging tunes in the Eighteenth Century*, the *Deutsche Liederhort*, and printed tune books known to have been in use among the Franconia Mennonites in the nineteenth century, I have been able to

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[1] This method is similar to that used in Temperley and Mann's *Fuging Tunes in the Eighteenth Century*, op. cit.

identify only 389 out of 941 different tunes found in the Notenbüchlein. In all cases with

the exception of the printed tunebooks, I relied on the text incipit to lead me to the tune, at

which time I compared the tunes in the printed source to the one in the Notenbüchlein. A

thorough comparison of Notenbüchlein tunes and printed sources, regardless of text,

remains future research.

Many of the fuging tunes in the Notenbüchlein are in three-part harmony, making it easy to determine the genre. Specific identification of the fuging tunes was possible through comparison of incipits represented by numerical series in the Notenbüchlein with Temperley and Mann's index. Additional tunes of Anglo-American origin, both fuging and non-fuging, were found in several of the printed tunebooks used in Pennsylvania during the first half of the nineteenth century. And, finally, there is one example of a tune borrowed from the contemporaneous secular Anglo-American repertoire.   Below is an analysis of the origins of the identified tunes. This analysis, on the one hand, reflects the tunes classified with respect to origins and text types, and on the other hand, tallies the number of different tunes irrespective of their repeated uses. The tunes are organized according to the same historical periods used for the texts in Chapter Four; the number to the left includes all text-tune combinations; the number in parentheses is a count of different tunes only, without multiple text settings.[1] A detailed examination of those tunes used for multiple texts appears following an overview of the repertoire. The percentage is based on the total number of traceable tunes and not the whole repertoire.

Table 7.1.   Temporal Origins of Identifiable Tunes

Time Period	Number of tunes	Percentage of whole ident. rep.
Tunes of Continental European Origin		
Psalm tunes		
to 1600:	94 (59)	17 (15)
Chorales		
to 1570:	70 (43)	13 (11)
1570-1618:	41 (25)	8 (6.5)
1618-48:	23 (19)	4 (5)
1648-1700:	84 (61)	16 (16)
1700-:	155 (133)	29 (34)
Tunes of 18th-cen. Anglo-American origin		
Fuging tunes:	23 (16)	4 (4)
Other Anglo:	36 (21)	7 (5.5)
Tunes of 18th-cen. Pennsylvania-German origin???	5 (5)	1 (1)
Unlabelled harmony lines	7 (7)	1 (2)
Total identified	538 (389)	

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[1] See Appendix E for a complete tabulation of traceable tunes according to time period and cultural origin.

Total unidentified	570 (552)

Total tunes	1108 (941)

Not surprisingly, given the origins of the texts, the continental European repertoire was by far the most dominant source of identified tunes, indeed comprising almost ninety percent.

Psalms. Already established in the previous chapter is the fact that most psalms are set to Geneva Psalter tunes. Three of the four exceptions to this generalization are not traceable at this point. These are "Mein seel, geduldig sanft" (Ps. 62), "Sagt mir die ihr euch" (Ps. 58), and "Richt mich, Herr Gott und halt mir recht" (Ps. 43). The incipts can be found in Appendix D. The fourth is Psalm 134 set to the fuging tune "Rusia" [sic] by Daniel Reed.

A characteristic of the psalms as found in the Notenbüchlein is a general absence of ornamentation. Here too, there are exceptions. Psalm 25, "Zu dir ich, mein herz erheb," is found in unornamented form in eight Notenbüchlein, but is ornamented in Hanna Baum's Notenbüchlein of 1794. Psalm 133 "Schau, wie so fein" is found only in ornamented form in Jacob Meyer's 1816 book and Barbara Meyer's book of 1817[c] (see Example 6.15 above).

Also characteristic of the psalm tunes is a consistency of melodic contour from one book to the next.[1] There is only one exception to this rule, Psalm 34, for which there are two versions of the same tune, one of which opens with a repeated note instead of a third. The melodic consistency stands in contrast to the chorales, many of which have pitch and key variations as well as ornamental variations, variation perhaps related to the fact that the chorales were not notated in the hymnals containing chorale texts, whereas the psalms were.

Chorales. Among the chorales are many of the standard Lutheran tunes. The common phenomenon of contrafacta is evident throughout the repertoire. Forty-three of

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[1] As seen in Table 7.6 below, the psalm tunes are found in differing keys.

the texts set to early chorale tunes are contrafacta; forty-nine of the texts set to tunes dating from 1618 and after are contrafacta.

Tunes dating from 1648 and later constitute fifty-one percent of the datable repertoire. This proportion is in keeping with the numerous texts coming from the era of classical Pietism and the early eighteenth century.

Anglo-American origin. The presence of contrafacta of Anglo-American origin, however small, is significant, for these tunes represent the beginnings of the absorption of the dominant Anglo-American culture by these German-speaking Mennonite communities. Included in the list are fuging and non-fuging tunes of Anglo-American origin

There are thirteen fuging tunes. Of these, only eight are identified to date; the remainder have the characteristics of fuging tunes, but no source for these has been found. The identified tune names and their composers are to the right of the German incipit.

Table 7.2.   Names of Fuging Tunes
      Identified:

Wie sicher lebt der mensch	Huntington, Morgan
Auf, auf mein hertz und singe	Newburgh, Munson
Nun sich der tag geendet	New Jerusalem, Ingalls
Wir singen dir, Imanuel	Bridgewater, Edson
Die zeit gehet zum End	Lenox, Edson
Herr Jesu, zieh mich ein	Lenox, Edson
Ach Gott, wie manches hertze	Russia, Reed
Ihr knecht des Herren allz.	Russia, Reed
Wesley CM	Moore[1]
Evening Shade	S. Jenks?[2]

      Unidentified fuging tunes:[3]
          Wir opfern Gott dir heute dank
          Bring erde, bringe freud
          Lobt Gott, ihr Christen al
          Mein heüland, habe auf mich

          An Jesum denke oft und viel

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[1] This "Wesley" tune is found in *Kentucky Harmony* attributed to Moore.

[2] Annabel Morris Buchanan identifies this tune with a question mark in *Folk Hymns of America* (New York, 1938).

[3] See Appendix D for tune incipits.

Seventeen additional tunes not of the fuging tune genre are also of Anglo-American origin.[1]

Table 7.3.   Other Tunes of Anglo-American Origin with their Authors

Windham	D. Reed
America	Wetmore
Aylesbury	Williams
Rochester CM	Williams
Bray	Williams
Wells	Holdroyd
Suffield	King
Greenfields	DeFleury[2]
Silver Street SM	Isaac Smith
Rockbridge	Chapin

The remainder are anonymous:

Spiritual Victory
Pleading Savior
Coleshill
Northfield
Portugal
Edgeware
Dayton
Time
Morality
Victory

The one example of a contrafactum whose origin is secular is one of the tunes for "Es glüntzet der christen." Associated with the tune is a story that explains why the Pennsylvania Germans believe the melody was of secular origin (see Example 7.24 below).

Pennsylvania ancestry. At least four tunes may be of Pennsylvania-German origin. "Mensch, was ist dein volles leben" is labelled "Skippack" in the [1826] booklet, presumably after the town in the heartland of the Franconia Mennonite community. Three additional tunes found in the [1826] book are identical to the tunes labeled "Pennsylvania," "Hilltown," and "Perkiomen" in the parent Notenbuch (1826) compiled by schoolmaster Henry Johnson. The latter two are place names in the Franconia area. And finally another

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[1] For the German incipit associated with the tune, refer to Appendix E.
[2] Funk credits DeFleury in the *Harmonia Sacra*. George Pullen Jackson gives no attribution (see Chapter Six, fn 31).

tune apparently of Pennsylvanian origin is called "Abendlied."   Found at its earliest in the

1807 Notenbüchlein, it is recorded in print only in Samuel Musselman's printed tunebook

Die neue Choral Harmonie (Harrisburg, Pa., 1844).[1]

None of these tunes is familiar from the study of Anglo-American hymnody. All are

therefore quoted in full, the first three in their three-part harmonized settings, the last in its

monophonic setting.   The first three include many of the characteristics of harmony

discussed in the previous chapter, namely noticeable parallel fourths, fifths, and octaves, in

two or more voices and unresolved sevenths and seconds. In all three, the melody is in the

middle voice.

The rhythmic pattern   in "Skippack" provides forward momentum that is

reminiscent of other Anglo-American camp-meeting tunes such as "Promised Land."[2] The

tune is in a ternary (A B A) form. Both *a* sections include the archaic sound of parallel

motion marked here with parallel lines. There is a shift in meter from duple to triple in the

b section.

The only dissonance occurs on the last eighth note of the second measure and the

last beat of the third measure (a second). Although the parallel measure in the return of *a*

has a slightly different bass line, the second is still part of the harmony.
Example 7.1. "Skippack." Set to "Mensch, was ist dein volles leben" -- [1826] (full text
        is not extant)

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[1] See Chapter Four for discussion of Samuel Musselman.
[2] For a discussion of camp-meeting hymns, see Mary Oyer, *Exploring the Mennonite   Hymnal: Essays* (Scottdale,   Pa.:   Mennonite Publishing House, 1980), 79-83.

In contrast to "Skippack," "Hilltown" is clearly in the eighteenth-century style. The

rhythms of "Hilltown" as they appear in [1826] suggest that they were inspired by a dance

tune, perhaps a minuet. Assuming the four dots ( ) indicate phrase repetition without

different text, the form is neither binary nor ternary but *aabbcc^a*.

Except for a parallel octave in the upper two voices in the last two measures of the *a*

section, the harmonization follows eighteenth-century rules of voice-leading. The one

dissonance of a second created between the upper and lower voices in the sixth measure

(see the *) is actually an appogiatura that resolves to a consonant ii chord. Additionally, the

leap of an augmented fourth between the second and third bars of the second system

produces the effect of consecutive major thirds. This, and the general clumsiness of the

part-writing suggests the influence of the publications of William Tans'ur and other

eighteenth century American "tune-smiths."[1]

Example 7.2. "Hilltown." Set to "Bringt her den Herren lob" -- [1826] (text taken from
            the *Zionsharfe*, 216)

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[1] For more on William Tans'ur's musical style, see Dorothy Horn, *Sing to Me
of Heaven* (Gainsville: Univ. of Florida Press, 1970), 79-82.
Horn argues that, while the Anglo-German Tans'ur's musical
style was indeed peculiar, its influence on other composers
is minimal (p.79). Rather, the use of so-called consecutives
(parallel fourths and fifths) is part of the vocabulary of
many eighteenth-century American composers (p, 82).

The tune named "Perkiomen" in Henry Johnson's Notenbuch (and simply "P" in his student Elisabeth Kolb's Notenbüchlein) is, for the most part, in an eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century hymn style. The *a* section of the *aaba* form includes a V chord without the third that creates an open sound characteristic of three-voice part-writing.

Additionally, there is one instance of parallel fourths (see parallel lines in *b* section).

Example 7.3.   "Perkiomen." Set to "Schwing dich auf zu deinem Gott" -- [1826] (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 170)

The rhythmic pattern   of "O, wie selig sind die Seelen" (labeled

"Pennsylvania" in Henry Johnson's Notenbuch)[1] is reminiscent of other Anglo-American

folk hymns of the early nineteenth century. The use of the full scale, however, does not fit

the typical description of a folk hymn, which tends to avoid the fourth and seventh degrees

of the scale.[2] The noticeable parallel motion between all three voices in measure seven, the

unresolved dissonance marked by the asterisk, the other parallels, as well as many chords

without the third scale degree, create a harmonization reminiscent of eighteenth-century

Anglo-American folk harmonizations.

Example 7.4. "Pennsylvania." Set to "O wie selig sind die seelen" -- [1826] (text taken
from the *Zionsharfe*, 179)

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[1] This tune is found in three different rhythmic versions.   Kolb's [1826] book
includes it in a three-part harmonized setting with prescriptive rhythms.
Maria Fretz's book of 1787[a] includes a version also in black
notation, the rhythmic proportions of which are quite similar
to Kolb's. The meter in Fretz's book is an example of a
compound meter in which a cut time is followed by a 3/4 time
signature. And finally, Geissinger and Meyer's books of
1810[b] and 1816 respectively, include this tune in white
notation (see appendix D for details).

[2] For more on the genre of the Anglo-American folk hymn, see George Pullen
Jackson *Spiritual Folk Songs of Early America* (New York, J. J.
Augustin, 1937, reprinted Dover, 1963), and Dorothy Horn,
Sing to me of Heaven (Univ. of Florida Press, 1970).

The final tune quoted here is a tune labeled "Abendlied" in Samuel Musselman's *Die neue Choral Harmonie* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1844). Found only in the Notenbüchlein and Musselman's publication to date, this tune appears to have been created in Pennsylvania, and possibly, more specifically in a Mennonite community, since Musselman was a Mennonite. Found only in a monophonic setting, the melody uses the full scale, as well as rhythms reminiscent of eighteenth-century German folk tunes. The meter is, in fact, duple, achieved throughout by the lengthening of the penultimate note of the middle stave.

Example 7.5.   "Abendlied." Set to "Der tag ist hin, mein Gott" -- 1807 (text taken from 1807 Notenbüchlein)

Unidentified. It has thus far been established that most of the identifiable repertoire is of continental European ancestry, with a small but significant percentage of tunes coming from the surrounding Anglo-American culture. There remains, however, a long list of tunes of unknown ancestry. Several tunes labeled simply as "andere Melodie" ("other tune") are, in fact, harmony lines suggesting that there might be additional tunes, the label of which suggests a melody, but which in fact are harmony lines associated with a tune whose origins are known.[1]

Related to the above phenomenon are tunes that are, in fact, what some Notenbüchlein call "Zweiter Chor" ("second chorus"). Two such examples are "Erstanden ist der heilig Christ," and "O frühliche stunde."[2] In both instances, some Notenbüchlein clearly indicate which tune the "Zweiter chor" is intended to accompany. Other Notenbüchlein do not.

Additionally, as mentioned in Chapter Six, some tunes might, in fact, be related to a pre-existing melody, but, having changed through the process of oral transmission, are

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[1] See Appendix E for list.

[2] Based on the setting of the former tune as quoted in Zahn (Z. 8572c), it appears that "Zweiter chor" indicates a medley, in which two tunes are sung in succession. Both tunes are part of what Zahn calls a "Dreisache Melodie," by Michael Praetorius (1607). Part A is called *Maria vel 1 puer*. The melody for tune B is the same tune as what the Notenb_chlein calls "zwe_ter Chor Maria" and which in Zahn carries the text of the Latin hymn *Surrexit Christus hodie*. Part C in Zahn is texted to "Erstanden ist der heilig Christ" and is the same tune (with one pitch variant) as that found in the Notenb_chlein. The word "Maria" seems to refer to the label for part A, even though this tune is not found in the Notenb_chlein.

Zahn notes, "The whole is to be executed in such a way that a verse of A, then B, and then C are always sung." This suggests that the intention of Praetorius was to sing the melodies successively. Indeed, the two tunes do not work together harmonically. The additional label in 1810[b] of "Buben" and "M_dgen" suggests that one tune was sung by a group of boys, and the other by a group of girls, i.e., antiphonally.

unrecognizable without very careful scrutiny. The analysis required to uncover many more such relationships remains a subject for future research.

Analysis of Text-tune Combinations

Mentioned in passing in the foregoing discussion is the fact there is no one-to-one relationship between the texts and tunes. One common occurrence is the hymnodic process of adapting pre-existing melodies to new texts, i.e., contrafacta. The reverse is also found, however. Many texts are set to two or more different tunes. Both phenomena are addressed below.

Tunes used for more than one text. The psalm tunes and early chorales seem especially susceptible to adaptation by contrafacta. Table 7.4 is a list of tunes set to three or more texts. These are given in numerical incipit form (1=do). Identifiable tunes are dated on the left with the year of the printed source that most resembles the Notenbüchlein version, none being an exact match. The number to the right represents the number of different texts using the given tune. The text incipit cited is the one associated with the tune in present-day Protestant hymnody. The other texts using the same tune can be identified in Appendix E.

The tunes are, for the most part, the better-known Geneva Psalter tunes and Lutheran chorales still familiar in modern American Protestant hymnody. Several fuging tunes, as well as other Anglo-American, tunes were applied to multiple texts as well.

Table 7.4.   Tunes Shared by Three or more Texts

Date	Incipit	Number of different text-tune combinations
Geneva Psalter tunes:		
1551	12321765 Psalm 42	10
1547	11712321 Herr, dein ohren zu mir neige, Psalm 86	5
1562	11765123 Ihr knecht des Herren alz., Psalm 134	4
1551	17655671 Psalm 30	4
1542	1534432113 Mein seel, geduldig sanft und stille, Ps. 62	3
1542	13451765765 O, hüchster Gott, O unser lieber Herr Ps. 8	3
Chorales:		
1560	11524321 In dich hab ich gehoffet	8
1544	12171231 Nun, lasst uns den leib	7

1562	13517165 Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend	5
1727	5123432135 O, Jesu Christe, wahres licht	5
1715	15123421 Herr, ich habe misgehandelt	4
1535	11321223 Es ist gewisslich an der zeit	4
1539	17675671 Von himmel hoch da komm ich	4
1593	13215432 Wir christen leut haben jetzund freud	4
1690	515665531 Wer nur den lieben Gott lüsst walten	4
1559	171221234 Aus tiefer noth schreü ich 3	
1589	132171223454 Als Christus geboren war	3
1598	3123553355 Nun ruhen alle wülder	3
1601	111532177 Wie flieht dahin der menschen	3
1649	1176121 Wach auf, mein hertz, und singe	3
1653	5367117 Jesu, meine zuversicht	3
1657	512321275 Wer nur den lieben Gott lüsst	3
1687	1175671133 Demuth ist die schünste tugend	3
1687	312531211112321 Liebster Jesu wir sind hier	3
1690	515665531 Wer nur den lieben Gott lüsst walten	3
1719	13532123433 Groüer prophete, mein hertze	3

Late eighteenth-century Anglo-American:

Lenox (Edson)	111565512321 Die zeit gehet zum end	3
Rochester CM (Williams)	11231271 Gott sorgt für uns, O singt	3
America (Wetmore)	1132157543 Sagt, was hilff alle welt	3
Wells (Williams)	13517165 Für deinen thron trett ich mit	3

Unidentified:

	554322133 Mein geist erstaunt, allmüchtig	5
	5543251334 Gott seü dank in aller Welt	3
	1561132113 Ach, bleib mit deiner gnade	3
	155331322 Sagt mir, die ihr euch, Psalm 58	3
	111512313 O, der alles hüt verlohren	3

Contrafacts resulting in tune adaptations. In all cases listed above, the tunes in the contrafacts are identical. Additionally, there are tunes that closely resemble a tune used as a setting for a different text, but which, for one reason or another were changed when applied to a new text. Such departures include using different pitches in one phrase only, changing mode, and adding phrases usually to accommodate a different poetic meter. Below are examples of all three phenomena.

"Von Gott will ich nicht lassen" and "Hilf mir, Gottes güte," while almost identical tunes, differ with respect to pitch especially in the first phrase after the repeat. The latter is ornamented in the 1784[a], 1798, 1803[a], 1817[c], and 1823[b] Notenbüchlein. The remaining nineteen Notenbüchlein that include this text-tune combination have no ornamentation.

Both text-tune combinations can be found in pre-existing sources (Z. 5264 and Z. 5264a). Zahn lists fifteen variations of the tune, none of which is identical to either version quoted below.

Example 7.6. "Von Gott will ich nicht lassen" -- 1780 (text is taken from *Zionsharfe*, 68)

Example 7.7. "Hilf mir, Gottes güte preisen" -- 1803[a] (text taken from Zahn, 5264a)

Determining the key for Example 7.6 is problematic, for all Notenbüchlein include different information. The 1780 Notenbüchlein has no key signature; the 1781 book includes a B flat in the key signature; the 1807 book has two flats, making the key G minor. In the 1810[b] book, the mode is dorian, while in the 1827 book, the mode is lydian. Example 7.7, on the other hand, is in Mixolydian in all Notenbüchlein except 1803[d] and 1821[b], which include one sharp in the key signature, and 1834, which transposes the tune to B major. It seems, therefore, that Example 7.6 was performed in a number of different modes. Example 7.7 was notated in a major mode.

The following three text-tune combinations are arguably versions of the same tune. Apart from modal differences, two of the three, "Meine hoffnung stehet" and "Eü, was frag

ich," are very similar. The former is found in both major and minor modes in the forty-five

Notenbüchlein that include this tune. There is ornamentation only in the two 1784 books

which is the version quoted here to provide maximum performance information. This text-

tune combination is found in Zahn (Z. 4870); none of the Zahn versions matches,

however.

 The same tune applied to "Ey, was frag ich" is in Mixolydian and is found only in

the 1810^b Notenbüchlein. Apart from modal differences, the variations have to do with a

slightly different poetic meter. This text-tune combination is not found in any pre-existing

sources, according to Zahn.

Example 7.8.   "Meine hoffnung stehet" -- 1784^b. Poetic meter: 8.7.8.7.3.3.7. (text taken
                    from the *Zionsharfe*, 342)

Example 7.9.   "Eü, was frag ich" -- 1810^b. Poetic meter: 8.7.8.7.8.8 (text taken from the
                    Zionsharfe, 359)

 A possibly related setting of the tune quoted in Examples 7.8 and 7.9 is "Liebster

Jesu, liebstes leben." The latter opens with the same melodic contour but then departs

considerably from the above quoted tunes to accommodate a very different meter (8.7.8.7. and 8.7.7.8.8.8. 7.7.10.8.7.7.6.10.6.10. respectively). Indeed, the differences in the remainder of the tune are great enough to suggest that the tunes are perhaps not related at all.

A different source of "Liebster Jesu" might be a tune quoted by Zahn with the same meter, Z. 6512b. Found in the *Künig Gesangbuch* (1738) and the Müller (1754) as a setting to the text "Selig, selig, selig sind," the tune, while suggesting a possible relationship, is considerably different from the Notenbüchlein tune.[1] If the Notenbüchlein tune is related to "Meine hoffnung," (Example 7.8) only the first two phrases were borrowed. If related to "Selig, selig," the first seven phrases have a somewhat similar shape. The Notenbüchlein tune continues for seven phrases beyond the "Selig, selig" tune. Below are both the tune "Selig, selig" and the Notenbüchlein version of "Liebster Jesu, liebstes Leben."

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[1] *Harmonischer Lieder-Schatz, oder Allegmeines Evangelisches Choral-Buch, . . . mit einem modernen General Bass versehen . . . gestellt von Johann Balthasar K_nig . . .* Frankfurt-am-Main, 1738.
    Vollst_ndiges Hessen-Hanauisches Psalmen-und Choral-Buch ... von Johann Daniel M_ller; Frankfurt-am-Main, 1754.
    The tune setting for the text "Liebster Jesu, liebstes Leben" as found in Zahn (Z. 6513) is clearly a different tune and not a version of what is included in the Notenb_chlein.

Example 7.10.   "Liebster Jesu, liebstes leben" -- Z. 5412b, 1807, respectively.
        Poetic meter: 8.7.7.8.8.7.7.8; 8.7.7.8.8.8.7.7.10.8.7.7.6.10.6.10 (text
        taken from Zahn, 5413)

Musical adaptation to create contrafacta is also observable in the tune used for the

text incipits "Es seü dem schüpfer," "O Jesu Christe," "O Gott, du hüchster," and "Mein

künig, schreib mir dein gesetz." Again, different text meters necessitate alterations in the

tunes.

Example 7.11. "Es seü dem schüpfer" -- 1810[b], poetic meter: 8.8.6. (Text taken from the
        Zionsharfe, 342)[1]

A related tune version is a setting for "O, Jesu Christe, wahres licht," and "O Gott, du

hüchster." The former is quoted below.

Example 7.12. "O, Jesu Christe, wahres licht" -- 1784[b]. Poetic meter: 8.8.8.8 (taken
        from the *Zionsharfe*, 6).

     "Wie schün is unsers künigs braut" and "Mein künig, schreib mir dein gesetz" both

share the opening of the above tune. The different meters, 8.8.6.8.8.8., and

8.8.8.8.10.10. respectively, necessitate alteration of the tune.

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[1] This text-tune combination is also found in 1798 and 1803[b] .

Example 7.13. "Mein künig, schreib mir dein gesetz" -- 1810[b]. Poetic meter: 8.8.6.8.8.6. (Text taken from Zahn, Z. 2443)

Example 7.14. "Wie schün ist unsers künigs" -- 1787[a]. Poetic meter: 8.8.8.8.10.10 (text taken from *Zionsharfe*, 290)

Finally, Ada Kadelbach notes that one of the four tunes used as the setting for the text "Mein lebensfaden lüufft zu ende," attributed to Dock in the *Geistliche Magazin*,[1] appears to be constructed following the principles of centonization, viewed here as a subcategory of contrafacta.[2] The tune opens like the Geneva Psalter tune for Psalms 66 and 118,

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[1] *Geistliches Magazin*, No. 15 (1771?), 153-60: "Zwey erbauliche Lieder" von Christoph Dock und zwei andere geistliche Lieder." See discussion of Dock, Chapter Two, for more on the *Geistliches Magazien*.

[2] These are the findings of Ada Kadelbach, "Die Hymnodie der Mennoniten in Nordamerika (1742-1860)" (Ph.D. dissertation, Johannes Gutenberg-Universit_t, Mainz, 1971), 138.

and concludes with the same closing phrase as the familiar tune for Psalm 134 (Old

Hundredth). The penultimate phrase is the same as the third phrase of the Lutheran chorale

"An wasserflüssen Babylon" (1525, Z. 7663).

All three chorales are part of the repertoire in the Notenbüchlein, and would therefore likely

have been known to Dock. Whether Dock's combining of these tunes was conscious or

unconscious cannot be known.

Example 7.15. "Mein lebensfaden lüufft zu ende" -- 1803[d] (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*,
          122)

Multiple tunes for one text. One has only to look through the compilation *Das Deutsche Kirchenlied* of Johannes Zahn to recognize that the phenomenon of multiple tunes for one text is characteristic of German hymnody. The use of multiple tunes for one text within one community seems striking however, for it would seem more plausible that a given community would choose one melody over another for a given text. This is especially true when hymnals provide only one tune setting in notation. In the case of the Notenbüchlein, the presence of an informal repertoire produced an environment that encouraged multiple tune settings for one text. This stands in contrast to the conservative nature of the hymn repertoire of the seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Anglo-American psalmody in which, according to Nicholas Temperley, "new tunes were neither wanted nor expected."[1] Below is a description of this phenomenon as found in the Notenbüchlein.

Using the list of frequently-encountered texts explored in Chapter Five, twenty-seven (out of forty-six) are associated with two or more tunes.[2] Of the nineteen that have only one setting, ten have differing versions either with respect to pitch, ornamentation, or rhythm. The nine remaining texts (twenty percent) in this subcategory of repertoire are set to one tune; with the exception of key variation, the text-tune combination is found in the same form from one book to the next. Several of the remaining eight texts to this day have a strong association with one tune only.[3]

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[1] Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, Vol 1 (London, 1979), 97.

[2] Of these, six have a second tune found only in one Notenb_chlein, one in only two.

[3] Familiar hymns are Psalm 81, "Jesu, meine freude," "Auf meinen lieben Gott;" "Christ lag in todesbanden," "Hilf, Herr Gott, uns w_rmerlein," and "In dich hab ich gehoffet." The three remaining texts are set to familiar tunes: "O heiliger Geist, kehr bey uns" is set to "Wie sch_n leuchtet der morgenstern," "Mir nach, spricht Jesus, unser held" is always sung to the tune "Mach's mit mir," and "Bedenke, mensch, das ende" is set to "Hertzlich thut mich verlangen."

Below is a list of texts from the entire corpus studied that are set to three or more different melodies.[1]

Table 7.5.   Texts Set to Multiple Tunes

3 tunes:	Ach, bleib beü uns, Herr
	Befehl du deine wege
	Lebt jemand so wie ich
	O, Jesu Christe, wahres licht
	Setze dich, mein geist, ein wenig
	Seü getreu bis in den tod
	Ach wachet, wachet auf.
4 tunes:	Mein lebensfaden lüufft zu ende
	Meine zufriedenheit steht im
	Sollt es gleich bisweilen, ach
5 tunes:	Ach, lass dich jetzt finden
	Schwing dich auf zu deinem
	Das alte jahr vergangen ist
6 tunes:	Sieh, hie bin ich, ehrenkünig
	Was mich auf dieser welt betrübt
8 tunes:	Sagt, was hilft alle welt
10 tunes:	Nun sich der tag geendet hat

With one exception, the above texts are all German chorale texts. The one exception is "Mein lebensfaden lüufft zu ende" written by Christopher Dock (see example 7.15 above). None is a Psalm text, for the psalm texts were almost always wedded to a particular tune.

Whether multiple tunes for one text were performed interchangeably or not cannot be known. The study of the Old Order Amish summarized in Chapter Six suggests that monophonic tunes without differentiated rhythms -- i.e., tunes reflecting the "old way" -- were performed in formal settings such as Sunday morning worship services. Tunes with differentiated rhythms were performed at weddings and other informal social gatherings. Of the texts set to multiple tunes listed in Table 7.5, four suggest such contrast. These are

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[1] The reader is invited to consult the alphabetical thematic catalogue (Appendix D) for the tune options.

"Befehl du deine wege," "Setze dich, mein geist, ein wenig," "Das alte jahr vergangen ist," and "Sagt, was hilft alle welt," the first of which is transcribed below in Example 7.16.

"Befehl du deine wege" is found in three different tune settings, two of which are known through pre-existing sources. One setting is a contrafactum of the tune "Hertzlich thut mich verlangen" (Z. 5385). The second (1803^d) is a tune with no known pre-existing sources. The 1803^d and 1807 books include the tune in white notation with ornamentation. The 1823^b book includes the tune in shape notes without ornamentation.

The notation of 1787^b and 1803^d suggest the old way of singing, and would probably have been performed in more formal settings. The tune in a contrasting style is a mid-seventeenth century tune (Z. 3422) found only in the 1807 and 1810^b Notenbüchlein. Its rhythmic differentiation suggests that it belongs to a recreational repertoire sung in informal gatherings.

Example 7.16. "Befehl du deine wege" 1787^b, 1803^d, 1807 respectively (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 31)

Immediate Sources of the Tunes

As suggested thus far, unlike the Notenbüchlein's textual repertoire, which, for the most part is traceable locally to the handful of hymnals available in the Franconia community (the *Lobwasser*, the *Marburger*, the *Davidische Psalterspiel*, on rare occasions, the *Ausbund*, and, following 1803, the *Zionsharfe*) the tune repertoire as a whole does not point to this or any other clearly defined body of sources. Of the textual sources named above, only the *Lobwasser* provided notation for all the psalms with scattered notation for the remainder of the hymns; the *Zionsharfe* provided notation for the psalms only. The remaining three had no notation in them at all.

Identifying the immediate sources of the tunes in the Notenbüchlein is indeed problematic. As argued above, if the sources were written, one would expect not only to be able to trace the tunes to written sources, but also to find relative consistency from one Notenbüchlein to the next, copying errors excepted. If the Notenbüchlein are strictly a record of oral tradition, one would expect to find a majority of unrecognizable, or unknown tunes, perhaps in a notational style similar to Joseph Yoder's printed versions of the Old Order Amish hymns (see example 6.1), in which the original tune is either obscured by ornamentation or not recognizable at all.[1] While there is a high percentage of unrecognizable tunes the sources of which might well be only oral tradition, there are also many tunes that are clearly the same tune as those found in pre-existing written sources. The variations of rhythm and pitch suggest that copying was not the mode of transmission, however. Out of the thirty-two Notenbüchlein transcriptions provided in Chapter Six none is exactly like any pre-existing source, although many are clearly related to a pre-existing tune. The differences are great enough to suggest local variation reflective of oral tradition.

Proposed here is that the Notenbüchlein, while themselves part of a written tradition, are mediated by oral tradition. One might argue that this assertion is inconsequential, since notation, by definition, is the writing down of an oral and aural

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[1] Joseph W. Yoder, *Amische Lieder* (Huntington, Pa., 1942).

experience. Bruno Nettl claims "that oral (or more correctly, aural) transmission is the norm, that music everywhere uses this form of self-propagation, that . . . it almost always accompanies the written [transmission], and that it dominates the musical life of a society and the life of a piece of music."[1] Steven Feld has proposed that perhaps the oral and written dichotomy is, in fact, meaningless, arguing that traits of a given musical style cannot be attributed to mode of transmission as has been commonly suggested.[2]

Traditional models of historical musicology, however, tend to minimize the oral and aural component of a music tradition. Leo Treitler articulates the traditional musicological assumptions as follows: "The importance of writing for [the traditional musicological methodology] is not to be underestimated . . . . The written score, as symbol of the work, is the vehicle of transmission . . . . Copying is assumed to be an entirely passive act . . . . Differences between scores for the same work are to be explained on the grounds of revision and if they are not they are attributed to error."[3]   While this perhaps oversimplified description of traditional musicological methodology does explain some processes of transmission, the Notenbüchlein, for one, do not reflect such an orderly process.

Below is a discussion, the aim of which is to explore which aspects of the repertoire are a writing down of oral tradition, and which represent copying from pre-existing written sources. Both outcomes address the question of what the immediate sources of specific tunes in the repertoire were.

Written Sources. We begin the search for immediate sources with a comparison of tune versions contained in hymnals that included notation and that would have been

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[1] Bruno Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Twenty-Nine Issues and Concepts* (Urbana, Ill., 1983), 200.

[2] Steven Feld, "Orality and Consciousness," in *The Oral and Literate in Music*, Tokumaru Yosihiko and Yamaguti Osamu, eds., (Tokyo, 1986), 18-28.

[3] Leo Treitler, "Transmission and the Study of Music History." In *International Musicological Society, Report of the Twelfth Congress, Berkeley 1977,* Daniel Heartz and Bonnie Wade, eds. (Basel, 1981), 202.

available to compilers in Pennsylvania, namely the Reformed *Lobwasser*, the Lutheran *Halle Gesangbuch*, and the tune versions of the Notenbüchlein. Although not published until 1803, the *Zionsharfe* included notation for psalms only and is therefore considered as a possible source of psalm tunes for Notenbüchlein compiled after 1803.

Psalm tunes. With few exceptions, the psalms in the Notenbüchlein are all set to Geneva Psalter tunes. A logical source of these tunes is, therefore, the *Lobwasser*. The *Zionsharfe* (1803) also contained printed versions of twenty-two Geneva Psalter tunes, versions that differed slightly from the *Lobwasser* with respect to key and rhythm.[1] In the years following 1803, then, the *Zionsharfe* might have served as a model for the psalm tunes.

The 1783[a] book credits the *Lobwasser* as its source. As seen in Table 7.6 below, however, the keys in the Notenbüchlein do not agree with those in the *Lobwasser*. Furthermore, the tunes in the 1783[a] Notenbüchlein include no rhythmic differentiation as found in the *Lobwasser*. Perhaps the *Lobwasser* was simply the source of the texts in the 1783[a] Notenbüchlein, and the tunes were copied from elsewhere. Or perhaps they were modified to reflect local performance traditions.

Below is a facsimile of Psalm 1 taken from the *Lobwasser*.
Example 7.17.   Facsimile of Psalm 1 (*Lobwasser [Marburg und Frankfurt, 1765]*)

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[1] Of the twenty-two tunes included in the `Zionsharfe`, twelve are in the same key as the `Lobwasser`, nine are in a key one tone higher, and one, one tone lower.

The tune with the small pitch variants from the *Lobwasser* is found in six Notenbüchlein. Example 7.18 is a facsimile of the 1783[a] Notenbüchlein. The few variants as well as the absence of rhythmic patterns suggests that the *Lobwasser* was not an immediate source of tunes.

Example 7.18. Facsimile of Psalm 1 -- 1783[a] (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 1)

The keys found in subsequent Notenbüchlein further complicate the identification of the source of the psalm tunes. In some cases the keys match those found either in the

Lobwasser or the *Zionsharfe*. In other instances the keys differ from both printed sources,

suggesting either that other sources were used as well, or that the tunes were transposed.

Below are four psalms that demonstrate the diversity of key. All four are in the

Lobwasser, the *Zionsharfe* and in multiple Notenbüchlein in two or more different keys.

Table 7.6.　　Comparison of Key of Four Psalms in the *Lobwasser*, *Zionsharfe*, and
　　　　　　　Notenbüchlein

	Lobwasser	*Zionsharfe*	Notenbüchlein
Psalm 1:	C major	D major	C: 1783[a] D: 1827 F: 1810[b], 1812[b], 1816, 1817[c]
Psalm 23:	g minor	g minor 1821[b]	a: 1783[a], 1803[d], 1810[b], dorian: 1815[c], 1818[a], 1830[a,b] g: 1818[b], 1827 mixolydian: 1819[b]
Psalm 34:	dorian	dorian	dorian: 1783[a], 1810[b],[1] 1819[a] e: 1803[c,d], 1805[a], 1821[b], 1828[a]
Psalm 105:	C major	C major	D: 1792, 1803[a] Eb: 1794, 1803[c,c], 1805[a], 1814[d], 1815[c,d], 1821[b], 1829, 1830[a,b,c] C: 1810[b]

The keys tend to be one or two degrees higher in the Notenbüchlein than in the printed

sources, perhaps reflecting an attempt to accommodate the higher singing range of

children's voices, assuming that there was fixed pitch.

Chorales. Many of the early chorales (to 1570) include ornamentation and

variation of key and mode as well as multiple versions of the same tune, suggesting the

influence of oral transmission. Possible sources of chorales dating from the late

seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were the various editions of the Lutheran *Halle

Gesangbuch* (1704-71) compiled by A. Freylinghausen. It seems likely that the early

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[1] Instead of the usual opening third, 1810[b] begins with two repeated
fs.

eighteenth-century editions (1704, 1705, 1708) would have been available to emigrating European Mennonites. The most likely edition obtainable in Pennsylvania during the late eighteenth-century, the time of the compilation of the Notenbüchlein, would have been the 1741 and 1771.[1] However, immigrants who came during the early part of the eighteenth century could well have been acquainted with the 1704, 1705, and 1708 editions as well.

Of the thirty-nine Notenbüchlein tunes that agree with the various *Halle* editions, the majority are found in both white and black notation. It seems, therefore, unlikely that the *Halle* was an immediate source from which scribes copied tunes, for the fact that most of the *Halle* tunes in the Notenbüchlein are notated in white notation suggests that these were transmitted orally during the course of the eighteenth century. Their notational style indicates that either they were notated from memory, or, if copied, the black notation was altered to reflect the familiar white notation. That the same tunes were notated in black, however, suggests that some scribes chose to retain some, if not all of the *Halle* notational style. Therefore the "notation from memory" scenario seems more plausible as an explanation of the discrepancies seen in the following examples.

The four tunes originating in the 1741 *Halle Gesangbuch* serve as a sample.   While all four are in white notation in some Notenbüchlein, three of the four tunes are found in black notation with almost the same rhythmic values and barring as is found in the *Halle*. "Morgen glüntz der ewigkeit," and "O, das ich tausend zungen hütte" are the same in three of the four Notenbüchlein that include this tune; the 1816 booklet contains the same tune in white notation. "Ich bin in allem" is in quarter notes in the *Halle* hymnal and in white notation in the Notenbüchlein. And "O du liebe, meine liebe" was likely copied from the *Halle* in the 1810[b] book, but is also found in white notation in the 1804 book.

Below are three eighteenth-century chorales originating in the *Halle Gesangbuch*. "Morgenglüntz der ewigkeit" first appeared in the 1704 *Halle Gesangbuch*, with changes in the 1708 and 1741 editions. The version in the 1807 Notenbüchlein is the most similar,

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[1] As seen in Chapter Two, there was a shipment of `Halle` hymnals to Pennsylvania in 1773. Other `Halle` editions were the original 1704, followed by 1705, 1708, 1721, 1730, and 1741.

but certainly not identical to the 1741 edition. The same tune is found in white notation, however, in the 1803[c,d], 1810[b], and 1821[b] Notenbüchlein. Transcriptions follow.

Example 7.19. "Morgenglüntz der ewigkeit" -- *Halle* (1741) version (Z.3427), 1803[d], 1807, respectively (text taken from Zahn, 3427)

"Macht auf die thor der gerechtigkeit" is found in two different notational versions, one black and one hybrid. Shown below are the versions as found in the 1787[a] hybrid notation and the 1807 black notation and a possible printed source: the 1741 *Halle Gesangbuch*.

Example 7.20. "Macht auf die thor der gerechtigkeit" -- 1787[a], 1807, *Halle Gesangbuch* (1708, 1741, 1771), respectively (text taken from Zahn 8177)

The 1807 and *Halle* versions are similar enough to suggest that the *Halle* hymnal was in the

hands of at least this scribe.

Except for what appear to be two pitch errors in 1787[a] (fourth measure, second line), the tune for "O, das ich tausent zungen" has the same pitches as are found in the 1741 *Halle Gesangbuch*. The rhythms, however, are altered in four places where the scribe of the 1787[a] Notenbüchlein bars the notes (instead of using the slur marking): this suggests eighth-note values. These four alterations, marked below with asterisks, reflect notational practices commonly found throughout the Notenbüchlein repertoire. Additionally, the 1787[b] Notenbüchlein includes a double time signature, whereas the *Halle* simply indicates 3/4.

Example 7.21. "O, das ich tausent zungen" -- 1741 *Halle Gesangbuch*, 1787[a]
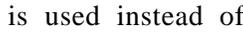　　　　　Notenbüchlein, respectively (text taken from Zahn, 2860a)

The above examples suggest, then, that the *Halle Gesangbuch* was used as an immediate

notational source and either copied verbatim (1807 and 1810[b] scribes) or altered to reflect

local performance practice. The fact that examples 7.19, 20 and 21 are also found in white

notation suggests that these tunes were known orally and written down in the older notational style.

Anglo-American tunes. The presence of hymns of Anglo-American ancestry suggest yet other possible sources, including John Wyeth's *Repository of Sacred Music*, part Second (Harrisburg, Pa., 1813) and Ananias Davisson's *Kentucky Harmony* (Harrisonburg, Va., 1816), both of which are found in Mennonite collections such as the Mennonite Historical Library in Goshen, Indiana. Apart from the alto line, the following tunes (in harmonized versions using black notation) have very similar, if not identical lines to those found in Davisson's *Kentucky Harmony*: Lenox, Aylesbury, America, Newburgh, Bridgewater, Russia, Wesley, and Rochester. The differences arise from bar line placement and accidentals. Examples 7.22 and 7.23 present "Rochester" and "Aylesbury."

The Anglo-American tune "Rochester" was used as the setting for "Gott sorgt für uns." Except for what seems to be a missing key signature and alto part in Elisabeth Kolb's [1826] book, this tune in a harmonized version is nearly identical to that found in A. Davisson's *Kentucky Harmony* (1816). For purposes of comparison, only the melody is quoted here.[1] Sara Nonemacher's book of 1815[b] includes the same tune in a monophonic setting using white notation. Appearing as the second-to-last tune in the book in a different hand from the rest, this tune was likely added sometime after 1815. The notation, however, suggests that it had been absorbed into the repertoire orally, undergoing loss of rhythmic differentiation typical of the "old way."

Example 7.22. "Gott sorgt für uns" set to "Rochester" -- melody from *Kentucky Harmony*, 1815[b], and [1826], respectively (text taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 409)

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[1] One vestige of the older style of notation is found in the last measure of the [1826] version, where a   is used instead of two quarter notes with a slur.

(The d natural sign in the penultimate measure, second system, clearly means a sharped fourth degree.)

In the case of Aylesbury, the omission of the alto line, as well as several pitch differences, suggests that there was an intermediate source, either in written form or perhaps an oral version that would explain the adaptation. The tune is in the third line in *Kentucky Harmony* and in the top line in 1817[c].

Example 7.23. "Sagt, was hilff alle welt" Aylesbury: facsimile of *Kentucky Harmony* and transcription of 1817[c] (text taken from the *Zionsharfe,* 359)

In both examples quoted above, the differences between the printed source and Notenbüchlein arise from rests and time signature, as well as a few isolated pitches. The fact that the discant, tenor and bass lines in Aylesbury are almost identical suggests that

Kentucky Harmony was in the hands of at least a few German-speaking Mennonites in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, even if the setting was not copied verbatim.

The one contrafactum of a secular Anglo-American tune, as noted below, came to be known as "Washington's March." The tune is found in two different versions in the Notenbüchlein and is associated with a story that provides clues to its origins. The tune in question is one of two melodies used for the chorale text "Es glüntzet der christen." The story associated with this tune as told to Isaac Clarence Kulp by his great Uncle Reinhardt Gottschall (d. 1976), is as follows:

> The story told is that this is a march that was used by Washington's army in drilling the soldiers. This was a melody that some Mennonite in the eighteenth century heard while standing on the edge of the encampment of Washington's army. He heard the fife and drum playing this melody, and watched Washington's troops march to it . . . . He hummed it and took it home, and started singing this hymn to it.[1]

This tune, which Kulp learned from his great uncle, is clearly related to the two versions found in the Notenbüchlein. Below are three versions of the tune in question, the first taken from the 1787[a] Notenbüchlein, the second from the 1810[b] booklet, and the third, the tune as performed by Isaac Clarence Kulp in 1989 (my own transcription).

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[1] Isaac Clarence Kulp, interview, November 30th, 1989. It could be that the tune name inspired the story. Regardless, there was an awareness of the secular origins of this tune.

Example 7.24. "Es glüntzet der christen" -- 1787[a], 1810[b], Isaac Clarence Kulp version (performed for the author in 1989), learned from his great uncle Reinhardt Gottschall (text is taken from the *Zionsharfe*, 381)

The tune has a generic folk quality that reminds one of, among other tunes, the Irish ballad "Cockles and Mussels." The "Washington" story as told above, however, provides a clue to the tune's origins. All three versions of "Es glüntzet der christen" are to ome degree related to a fiddle tune referred to in Pennsylvania as "Washington's March." Samuel Bayard records a version of the tune as performed for him in 1930 by a fiddler from Juniata County, Pennsylvania: Samuel B. Losch. Bayard then cites other written sources of the tune, only one of which could possibly have been in the hands of late eighteenth-century Pennsylvanians: James Aird's *A Selection of Scotch, English, Irish and Foreign Airs* (Scotland, [1782]). The tune, quoted in *Waifs and Strays of Gaelic Melody*, ed. Capt. Francis O'Neill (second edition, enlarged, Dublin, 1980), is provided below.

Example 7.25. "Lord Linsday's March" from James Aird's *A Selection of Scotch, English, Irish and Foreign Airs* (Scotland, [1782] as quoted in *Waifs and Strays of Gaelic Melody*, ed. Capt. Francis O'Neill (second edition, enlarged, Dublin, 1980), 45

The above example is related to "Es glüntzet der christen," but different enough to suggest that this was not the immediate source of the tune.

The version as performed by fiddler Losch, on the other hand, is closer to the

Notenbüchlein versions and even includes the extended melisma as found in the 1787[a].
Example 7.26. "Washington's March" performed by Samuel B. Losch (1930), (quoted by
Samuel P. Bayard in *Dance to the Fiddle, March to the Fife: Instrumental
Folk Tunes in Pennsylvania* [The Pennsylvania State University Press,
1986], 252.)

It is impossible to know with certainty what the tune history of "Es glüntzet der

christen" actually is. One possible conclusion to be drawn from the above, is that

sometime during the late eighteenth century, a fiddle tune commonly known in

Pennsylvania was renamed "Washington's March." In any case, this tune continued as

part of the fiddle-tune repertoire, as evidenced by the fact that it was still in the

Pennsylvania oral tradition in 1930.

It could be that the tune version transmitted in Pennsylvania was originally in triple

meter, but was recast in duple. If so, the tune borrowed into the Franconia Mennonite

hymn repertoire in the last quarter of the eighteenth century reflects an earlier version in

triple meter.

To accommodate the poetic meter of the text "Es glüntzet der christen," adjustments

were necessary in the last two phrases. The adjustment was handled in two different ways.

In the 1787[a] and Kulp versions, one phrase was added. In the case of Kulp's version, the

added phrase is simply a repetition of the phrase that came before; in the case of the 1787[a]

Notenbüchlein, the phrase seems to be newly composed. In the 1810[b] version, on the

other hand, a rounded binary form is achieved by reiterating the *a* section. The additional

phrase (when compared to the other Notenbüchlein version) calls for additional text, solvable by simply repeating the last phrase.

The 1787^a and Kulp versions avoid a cadence on the fifth degree, cadencing rather on the tonic in the penultimate phrase. Following the meter of the text, the final phrase has only half the syllables of the previous musical phrases. The periodicity of the 1787^a and Kulp versions is therefore $4 + 4 + 2$ while the 1810^b version is $4 + 4 + 4$, both in contrast to "Washington's March" which is $4 + 5$ (or $4 + 4 + 1$).

Summary

The examples quoted above demonstrate that, with a few exceptions, the tunes, while perhaps of recognizable ancestry, are mostly impossible to trace to pre-existing printed sources. The exceptions are significant, however, for they reflect the beginnings of the eventual shift from a purely oral tradition to a tradition based on written transmission. The resulting change of such a shift in both style and repertoire is addressed in the concluding chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Conclusion

To conclude this dissertation, we look at the Notenbüchlein repertoire from two perspectives: continuity and change within the hymn repertoire itself, and continuity and change in the broader Franconia culture as the community moved into the second half of the nineteenth century. We begin with a summary of textual themes and how these fit into the history of the Mennonite communities in the eastern United States.

Continuity and Change in the Notenbüchlein Texts

At the center of the Notenbüchlein hymnody were the tenets of German Pietism, which perpetuated pre-Enlightenment views of human existence. Two fundamental convictions reflected in the hymns are the ephemeral nature of human life in the face of eternity, and a longing for release from a world of turmoil and woe through death, in search of heaven. The frequent inclusion of *Begrübnis* (funeral) hymns and *Klaglieder* (laments) suggests that life was viewed as a struggle; comfort was found in the promise of eternity. Also present, but far less dominant, are Anabaptist themes of discipleship and the suffering church.

On balance, then, the specific Mennonite point of view is secondary. This can be explained, in part, by the fact that the Notenbüchlein came from the interdenominational schoolhouse, and therefore could espouse no single denominational theology. The fact that the *Zionsharfe* also included a relatively small portion of hymns of Anabaptist origin suggests, however, that Franconians in general did not sing hymns that reflected a specific Mennonite orientation. Yet several extant Mennonite sermons suggest that the Mennonite

point of view was being preached.[1] Why, then, does the hymnody scarcely reflect this frame of reference?

It would appear that one change that occurred when Mennonites began to absorb elements of Pietism related to a contrasting purpose served by hymns. Much Anabaptist hymnody was aimed at bolstering the community in the midst of severe persecution; the dominant themes are reflective of both faith and practice as lived out in community.[2] In contrast to this, the purpose of Pietist hymnody was to express one's personal experience of faith. Accompanying the theological elements characteristic of Pietism, then, was a desire to express one's spiritual journey via hymnody.

Continuity and Change in the Noenbüchlein Tunes

With the various notational styles, manners of setting text, and the relatively eclectic nature of the repertoire, any discussion of the music in the Notenbüchlein is complex. Below is an attempt to draw together the elements touched on in the previous two chapters.

As can be seen in the chart below, only one style of repertoire is found throughout all fifty-five years of Notenbüchlein production: monophonic white notation used to notate Geneva Psalter tunes and chorales. Single-staff harmony white notation is found only in the first half of the Notenbüchlein tradition; score-style three-part harmony only from 1805 to 1826, and for the Anglo-American repertoire, only beginning in 1816.[3] Black notation

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[1] Two sermons from the Franconia area are in the John Funk collection at the Archives of the Mennonite Church, Goshen, Ind. (Hist Mss 1-1-4, Box 51). The first sermon is attributed to Christian Holdeman (who lived during the second half of the eighteenth century) of Salford, Pa. See John F. Funk, *The Mennonite Church and Her Accusers* (Elkhart, Ind., 1878). The second sermon is anonymous.

[2] For an insightful article on the theological teachings of Anabaptist hymns, see Elizabeth Bender, "Teachings Stressed in the Ausbund," in Paul M. Yoder et al., *Four Hundred Years with the Ausbund* (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1964).

[3] Anglo-American tunes are found in Notenb_chlein dating as early as 1803. The tunes are in the second of three hands, however, and were likely added later than 1800, presumably following 1813. Those of 1804, 1805[b], 1808, 1812[b] also include Anglo-American tunes, also in the second

with its prescriptive rhythms can be found frequently from 1807 to 1826; following 1826,

prescriptive rhythms, as well as three-part harmonic settings, disappear. Generally

speaking, then, it appears that the Notenbüchlein repertoire moves from a homogeneous

repertoire to a relatively more eclectic repertoire and then back to a relatively homogeneous

repertoire. To borrow from Bruno Nettl, the change might be summarized as movement

from stability to instability and back to stability.[1]

Table 8.1.　　　Distribution of Notational Styles Among Geneva Psalter Tunes, Early
　　　　　　　　Chorales, Pietist Chorales, and Anglo-American tunes.

| | Notenbüchlein Dates: | | | |
	1780-1805	1807-15	1816-26	1827-35
White Notation:	X	X	X	X
Geneva tunes:	X	X	X	X
Early Chorales:	X	X	X	X

half of the book, suggesting these were added later than the date on the title page. The Anglo-American tune "Wells" is found as early as 1784[a], in white notation only, and without harmonization. This suggests that "Wells" entered the repertoire through oral tradition. The 1810[2] book includes two Anglo-American tunes in black notation. One seems to be a harmony line to "Lenox." This could also be an attempt to notate a tune from oral tradition, this time in black notation. The other is the tune "Edgeware," set to the text "Wo wilt du hin." The rhythms also suggest an attempt to notate a tune learned orally.

[1] Nettl, in *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Twenty-Nine Issues and Concepts* (Urbana, Il., 1983), suggests a view of change as the result of a balance between stability and continuity and disturbances brought about by outside contact. His hypothesis is the following:

> In the life of a music some components always change while others do not. When style changes, content tends to remain and vice versa. Where pieces themselves change, they are not often abandoned to be replaced by others, while rapid turnover in a repertory accompanies the avoidance of change of the individual pieces. Improvisation over a model, each performance signifying change of some sort, causes the model itself to remain constant. Where performance practice does not permit much change in a given piece, new pieces are more frequently created than where a performance style requires departure from a norm. Innovation and variation balance each other. (p. 186)

Single-staff harmony						
Geneva tunes	X					
Chorales	X		X			
Black Notation:		(X)[1]		X	X	
Pietist chorales:				X		
Mono. Anglo tunes:			X	X		X
Score style harmony:				X	X	
Geneva Tunes:			X			
Anglo Repertoire:				X		
Shape notes:				X		X

Musical Settings: the "Old Way" and the "New Way." Another approach to understanding the musical styles in the corpus of Notenbüchlein is in terms of four dichotomies of transition. These dichotomies are: oral vs. written transmission, European vs. American repertoire, monophonic vs. polyphonic textures, and functional vs. recreational hymnody. Although the Notenbüchlein are, by definition, a form of written transmission, elements of oral tradition are reflected in the notation.   Characteristics such as absence of rhythmic information, modal ambiguity, ornamentation, and harmonizations with much parallel motion suggest the influence of oral tradition. Tunes dependent on written notation for transmission are in two-, three-, and four-part harmonizations, and include fuging tunes.

The second transition is that from European to American hymnody. While the predominant tune pool is European, there is a small but significant number of tunes coming from the surrounding Anglo-American culture. Further evidence of this transition is the emergence in mid-century of weeknight singing schools which used oblong printed tune books, both in German and English.[2]

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[1] With the exception of 1787[a], black notation is largely absent in these early years.

[2] Three such books found in many Mennonite collections are:

The third transition is the one from monophonic to polyphonic texture. In this

transition, it appears that monophonic and polyphonic settings using considerable parallel

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J. G. Schmauk, *Deutsche Harmonie, oder mehrstimmige
ges_nge f_r Deutsche Singschulen und Kirchen . . .*
J. G. Schmauk, Organist an der Deutsch Lutherischen
St. Michaelis Kirche, in Philadelphia, 1833.

S. M. Musselmann. *Die neue Choral Harmonie,
enthaltend die vornehmsten Kirchen Melodien,
Eingerichtet zum Gebrauche aller Christlichen
Religionen . . .* Komponiert und zusammengetragen
von S. M. Musselmann, Lower Salford, Montgomery
County, Pa. Gedr_ckt bei Hickok und Cantine,
Harrisburg, Pa, 1844.

Thomas R. Weber. *Die Pennsylvanische Choral
harmonie, enthaltend die vornehmesten Kirchen-
Melodien . . .* Bearbeitet von Thomas R. Weber,
Allentaun, Pa. gedr_ckt bey Blumer & Busch, 1857.
(The dates for all three are the first printing.)

The printed singing-school books with a German
orientation, in some ways, replaced the manuscript songbooks.
These later gave way to books with an English orientation,
two of which were compiled by Mennonites.

J. C. Auerbach and I. E. Hunsberger, *The Temple
Harp* (Philadelphia, 1872).

Martin D. Wenger, *The Philharmonia, a collection of
Tunes, Adapted to public and private worship,
containing tunes for all the hymns in the English
Mennonite Hymn Book, the Gemeinschaftliche,
Unparteiische and Allgemeine Liedersammlungen . . .*
(Elkhart, Indiana, 1875).

The latter collection reflects remnants of the German culture
in the title itself. This collection is the Pennsylvania
counterpart to the well-known tune book compiled by Joseph
Funk in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. Published first
as *Genuine Church Music* (Winchester, Virginia, 1832), the
collection is known today by the title it has held since the
fourth edition, *The Harmonia Sacra* (and *The New Harmonia
Sacra* since the fourteenth edition) which has gone through
twenty-five editions, the latest published in Intercourse,
Pa.: Good Books, 1993. This last edition is called simply
The Harmonia Sacra. In addition to the 420 four-voice
settings based on the 12th edition (1866), there is a
selection of fifty tunes in three-voice settings taken from
earlier editions.

motion existed side by side, and that functional harmony and imitation, especially in the form of fuging tunes, represented a newer harmonic style. In the former, the tune style is rhythmically undifferentiated, as in plainchant. The latter style opened the door to the performance of relatively complex musical compositions, in which skill in sightsinging and vocal execution were both essential components of the performance.

The final transition grows, in part, out of the third. Functional hymnody broadened to include recreational singing. Whereas the monophonic tunes in white notation are arguably subordinate to the texts, the handful of conspicuously melismatic or rhythmic tunes suggest a shift in the function of music, whereby music came to be enjoyed for its own sake. In support of this is the text "Musik ist ein edles Ding" ("Music is something noble"). Found in Jacob Oberholzer's book of 1803, this text lauds music, but hints that the proper role of music was disputed.[1]   Such tunes were doubtless performed in recreational settings such as home singings or work bees. Monophonic tunes in white notation, on the other hand, comprise the core repertoire used in formal worship settings.

The apparent openness toward other musical styles freed the Franconian community to develop its musical culture into a vigorous singing tradition. Part-singing was already taught early in the nineteenth century. The singing style established at this time subsequently took root in Virginia under the leadership of the transplanted Franconian, Joseph Funk, who compiled the *Harmonia Sacra* (published originally as *Genuine Church Music* [1832]). Indeed, *a capella* part-singing has been a hallmark of Mennonite singing for the last two centuries, inspired in part, it seems, by the Franconians who sought a rich and varied cross-cultural repertoire.

At the same time, however, the "old way" was perpetuated in a significant way and even translated into shape-note notation. The very fact that the "old way" runs through the entire repertoire suggests a certain resistance to change. Although there is no direct evidence of controversy revolving around the newer musical style, it is possible that the

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[1] See Chapter Five.

adoption of new repertoire as well as part-singing was an element of conflict within the community, conflict that led to a major schism in 1847.

The Schism of 1847

Throughout the cultural and religious history of the Mennonites, the guiding light seems to have been the German saying "Es kommt d'rauf an wo mann die linie zieht." ("It depends on where one draws the line.")[1] This summarizes to a great extent the process that each community has undergone as it has adopted or rejected cultural change. With no denominational church hierarchy to determine policy, communities themselves have decided what is in keeping with the Mennonite tradition as they understand it and what is antithetical to it. The result has been several major schisms in the Mennonite family, including the Amish schism in 1693 and the 1847 Franconia Conference schism.[2] In the case of the former, the Amish drew the line so as to exclude, among other things, the adoption of pietism into the fabric of church life. The controversy leading to the 1847 schism seems to have revolved around the adoption of certain practices and the promulgation of a church constitution. The result was a split in which the "Old Mennonites," as they came to be called, refused to adopt the proposed changes. The "New Mennonites" (who later broadened to include what came to be known as the General Conference Mennonites) not only adopted a written church constitution, but also soon began using musical instruments in the houses of worship, instituting Sunday schools for the youth, and wearing coats with lapels, which were considered "worldly" by the Old

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[1] Interview with Isaac Clarence Kulp, November 30, 1989.
[2] The 1847 split is interpreted by Robert Friedmann in *Mennonite Piety Through the Centuries* (Goshen: Menn. Hist. Soc., 1949), C. Henry Smith in *Story of the Mennonites* (Newton, 1941), and Beulah Stauffer Hostetler in *American Mennonites and Protestant Movements* (Scottdale, 1987). Many of the primary sources are found in the October 1972 issue of *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, the entire issue of being devoted to the schism.

Mennonites.[1] The Old Mennonites, on the other hand, consciously avoided change when it came to the formal aspects of church life.

To date, nothing has been found in the written documents surrounding the schism that directly addresses musical practices for either side of the division. Circumstantial evidence suggests, however, that the "New Mennonites" were less resistant to linguistic and cultural assimilation, while the "Old Mennonites" continued doing things as they always had. Sunday schools, for example, were adopted soon after the schism (1858) by the "New Mennonites," whereas Sunday schools were not customary in Old Mennonite congregations until the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[2]

According to Mennonite historian J. C. Wenger, there seems to have been a minority opposed to the practice of singing in parts. An Old Mennonite Bishop, Samuel Leatherman (1815-1904), for example, apparently "regretted the innovation."[3]   As for week-night singing schools among the Old Mennonites, these were organized by Mennonites already in the mid-nineteenth-century, but it was not until the introduction of

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[1] The "Old Mennonites" have, since that time, followed suit with regard to dress, the use of musical instruments, Sunday schools, and a formalized church structure. The *Mennonite Hymnal* (Scottdale, Pa., Newton Ks., 1969) was a joint venture between the two conferences. Indeed, today the groups view themselves as similar enough to consider merging their respective conferences sometime in the near future, a process that began in 1983 when the (old) Menonite Church, and the General Conference Mennonite Church met for the first time in joint sessions at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

[2] John Ruth, *Maintaining the Right Fellowship* (Scottdale, Pa., 1984), 313.

[3] J. C. Wenger, *Franconia Mennonite History* (Telford, Pa., 1937), 328. Isaac Clarence Kulp remembers hearing a sermon in his youth by a Mennonite preacher in which "unison singing was upheld as being symbolic of unity in life and the *Gemeinschaft* (congregants). Part-singing [on the other hand], was symbolic of the worldly view that many different voices can all be authoritative or correct, where the true scriptural view is that there is only one right way." (Interview, November 30, 1989.)

Sunday schools in 1870 that singing schools were actually conducted in Old Mennonite meeting houses.[1]

As for evidence of controversy over cultural change within the Notenbüchlein, one can only observe which of the identified copyists or owners of the Notenbüchlein eventually sided with one or the other groups. Schoolmaster Henry Johnson, for example, who prepared Elisabeth Kolb's book, joined the "New Mennonites" and was ordained preacher by those who seceded on December 2, 1847.[2] Kolb's book is one of seven books in the "Neue musicalische" style with three-part harmonizations in the first half of the booklet followed by a section of monophonic settings.   Although Kolb's book has no English texts, the Johnson parent Notenbuch includes eight texts in fluent English, suggesting an openness to English hymns already in the first half of the nineteenth century.[3] By contrast, an Old Mennonite minister, Johannes Groü (1814-1903), possible owner of the 1822 Notenbüchlein, according to J. C. Wenger, "wept when English hymns were sung at Deep Run."[4] Together, these examples illustrate that there was no consensus when it came to language and, by extension, musical style.

While it cannot be proven that vocal music was one of the elements in the Franconia Mennonite struggle that led to the schism of 1847, it is clear that before the split, the poles outlined above existed side by side with the "old way" being perpetuated even while the "new way" was entering the Franconia culture. As long as such change was not formalized and the texts remained German, it seems that the musical boundaries remained flexible.

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[1] Wenger, 328.
[2] Ibid., 103.
[3] The Johnson Notenbuch is in the Mennonite Historians of Eastern Pennsylvania collection in Harleysville (no catalogue number).   In a letter from one Garrett Bean to Henry G. Johnson, written in 1938, Bean requests "the Bass of the hymn Commencing 'In the dark woods no Indian nigh.'" (The letter in question is cited in John Ruth, *Maintaining the Right Fellowship*, op. cit., 216.) Although it cannot be known with certainty, the possibility exists that the bass line in question was Johnson's own, for had it simply been a known harmonization from a printed source, Bean would not have needed to consult with Johnson.
[4] Wenger, 267.

The present story ends here, leaving the second half of the nineteenth century for another needed study, equal in significance and scope to this one, a study that would chart the waning of German hymnody and the ever-growing English hymnody, as the Franconia Mennonites chose linguistic assimilation.