



Sacred Music Entangled

The Constance Hymnal (1540)

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Abstract: Focusing on the Constance hymnal (*Konstanzer Gesangbuch*, 1540), this article highlights early modern sacred song as a relational practice. Methodologically, the study employs *histoire croisée* to analyze the hymnal's multi-layered character and to trace entanglement, asymmetry, and mediation in its making, contents, and reception. The analysis reveals that the Constance hymnal embodies asymmetric collaboration across civic, clerical, and regional contexts. Its paratexts articulate shared editorship and interurban coordination, its repertory connects chant tradition with evangelical pedagogy, distinct notational regimes mediate between inherited and Reformed singing practices, and text-only contrafacta link print culture to oral transmission and tune memory. A sustained sequence of revisions, expansions, and reprints demonstrates how continuity is maintained through alteration. Traces of circulation and use documented through mapping show strong reception in Zurich and Bern, dense circulation across Graubünden and the Upper Rhine, and Catholic monastic preservation reaching into Austria. The hymnal was used in multiple settings, from congregational worship to household devotion and the instruction of children. Taken together, these findings reframe sacred song as an entangled practice and establish *histoire croisée* as a useful method for the study of early modern sacred music.

Keywords: entanglement; *histoire croisée*; Konstanzer Gesangbuch; early modern hymnbooks; print circulation; Reformation music; sacred music

Introduction: A Hymnal at the Crossroads

Music historiography, especially from the nineteenth into the early twentieth century, often organized musical pasts through boundary-making narratives, such as national, stylistic, institutional, and confessional paradigms. In sacred music studies, further distinctions—including Latin versus vernacular repertoires, monastic versus civic liturgies, manuscript versus print, or clerical versus lay song—likewise structured scholarly accounts. Although such perspectives illuminated crucial aspects of music, their shared emphasis on division risked portraying soundscapes as segmented into isolated domains. Over recent decades, however, scholarship has begun to unsettle these

frameworks.¹ In broader music historiography, research has shown that the very notion of a “musical work” is historically contingent, emerging through particular institutional, aesthetic, and discursive boundaries.² Related studies have also challenged nation-centered narratives by tracing how musical traditions emerge through intersecting practices, exchanges, and dependencies.³ In this framework, music appears less as a fixed object confined to autonomous works than as a process in which meaning is generated through use, performance, and interaction.⁴ In sacred music studies, some scholars have taken up these insights by reframing early modern soundscapes as porous and negotiated, emphasizing the circulation and adaptation of devotional repertoires across confessional lines.⁵ Yet entanglement has often remained an implicit horizon rather than becoming an explicit methodological focus.

The present article addresses that gap by drawing on *histoire croisée*, making the dynamics of crossing central to the analysis.⁶ In this view, crossings do not function as secondary links between otherwise stable entities; they are taken as the point of departure and examined as sites of mutual transformation. The method asks how practices, categories, and constellations of actors take shape through intersecting processes of exchange, mediation, and asymmetry. In a broader historiographical landscape, approaches such as global history, transnational history, and “entangled history” have likewise foregrounded circulation, interdependence, and power relations.⁷ *Histoire croisée* contributes a particularly fine-grained vocabulary for tracing multiple, intersecting crossings in their shifting combination. Its reflexive and multi-scalar perspective links interactions across different levels—such as actors, media, practices, and conceptual categories—while keeping asymmetries in view. This methodological stance—already taken up in a range of musicological contexts⁸—offers a useful approach for sacred music studies, where vocal and instrumental practices alike were often produced, regulated, and used within overlapping clerical, civic, pedagogical, and domestic frameworks. In the case of sacred song, hymns moved between Latin and vernacular, between manuscript, print, and memory, and between liturgical and non-liturgical settings, with each shift recalibrating meaning and function. Writing an entangled history of sacred sound, in this sense, means tracing how such crossings enabled repertoires to function across contexts and how they continually redrew the very boundaries that historiography frequently treats as given.

In this article, the 1540 Constance hymnal (*Konstanzer Gesangbuch*: RISM B/VIII/1 1540/06; VD16 Z 729; vdm 472)⁹ serves as a test case for applying—and extending—*histoire croisée* to early modern sacred music. While many sixteenth-century hymnals would lend themselves to such an approach, the Constance hymnal is exceptionally dense in documented crossings: it emerged from Constance’s volatile religious and political landscape at the intersection of multiple interests; it was commissioned in Constance but printed elsewhere; its repertory and authorship are intrinsically composite; its editorial work was collaborative; its songs register multiple confessional, linguistic, and notational crossings; it was designed for diverse publics and functioned in different settings; and its long publishing history shows that crossings also unfolded diachronically. The present study follows the Constance hymnal’s making, contents, and reception to ask how sacred song operated across—and actively remade—the boundaries outlined above, revealing crossings and asymmetries that linear narratives tend to flatten.

A further reason for revisiting the Constance hymnal is the relative lack of recent musicological attention it has received. After Philipp Wackernagel first brought the source to scholarly notice in the nineteenth century,¹⁰ the 1540 print was made newly accessible through the 1946 facsimile reprint published by Zwingli Verlag, with an afterword by Jean Hotz.¹¹ The discovery of a fragmentary earlier edition then prompted a cluster of studies in the 1950s by Theodor Sieber, Lukas Vischer, Konrad Ameln, and Markus Jenny, which addressed questions of dating, transmission, and repertorial development.¹² Trudi Suttner’s 1952 edition of selected songs from the Constance hymnal further testifies to mid-twentieth-century interest in its repertory.¹³ The foundational scholarly account remains Markus Jenny’s 1962 study of the Protestant hymnbook tradition in German-speaking Switzerland, supplemented by his 1969 addenda and by further remarks in later publications, including his 1980 article on hymnbook provenance and authorship attributions.¹⁴ More recently, Wolfgang Fuhrmann has offered the most substantial new discussion related to the hymnal, though his contribution addresses only one aspect of the source: Zwick’s preface and its place within Reformation debates on music and church song.¹⁵ For the hymnal’s bibliographical and repertorial documentation, the main reference works remain dependent to a considerable extent on mid-twentieth-century scholarship. This applies not only to the printed RISM volume of 1975 but also to the more recent online entries in RISM Online, VD16, and vdm.¹⁶ The

resulting picture is therefore one of a source that is bibliographically well established but only partially absorbed into current debates on early modern sacred music. The contribution of the present article lies in bringing this rarely reinterpreted source into dialogue with questions of entanglement, mediation, and circulation.

Contexts and Paratexts

The Constance hymnal grew out of one of the most turbulent decades in Constance's history. An episcopal center on Lake Constance and the site of the Council of Constance (1414–18), it was a Free Imperial City but politically fragile, caught between Habsburg power, the Swiss Confederacy, and regional nobles. From the 1520s onward, evangelical preaching found receptive ground and had, by the mid-1530s, entered civic worship, schools, and guild life. The episcopal court, however, remained Catholic, and in 1548 imperial recatholicization restored Catholic dominance across the city.¹⁷ Viewed through an *histoire croisée* lens, this period appears not as a linear trajectory toward reform or restoration but as an overlapping field of interactions in which civic, ecclesiastical, and imperial actors continually redefined one another's roles. Already here, the hymnal's moment of origin appears as a contact zone: a city negotiating between authorities, confessional forms, and publics rather than moving along a single confessional track.

Music occupied a contested but productive place within the Constance Reformation. The city's principal hymn writers—Ambrosius Blarer (1492–1564), Thomas Blarer (1499–1567), and Johannes Zwick (ca. 1496–1542)—were central actors in the reform process, whose work in song formed part of a broader project of ecclesiastical and communal reordering. Unlike Zurich, where congregational singing was not introduced into public worship in the course of the city's Reformation and was officially adopted only in 1598,¹⁸ the Constance reformers approached singing as a flexible pastoral medium. Song functioned as instruction, exhortation, consolation, and communal formation, and its legitimacy depended less on formal liturgical status than on use, intention, and discipline. In this context, singing was neither categorically prescribed nor rejected: it operated alongside preaching and catechesis as an effective vehicle for shaping evangelical belief and practice.¹⁹ In a society where many people had limited access to literacy, song offered an especially effective medium for teaching, memorizing, and circulating evangelical

ideas.²⁰ The Constance hymnal emerges from this pragmatic horizon, oriented toward equipping a community in flux, and thus reflecting a reform culture that treated singing as a negotiable practice, adaptable to circumstance and audience.

The Constance reformers' openness toward music is expressed in the hymnal's preface, written by one of its editors, Johannes Zwick.²¹ Born in Constance into a branch of a St. Gallen patrician family and trained as a jurist, Zwick brought to the project a strongly catechetical understanding of congregational singing, grounded in his work as one of the city's leading reformers and a prominent writer of German sacred songs.²² In his "Vorred zu beschirm unnd erhaltung des ordenlichen Kirchensangs,"²³ Zwick distances himself, on the one hand, from the Zurich practice associated with Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531) and, on the other, from Reformed restrictions shaped by the Genevan psalm-only tradition, which largely limited congregational song to biblical psalm paraphrases.²⁴ He articulates a logic in which singing is not a confessional marker in itself but a contingent practice: acceptable when ordered, edifying, and spiritually directed and problematic only when undermining discipline or devotion. Repeated invocations of "gmeind/gmeynd,"²⁵ together with Zwick's insistence that "Wir sind ein geistlichs volck / und söllend im geist Gott singen,"²⁶ construct the congregation as a communal body. Notes such as "Sorg des mißbruchs"²⁷ and the condemnation of "Gsang on hertz"²⁸ define right singing as spiritual sincerity and social order.

Zwick's reflections on church song in the hymnal preface can be situated within a Constance reforming circle marked by theological exchange, personal ties, and musical competence. Among the figures who brought musical expertise into this milieu, Sixt Dietrich (ca. 1494–1548), a Constance-trained composer and former leader of the cathedral choir, and Benedictus Ducis (ca. 1492–1544), a Constance-born composer and later evangelical pastor, deserve attention as potential interlocutors in the hymnal's formation and, more cautiously, as possible contributors to its music.²⁹ Dietrich was closely connected to Zwick's circle:³⁰ contemporary correspondence places him in this network as a recognized musician,³¹ and Zwick's role as godfather to one of Dietrich's daughters in 1538 indicates a personal tie as well.³² Ducis is documented within the Constance reforming circle through the Ulm reformer Martin Frecht (1494–1556), whose correspondence with Ambrosius Blarer mentions Ducis and states that he is enclosing Ducis's 1542 setting of Blarer's funeral poem for his sister Margareta.³³ Together, these connections suggest that Zwick's

preface participated in a broader reforming conversation about the theological value of church song. They also make plausible, though not demonstrable, some involvement of Dietrich and Ducis in the selection, adaptation, or creation of melodies for the Constance hymnal.

The printing of the Constance hymnal did not take place in Constance but in Zurich, at the influential printing house of Christoph Froschauer (ca. 1490–1564).³⁴ Constance did have printers earlier—for example Johann Schöffler (in Constance by 1506), who printed for the episcopal curia and, in 1524–27, issued evangelical pamphlets, and Jörg Spitzenberg (active 1527–32)—but their shops were short-lived and technically limited. They ceased operations well before 1540: legal and political pressure, combined with weak capitalization, meant that no local shop was available when the hymnal was commissioned; indeed, between 1533 and 1543, no printing took place in Constance at all. Local actors therefore relied on out-of-town presses until a modest local revival from 1543 onward.³⁵

The Constance hymnal's paratexts explicitly frame the project as a collective undertaking: the 1540 title page (Figure 1) credits the volume "durch ettliche diener der kirchen zu Costentz un anderstwo,"³⁶ presenting it as multi-authored and interurban. The cited phrase performs this openness typographically, legitimizing the inclusion of voices from multiple cities and most probably even different dioceses within what still presents itself as a civic hymnal. The main editorial responsibility for the 1540 version of the Constance hymnal was shared by Johannes Zwick and Ambrosius Blarer, Zwick's second cousin and lifelong friend.³⁷ A member of a wealthy Constance patrician family, Blarer became one of the city's leading reformers and an accomplished writer of German congregational song; he was a key figure in shaping evangelical hymnody and congregational singing across southern German and Swiss regions.³⁸ Practical clearance and logistics probably moved through Antistes of Zurich Heinrich Bullinger's (1504–75) correspondence circle, which bridged pastoral and civic interests despite Zurich's caution toward congregational song.³⁹

The arrangement of song texts and paratexts likely reflects a negotiation between the editors' program and the working practices of Froschauer's workshop. In hymnals printed by Froschauer, the text was set in movable type and printed one sheet at a time, with the type redistributed for reuse as printing proceeded. The musical notation, by contrast, functioned more

like illustrative material: in principle it could be reused as blocks, yet when a melody recurred on a later sheet, the notation was usually not reprinted; instead, the tune was specified and only the text was set. This practice is best explained as a space-saving measure and, plausibly, as a response to the costs involved in printing additional notation.⁴⁰ Beyond editorial planning and workshop practice, the hymnal's trajectory was shaped by regional mediation. The Constance bookseller Gregor (Hans) Mangolt (1498–1583) served as intermediary with Froschauer's workshop, embedding the book in the Lake Constance trade network.⁴¹ Such asymmetrical collaboration, distributed across editorial initiative, workshop practice, and regional book-trade mediation, epitomizes the multidirectional exchanges that *histoire croisée* brings into view.

The title page of the Constance hymnal signals that the 1540 edition stands within an evolving series. Its claim to be “mercklichen gemeert/gebessert und in gschickte ordnung zesamen gstellt”⁴² implies not only the addition and revision of material but also a deliberate reordering of the repertory. The designation “Nüw,”⁴³ however, functions less as a straightforward marker within an edition series than as a commercial claim, mobilizing the rhetoric of novelty in a competitive print market. At the same time, it may be read as indexing “new” devotional practice—above all vernacular congregational singing—an interpretive link encouraged by a Bernese council decree of 1573 that invokes “nüw gesang” in the context of regulating and establishing congregational song.⁴⁴ Reconstructing the sequence of editions has proved difficult and remains incomplete, as several issues survive only in fragments or are entirely lost. The first edition in particular long resisted secure identification. In 1855, Philipp Wackernagel reported that a version of the Constance hymnal was in use by 1537,⁴⁵ but for decades no musical source corroborated his claim. When a fragmentary print dated to 1536/37 came to light in 1950, it was initially taken to represent the first edition.⁴⁶ This assumption was later revised, however, when evidence emerged for a now-lost first edition of 1533/34.⁴⁷ Subsequent editions of the Constance hymnal pose analogous problems of fragmentary preservation, uncertain dating, and unclear editorial responsibility. For the present study, therefore, the 1540 issue serves as the primary point of reference: it is the earliest edition to survive in full and thus provides the first complete witness to the hymnal's contents, layout, and paratexts. Moreover, this 1540 third edition formed the basis for all subsequent Zurich hymnbook prints.⁴⁸

Nüw gsangbüchle
von vil schönen Psalmen vnd
geistlichen liedern/ durch ettliche diener
der kirchen zu Costentz vñ anderstwo merck-
lichen gemeert/gebessert vnd in gschick-
te ordnung zesamen gstellt/ zu übung
vñnd bruch irer ouch anderer
Christlichen kirchen.



Getruckt zu Zürich by Chri-
stoffel Froschauer/ Im Jar
D. M. XL.

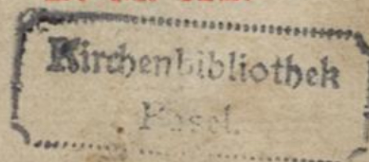


Figure 1: Title page of *Nüw gsangbüchle von vil schönen Psalmen und geistlichen liedern* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1540), University Library Basel, shelfmark KiAr A IX 1, accessed May 29, 2026, <https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-74395> (RISM B/VIII/1 1540/06; VD16 Z 729; vdm 472).

Entangled Repertories

The 150 items of the Constance hymnal are arranged, according to the Pauline triad of Colossians 3:16, into (1) sixty-seven psalms, (2) sixty songs for liturgical use, and (3) twenty-three songs for non-liturgical use. The section headings in the 1540 edition make this structure explicit and add some details. Part two includes “die geistlichen Gsang und Christlichen lieder / deren etliche in der kirchen vor oder nach den predigen / etliche aber allein usserthalb an statt der üppigen und schandtlichen wäلتliedern gesungen werdend”⁴⁹ (p. 110), while part three is headed “etliche gantz Christliche unnd gschrifftmässige gsang / welche doch in der kirchen nit gebrucht werdend”⁵⁰ (p. 213). These headings indicate that songs intended for the service could, and indeed should, also be sung outside it, but not the other way around.⁵¹

A distinctive feature is the hymnal’s practice of naming authors. At the beginning, a list identifies thirty-three contributors by full name and initials, while beside selected songs only the corresponding initials are printed. This system of attribution was also used in the fragmentary 1536/37 edition,⁵² though with some inconsistencies and errors that were corrected in the 1540 edition. Whether the same system was present in the lost edition of 1533/34 cannot be determined. Other contemporary hymnals, notably the Klug hymnal of 1533, had already named authors selectively, primarily to mark confessional reliability. The Constance hymnal, by contrast, appears to be the earliest known example of authorial attribution serving as a systematic editorial principle.⁵³ Figure 2 visualizes how those attributions are distributed across the three parts of the 1540 edition.

In total, 101 of the 150 items carry an author attribution. Martin Luther (1483–1546), the Wittenberg reformer and a foundational author of evangelical hymnody, and Johannes Zwick register the highest counts across the volume, with eighteen and sixteen items, respectively. Part one is dominated by Wittenberg and Strasbourg voices—above all Martin Luther, Matthäus Greiter (1495–1550), and Wolfgang Dachstein (1487–1553)—but it also weaves in Upper Rhine and South German figures such as Wolfgang Wüsel (n.d.), Heinrich Vogtherr (1490–1556), Adam Reusner (n.d.), and Leo Jud (1482–1542). Part two foregrounds Constance’s own leadership—Zwick together with the brothers Ambrosius and Thomas Blarer—alongside Luther as the principal external voice, with smaller contributions from figures such as Wüsel and others. Part three has fewer attributions but features repeated contributions

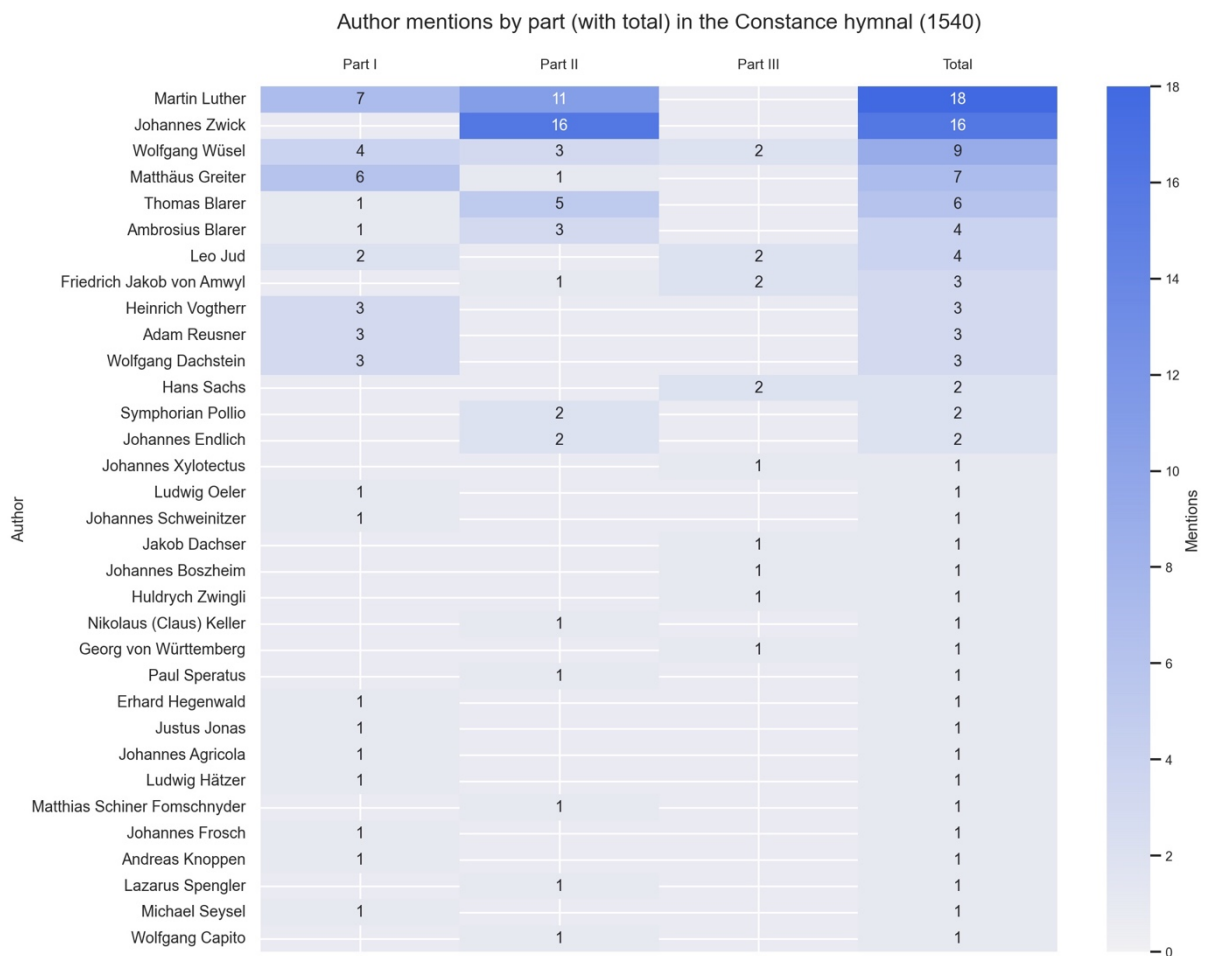


Figure 2: Heatmap of author mentions across the three parts of the 1540 Constance hymnal. Darker shading indicates higher frequency. Figure created in Python by the author, with modernized author names.

by Hans Sachs (1494–1576), Leo Jud, Wolfgang Wüsel, and Friedrich Jakob von Amwyl (1460–1537), each represented twice, suggesting a more eclectic, exploratory section of the collection. The one song by Huldrych Zwingli (*Ein geistlich lied umb hilff und bystand Gottes in kriegs gfaar*), a petitionary wartime prayer and thus typical of his cautious acceptance of song outside the service, likewise appears in part three, so its placement accords with the official Zwinglian–Zurich line of restricting liturgical song—even as Zwingli himself left room for discretion, maintaining that other churches’ ceremonies, including singing, need not be rejected when fitting and spiritually edifying.⁵⁴ Several figures straddle parts—Luther (I, II), Greiter (I, II), A. Blarer (I, II), T. Blarer (I, II), Jud (I, III), Amwyl (II, III), and Wüsel (I, II, III)—pointing to a curatorial cross-linking between repertorial and functional zones rather than strict categorical separation. The author list also brings confessional and social boundary-crossings into view. Confessionally, Lutheran (e.g. Luther, Speratus) and Reformed (e.g. Zwingli, Jud) voices sit side by side—with radical edges via Ludwig Hätzer (ca. 1500–29). Socially, nobles (Georg von Württemberg [1498–1558]), civic clergy (Zwick), artisans (*Meistersinger* Hans Sachs), and humanists (Adam Reusner) appear in immediate juxtaposition. Within this plural authorial field, the Blarer brothers function as key mediators, linking Constance with Zurich, the Upper Rhine, and the Swabia–Augsburg corridor.⁵⁵

Strikingly, the collection includes an unusually high proportion of reworked pieces with Catholic pedigrees—whereas many contemporary hymnals tended to avoid explicit Catholic markers—so that its overall song selection expresses a broadly ecumenical tendency.⁵⁶ One revealing instance is *Christ ist erstanden* (Table 1), printed in a version attributed to Thomas Blarer. The Constance print refashions the late-medieval Easter *Leise* into a fully vernacular congregational hymn: it preserves the medieval opening, adopts the doctrinal middle stanza first introduced in the Wittenberg tradition,⁵⁷ and closes with an expanded fourfold Alleluia while dropping the liturgical Kirioleis / Kyrie eleison—likely reflecting Swiss Reformed preferences for fully vernacular, didactic strophes and a smoother congregational cadence for parish and school use. The sequence maps an asymmetrical yet reciprocal chain—from medieval liturgy, through Wittenberg didacticization (via the added middle stanza), to Constance localization—in which each step reshapes what came before and exemplifies a confessional both/and logic.

Table 1: *Christ ist erstanden*: medieval *Leise* and Constance hymnal (1540). Spelling follows the sources

<i>Christ ist erstanden</i>		
Stanza	Medieval <i>Leise</i> (15th c.)	Constance hymnal (1540)
1	<i>Christ ist erstanden / von der marter aller, / Des schüll wir allew fro sein, / christ scholl unser trost sein. / Kiriroleis.</i>	<i>Christ ist erstanden / von der marter allen / Des söllend wir alle fro syn / Christ sol unser trost syn. Alleluia.</i>
2	<i>Alleluia, alleluia, alleluia. / des schüll wir allew fro sein, / christ scholl unser trost sein. / Kiriroleis.</i> ⁵⁸	<i>Und wer er nit erstanden / so wär die wält zergangen / So er aber erstanden ist / so helff uns der Herr Jesus Christ. Alleluia.</i>
3	-	<i>Erstanden ist der heilig Christ / der aller wält ein tröster ist. / Alleluia / Alleluia / Alleluia.</i> ⁵⁹



Figure 3: Titles of evangelical contrafacta on the melody *Maria zart* from part III of the 1540 Constance hymnal, pp. 230–34.

Another case of confessional both/and emerges in the cluster of songs built on the melody *Maria zart*. The Constance hymnal prints three contrafacta explicitly headed “Im ton / in der melody Maria zart”⁶⁰ (Figure 3).⁶¹ Two carry new evangelical texts by Jakob Dachser (1486–1547) and Hans Sachs, and a third prayerful piece, unattributed, likewise rides the same melody. By naming the tune so prominently, the editors activate one of the most aurally entrenched devotional melodies of the early sixteenth century—one that circulated widely not only in monophonic but also in polyphonic settings, instrumental intabulations, and manuscript sources across the German-speaking lands. Originally a Marian devotional song crystallizing around 1500, *Maria zart* carried a dense affective charge shaped by fears of death, sin, and postmortem judgment, and by the hope for intercessory relief—semantics that remained widely intelligible across social strata and musical genres.⁶² Rather than suppressing this inherited affect, the three contrafacta redistribute it along different evangelical pathways, producing a spectrum of confessional intervention. The first contrafact, attributed to Jakob Dachser, is anchored in Matthew 11:28 and reframes the model in explicitly scriptural terms; it retains the posture of affliction and exhaustion but redirects consolation toward Christ. The second contrafact by Hans Sachs is less a rewriting than a retuning of address: with only a few key word substitutions, it preserves the original’s penitential urgency, *ars moriendi* horizon, and theological motifs while shifting from Marian mediation to direct Christological invocation. Sachs’s extensive strophic expansion further stabilizes this continuity by turning the melody into a sustained devotional meditation, allowing inherited affect to be revoiced gradually rather than

abruptly redefined. The third contrafact focuses explicitly on the “good hour of death,” preserving the devotional core of late medieval death-bed piety while abandoning Marian and indulgence-oriented semantics and redirecting the plea toward God and Christ alone. Taken together, the set demonstrates a graded contrafact logic that operates through redirection, substitution, and selective pruning rather than erasure: the melody’s late medieval affective force remains audible, even as its semantic economy is recalibrated to accommodate evangelical understandings of mediation, consolation, and salvation.

The Dachser contrafact of *Maria zart* prints the Latin incipit “Venite ad me omnes” (Matt. 11:28) above the German stanzas (p. 230), signaling the piece’s scriptural source and authority. At the same time, the vernacular song text delivers the devotional address to the congregation. This creates an instance of typographic bilingualism, a feature that recurs in the Constance hymnal. Beyond this scriptural framing, the hymnal also includes melodic pointers via Latin incipits, indicating which tune singers should supply for the German strophes. An example is the reference “in der melody / Veni creator” (p. 181), which directs the singer to a familiar tune. In this context, it is also worth noting that seventy-eight of the hymnal’s 150 items are printed with notation and seventy-two as text only—an intentional distribution that assumes many melodies were already known or recoverable from memory. Such calibrated omission activates a networked devotional ecology across print and oral practice. Cross-references substitute mnemonic familiarity for musical redundancy, while the repetition of catechetical hymns in multiple variants reinforces memorization. A quieter linguistic crossing is intra-German: many items adopt Upper German/Alemannic spellings and forms, localizing texts for the Lake Constance milieu while leaving their content intact.

A further crossing becomes visible in the notation itself: the Constance hymnal juxtaposes two notational regimes, mensural type and Hufnagel, a form of chant notation used in Central Europe across different repertoires. Their distribution in this source is selective: strophic chorales are printed in mensural type, whereas the eight melodies in Hufnagel⁶³ are drawn predominantly from tunes inherited from the Latin Church.⁶⁴ The configuration thus operates on both notational and repertorial levels, making the coexistence of strophic chorale repertory and inherited melodies visible on the printed page.

Table 2: Facing Easter songs in the 1540 Constance hymnal, pp. 144–47. Left: *Christ ist erstanden* in rhythmicized Hufnagel notation (Thomas Blarer). Right: *Christ lag in Todesbanden* in mensural notation (Martin Luther).



The Easter sequence makes this dynamic legible at a glance (Table 2): Thomas Blarer's *Christ ist erstanden*, printed in rhythmicized Hufnagel and drawing on a medieval Easter *Leise*, stands directly before Martin Luther's *Christ lag in Todesbanden*, printed in mensural type and representing a newly composed evangelical chorale. Within Blarer's Hufnagel setting, rhythmic notation registers different influences. The use of *distrophae*, indicating a prolongation of the same pitch and appearing mainly at verse openings and closings, reflects conventions of chant notation and resonates with the melody's roots in the medieval Easter *Leise*. Mensural influence enters alongside it: occasional *minimae* within the Hufnagel staff import a measured note value into the chant script, while still coexisting with a less strictly regulated rhythmic organization. By contrast, Luther's setting, printed throughout in mensural type, establishes a more regularized framework of durational values for congregational singing. Taken together, these notational configurations and repertorial affiliations show how the printed hymnal uses notation to articulate differences between repertorial layers.

Editions and Circulation

The Constance hymnal was a continually reworked project. In all, around twenty editions can be reconstructed, placing it among the longest-lived hymnbook traditions of the sixteenth century.⁶⁵ After the first print (1533/34) came an

expanded edition around 1536/37, followed by a further enlargement in 1540 and a small-format reissue in 1541/43. A mid-century phase then expanded the corpus through successive additions across different editions, followed by a substantial late-century reworking in the 1590s that was reprinted into the early seventeenth century (1603, 1608). This ecology was porous: around 1565, an unauthorized reprint without music, probably by the Zurich printer Andreas Gessner (1482–1568), points to sustained demand and leaky printing privileges.⁶⁶

Direct proof of formal editorship is lacking, but several indications suggest de facto editorial agency operating in distinct phases—phases that are closely mirrored in the hymnal's shifting title rhetoric. The early editions from 1533/34 to 1541/43 (RISM B/VIII/1: 1534/01, 1538/01, 1540/06, and 1542/01) can be assigned with considerable confidence to Ambrosius Blarer and Johannes Zwick, whose collaboration shaped the hymnal's initial repertorial profile and theological orientation. While the first edition has not survived and the second lacks a title page, the exact title of the fourth issue is known and appears consistent with that of the third (1540), suggesting continuity in how the project was framed during this initial phase.⁶⁷ The title-page wording "zu Übung und Bruch jrer ouch anderer Christlichen kirchen"⁶⁸ articulates an expansive horizon: the book is offered for use in Christian churches more broadly. Read through an entanglement lens, this paratext programs circulability and collective use, casting the volume as a contribution to a wider Reformed song culture. Indeed, it soon functioned as a quasi-unitary hymnal in Switzerland.⁶⁹

The mid-century redaction from 1549 to 1584 (RISM B/VIII/1: 1549/08, 1552/02, 1559/08, 1561/02, 1569/01, 1570/13, 1574/08, 1580/12, 1583/11, and 1584/10) was probably edited by the aforementioned Gregor (Hans) Mangolt. Beyond his intermediary role with the printer Froschauer, he is documented as a collector of Ambrosius Blarer's verse, and the additions introduced in the 1549 edition map closely onto his network.⁷⁰ Across this phase, the expansive address already implied by the early title rhetoric becomes increasingly pronounced: "Costentz" disappears from the titles, and the earlier "Nüw gsangbüchle" gives way to formulations such as "Ein gemein gsangbüchle," "Psalmenbüchle," or "Christenlich Gsangbuch." These titles address a broad constituency of Christian communities and correspond to an editorial logic oriented toward stabilization and general usability—an emphasis that gains particular plausibility in the wake of Constance's recatholicization in 1548. The 1570 edition makes this widened

horizon explicit, presenting the repertory as songs sung “in der Kirchen und Gmein Gottes / in Tütschen Landen”⁷¹ and thereby addressing a German-speaking public at large.

From the later 1580s onward, a further shift becomes visible. Beginning with the 1588 edition (RISM B/VIII/1: 1588/11), the titles move toward more descriptive formulas such as “Psalmen Davids, Kirchengesang und geistliche Lieder.” While the 1588 edition still largely builds on the Mangolt-associated corpus, the editions from the 1590s and the early seventeenth century (RISM B/VIII/1: 1592/01, 1593/11, 1594/12, 1603/11, and 1608/14)—printed by Froschauer’s successor Johannes Wolff (1564–1627)—are associated with the Swiss Reformed theologian Raphael Egli (1559–1622). These editions introduce a new five-part structure, organized into (1) psalms, (2) catechetical songs (including the Ten Commandments, Creed, and Lord’s Prayer), (3) songs for feasts and the liturgical year, (4) general spiritual songs for the strengthening of faith, and (5) morning, evening, table, sickness, and death songs. Compared to earlier versions, the ordering shifts in emphasis, culminating in songs for daily and familial devotion. This reorganization, together with the paratextual framing, points to a deliberate reorientation toward use beyond the church service and anticipates the Zurich hymnal of 1598, itself shaped by the Constance hymnal tradition and probably also edited by Egli.⁷²

From the outset, the hymnal’s remit was not limited to adult congregational singing. A cluster of pieces by the Blarer brothers and Johannes Zwick is explicitly oriented toward children, as indicated by titles labeled “für die kind/er,” “für die kind in dschul,” and items connected with the “kinder predig.”⁷³ In editions associated with Mangolt, this pedagogical orientation is reinforced through the addition of a prefatory poem by Ambrosius Blarer addressed “An die Christenliche Jugend/jugend,”⁷⁴ visible, for example, in the editions of ca. 1569, 1570, 1580, and 1588. Moreover, from the mid-century onward, newly composed Christian songs were successively appended, extending the hymnal’s repertory. Egli’s late-century reworking then brought the collection into the sphere of domestic devotion: the reordered five-part structure and expanded morning, evening, and table songs align with everyday devotional routines. Evidence from a surviving exemplar confirms the point: a Graubünden copy preserves family records (births 1628–36, a 1667 marriage, and an ownership note), indicating private reading and singing,⁷⁵ while a twentieth-century revival edition of songs from the Constance hymnal makes the triad explicit, presenting them “für Kirche, Schule und Haus.”⁷⁶



Figure 4: Historical circulation sites of the Constance hymnal with edition sigla.⁷⁷ Circle sizes indicate the number of recorded instances. Map created in QGIS by the author.

Scattered traces allow at least a partial reconstruction of the hymnal's circulation and usage zones across its long print history. Figure 4 maps sites of circulation and use for copies across the hymnal's editions. While most locations on the map are based on attested copy trails,⁷⁸ the Bussnang trace rests on less direct documentation: a letter written between 1573 and 1576 to Augustin Blarer (1533–85), Ambrosius Blarer's nephew, records what appears to be a request for the Constance hymnal.⁷⁹ On this basis, Bussnang was mapped as a documented request-point within the hymnal's prospective circulation network, rather than as a location where the presence of a copy is directly attested. Copy-trails cluster in Graubünden, with nodes in Central Graubünden, Splügen, and the Engadine; they also extend to Upper Rhine centers (Basel and Strasbourg), the adjacent Swiss Plateau (Bern), and westward to Geneva, with Bussnang included as a probable additional point of contact, and with a notable outlier at Klosterneuburg, where a Catholic Augustinian monastery acquired a copy. Several locations recur across the sequence, with Zurich, Basel, and Bern standing out as urban nodes whose prominence reflects roles in printing, circulation, and redistribution as much as local consumption.⁸⁰ The absence of Constance itself points to a gap in the surviving circulation record rather than historical nonuse: local use was likely substantial, especially for the early editions.⁸¹

As the sigla broadly reflect the edition sequence, the map also gives a rough sense of chronology: Zü 1 (1540) already shows a wide reach and, in fact, accounts for the largest share of attested circulation/use records. Later issues concentrate in Graubünden, probably because the region never produced its

own hymnal, whereas neighboring areas did (St. Gallen first in 1533, slightly before Constance, followed by Winterthur, the Engadine, Schaffhausen, Basel, and Zurich).⁸² Bern likewise lacked a dedicated hymnal, which helps explain its prominence on the map.

The Klosterneuburg exemplar appears remarkably well preserved, showing no traces of use or annotation. Its only marks of ownership are a manuscript note dated October 31, 1656, on the title page, together with a later institutional stamp and a penciled shelf number, suggesting accession to the library by the mid-seventeenth century at the latest. The absence of reading traces hints that it may have been collected rather than actively used. Such cross-confessional preservation underscores the hymnal's composite identity: a locally commissioned Reformation book held within a Catholic institutional context, apparently more as a library artifact than as a book for liturgical use.⁸³

Conclusion: Beyond Boundaries

The Constance hymnal shows reform as maintenance through change. Rather than making a clean break with the past, its pages stage how old and new were made to work together: notation operates as a hinge between chant-derived singing practice and chorale pedagogy, paratexts function as instruments of civic and didactic governance, and references to well-known tunes connect to oral practice, enabling contrafact use without the repeated reprinting of melodies. The book's production network—Constance setting aims, Zurich supplying press capacity and reach—exposes how uneven collaborations generated shared practice. Across subsequent reprints, revisions, and additions, reception fed back into content, drawing the volume into city churches, households, schools, and even Catholic libraries. What emerges is not a single "Reformation repertory" but a moving assemblage whose identity was continually renegotiated among linked yet unequal actors.

Seen through the lens of *histoire croisée*, these findings highlight sacred song as a site where repertory, material practices, and settings of use mutually condition one another. The approach renders continuity legible not as inertia but as an active process of adaptation: each editorial intervention, each paratextual reframing, and each new context of use recalibrated meanings while sustaining the hymnal's relational function. In that sense, "Reformation music" appears less as a repertory owned by one confession or region than as an evolving communicative practice—shaped through translation, selective

retention, and pragmatic collaboration. The hymnal's mixed authorial ecology, its both/and handling of inherited devotional affect (as in the *Maria zart* complex), and its visual juxtaposition of notational scripts make tangible how reform could proceed by re-voicing the familiar rather than suppressing it. The point is not that boundaries were absent but that they were continually worked on: asserted in some places, softened in others, and often re-drawn through the very media and institutions meant to stabilize them.

More broadly, this case demonstrates how *histoire croisée* can serve as a methodological framework for sacred music studies and early modern musicology at large. It reorients analysis from self-contained traditions to the relational processes that constitute them, and it foregrounds asymmetry and reciprocity as analytic categories rather than obstacles to coherence. Importantly, it also invites reflexivity about the scales at which musicological objects are observed. The "hymnal" or the "confessional repertory" do not simply precede their circulation; they take shape through the interlocking work of editors, printers, civic authorities, schoolrooms, households, and singers. Reading a source like the Constance hymnal as a mediating apparatus makes it possible to track how paratextual rhetoric, notational choices, and successive additions actively produce what later appears as stable repertory.

The circulation evidence reinforces this relational understanding of the hymnal. Copy-trails cluster at nodal points of print production and exchange (Zurich, Basel, Bern) and also mark Graubünden as a pronounced reception area, where the absence of a comparable local hymnal likely amplified reliance on circulating prints. That Constance itself is absent from this evidence underscores a basic condition of entangled histories: what becomes visible is never a complete panorama but a pattern assembled from uneven traces. Yet those traces are sufficient to show a hymnbook ecology in which circulation, reformatting, and repurposing were constitutive of the genre. The Constance hymnal's long life—sustained by alteration—suggests that durability in early modern sacred song often depended less on the preservation of originals than on the capacity to remain usable across shifting publics and regimes of devotion.

Taken together, the Constance hymnal clarifies what an entangled perspective makes legible: not only the movement of songs across borders but the ways in which boundaries themselves were negotiated through practice. Sacred music, viewed in this way, emerges as a dynamic field of interaction—its histories

intertwined rather than parallel, its divisions real but historically contingent, and its continuities built through the routine labor of mediation. Extending this approach to other hymnals and regional corpora would allow the mapping of broader networks of exchange and retention, testing where “confessional” distinctions were enforced, where they proved permeable, and which actors and material channels enabled that permeability. Such work would further shift the historiographical emphasis from inherited partitions toward the processes by which early modern communities made sacred sound intelligible, shareable, and durable.

Notes

1. See Michele Calella and Nikolaus Urbanek, eds., *Musikhistoriographie(n): Bericht über die Jahrestagung der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft, Wien, 21.–23. November 2013* (Vienna: Hollitzer, 2015); and Tamara Levitz, "Musicology Beyond Borders?," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 65, no. 3 (2012): 821–61.
2. See, for example, Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); and Michael Talbot, ed., *The Musical Work: Reality or Invention?* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000).
3. See, for example, Philip V. Bohlman, *Music, Nationalism, and the Making of the New Europe*, 2nd ed., Focus on World Music (New York: Routledge, 2011); Georgina Born, "For a Relational Musicology: Music and Interdisciplinarity, Beyond the Practice Turn," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 135, no. 2 (2010): 205–43; and Linda Phyllis Austern, Candace Bailey, and Amanda Eubanks Winkler, eds., *Beyond Boundaries: Rethinking Music Circulation in Early Modern England* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2017).
4. See, for example, Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1998); and Susanne Rode-Breymann, ed., *Orte der Musik: Kulturelles Handeln von Frauen in der Stadt*, Musik – Kultur – Gender 3 (Cologne: Böhlau, 2007).
5. See, for example, Mary E. Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries: The Patronage of Italian Sacred Music in Seventeenth-Century Dresden* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Chiara Bertoglio, *Reforming Music: Music and the Religious Reformations of the Sixteenth Century* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017); and Klaus W. Niemöller, *Luthers Reformation und ihre interkonfessionellen Auswirkungen auf Kirchenmusik und Musikkultur im 16. Jahrhundert* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2018).
6. On *histoire croisée*, see, for example, Michel Espagne and Michael Werner, eds., *Transferts: Les relations interculturelles dans l'espace franco-allemand (XVIIIe et XIXe siècle)* (Paris: Recherche sur les civilisations, 1988); Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Vergleich, Transfer, Verflechtung: Der Ansatz der *Histoire croisée* und die Herausforderung des Transnationalen," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 28 (2002): 607–36; Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, eds., *De la comparaison à l'histoire croisée* (Paris: Seuil, 2004); Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Beyond Comparison: *Histoire Croisée* and the Challenge of Reflexivity," *History and Theory* 45, no. 1 (February 2006): 30–50; Michael Werner, "Musikgeschichte als 'histoire croisée': Zu den Verflechtungen des Musiklebens," in *Europäische Musiker in Venedig, Rom und Neapel (1650–1750)*, ed. Anne-Madeleine Goulet and Gesa zur Nieden, *Analecta Musicologica* 52 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2015), 49–67; Anna Langenbruch, "Histoire croisée/Entangled History," in *The Routledge Handbook of Music and Migration: Theories and Methodologies*, ed. Wolfgang Gratzer, Nils Grosch, Ulrike Präger, and Susanne Scheibelhofer (New York: Routledge, 2023), 83–84; and Anna Langenbruch, "Geschichte polyphon: Zur *Histoire croisée* als Methode der musikwissenschaftlichen Exil- und Migrationsforschung," in *Musik und Migration: Ein Theorie- und Methodenhandbuch*, ed. Wolfgang Gratzer, Nils Grosch, Ute Präger, and Susanne Scheibelhofer (Münster: Waxmann, 2023), 294–323.
7. On global history, see, for example, Peer Vries, ed., *Global History* (Innsbruck: StudienVerlag, 2009); Dominic Sachsenmaier, *Global Perspectives on Global History: Theories and Approaches in a Connected World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Sebastian Conrad, *What Is Global History?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016); and Reinhard Strohm, *Studies on a Global History of Music* (London: Routledge, 2018). On transnational history, see, for example, Gunilla Budde, Sebastian Conrad, and Oliver Janz, eds., *Transnationale Geschichte: Themen,*

Tendenzen und Theorien, 2nd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010); Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Saunier, eds., *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); and Margrit Pernau, *Transnationale Geschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011). On entangled history, see, for example, Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985); and Sebastian Conrad, Shalini Randeria, and Regina Römhild, eds., *Jenseits des Eurozentrismus: Postkoloniale Perspektiven in den Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften*, 2nd expanded ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2013).

8. See, for example, Stefan Keym, "Wien – Paris – Wien: Beethovens Moll-Dur-Dramaturgie im Licht einer 'histoire croisée,'" in *Beethoven – Erbe und Resonanz*, ed. Mieczysław Tomaszewski and Magdalena Chrenkoff (Kraków: Akademia Muzyczna, 2009), 407–20; Anna Langenbruch, *Topographien musikalischen Handelns im Pariser Exil: Eine Histoire croisée des Exils deutschsprachiger Musikerinnen und Musiker in Paris 1933–1939* (Hildesheim: Olms, 2014); Gesa zur Nieden, "'Ceux qui aiment la musique [...] n'ont qu'à aller en Italie': Französische Musiker im Rom des 17. und beginnenden 18. Jahrhunderts – eine 'Histoire croisée,'" in *Europäische Musiker in Venedig, Rom und Neapel (1650–1750)*, ed. Anne-Madeleine Goulet and Gesa zur Nieden, *Analecta Musicologica* 52 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2015), 130–60; Peter Niedermüller, "Musikalischer Stil und 'Histoire croisée' (mit Beispielen von Johann Adolf Hasse)," in *ibid.*, 583–609; Stefan Keym, "La réception des *Dialogues des Carmélites* dans les pays germanophones: Un malentendu ou une 'histoire croisée'?" in *Fortune de Francis Poulenc: Diffusion, interprétation, réception*, ed. Hervé Lacombe and Nicolas Southon (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2016), 151–66; and Milena Amann-Rauter, "Avec mon arme, la musique": Politisches Engagement exilierter Musikerinnen und Musiker im Kontext des Front Populaire (Munich: edition text+kritik, 2023).
9. See Konrad Ameln, Markus Jenny, and Walther Lipphardt, eds., *Das deutsche Kirchenlied: Kritische Gesamtausgabe der Melodien*, vol. I/1: *Verzeichnis der Drucke* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1975), Répertoire International des Sources Musicales B/VIII/1, 21, no. 1540/06. For further bibliographic references, see *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts* (VD16), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, "VD16 Z 729," accessed May 29, 2026, <https://gateway-bayern.de/VD16+Z+729>; and *Verzeichnis deutscher Musikfrühdruke* (vdm), "vdm 472," accessed May 29, 2026, https://vdm-sbg.eu/db/music_prints.php?action=preview&i_d_music_prints=472.
10. See Philipp Wackernagel, *Bibliographie zur Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenliedes im XVI. Jahrhundert* (1855; repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 1961), 140, no. 353, and 159–60, no. 392.
11. See *Nüw gsangbüchle von vil schönen Psalmen und geistlichen liedern* (1540; facsimile, Zurich: Zwingli, 1946).
12. See Theodor Sieber, "Ein bedeutsamer Fund," *Der evangelische Kirchenchor* 55 (1950): 42–47; Lukas Vischer, "Die erste Auflage von Johannes Zwicks 'nüw gsangbuechle,'" *Zwingliana* 9, no. 5 (1951): 310–17; Konrad Ameln, "Eine ältere Auflage des Konstanzer 'Nüw gsangbüchle,'" *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 1 (1955): 97–99; and Markus Jenny, "Warum die 1950 entdeckte Ausgabe des Konstanzer Gesangbuches nicht die Erstausgabe sein kann," *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 2 (1956): 112–14.
13. See Trudi Suttner, ed., *Lieder aus dem "Nüw Gsangbüchle": In alten und neuen Tonsätzen für Kirche, Schule und Haus* (Bern: Krompholz, 1952).
14. See Markus Jenny, *Geschichte des deutschschweizerischen evangelischen Gesangbuches im 16. Jahrhundert* (Basel: Bärenreiter, 1962); Markus Jenny, "Ergänzungen zur Liste der Zürcher

Gesangbuchdrucke im Reformationsjahrhundert," *Zwingliana* 13, no. 2 (1969): 132–43; and Markus Jenny, "Die Herkunftsangaben im Kirchengesangbuch," *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 24 (1980): 53–68.

15. See Wolfgang Fuhrmann, "Dokument: Johannes Zwick, Vorrede zu: 'Nüw gsangbuechle,' Zürich 1540: Kommentar," in *Musikleben in der Renaissance zwischen Alltag und Fest*, vol. 1, ed. Wolfgang Fuhrmann (Laaber: Laaber, 2019), 229–43.
16. See Ameln, Jenny, and Lipphardt, *Kirchenlied*; *RISM Online*, <https://rism.online/>; *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts* (VD16), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, <https://www.bsb-muenchen.de/sammlungen/historische-drucke/recherche/vd-16/>; *Verzeichnis deutscher Musikfrühdrucke* (vdm), <https://vdm-sbg.eu/>; and *MGG Online*, <https://www.mgg-online.com/>. All accessed May 29, 2026.
17. See, for example, Jörg Vögeli, *Schriften zur Reformation in Konstanz 1519–1538: Mit Gregor Mangolts Konstanzer Reformationsgeschichte von 1562 zum Vergleich*, ed. Alfred Vögeli, 2 vols. (Cologne: Böhlau, 1972–73); Wolfgang Dobras, *Ratsregiment, Sittenpolizei und Kirchenzucht in der Reichsstadt Konstanz 1531–1548: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der oberdeutsch-schweizerischen Reformation* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1993); Ernst Issel, *Die Reformation in Konstanz: hauptsächlich nach handschriftlichen Quellen* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Mohr, 1898); and Wolfgang Zimmermann, *Rekatholisierung, Konfessionalisierung und Ratsregiment: der Prozeß des politischen und religiösen Wandels in der österreichischen Stadt Konstanz 1548–1637* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1994).
18. See Christian Möller, "Das 16. Jahrhundert," in *Kirchenlied und Gesangbuch: Quellen zu ihrer Geschichte: Ein hymnologisches Arbeitsbuch*, ed. Christian Möller (Tübingen: Francke, 2000), 91–92; Markus Jenny, "Reformierte Kirchenmusik? Zwingli, Bullinger und die Folgen," *Zwingliana* 19, no. 1 (1992): 188; Hannes Reimann, *Die Einführung des Kirchengesangs in der Zürcher Kirche nach der Reformation* (Zurich: Zwingli, 1959), 11–25, 69–82; Alfred Ehrensperger, "Die Stellung Zwinglis und der nachreformatorischen Zürcher Kirche zum Kirchengesang und zur Kirchenmusik," in *Musik in der evangelisch-reformierten Kirche: Eine Standortbestimmung*, ed. Institut für Kirchenmusik der evangelisch-reformierten Landeskirche des Kantons Zürich, in collaboration with Schweizerischer Arbeitskreis für evangelische Kirchenmusik (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag Zürich, 1989), 15–44; and Bernhard Billeter, "Im grossen Überblick: Ulrich Zwingli. Und die Musik?," *Musik & Liturgie* 147, no. 1 (2022): 20.
19. See Friedrich Hindenlang, *Konstanzer Reformatoren und ihre Kirchenlieder* (Leipzig: Schloßmann, 1936).
20. See Olaf Zimmermann, "Der kulturelle Code der Reformation: Wort, Musik, Bild," in *Impulse der Reformation: Der zivilgesellschaftliche Diskurs*, ed. Ansgar Klein and Olaf Zimmermann (Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2017), 22.
21. See the preface to *Nüw gsangbüchle von vil schönen Psalmen und geistlichen liedern* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1540), University Library Basel, shelfmark KiAr A IX 1, accessed May 29, 2026, <https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-74395> (RISM B/VIII/1 1540/06; VD16 Z 729; vdm 472). On this preface, see also Fuhrmann, "Dokument," 229–43. Zwick, however, was not the author of all prefatory texts transmitted in later editions of this tradition. In at least five editions—those of ca. 1552, ca. 1569, 1570, 1580, and 1588—the preface is by Ambrosius Blarer (see RISM B/VIII/1: 1552/02, 1569/01, 1570/13, 1580/12, and 1588/11). On Johannes Zwick's role in the Constance Reformation, see Bernd Moeller, *Johannes Zwick und die Reformation in Konstanz* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1961).
22. See Markus Jenny and Thomas Schmidt-Beste, "Zwick, Johannes," in *MGG Online*, accessed May

29, 2026, <https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/597415>.

23. Translation: "preface for the protection and maintenance of orderly church song."
24. See Martin Rößler, "Gesangbuch," in *MGG Online*, sec. "16. Jahrhundert, Reformation und Humanismus, Weitere Liedzentren," accessed May 29, 2026, <https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/597421>; and Zimmermann, "Der kulturelle Code," 22.
25. Translation: "congregation."
26. Translation: "We are a spiritual people and should sing to God in the Spirit."
27. Translation: "guard against misuse."
28. Translation: "song without heart."
29. See the following publications, all of which suggest or consider possible an involvement by Sixt Dietrich and/or Benedictus Ducis in the formation of the Constance hymnal: Jenny, *Geschichte*, 86–88; Jenny and Schmidt-Beste, "Zwick, Johannes," in *MGG Online*, sec. "Würdigung," accessed May 29, 2026, <https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/597415>; Martin Staehelin, "Sixt Dietrich: Ein deutscher Musiker der Reformationszeit," in *Kirche und Gesellschaft im Heiligen Römischen Reich des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Hartmut Boockmann, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 166; and Ludwig Finscher, "Ducis, Benedictus," in *MGG Online*, sec. "Würdigung," accessed May 29, 2026, <https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/591828>.
30. See Beat A. Föllmi, "Dietrich, Sixtus," in *MGG Online*, sec. "Biographie," accessed May 29, 2026, <https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/574571>; Staehelin, "Sixt Dietrich," 166; and Hermann Zenck, *Sixtus Dietrich: Ein Beitrag zur Musik und Musikanschauung im Zeitalter der Reformation* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1928), 22.
31. See Matthäus Zell to Ambrosius Blarer and Johannes Zwick, Strasbourg, July 12, 1533, in *Briefwechsel der Brüder Ambrosius und Thomas Blaurer, 1509–1548*, ed. Traugott Schieß, vol. 1, 1509–June 1533 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Friedrich Ernst Fehsenfeld, 1908), 404–5, no. 343; Matthäus Zell to Ambrosius Blarer, Strasbourg, September 22, 1533, *ibid.*, 424, no. 362; and Matthäus Zell to Ambrosius Blarer, Strasbourg, January 8, 1534, *ibid.*, 461–62, no. 391. The corresponding manuscripts are preserved in St. Gallen, Kantonsbibliothek Vadiana, VadSlg Ms 32:163, 32:168, and 32:179.
32. See Zenck, *Sixtus Dietrich*, 33.
33. See Martin Frecht to Ambrosius Blarer, Ulm, May 30, 1542, in *Briefwechsel der Brüder Ambrosius und Thomas Blaurer, 1509–1548*, ed. Traugott Schieß, vol. 2, July 1538–1548 (Freiburg i. Br.: Friedrich Ernst Fehsenfeld, 1910), 124–27, no. 946. The corresponding manuscript is preserved in St. Gallen, Kantonsbibliothek Vadiana, VadSlg Ms 34:120. Frecht states in this letter that he is enclosing Ducis's setting of Blarer's *Klagelied*; the music itself does not appear to survive.
34. On the Froschauer printing house, see, for example, Joachim Staedtke, *Christoph Froschauer: der Begründer des Zürcher Buchwesens* (Zurich: Orell Füssli, 1964); Paul Leemann-van Elck, *Die Offizin Froschauer: Zürichs berühmte Druckerei im 16. Jahrhundert* (Zurich: Orell Füssli, 1940); and Urs B. Leu, "Reformation als Auftrag: Der Zürcher Drucker Christoph Froschauer d. Ä. (ca. 1490–1564)," *Zwingliana* 45 (2018): 1–80.

35. See Bernd Moeller, "Die Konstanzer Reformationsdrucker," *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 2 (1960): 729–38.
36. Translation: "by several ministers of the churches in Constance and elsewhere."
37. See Jenny and Schmidt-Beste, "Zwick, Johannes," in *MGG Online*, sec. "Würdigung," accessed May 29, 2026, <https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/597415>.
38. See Martin Rößler, *Liedermacher im Gesangbuch: Liedgeschichte in Lebensbildern*, completely revised and expanded ed. (Stuttgart: Calwer, 2001), 173–213; Markus Jenny, "Blarer, Ambrosius," in *MGG Online*, accessed May 29, 2026, <https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/597414>; Karl Theodor Keim, *Ambrosius Blarer, der schwäbische Reformator: aus den Quellen übersichtlich dargestellt* (Stuttgart: Belser, 1860); Bernd Moeller, "Ambrosius Blarer 1492–1564," in *Der Konstanzer Reformator Ambrosius Blarer: 1492–1564. Gedenkschrift zu seinem 400. Todestag*, ed. Bernd Moeller (Konstanz: Thorbecke, 1964), 11–38; and Markus Jenny, "Ambrosius Blarer als Dichter und Hymnologe," in *ibid.*, 87–113.
39. See Jenny, *Geschichte*, 105. On Heinrich Bullinger, see Bruce Gordon and Emidio Campi, eds., *Architect of Reformation: An Introduction to Heinrich Bullinger, 1504–1575* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2004).
40. See Jenny, "Ergänzungen," 139–40; and Leu, "Reformation als Auftrag," 16–24.
41. See Moeller, "Die Konstanzer Reformationsdrucker," 738–40; and Jenny, "Ergänzungen," 141–42.
42. Translation: "substantially expanded/improved and arranged in a suitable manner."
43. Translation: "new."
44. See Kurt von Fischer, Hanspeter Renggli, and Cristina Urchueguía, "Bern," in *MGG Online*, sec. "Von der Reformation bis zum Ende des Ancien Régime," accessed May 29, 2026, <https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/597419>.
45. See Wackernagel, *Bibliographie*, 140, no. 353.
46. See Vischer, "Die erste Auflage," 310–17; and Sieber, "Ein bedeutsamer Fund," 42–47.
47. See Ameln, "Eine ältere Auflage," 97–99; and Jenny, "Warum die 1950 entdeckte Auflage," 112–14.
48. See Dorothea Baumann and Paul Sieber, "Zürich," in *MGG Online*, sec. "Von der Reformation bis zum Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts," accessed May 29, 2026, <https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/597418>.
49. Translation: "the spiritual songs and Christian hymns, some of which are sung in church before or after the sermon, while others are sung only outside the church instead of lascivious and shameful worldly songs."
50. Translation: "some wholly Christian and scripturally grounded songs, which, however, are not used in church."

51. See also Daniela Garbe, "Kirchenlied," in *MGG Online*, sec. "Protestantisch, Deutschland, 16. Jahrhundert," accessed May 29, 2026, <https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/597420>.
52. See *Verzeichnis deutscher Musikfrühdrucke* (vdm), "vdm 451," accessed May 29, 2026, https://vdm-sbg.eu/db/music_prints.php?action=preview&id_music_prints=451.
53. See Jenny, "Herkunftsangaben," 54; and Vischer, "Die erste Auflage," 312.
54. See Jean Hotz, "Nachwort," in *Nüw gsangbüchle von vil schönen Psalmen und geistlichen liedern*, facsimile ed. of the 1540 Zurich edition printed by Christoph Froschauer (Zurich: Zwingli, 1946).
55. See Aneke Dornbusch, "Concerning the Defamation and Execution of the 'Radical' Ludwig Hätzer (1500–1529): An Attempt at Using Social Network Analysis on Small Samples," *Journal of Early Modern Christianity* 11, no. 1 (2024): 12.
56. See Rößler, "Gesangbuch," in *MGG Online*, sec. "16. Jahrhundert, Reformation und Humanismus, Weitere Liedzentren," accessed May 29, 2026, <https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/597421>.
57. See Philipp Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältesten Zeit bis zu Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1867), 726, no. 935.
58. Munich, Cod. lat. c. germ. 66, 15th cent., fol. 37; reproduced in Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, 43, no. 39.
59. *Nüw gsangbüchle*, 147, accessed May 29, 2026, <https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-74395>.
60. Translation: "In the tune / in the melody Maria zart."
61. See *Nüw gsangbüchle*, 230–34, accessed May 29, 2026, <https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-74395>.
62. On *Maria zart*, see Johannes Rettelbach, "Lied und Liederbuch im spätmittelalterlichen Augsburg," in *Literarisches Leben in Augsburg während des 15. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Johannes Janota and Werner Williams-Krapp (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1995), 281–307; and Birgit Lodes, "'Maria zart' und die Angst vor Fegefeuer und Malafrantz: Die Karriere eines Liedes zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts," in *Musikalischer Alltag im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Nicole Schwindt (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2001), 99–131.
63. The eight Hufnagel-notated items occur on pp. 110–17 (*Das lobgsang Ambrosij und Augustini*), 120–21 (*Ein tütsch Veni sancte für die kinder*), 122–23 (*Ein schulgsang für die kind*), 125–26 (*Ein ander abendgsang für die kind in dschul*), 135–37 (*Ein Christlich gsang Von der Beschnydung*), 144–45 (*Ein gsang uff Ostren zesingen*), 199–200 (*Ein abent gsang für die kirche*), and 200–201 (*Ein ander abent gsang für die kirchen*).
64. See Jenny, *Geschichte*, 91.
65. See Ameln, Jenny, and Lipphardt, *Kirchenlied*: nos. 1534/01, 1538/01, 1540/06, 1542/01, 1549/08, 1552/02, 1559/08, 1561/02, 1569/01, 1570/13, 1574/08, 1580/12, 1583/11, 1584/10, 1588/11, 1592/01, 1593/11, 1594/12, 1603/11, 1608/14.
66. See Jenny, *Geschichte*, 138–39.

67. See Jenny, "Ergänzungen," 133–34.
68. Translation: "for the practice and use of their own and other Christian churches."
69. See Jenny, *Geschichte*, 122.
70. See Jenny, "Ergänzungen," 135, 141–43.
71. Translation: "in the church and congregation of God in the German lands." See the title page of *Psalmen und Geystliche Gesang / so in der Kirchen und Gmein Gottes / in Tütschen Landen gesungen werden* ([n.p.], 1570), Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, shelfmark Eh 2915, PPN 776924052, accessed May 29, 2026, <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB00014CA400000000> (RISM B/VIII/1 1570/13).
72. See Jenny, "Ergänzungen," 132–43; and Jenny, *Geschichte*, 136–37. On the attribution of the 1598 Zurich hymnal's editorship to Egli, see Markus Jenny, "Das erste offizielle Zürcher Gesangbuch von 1598," *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 7 (1962): 123–33.
73. The children's repertory appears on pp. 118–26. The rubrics refer to songs "for the children," "for the children in school," and for use in connection with the "children's sermon."
74. Translation: "To the Christian youth." See the prefaces to *Psalmen und Geystliche Gesang*, <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB00014CA400000000> (RISM B/VIII/1 1570/13); *Psalmenbüchle* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1580), Zentralbibliothek Zürich, shelfmark 28.418: a, <https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-15655> (RISM B/VIII/1 1580/12); and *Psalmen Davids* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1588), Zentralbibliothek Zürich, shelfmark III R 153, <https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-15844> (RISM B/VIII/1 1588/11). All accessed May 29, 2026. The prefatory poem is already present in the edition of ca. 1569, although the damaged state of the surviving copy renders the heading illegible (see *Psalmenbüchle* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, [ca. 1569]), Zentralbibliothek Zürich, shelfmark Zwingli 289, accessed May 29, 2026, <https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-33303>, RISM B/VIII/1 1569/01). It may also have appeared in the edition of ca. 1552, whose title page announces a preface by Ambrosius Blarer; in the extant copy, however, this prefatory material is missing (see *Ein gmein gsangbüchle von vil vor un yetz nūwgedichten Psalmen / Hymnen und geistlichen liedern* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, [ca. 1552]), Zentralbibliothek Zürich, shelfmark Zwingli 2003, accessed May 29, 2026, <https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-17638>, RISM B/VIII/1 1552/02). The same poem also appears in the Zurich hymnal of 1598, which developed from the Constance hymnal tradition (see *Kirchengesang Der gemeinen und gebreüchlichen Psalmen / Festgesungen / und Geistlichen Liedern / nach der Teütschen Melodey / für die Kirchen Zürych zusammen getruckt* (Zurich: Johannes Wolff, 1598), Zentralbibliothek Zürich, shelfmark 3.215, accessed May 29, 2026, <https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-4150>, RISM B/VIII/1 1598/12).
75. See Jenny, "Ergänzungen," 139.
76. Translation: "for church, school, and home." See Suttner, ed., *Lieder*.
77. The edition sigla in parentheses after place names follow Markus Jenny's numbering of the Constance hymnal editions: Zü 0 (1536/37), Zü 1 (1540), Zü 2 (ca. 1552), Zü 2a (ca. 1560), Zü 4 (1570), Zü 5 (ca. 1569), Zü 7 (1588), Zü 8 (ca. 1591/97), Zü 8a (1603), Zü 9 (1608). They correspond to the edition sequence, with the exception that Zü 4 postdates Zü 5. See Jenny, "Ergänzungen," 132–33.
78. The map shows attested sites of circulation and use, not present-day library holdings. Data

are based primarily on Jenny, *Geschichte*, 121–22; and Jenny, “Ergänzungen,” 133, 135, 139. The printed RISM volume, RISM Online, VD16, vdm, and relevant online library catalogues were also consulted; however, they largely reproduce or confirm information already given by Jenny and mostly document extant copies and current repositories rather than documented sites of circulation and use. Bussnang is included as a probable trace on the basis of the letter discussed below.

79. See Johannes Wünsch to Augustin Blarer, Bussnang, [between 1573 and 1576], *Brief an Augustinus Blaurerus*, Vadianische Briefsammlung, Bd. 12, 352b, (HAN)000170190DSV05, Stadtarchiv St. Gallen, accessed May 29, 2026, https://han.stadtarchiv.ch/inhalt/VadSlg_Ms_41_352.pdf.
80. Zurich requires particular caution in this respect: although congregational singing was not officially introduced into the Zurich church until 1598, several pre-1598 exemplars appear to have circulated in the city. This may reflect Zurich’s role as the major printing and distribution hub in the sequence, but it could also suggest forms of local use before the official introduction of congregational song, as suggested by Hannes Reimann (see Reimann, *Die Einführung des Kirchengesangs*, 37–38).
81. See Jenny, *Geschichte*, 121.
82. See *ibid.*, 8–9; and Beat Föllmi, “The Strasbourg Psalter (1537/38): A ‘Missing Link’ for European Hymnology?” in *Music and Theology in the European Reformations*, ed. David J. Burn, Grantley McDonald, and Joseph Verheyden (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), 446.
83. The copy is held in the Klosterneuburg Abbey Library (shelfmark Bi I 384). I am grateful to Edith Kapeller for information about this holding.