THE HUGUENOT PSALTER IN THE LOW COUNTRIES:
A STUDY OF ITS MONOPHONIC AND
POLYPHONIC MANIFESTATIONS
IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY
VOLUME I

DISSERTATION

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* * * * * * *

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INTRODUCTION

When Marguerite of Navarre wrote *Le miroir de tres-chrestienne princesse Marguerite de France* in 1533, she included a rhymed version of Psalm 6 by the poet Clément Marot. Although the princess probably had pious reasons for selecting Marot's poem, her choice shows that she was in step with the latest fashions of the French court, where Marot's psalms, among other, more worldly pursuits, were all the rage. Monarchs, courtiers, and courtesans sang the psalms of David to popular tunes. Francis I as well as Henry II and his queen Catherine de Medici were known to be fond of Marot's psalms, and Emperor Charles V during his Parisian visit in 1540 urged the poet to continue his work. The gay, Catholic court of France is, ironically, the setting in which opens the history of the sober Calvinist Psalter.

The origin and growth of the psalter form a short but intense episode in the history of music. In less than a century the poetry was written, the psalm melodies were composed, and the main corpus of polyphonic music inspired by the psalter was created. This period of growth parallels the growth and spread of Calvinism in Western Europe.
When Marot began writing his psalms in the early 1530's, the works of Calvin were first being published in France. In the following decades Calvin's new doctrine, accompanied by the texts and melodies of the Huguenot Psalter, spread over all of Western Europe, finding an especially receptive audience in France, Switzerland, and the Low Countries. A century later most of the boundaries dividing Catholic and Protestant countries had been established, and the last composer of distinction to find inspiration in the Calvinist Psalter had died. Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck's four books of polyphonic psalms signal the end of an era in two respects. His vocal music in general is the "brilliant and noble sunset" of the great production of the Netherlands in the field of vocal polyphony;¹ his psalm settings mark the twilight era of the music of Calvinism. The Calvinist churches of Western Europe continued to use the psalter, but the period of creative activity begun in Paris by Clément Marot ended in Amsterdam with Sweelinck's contrapuntal masterpieces.

The history of Protestant psalmody in the Low Countries can be divided into two main categories—psalms in Dutch and in French. There were, and still are, two languages spoken in the delta provinces of Western Europe, and rhymed translations of the psalms in both languages

were sung by the adherents to the new religion. The documented musical history of these psalms begins in 1540 in Antwerp when Simon Cock published the first edition of the Souterliedekens, a collection of Dutch psalms fitted to popular melodies. One year later, Antoine des Gois, another Antwerp printer, published Psalms de David, a French psalter stipulating popular melodies for some of its psalms. The two streams of psalmody that began with these publications followed parallel channels.

The Souterliedekens enjoyed great popularity. The monophonic edition was republished many times, and its texts and tunes were set polyphonically by several Netherlandish composers. Gradually, however, both the texts and the melodies were replaced by psalms from later Dutch psalters, which had fallen under the influence of the Calvinist strongholds to the southeast. The psalters of Jan Utenhove and Lucas de Heere contain many psalms patterned after those of Clément Marot and Théodore de Bèze, and also take some of their melodies from the psalters of Geneva and Strasbourg.² The complete triumph of the Genevan tradition occurred in 1566 with the publication of Psalmen Davids, the work of the Calvinist minister Petrus Dathenus. Dathenus translated the Marot-De Bèze texts and fitted his translations to the standard Genevan melodies. This psalter was accepted in

²This process is explained in more detail in Chapter II.
1568 as the official version by the Dutch-speaking Calvinist churches of the Netherlands. ¹

Polyphonic settings of early Dutch psalms other than the Souterliedekens are very scarce. The few that have come down to us do not have texts by the well-known psalter poets, but by unknown authors. ² Although there is some evidence that the Dathenus texts were set polyphonically in the sixteenth century, ³ the first polyphonic publications to contain the official Dutch texts are from the following century. These were Dutch editions of the note-against-note

¹A detailed study of early Dutch psalmody is S. J. Lenselink's De Nederlandse Psalmbrijingen van de Souterliedekens tot Dathene (Assen, 1959).


³The titles of two lost publications imply that there once existed polyphonic settings of the Dathenus translations of the Marot-De Bèze texts. The Frankfurt Fair had on display in 1600 a publication entitled: Psalm Geblanck waer in de 150. Psalmen Davids mits Gaders verscheyden Lofsang-schen met 4, 5, 6, und 8, stemmen te hooren zijn door M. Dierick Jans tot Amsterdam bey Zacharias Heyns in 4. (See C. P. Burger, Jr., "Amsterdamsche Boeken op de Frankforter Mis," in Het Boek, XXIII (1935-1936), 181.) Goovaerts' bibliography gives another title: Antonius David Jansz. Psalm Gezang, waerinne de CL Psalmen Davids mitsgaders verscheiden Lofzangen met IV, V, VI, VII, ende VIII stemmen te hooren zijn. (See Alphonse Goovaerts, Histoire et bibliographie de la typographie musicale dans les Pays-Bas (Antwerp, 1880), p. 289.) This title is suspiciously like the first, but perhaps there really was a second lost polyphonic setting of the Dathenus psalter. In 1600 his psalms had already enjoyed more than a quarter-century of official sanction, thus any polyphonic settings in Dutch would certainly have used the Dathenus texts.
setting of Claude Goudimel in which the Dathenus texts were used as *contrafacta.*

The history of French psalmody in the Low Countries is richer in polyphonic settings, but otherwise parallels that of the Dutch. The psalter of 1541 entitled *Psalmes de David* was the French counterpart of the *Souterliedekens* in that ten of its forty-five psalms (like all of the *Souterliedekens*) were to be sung to secular melodies. And as in Dutch psalmody, later publications show an increasing influence from Geneva. In 1554 Marot’s *Cinquante Pseaumes* was published in Antwerp, and in 1564 Christophe Plantin published the complete Genevan Psalter. Between 1542 and 1600 almost one hundred polyphonic settings of French Calvinist psalms were printed by the famous Antwerp and Louvain music publishers. The crowning achievement of French psalmody in the Low Countries was Sweelinck’s polyphonic setting of the complete Huguenot Psalter, a task he completed in 1621.

Although Dutch psalmody in the Low Countries has been the subject of many studies,* very few works have been devoted to its French counterpart. Sigtenhorst Meyer has

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7See the bibliography in Lenselink, *De Nederlandse Psalmberijmingen*, pp. 579-592.
described the polyphonic psalms of Sweelinck,\textsuperscript{8} but the set-
tings that preceded his in the Low Countries have been
ignored. Orentin Douen in his Clément Marot et le psautier
huguenot (Paris, 1878-1879) devoted several pages to Psalms
de David and to the polyphonic psalms of Jean Louys, but
Douen's book was a pioneer effort and much of his work was
superficial or incorrect. Historical studies of music in
the Low Countries contain almost nothing about the music of
the Huguenots. In \textit{La musique en Belgique}, for example,
there is only a brief reference to psalm singing, and that
in connection with the fury of the iconoclasts.\textsuperscript{9}

This dissertation is a study of Huguenot psalmody
in the Low Countries during the sixteenth century. Here
the word "Huguenot" means French-speaking Calvinist, and
the word "psalmody" embraces the psalms, canticles, and
graces of Marot and De Bèze, the melodies given these texts,
and the polyphonic settings. As geographical terms, "Low
Countries" or "the Netherlands" refer to the seventeen prov-
inces owing allegiance to Philip II on his accession in
1555. These include what are today called The Netherlands,
Belgium, Luxemburg, and a small part of northern France.

\textsuperscript{8}Bernard van den Sigtenhorst Meyer, \textit{De Vocale Muziek

\textsuperscript{9}Dom Joseph Kreps, "Les maîtrises et la musique reli-
gieuse," in \textit{La musique en Belgique du Moyen Age à nos
The subject has three main areas of investigation. The first two chapters deal with those publications that contain the texts, with or without the corresponding Huguenot melodies. Because of its importance, Christophe Plantin's *Les Pseaumes de David*, an edition of the complete Huguenot Psalter with melodies, receives individual attention in Chapter Two.

The bulk of the dissertation is concerned with an investigation of the polyphonic settings. Those published in the chanson collections that precede Plantin's psalter are analyzed in Chapter Three. The fourth chapter is an examination of Jean Louys' *Pseaulmes Cinquante*, the only Netherlandish publication of the century exclusively devoted to polyphonic psalms. After Plantin published all of the Huguenot melodies in 1564, a few were set polyphonically and inserted in chanson collections; these are discussed in Chapter Five. A representative selection of nineteen psalms in Volume II illustrates the musical style of the composers discussed in these three chapters.

The sixth and final chapter is an essay on Calvinist musical activity in the southern provinces, with an emphasis on Antwerp from 1577 to 1585, the years of Calvinist domination there. Included are such topics as the place of monophonic psalm-singing in the lives of the people, the liturgical function of the psalms and organ in the Calvinist church service, and the role of the polyphonic settings.
CHAPTER I

PSALMS PUBLISHED WITHOUT MUSIC

The Early Religious Poetry of Clément Marot

The history of the Huguenot psalm in the Low Countries begins in Antwerp in 1536. In that year Johannes Steels published L'adolescence clémentine, aulcremente, les oeuvres de Clément Marot.\footnote{For a complete bibliographical description of this book, see Wouter Nijhoff and M. Kronenberg, Nederlandsche Bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540 (The Hague, 1923 --), II, No. 3499.} Like the editions of L'adolescence clémentine that had appeared in France, the book contains Marot's L'instruction et foy d'ung christien, a series of devotional poems—Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Credo in Deum, Bénédiction devant manger, Graces pour ung enfant, and Je te supplie, ô sire (Psalm 6). The first two and the last of these poems are translations of Scripture and were later given melodies and included in various Huguenot Psalters. The Bénédiction devant manger did not find its way into the psalter; a second Marot grace was used instead, the popular O Souverain pasteur et maistre.

Besides their appearance in the editions of his works, Marot's psalms and canticles were included in a
much more influential type of publication—the children's primers which were so popular in the sixteenth-century Low Countries. The Antwerp printing house of Marten de Keyser published two abecedaria entitled Introduction pour les enfants, one in 1538, another sometime prior to that year. These primers contain Marot's Bénédiction devant manger from L'instruction et foy, followed by a grace for after meals. Neither prayer is ascribed to Marot in these publications. The grace before meals, Nostre bon père tout puissant, appears in all the early editions of the poet's works and is indisputably by Marot. The grace after meals, Père éternel te rendons grace, appears only in these Antwerp abecedaria and is probably not by Marot.

De Keyser's successor, Antoine des Gois, published an augmented edition of the Introduction pour les enfants in 1540 that includes both graces. Near the end of the book Des Gois added Marot's complete L'instruction et foy, with the result that the Bénédiction devant manger appears twice in this publication.

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2 See ibid., I, No. 1177, and II, No. 3235 for a complete bibliographical description of these books.

3 A modern edition of the complete text is in Clément Marot, Œuvres, ed. Georges Guiffrey (Paris, 1875-1931), IV, 422.

4 A complete bibliographical description of this book is in Nijhoff and Kronenberg, Bibliographie, II, No. 3236.
Later, after Des Gois had ceased his printing activity, Christophe Plantin brought out an abecedarium entitled *L'A,B,C, ou Instruction Chrestienne pour les petits enfans. Reueue par venerables docteurs en Theologie. Avec L'Instruction Chrestienne de F. I. Pierre de Ravillan.* Printed in Antwerp in 1558, this work, more prayer book than primer, contains a series of prose prayers and a short catechism in question-and-answer form. Included also is the rhymed Credo from Marot's *instruction et foy*, plus three Marot poems which had previously appeared only in Huguenot Psalters: the rhymed ten commandments, and the second set of prayers before and after meals—*Souverain pasteur et maistre* and *Père éterne qui nous ordonne*. Immediately after this pair appear the earlier two graces—*Nostre bon père tout puissant* and *Père éterne te rendons grace*.

Plantin's *ABC* was the first book in the Low Countries to be printed in script type and for this reason it has received attention from present-day scholars. In its own day

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5Plantin published two editions of this *ABC* in the same year. They differ slightly from each other in title, size, and make-up, but the contents are the same. These two editions of the same abecedarium should not be confused with Ravillan's *Instruction Chrestienne* printed by Plantin in 1562. This publication is completely different. Copies of these three books are owned by the Museum Plantin-Moretus in Antwerp.

the book was notorious because its catechism presented only some of the seven sacraments and explained them according to non-Catholic doctrines. In 1570 it was placed on the Index of prohibited books printed by Plantin himself.7

The presence of Marot's religious poems in the above publications shows that they were known in the Low Countries during the early stages of the Calvinist movement. With the exception of the Plantin primer, however, all of these publications preceded the advent of Calvinism in Antwerp and thus can hardly be considered Huguenot publications. In the fifties Calvinism took root in the Flemish metropolis. Plantin's abecedarium of 1558 with its Protestant catechism was definitely an attempt to attract young minds to the new religion.

The Trente Pseaulmes of Marot

From 1533 to 1540, while a few of his psalms and canticles were appearing in various publications in France and the Low Countries, Marot worked on his rhymed translation of thirty psalms, taking the first fifteen psalms in numerical order and then selecting the remainder at will.

Although there is reason to believe that they were printed prior to 1539 in Geneva or Paris, the first known edition of all thirty psalms appeared in the Low Countries. In 1541 the Antwerp printer Antoine des Gois issued two editions of a psalter without music that contains the thirty psalms of Marot plus fifteen by lesser-known poets, some of them identified only by an initial. Ten of the forty-five psalms are headed by references to timbres—pre-existent melodies to which the texts could be sung. The two editions differ only in their titles and in the inclusion of Marot's *Sermon du bon et mauvais pasteur* in one of the editions. The two titles read as follows:

Psalmes de David, Translatez de plusieurs Auteurs, & principalement de Cle. Marot. Veu, recongneu et corrigé par les théologiens, nommément par nostre M. F. Pierre Alexandre, Concionateur ordinaire de la Royne de Hongrie.

[Colophon:] Imprime en Anvers, par Antoine des Gois, Lan N.D.XLI.


[Colophon:] Imprime en Anvers, par Antoine des Gois, Lan N.D.XLI.9


Pierre Alexandre's name on one of the title pages has caused some wild speculation. Douen saw Alexandre as the author of the psalm signed A. in this psalter and as the perpetrator of many "corrections" in the Marot text. He decided that Alexandre had received the Marot psalms from Charles V, who indeed had entered the Low Countries in 1540 with a manuscript of the Trente Pseaumles presented to him by the poet. All of Douen's suppositions have since been proved incorrect.

In a biography of Alexandre, O. Michotte accepted all of Douen's hypotheses without question and added a few of his own without support of evidence. For Michotte, Alexandre was a member of a secret Lutheran sect who desired to prepare a French psalter for use in Protestant worship. To accomplish this, "Alexandre a fait oeuvre d'initiateur en mettant en musique et en adaptant les vers de Marot pour composer un psautier."

The existing evidence on Alexandre allows us to say only that he was the examiner of the 1541 Antwerp Psalter

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11 In S. J. Lenselink, De Nederlandse Psalmberijmingen van de Souterliedekens tot Datheen (Assen, 1959), pp. 124-125, fn. 4, and p. 130, there is a summary of the evidence against Douen.

12 Oswald Michotte, Un réformateur, Pierre Alexandre (Nessonvaux, 1913), pp. 4 and 191.
and that he later became a notorious Protestant. His role as examiner is announced on the verso of the title page bearing Alexandre's name:


Douen gave three reasons for considering the 1541 psalter a Protestant publication. First of all, the very fact that it was published makes the book suspect, since any translation of the Bible whatever, according to Douen, was proscribed by the edicts of Charles V. Second, the psalms are numbered according to the Hebrew, rather than the Vulgate, a system still used in Protestant Bibles. Third, the addition of *timbres* implies that the psalter was to be used for Protestant worship. Only Douen's second point carries any weight at all. Translations of the Bible into the vernacular were allowed if they received clerical approval and the royal privilege. As to the use of *timbres* to sing religious poetry, this was not limited to Protestants and in no way implies liturgical use. From the start the Huguenot Psalters specifically designed for worship contained melodies. Songbooks with *timbres*, many of them Calvinist

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14 Douen, Clément Marot, I, 317.
chansonniers with non-Scriptural texts, were meant for household music-making. There is no reason to believe that the 1541 Antwerp Psalter was an exception. As for the Hebraic numbering of the psalms, this might be Protestant in intent, but could also be attributed to the humanist principle of going back to the earliest sources.

There are better arguments for considering *Psalmes de David* a Protestant publication:

1. The absence of a royal privilege. The Latin paragraph in which Alexandre gives his approval for the publication makes no claim that the book was printed with royal authority, although it is possible that Alexandre referred to Mary of Hungary in order to imply her sanction. In any case, this paragraph does not read at all like the typical privilege for a religious publication of that time. Such a privilege was usually a summary of a document granting permission to publish a book approved by the clergy, and was issued by the civil authorities in the name of the emperor.

2. The imprimatur granted by a priest who was soon to be accused of heresy. Alexandre's Protestant sympathies may have inclined him favorably toward the texts which were then beginning to be used for Calvinist worship in other countries.

3. The fact that Marot did not translate his psalms from the Vulgate, even though Alexandre's imprimatur implies that he did. Lenselink has shown that Marot used the highly
suspect French Bible of Olivetan, published in Neufchâtel, Switzerland in 1535.¹⁵

There are also arguments against considering Psalms de David a Protestant publication:

1. The book was not placed on the lengthy Indices drawn up by the University of Louvain theologians in 1546, 1550, and 1558.¹⁶

2. There could have been no eager Protestant clientele for the publication. The Lutherans and Anabaptists active in Antwerp in 1541 would have had little use for a French psalter, since these Protestants spoke German or Dutch. Calvinism had barely penetrated the Low Countries in 1541. Pierre Alexandre himself did not formally embrace Calvinism until 1562.

Although there are reasons for believing that Psalms de David may have been Protestant in intent, it certainly was not a Calvinist publication. It was, however, the first

¹⁵Lenselink, De Nederlandse Psalmerijmingen, pp. 137-139.

¹⁶Marot's Sermon du bon et maulvais pasteur, however, which was included in one of the two editions of Psalms de David, appears on all three Indices; see Reusch, Die Indices, pp. 42 and 70.

The Faculty of Theology at Paris proscribed the Trente psaumes de David, traduits par Clément Marot in 1542; see Reusch, Die Indices, p. 82. There is no reason, however, for interpreting this as a specific reference to the 1541 Antwerp Psalter, as did Douen (Clément Marot, I, 359) and after him, Michotte (Un réformateur, p. 18) and Jean de Savignac, Les mémorables de Francisco de Enzinas (Brussels, 1963), P. 286, fn.
appearance in the Low Countries of Marot's Trente Pseaulmes, texts that were to be used later by the Calvinists there. Several of the texts in this psalter reappear in polyphonic settings. For these reasons the 1541 Antwerp Psalter occupies an important place in a study of the Huguenot psalm in the Low Countries.

Psalmes de David has long fascinated bibliophiles and hymnologists not only because of its mysterious connection with Pierre Alexandre, but because of the psalter's relationship to Marot's total psalm output. This version of the Trente Pseaulmes and that published by Roffet of Paris early in 1542 are not at all identical. The two versions are so different, indeed, that Douen was convinced Alexandre had altered the standard Marot version to suit his own taste. He reasoned that Alexandre had somehow found the psalms of Marot in manuscript and had recirculated them with his own corrections so that his version was printed in Strasbourg in 1539, in Antwerp in 1541, and in Geneva and Strasbourg in 1542.\(^{17}\) P. A. Becker has since shown that the supposed alterations in these texts are really an early version by the poet himself.\(^{18}\) The version of Psalm 6 that appears in the four early psalters, for example, is the same as that in Marguerite of Navarre's Le miroir, published in Paris in 1533.

\(^{17}\) Douen, Clément Marot, I, 303-304 and 325-330.
After Becker, Lenselink has shown that Marot made four revisions of the *Trente Pseaumes*, resulting in five different readings:19

1. Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale*, MS fonds fr. 2337 presents the oldest known text, although some of the psalms have words crossed out and corrections written in.

2. This corrected text reappears in:
   a. The Strasbourg Psalter, 1539, entitled *Aulcuns pseaumes et cantiques mys en chant*.
   b. The Antwerp Psalter, 1541, both editions.
   d. The second edition of the *Oeuvres de Marot* (Lyon: Dolet, 1542).
   e. A Lyon Psalter, 1542, also printed by Dolet.
   f. A Strasbourg Psalter, 1542, entitled *La manyere de faire prières*.

3. A second revision is found in Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale*, MS fonds fr. 2336. The first nine psalms and part of the tenth are missing from this manuscript. It is not certain that the many alterations in the psalms are all by Marot himself. Some of them recur in the Roffet edition listed below; others appear only in this manuscript.

19 What follows here is a resumé of the work of Lenselink; see his *De Nederlandse Psalmenbijijmingen*, pp. 130-135.
4. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex Vindob. 2664 (the MS presented by Marot to Charles V); Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arсенал, MS 3632; and the Roffet edition (Paris, early 1542) of the Trente Pseaumes form one text group, although there are some differences between them.

5. In 1543 the Cinquante Pseaumes of Marot appeared. Here the Trente Pseaumes are again revised, for the fourth and last time. Only one version exists for the nineteen (sic) new psalms.

Thus the version of Marot's Trente Pseaumes in the 1541 Antwerp Psalter represents the first of four revisions and is the second of five different readings.

The fifteen psalms not by Marot are more difficult to classify. They represent the work of possibly nine different poets, and the psalms are ascribed to them in the following way:

Psalm 120  Adam a regress
Psalm 29   Cl. Grolier
Psalm 43   C.D.
Psalms 11, 115, 133 (two versions), and 150  Adel
Psalm 113  Del
Psalms 128 and 130  N.
Psalm 130  A.
Psalm 117  Cl. L'Esc.
Psalm 142
D.

Psalm 108
I. Faure

No one has successfully identified these men. Douen suggested that the letter A. of Psalm 130 stood for Alexandre, and that Adel was a pseudonym created from the Hebrew form of usque ad Deum. He considered "Adam a regress" a timbre rather than an author’s name. 20

Frederic Lachèvre gave a bit more information on the 1541 psalter poets in his bibliography of collections of sixteenth-century French poetry. The psalm signed A. which Douen had attributed to Alexandre, Lachèvre assigned to Barthélemy Aneau. He considered that D. and C.D. refer to a single author; I. Faure is Jehan Faure; Adel refers to the poet Le Frère or Frère. 21 Lachèvre did not list Psalm 120 ascribed to "Adam a regress," nor did he give any reasons for his ascriptions or any biographical information on the poets.

Unfortunately, other sixteenth-century sources in which these fifteen psalms appear impart little additional information on their authors. Nine publications and one manuscript form concordances with Psalms de David as far as the fifteen psalms not by Marot are concerned. 22 Of

20 Douen, Clément Marot, I, 316 and 710.


22 See Appendix I.
these concordances only the manuscript provides data not present in the Antwerp Psalter: in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, NS fonds fr. 2336, Psalm 133 (second version) is ascribed to Adelph instead of Adel. Evidently five of the fifteen poems were written by a poet whose name had been shortened to Adel or Adelph. Adelphus is the Greek word for brother; this must be why Lachèvre decided the poet's name was Frère. Perhaps the initial A. also stands for this poet; one of the nine publications, the Noëlz nouveaux of 1533, contains only Adel's Psalm 115 and A.'s Psalm 130.

More is known about the poet called "Adam a regress" in Psalms de David. Adam de Retour (a Regressus) was the pseudonym of Jean Menard, a Calvinist minister in Switzerland from 1536 to his death circa 1570. According to his autobiography in Epistre chrétienne, Menard was born in Tours and was a Franciscan monk until the writings of Luther persuaded him to embrace Protestantism. As a minister in Switzerland he wrote numerous religious tracts and poems. How his Psalm 120 found its way to Antwerp remains a mystery, as does the identity of the other poets of the Antwerp Psalter.

Although Psalms de David contains no music, ten psalms are provided with timbres. The use of timbres

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23 For a résumé of the autobiography in Epistre chrétienne and a lengthy discussion of Menard's life and works see H. Vuilleumier, Histoire de l'église réformée du pays de Vaud sous le régime bernois (Lausanne, 1927-1933), I, 493-500.
instead of newly composed melodies was a widespread practice in the sixteenth century. Many collections of sacred and secular verse meant to be sung did not contain a note of music. Rather, each poem was supplied with the title of a well-known melody which might be either sacred or secular, ranging in age and dignity from Gregorian chant to the latest street ditty. Even editors of sacred collections did not eschew street songs, although on occasion they apologized for using them, as in these lines appended to a sacred poem in an early seventeenth-century collection:

This tune I employ, to increase your joy,
Take all the pleasure from it you can get.
And use this jolly air to praise, God and Mary always,
Even though the tune is "The Holland Farmerette."25

Although only one of Marot's psalms in the Antwerp Psalter carries a timbre, several of his Trente Pseaulmes were sung to well-known tunes before, and even after, Calvin's musicians gave them melodies. This use of timbres should not be confused with the false notion that secular songs were the source for many Genevan melodies. This persistent but mistaken tradition has been vigorously set

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24 Important exceptions in the Low Countries are the Souterliedekens (Antwerp: Simon Cock, 1540) and Ecclesiasticus (Antwerp: Willem Silvius, 1565), in which the timbres are notated.

25"Desen voys ick dan keer, tot deughs vermeer,
Neempt vreught hier inne.
Looft met dees Leysen Iolijt, God en Maria altijt,
Al ist den voys vande Hollantsche boerinne."

aside, hopefully for good, by Pierre Pidoux.26 There is some documentation, however, for the use of **timbres** for Narot's psalms, although no contemporary reports describe it. A long letter to Catherine de Médici written by a certain Villemadon on 26 August 1559 describes the popularity of Narot's psalms in the court of Francis I. This letter, the report of an eye-witness describing events twenty years old, does not specifically state that popular melodies were used to sing Narot's texts, only that they were set to music by the musicians of the French king and Charles V.27 The only description of the early use of Narot's psalms that mentions the use of **timbres** comes some seventy years after the event, and from the pen of a hostile historian, Florimond de Raemond.

In those days they were not set to music as they are now, in order to be sung during worship. Instead each person chose whatever air seemed good to him, usually a **vaudeville**. Each of the princes and courtesans had a favorite one. King Henry II liked and took as his own, *Ainsi qu'on oyt le cerf bruire*, which he sang while hunting. Madame de Valentininois, whom he loved, took as hers: *Du fond de ma pensée*, which she sang as a *volta*. The Queen had chosen: *Ne veuilles pas, o sire, with a jester's melody. The King of Navarre, Antoine, took *Revenge moy, prens la querelle*, which he sang as a *branle de Poitou*, and there were others.28

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27The pertinent part of this letter is reproduced in Appendix II.

28"Ils ne furent pas lors mis en musique, comme on les voit aujourd'hui, pour être chantés au prêche: Mais chacun y donnent tel air que bon luy semboit, à ordinairement des vau-de-ville. Chacun des Princes, & courtisans
De Raemond, a militant anti-Protestant, was eager to prove that the Calvinist psalm tunes were nothing but immoral chansons with sacred words, and the above paragraph is part of his argument. Although De Raemond's account of the Calvinist psalms is often inaccurate because of his bias, his account of the popularity of Narot's psalms at the French court must be substantially correct, for it is corroborated by the Villemadon report.

De Raemond merely named several instrumental dance types used for singing Narot's psalms. Eight specific timbres, however, have come down to us. Four of them—two chansons and two hymn tunes—are indicated in the sources themselves. This meager number can be supplemented by two timbres named in the Toulouse Index of 1540. An additional two were mentioned by Auguste Blondeau in 1847, but he gave no source for his information. These eight timbres are associated with five Narot psalms. (See Table 1.) This is an extremely limited documentation for

\[\text{en prit un pour soy. Le Roy Henry second aymoit, & prit pour le sien le Pseaume, Ainsi qu'\'on oyt le cerf bruire, lequel il chantoit à la chasse. Madame de Valentinois qu'\'il aymoit, prit pour elle: Du fond de ma pensée, qu'elle chantoit en volte. La Reyne avoit choisi: Ne veuilles pas, o sire, avec un air sur le chant des bouf-}\
\[\text{fons. Le Roy de Navarre Antoine prit, Revange moy, pres la querelle, qu'\'il chantoit en branle de Poitou, ainsi les autres.}"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Timbre</th>
<th>Psalm</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Ut quam latissim</td>
<td>Psalm 13, Jusques à quand as estably</td>
<td>Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds fr. 2336, fol. 8v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. L'autre jour my chemine, le loing d'une riviere</td>
<td>Psalm 15, Qui est-ce qui conversera</td>
<td>Ibid., fol. 4v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Urbs beate Hierusalem</td>
<td>Psalm 20, Mon Dieu, mon Dieu, pourquoi s'es tu laissé</td>
<td>Ibid., fol. 2v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Mon pere, aussi ma mere, m'ont laisse sans am</td>
<td>Psalm 130, Du fons de sa pensée</td>
<td>Toulouse Index, 1540 a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Bourbon a grand puissance</td>
<td>Psalm 130</td>
<td>Ibid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Baisses soy, donc, beau sire</td>
<td>Psalm 130</td>
<td>Unknown b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Que ne vous reginquez vous, la vieille</td>
<td>Psalm 130</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a The psalm is listed in the Index as Au fons de sa pensée; see Reusch, Die Indices, p. 134.

b This and the following timbre for Marot's Psalm 130 are given by Auguste L. Blondeau in his Histoire de la musique moderne (Paris, 1847), II, 18-19.

a supposedly widespread practice, even more limited when one considers that two of the eight timbres are from a secondary source and that melodies can today be found only for timbres 1, 2, and 4. These three melodies are in no way related to the melodies associated with the same texts in later Huguenot Psalters.
How the two Gregorian hymn tunes came to be associated with Marot's psalms is still a question. The chanson Dont (D'ou) vient cela, however, is an obvious choice.

Marot himself had written the poem, and Claudin de Sermisy had given it a polyphonic setting, published by Attaignant in 1528. The piece quickly became popular, and its melody was used to sing a number of different texts. It was undoubtedly the popularity of the Sermisy setting that induced Marot to pattern Psalm 10 after the meter and stanzical structure of his chanson text Dont vient cela.

Of the fifteen psalms in the Antwerp Psalter that are not by Marot, nine have timbres. One of these psalms has two, another three, making thirteen timbres in all if Marot's Psalm 10 is included. Melodies for all but two of these timbres can be found today. (See Table 2.) Eight melodies are from polyphonic chansons printed by Attaignant prior to 1541; two are from polyphonic chansons whose earliest source appears to be a manuscript; one is a fifteenth-century monophonic chanson used for polyphonic settings in the early sixteenth century. Thus each of the eleven known melodies specified as timbres in Psalmes de David existed

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29 To list only a few, Dont vient cela was used as a timbre for Psalm 72 of the Souterliedekens (Antwerp: Simon Cock, 1540), fol. K7r; for Eustorg de Beaulieu's chanson spirituelle, D'ou vient cela, monde d'abus remply, in Chrestienne rejoysance (s.l.: s.n., 1546), p. 68; and for the Rederijker liedeken, Oempt u ooghen ghy die daer zyt verblynt, in Refereynen ende liedekens van di- versche rhetoricienen wt Brabant, Vlaenderen, Hollant ende Zeelant (Brussels: Michiel van Hamont, 1563), fol. 38r.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Timbre</th>
<th>Psalms</th>
<th>Poet</th>
<th>Source of Timbre Melody</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4. Avonturiers de France</td>
<td>Psalm 100. Tous habitans du monde</td>
<td>Adel</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timbre</td>
<td>Psalms</td>
<td>Poet</td>
<td>Source of Timbre Melody</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
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<td>départie</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Primary and secondary sources for the melody and for polyphonic settings of it are listed in Howard M. Brown, Music in the French Secular Theater (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 247-248.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chanson a 3 by Moulu, No. 12 in Quarante et deux chansons a trois (Paris: Attaingnant, 1529). RISM 1529/4.</td>
<td>The correct date, in brackets, for this publication was taken from Daniel Hertz, &quot;La chronologie ... Attaingnant,&quot; p. 185.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chanson a 5 by Josquin des Prez</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timbre</td>
<td>Psalms</td>
<td>Poet</td>
<td>Source of the Timbre Melody</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
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<tr>
<td>13. Voulez cuyr chanson</td>
<td>Psalm 150, Louez Dieu en tout territoyre</td>
<td>Adel</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>This is the only timbre that does not fit the prosody of the psalm incipit.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Douen saw only eleven timbres in Psalmes de David, one of them being "Adam a regres." He neglected to consider the second timbre for Psalm 130 (A.'s version) and the second and third timbres for Psalm 113 (by Del). He traced only four timbres to pre-1541 sources. See Douen, Clément Marot, I, 684, 686, and 710-713.

b Only the earliest of the printed sources is given, along with its number in François Lesure (ed.), Recueils imprimés, XVIe - XVIe siècles ("Répertoire international des sources musicales," Vol. B I; Munich, 1960). The abbreviation RISM used in this dissertation refers only to Vol. B I.

c The composers' names in brackets are taken from François Lesure, "Les anonymes des recueils imprimés français du XVIe siècle," in Fontes Artes Musicae, I (1954), 80-81 and II (1955), 38.

in a polyphonic setting prior to 1541. It is very probable, therefore, that all thirteen were published in polyphonic form prior to 1541, and even that they all were once to be found in Attainant's chanson collections, several of which have been lost.  

At this point it is appropriate to determine whether any of the eleven polyphonic chansons are based on monophonic chansons, for then the monophonic version could have been the model for polyphonic chanson and timbre alike. The timbres in the Antwerp Psalter might then have been chosen because they were widely known folk melodies. Only L'amour de moy, however, is known to have existed as a fifteenth-century monophonic chanson that was later polyphonically elaborated. The others are found today only in polyphonic form. Possibly Josquin's canon Fautie d'argent is based on a pre-existent monophonic setting of the text. And of course, others of the eleven polyphonic chansons might well be based on unknown tunes.

Following an argument of Howard Brown, however, two of the polyphonic chansons listed as timbres in the Antwerp

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30 In his article on the chronology of Attainant's musical publications, Daniel Heartz states that only about two-thirds of the publisher's output has been preserved; see his "La chronologie des recueils imprimés par Pierre Attainant," in Revue de musicologie, XLIV (1959), 183.

Psalter cannot be chansons rustiques—compositions based on a monophonic chanson. "Dont vient cela and Jouyissance vous donneray are chanson texts written by Narot only a few years prior to the publication of Claudin de Sermisy's polyphonic settings. "The proximity of the . . . dates indicates that Claudin's setting was the original one and that the melody as well as the arrangement is his."\(^{32}\) If this is true for Dont vient cela and Jouyissance vous donneray, it is most likely true for Sermisy's C'est une dure departie and for the other five chansons from the Attaingnant books as well. These then would be chansons that were polyphonic from the start.

Although the known timbres in Psalmes de David were taken from polyphonic chansons, it does not follow that these psalms were performed polyphonically with the texts used as contrafacta. Chansons such as Sermisy's Dont vient cela and C'est une dure departie were evidently so popular that the superius parts virtually became folk tunes.\(^{33}\) This explains their frequent use as timbres and the reappearance of only the superius of these and other chansons in many polyphonic settings of the same texts by later composers. Since Crecquillon's five-voiced Dont vient cela, for example, uses only the Sermisy superius, it is possible

\(^{32}\text{Ibid., p. 130.}\)

\(^{33}\text{See ibid., pp. 129-130, where the process is examined in more detail.}\)
that the later composer was using what had by then become a popular melody, separated from the polyphonic complex in which it was created. The timbres in Psalms de David undoubtedly refer to this type of melody. Users of the psalter might have accompanied these sung melodies with simple chords on a lute or cittern. Use of a specific part setting, however, is doubtful.

There remains one important question concerning the timbres: Do the chanson melodies fit the psalm texts? The answer, for the known melodies at least, is an unqualified yes. In fact, some of the psalm texts are similar enough to the chansons in rhyme scheme and word choice to suggest that the poet had both chanson melody and text under his eye while he wrote. A good example is Psalm 120 by Jean Menard.

Au Seigneur dieu, pour recouvrer lyesse,  
Et delivrer mon coeur de sa tristesse,  
J'ay hault crye en mon dueil et ennu,  
Et mon Dieu m'a ouy.

to be sung to Fevin's setting of

Adieu solas, tout plaisir, et lyesse.  
Mon povere coeur sy vit en grand tristesse.  
Scest du regretz que jay de mon amy  
Ellas il ma falli.
The *Cinquantë Pœaumës* of Narot

In 1543 Narot completed his versification of forty-nine psalms, four canticles, and two graces, which were published that same year as *Cinquantë Pœaumës en Francois par Cl. Narot*, without name of printer or place of impression.\(^{34}\) This edition, probably published in Geneva, contains no music. In the same year there was published at Geneva a psalter with music whose textual contents were presumably similar to the above publication. No copy remains of this earliest edition of the *Cinquantë Pœaumës* with music.\(^{35}\) The earliest extant musical edition of *Cinquantë Pœaumës* is a two-volume polyphonic publication from Attaingnant in 1546.\(^{36}\)

There is no evidence that a monophonic psalter composed of the *Cinquantë Pœaumës* was ever published in the Low Countries. There is, however, one existing copy of an Antwerp edition without music whose contents are the same as the extant Genevan Psalter of 1543.


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\(^{35}\) Ibid., II, 24-25.

\(^{36}\) Ibid., II, 33-34.

\(^{37}\) A copy is in the *Bibliothèque du protestantisme* in Paris.
A larger second section in this psalter comprises one hundred versified psalms by Jean Poitevin, a priest from Poitiers who completed Marot's unfinished task. The title page for this second section reads:


[Colophon:] Impriméz en Anvers chez Iean Verwit-hagen Imprimeur Iure. L'an. M.D. LIII.

The Antwerp edition of Marot's and Poitevin's psalms under the same cover is one of several psalters without music that combined the 1543 Genevan Psalter of Marot with Les cent psalms de David of Poitevin first published in 1550 by Nicolas Peletier of Poitiers. The 1554 Antwerp publication contains the same dedication to the Cardinal of Lorraine that appears in the 1550 Poitevin Psalter.

The privilege for the Antwerp edition is printed on the verso of the second title page.

Ce present livre à esté visité & approuvé par monsieur Maistre Iean à Fine Superieur Cure de l'eglise de nostre Dame en Anvers, pour Martin Nuyts imprimeur Iure. Et L'empereur nostre Sire a permis & consenti à Laurent L'enfant libraire Iure, que seul le puyssse faire imprimer,

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38 A complete title of the first edition of the Poitevin Psalms is in Pidoux, Le psautier huguenot, II, 87. Other psalters combining the Marot and Poitevin psalms were printed in Rouen, 1554; in Lyon, 1555; and in Paris, 1557. See Douen, Clément Marot, II, 514-517.

39 This dedication is reproduced in Pidoux, Le psautier huguenot, II, 85-86.
pour le temps de quatre ans prochain venans, avecq inhibition faicte à tous autrre imprimeurs & libraires, de ne l'imprimer ou faire imprimer, sans le consentement dudit Laurent, souzb les paines contenes es lettres originales dudit Privilege. Donné en Bruxelles par L'empereur en son Conseil. L'an 1554. Et Signé P. de Lens.

From the above document we learn that Martin Nuyts, an Antwerp printer who specialized in Spanish publications, had obtained the privilege for this work. He evidently gave Verwithagen permission to print an edition for sale in Mons. Nuyts brought out his own edition of the psalter one year later. The title, reproduced in a bibliography of Nuyts's publications, is exactly the same as that of the psalter published by Verwithagen. The present whereabouts of the Nuyts edition, however, is a mystery.

There is no evidence that this psalter, published with clerical and royal approval, was issued for Protestant use. Perhaps the Antwerp printers knew there would be a good market for the psalms of Marot, which were by now definitely associated with the Calvinist movement. It is doubtful, however, that they directed their publication at Antwerp Calvinists. There were few Huguenots in the city in 1554; Calvinism was just gaining a foothold in the Flemish provinces, and the influx of Huguenots from the south had not yet begun. A letter from Calvin to the Antwerp

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40 C. J. Nuits, Essai sur l'imprimerie des Nutius, 2d ed. (Brussels, 1858), p. 28. See also Douen, Clément Marot, II, 515, where the Nuyts Psalter is listed without title.
congregation dated 21 December 1556 implies that the group was small: the reformer urges them to meet regularly and promises to send a minister soon.\footnote{Jules Bonnet (ed.), \textit{Lettres de Jean Calvin} (Paris, 1854), II, 112-113.} Perhaps the psalter was put up for sale in Mons to attract the Calvinists there, for in the southern Low Countries Calvinism was already making deep inroads. Quite obviously, however, the book need not have been directed at a solely Calvinist market. We shall see in the following chapter that both Catholics and Protestants enjoyed the psalms of Marot.

Texts from the \textit{Cinquante Pseaumes} also appealed to composers active in the Low Countries at this time. Sixteen polyphonic settings were published in various Antwerp chanson collections from 1549 to 1556.\footnote{These compositions are analyzed in Chapter III.} Although these compositions are not based on the Huguenot melodies associated with the texts, one Antwerp publication from this period does use them. It is Jean Louys' \textit{Pseaulmes Cinquante de David}, printed by Waelrant and Laet in 1555, in which the Huguenot melodies are the basis for five-voiced motet-like settings of Marot's texts.\footnote{These compositions are analyzed in Chapter IV.} As might be expected, when Calvin's doctrines spread to the northwest, the psalms of Marot and the melodies to which they were sung also made the journey.
CHAPTER II

THE COMPLETE HUGUENOT PSALTER

The Edition of Christophe Plantin, 1564

The first Huguenot Psalter to include all 150 psalms was created in Geneva. Although Strasbourg and Lausanne had produced their own psalters, it was the city of Calvin that led the way. Here Théodore de Bèze completed Marot's work, and unknown musicians composed new melodies to add to those Guillaume Franc and Louis Bourgeois had created for earlier psalters. Les pseaumes mis en rime française par Clément Marot et Théodore de Bèze was published early in 1562. Antoine Vincent was the merchant-printer in charge of producing the tens of thousands of copies that issued from printing presses in Geneva, Paris, Lyon, Caen, St. Lo, and elsewhere, each copy duly marked "pour Antoine Vincent."

This extensive printing venture, involving twenty-four printers in Paris alone, witnesses to the immense popularity of the Huguenot psalms.¹ A bibliography compiled by

¹For the contract between Antoine Vincent and the Parisian printers see E. Droz, "Antoine Vincent. La propagande protestante par le psautier," in Aspects de la propagande religieuse (Travaux d'humanisme et renaissance,
Orentin Douen in 1879 lists forty-four different editions of the psalter in 1562, 1563, and 1564. As hostile a commen-
tator as Florimond de Raemond wrote in his L'histoire de
la naissance... d'herésie that the psalms of Marot and De
Beze were received and welcomed by everyone with as much
favor as ever any book was, not only by those with Protes-
tant sympathies, but also by Catholics; everyone enjoyed
singing them.3

The market for Genevan Psalters was not limited to
France and Switzerland, for the teachings of Calvin had
spread to the northwest. Missionaries from Geneva and Stras-
bourg had penetrated the Low Countries in the 1540's. In
the next decade there were secret Calvinist congregations
in Antwerp, Valenciennes, Tournai, and Lille; and the first
Calvinist martyrs were being led to the stake. In the years
just prior to the coming of the Duke of Alva in 1567, the

XXVIII, 1957), 282-283. This contract, which contains the
names of nineteen printers, is also reproduced in Pidoux,
Le psautier huguenot, II, 130-131. Five printers from
Paris who published the psalter but whose names do not
appear in the contract are given by Pidoux on p. 133.

2Orentin Douen, Clément Marot et le psautier hugue-
not (Paris, 1878-1879) II, 523-532.

3"Or les Pseaumes qu'il rhima à l'imitation de Marot,
furent receus & accueillis de tout le monde, avec autant de
faveur que livre fut jamais, non seulement de ceux qui sen-
toient au Lutherien, mais aussi des Catholiques, chacun
prenoit plaisir de les chanter."

Florimond de Raemond, L'histoire de la naissance,
progres, et décadence de l'herésie de ce siècle (Paris:
Calvinists in the Low Countries became bolder, showing themselves at public sermons and chanteries where they sang the psalms from Geneva. Psalm-singing became the hallmark of the new religion. During the religious troubles in Valenciennes in 1561 and 1562, the Calvinists insisted on gathering privately and in groups on the streets to sing the psalms, even though it was in violation of the ordinance of the king. On 18 December 1561 Philip issued a placard at Valenciennes forbidding the public singing of psalms.\footnote{This ordinance is reproduced in Appendix III C.} All persons owning psalters or books of chansons ecclésiastiques were required to bring them to their parish priest for examination. Henceforth only approved psalms could be sung at home; no psalm-singing was permitted on the streets.

When the authorities searched suspect homes and bookstores for heretical publications, they confiscated Huguenot Psalters. In 1562 Jacques Hessele, a hated servant of the Inquisition, wrote the following report on his findings in Armentières:

Jehenne de la Oultre, alias Nennon Cornille, prisoner and refugee from England . . . In her house we found an infamous French booklet entitled "On the predestination and providence of God;" also a paper with pictures representing the Grey Friars entitled: "Desolatio inter fratres," very hideous, scandalous and blasphemous; and another booklet of the psalms of David in French rhyme by Marot; but \footnote{She} swore by the living God who will judge her and me at the last judgement, denied that they were hers, and said that she had never
seen them nor bought them, and did not know how they came to be there, that I could have brought them there, or someone else who hated her.5

An inventory of heretical books found in the home of Anthonis van Volden of Ypres on 23 April 1567 included the following psalters:

- Les pseaulmes de David mis en Rythme francoyse par Clément Marot et Théodore de Bèze, imprimée à Alencon l'an lxxv - Sans le nom de l'imprimeur, sans grace et privilege.

- Twyntich psalmen duer Petrum Dathenum.

- De psalmen Davids duer Uutenhove.

- Pseaulmes de Clément Marot et Théodore de Bèze, imprimez à Geneve, avesque la forme des ecclésias-asticques et ung calendrier perpetuel.6

Although not placed on an official Index in the Low Countries until 1570, the Huguenot Psalter was clearly considered an heretical publication during the decade that preceded its official condemnation.

5"Jehenne de la Oultre, alias Nennon Cornille, prisonnière comme aussi refugiée d'Angleterre . . . . En sa maison a esté trouvé ung infame livret français intitulé: "De la prédestination et providence de Dieu;" item ung papier avecq images en forme de cordeliers intitulé: "Desolatio inter fratres," fort hideux, schandaleux, et blasphématoire; et ung autre livret des pseaulmes de David, en rithme franchoise par Marot; mais adjurée par le Dieu vivant qui la jugeroit et moy à l'extreme jugement, les a deniez estre siens, et dict qu'elle ne les avoit oncques veu ne achaté, et ne sçavoit dont ilz voyoyent, et que je les y povoye avoir porté, ou quelque autre qui la haysoit."

E. de Coussemaker, Troubles religieux du XVIIe siècle dans la Flandre maritime (Bruges, 1876), II, 234.

6I. L. A. Diegerick, Documents du XVIe siècle (Bruges, 1874-1877), II, 74-76.
In spite of the growing religious ferment in the Low Countries, or perhaps because of it, an Antwerp edition of the complete Calvinist Psalter appeared two years after its Genevan prototype. Christophe Plantin was the publisher of this book, in demand but dangerous.

Plantin had been printing books in Antwerp for nine years when he undertook the publication of the Genevan Psalter in 1564. Only two years earlier he had had a close brush with the authorities concerning an heretical publication called Briefve Instruction pour prier. This book did not bear Plantin's name, but was traced to his firm. Plantin found it expedient to flee to Paris where he stayed for about a year and a half.7 He is believed to have pretended bankruptcy so that the seizure of his goods by "creditors" (actually his friends) prevented confiscation by the authorities. Several other books published before and after his Parisian exile called Plantin's orthodoxy into question and on one occasion even involved him with the hated inquisitor Tiletanus.8 In spite of this poor record with the Inquisition, Plantin decided to publish the Genevan Psalter, a book which was to involve the printer


in yet another quarrel with the civil authorities and pro-
vide another bonfire for the book burners.

Unfortunately, Plantin's edition of the Genevan Psal-
ter comes from a period in the printer's life of which we
know relatively little. Very few documents and letters
remain from the Parisian exile or from the early years of
the ensuing partnership with prominent Antwerp Calvinists.
Thus no answer exists for the most fascinating question
raised in a study of the 1564 Antwerp Psalter: What was
Plantin's relationship with Geneva? Yet there is just
enough evidence to raise suspicion of an involvement with
the chief printer of Calvin's city.

A few months after Plantin's return to Antwerp from
Paris in June 1563, he repaid his "creditors." One of these
was Antoine Vincent of Geneva, who wrote on 9 October 1563
while in Antwerp that he had received the sum of 54 livres,
1 sol, 6 deniers from the sale of Plantin's goods and in
payment of books purchased by Plantin in 1561.9 Thus Plan-
tin was acquainted with the Genevan publisher. Now Antoine
Vincent had made his contract with the Parisian printers on
26 February 1562; Plantin was then in exile in Paris. The
contract does not include Plantin's name or that of his
Parisian affiliate, Martin le Jeune. Nevertheless, Le
Jeune published Les Cl. Pseaumes de David that same year

9Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Archive XCVII,
p. 104.
"pour Antoine Vincent." Surely Plantin, in contact with so many of his colleagues, must have been somewhat involved in Vincent's project, an undertaking that has been called "la plus grande entreprise d'édition du siècle, alors que rien ne la laissait prévoir." It is quite possible that Plantin's decision to publish the psalter was the result of Vincent's visit to Antwerp in the fall of 1563.

Whatever his connections with Vincent were, Plantin did sell copies of the new psalter after his return to Antwerp. The record of book sales for the year 1564 shows that on 10 September, while his own presses were printing the Calvinist psalms, Plantin sold six copies of a Lyon Psalter to Jehan Lescallier, a bookseller in Mons.

Certainly there was no lack of models when in the summer of 1564 Plantin received the royal privilege to "print or have printed, sell and distribute the Psalms of David, with certain canticles, translated in French rhyme, examined and approved by M. Josse Schellinc, prebendary of St. Nicholas in Brussels, assigned by the Council of Brabant." These words are from the privilegium printed in Douen, Clément Marot, II, 527.

10 The complete title is in Douen, Clément Marot, II, 527.


12 "Jehan le Wilvarier dit Lescallier, Libraire a Mons en Hainaut doit ce qui sensuit . . . . Le 10 Septembre, 6 Psalmes re bas in 24° Lyon, 5 1-10-.." Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Archive XXXIX (Pour les libraires, 1564), fol. 18r.
in Plantin's psalter.\(^{13}\) This preface also refers to an original privilege dated 16 June 1564 where the terms are more amply declared. A notarized copy of the privilege, a lengthy document in Dutch giving Plantin permission to print several books, is still preserved in the Museum Plantin-Moretus.\(^{14}\) From it we learn that Plantin received permission to print a Dutch psalter in addition to the French, a plan that did not materialize. Also mentioned in the privilege are a Dutch psalter printed by Simon Cock in 1550 and a French psalter printed by Martin Nuyts, both of which had been approved by Josse Schellinc.\(^{15}\) Schellinc re-examined both psalters for Plantin, and found them "Catholic." After this approval, Plantin had the psalter inspected by secular authorities who stated that the book contained nothing that would violate the Holy Christian faith.

On 24 June 1564 the Plantin presses printed the first sheet of *Les Pseaumes de David*. The date of printing of

\(^{13}\) *Le contenu du privilege* is reproduced in Appendix IV A.

\(^{14}\) The section of this privilege dealing with the Plantin psalter is reproduced in Appendix IV B. The date of the document, however, is 26 May 1564, not 16 June. Either there was a second privilege, or the date in *Le contenu du privilege* is an error. In the copy of the psalter at the Museum Plantin-Moretus, the date in *Le contenu du privilege* is corrected in ink to read 26 Juin 1564, perhaps the beginning of an attempt to make it read 26 Mai 1564.

\(^{15}\) For comments on these two psalters see the footnotes to Appendix IV B.
each sheet was written into Le grand livre des affaires, a record of printing costs, of the amount of paper used, and of the number of copies printed.\textsuperscript{16} There is a note, placed beneath the figures for Les Pseaumes de David, that the examiner received as a gift from Plantin the works of Ambrose, a Latin psalter, and the Considerationi of Valdes.\textsuperscript{17} According to this record, 1,500 copies of the psalter were issued, and the printing was completed on 28 August 1564.

The record in Le grand livre would warrant no further comment if it did not contradict other Plantin records and even data furnished by the Plantin psalter itself. A detailed cross-examination of all the archival and bibliographical evidence will do more than merely set the printing record straight; for Plantin's edition of the Genevan Psalter was later declared heretical, and the chronicle of its falsely-reported birth and quick death froms a new chapter in the history of sixteenth-century music printing.

There are seven extant copies of Plantin's psalter, a 2⁴mo gathered in eights (A⁸ through F⁷).\textsuperscript{18} They are owned by the Museum Plantin-Moretus in Antwerp, the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague (two copies), the Bibliothèque

\textsuperscript{16}See Appendix V A.

\textsuperscript{17}This was not the only greasing of an examiner's palm that Plantin had to do in his career; see Clair, Christopher Plantin, pp. 53-54.

\textsuperscript{18}I would not have been able to specify the format of this book had not the Plantin archives provided the
Nationale of Paris, the British Museum in London, the Bibliothèque publique et universitaire in Geneva, and the Zion Research Library in Brookline, Massachusetts. The title of the psalter as it appears in these copies is as follows:


For the first time in the Low Countries, the Calvinist psalms are printed with melodies, those created for the Marot-De Bèze texts by the musicians of Geneva. Although each psalm is complete, only the first stanza is printed beneath the notes of the melody, the usual editorial practice in Huguenot Psalters. The type and notes are small but clear, a good example of Christophe Plantin's exemplary work. The 150 psalms are in numerical order, followed by the rhymed ten commandments and the Song of Simeon.

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information--"Pseaumes française in 24°." The recognition of the smaller forms is a treacherous bibliographical problem, since the format is determined by how many times a sheet is folded. In smaller books this is difficult to detect because the sheets were cut into sections before folding and sewing, and the watermark, which appears once per sheet and is a help in determining format, was often cut away.

19 According to Edith Schnapper, British Union-Catalogue of Early Music (London, 1957), II, 838, the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh owns a copy of Plantin's Les Pseaumes de David. There is no evidence, however, that the library ever owned a copy. I am indebted to Miss Marion P. Linton, Deputy Keeper, for this information.
The folios that follow these canticles are not the same in each copy of the psalter. There are seven blank folios in the Antwerp copy. These seven folios in the copies in Paris and The Hague contain a French title index, a Latin title index, an errata list, and a postscript on the last folio. The Genevan copy has the French title index, a "Table pour trouver les Pseaumes selon l'ordre qu'on les chants en l'Eglise de Geneve," and the postscript on the last folio. The London copy has only the first three folios with the French title index; the last gathering (of only four folios instead of the usual eight) is not present in this copy.20 The several differing copies of Les Pseaumes de David tell a great deal about its creation and purpose.

First of all, the postscript gives some new information on Plantin's psalter.

When the printing of these Psalms and Canticles was completed they were examined once again and found to be not at all contrary to the Catholic faith. Done at Brussels on the 22nd day of September, 1565, and signed by I. Schellinc.21

Judging from these words and the record in Plantin's Le grand livre, the printing of the psalter was completed on

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20 Miss Wilma Corcoran of the Zion Research Library was kind enough to send me a description of the copy there. It is similar to the ones in Paris and The Hague.

21 "Après que ces Pseaumes & Cantiques on esté achevés d'imprimer, ils ont esté visités de rechef, & trouvés ne repugner point à la Foy catholique. Faict à Brusselles le 22. Iour de Septembre 1564. & soussigné I. Schellinc." Les Pseaumes de David, fol. Ff4r.
28 August 1564, and then a copy was given to Schellinc for still another examination. Schellinc granted a second approval to Plantin's edition on 22 September 1564; sometime after that date the gathering with the postscript was printed and inserted into copies of the psalter.

This sequence of events, however, does not agree with data in Plantin's *Journal des affaires commençant en Octobre, 1563*, a daily record of printing costs and a more detailed account of his book production than *Le grand livre*. The book-keeping for the psalter in these two records is essentially the same through 26 August 1564, the date of printing the seventeenth sheet. After that date the *Journal* shows that the sixteenth and seventeenth sheets were reprinted on 2 September, and the nineteenth (last) sheet "ou est la table" on the last day of September.\(^{22}\) This is probably the correct schedule for the printing of *Les Pseaumes de David*. The record in *Le grand livre* is a reckoning of total costs, drawn up in one sitting after the book was printed; dates for printing parts of books would not be as accurate here as in the day-by-day record.

\(^{22}\)See Appendix V B. Actually only one sheet was reprinted; the entry for an extra reprinted sheet makes up for the omission of an entry for sheet two in this record; see Appendix V B under 24 June and 1 July. This also agrees with the entry in *Le grand livre* (Appendix V A) that three reams of paper were used for faulty impressions, since each sheet of the psalter was printed on three reams of paper.
According to the printing schedule in the Journal, Schelling would have had access to eighteen of the nineteen sheets of Les Pseaumes de David when he approved it on 22 September. Actually, part of the nineteenth sheet was printed prior to that date so that Schelling could review the entire psalter. The copy he used is the one preserved in the Museum Plantin-Moretus, and it contains everything but the indices. Where these should be are seven blank folios, on the first of which is written in a bold hand and floridly undersigned: "Visité de rechief et trouvé non repugnant à la foy catholique. I. M. Schelling."

Schelling did more than merely glance at the book. His copy of the psalter contains four written-in corrections, presumably in his hand. Three of them reappear in the printed errata list included in the copies at Paris and The Hague; one evidently escaped the compositor's eye. Of these four corrections, only one is typographical. The remaining three replace one or several words in three lines of printed text. In De Bèze's Psalm 106, line 96, "Picqué par leurs devotions" is changed to "Picqué par leurs inventions." In Psalm 119, also by De Bèze, line 13 of the Gimel stanza, "Tous orgueilleux tu traites rudement," is altered to "Tous orgueilleux tu tances rudement," and line 6 of the Samech stanza, "En t'attendant en toute patience," is radically changed to "Et ta promesse attens en patience." The printed text beneath the corrections is in agreement
with the Genevan Psalter of 1562; thus at first glance one would assume the corrections to be Schellinc's own. At least two of them are not. Those for Psalm 119 represent the unrevised version of the De Bèze text as it first appeared in the 1551 Genevan Psalter. Thus Schellinc took these corrections from an edition of the psalter from the previous decade, one which still contained the original version of the De Bèze psalms. The correction for Psalm 106 cannot be found in the existing versions of De Bèze's psalms. Schellinc either took it from a psalter that no longer exists, or else this correction is his own. Whatever the process was, the corrections show that he examined the Antwerp publication very closely, and that at least one of the editions of Octante trois pseaumes travelled as far as Brussels.

There is a second error in the record of the birth of Les Pseaumes de David as it stands in Le grand livre. According to entries on fol. 69v, a copy of the psalter was made up of nineteen sheets of twenty-four leaves each; therefore, one copy should have 456 leaves. But the psalter actually has only half that amount. The solution to the problem is furnished by one of the entries on the same folio, where it is noted that the printing of the "Pseaumes en france, et notés in 24" was done "par demyes feilles

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23 I am indebted to Pierre Pidoux, who kindly compared the Schellinc corrections with the manuscripts of his forthcoming critical edition of the psalms of De Bèze.
as avoir deux ensemble." This is a reference to a method of printing that is called by French bibliographers to this day "impression par demi-feuilles." The English terminology is "imposition by half-sheet." This procedure permits the printing of two copies of a work at the same time ("as avoir deux ensemble"). The printer does not follow the usual procedure for printing a book in 24mo, i.e. printing twenty-four outer pages on one side of a sheet of paper and twenty-four inner pages on the other side. Instead he arranges the first twelve inner and first twelve outer pages of type so that they can be printed together on one side of the sheet. Then the paper is inverted, turned end to end, and the other side is printed with the same type. The finished sheet, when cut in two, forms two identical half-sheets of twenty-four pages each. These two identical half-sheets are then folded and sewn into two different copies of the same work. Hence each set of nineteen printed sheets that went into the making of Les Pseaumes de David produced two copies of the psalter, each having 228 leaves. The mistake in the records, then, is on fol. 70r.

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24 See Appendix V A.


26 An explanation of imposition by half-sheet using the printer's technical terminology can be found in Ronald B. McKerrow, An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students (Oxford, 1927), pp. 66-70.
of Le grand livre: 3,000 copies of the psalter were printed, not 1,500.\textsuperscript{27} This is a staggeringly high number of books to be issued at one time, yet there seems to be no other way of interpreting the records in Le grand livre.

The first sheet of Les Pseaumes de David was devoted to "A and 1/2 B." A and 1/2 B comprise only twelve leaves in the book, since it is numbered and sewn in eights. Thus in order to fill a sheet with twenty-four leaves (the meaning of 24\textsuperscript{mo}), A and 1/2 B would have to be printed twice, as the entry indicates they were.

Three reams of paper were used to print each sheet of the psalter. A ream, then as now, contained 500 pieces of paper. Therefore,

19 sheets $\times$ 3 reams (1,500 pieces) or paper $= 28,500$

28,500 printed sheets $\times$ 24 leaves $= 684,000$ printed leaves.

684,000 printed leaves : 228 leaves per copy $= 3,000$ copies.

There is a final argument. In Le grand livre a heavier hand has superimposed the digits 1 and 5 over the first two digits of the original figure, which was 3,000!

Why was the truth distorted in Plantin's ledger? The answer is provided by events that followed the publication of Les Pseaumes de David. The book was condemned and Plantin was ordered to destroy his entire production. The "corrected"

\textsuperscript{27}See Appendix V A.
entry in his books must have been intended to mislead investigating authorities into thinking that he had printed only 1,500 copies.

The many precautions taken by Plantin indicate that he must have expected trouble. Before the book was printed he secured a lengthy privilege stating that the psalter contained nothing against the doctrines of the Church. From this same privilege we learn that the French psalms had been examined by Schellinc years earlier for publication by Merten Nuyts, then again for Plantin, and that Plantin had also submitted the book to "Commissarisen" appointed by the Council of Brabant. Next Plantin had the privilege copied by a notary; it was evidently an important document for him. It is even possible that he received a second privilege dated 16 June 1564. Then, after the psalter was published, Schellinc examined and approved the book again.

In the light of these precautions, how does one explain the second index in the Genevan copy? This table for singing the psalms according to the usage of Geneva clearly implies that the psalter was to be used for Calvinist worship. True, the index is glued into the book, suggesting later insertion. On the last folio, however, appears the same Schellinc postscript that is printed on the last folio of the Paris copy where it completes a Latin index and the list of errata. Both the Genevan and the Latin indexes
are Plantin publications. This might be an explanation for the discrepancy in the printing record of the nineteenth sheet. This last sheet must have been run off with varying contents for the final pages—the Genevan index for Calvinist purchasers, the Latin index for Catholic. A good idea from a commercial point of view, although printing a Genevan index increased the risk already inherent in bringing out *Les Pseaumes de David*.

Immediately after completion, *Les Pseaumes de David* was distributed to other printers and booksellers in the Low Countries and France. On 1 October, the day after the printing of the last sheet, the entry "Pseaumes en 240" was written into the book recording daily sales. Throughout October and part of November, 481 copies—some unbound, some bound in sheep- or calfskin—were sold and their sale recorded. The list of customers includes most of the important Netherlandish publishers of the time, such as Silvius, Keerberghen, Laet, Bellere, and Steelsius. Not all the

28 The make-up and type of the two indexes are the same. Mr. H. Vervliet, deputy curator of the Museum Plantin-Moretus and an expert on Plantin types, kindly examined photographs of the Genevan index and assured me that it is a Plantin print.

29 Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Archive XXXIX, passim.

30 A work outlining the role of the important printers of Antwerp is Maurice Sabbe, "La typographie anversoise au XVIe siècle," in *Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie en Belgique* (Brussels, 1923-1934), III, 9-63.
customers were Netherlanders. Twenty-five copies were sent to Pierre Hautain, a Parisian printer who was to publish the Genevan Psalter himself in 1567. Most of the buyers' names, however, are followed by the entry "libraire en Antvers," implying that the majority of these psalters eventually were purchased by the citizens of Antwerp.

The last sale of the "Pseaumes en 24°" to be recorded was on 9 November. The psalter was not that quickly out of print; something else had happened. On 13 October Plantin had sold twenty-four copies to "Pierre de la Tombe, libraire demeurant en la Cour a Bruselles."31 One of these copies must have reached Margaret of Parma, regent of the Low Countries, for she immediately took steps to ban the book.

On 6 November 1564 Margaret sent a copy of Plantin's publication to the theology faculty at the University of Louvain. Accompanying the psalter was a letter stating that although the translation might be sound, the printed melodies were used by those who had separated themselves from the Church. Therefore the book, even though it was published with a privilege from the Council of Brabant, perhaps should not be tolerated. Schellicc had been asked to defend his decision, and his apologia was included with Margaret's letter. Since Schellicc and Margaret's advisers had different ideas about the psalter, the theologians were

31 Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Archive XXXIX, fol. 1r.
asked to examine the book to see if the text contained "aulcune erreur ou aultre chose contraire à la foy et religion catholicque." 32

The Schellinc enclosure and the reply from the theologians remain undiscovered. 33 Whatever the theologians' reply was, if they replied at all, the authorities in Brussels did not wait for it. The remaining copies of Les Pseaumes de David were seized and burned prior to 15 November 1564. On that day Viglius de Zuichem, president of the Privy Council, wrote to Cardinal Granvelle, mentioning in one and the same sentence that the books had been burned and that a letter had been written to Louvain for advice on "la translation et le text." 34 He reported that Schellinc, sidestepping the problem of the melodies as something he knew nothing about, considered the translation to be good. Viglius added that "aucuns seigneurs" were convinced that the Marot-De Bèze texts were sound. Apparently, then, the psalters were burned simply because they contained the melodies used by the Calvinists.

The King of Spain also heard about Plantin's ill-fated printing venture. On 30 November 1564 Margaret wrote

32 Margaret's letter is reproduced in Appendix VI A.

33 My search in the Archives Générales du Royaume in Brussels, where some of the letters concerning Plantin's psalter can be found, was unsuccessful.

34 Part of Viglius' letter is in Appendix VI B.
Philip II that she had called the book to the attention of the Chancellor of Brabant.\textsuperscript{35} In response, the chancellor had banned \textit{Les Pseaumes de David}, forbidding its distribution and ordering the burning of all available copies. Once again Margaret emphasized the presence of the melodies: even if the text be pure, she wrote, the melodies are those used by the heretics of Tournai and Valenciennes. Philip II replied on 3 February 1565, commending his sister's action and urging her to be vigilant, for "the principal venom disseminates from Antwerp."\textsuperscript{36}

Unknown to Philip and Margaret, the venom of the psalter was still being disseminated. In addition to the 481 copies that had been sold before the book was banned, a single shipment of 400 psalters had been sent to France where they were beyond reach. On 25 October 1564 Plantin sent 400 copies of a "Psalterium in 24\textsuperscript{to}" to Lucas Brayer,\textsuperscript{35}

\textsuperscript{35} The pertinent part of Margaret's letter is reproduced in Appendix VI C.

\textsuperscript{36} "Ce a esté très-bien d'avoir fait brusler et em-pescher la distribution du livret imprimé en Anvers en l'officin de Cristoffre Plantin, contenant l'interpretation des Psaulmes de David en langue wallone, et l'office que vous avez fait faire en cecy devers le chancellier de Brabant et ailleurs. Et comme le principal venin se sème par Anvers, je ne puis délaisser de vous recommander ce point sur tous."

a bookseller in Paris. The word "psalterium" in the Plantin archives usually refers to a Latin psalter, and indeed, Plantin had printed a Latin psalter in 24mo in 1558 and might still have had 400 copies to send to Paris in 1564. Nevertheless, there are reasons for believing that Brayer received a shipment of Les Pseaumes de David from Plantin:

1. In several entries in the Plantin archives, "psalterium" refers to a psalter in the vernacular.

2. The price of the psalters sent to Paris is the same as that for unbound copies of Les Pseaumes de David.

[37] "Lucas Breyer demeurant a Paris a eu ce qui sen-
suit. . . . Du 4e d'octobre, 24 Pseaumes 3 patt 3--12
1 Pseaumes re bas 4
Du 25 d'octobre 1565, 400 Psalterium in 24to 66--66,
Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Archive XXXIX, fol. 132r.

The title of this psalter is Psalterium Davidis
cum litanía a sanctorum. The copy owned by the Museum
Plantin-Moretus is slightly smaller than Les Pseaumes de
David and is labelled "in 32mo" in the card catalogue.
However, in Plantin's second book catalogue, dated 1567
(no copies remain of the first, dated 1566), there is the
entry: "Psalterium Davidis, in 16. & in 24." This is
probably a reference to the 1558 Latin psalter and to a
larger one printed in 1562. In any event, it is proof
that Plantin had published a Latin psalter with the same
format as Les Pseaumes de David.

The last remaining copy of Plantin's second book
catalogue has also been destroyed, but a facsimile can be
found in H. Omont's "Le second catalogue de l'imprimerie
plantiniennne," in Compte rendu de la 1e session de la
Conférence du Livre (Antwerp, 1890), pp. 233-252. The
entry for Psalterium Davidis is on fol. a6v of the fac-
simile.

[39] A typical entry is "2 Psalterium flameng 16o veau."
Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Archive XXXIII/4 (Journal,
1565-1569), fol. 21r.
The 400 psalters cost Brayer sixty florins, which come to three pattars per copy, since one florin equals twenty pattars. Three pattars each was also the price Brayer paid for twenty-four unbound copies of Les Pseaumes de David sent him on 4 October 1564.\(^{40}\)

3. Lucas Brayer was a Protestant.\(^{41}\)

Sending such a large shipment of psalters to a Protestant bookseller outside the Low Countries would have prevented their confiscation. Perhaps as early as 25 October Plantin heard rumblings of criticism that persuaded him to get rid of as many copies of his psalter as possible. Since 881 copies were sold and 1,500 could have been safely hidden, it seems reasonable to assume that the majority of Plantin's output was not burned.

After the king's letter to the regent, Plantin's edition of the Genevan Psalter is not mentioned again in the available official correspondence. Before her retirement, however, Margaret of Parma made one last move against the psalter. On 2 February 1566 she urged Jan van Immerzeele, Margrave of Antwerp, to search the bookstores for

\(^{40}\)See fn. 37.

\(^{41}\)On 15 November 1563 Brayer's goods were seized by the authorities because of his Protestantism. His creditors objected to the seizure. One of them was Christophe Plantin, then in Paris. Perhaps this episode was an attempted re-enactment of the seizure of Plantin's goods by his "creditor" friends to prevent an official confiscation. See Ph. Renouard, Documents sur les imprimeurs, libraires, . . . ayant exercé à Paris de 1450 à 1600 (Paris, 1901), pp. 26–27.
the psalms of Théodore de Bèze, which, along with the Genevan Bible, were not to be tolerated. Plantin's shop was mentioned in the same letter, but in connection with other heretical books.\textsuperscript{42}

A general censure against corrupt books came in 1570. The Duke of Alva, Margaret's successor, ordered Plantin as archtypographer to the king to print an index of prohibited books. It is ironic to find, near the end of the section devoted to French titles, this entry:

\begin{quote}
Les Psalmes du Royale Prophete David en rithme, par Théodore de Beze, & Clement Marot: avec les chants.\textsuperscript{43}
\end{quote}

Even Alva's index did not prevent further distribution of Plantin's psalter. In 1578 the printer sent from Frankfurt to England a large shipment of books that included several Huguenot Psalters published by well-known Calvinist printers. They are entered in his ledger as "Psalmes haultin, Psalmes rivery, Psalmes lion tournes." One entry reads "Psalmes plantin." When Colin Clair published

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{42} "Tous tenant le boutique de Plantin, ont le passionale des martiers modernes, aussi le testament en espagnol et ung livret en 16\textdegree{} fait contre le boulier de la foy.

Oultre V. Seigneur pourra faire le première (visite) aux aultres (libraires), pour recouvrer les psalmes revenu et corrigé par Theodorus Beza, avec une bible en grand format avec les expositions novellment imprimées à Genève."

Charles Rahlenbeck, "A propos de quelques livres défendus imprimés à Anvers au XVI\textsuperscript{e} siècle," in Bulletin du Bibliophile Belge, XII (1836), 252.

this list of books in 1959, he asked: "Were all the remaining copies of Les Pseaumes de David burnt? Or did Plantin, very astutely, send his remaining stock to Frankfurt to dispose of in other territories."44 It seems very likely indeed that Plantin used his Frankfurt connections to sell some of the 1,500 copies of Les Pseaumes de David that he had managed to hide from the authorities.

Now that we have investigated the events surrounding Plantin’s publication of the Genevan Psalter and the subsequent reaction of the authorities, it may be well to summarize the most important findings.

1. Plantin knew Antoine Vincent and was at least indirectly involved in his gigantic project for printing the psalms of Marot and De Bèze. Since Plantin was in Paris during all of 1562, he was unable to publish the Genevan Psalter himself that year. His Parisian affiliate, Martin Le Jeune, did bring out the psalter in 1562.

2. Plantin had originally planned to publish a Dutch psalter also. Had this project been carried out on the same scale as Les Pseaumes de David, the Low Countries would have been deluged with 6,000 Calvinist Psalters. It must be remembered that 1564 was only two years prior to "Het Wonderjaar" (the year of wonders), when Calvinists

threw precaution to the winds and held their famous "hagene-preekon"—huge public worship services outside the walls of Antwerp and other cities. In 1564 thousands of Calvinists in Antwerp were attending secret services. Here they sang the psalms of Marot and De Bèze, the Walloons the original version, the Flemings the Dutch translations of Jan Utenhove. Thus there was a ready market for Calvinist Psalters in Antwerp and the rest of the Low Countries, and Christophe Plantin was not a man to ignore a market.

3. The inserted Latin and Genevan indexes indicate that the psalter was meant for use by Catholics and Protestants alike. This agrees with Florimond de Raemond's comment that members of both confessions enjoyed singing the psalms of Marot and De Bèze.

4. Plantin's journal was "corrected" to mislead the authorities into believing that only 1,500 copies of Les Pseaumes de David were printed instead of 3,000. The remaining 1,500 could then be distributed in secret. It appears also that 400 of the 1,500 copies on the records were sent to Paris before the book was banned. Thus the majority of Plantin's production must have escaped the fire.

5. Plantin's edition of the Genevan Psalter was burned not because of the Marot-De Bèze texts, but because it contained the melodies used by the Calvinists, who were singing psalms "en langue vulgaire" in defiance of the royal decrees.
The remarks of Margaret and Viglius that the texts might be sound support Amédée Gastoué’s thesis that the heretical aspect of Marot’s psalms has been exaggerated. Gastoué called attention to the decision of the Faculty of Theology in Paris. In 1541 the theologians approved the Roffet publication of the psalms of Marot, an edition without music. At the same time they banned those editions accompanied by melodies and Calvinist liturgical forms and forbade the use of Marot’s psalms as rallying songs for Protestants. The same principle was at work two decades later in the Low Countries.

The Influence of the Huguenot Psalter
on Dutch Psalmody

Dutch psalmody had begun as a result of Lutheran influence in the Low Countries, but with the advent of Calvinism soon bowed to Huguenot tradition. The first rhymed psalms in Dutch were printed in Antwerp in 1539, when Simon Cock included two in his Devoot ende profityelyck boecxken. Lenselink has shown that these psalms are based on texts from Die souter wel verduytscht, a Dutch translation of Johannes Bugenhagen’s German Psalter. One year


later Cock published the first of many editions of the *Souterliedekens*, a volume of rhymed Dutch psalms set to Dutch and French folk tunes. There is evidence of Lutheran influence in the prologue of the *Souterliedekens*, and many psalms take the Dutch Lutheran Bible of 1526 as their textual basis.\(^4^7\) In fact, several heretical expressions from the marginal glossary of this Bible found their way into the *Souterliedekens*.\(^4^8\)

The *Souterliedekens* with their worldly melodies were not designed for use in a Protestant worship service.\(^4^9\) The first Dutch psalms that were intended for congregational use were the versifications of Jan Utenhove. Utenhove was a Ghent-born nobleman who fled his homeland in 1545 because of his Protestant beliefs. His first psalms, printed in London, were meant for the exiled Dutch-speaking congregations in England, but found their way into the Low Countries as well. Evidence that Utenhove's psalters were used in the Netherlands is provided by a letter written 17 December 1555. Gaspar van der Heyden, a Calvinist preacher

\(^4^7\)Ibid., pp. 223-224.


\(^4^9\)There is reason to believe, however, that the *Souterliedekens* were used by the Dutch-speaking congregation exiled in London; see *ibid.*, p. 110 and Lenselink, *De Nederlandse Psalmberijmingen*, p. 252.
active in Antwerp, sent the following message to a bookseller in Emden:

Sometimes I sell a psalter of Mr. Uttenhove, and would sell more if they were not so expensive, for sometimes there are those who would take a dozen at one time, if they could have them for three dalers, in order to make a little profit.\(^{50}\)

Two Uttenhove psalters were in print when this letter was written. One, entitled *Eenige Psalmen, Thien in Getale*, appeared in London in 1551 and contained ten psalms and two canticles for which Uttenhove had used German-Lutheran models. The twelve melodies were also of German origin.\(^{51}\) The second psalter by Uttenhove, however, already shows French-Calvinist influence. Entitled *Vyn-en-twintig Psalmen end andere Ghesangen* and apparently also printed in London in 1551, it contained five psalms patterned after Clément Marot’s texts. The majority of the melodies in this book were from Huguenot Psalters printed in Strasbourg or Lyon.\(^{52}\) Thus some of the Huguenot melodies were being sung by Dutch-speaking Protestants in the Low Countries prior to 1555.

\(^{50}\)“Ick verkope ook zomtyts een psalmboek van myn Heer Uttenhoven, en solde ook wel meer vercopen, waert datze zo diere niet en waren: want daar zynder zomtyts, die wel een dosyn teffens nemen zouden, mochten zy ze om 3. dalers heb- ben, om ook wat an te winnen.”

Lenseink, *De Nederlandse Psalmerijmingen*, p. 366.

\(^{51}\)Ibid., p. 276.

\(^{52}\)Ibid., p. 310. This and the foregoing Uttenhove psalter are lost, but can be reconstructed by means of bibliographical descriptions and later Uttenhove psalters.
Utenhove's later psalters, although printed in London or Emden, continued to be used in the Low Countries, and it was by means of these books that Dutch-speaking Calvinists gradually became acquainted with the melodies of Huguenot provenance. Each new Utenhove psalter shows a progressively stronger influence from Geneva, not only in the choice of melodies but in the poet's dependence on the texts of Marot and De Bèze. In Utenhove's *Hondert Psalmen* of 1561, for example, twenty of the forty-one psalms that appear there for the first time are translations of the two Huguenot poets, and twenty-three of the new melodies are from the Genevan Psalter. Utenhove's complete psalter, *De Psalmen Davidis* of 1566, contains fifty-three new versifications; forty-five of these are patterned after Marot or De Bèze, and all but three of the melodies for these new texts are from the Huguenot repertoire.

Utenhove died in exile in 1565. At the time of his death, thousands of Calvinists who had fled the Inquisition were returning to the Low Countries. The persecutions had ceased temporarily, and it was possible to attend a Protestant service without fear of death at the stake.

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53 On the use of Utenhove's psalms in the Low Countries see *ibid.*, pp. 426-430.


were sung at these services, and it was only natural that new translations should appear.

The first of these was the work of Lucas de Heere, a Ghent artist who later became a fervent Calvinist. His Psalmen Davids na d'Ebreusche waerhyt . . . op de voysen en mate, van Clement Marots Psalmen was published in Ghent in 1565. As its title implies, this psalter contains translations of Huguenot psalms with their respective melodies maintained. De Heere used the complete Genevan Psalter of 1562 as his source, and although only Marot is mentioned in his title, eight of the Dutch poet's thirty-six translations are of De Bèze texts. He not only used the poetic structure of the French texts, so that his psalms could be sung to the Genevan melodies, but in most cases translated literally from the French.56 There is no evidence that De Heere's psalter was used by Calvinist congregations in the Low Countries. His work does show, however, that the Huguenot Psalter was well known there and that the Dutch poets of the new religion, like the preachers and theologians, looked to Geneva for inspiration.


56 Ibid., pp. 451-466.
This is simply the complete Genevan Psalter in Dutch. Like De Heere, Dathenus translated the Marot-De Bèze texts, often literally, and fitted his translations to the Genevan melodies.57 His psalter was accepted by the Synod of Wesel in 1568 and remained the official songbook of the Calvinist church in the Netherlands for more than two centuries. The Dathenus texts were replaced by a more modern version in 1773. Although for this and subsequent revisions the Marot-De Bèze poems no longer served as models, the Huguenot melodies were retained. They are still sung today by Calvinist congregations in Holland and Belgium.

57 Ibid., pp. 525-564.
CHAPTER III

POLYPHONIC HUGUENOT PSALMS IN THE CHANSON COLLECTIONS (1542-1556)

The immense popularity of the Huguenot psalms led composers to use the texts for polyphonic composition. The first settings came hard on the heels of the first Huguenot Psalter, *Aulcuns pneaulmes et cantiques mys en chant*.\(^1\)

Printed in Strasbourg in 1539, the book contains thirteen psalms of Marot and nine by Calvin, each text with its own melody. One year later Jacques Moderne of Lyon included the earliest known polyphonic setting of a Marot psalm in the sixth book of his series *Le parangon des chansons*.\(^2\)

The piece is a complete setting of Psalm 137, *Estans assis aux rives aquatiques*, by a certain Abel, a composer of whom nothing is known.\(^3\) Abel's extended composition in three

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\(^1\) For a complete bibliographical description of this psalter, see Pierre Pidoux, *Le psautier huguenot* (Basel, 1962), II, 3.

\(^2\) Until my discovery of this setting, Appenzeller's Psalm 130, printed in Antwerp in 1542, had been regarded as the first polyphonic setting of a Marot psalm. See Marc Honegger's review of Pidoux, *Le psautier huguenot* in *Revue de musicologie*, XLIX (1963), 240.

\(^3\) Robert Eitner, *Bibliographie der Musik-Sammelwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin 1877), ascribes this work to Abel on p. 364 and to Pierre de Villiers on p. 910.
partes is completely independent of the Huguenot melody. In 1544 Moderne printed a second psalm, again by an obscure composer, Gentian, whose setting of Marot's Psalm 130 appeared in the second book of the series Le difficile des chansons. Like Abel's Psalm 137, this composition is in three partes and freely composed, without reference to the Huguenot melody.

Later in the decade French printers began issuing publications devoted exclusively to polyphonic settings of the fifty Marot psalms. After 1551, when Théodore de Bèze had begun his work of rhyming the remaining one hundred, some of the polyphonic livres des pseaulmes contained settings of De Bèze texts also. Pierre Pidoux's recent bibliography lists forty-four polyphonic psalters issued in France, Switzerland, and the Low Countries between 1546 and 1600. Each book presents the settings of a single composer, and together the forty-four publications comprise 2,125 compositions. Scattered in various chanson collections are eighty-five more settings of the Huguenot psalms.

The central purpose of this and the following two chapters is to ascertain and describe the role of the Low Countries in the production of this enormous repertory.

\(^4\)Pidoux, Le psautier huguenot, II, xi-xiii. To his bibliography should be added Claude Le Jeune's Dodecacrede contenant douze Pseaumes de David, mis en musique selon les douze modes . . . a 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, et 7 voix (La Rochelle: H. Haultin, 1598).
Wherever Calvinism took root, printing presses issued the Marot-De Bèze psalter, and music publishers printed polyphonic arrangements using the Calvinist texts. The great printing houses of Antwerp and Louvain were no exception.

The first polyphonic setting of a Marot psalm to appear in the Low Countries is by Benedictus Appenzeller and was included in a collection of his chansons printed in 1542 by Henry Loys and Jean de Buys of Antwerp.\(^5\) In setting Marot's Psalm 130, Appenzeller simply wrote in the typical Netherlandish style of his day, with no reference to the Huguenot melody. Freely-composed settings are characteristic of all polyphonic psalms included in Netherlandish chanson collections between 1542 and 1556. This avoidance of pre-existent material must have been deliberate, at least on the part of some composers, for the availability of the Huguenot melodies is proven by Jean Louys' settings of the Cinquante Pseaulmes published in Antwerp in 1555.\(^6\)

Twenty-four polyphonic settings of Marot's psalms, canticles, and graces are considered here as a group because they are by composers active in the Low Countries during the

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\(^5\) *Des chansons a quatre parties, composez par \textit{M. Benedictus}, in four part-books owned by the British Museum. This is a correction of Alphonse Goovaerts' statement that nothing remains of the work of Loys and Buys; see his \textit{Histoire de la typographie musicale dans les Pays-Bas} (Antwerp, 1880), p. 16.

\(^6\) A discussion of these settings and their use of the Huguenot melodies forms the subject of Chapter IV.
rise of Calvinism and because they all appeared in chanson rather than psalm collections. Textual and musical analysis helps to determine the relationship of these compositions not only to the development of polyphonic Huguenot psalmody in Switzerland and France, but also to the mainstream of musical activity in the sixteenth century. In order to get a clearer picture of the stylistic development of the polyphonic Huguenot psalm in the Low Countries, the composers and the music are discussed, where possible, in chronological order.

The Composers

The twenty-four compositions that form the subject matter of the present chapter are the work of eight composers, each of whom was probably born in the Low Countries and spent part or all of his active life in his homeland. Some were connected with the royal chapel in Brussels, others with musical life in Antwerp, others with church choirs in various cities.

For the most part, the biographical sketches that follow are summaries based on reliable secondary sources. During searches for other material, however, new documentary evidence was uncovered for three of the composers--Benedictus Appenzeller, Jean Caulery, and Hubert Waelrant.
This new information is included here in the individual summaries of these composers' lives.

**Appenzeller**

Since Appenzeller is the name of a town in Switzerland, historians have assumed that Benedictus Appenzeller was of Swiss ancestry, but perhaps born in Oudenaarde in the Low Countries. Several families named Appenzeller or Appenzelder were living in Oudenaarde in the first part of the sixteenth century. The composer was active in the chapel of Mary of Hungary, sister of Charles V and regent of the Low Countries from 1531 to her retirement in 1555. We first hear of Appenzeller in 1536 when Jean de Gyn, treasurer to the regent, paid "27 livres a Benedictus Appenzeldus, chanter de la chapelle de la Reine." Before holding this position, Appenzeller might have been a pupil of Josquin; he composed a lament on the master's death in 1521. By 1542 Appenzeller had become Mary's chapelmaster, for he is called "M. de la Chapelle de Madame la Regent, Douageire de Honguerie &c," on the title page of his Des chansons a

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7 The most detailed biography of Appenzeller is in W. Barclay Squire, "Who was 'Benedictus'?" in Sammelbände der Internationale Musikgesellschaft, XIII (1911-1912), 264-271.


9 Musae Jovis; modern edition in Josquin des Prés, Werken (Amsterdam, 1921 --), Klaagliederen No. 2.
quatre parties published in Antwerp in that year. The
opening composition in this publication is Appenzeller's
only setting of a Huguenot text—Marot's Psalm 130, Du fons
de ma pensée.

Appenzeller continued to lead Mary's chapel until at
least 1551. On 1 January 1543 at Ghent, the composer was
paid 14 sols for his work as "maistre des enfans de cuer."10
His name also appears on the chapel roster made at Mons on
1 December 1548 and on a list from Munich dated 1 April
1551.11 This is the last appearance of Appenzeller's name
on the regent's chapel lists and heretofore has been the
last known document on his life. The chapel which the re-
tired regent took with her to Spain in 1555 was led by Guil-
laume Bruneau.12

Appenzeller was not replaced by Bruneau as a result
of death, for the old choirmaster was still alive in 1558.
He had remained in the Low Countries when the regent moved
to Spain.13 In a newly-discovered letter to his former

10 Le Glay, Inventaire-sommaire, VIII, 142.
11 Ibid., VIII, 149 and 155.
12 Edmond van der Straeten, La musique aux Pays-Bas
( Brussels, 1867-1888), VII, 424.
13 Barclay Squire, in his "Who was 'Benedictus' ?" p.
268, has Appenzeller accompanying the regent to Spain in
1551; this double error is a misinterpretation of the con-
jecture of Van der Straeten (La musique aux Pays-Bas, VII,
430) that the Munich chapel list of 1 April 1551 represents
the personnel Mary of Hungary took with her to Spain in 1555.
employer, the composer reminded Mary of Hungary that he had served her faithfully for many years and had presented to her "algunas obras y libros de Canto." He asked Mary to renew his exemption to the wine and beer tax, which the city authorities had withdrawn three months after her departure from Brussels. In this letter Appenzeller called himself an old man, giving his age as more than seventy years. A marginal note made by a secretary of the conseil d'État in Brussels is dated 8 July 1558. This document adds seven years to Appenzeller's life and establishes the date of his birth as being ca. 1485.

Manchicourt

Much of the biographical information concerning Pierre de Manchicourt comes from the title pages and dedications of his printed works. On the title page of Phelèse's Liber quintus Cantionum sacrarum . . . 1554 are the words, "A. D. Magistro Petro Manchicurtio Betunio," implying that the composer was born in Bethune in the province of Artois. Manchicourt dedicated this collection of his motets to Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, mentioning that he had spent his youth at the cathedral of Arras, where

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14 This letter is reproduced in Appendix VII.

Granvelle had been bishop. The composer continued his career at Tours, probably as the head of the cathedral choir school for boys; a volume of his motets published by Attaingnant in 1539 calls him "Petro de Manchicour, insignis Ecclesiae Turonensis prefecto authore." In 1545 Manchicourt was chapelmaster at the cathedral of Tournai, according to the title page of Le neufiesme livre des chansons a quatre parties .. par Maistre Pier de Manchicour maistre de la chapelle de nostre dame de Tournay, published by Susato in 1545. This publication contains the composer's only setting of a religious text by Marot; like Appenzeller, he set all four stanzas of Psalm 130.

Manchicourt remained in Tournai for at least twelve years. In 1554 he is described as "ecclesie Tornacensis Phonasio" on the same title page that records his birthplace. He left Tournai in 1557, perhaps for Antwerp, and two years later went to Madrid when Philip II named him his "maestro de la capilla flamenca." Manchicourt remained in royal service until his death on 5 October 1564.

Susato

Tielman Susato was one of the busiest musicians in sixteenth-century Antwerp, where he was active as music

16See ibid., p. 5, where the author calls attention to the fact that Turonensis has been incorrectly translated as Tournai in most biographies of Manchicourt.
copyist, trumpet player, composer, and music printer.\textsuperscript{17} He was born in or near Cologne at the turn of the century and established himself in Antwerp in 1529. His name appears that year in the accounts of the Antwerp cathedral, where he was paid for copying music and for playing the trumpet in the Mass. He began printing music in Antwerp in 1542 and published a good many of his own compositions.

Susato's settings of Marot's prayers for before and after meals appeared in his \textit{L'unziesme livre contenant vingt et neuf chansons amoureuse a quatre parties} . . . \textit{1549}. In connection with this publication he sent a request for a privilege to Mary of Hungary. "Benedictus Appezelde, maître de la chapelle de la royne régente," wrote an approval in the margin of the request on 20 November 1549.\textsuperscript{18} Susato's last publication is dated 1561. He probably died shortly thereafter, as his son and successor Jacques published a collection of chansons in 1564.

Gerard

Although there is no proof that Derick Gerard was a Netherlander, his name is definitely of Netherlandish

\textsuperscript{17}The most detailed biography of Susato is Paul Bergmans, "Un imprimeur-musicien: Tielman Susato," in \textit{De Gulden Passer}, I (1923), 45-53. The same article is in \textit{Biographie nationale de Belgique} (Brussels, 1866 --), XXIV, 279-287.

\textsuperscript{18}Alexandre Pinchart, \textit{Archives des arts, sciences, et lettres} (Ghent, 1860-1881), I, 237-238.
origin. His occasional use of Dutch texts also implies origin and activity in the delta provinces, but his compositions are all preserved in manuscripts of English provenance. Perhaps he emigrated from the Low Countries to England. Some historians have identified Derick with Jean Gerard, singer to Charles V and Philip II, but this hypothesis seems unlikely. Gerard's settings of Marot's two graces are for five voices and appear in the manuscript London, British Museum, Royal Appendix 31-35.

Clemens non Papa

Although few details of his life are known, it appears that Jacobus Clemens non Papa spent most of his life in the Low Countries. According to Sweertius, the composer was born in one of the northern provinces of the Netherlands, and Bernet Kempers has argued for the island of Walcheren in Zeeland as Clemens' birthplace. In 1544 he was choirmaster at the Church of St. Donatian in Bruges, but the following year he had already left. Five years later Clemens turns up in the cathedral at 'sHertogenbosch as a member of the Fraternity of Our Lady. Sometime during his

19 The only biography of Derick Gerard is in René Vannes and André Souris, Dictionnaire des musiciens belges, (Brussels, 1947), p. 166.

20 This paragraph is based on the biography of Clemens by K. Ph. Bernet Kempers in Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart (Kassel, 1949 --), II, 1476-1480.
life he was active in Ypres, according to the Flemish historian Gramaye, writing fifty years after the musician's death. Clemens died in 1555 and was buried in Dixmude.21

Of all the composers discussed here, Clemens was the most prolific, a composer of many masses, motets, French chansons, and Dutch part-songs. Only three of his compositions are on religious texts of Clément Marot—a setting of Psalm 51 in Waelrant and Laet's third Jardin musical of 1556 and a setting of the two Marot graces. The earliest source for the two grace settings is Phalèse's Septième livre of 1570. This date falls outside the period covered in this chapter, but since Clemens died in 1555, one may assume that the two prayers were printed earlier in the Low Countries, in a chanson collection that has been lost.

Crispel

Nothing is known about the life of Jean Crispel, whose works were published under the names Crispel, Crespel, Chrespel, and Chrispel in the chanson and motet collections of the mid-sixteenth century. The Dictionnaire des musiciens /Belges/ mentions a volume of chansons by Crispel—Premier livre des chansons a quatre parties nouvellement composez et mises en musique, convenable tant aux instruments

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comme à la voix, published in Louvain in 1555 or 1556.\textsuperscript{22} There is no reference to this publication in the secondary sources listed in the \textit{Dictionnaire} article, and according to a private communication, the present world-wide cataloguing project has not yet brought to light a volume of chansons by this composer.\textsuperscript{23}

Crispel's setting of Marot's \textit{Bénédiction devant manger} and its response, \textit{La grace}, were included in Phalèse's \textit{Quatrième livre des chansons à quatre parties}, published in 1552 and 1555.

\textbf{Caulery}

Until now, all that was known about Jean Caulery was that in 1556 he was chapelmaster to Catherine de Medici who was then residing in Brussels.\textsuperscript{24} The only evidence of his employment by the French Queen is the title page of the second \textit{Jardin musical}, published in 1556 by Waelrant and Laet, where he is called "Maistre Jean Caulery, Maistre de la Chapelle de la Royne de France." Now it has been discovered that Caulery was one of Mary of Hungary's chapel in 1548. On 1 December of that year, "Jehan Caulery" was

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{22}Vannes and Souris, \textit{Dictionnaire des musiciens belges}, p. 96.
\item \textsuperscript{23}From the Central Office of the International Inventory of Musical Sources in Kassel, Dr. Ernst Hilmar kindly informed me that there is no record of a volume of chansons by Crispel.
\item \textsuperscript{24}François Lesure, "Caulery, Jean," in \textit{Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart}, II, 919.
\end{itemize}
paid fourteen sols according to an état des gages drawn up at Mons. Other chapel members were Benedictus Appenzeller, "Maistre des enfants de chœur," and Claeis Loys, brother to the singer Jan Loys.

Although other composers are represented in the second Jardin musical, Caulery himself wrote the dedication, addressing it to his cousin, Michel de Francqueville, Abbot of St. Aubert in Cambrai. Caulery contributed ten compositions, four of which are on sacred texts by Marot, and four on texts by Eustorg de Beaulieu, another Huguenot poet. The remaining two compositions are also settings of religious poems.

Waelrant

At least three persons named Hubert Waelrant lived in Antwerp in the sixteenth century and served the cathedral there—the composer, an attorney (procureur), and a son of the latter, also an attorney. The consequent difficulty of establishing the composer's identity, and the unfounded

25 Le Glay, Inventaire-sommaire, VIII 149. Van der Straeten (La musique aux Pays-Bas, VII, 431) mentions Caulery in connection with a list of Mary of Hungary's chapel singers from 1551. Caulery's name, however, is not on the list.

26 Pidoux, Le psautier huguenot, II, 57, lists a setting of Marot's Psalm 33, Reveillez-vous chacun fidèle, in Tiers livre de chansons a quatre parties (Louvain: Phalèse, 1552). This composition, however, is Caulery's setting of the secular text Esveillez vous car pour l'heure il est temps.
traditions that have grown up around him, are two reasons why a satisfactory biography of this important Antwerp composer and printer has yet to be written.27

Waelrant the composer, according to most of his biographers, was born in Tongerloo in 1517. The year of his birth is supplied by Waelrant's first biographer, Sweertius, who wrote in 1628 that the composer was seventy-eight years old when he died in 159528 Tongerloo as Waelrant's birthplace was first suggested by Edmond Van der Straeten, who reported having seen the following entry from ca. 1529 in the registers of the University of Louvain—"HUBERTUS FSS Johannis WALRANT de Tongerlo." According to Van der Straeten, Waelrant was still a student at Louvain in 1543.29 Later the historian decided that this student was the attorney—a song of Jean Waelrant from Tongerloo—who became a citizen of Antwerp on 10 November 1559.30

27 The best biography of Waelrant is by Charles van den Borrem in Biographie nationale de Belgique, XXVIII, 14-24. It is not based on primary sources, however.


29 Van der Straeten wrote an article on his discovery for the Guide Musical (Brussels) in 1868 and later copied it into his La musique aux Pays-Bas, III, 201-202.

30 Ibid., III, 202-204.
however, discovered that the composer and the attorney were first cousins and reasoned that both were born in Tongerlo.31

Although there is a tradition that Waelrant studied under Willaert in Venice, no documents have been found to support this hypothesis. Waelrant steps into music history in 1544 in the treasurer's account of the Blessed Lady Fraternity (Onze Lieve Vrouw Broederschap) connected with the Antwerp cathedral.32 "Huybrecht Waelrant" was paid three Flemish pounds for one year of service as singer in "het lof," a daily Benediction that is still held every evening in the Antwerp cathedral. He was also paid for singing several Masses that year. In 1545 he was called "Huybrecht Walrant, Tenuer," and received four pounds for a year and a quarter's salary. Thus Waelrant sang at the evening Benediction for at least two years and three months. His works were first printed in the Low Countries by Phalèse of Louvain in 1552, but 1556 he was still known as a singer, according to a will, one of whose witnesses was "Mr. huybrechts Walrant, sanghere." Ten years later he was labelled "componist" in a baptismal record.

A second tradition concerns Waelrant and a music school he is said to have established in Antwerp in 1547.


32This phase of Waelrant's biography is based on the documents reproduced in Appendix VIII. These documents are known to historians but have never been published.
Supposed evidence for this school is a document in the Antwerp City Archives discovered by Leon de Burbure and interpreted by Goovaerts as follows: On 25 June 1554 Waelrant rented a house named February situated near the Antwerp stock exchange on the Street of the Twelve Months. This house was the property of the musician Gregorius de Coninck. The three-year lease included an agreement that Waelrant would teach solfège and De Coninck singing in Waelrant's school.33

The contract between the two Flemish musicians is still preserved in the Antwerp City Archives, where it is bound into a volume of records attested by Zeger 'sHertoghen Sr., a notary active in Antwerp from 1534 to 1565.34 In several respects Goovaerts' report agrees with the original; Waelrant did rent the house named February from the musician Gregorius de Coninck for three years. The date of the document, however, is not 25 June 1554 but ultima February 1553, and the agreement between the two men was not that Waelrant should teach solfège and De Coninck singing, but that, in order to rent De Coninck's house for twenty-three Brabant pounds per year, Waelrant had to give singing lessons without salary to De Coninck's pupils. There is no mention of a school, of solfège, or of De Coninck as a singing teacher.

33 Goovaerts, Histoire et bibliographie, pp. 41-42.

34 The contract is reproduced in Appendix VIII C.
Gregorius de Coninck was one of the Antwerp instrumentalists (stadsspeelieden) who played for official and religious functions in the city. Prior to 1553 he had founded a school where apprentices were taught to play various musical instruments. A detailed contract between De Coninck and the father of a new pupil has been preserved in the Antwerp City Archives. Jehan Becquet enrolled his son Jaspar as an apprentice to De Coninck for five years beginning 1 March 1553. De Coninck was to feed and lodge the boy, but was not obliged to furnish his clothing. He promised to be responsible for teaching the lad singing and playing, and stipulated that Waelrant would give him his singing lessons. Jaspar Becquet was expected to teach the other students ("les aultres disciples") in De Coninck's house and was thus not the only apprentice. De Coninck was, indeed, running a music school in his home, and Waelrant was one of the teachers. There is no evidence that Waelrant himself ever founded or ran a school of music.

In 1554 Waelrant began his printing partnership with Jan Laet. Although not as prolific as Susato or Phalèse, Waelrant and Laet published several important motet and chanson collections, including the Antwerp Motet Book of Lassus and the chanson series entitled Jardin musical. This

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35 This document, overlooked by former biographers of Waelrant, is reproduced in Appendix VIII D.
series, four volumes published in 1555 and 1556, contains eight of the nine Marot psalms that Waelrant set to music.

The printing partnership was not of long duration. All of the known works published by Waelrant and Laet fall between 1554 and 1558. The last publication bearing the names of both men is Waelrant's *Il primo libro de madrigali & canzoni franceszi a cinque voci*, which also contains Waelrant's ninth psalm setting. Goovaerts claimed that the two co-operated until 1567, the year of Laet's death.\(^{36}\) By 1563, however, the association had apparently been dissolved, for in that year Jan Laet alone published a volume of Cornet's *Canzoni Napolitane*.

Little is known about Waelrant's life after 1558. Most of his compositions were published prior to this date, and not until 1575 did another appear in print. The few documented activities of his later life show Waelrant in the role of father, husband, and musical editor. In 1568 he is listed as the husband of Anne Ablyn, his second wife; and in 1571 and 1574 he witnessed the marriages of two of his children.\(^{37}\) Waelrant edited a collection of madrigals

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\(^{36}\) Goovaerts, *Histoire et bibliographie*, p. 42. According to pp. 232-233 of Goovaerts' bibliography, in 1565 Waelrant and Laet published the collection entitled *Symphonia Angelica*. There is no other record of this publication, however. Since Goovaerts did not rely exclusively on primary sources, this may be a duplication of the entry for the *Symphonia Angelica* published by Phalèse and Bellere in 1585.

\(^{37}\) Ibid., p. 41.
for Phalèse and Bellere of Antwerp in 1585. Entitled Sym-
phonia angelica ... nuovamente raccolta per Huberto
Waelrant, the publication included four madrigals by Wael-
rant himself. According to Sweertius, Waelrant died in 1595
and was buried in the Antwerp cathedral.

The Music

All twenty-four of the compositions to be studied
in this chapter are settings of poems by Clément Marot.
Twenty of these poems--the ones used by Susato, Waelrant,
Caulery, Clemens, and Gerard--are in the final form Marot
gave them in his Cinquante Pseaumes, first published by
Roffet of Paris in 1543. Since Appenzeller's setting ap-
peared one year before the Roffet publication, it is to be
expected that he would have used an earlier version of the
Marot text. Manchicourt and Crispel, however, also used
earlier versions, although their settings were not published
until 1545 and 1552.

None of these composers set psalms by Théodore de
Bèze, Marot's successor as versifier of the Huguenot Psal-
ter. In fact, only two of the eighty-four polyphonic Hugue-
not psalms published in the Low Countries during the six-
teenth century are settings of a De Bèze psalm, Jamais ne-
cesseray. This almost exclusive use of Marot's texts pos-
sibly implies recognition of his greater poetic skill.
Certainly it must be seen as a corollary to the popularity of his secular poems, which were set to music by scores of sixteenth-century composers. Indeed, most of the compositions to be considered here are from collections that also contain settings of Marot chansons.

The first publication of polyphonic chansons in the Low Countries, the Appenzeller collection of 1542, opens with a setting of Marot's Psalm 130, *Du fons de ma pensée* (Vol. II, No. 1). Like the earliest settings of Marot's psalms printed in France, Appenzeller's composition uses the entire text and is divided into partes. In this respect the first polyphonic Huguenot psalms resemble the early sixteenth-century motets that had stanzacic Latin poems as texts. When Josquin set a sequence, for example, he often divided his composition into partes following the stanzacic structure. In his five-voiced *Inviolata integra*, he constructed the first two partes with two stanzas each and set the last stanza separately in the third pars. Appenzeller followed the example of Josquin when he set Marot's metrical French text; he used all eight stanzas to create a work in four partes with two stanzas in each. Music for only one stanza of a psalm is a later phenomenon, especially favored by Bourgeois and other French composers who created short, strophic pieces using the Huguenot melodies.

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38 *Inviolata integra* is printed in Josquin des Prés, Werken, Motet No. 42.
Within this extended composition, Appenzeller employs several unifying devices. The first three partes are a ¼ and in the Aeolian mode, and each separates its two stanzas with an authentic cadence on the final. In the first pars, the composer uses various imitative techniques. The work opens with the paired imitation favored by Josquin in which each pair has two different melodies. The duet principle is also used to open the second line of text (meas. 10), where the first two words are sung alone by the lower two voices, then echoed by the superius and contratenor. By contrast, all voices have the same motif in the third point of imitation (meas. 14), and again in the fourth (meas. 22). In the second half of pars I, Appenzeller combines motifs in parallel thirds, sixths, and fourths (meas. 42-48) so that a more chordal texture results even though the imitative principle is maintained. The last two lines of poetry and their music are repeated to create a refrain (meas. 57).

The second pars begins in a chordal style, continuing with occasional melismas and imitations until the central cadence in measure 81. The remainder is more imitative, and for the last two lines of poetry, Appenzeller repeats the musical refrain from the first pars.

In the first half of the third pars, he uses new motifs in a generally imitative style. Immediately after the dividing cadence in measure 147, however, he repeats the music that begins the second half of pars I. For the
last two lines of poetry he does not use the original refrain, but employs new motifs, and these two lines with their music are repeated to create a new refrain. Thus both partes II and III are musically related to pars I, but in different ways.

In the fourth pars Appenzeller changes the mode from Aeolian to Phrygian and expands the texture to five voices, with the upper two in strict canon at the unison. Although the general style is similar to what has gone before, the increased density of texture and the use of canon reveal Appenzeller's intention to make this pars the climax of his setting. There is no refrain; instead, the setting of the final line of text is extended by means of textual repetitions to create the effect of a coda. This effect is enhanced by a terminal organ point in two voices, a device common in Josquin.

Two formal principles are at work in the structural scheme of Appenzeller's psalm. One is reminiscent of the responsory motet in which the form abcb is created by placing the same words and music at the ends of two partes. Appenzeller, like Josquin, constructs identical musical endings, but uses fresh text. The second formal device is the refrain borrowed from the Parisian chanson in which the last line or two of text is repeated along with its music.

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In spite of the formal balance within the first three partes and the climactic effect of the concluding section, Appenzeller's Psalm 130 remains a rather ordinary piece of music. Like many composers of the post-Josquin generation, he uses the compositional techniques of the master but lacks Josquin's imaginative skill. The canon in the fourth pars, for example, is not woven into the entire polyphonic fabric with the unobtrusive simplicity that Josquin's canonic pieces display. Instead, the three lower voices go their own way, rarely resting, only occasionally imitating each other or the canon, and often moving in breves and semi-breves that create low, sluggish-sounding sonorities. Guicciardini, writing in 1567, perhaps had good reason for omitting Appenzeller's name from his long list of great Netherlandish composers, even though Appenzeller had been musical director of the royal chapel in Brussels.  

Guicciardini did mention Pierre de Manchicourt, the composer of the second polyphonic Huguenot psalm to be printed in the Low Countries. His composition, published in 1545, is another setting of Marot's entire Psalm 130, now divided into two partes of four stanzas each. (See Volume II, No 2.) Manchicourt, like Appenzeller, used an early version of the text, which had appeared in the Antwerp  

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40 Lodovico Guicciardini, Descrittione di tutti i paesi bassi altrimenti detti germania inferiore (Antwerp: Willem Silvius, 1567), pp. 28-29.
Psalter of 1541 and several other publications. But the
Manchicourt print has two perplexing variants. First, in
each part-book the word "je" is omitted from the first line
of the third stanza—"En Dieu je me consolle." This could
quickly be written off as a mere typographical error if the
same omission did not occur in the superius of Appenzeller's
setting. It is possible, therefore, that Manchicourt took
his text from the Appenzeller part-book. Second, and more
significant, is a discrepancy between the version of the
text in the tenor and that in the other part-books. Instead
of the earlier version, the tenor has the final form of
Marot's Psalm 130 as published in the Cinquante Pseaumes of
1543. Either Manchicourt or one of Susato's compositors
must have had in hand both versions of Marot's text.

Apart from the textual omission, nothing in the Man-
chicourt setting suggests that he used Appenzeller's com-
position as a model. Manchicourt's is primarily a syllabic
setting of the text with few melismas. The four-voiced tex-
ture is more chordal and his setting consequently much
shorter than Appenzeller's. Although a new phrase of text
may begin with a short point of imitation, the texture soon
becomes chordal due to the prevalence of minims each car-
rying a syllable. Like Appenzeller, Manchicourt repeats
material from the first pars in the second. The last two

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41See the list of sources for this version of the
text on p. 18 above.
lines of text in each section have the same music: measures 93 to 101 repeat measures 45 to 53. In measure 101 Manchicourt begins a repeat of the last line of text with its music. Thus we have a second psalm that combines the refrain ideas of responsory motet and chanson.

Whereas the Appenzeller psalm is typical of the Netherlandish motet style of the first half of the century, Manchicourt's setting departs from that style in its emphasis on chordal texture and on a syllabic, declamatory treatment of the text. Just this difference in their styles led Dénes Bartha to describe Appenzeller's setting as a typical Netherlandish chanson and Manchicourt's as "nicht chansonmässig sondern als Psalm zweiteilig angelegt," and comparable to the setting of the same text by Lassus. 42 The reference to the Lassus psalm calls to mind the chordal settings of the Huguenots which the Munich master copied. Although Appenzeller's psalm could perhaps be described in terms of the imitative Netherlandish chanson, Manchicourt's composition is not composed like a psalm, either a Latin one or a French. The Latin psalms of Josquin and his contemporaries were in the involved motet style of the day. And the French psalms, i.e., the chordal Huguenot settings, had not yet appeared. When they did, they were even simpler than

Manchicourt's and presented only one stanza of the Calvinist text.

Manchicourt's composition invites comparison with the chanson flourishing in Paris, and then it is indeed chansonmässig. The Parisian chanson, profusely published by Attainignant in the thirties and forties, is predominantly chordal with occasional phrases enlivened by imitative counterpoint. The text is treated syllabically, so that a light, declamatory style results. The phrases are regular in length, one for each line of text. This is the spirit of Manchicourt's Psalm 130, a spirit that he could have imbibed while in Tours during those years when the Parisian chansons of Sermisy and Janequin were enjoying their greatest popularity and Marot was writing his psalm translations.

Marot's Cinquante Pseaumes contains, besides psalms, four canticles and two prayers. The latter were Prières devant et après le repas, which replaced an earlier set of graces.\footnote{See the discussion of these texts on pp. 8-10 above.} The new prayers, entitled O Souverain pasteur et maistre and Père éternel qui nous ordonnés, were popular with composers in France and the Low Countries during the sixteenth century.

The first polyphonic settings of these two prayers to be published in the Low Countries are by Tielman Susato. Susato, like Manchicourt, writes for four voices and in a chordally-oriented, largely syllabic style. In both
settings Susato creates a refrain by repeating the last line of text with its music, a technique we have already encountered in the Appenzeller and Manchicourt works. The Prière devant le repas (Vol. II, No. 3) has a long repeat at its outset also: for lines three and four of the poem, the composer uses the music written to the opening two lines of text. The pattern of this prayer, then, is ababcddeff, with the capitalized letters representing textual as well as musical repetition. Immediate repetition of the music given the first two lines of text and construction of refrains at the close are two outstanding structural features of the Parisian chanson. These devices were used by Sermisy for many of his chansons, such as the popular Secourés-moy, which has the form ababcdee, and Vivray-je toujours with ababcdd.

The form of En l'ombre d'un buissonet, a Parisian chanson by the obscure M. Lasson, is exactly like that of Susato's grace.45 Howard Brown has shown that when composers of the Parisian chanson set a Marot text, rhyme structure influenced musical form. Repetition of a musical phrase usually coincides with the rhyme scheme of the poem.46 Susato uses phrase repetition in the same way. The rhyme scheme


45 A modern edition of this chanson is in Albert Seay (ed.), Thirty Chansons for Three and Four Voices from Attaingnant's Collections (New Haven, 1960), p. 46.

of the Nareot grace is ababcddcd, and for the first half of the composition at least, when the rhyme is the same, the musical phrase is also.

A quite different setting was given these graces by Derick Gerard. Unlike Susato, Gerard does not repeat an entire polyphonic complex with new words, and even a refrain is present only in the second of the two graces. With this exception they are through-composed, each line of text being used to create an extended point of imitation. Instead of working out each motif in close imitation only once, Gerard presents it several times in each voice, exploring various combinations before going on to the next line of text. Consequently, his setting of Souverain pasteur et maistre (Vol. II, No. 4) is twice as long as Susato's. Gerard constructs his points of imitation with a single motif. Only after each voice has sung the entire line of text does new material occur. This is often an extension of the motif achieved by placing a long melisma on the last syllable. The motifs themselves are invariably syllabic (See Example 1.), and the combination of repeated notes with speech rhythms strongly emphasizes the words in spite of the complex polyphonic writing.

In other respects, Gerard's two graces are in the prevailing Netherlandish motet style of his time. There are no clear-cut phrase divisions; suspensions are frequent; tonal answers abound; and the texture tends towards
density and uniformity. Good text declamation and a controlled use of dissonance make this one of the more attractive settings of Marot's sacred verse.

Clemens non Papa chose a much simpler style when he set the two Marot graces.\textsuperscript{47} Although not as chordally conceived as Susato's settings of these texts, Clemens' graces resemble his in their use of short points of imitation with the voices entering at close time intervals. Some phrases begin chordally, and in others only two or three voices are involved in imitation. Both of Clemens' settings display the repetition scheme already described in connection with Susato's Prière devant le repas. The poems have the rhyme scheme ababc|ab|cd|cd|cd; the musical settings are in the form ababc|deff.

\textsuperscript{47}Modern editions of these two graces are in Clemens non Papa, \textit{Opera Omnia} (Rome, 1951 --), XI, 71 and 73.
Jean Crispel chose the earlier pair of graces called Le bénédictité and La grace, whose incipits are Nostre bon père tout puissant (Vol. II, No. 5) and Père éternel te rendons grace. His settings are for four voices and are the simplest of all. Each phrase in the modern score is four bars in length and cadences on the first or fifth scale degree. Some of these phrases open chordally; others employ short points of imitation. When melismas occur they too are short, and the frequent repeated notes in each phrase ensure a declamatory treatment of the text. Unlike Susato and Clemens, Crispel does not make much use of repeated material. Le bénédictité has only a refrain at its close, and La grace has no repeats at all.

Jean Caulery set four of Marot's religious poems, but only one is a psalm. He used all five stanzas of Jusques à quand as estably (Psalm 13) to create a four-voiced composition in three partes. Each of the first two partes contains two stanzas, separated by means of an authentic cadence on the final of the mode, a procedure already used by Appenzeller. These and other cadences in the Caulery setting are followed by rests in all voices, and often the phrase following these rests begins chordally. This tendency toward a light, homophonic style resembles the chanson-like psalm settings of Manchicourt and Crispel.

It is in his canticles that Caulery emerges as a composer of individuality, especially in his use of chordal
texture to underline dramatic portions of the text. For centuries composers had used chords to stress words that refer to the central Christian mysteries. Jean Caulery uses this device in several of his settings of Marot's texts, but nowhere more effectively than in Resjouy toy, vierge Marie, the Calvinist Ave Maria (Vol. II, No. 6). The composition begins with a simple point of imitation, the motif outlining a minor triad. All four voices cadence together after the first line of text. A rest then precedes the words "pleine de grace," which are set chordally in minims and semibreves (quarter and half notes in the transcription). The sonorous effect of the sustained chords following a rest, and the sudden contrast with the previous polyphony, dramatically underline this important part of the text. The next word, "abondamment," is set melismatically in the upper three voices, providing the first example of text-painting in our Netherlandish Huguenot repertoire. (See Example 2.) Caulery emphasizes the theological importance of the final line of the stanza, "Est avec toy divinement," by devoting almost half of the first pars to these words. No fewer than twelve imitative entries of the motif occur before the final melismas on "divinement."

The second pars of the canticle begins with the lines "Benoiste, certes, tu es entre/ Celles dessoubz le firma-

ment." These are set chordally, contrasting with the contrapuntal ending of the first part. The next phrase,
Example 2. Caulery, Resjouy toy, vierge Marie (La salutation angélique), meas. 10–17.

"Car le fruict qui est en ton ventre," receives imitative treatment to set it off from the words, "Est beneit." These are now strongly emphasized by means of sustained chords in breves and semibreves. A rest precedes a chordal repetition of these two words before the final "éternellement" closes the canticle with active polyphony.

By paying careful attention to the text, and by using simple means to illustrate it, Caulery has created one of the most moving compositions in the Huguenot repertoire.

The words of blessing or tenderness that the angel pronounces
stand out from the prevailing polyphony by being set in sustained chords. Melismas are reserved for the adverbs of breadth and majesty—abondamment, divinement, éternellement. Extended polyphonic treatment underlines an expression of one of the great mysteries of the Christian faith.

A second canticle by Caulery to employ a distinguishing compositional device is his setting a 4 of Marot's Or laisses, Creator, the Calvinist Nunc Dimittis, in which almost every phrase is constructed in imitation by pairs. (See Volume II, No. 7) The opening duet in the superius and contratenor is echoed an octave lower by the tenor and bassus. Then the same music is repeated for the second line of text. The third line is given new material, again in paired imitation. Here, however, the second voice of each pair imitates the first, so that all voices are similar. For the next two lines of text, Caulery reuses the duet that opened the composition, the only difference being that the motifs now enter in the tenor and bassus and are answered by the upper two voices. The sixth line of text completes the first stanza with a point of imitation using the motif from line three. There the four voices entered from top to bottom; now that process is reversed. Stanza two, which follows without a break (meas. 25), again exploits the duet principle. Bassus and tenor announce a new phrase in minimis set syllabically, the predominant style of the composition. This phrase, which includes two lines of text, is then
echoed by the upper two voices. A new motif in paired imitation accompanies the third line of text. For lines four and five of this stanza, the duet from the opening of the composition is heard again, but with rhythmic alterations. To set the last line, Caulery slightly varies the music already used for the third line of the second stanza. He then repeats the entire setting of the line, and creates an additional refrain through an altered repetition of the last three measures. As a result, one fourth of the composition is devoted to the last line of text.

A diagram for the motifs assigned the twelve lines of these two stanzas would be:

Stanza 1. a a b a a b
Stanza 2. c d e a a e

Although Caulery constructs his first stanza with a minimum of material, he avoids monotony in the reuse of old motifs by varying the imitative treatment. He relates the second stanza to the first by repeating the head motif, but again does not quote it exactly. Caulery's inventive use of old material and his predilection for paired imitation recall the style of Josquin.

The nine psalm settings of Hubert Waelrant are stylistically more advanced than any yet considered. In many respects, of course, Waelrant's psalms resemble those of his contemporaries. The texture is a mixture of imitative and chordal writing; psalms that begin chordally do not continue
in this style, but change to an imitative texture. The motifs are declamatory and syllabic, with few melismas. The settings are through-composed except for the concluding refrain.

Among the new traits in Waelrant's psalms is his striking use of chromaticism. This tendency is already evident in his first psalms, printed in 1555. *Ne vueilles pas, ô Sire* (Psalm 6), for example, written in the Dorian mode on $G$, displays many $E$-flats, $F$-sharps, and $B$-naturals. (See Volume II, No. 8.) In addition, several $E$-flats are necessitated by *musica ficta*. The $F$-sharps are all in the middle voice and occur whenever some form of a $D$ triad moves to one based on $G$. Waelrant usually flats $E$ when it occurs in the downward melodic sequence $F-E-D$ and is not sounding against an $A$. Because it changes the modal character of the piece, the most unexpected accidental is the $B$-natural. It usually appears in stepwise melodic progressions moving upward, and also produces a major third in the final cadence on $G$. Example 3 shows Waelrant's use of all three accidentals.

The close proximity of B-flat and B-natural in the superius of Example 3 is also typical of Waelrant's chromaticism. The superius of his *Sus, louez Dieu, mon ame* (Psalm 103), for example, contains the same close alternation of the two sixth scale degrees, as well as C-natural and C-sharp with only one or two notes intervening. (See Example 4, as well as the complete composition in Volume II, No. 9.)

Example 4. Waelrant, *Sus, louez Dieu, mon ame,* en toute chose (Psalm 103), meas. 14-16.

Although Waelrant does not use degree inflection—semitonal progressions on a single degree—cross-relations do occur with considerable frequency. In the first measure of Example 4, the C-sharp in the superius forms a direct cross-relation with the C-natural in the contratenor.

In Example 5—a passage from Waelrant's *Mon Dieu, j'ay en toy esperance* (Psalm 7)—the necessary use of *musica ficta* must result in either degree inflection or cross-relations.
Example 5. Waelrant, Mon Dieu, j'ay en toy esperance (Psalm 7), meas. 16-20.

After the C-sharp in the superius on the word "mains," the note C without accidental is present in the music for the next two measures, sounding first with A and E, then below E and G. The latter sonority obviously demands C-natural, but the point at which it should be introduced remains in doubt. As degree inflection is nowhere specifically indicated in Waelrant's psalms, a solution that produces a characteristic cross-relation is perhaps the most satisfactory.

In the above two examples from Waelrant's psalms, chromaticism is used to create sonorities outside the pure modal complex. It is not used to create dissonance. This more radical use of chromaticism does occur, however, in two of Waelrant's psalms. In the first phrase of O nostre Dieu et Seigneur amiable (Psalm 8), a C-sharp in the superius on the word "Seigneur" clashes with a C in the tenor before an E major chord sounds. (See Example 6.)
Example 6. Waelrant, O nostre Dieu et Seigneur amiable (Psalm 8), meas. 1-4.

In Psalm 103, Waelrant uses dissonant chromaticism in conjunction with longer note values to dramatize the text. At the words, "O toy, mon ame," breves and semibreves suddenly appear after rapid motion in semiminims and minims; an unusual D-sharp sounds against G. The composer then repeats the line of text and sets up a new chromatic clash with the melodic progression F-sharp, E, F-sharp against B-flat. (See Example 7.) Frequent suspensions increase the dissonant effect in both phrases.

Waelrant's use of chromaticism as illustrated in Examples 3 to 5 is reminiscent of the Italian madrigal of the mid-sixteenth century. This type of consonant chromatic writing can be found in the works of both Adrian Willaert and his pupil Cypriano de Rore. The dissonant chromaticism in Examples 6 and 7, however, is not typical of the Italian madrigal of the time. In fact, I have not been able to find a similar passage in De Rore's madrigals published
prior to 1550 or even in chromatically experimental compositions such as Willaert's *Quid non ebrietatas* and Lassus' *Alma nemes*. In these compositions, no matter how chromatic the individual line becomes, the altered notes remain consonant. Waelrant seems to have ventured on some chromatic experiments of his own, and it is not until later that Italian madrigalists use chromaticism this boldly. The

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48 A modern edition of Lassus' *Alma nemes* is in his *Samtliche Werke* (Leipzig, 1894-1927), III, No. 169. Willaert's chromatic composition has been put into modern score by Edward Lowinsky in his "Adrian Willaert's Chromatic 'Duo' Re-examined," in *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, XVIII (1956-1959), 33.
opening phrase of Gesualdo's *Languisco e moro, Ahi cruda* is similar to the more extreme chromatic passages in Waelrant's psalms.⁴⁹ (See Example 8.) Here also, the two chromatically altered notes in the superius form dissonances with one of the other voices.


Another unusual trait of Waelrant's music is his use of syllabic semiminims. In the psalms previously discussed in this chapter, semiminims were reserved for melismas or appeared singly to enliven syllabic passages in minims and semibreves. Although Waelrant often uses semiminims in the normal melismatic fashion, he is fond of constructing series of them set syllabically in both imitative and chordal textures.

Most of Waelrant's syllabic semiminims occur in an agitated contrapuntal texture into which the four voices

gradually move; longer white note-values and melismas give way to black semiminims in all voices, with a syllable on every note. Often grouped in pairs of repeated notes, the chattering semiminims form short fragmentary motifs that are imitated in all voices at brief time-intervals. Minims in syncopation, as well as suspensions only a semiminim in length instead of the usual minim, increase the rhythmic and harmonic animation of some passages. A characteristic example may be seen in measures 21-24 of *Donne secours, Seigneur* (Psalm 12). (See Volume II, No. 10.) Throughout his Psalm 103, Waelrant maintains a contrapuntal texture that alternates between normal rhythmic motion and lively black-note passages. The last such passage (meas. 25-26) ends abruptly to set off the sustained notes and dissonant harmony already illustrated in Example 7. The composition then closes with paired imitations displaying the more traditional melismatic use of semiminims.

In Psalm 12 Waelrant rounds off an imitative passage of syllabic semiminims with a chordal phrase, in which all voices move together in parlando style. Here the semiminims are grouped in pairs of repeated notes so that the vertical harmonies change with every minim. (See Example 9.) This chordal phrase seems to bring the semiminim activity to its close and climax, for it is followed by a passage that opens in block chords. Waelrant quickly returns, however, to contrapuntal texture and lively syllabic semiminims, which

lead to a repetition of both the parlando phrase and the music that followed it (meas. 32-39). Thus the parlando passage that climaxes the central semiminim section of the psalm also serves as the opening of the refrain, a subtle variation of traditional formal procedure.

Waelrant's use of syllabic semiminims may be evidence of Italian influence, for they are reminiscent of the madrigali a note nere then flourishing in Italy. Reese's description of these note nere madrigals also fits the black passages from Waelrant's psalms.

In the 1540's there appeared in madrigal writing a new trend, which has been attributed to the influence of the villanesca. This trend manifests itself in increased rhythmic animation and the use of shorter note-values, resulting in the adoption of the common-time signature. Varied rhythmic patterns abound, especially syncopations, and semiminims, which were previously used in the main for melismatic purposes, are supplied with separate syllables.50

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Reese goes on to state that "the semiminim, in pieces of this kind, replaced the minim as the normal time-unit."

The semiminim as normal time-unit implies that the note nere compositions should be performed with two semiminims to the tactus, instead of the usual two minimis. In Waelrant's psalms, however, the tactus cannot be moved to the next smaller note-value. Although the black passages could be performed in this slower tempo, the remainder of the composition is set in longer note-values and needs the usual tactus. Normal tactus is also suggested in the note nere passages themselves by the pairs of repeated semiminims, which maintain the harmonic rhythm at the minim level. A third argument for two minimis to the tactus in these pieces is that Waelrant retains the usual diminutum time signature ℧; in the madrigali a note nere, composers used the signature C to indicate that the minim should receive the tactus instead of the semibreve. In his note nere passages, Waelrant evidently wanted a rapid parlando effect that would contrast sharply with the normal flow of the composition as a whole.

Waelrant's chromaticism and use of semiminims are devices he could have learned in Italy if, as tradition would have it, he went there to study. Indeed, Adrian Willaert, Waelrant's legendary teacher, besides introducing chromaticism to the Italians, published madrigals in note
nere style in 1542.51 Italian traits in Waelrant's music, however, are no proof of a sojourn in Italy. Instead, just these Italianisms in his style may have led to the creation of a legend. He may well have remained in Antwerp and been influenced by publications and composers coming from Italy.

Chromaticism he could have learned from Lassus, who came to Antwerp in 1555 after his Italian sojourn. That year Susato published as his fourteenth chanson book a collection of Lassus' motets, madrigals, chansons, and villanesc.52 Despite the implications of a phrase in the title--"à la nouvelle composition d'aucuns d'Italie"--the madrigals and chansons tend to be conservative rather than representative of a new Italian style. The motets too are conservative, except the last, Alma nemes (a 4), which is full of pungent chromaticism.53 Susato also included in the collection De Rore's chromatic Latin ode Calami sonum ferentes. Here, then, is a possible source of inspiration for Waelrant. He certainly was in contact with Lassus, for in 1556 he published the great Netherlander's first book of

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51Ibid., pp. 323-324.

52Le quatroisiesme livre a quatre parties contenant dixhuyct chansons italiennes, six chansons francoises, & six motetz faictz (à la nouvelle composition d'aucuns d'Italie) par Rolando di Lassus nouvellement imprimé . . . . (RISM 1555/19). Reprinted that same year with an Italian title (RISM 1555/29).

53A modern edition, with substitute text, is in Lassus, Sämtliche Werke, III, No. 169.
motets.\textsuperscript{54} This explanation for Waelrant's use of chromaticism is supported by a comparison of his compositions printed before and after Lassus arrived in Antwerp. There is relatively little chromaticism in the two motets, ten chansons, and two psalms printed in 1553, 1554, and 1555.\textsuperscript{55} Then suddenly in 1556 Waelrant's psalms and motets display the extreme chromaticism illustrated in Examples 4-7 above,\textsuperscript{56} and in 1558 he published a collection of his works containing several chromatic madrigals.\textsuperscript{57}

The provenance of the note nere passages in Waelrant's psalms is a more complicated matter. These passages resemble

\textsuperscript{54}Di Orlando di Lasso il primo libro de mottetti a cinque & a sei voci nuovamente poste in luce.

Edward Lowinsky has called attention to the Lassus influence on Waelrant in the third part of his "Das Antwerpener Motettenbuch Orlando di Lasso's," in Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, XV (1936-1939), 101-102.

\textsuperscript{55}See the list of Waelrant's works in Eitner, Bibliographie de Musik-Sammelwerke, pp. 917-918.

\textsuperscript{56}The psalms, which appear in the Jardin musical series, have already been described. A chromatic motet is Waelrant's Et veniat super me misericordia in Sacrarum cantionum (vulgo hodie moteta vocant) quinque et sex vocum . . . . Liber quartus (Antwerp: Waelrant and Laet, 1556), p. XXiij. (RISM 1556/6.) See Edward Lowinsky, Secret Chromatic Art in the Netherlands Motet (New York, 1946), Example 50, for measures 29-46 of this motet. Lowinsky's liberal use of musica ficta, however, has removed two cross-relations (meas. 36 and 41) that are typical of Waelrant's chromatic style.

\textsuperscript{57}Di Huberto Waelrant Il Primo Libro de Madrigali & Canzonie Francezi a cinque voci (Antwerp: Waelrant and Laet, 1558). An especially chromatic madrigal is his Ogna giorno on pp. xii-xiii.
the villanesche of Lassus in Susato's fourteenth chanson book, but the Lassus villanesche cannot possibly be Waelrant's sole source for the style. Even before Lassus came to Antwerp Waelrant had introduced these semiminim passages into his chansons. Moreover, the chanson books printed by Phalèse in the early fifties contain compositions by other composers using nere style. All of this music points to a common source of influence, a style of writing quite different from the imitative Netherlandish motet and the more chordal Parisian chanson. The rapid, parlando passages of Lassus, Waelrant, and their contemporaries in the Low Countries show the influence of the chordal Italian frottola and its related forms. Earlier, these popular compositions had had a simplifying effect on the learned style of Netherlanders in Italy; both Isaac and Josquin composed frottola during their stay there. Later, in the 1540's, the nere appeared in the Italian madrigal as influenced by the villanesca, a folklike counterpart of the madrigal. Like the frottola, the villanesca has homorhythmic voices, simultaneously ending phrases, and uncomplicated root-position harmony. Unlike the frottola, the villanesca abounds in semiminims, each carrying a syllable. These black or "colored" notes gave their name to the madrigali a nere, also called a misura di breve, or cromatici. The

58 The villanesche are printed in Lassus, Sämtliche Werke, III, 61-70.
first publication to mention this type of composition in its title appeared in Venice in 1540—Scotto's Madrigali a quattro voci di messer Claudio Veggie, con la giunta di sei altri di Arcadellh della misura a breve. From 1542, both Scotto and Gardane published many collections of note nere madrigals and a few of villanesche. 59

Waelrant used note nere in one of his very first chansons, Amour au cuer me point, printed in 1552 by Phalèse in his Second livre des chansons à quatre parties. (See RISM 1552/12.) Did the composer learn this style in Italy or from Italian publications in Antwerp? Lowinsky considers Waelrant's trip to Italy beyond doubt, giving as reasons the composer's modern chromatic style and the resemblance of Waelrant and Laet's motet collections to those of Gardane. He places Waelrant in Venice prior to 1544, the year the composer's name first appears in the Antwerp Cathedral Archives. 60 As there is no record of Waelrant in Antwerp from 1545 to 1553, he could also have traveled to Venice during this period. Until definite proof is found, however, there can only be conjectures as to Waelrant's Italian journey.

Could Waelrant have seen Italian publications with note nere if he remained in Antwerp? The diffusion of

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printed books during the sixteenth century was not as widespread as one might imagine. In the first part of the sixteenth century, overland book trade between Italy and France was very difficult.\textsuperscript{61} Antwerp, however, had the advantage of being at once a world port and the book center of the north. If Christophe Plantin in the second half of the century can be taken as an example, Antwerp printers sent and received books by ship, attended the Frankfurt Fair to buy foreign publications, and stocked their shelves with prints of Italian madrigals. Plantin’s inventories and catalogues show that he had for sale various madrigal books from Venice and Milan, the earliest one dating from 1558.\textsuperscript{62} It is reasonable to assume that Plantin’s activities were similar to those of his older colleagues in Antwerp, who unfortunately have not left us their archives. But perhaps Silvius, or Susato, or Waelrant and Laet themselves, had books of madrigals for sale that Waelrant could have seen prior to the Antwerp publication of Lassus’ Italian villanesche in 1555.

The influence of Italian styles on the French chanson is a new area of investigation in sixteenth-century studies.

\textsuperscript{61}Daniel Heartz has warned about pitfalls for those unfamiliar with the book trade of the early sixteenth century; see his "Les goûts réunis," in Chanson & Madrigal, pp. 97-98.

\textsuperscript{62}Jean Auguste Stellfeld, "Het muziekhistorisch belang der catalogi en inventarissen van het Plantinsch Archief," in Vlaamsch Jaarboek voor Muziekgeschiedenis, II-III (1940), 41-42 and passim.
Exactly how this influence was effected is still a question, but the presence of Italian traits in French music of the mid-sixteenth century is undeniable. Waelrant deserves credit for being one of the first composers living in the Low Countries to fashion his music "à la nouvelle composition d'aucuns d'Italie."

Between Waelrant's madrigalesque treatment of Marot's psalms and Appenzeller's motet-like *Du fons de ma pensée* lies little more than a decade, yet what a vast difference in the style of the two men. The even flow of diatonic melodies in imitative polyphony has been enlivened by the introduction of rapid chordal passages and chromatic harmonies. Between these two extremes lie Crispel's chordal settings and Gerard's long, repetitive points of imitation. It is, therefore, quite impossible to speak of an "evolution" in the styles under discussion here. Nor can one consider the polyphonic Huguenot psalm as being a specific genre in the Low Countries. Rather, it would seem that at mid-century, the Netherlands composer had a variety of styles at his disposal. For his text, sacred or secular, he could select a learned motet style, a simpler chordal approach, or something in between. To set the Marot text, an older man like Appenzeller chose an older style. Manchicourt, who had probably been in Paris, patterned his setting after the

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6See the pioneering essay by Daniel Heartz mentioned in footnote 61 above.
Parisian chanson. Waelrant's connections are with Italy, and his psalms are reminiscent of the madrigal.

If to describe the early polyphonic psalms in the Low Countries is to describe the chanson, motet, and madrigal, then these psalms cannot be considered an integral part of the music of Protestantism in Western Europe. Only the texts relate these pieces to the Calvinist movement. None of the settings uses the melody assigned the same text in the Huguenot Psalter. There is no trace of the strictly chordal setting favored by Calvinist composers. No collection of simple psalm settings for use in Protestant homes originated in Antwerp or Louvain. Instead, the psalms of Waelrant, Caulery, and Clemens non Papa were printed cheek by jowl with the worldly chansons decried by the Calvinist reformers. It is not surprising, therefore, that these psalms are musically indistinguishable from the chansons that surround them.

In France the settings of Marot's sacred verse were not scattered in various secular chanson collections, but, with few exceptions, were gathered into volumes of settings by one composer. Certon, Bourgeois, and Janequin based their psalms on the Huguenot melodies, using not the chanson style of the day, but a sedate, chordal setting in keeping with Calvin's musical credo—"poids et majesté convénable au subject." This sober style was used by Goudimel in 1564 when he set the entire psalter in four parts. In the
following centuries, frequent reprintings of Goudimel's chordal psalter played an important role in shaping the homorhythmic, syllabic style of the Protestant hymn. The early polyphonic psalm in the Low Countries is not part of this tradition.
CHAPTER IV

THE PSEAULMES CINQUANTE OF JEAN LOUYS

Biography

The only sixteenth-century publication in the Low Countries exclusively devoted to polyphonic Huguenot psalms was Jean Louys' Pseaulmes Cinquante. Waelrant and Laet published the work in three volumes, the first of which has the following title:

(Superius) Pseaulmes Cinquante de David composeez musicalement ensuyvant le chant vulgaire a cinq parties, Par Maistre Iean Louys. Primier livre contenant XVII. Pseaulmes. En Anvers. Per Hubert Waelrant & Iean Laet. An. M.D.LV. Avec Privilege.¹

Several biographers have attempted to identify Jean Louys, no easy task since many men have borne this name or its Flemish counterpart, Jan Loys.² At least two sixteenth-

¹Volumes II and III, printed at the same time, contain sixteen and eighteen compositions respectively and have similar titles. A complete copy of the publication is in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich. The Kungl. Biblioteket in Stockholm owns the superius part-book of all three volumes. Before the Second World War there was a complete copy in the Prussische Staatsbibliothek in Berlin.

²The name Loys, like many Flemish surnames ending in s, is a genitive form of a Christian name. Loys means "son of Eloï." See Gustave van Hoorebeke, Etudes sur l'origine des noms patronymiques flamands (Brussels, 1876), pp. 162 and 170.

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century musicians were called Jean Louys; at the same time there were two French poets by that name; and a host of bakers, carpenters, tailors, painters, merchants, and school-teachers named Jan Loys or Loycx have their names recorded in the city archives of Antwerp, Brussels, and Mechlin. No one has plucked the Jean Louys of the Psalms Cinquante from this tangle of names.

Jean Louys appears in the annals of music history for the first time in 1813. In Gerber's Lexikon der Tonkünstler, an entry for Maître Jean Louys describes him as a French contrapuntist of the sixteenth century, the author of "Psaumes 50 de David, Anvers, 1555." A half-century later, Fétis prefaced a list of publications containing works by "Louys (Maître Jean), ou Loys," with a one-sentence biography: Louys was a Belgian musician of the sixteenth century, a singer in the chapel of Maximilian I and Ferdinand. This would place Louys in the first third of the century,

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5Ernst Ludwig Gerber, Neues historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler (Leipzig, 1812-1814), III, 263.

since Maximilian's chapel existed from 1498 to 1520, and his grandson Ferdinand organized a chapel in 1527. There is, however, no trace of Louys' name on any of the available Austrian-Hapsburg chapel lists from this period. Only much later, from 1558 to 1563, is there any record of a singer named Jhan de Loys in Ferdinand's employ.

In the supplement to the Fétis encyclopedia, A. Pougine described a certain Jean Loys as a musician who had lived in Flanders in the middle of the sixteenth century, and who had composed two chansons in a Phalèse collection dated 1555-1556. It is not clear whether Pougine was merely expanding the earlier entry, or if he meant to refer to a different Jean Louys.

George van Doorslaer was the first musicologist to point out that there were two musicians named Jean Louys.

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Using data from Edmond van der Straeten's rich but disorganized *La musique aux Pays-Bas*, and supplementing them with his own research, Doorslaer sketched the life of a musician named Jan Loys, singer and servant in the courts of Charles V, Margaret of Austria, and Mary of Hungary from 1506 to 1537. He considered this Jan Loys and the Jhan de Loys who died in the service of Ferdinand I in 1563 to be two different persons, but declined to decide which was the composer whose works were printed in the Low Countries after 1552. In a slightly later essay, however, Doorslaer decided on the second Loys as the composer.

The earlier Jan Loys began his career as a singer in the chapel of Philip the Fair. His name appears for the first time in a list of chapel members made on 8 June 1506 at Orence. Among his more important colleagues were Pierre de la Rue and Alexander Agricola. He evidently remained in royal service for only a few months, for the important lists drawn up shortly before and after Philip's death in

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11 George van Doorslaer, "La chapelle musicale de Philippe le Beau," in *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, IV (1934), 149.

12 The following biography of the earlier Jan Loys is based on the source material reproduced in Appendix IX.
September 1506 do not include a Jan Loys. Four years later his name appears in a procès-verbal at Mechlin, where he is called "Jan Loys, sanghere van der capellan tot mij-vrouw van Ville." Madame de Ville was Elizabeth de Culembourg, widow of Jean de Luxembourg, Lord de Ville and chamberlain-councilor to Philip the Fair. After Philip's death the pair had moved to the court of Margaret of Austria in Mechlin. Perhaps Jan Loys moved north with them. In Mechlin Loys rejoined the royal chapel, now under "mondt seigneur l'archiduc Charles V et mesdames ses seurs Eleanor, Isabelle, and Mary." From 27 December 1510 to 1 December 1517 Loys' name occurs in chapel lists made in Mechlin, Brussels, and Valladolid. The list of Charles's singers dated 1 September 1518 does not include his name, nor do any of the later lists.

The name Jehan Loys also appears in another type of court document—the rolles des bénéfices in which were recorded various clerical livings given out by the emperor. The rolle dated 24 August 1517 includes a "Jehan Loys dit hennequin," probably so called to distinguish him from another Jehan Loys on the same list who was awarded the living of the hospitals of Artois. Since no profession is listed

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13 These lists are in Edmond van der Straeten, La musique aux Pays-Bas (Brussels, 1867-1888), VII, 164-165 and 167-168.

14 See ibid., VII, 295 for the list dated 1 September 1518.
for the latter, we cannot be sure that he was the singer, especially since the name was so common. Nevertheless, Doorslaer assumed that this was indeed the singer, who received the same benefit in 1519 and 1526.\footnote{See Doorslaer, "Jean et Nicolas Loys," p. 14.} In the \textit{rolle des bénéfices} from 1526, the profession of Jehan Loys is given as "varlet de chambre de Madame." This convinced Doorslaer that the singer had turned servant, and the musicologist went on to find Loys' name in other court documents of the twenties and thirties.\footnote{Ibid. Doorslaer's report that Loys' name appears on the chapel list of Margaret of Austria on 1 August 1523 is incorrect. It is a list of servants, in which Loys is described as "huissier de chambre." See Appendix IX.} There is no proof for his assumption, however, and so we must turn to the last recorded trace of the singer. On 2 October 1526 the prebend of "gorken" (Gorinchem) was awarded to "Le filz de Jehan loys jadis chantre." It seems unlikely that Jehan Loys would have been called "varlet de chambre de Madame" and "jadis chantre" within the same document. Rather the entries seem to distinguish one Jehan Loys from another by listing their professions. In any case, Jehan Loys was no longer a singer in the court of Charles V in 1526.\footnote{Possibly Loys served the court as instrumentalist; in 1537 six pounds was paid to "Jehan Loys, joueur d'instrument de vyole." See Appendix IX.}

In addition to making one man of the singer and the servant, historians have gone on to call him the composer.
named Jean Louys.\textsuperscript{18} Louys' compositions, however, were published from 1552 to 1569. Since the singer disappears from the records in 1526, and the servant was dead in 1555,\textsuperscript{19} it seems unlikely that either man could have composed the psalms, chansons, and motets published in the Low Countries and Germany during the third quarter of the century. Who, then, was the composer of the \textit{Pseaulmes Cinquante}?

Eitner suggested that Jean Louys was organist at the royal chapel in Brussels in 1576, basing his statement on a reference by Van der Straeten to a certain "maistre Louys, organist."\textsuperscript{20} Here, however, Louys is not a surname. It was the custom to use the Christian name after the appellation "master," e.g., Maistre Benedictus for Benedictus Appenzeller, or Maistre Jhan for Jean le Cocq. There was, indeed, a blind organist at the Brussels court named Maistre Louys,\textsuperscript{21}

\textsuperscript{18}See, for example, Van der Straeten, \textit{La musique aux Pays-Bas}, VII, 274.

The entries on Jean and Jennin Loys in \textit{Encyclopedie de la musique} (Paris, 1958-1961), III, 102, attribute the motets and chansons to the singer and the three books of psalms to the second Jean Louys.

The \textit{Algemene Muziek-Encyclopedie} (Antwerp, 1957-1963), IV, 367, correctly differentiates between the singer and the later composer.

\textsuperscript{19}See Appendix IX.

\textsuperscript{20}Robert Eitner, \textit{Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon} (Leipzig, 1900-1904), VI, 231.

\textsuperscript{21}There is a record of his trip to Antwerp in 1568 to test several church organs. See Leon de Burbure, "Notes extraites des archives de la cathédrale d'Anvers," (MS), Antwerp, City Archives, F.K. 2932-2934, I, 211.
but there is no reason for ascribing the Pseaulmes Cinquante to him.

De Burbure believed that Jean Louys was a chaplain attached to the Church of Our Lady (later the cathedral) in Antwerp from 1532 to 1555. He found the name Johannes Ludovici in the chaplains' register for the fiscal year 1532-1533 as well as the words "Joh. Loyicz resignat" entered during 1554-1555. De Burbure considered Ludovici and Loyicz as Latin and Flemish forms of the French name Louys.²²

Close perusal of all the chaplains' records, however, shows that Ludovici and Loyicz were two different persons. According to the chaplains' register, on 23 June 1532 Johannes Ludovici replaced Arnold Helmont as chaplain of St. Gregory.²³ This evidence is supplemented by a chaplains' inventory begun in 1498, where an undated marginal note states that Ludovici replaced Helmont in the chapel of St. Gregory. A second marginal note implies that Ludovici was replaced by Michael Godefrius, since it lists the latter

²²Leon de Burbure, "Notes historiques" (Manuscript notes taken from the archives of the city and churches of Antwerp), Antwerp, City Archives, P.K. 2921-2931, XI, fols. 13r and 44r.

²³Antwerp, Cathedral Archives, Register 146 (Computationes Capellanorum beate Marie virginis Antwerpiensis ab anno xvi° xxx usque 1 incluijs), unfoliated. The following quote is from the second section, which contains entries from 24 June 1531 to 24 June 1532: "Item xxiiij Juni rec[e] peru[n] t maiores a d'omi/no Johan/nes Ludovici pro Integra possessione capellanis fui ad altar s/an/cti georgij vacan per resignationim d'omi/no arnoldi helmont xxi sc."
as chaplain of St. Gregory in 1544. According to these records, Ludovici's activity in the Antwerp church falls somewhere between 1532 and 1544. The exact years of his tenure can be determined by consulting the yearly lists of chaplains in the chaplains' register. Ludovici's name is present from 1532 through 1537; Godefridus' from 1538 through 1544.  

The name Johannes Loyicx appears in these chaplains' lists from the year 1550 through 1554. Of the scores of Jean Louys whose names are preserved in the archives at Antwerp, Brussels, Mechlin, and Lille, this man comes closest to being a candidate for the authorship of Pseaulmes Cinquante. Since the name was so common then, a positive identification would have to be an entry like "Johannes Loyicx, componist," or at least "musikant" or "zanger." Chaplain is not enough. True, the names of cathedral musicians who were also priests, like Antoine Barbé and Gerard van Turnhout, do appear on these chaplains' lists, but not every chaplain was a musician. Johannes Loyicx might have

24"Capsa lxvijj - Georgij p[ri]ma ... ... Modo videliset anno M° iiiijc xciij est poss/ess/or d/omin/us arnoldus de ghemert al/ia's helmont / modo Jo/hann/es Lodovici / eus a/mn/o xliliij michael godefridi . ... ." Antwerp, Cathedral Archives, Inventaris der kapel-nijen, fol. 145r.  

25 Register 146 (described in fn. 23), passim.  

26 Antwerp, Cathedral Archives, Register 147 (no title), passim.
been merely a priest who chanted the mass, not a trained singer of polyphony or a composer.

A few clues to Louys' identity are to be found in the dedications and title page of his Pseaulmes Cinquante. On the title page he is named "maistre," implying that he held the degree magister artium. The University of Louvain, where several Netherlandish composers studied, would have been the most probable place for Louys to have received his education. Again the commonness of the name complicates research. No fewer than four Jean Louys from Antwerp enrolled in the University between 1500 and 1525. Since no professions are listed the information is useless. 27

The dedications in the Pseaulmes Cinquante prove to be somewhat more helpful. They imply that Louys was a composer active in Antwerp, for he dedicated all three volumes of psalms to Antwerp citizens. This is another reason for discounting the chapel singer Jehan Loys as composer. Had the creator of the Pseaulmes Cinquante been in royal service, he would undoubtedly have dedicated his publications to members of the court rather than to citizens of Antwerp.

Book I of the psalms is dedicated to Geraerdit Grammaye, city treasurer and a man of some importance. The

27E. Reusens et al., Matricule de l'université de Louvain (Brussels, 1903 --), III, 230, 326, 337, and 739. The table for the years 1528 to 1569, a more likely period for the enrollment of the composer, has not yet been published.
Grammayestraat in Antwerp was named after him during his lifetime (in 1565), and in 1555 Christophe Plantin dedicated his first publication to Grammaye.\textsuperscript{28} Louys begins his dedication with the usual utterances of respect and gratitude and goes on to ask that the youth of the composer be kept in mind.

Remembering, most dear Sir, the good will you have always borne me, I wanted to be sure to recognize it, in order not to be found ungrateful for the benefit received. So as a slight recompense, I dedicate to you this first book of Psalms of David, which, to the best of my power, I set to music in five parts a short time ago. And although your goodness is deserving of something more profound, I beg of you to remember this and to consider that I am still a youth, who will continue to practice with diligence in order to create something of greater experience and knowledge in the future . . . \textsuperscript{29}

Louys dedicated his second book of psalms to Jean Cocquiel, "merchant in the city of Antwerp." The composer mentions some psalms in manuscript that he had given Cocquiel and again stresses his youth.

I am certain (my well-loved Sir) that some time ago when I presented you with certain Psalms of David which I had set to music, the pleasure that you received did not continue, due to my negligence, for, taking them back in order to correct some mistakes made by the copyist, I was not able to return them to you, because they had been stolen from me, and I did not recover them until

\textsuperscript{28} The naming of the Grammayestraat is recorded in F. G. Ulens, \textit{Antwerpsch Chronykje} (Leiden, 1743), p. 64. On the Plantin dedication see Colin Clair, \textit{Christopher Plantin} (London, 1960), p. 15.

\textsuperscript{29} The three dedications are reproduced in Appendix X.
much later. For which I pray you to impute the fault to the thief and not to me, who in all things wishes to offer you service and friendship. So it is that in due time, wishing to follow and believe the advice of some of my good friends, I decided to have the Psalms printed, which I have done, and which are in three books. Of which (my good sir) I dedicate and present the second to you, which I pray you to accept in good faith and to pardon the crime committed by another. Realizing also that it is a juvenile work and of little importance, I hope in the future, by labor and diligent work, to augment this and always to make you a participant in it . . .

Book III is dedicated to the "louiaulx confederez du college musicale, estant en la ville d'anvers."30 Once again Louys refers to his work as "mon juvenil labeur" and begs the recipients to blame mistakes on the youth of the composer.

In order to avoid, my good sirs, sowing the slightest bit of ingratitude between us, Reason has moved me to make you participants in my juvenile labor which I have done in musical composition: certain Psalms of David that I have recently brought to light . . . . If the gift does not correspond as much as the words to what is your due . . . please do not impute its imperfections to anything but youth.

The last bit of information on Louys is from the Hapsburg archives in Vienna. From 1 February 1558 until his death on 15 October 1563, a certain Jhan de Loys was a singer in the chapel of Emperor Ferdinand I.31 Again

30 On the collegium musicum in the Low Countries in the sixteenth century see Chapter VI, part 3.

the commonness of the name must give pause. One indication that Louys may have moved from the Low Countries to the Hapsburg court around 1558 is supplied by the chronology and place of publication of his compositions. Susato, Waelrant and Laet, and Phalèse published Louys' motets, psalms, and chansons from 1552 to 1556. From 1556 to 1564 Montanus and Neuber of Nuremberg published seven of his motets. This is no proof of an eastward move, for many of the Netherlandish composers represented in the Nuremberg motet series remained in their homeland. In 1568, however, four previously unpublished motets of Louys appeared in the series Novi atque catholici thesauri musici printed in Venice by A. Gardano. This publication consists of five motet-books dedicated to Emperor Maximilian II; the composers were active in Hapsburg chapels in Germany and Austria. If, as seems very likely, Jean Louys and Jhan de Loys were the same person, then he spent his last days serving Ferdinand I in Vienna.

Until more definite archival material turns up, one must assume that the composer Jean Louys was born circa 1530; that he was the chaplain Johannes Loyicx in the Church of Our Lady in Antwerp from 1550 to 1554; that he left

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32 In 1569 Phalèse published three chansons in the series Recueil des fleurs, but they had already appeared in Waelrant and Laet's Jardin musical in 1555. See the list of Louys' works in Robert Eitner, Bibliographie der Musik-Sammelwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts (Berlin, 1877), pp. 681-682.
Antwerp shortly after the publication of his *Psaeulmes Cinquante* in 1555; that he was the singer Jhan de Loys in the chapel of Ferdinand I in 1558; and that he died on 15 October 1563 while still in the Emperor's service, having not yet reached the age of forty years. This resumé must conclude with a reminder of the commonness of the name. The composer, the chaplain, and the singer could well have been three different persons.

The Monophonic Source for the *Psaeulmes Cinquante*

Jean Louys' settings of Clément Marot's *Cinquante Psaeuymes* constitute the first Netherlandish publication of polyphony based on the Calvinist melodies. These melodies in their original monophonic form were not published in the Low Countries until 1564, when Christophe Plantin brought out his controversial psalter. Louys, therefore, must have taken his melodies from a French or Swiss edition of the *Cinquante Psaeuymes* published prior to 1555. In order to determine what source he might have used, it is necessary to examine all previous editions, both monophonic and polyphonic, of the *Cinquante Psaeuymes*.

The first complete edition of Marot's fifty psalms was published in Geneva and Paris in 1543. There were two Genevan editions—one with texts only, another with melodies
for church use. No copies remain of the psalter with melodies, nor is there a bibliographical description of the book that would allow a reconstruction of its contents. In fact, not one Genevan edition of the Cinquante Pseuumes with melodies exists today, even though several were probably printed between 1543 and 1551, when the Pseuumes octante-trois appeared. This loss is particularly serious for the musicologist interested in the earliest form of the melodies created for Marot's fifty psalms.

The lacuna is partially filled by two Lyon editions of the Cinquante Pseuumes, published with melodies in 1548 and 1549, and by polyphonic settings of the Cinquante Pseuumes published from 1546 to 1555. Whenever the composers of these polyphonic settings used the Huguenot melodies, their compositions can reveal something about the lost psalters. Eight of the nine publications of polyphonic psalms that precede Louys' work are based on Marot's Cinquante Pseuumes.

33 See the bibliographical descriptions in Pierre Pidoux, Le psautier huguenot (Basel, 1962), II, 24-25.

34 See ibid., II, 53, for a description of Pseuumes octante-trois de David, printed in Geneva by Jean Crespin. The last remaining copy has been destroyed, but a detailed description of its contents has been preserved.

35 See ibid., II, 40-41 and 43-44 for bibliographical information.

36 See ibid., II, 73-74, for a description of the ninth publication—Bourgeois' Pseuulmes LXXXIII de David (Lyon: Godefroy and Beringen, 1554)—which is based on the Pseuumes octante-trois of Marot and De Bèze.
Of these eight publications, five use the Huguenot melodies. 37

1. First book containing thirty-one psalms in four parts set to music by Pierre Certon (Paris: Pierre Attain- gnant, 1546). 38 Pierre Pidoux has shown that these settings are based on a lost psalter printed between 1542 and 1546, one different from the psalter used by Bourgeois for his Pseaulmes Cinquante of 1547.

2. Pseaulmes Cinquante de David ... mis en musique par Loys Bourgeois ... (Lyon: Godefroy and Beringen, ...  

37 See ibid., II, 33-34, 47-48, and 54, for descriptions of the three publications to use only the texts of Cinquante Pseuymes. According to Pidoux, the third publication—Goudimel's Premier livre, contenant huyct Pseaulmes de David—contains two psalms using the Huguenot melodies. I have placed all the psalms of this publication in score and cannot find a trace of a Huguenot melody.

38 The title page is missing from the sole surviving part-book, a superius. This superius, however, fits the tenor of Certon's Cinquante Pseaulmes de David (Paris: Le Roy and Ballard, 1555). Moreover, the superius of Morlaye's arrangement for voice and lute of thirteen Certon psalms—Premier livre de Psalmes (Paris: Fezandat, 1554)—matches the superius of 1546. This discovery was made by Pidoux, who, in spite of the concordances, considered the 1546 premier livre to be by Antoine de Mornable, since printer's marks in a second livre (which has Mornable's name on the title page) show that the latter book was printed as a continuation of the former. Because of the concordances, however, and because Mornable wrote in a different style without using the Huguenot melodies, it seems more satisfactory to ascribe the first book of the pair to Certon. For Pidoux's discussion of this problem and the possible relationship of this part-book with a 1546 edition of thirty-one Certon settings that has been lost, see his "Les pseuymes d'Antoine de Mornable, Guillaume Morlaye, et Pierre Certon," in Annales musicologiques, V (1957), 179-198.
1547). In the preface Bourgeois states that he has set the "chant commun" without alteration. In all likelihood a lost Genevan Psalter entitled Cinquante Pseaumes contained the melodies used by Bourgeois in this publication.39

3. Le premier livre des pseaumes composé par Loys Bourgeois . . . (Lyon: Godefroy and Beringen, 1547). Of the twenty-four psalms in this publication, fifteen are based on Huguenot melodies. Bourgeois used a new melody for the Song of Simeon, one which appeared the next year in a Lyon psalter and in all subsequent Genevan editions. Bourgeois either invented this melody and it appeared here for the first time, or used a melody from a third lost psalter.


5. Cinquante Pseaumles de David, mis en musique, à quatre parties, par M. Pierre Certon . . . . (Paris: Le Roy and Ballard, 1555). This is a re-edition of thirty of the thirty-one Certon psalm settings published in 1546, plus twenty new settings that appear to be based on the same lost psalter Certon used for the 1546 publication.

39Ibid., p. 197.
40Pidoux, Le psautier huguenot, II, 45.
This bibliographical enumeration shows that the majority of the polyphonic settings preceding Louys’ *Pseaumnes Cinquante* take their melodies from unknown psalters. We shall see that the same is true of Louys’ publication.

Although the points of imitation in Louys’ five-voiced psalm-motets are long and involved, and the psalm tunes are altered to fit the rhythmic and harmonic context, the melodies are never so radically changed that one cannot reconstruct the original tunes the composer used. Tracing these melodies to a monophonic source is a more involved task, but necessary in order to relate Louys’ work with the mainstream of Huguenot psalmody.\(^1\) Such a search should reveal what type of psalter was available to the Antwerp composer and could give further information on the lost Huguenot Psalters.

Four extant psalters published prior to 1555—one of them polyphonic—contain melodies for all of Marot’s fifty psalms. The results of a comparison of these melodies with those used by Louys are given in Table 3. A glance at the table reveals that no one psalter contains all of Louys’ fifty-one melodies. Twenty-three of the melodies he used

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\(^1\) Paul-André Gaillard, "Essai sur le rapport des sources mélodiques des 'Pseaumnes Cinquante' de Jean Louis (Anvers 1555) et de 'Souterliedekens' (Anvers 1540)," in *Kongress-Bericht, Internationale Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft* (Utrecht, 1952), pp. 193-198, merely shows that Louys did not use the *Souterliedekens*; it is not a study of his actual source.
TABLE 3
HUGENOT PSALTERS CONTAINING THE MELODIES USED
IN JEAN LOUYS' PSEUDOMES CINQUANTE *

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Louys Psalm Number</th>
<th>Earlier Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bourgeois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ten Commandments</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<td>x</td>
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TABLE 3 (Contd.)

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<td>103</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A: An x means that the melody used by Louys is in the psalter; a dash means the melody is different.

Compiled with the use of Pidoux's Le psautier huguenot, Vol. I, which contains the melodies from all known Huguenot Psalters.

In Vol. II, p. 24, Pidoux has identified the melodies used by Louys; where this table differs from his findings the psalm is marked with an asterisk.

were altered or completely replaced in the 1551 Genevan Psalter, therefore this publication could not have served him as a melodic source. Yet two of his melodies (Psalms 4 and 50) appear for the first time in the 1551 publication, and not in the three earlier Lyon psalters, which otherwise contain almost all of the tunes selected by Louys.

One melody used by Louys is nowhere to be found. His setting of Psalm 130 is based on a tune that appears to be a conglomeration of phrases from the Strasbourg Psalter (editions in 1539, 1542, 1545, 1548, and 1553), and the

④ Bibliographical descriptions of the five Strasbourg books are in Pidoux, Le psautier huguenot, II, 3, 14-15, 29-30, 38-40, and 64-66. These psalters have not been considered as possible sources for the melodies used by Louys because they contain only some of Marot's fifty psalms.
Genevan (1542 and all subsequent editions). The Strasbourg and Genevan melodies for Psalm 130, which are reproduced in the Appendix to Volume II, have four of their eight phrases in common. Comparing the two melodies with Louys' composition (Vol. II, No. 11) shows that in the fourth point of imitation (meas. 13-25), the polyphonic melodies resemble only the Strasbourg version. The second (meas. 5-10) and fifth (meas. 15-29) resemble the Genevan melody. The remaining points of imitation could be based on either version, except for the sixth (meas. 28-32), which resembles neither.

If Louys did not take his melodies from one of the existing Huguenot Psalters, he either used an unknown psalter or chose his melodies from several sources. The unfamiliar melody for Psalm 130 suggests that he had at least one unknown psalter at his disposal, for he would hardly have altered only this melody and left the others intact. It seems logical to assume that Louys took his tunes from a single Huguenot Psalter, probably Genevan, printed sometime between 1547 and 1551, very similar to the 1549 Lyon edition and containing the revised melodies for Psalms 4 and 50 plus the pastiche of Psalm 130. Louys' source must have been post-1547, because in that year Bourgeois wrote that the melodies in his Pseaulmes Cinquante were current, and Louys used five tunes that first occur in psalters published after 1547. A post-1551 psalter is ruled out because
so many melodies Louys used were altered or replaced in the Pseuemes octante-trois of 1551 and 1554. We must suppose, then, the publication of a third monophonic Huguenot Psalter named Cinquante Pseuemes, one in addition to the unfound psalters used by Pierre Certon in 1546 and by Louis Bourgeois in 1547.

The Style of Jean Louys' Polyphonic Psalms

In the earliest Huguenot polyphony, three styles of setting the psalm melodies developed. The simplest was a strict note-against-note texture in which the rhythm of the tenor melody was matched by the three accompanying voices. Bourgeois chose this style for his Pseaulmes Cinquante of 1547, describing his compositions as being "à voix de contrepoint égal consonante au verbe." Certon and Janequin used a freer note-against-note texture with some ornamentation in the accompanying voices or even in the melody itself. Bourgeois, in ten of the polyphonic psalms in his Premier livre, also of 1547, was the first to use imitative polyphony, taking the successive phrases of the Huguenot melody and creating a point of imitation on each. In his title he calls this manner of composition "plus musicalement." Louys chose this style when he set the psalms of Marot; his title even echoes Bourgeois, "Pseaulmes . . . composéez musicalement." The settings are typical products
of the mid-century Nederlandish school of composition.

Like most of the motets published by Susato and Phalèse at this time, the psalms are in five voices. The motifs are often extended to form long, melismatic phrases, rather than being declamatory and brief as in the contemporaneous French motet style cultivated by Sermisy and Certon. Paring imitation, a thick texture, an avoidance of clear-cut phrase divisions, and very little chordal writing are characteristics that place Louys’ psalms squarely in the Nederlandish tradition of Crequillon, Clemens non Papa, and Gombert.

The fifty-one compositions that constitute Jean Louys’ Pseaulmes Cinquante were published in three volumes, each consisting of five part-books in octavo format. The publication is typical of Waelrant and Laet’s careful work. There are very few typographical errors, and the printers have tried to place the syllables under the notes to which they must be sung.\(^4^3\) These psalm-motets are not printed in numerical order, but are arranged according to mode. The order in each volume is: Dorian, Dorian on G, Aeolian, Ionian on F, Ionian, and Mixolydian.\(^4^4\) This is not the

\(^4^3\) For another description of Waelrant and Laet’s superior workmanship see part two of Edward Lowinsky’s "Das Antwerpener Notettenbuch Orlando di Lasso’s und seine Beziehungen zum Motettenschatzen der niederländischen Zeitgenossen," in Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziek Geschiedenis, XV (1936-1939), 6.

\(^4^4\) There are three exceptions: the first piece in
first publication in Antwerp to group together compositions in one mode; Tielman Susato organized part of his motet series of 1553 in this way, with each of Books Five through Twelve presenting motets in a single mode. And in Amsterdam a half-century later, mode determined the ordering within the publications of Sweelinck's psalms.

In Louys' psalms the mode of the original tune determines that of the polyphonic setting. In each setting, the tune with pitch and clef unaltered occurs in one of the five voices, usually the tenor. Although the tenor is definitely not treated as a cantus firmus—the tune is too well-distributed throughout the entire polyphonic complex for this—it still retains some of its old supremacy. In many of Louys' psalms, the tenor not only retains the mode of the model, but has most of the unaltered phrases of the psalm tune. Moreover, at the close of the composition it is usually the tenor that clearly states the last phrase of the tune and comes to rest on the final of the mode.

This final is doubled by the bassus, which in the rest of the piece lies about a fifth below the tenor. Since

Book I, a setting of the rhymed Ten Commandments, is Ionian; Psalm 7 in Book I is a solitary Aeolian on D flanked by two Dorians on G; Psalm 18 in Book II is a "misplaced" Aeolian. The total number of works in each mode are as follows: sixteen in Dorian, fourteen in Dorian on G, five in Aeolian, one in Aeolian on D, two in Ionian, seven in Ionian on F, and six in Mixolydian.

the Huguenot melodies tend to be in authentic modes, the usual modal complex for a Louys psalm is one in which the tenor and superius are authentic and the bassus and contra-
tenor plagal. The fifth voice is usually a second tenor and also in the authentic form of the mode.

Louys is conservative in his treatment of the modes, using a minimum of chromatic alterations. The sharp sign appears rarely, and then either to introduce a major third in the final chord or to restore a previously flatted note to its original pitch. The flat sign is used with only slightly greater frequency. It usually occurs in one of the lower three voices in order to avoid forming the tritone with an upper voice. In the psalms written in the Dorian mode, for example, almost every $B$-flat occurs beneath an $F$, and in the psalms in $G$ Dorian, $E$-flats occur beneath $B$-flats. There are exceptions of course. At times Louys flats a $B$ or an $E$ in order to avoid a melodic tritone, and in some places the altered note is already present in the psalm tune.

Unlike Waelrant, Louys does not use the sharp sign to raise the seventh scale degree in cadences involving the final of the mode. Occasionally, however, he raises the third in the final chord of a psalm using a mode that normally has a minor third above the final. Although it is perhaps advisable to raise the seventh scale degree in order to make Louys' cadences conform to the typical cadential
patterns of the time, one is loath to make all of his final chords major since the composer seems to have made a choice between major and minor sonorities to end his compositions.

In the formal structure of his psalms, Louys follows the monophonic model: where a melodic phrase is repeated, Louys also repeats. Seven of the melodies for the Cinquante Pseaumes are in AAB form, and for these settings Louys repeats the A section, at most exchanging two voice parts. When, as occasionally happens, a melody not in AAB form has two identical phrases, Louys uses the same point of imitation for both. In Psalm 143, for example, the same polyphonic complex appears with phrases two and four.\textsuperscript{46} One type of repetition that is not found in the psalm tune is the refrain, where the last line of text is repeated along with its music. Although very common in the chanson-like settings discussed in Chapter III, this formal device occurs in only eight of Louys' psalms. Since to set Marot's texts Louys uses the Calvinist melodies and chooses a more serious style than his contemporaries did, it is only natural that the refrain, an idea borrowed from the chanson, should be less frequent.

To create his psalm settings, Louys chooses only the first stanza of each poem. Unlike the psalm-motets of

\textsuperscript{46} See Volume II, No. 12. For each of Louys' settings reproduced in Volume II, the melody on which it is based is given in the Appendix to that volume.
Goudimel, Le Jeune, and Sweelinck, not one of these fifty-one compositions has a second or third *pars* based on additional stanzas. Two psalms, however, are presented as a pair. In Book I, Psalm 115 follows Psalm 114 and is labelled "Response." These two psalms are one in the Catholic Bible, so there is a textual reason for publishing them together. Often in the mid-sixteenth century, a chanson labelled "response" is a second stanza of the poem set in the preceding chanson, and the second member of the pair may rework motifs or even parody entire sections from the first. A musical relationship exists between the paired psalms of Louys also, but here it is due only to the similarity of the two psalm tunes. Louys made his two settings exactly equal in length, but did not further relate the two compositions by transferring material from the first psalm to the second.

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48 For a description of chansons in this form published by Susato, see A. Cutler Silliman, "'Responce' and 'Replique' in Chansons Published by Tylman Susato, 1543-1550," in *Revue belge de musicologie*, XVI (1962), 30-42.

49 Both melodies are in the Dorian mode; each has six phrases; and phrase four of Psalm 115 is almost identical with phrase five of Psalm 114.
The motifs derived from the Huguenot melodies display interesting variations in the extent to which they resemble or depart from the original. In designing the basic motif, Louys rarely alters the given pitch relationships, and then only when the polyphonic context demands it. He treats the melody much more freely, however, although the text words usually come on the same notes in the polyphonic setting as in the monophonic. Several motifs in which Louys has altered the psalm tune to suit his artistic purposes are given in Example 10.

Example 10. A Comparison of Motifs from Louys' Psalmes Cinquante with the Original Psalm Tunes (note-values halved).

Psalm 1

Original

\[\text{Qui au conseil des mælings n'a esté;}\]

Louys

\[\text{Qui au conseil des mælings n'a esté;}\]

Psalm 137

Original

\[\text{Es-tans assis aux rives aquatiques}\]

Louys

\[\text{Es-tans assis aux rives aquatiques}\]

Psalm 143

Original

\[\text{Seigneur Dieu, oy l'o-raison mienne;}\]

Louys

\[\text{Seigneur, Seigneur Dieu, oy l'o-raison mienne;}\]
Pervading imitation is a chief characteristic of Louys' style, and to open his psalm-motets, he uses two types of polyphonic construction.

In the first, each voice enters with basically the same form of the motif. The opening point of imitation is rarely as strict as the one in Psalm 79 (Vol. II, No. 14), in which each voice sings the entire motif with only minute alterations before proceeding with new material. A freer use of imitation is more usual, as in the opening of Psalm 143 (Vol. II, No. 12), where the motif differs noticeably in each voice. The lower three voices present the motif syllabically but in different rhythmic versions. By way of contrast, the superius and contratenor present the altered and extended motif in a slightly melismatic form. Part of the freedom in imitative technique results from Louys' strong preference for tonal answers. If a phrase of the given melody opens with the interval of a fifth, Louys usually answers with a fourth, and vice versa. Exceptions are the openings of Psalms 79, 37, and 33, which use real answers, and Psalm 45, which has imitation at the octave and unison only.

In the second type of imitation, only two or three of the five voices state the psalm motif against counter-melodies in the remaining voices. Usually only one counter-motif is present and is in paired imitation with the psalm
Occasionally several countermotifs are introduced, so that technically one cannot speak of "pervading imitation." (See Example 11.)


50 For examples see the opening of Psalm 138 (Vol. II, No. 13) and of Psalm 130 (Vol. II, No. 11).
The term "pervading imitation" is especially inapplicable to the openings of seven psalms in which three or four voices begin simultaneously. Here one voice carries the psalm melody with the others forming a chordal accompaniment. One of the accompanying voices may itself be stating the melody in longer note values, as in the setting of the Song of Simeon (Vol. II, No. 15). Quite soon in these seven compositions, however, Louys forsakes chordal texture and returns to his usual imitative style.

The opening points of imitation in Louys' psalms have been discussed in detail because it is in them that differences in his style are most evident. Except for these variously textured openings, the fifty-one psalms are very similar and any one of them could serve as an example of Louys' compositional technique. An analysis of his Psalm 138 (Vol. II, No. 13) will illustrate the composer's treatment of an entire Huguenot melody.

Louys' setting of Marot's *Il faut que de tous mes* esprits retains both the mode of the original melody, Ionian on F, and its AAB form. The composition opens with the psalm tune in the superius, tenor, and quinta voices. A countermotif in the contratenor accompanies the superius, recurs in the bassus when the tenor enters, but is not present when the psalm tune occurs in the quinta voice. The tenor presents the first phrase of the melody unchanged, except for the last note, which, shortened, leads into a
long melisma on the last syllable. The superius is freer, breaking into a short melisma after having presented only the first five notes of the eight-note phrase. The quinta voice, the last of the five to enter, moves from its first phrase directly into the second with no intervening free material (meas. 6). A measure earlier the superius has had time to begin its second statement of the first phrase; and immediately after the quinta begins phrase two, the bassus, having completed its countermotif, states the first phrase of the psalm tune (meas. 7). By the time the bassus begins phrase two, the superius has already stated it and two measures later returns to the first phrase (meas. 14). As a result, the opening two lines of the psalm tune are completely interwoven into a long point of imitation that closes with an authentic cadence on the final of the mode (meas. 23). Just before this cadence, the contratenor finally participates in the statement of psalm material by singing the second phrase of the tune (meas. 20–23).

At the cadence in measure 23, Louys begins a repetition of the entire first section we have just described. The repetition ends at measure 44, where Louys disguises the structural division by introducing a new motif in the quinta while the contratenor continues its melodic line through the next measure. The new motif, based on the fifth phrase of the psalm tune, sounds in each voice in turn, with the tenor again being closest to the original.
No cadential progression marks the close of this point of imitation, which overlaps with the entries of the sixth phrase of the tune beginning in measure 49. Thus Louys combines the settings of lines five and six, but in a manner different from his treatment of the opening, repeated section. In a similar way, he joins lines seven and eight of the psalm, always maintaining continuity between sections by means of overlapping entries. The procedure begun in line five, where all voices are designed after the psalm tune, is maintained throughout the subsequent points of imitation. Not all voices copy the monophonic phrase with equal fidelity, however. In phrases six and eight, for example, the inner three voices, after their first few notes, proceed with free counterpoint; the entire melodic phrase appears only in the bass and superius. (See meas. 49-56 and 68-74.)

By combining two points of imitation into a single musical section with a strong cadence at its close, Louys has designed a composition in which the eight lines of text and melody are grouped in pairs to give the form AABC. The C section, however, is extended by repeating the entire last point of imitation, one of the few instances of a refrain in Louys' psalms (meas. 75-81). The repetition is exact, but with tenor and quinta voices interchanged. Just before the end of the refrain, the quinta states the last five notes of the psalm tune (meas. 80), the final note
being sustained while the other voices continue with cadential patterns to form a short coda.

With Psalm 138 as a point of departure, we can describe in more general terms Louys' method for creating a polyphonic fabric. His points of imitation within a composition are of varying length. The longer ones usually open the piece and may use two phrases of the original melody simultaneously. Later points of imitation are generally shorter, but are often combined by avoidance of strong cadences between them. Psalm-derived material permeates everything. Although some settings open with clearly discernible countermotifs, these are rare after the first point of imitation. As the psalm progresses, Louys tends to shape all voices after the tune. Some state the complete phrase, while others sing only a few notes of the given melody before continuing in free counterpoint. Occasionally, one voice may present the melody in breves, but this cantus-firmus style never lasts for more than a phrase.51

Louys composed each psalm in this manner. There is no attempt to vary the style by occasionally lightening the texture, no pairing of voices, no expressive use of chordal writing. Nowhere does Louys employ Waelrant's madrigalian chromaticism or black-note writing. His unrelieved polyphony in continuously overlapping points of imitation is

51 For an example see the superius in measures 7-13 of Louys' setting of the Song of Simeon (Vol. II, No. 15).
reminiscent of Louys’ older contemporary, Nicolas Gombert. As an example, Gombert’s five-voiced motet *Gaudeamus omnes* may be compared with any of the Louys psalms in Volume II.52 We have seen that the longer points of imitation are usually first in a Louys psalm, and this is true in the Gombert motet also. Gombert and Louys prefer to have their voices enter at brief time-intervals with only short rests or no rests at all before the new imitative entries. Both men in their extended imitations rework all or part of the motif after its initial presentation. This reworking of motifs is a different technique than that used by Appenzeller and other older composers of the Josquin school, who usually work out a motif in imitation only once. Another trait Gombert and Louys have in common is an avoidance of symmetries. Both men eschew clear-cut phrase divisions, consistent order of entries, and balanced passages for varying combinations of voices, a characteristic of Josquin’s imitative style. Instead, both prefer a dense and uniform texture with five smoothly flowing voices.

The dense sound of Louys’ thickly-textured polyphony is made still heavier by the preponderance of low voices. To the SATB complex that had become a standard in Josquin’s time, Louys, like his contemporaries, adds a fifth voice

52A modern edition of this motet is in Joseph Schmidt-Görg, *Nicolas Gombert* (Bonn, 1938), p. 36 of the Notenbeilagen.
that is usually in the same range as the tenor. In only eight psalms is the fifth voice a second treble part, and in one it is even a second bass. Nor is the contratenor a high voice. In Psalm 138, for example, it does occasionally keep the superius company by remaining above the final of the Hypo-Ionian mode, but often it is below the usually plagal ambitus, moving between $f$ and $c'$ and keeping more than an octave away from the superius.

The closing cadences in Louys' psalms also lack variety. Two voices, usually the superius and tenor, cadence first. One of them forms a 4-3 suspension above the fifth scale degree in the bassus before the two voices reach their final notes on the first scale degree, an octave apart. Against these two held notes the remaining three voices form chords on the fourth and first scale degrees. Example 12 presents the closing measures from Louys' setting of the rhymed Ten Commandments, the first composition in his Book I. The cadence is a stereotype for the entire series. Typical also is the tenor, which closes the psalm with a clear statement of the last phrase of the melody. Cadences similar to the one in Example 12 dominated the music of the sixteenth century. Thirteen of Clemens non Papa's twenty 5- and 6-voiced chansons, for example, close with plagal progressions after an authentic cadence.\footnote{Jacobs Clemens non Papa, Opera Omnia (Rome, 1951), X and XI, passim.} And many Josquin

Chansons end with cadences similar to those in Louys' psalms, although Josquin varies the basic formula with much greater ingenuity.

Use of dissonance is another uniform element in Louys' psalms. Nowhere is it used as an expressive device to underline words of grief or pain; yet, in a broader sense, Louys' many and varied dissonances are what give
his music expression. The ebb and flow of tension as a result of dissonance and resolution form the basic expressive factor in Renaissance music, and Louys' psalms are excellent examples of the rich vocabulary of dissonances that had evolved within the controlled polyphonic style of the mid-century.

The dissonant minim is very frequent. Sometimes it is a passing tone, the second of two minims making up the semibreve tactus. Much more often the dissonant minim occurs on the first half of the tactus as a suspension—the second half of a semibreve that was introduced as a consonance and resolves by conjunct motion (Ex. 13). Not

Example 13. Louys, Sus, sus, mon ame, il te fault dire bien (Psalms 104), meas. 1-4.

N. B. The dissonances under discussion in Examples 13-22 are marked by asterisks. all of Louys' suspensions are treated this carefully, however. Often he divides the semibreve into two minims and assigns the dissonance its own syllable. And like his older contemporaries Gombert, Clemens, and Arcadelt, Louys sometimes creates a suspension from a note of preparation that is itself a dissonance. In Example 14, the g' in the contraténor is approached as a passing tone and resolved
as a suspension. Occasionally, Louys introduces without preparation the minim dissonance occurring on the beat. This can be either an accented passing tone or a dissonant minim approached by leap, as in Example 15, where the melodic contour of the psalm tune in the contratenor produces an appoggiatura. The use of this dissonance is not peculiar to Louys, but is characteristic of contemporary Netherlandish polyphony.

54 For an example of this type of dissonance in Arcadelt's music, see Gustave Reese, Music in the Renaissance (rev. ed.; New York, 1959), p. 322.

55 For examples in the works of other composers, see K. Ph. Bernet Kempers, Jacobus Clemens non Papa und seine Motetten (Augsburg, 1928), pp. 33–34; and Milton Steinhardt, Jacobus Vaet and His Motets (East Lansing, 1951), p. 86, Ex. 42.
Example 15. Louys, La terre au Seigneur appartient (Psalm 24), meas. 13-16.

The dissonant semiminim in Louys' psalms is usually a passing tone or lower auxiliary. The échappée, upper auxiliary, and anticipation are less frequent. These five dissonances appear on the second or fourth semiminim within the semibreve tactus. An exception is the descending passing tone which may also occur on the third semiminim.

A semiminim dissonance of which Louys is especially fond is the nota cambiata. In sixteenth-century polyphony, the dissonant tone of the cambiata figure is approached by step from a consonance above and is left by a leap of a third to a consonance below. This figure then turns back on itself by moving to the note above the second consonance, at least in the so-called classic treatment. Louys is not this careful. In Example 16, the phrase in the bassus ends with an unresolved cambiata figure, while the
contratenor presents the normal usage. Sometimes Louys creates a chain of incomplete cambiata figures by making the last note of one the first note of the next (Ex. 17).

Example 17. Louys, Tes jugementz, Dieu veritable (Psalm 72), meas. 61-63.
Gombert and Clemens use the cambiata with the same freedom. The last line of Clemens' five-voiced chanson *Si par trop boire* has an unresolved cambiata figure in the bassus (Ex. 18), and Gombert's motet *Super flumina Babylonis* shows the use of several in close succession in tenor and bassus (Ex. 19), although not in a chain like the above Louys example.


Louys is fond of using other dissonances in close succession or at the same time. A passage from Psalm 104 provides a particularly good illustration of his free treatment of dissonance (Ex. 20). If the three lower voices are

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56 Modern edition in *Clemens non Papa, Opera Omnia*, X, 92.


Example 20. Louys, *Sus, sus, mon ame, il te faut dire bien* (Psalm 104), meas. 61-63.
regarded as a unit, the dissonances they contain appear perfectly normal. Against them, however, d' and d" in the upper voices (meas. 62) produce a dissonant situation that seems inexplicable. Perhaps Louys thought of the upper voices as anticipating the G-B-D harmony of the second half of the measure. In any case, he has created a dissonance cluster of unusual intensity.

Although the confluence of dissonance in Example 20 is startling, it is not unpleasant. Elsewhere in his psalms, however, crudities appear in Louys' use of suspensions. Occasionally they are doubled a fifth or an octave lower, each dutifully resolved in spite of the consequent parallel movement (Ex. 21). Although Clemens and Gombert are not loath to use parallel fifths, they do not use them this

starkly. When Gombert sets up two simultaneous suspensions a fifth apart, he inserts an ornamental note in order to avoid parallel resolution. 58

Another unwelcome sound in Louys' psalms is created when the note of resolution for the 4-3 suspension sounds with the note of suspension (Ex. 22). Whenever Clemens or Gombert introduce this clash, it is softened by the distance of an octave, and even the conservative Palestrina indulges in this freedom when he writes for more than four voices.

Example 22. Louys, Non point à nous, non point à nous, Seigneur (Psalm 115), meas. 28-30.

58 See Example 29 in Schmidt-Görg, Nicolas Gombert, p. 141.
Anomalous situations such as these recall Louys' prefaces in which he begs forgiveness for the inadequacy of his youthful work. One is indeed prompted to attribute the parallel octaves and crude dissonances to a youthful lack of skill, especially after examining Louys' later works, in which he makes good his promise to learn more about composition. The four motets a 5 published by Gardane shortly after Louys' death show a much more restrained use of dissonance.\(^5^9\) Suspensions are used far less frequently and are as carefully prepared as the one in Example 13 above. Harsh dissonances and the parallel fifths and octaves of the composer's youth are nowhere to be found. The texture of these motets also marks an improvement in Louys' style. The fifth voice is a second treble that keeps the superius company and often moves above it, creating a bright sound rarely heard in the psalms with their four low voices.

Although his psalms are thick in texture, similar in style, and not free of rough spots, this does not mean Louys is a composer without talent. The individuality that the twentieth-century critic expects in each composition is not a characteristic of sixteenth-century music. Only occasionally a composer like Josquin or Janequin appeared who created music of a highly individual stamp. The works of a lesser man like Louys lack this personal quality, being

\(^{5^9}\)See p. 132 above for a description of the publication containing these motets.
merely more or less competent representatives of the prevailing idiom.

Many characteristics of Louys' psalms do indeed reveal a competent hand. The way in which he alters the cantus prius factus and weaves it into the entire polyphonic fabric bespeaks a keen eye for contrapuntal possibilities. Louys is capable of piling up exciting stratti in which the psalm tune is presented in rapid succession by each voice (Ex. 23). Louys is also adept at constructing passages in which the given melody begins at the same time in two voices. One of them extends the first note, after which the two proceed in normal imitation. The setting of the Song of Simeon, already cited as an example of chordal texture, opens in this way. (See Volume II, No. 15.)

Example 23. Louys, Mon Dieu, j'ay en toy esperance (Psalm 7), meas. 48-51.
One Louys setting deserves special mention because it cleverly combines the psalm tune with a secular melody that earlier served as timbre for that psalm. In the Antwerp Psalter of 1541 (Psalmes de David), Marot's Psalm 10 is pre-faced by the remark, "Sus, Dont vient cela," a suggestion that the psalm be sung to the melody of Sermisy's chanson. Louys begins his setting of the sacred text by assigning a fragment of the Huguenot psalm tune to the tenor and the chanson melody to the superius and quinta voices; the remaining two voices are free. As the piece progresses, the psalm tune gradually crowds out the chanson. In the third point of imitation (meas. 13-24), the superius, contratenor, and quinta begin with chanson material, but after three measures the superius joins the tenor and bassus in presenting the Huguenot melody. The chanson is absent from the fourth point of imitation (meas. 23-33), and subsequently appears only now and then. By the time the last phrase is reached, the chanson has completely disappeared, and all voices sing the psalm tune.

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60 See pp. 21ff. above for a discussion of timbres for Marot's psalms.

61 See Volume II, No. 16. Melodic material drawn from the Sermisy chanson is indicated by asterisks in the score. Both the psalm tune and the chanson melody are in the Appendix to Volume II.

62 There is one other polyphonic Huguenot psalm based on a timbre--Jacques Buus's A toy Seigneur sans cesser crie in Libro primo delle canzoni francese a cinque voce, di N.
Although unknown timbres might lie hidden in other settings, it appears that the remaining compositions are based only on Huguenot melodies. Although Louys alters these melodies freely, they remain recognizable, and are used in his five voices so much of the time that the presence of material form a source other than the Huguenot Psalter is extremely unlikely.

Louys' freedom in the use of the cantus prius factus distinguishes his polyphonic psalms from the settings of Louis Bourgeois, the only composer before Louys to set the Huguenot melodies in imitative polyphony. In Bourgeois' ten settings from 1547, almost every point of imitation presents the psalm melody unaltered in each voice before proceeding with free material. Consequently, tonal answers are very rare in Bourgeois' psalms. His ten compositions are much lighter in texture than Louys' because he writes for four instead of five voices and lets them rest for longer periods. Thus imitative entries are more widely

Jaques Buus Fiamengo (Venice: Scotto, 1550), a volume of polyphonic chansons spirituelles, several of which are based on timbres. A toy Seigneur is Psalm 130 rhymed by a certain N., a text that was included in the 1541 Antwerp Psalter and later in Huguenot collections of chansons spirituelles, always with the timbre, C'est une dure départie. Buus bases his setting of the superius of this chanson by Sermisy. See Howard M. Brown, "The Chanson Spirituelle, Jacques Buus, and Parody Technique," in Journal of the American Musicological Society, XV (1962), 156-158 and 168.

63 A modern edition of these ten settings is in Loys Bourgeois, Vingt-quatre psaumes à 4 voix (Basel, 1960), pp. 4, 8, 13, 18, 27, 32, 34, 43, 46, and 49.
spaced, and often two voices present the entire motif before the third and fourth enter. This lean sound is foreign to Louys' style. Bourgeois is also less lavish with dissonance. In his uncomplicated polyphony, the emphasis is on a clear statement of the psalm tune in each voice, perhaps because Bourgeois himself had created these melodies for the Genevan Psalter.

After Bourgeois and Louys, composers such as Goudimel, Le Jeune, and Sweelinck chose to set the Genevan melodies in the motet style of their time. These three men used the complete text, often devoting a separate pars to each stanza. In some of their settings the various partes are set off from each other by contrasts in texture, cantus-firmus treatment, or number of voices used. The polyphonic psalms of Jean Louys are not on this grand a scale. Instead, along with those of Louis Bourgeois, they are the earliest attempts to place the austere but fecund Huguenot melodies in a florid contrapuntal setting.
CHAPTER V

POLYPHONIC HUGUENOT PSALMS IN THE CHANSON COLLECTIONS (1564-1589)

After Jean Louys, no Netherlandish composer of the sixteenth century set more than a few of the Calvinist psalms. Only Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, during the first quarter of the seventeenth century, used the psalter and its melodies to create four books of psalm-motets, but his works fall outside the period under discussion here. The dearth of polyphonic psalters in the Low Countries is surprising if one examines contemporary musical activity in the Calvinist centers of Switzerland and France. Soon after the publication of the complete Genevan Psalter in 1562, French composers began to write polyphonic settings of all 150 psalms. Ridoux's bibliography lists eight complete polyphonic psalters printed in Lyon, Geneva, Orleans, Poitiers, and Paris between 1564 and the close of the century.¹

That no polyphonic psalters appeared in the Low Countries during this period is perhaps due to the strong

¹See the descriptions of these publications in Pierre Pidoux, Le psautier huguenot (Basel, 1962), II, 141-145, 154-158, and 166.
repressive measures taken by the government against the Calvinists and their psalms. A royal decree of 1562 banned the public singing of "Psaumes en francois;" the Inquisition confiscated Huguenot Psalters found in homes; and the seizure and burning of Plantin's 1564 edition of the Genevan Psalter must have discouraged other printers from issuing collections of the Calvinist psalms.

In spite of these measures, nine polyphonic settings of Huguenot texts were included in seven chanson collections printed in Antwerp and Louvain between 1564 and the close of the century. These nine settings, the work of five Netherlandish composers, form the subject matter of the present chapter. Brief biographies of each composer precede a discussion of the music.

The Composers

Lassus

Orlande de Lassus was born circa 1532 in Mons, the capital city of the province of Hainault, and as a child sang in the choir of St. Nicholas Church. While still a youth he was taken to Italy where he served as chorister in several important court chapels. In 1553, though he was a mere

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2See Appendix III C.

3The most detailed biography of Lassus is Charles van den Borren, Roland de Lassus (Brussels, 1943).
twenty-one, Lassus became choirmaster to the church of St. John Lateran in Rome, but he left that position in the following year and went to Antwerp. Samuel Quickelberg, a native of Antwerp and Lassus' first biographer, describes the composer's stay in the Flemish metropolis as an association "with a circle of very cultured, very learned, and very noble individuals, whose musical inclinations he continually encouraged, and who honored and loved him." One of his patrons was probably Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, a prominent figure in the Brussels court, to whom Lassus dedicated his first book of motets, published in Antwerp in 1556. That same year Lassus left Antwerp for Munich to sing in the choir at the court of Albert V, Duke of Bavaria. He became choirmaster in 1563 when his predecessor Ludwig Daser died, and remained at this post until his own death on 14 June 1594.

Lassus set only one of Marot's psalms, the popular Du fons de ma pensée (Psalm 130). His setting was first published in 1564 by J. Susato in Le premier livre de chansons à quatre parties . . . par M. Orlando di Lasso, and was republished several times in the Low Countries and elsewhere. This is the first polyphonic psalm in a Netherlands chanson collection to use the Huguenot melody.


*See the Bibliography of Primary Sources, pp. 283-284.*
Although Lassus might have composed the piece during his stay in Antwerp, it is also possible that he wrote it for the Munich court where there was strong Protestant sympathy.

Faignient

When Noé Faignient became a citizen of Antwerp in 1561, he was listed in the Poortersboek as "Noe Menestriers Bastiaenssone geboren van Cameryck, speelman." What this entry tells us of the composer's life prior to 1561 is that he was born in Cambrai and had received enough training in instrumental performance to be considered a "speelman.

That same year the baptism of a daughter was recorded in Antwerp, and in the following decade two more children of Faignient were baptized. In 1580 the accounts of the Brotherhood of Our Lady attached to the cathedral at s'Hertogenbosch list him as a choirmaster serving Eric, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg. There is no record of Faignient's death, nor has anything been found in the cathedral or city archives of Antwerp concerning his musical activities.

6 Alphonse Goovaerts, "Faignient, Noé," in Biographie nationale de Belgique (Brussels, 1866 --), VI, 848.


8 According to Wolfgang Boetticher, Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeit (Kassel, 1958), I, 39, fn. 54, Faignient died between 1595 and 1598; the author gives no supporting evidence for this statement, however.
It has been pointed out that Faignent's settings of nine Dutch psalms and canticles might suggest a sympathetic attitude toward Calvinism.\(^9\) One of these texts is a psalm-like poem entitled *Staet ons bij, Heer, in dese benaude tijden*, a text that resembles the songs persecuted Calvinists were fond of singing. The composer has left two settings of Huguenot psalms in his *Chansons, madrigals, et motets*, published by the widow of Jan Laet in 1568.\(^10\) The presence of these Calvinist texts might explain why a copy of the publication was seized by the Inquisition that same year.\(^11\)

**De Monte**

Although his name suggests that Mons was his birthplace, Philippe de Monte was actually born in Mechlin in 1521.\(^12\) Like Lassus, he went to Italy while still a youth.

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\(^10\) The Faignent psalm composition, *On a beau sa maison bastir*, in *Cinquante Pseaumes de David* (Heidelberg: J. Com- melin, 1597) is a contrafactum. The words of De Bèze's Psalm 127 are put to Faignent's six-voiced motet *Multi dicunt anima mea* from the 1568 collection.

\(^11\)Edmond van der Straeten, *La musique aux Pays-Bas* (Brussels, 1867-1888), III, 206.

\(^12\)De Monte's biography was written by George van Door- slaer in *La vie et les œuvres de Philippe de Monte* (Brussels, 1921), pp. 31-70. New information has been added by Piet Nuten in his article "De Monte, Philippe" in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Kassel, 1949 --), IX, 489-491.
In 1554-1555 he was a member of the chapel of Philip II and accompanied the Spanish king on his journey to England. When Jacobus Vaet died in 1568, De Monte succeeded him as choirmaster to Emperor Maximilian II, a position he retained until his death in 1603. He traveled to the Low Countries in 1570 to recruit singers and other personnel for the court of the emperor. In that year Phalèse of Louvain published his Second livre des chansons a quatre et cinq parties, composées par Orlando di Lassus, Cyprian de Rore, & Philippe de Mons, which contains five works by De Monte, three on religious texts. One is a setting of Marot's Psalm 107.

Cornet

Severin Cornet was born in Valenciennes in the province of Hainault, which was part of the Low Countries in the sixteenth century.\(^\text{13}\) Since Cornet's first child was baptized in 1560, Doorslaer estimated the date of the composer's birth to be circa 1530.\(^\text{14}\) A dedicatory poem in one of Cornet's publications alludes to an Italian journey, which might have preceded his marriage to the daughter of Antoine Barbé, choirmaster at the Antwerp cathedral. In 1564 Cornet was appointed choirmaster at the cathedral of

\(^{\text{13}}\)The most detailed biography of Cornet is in George van Doorslaer, "Severin Cornet, compositeur—maître de chapelle (1530-1582)," in De Gulden Passer, III (1925), 163-206.

\(^{\text{14}}\)Ibid., p. 163.
St. Rombout in Mechlin. After eight years of service there he was awarded an identical position in the Antwerp cathedral, succeeding Gerard van Turnhout.

In 1581 Christophe Plantin published the works of Cornet in three volumes—a book of motets, one of madrigals, and one of chansons. The last publication bears the title, Chansons Françoyses à 5, 6, et 8 parties, mises en musique par Severin Cornet, Maistre des enfans de la grande Eglise d’Anvers, and contains a setting of De Bèze’s Psalm 34.

Cornet could hardly have felt any sympathy for Calvinism, as he must have known that he would lose his position at the cathedral if Antwerp remained under Calvinist domination. Yet he composed a motet and a chanson on texts extolling Catherine of Orange, daughter to William, leader of the Calvinist rebels. Perhaps the two Orangist compositions and the polyphonic psalm were written to win favor with the controlling party; or Cornet might have been one of the many southern Netherlands who admired and followed the Prince of Orange without renouncing Catholicism.

In August 1581 the Calvinists forbade Catholic worship in the cathedral and deprived Cornet of his position as choirmaster. He applied for employment in the choir of Emperor Ferdinand II, but was refused. One year later he died.
Pevernage

Born in Courtrai in 1543, André Pevernage became choirmaster at the cathedral of St. Donatian in Bruges when he was only twenty years old. After a stay of only a few months he returned to Courtrai to take up an identical position at the Church of Our Lady. He held this post until 1585 when he was called to Antwerp to be cathedral choirmaster. The Calvinists had surrendered the city to Spanish troops led by the Duke of Parma, and Catholic worship was being restored. Pevernage replaced a certain Hendrik Munten, of whom nothing is known except that he sang the Te Deum celebrating Parma's joyous entry into Antwerp. The composer remained at the cathedral until his death in 1591.

Two years earlier Christophe Plantin had issued Chansons d'André Pevernage, Maistre de la chapelle de l'Eglise cathedral d'Anvers, Livre premier, Contenant chansons spirituelles, à cinqu parties. This collection is an astonishing publication in several respects. Printed at the close of the four years of grace after which no Protestants were to be allowed in Antwerp, the publication contains two Marot psalms, each based on the Huguenot melody, plus settings of the two Marot graces. Although it contained these Huguenot texts and melodies, the book was

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15Pevernage’s biography was written by Jean Auguste Stellfeld in Andries Pevernage, zijn Leven, zijn Werken (Louvain, 1943), pp. 7-29.
dedicated to a prominent Catholic, the Bishop of Ypres. In addition, Pevernage was choirmaster in a cathedral that had been held by the Calvinists for four years. It is strange indeed that he should have included four compositions inspired by the psalter of the outlawed heretics, who were then being forced to leave Antwerp. Whatever the reason for their creation and publication, Pevernage's four compositions are another reminder that the Marot-De Bâze psalms were not the exclusive property of the Huguenots.

The Music

When Jacques Susato published Orlande de Lassus' setting of Marot's Psalm 130 in 1564, two main types of polyphonic Huguenot psalms had appeared in the Low Countries: the chanson type independent of the Huguenot melody, as created by Waelrant and Caulery among others; and the motet type of Jean Louys, which used the psalm tune in imitative style.

Composers in France had developed other styles for setting the Calvinist melodies. The strictly note-against-note psalms of Bourgeois and the slightly-ornamented chordal settings of Certon and Janequin were mentioned in Chapter IV as examples of the various styles that emerged in the earliest music based on the Huguenot psalm tunes. The chordal style found its best exponent in Claude Goudimel. In
his complete polyphonic psalter of 1564, Goudimel set the Genevan melodies in a note-against-note texture with the tune appearing in tenor or superius. There are only 125 melodies in the Genevan Psalter, with some being assigned to more than one psalm. When Goudimel set one of these melodies a second time in his 1564 psalter, he wrote in a more ornate style. Tenor or superius still carry the unaltered psalm tune, so that, as in the simpler settings, the length of the given melody determines the length of the polyphonic composition. Here, however, the accompanying voices do not move with the melody to form a chordal texture. Instead, each voice is rhythmically independent and indulges in occasional short melismas, brief imitations, and ornamental melodic figures. The setting of the text is still mainly syllabic, but the four voices no longer declaim the words together. Goudimel used this more ornate style exclusively in his second complete psalter, published in 1568. For purposes of comparison, the openings of


Goudimel's two settings of Psalm 130, one from 1565, the second from 1568, are given in Example 24.

Example 24. Goudimel, Du fons de ma pensée (Psalm 130). (a) 1564 setting. (b) 1568 setting.

(a)

II, 158 and 165. A modern edition of this psalter, based on the 1580 Genevan publication, is in Henry Expert (ed.), Les maîtres musiciens de la renaissance française (Paris, 1894-1908), II, IV, and VI.

The chronology of Goudimel's polyphonic psalters has been confused since Douen, but is corrected by Pierre Pidoux in "Notes sur quelques éditions des psaumes de Claude Goudimel," in Revue de musicologie, XLII (1958), 184-192.
When Lassus set this same Marot text, he chose a style midway between the chordal and embellished styles of Goudimel. The untransposed melody appears in the tenor, with only a few rhythmic changes. Occasionally, the semibreve rests between phrases are omitted or the first note of a phrase is halved, with the result that Lassus' setting has forty-four semibreve tactus instead of the usual forty-eight.

18A modern edition is in Orlando di Lasso, Sämtliche Werke (Leipzig, 1894-1927), XVI, 159.
Lassus begins his setting in a strict chordal style. (See Example 25.) The suspension in the contratenor on the penultimate syllable of the first phrase is a common device in the chordal settings of both Goudimel and Bourgeois, although these men usually reserved the suspension for later cadences. While the tenor sustains the last note of the first phrase, syncopations in the superius and eighth-note movement in the contratenor lead smoothly into the more

Example 25. Lassus, Du fons de ma pensée (Psalm 130), meas. 1-8.

19See the three chordal settings in the modern edition of Loys Bourgeois, Vingt-quatre psaumes à 4 voix (Basel, 1960), pp. 20, 25, and 43.
active second phrase. The bassus also enters before the tenor melody, so that in this phrase none of the accompanying voices moves with the cantus firmus, except the bassus as it approaches the cadence. The third phrase is a point of imitation, providing a welcome change in texture in which the four voices enter in descending order. The superius again overlaps with the last note of the previous phrase, then goes on to present the entire phrase of the psalm tune before cadencing with a short melisma. The first three notes of the bassus also copy the psalm tune; only the contratenor with its repeated a's has no psalm-derived material. In these and the succeeding four phrases, Lassus blends chordal and imitative texture into cohesive passages in which the three accompanying voices sing frequent ornamental patterns involving either a suspension, an anticipation, or several passing tones. As in Coudimel's embellished chordal settings, the rests between phrases do not occur simultaneously. The music flows on uninterruptedly, with each phrase connected differently to its successor, leading finally to the opening of the short last phrase where eighth-note runs form a gentle drive to the cadence. The entire composition has a freedom and plasticity absent in the chordal settings of the Calvinist melodies. Yet Lassus has made only the simplest alterations of the basic chordal framework. With a few deft strokes, genius can transform the commonplace into high art.
Noé Faignent was a second Netherlandish composer who used cantus-firmus style to set a Calvinist melody. One of his two psalm compositions is a setting of Marot's Psalm 103, *Sus, louez Dieu, mon ame en toute chose* (Vol. II, No. 17). Whereas Lassus placed the untransposed tune in the tenor of a setting a 4, Faignent sets Psalm 103 for five voices and states the melody, also untransposed, in the superius. Unlike Lassus, he makes not a single rhythmic change in the Huguenot tune. This melody is imitated in quasi-canon a fifth below by the quinta voice. The entries of these two voices occur at closer time intervals as the piece progresses. For the first two phrases they enter at the distance of a measure and a half. This is shortened to a measure for phrases three and four. In the last two phrases of the composition, the two entries are separated by only three-fourths of a measure. In constructing the imitating voice, Faignent treats the melody quite freely, lengthening some notes, changing the pitch of others. The remaining three voices, though they enter in succession, do not imitate one another and only occasionally copy the psalm tune for two or three notes. In this composition, Faignent has altered the slightly-imitative psalm style of Goudimel by assigning the Huguenot melody to two voices and making the remaining ones relatively independent of the cantus prius factus.
Faignient used the Huguenot melody more freely in his setting a 4 of De Bèze's *Jamais ne cesseray* (Psalm 34).\(^{20}\)

Once again the psalm tune is assigned to two voices, here the superius and tenor. Instead of having one voice follow the other with almost canonic regularity, Faignient allows first the superius and then the tenor to lead in presenting the eight phrases of the melody. In the first four points of imitation, the phrase in the superius is answered by the tenor. For the second half of the piece, this process is reversed, except that only the tenor sings the psalm tune in the chordal setting of the final phrase. Faignient introduces other variations of this procedure that prevent it from becoming stereotyped. In the third point of imitation a complete statement of the melodic phrase in the bassus anticipates the imitative entries of superius and tenor. In phrase four each imitative entry is patterned after the psalm tune. Further variation is provided by the differing time-intervals at which the imitating voices enter. In some points of imitation they enter in rapid succession. More often they commence in pairs, the second pair waiting until the entire psalm phrase has sounded. In stating the melody the two leading voices frequently introduce rhythmic alterations. With the exceptions already noted, the

contratenor and bassus accompany the psalm tune with independent motifs. The fine balance between unity and variety in this little piece belies the deprecatory judgement that Faignient "employs an expressionless homophony that brands him as an imitator without great originality." 21

Philippe de Monte's single setting of a Huguenot text illustrates another method of using the given melody in a polyphonic complex. His five-voiced Donnez au Seigneur gloire (Psalm 107) is a series of points of imitation in motet style, with one voice, the tenor, presenting the unaltered melody in each point of imitation. 22 The tenor, however, is not a strict cantus firmus, as was the superius of Faignient's Psalm 103. After each statement of the melodic phrase, De Monte inserts additional material. Sometimes the phrase is freely extended to repeated text. Elsewhere the tenor states the melodic phrase twice, either exactly or with slight rhythmic changes. For the last line of text De Monte combines these two procedures: the concluding phrase of the psalm tune in the tenor is extended by means of new material, then repeated to close the composition. Like Faignient's Psalm 34, the other voices in this

21"... er bedient sich einer ausdruckslosen Homophonie, die ihn zu einem Epigone ohne grosse Originalität stempelt."

Albert van der Linden, "Faignient, Noé," in Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, III, 1724.

22A modern edition is in Philippe de Monte, Opera (Bruges, 1927-1939), XX, 23.
piece share motifs that are based on the tune or freely composed. Occasionally De Monte uses both types of motif in a single point of imitation, and he may even quote the melodic phrase exactly in a voice other than the tenor. De Monte’s setting resembles the psalm-motets of Louys in that it is a series of points of imitation based on the psalm tune. Unlike Louys, however, De Monte does not distribute the tune evenly among all five voices, but makes his tenor a cantus firmus with each phrase extended.

At the words "Qu'illez chantent sa hautesse," De Monte indulges in an obvious bit of text-painting. (See Example 26.) The superius on the word "hautesse" leaps up to G and then down an octave. On the same word, the quinta sings a long melisma that ascends stepwise and continues in a high register. The absence of other long melismas in this piece increases the effect of the illustrative device.

Example 26. De Monte, Donnez au Seigneur gloire (Psalm 107), meas. 29-33.
Like De Monte, Severin Cornet set only one Huguenot psalm. His *Jamais ne cesseray* (Psalm 34) is a short psalm-motet, with successive points of imitation built on the eight phrases of the melody. The opening of the composition is given in Example 27. This setting differs from De Monte's in that no one voice predominates in presenting the given melody, which has instead been distributed equally among all voices. Although in the first point of imitation there are free countermotifs in the contratenor and bassus, in the second all voices are shaped after the psalm tune. Throughout the remainder of the work, Cornet continues to pattern his motifs after the given melody, but with varying degrees of resemblance. Perhaps the missing *altus* part carried the unaltered melody in some phrases. One is inclined to believe, however, that the missing voice was written in the style of the others and that the scarcity of motifs closely resembling the psalm tune is the result of Cornet's free approach to the given melody.

Cornet's work differs from Louys' psalm-motets in that his motifs are shorter, approximately the length of the monophonic phrase. Louys, by contrast, was fond of shaping an entering voice to resemble most of the melodic phrase and then extending it freely until the next point of

\[23\] Because the *altus* voice of Cornet's psalm is missing, the composition has not been included in Volume II. Instead, a rather lengthy extract is given in Example 27.
Example 27. Cornet, Jamais ne cesseray (Psalm 34), meas. 1-14.
imitation. Or he reworks the psalm motif several times. Although Cornet may rework one of his short motifs to extend a point of imitation, he often presents a motif only once in each voice, followed by rests. (See Example 28, measures 8-11.) This brevity of motifs and of points of imitation, plus the longer breathing spaces, gives Cornet's psalm a lightness that Louys' style lacks.

André Pevernage, who set four Calvinist texts, has left us a delightful composition for five voices based on Resveillez vous, chacun fidèle, Marot's Psalm 33 (Vol. II, No. 18. The first four lines of the poem are set in AA form, following the structure of the given melody, which Pevernage places in the tenor, occasionally repeating a phrase or inserting free material. The four remaining voices sing syllabic motifs based on the psalm tune, some of them broken into fragments. In the B section of the composition, all motifs are short, due to the lines of five and six instead of nine and ten syllables. Here the rapid succession of short motifs seems especially appropriate because the text mentions musical instruments. At "Sur la douce harpe" and "De lutz, d'espinettes" (meas. 14 and 23), the short, syllabic bursts create an effect of plucked strings.

Also noteworthy is that Pevernage uses his first dissonances with the words "Sur la douce harpe." The music for the first four lines of the poem is entirely syllabic
and consonant except for six-four chords in measures 4 and 10. Then suddenly on the word "harpe" the contratenor sings a run with a passing tone and an ornamented suspension, forming the longest melisma in the piece and one of the rare examples of text-painting in the Netherlandish Huguenot repertoire (Ex. 28).


Prevalent in all voices are pairs of repeated semiminims, already familiar from Waelrant's psalms and Lassus' *villanesche*. Whereas Waelrant grouped the note nere into occasional passages, Pevernage constructs practically an entire polyphonic complex of alternating minims and semiminims, each carrying a syllable. The presence of so many short note-values instead of the usual movement in minims and semibreves suggests that in this piece Pevernage was
striving for an effect of speed. In sixteenth-century music, the basic pulse or tactus was on the semibreve, and the only way composers could increase the tempo was either to specify by means of a mensuration sign that the breve should receive the tactus or to write in shorter note-values. In Psalm 33, Pevernage not only introduces these shorter note-values in the accompanying voices, but even reduces values in the psalm tune. All previous polyphonic psalms that presented the melody as cantus firmus did so with the use of semi-breves and minims only, which are also the note-values used in the monophonic psalters. In this setting, however, Pevernage reduces by half most of the semibreves and some of the minims, so that the cantus firmus as well as the accompanying polyphony flows by more rapidly. The lively quality of this piece is enhanced by the high tessitura of the outer voices. The bass does not descend below C, and the two upper voices share a range of F' to G". The result is a bright sound that, along with the rapid tempo and animated motifs, creates an appropriate setting for a text that urges the faithful to rise and praise the Lord with psaltery and harp.

Pevernage's setting of Marot's Miséricorde au povre vicieux (Psalm 51) is similar to his Psalm 33 in texture, range, and number of voices. Here, however, no single voice states the complete Huguenot melody. Instead, all five voices work the psalm tune freely into the successive points of imitation. Sometimes short motifs, using only the first
few notes of the melodic phrase, precede the complete statement. (See Example 29.) Although there are several semiminims carrying separate syllables in Example 29, Pevernage’s Psalm 51 moves chiefly in semibreves and minims, with semiminims usually reserved for melismatic purposes. Unlike Psalm 33, this composition is in the prevailing white-note, motet style of the late sixteenth century.

Example 29. Pevernage, Miséricorde au povere vicieux (Psalm 51), meas. 10-14.
Only two settings of the Marot–De Bèze texts by Nether-
erlandish composers after 1564 do not use the Huguenot mel-
ody. These are Peverynage's compositions based on Marot's
prayers before and after meals. It is always possible, of
course, that Peverynage used a lost or unknown melody, but
this is unlikely since the two prayers were printed without
melodies in most Huguenot Psalters. Only the texts were
included in the 1562 Genevan Psalter, and Plantin's edition
of 1564 did not even contain the texts. Of the nine poly-
phonic settings of these paired graces, only Bourgeois
used the Genevan melodies, which were evidently not very
well known.

In his settings of the prayers, Peverynage's tend-
ency to break up phrases into short fragments is even more
evident than in his Psalm 51. In 0 souverain pasteur, for
example, only the first line of text is set as a long point
of imitation with uninterrupted statements of the entire
musical phrase in white notes. (See Volume II, No. 19.)

24 Although only a few psalters contained melodies
for these texts, two tunes have been associated with each
prayer. They are reproduced and their sources listed in
Pidoux, Le psautier huguenot, I, 138–139. To the list of
sources for the first tune for each prayer should be added
Cinquante Psalmes (Paris: Du Chemin, 1556—Pidoux's 56/1).

25 The polyphonic settings by Susato, Gerard, and
Clemens non Papa have already been discussed. The texts
have also been set by Mornable (in Pidoux's 46/IV bis),
Le Gendre (in RISM 1552/3), La Moeulle (in RISM 1554/18,
which, incidentally, is a monophonic publication), Bour-
geois (in Pidoux's 54/II), and Certon (in Pidoux's 55/IV).
More typical is the setting of the third phrase, with its many syllabic semiminims and short, four-note motif on the words "Et de tes biens" (meas. 15-21). In the remainder of the work, Pevernage does not return to the sedate motet style of the opening, but continues to construct short, syllabic motifs in a chordal framework. The bassus, instead of flowing independently in a point of imitation, fulfills the role of harmonic support for complete triads usually in root position.

This composition also illustrates Pevernage's marked sensitivity for effective text declamation. Short syllables are usually assigned to semiminims. Dotted rhythms, such as \(\dot{.}\), are used for words like nourissant and par celuy.

Some of Pevernage's more obvious attempts to match the rhythm of the words with long and short notes are reminiscent of musique mesurée. In one passage this measured rhythm is imposed on all voices simultaneously, resulting in the chordal texture inevitable in musique mesurée (meas. 12-14).

To set Père éternel qui nous ordonne, the second grace of Marot's pair, Pevernage continues in the style of O souverain pasteur, creating what might be called a secunda pars. Mode, number of voices, and overall texture are the same in both compositions. Here also, the bassus, although not free of imitations, often moves by fourths and fifths in support of root-position harmony.
After Pevernage, polyphonic settings of Calvinist texts disappear from the pages of chanson collections published in the Low Countries, and there is no evidence that any later Netherlandish composer, other than Sweelinck in the next century, turned his attention to the Huguenot texts or their melodies. At this point, therefore, we may summarize the development of the polyphonic Huguenot psalm in the Low Countries from Jean Louys' *Pseaulmes Cânquante* of 1555 to the Pevernage publication of 1589.

Louys created lengthy psalm-motets in which the Huguenot melody was the source for motifs used in involved points of imitation. Later composers seem more interested in clearly presenting the tune in one or two voices. In the Lassus setting and in Faignient's Psalm 103, the tune appears as *cantus firmus* in one voice, with slight or no alterations. De Monte and Pevernage (Psalm 33) also used the *cantus-firmus* principle but repeated phrases of the melody or inserted bits of free material. Of the remaining three compositions to use the official tune, the settings of Psalm 34 by Faignient and Cornet treat the melody more freely. Instead of a *cantus firmus*, the melodic phrase, or a short motif closely resembling it, moves from voice to voice. Only Pevernage in his Psalm 51 followed Louys' motet-like approach to the given melody.

Interest in a clear presentation of the melody also tends to shorten the length of the compositions. The
cantus-firmus settings are much shorter than Louys' psalm-motets, and even those psalms that do use imitation, such as the settings by De Monte and Cornet, are about half as long as Louys' settings of the same texts.

Another noticeable change has occurred in the overall range of the psalm settings. There are fewer low voices than in the Louys psalms, where the quinta was almost always another tenor. In the five-voiced settings of De Monte and Pevernage, however, the fifth part is a second treble with the same range as the superius, contributing to the bright sound of these pieces.

Texture also has been lightened in these later settings. Motifs are shorter and rests more frequent than in Louys' thickly-textured polyphony. The many repeated notes and the harmonic role of the bassus create a chordal framework in which the four or five voices move with less melodic independence than in Louys' psalms.

One result of this more chordal approach to polyphonic writing is the noticeable decrease in the use of dissonance. The suspension, present in almost every measure of the Louys psalms, is used far less frequently by all of the composers under discussion here. In Pevernage's Psalm 33, for example, there are only fourteen suspensions and seven passing tones. In Louys' setting of the same text are sixty-two suspensions and ninety-two passing tones. Even though Pevernage's composition is half as long as Louys'
the dissonance rate is appreciably lower. Although Cornet, Faignient, and De Monte are not as sparing in their use of dissonances as Pevernage, their settings do not display the lavish use of them that is characteristic of Louys' style.

Perhaps another reason for the fewer dissonances in these psalm settings is that, for many composers of the Palestrina-Lassus generation, the dissonance was no longer the purely abstract device that it was in the hands of Clemens and Gombert. In the dense, horizontally-woven fabric of the mid-century motet, the dissonance was rarely used as a means of emotional expression. Although this attitude lived on in the music of Palestrina, many composers of his generation did use dissonance for expressive purposes, to accentuate words depicting sorrow or pain. Composers like Pevernage and De Monte reserved this use of dissonance for their madrigals. The less descriptive Calvinist texts called forth a more objective style, and the dissonance, which was gradually losing its abstract qualities, is less frequent in their psalms than in a setting of the same text by a mid-century composer.

Not all of the Huguenot texts were set in a purely objective style, however. Both De Monte and Pevernage used an expressive device to illustrate one word of a psalm text. Indeed, Pevernage's entire setting of *Resveillez vous*, with its rapid tempo, short motifs, and high voices, is an excellent example of a polyphonic idiom in which text
determines style. Apart from these examples, however, the composers seem more interested in clearly stating the Huguenot melody than in illustrating the text.

This interest in the Huguenot melody is a new phenomenon in the development of the polyphonic psalm in the Low Countries and is reminiscent of the settings by Huguenot composers in France and Switzerland. When these men set the entire psalter, they presented the psalm tune as cantus firmus, accompanied by either simple chords or a more elaborate counterpoint. The given melody, however, was always clearly present. In their prefaces the Huguenot composers state that they have retained "le sujet du chant ordinaire qui se chante en l'Eglise," because so many people enjoy singing the psalms outside of church, "en chant plus mélodieux, selon l'art de Musique." 26 Since many inhabitants of the Low Countries also enjoyed singing the psalms, the presence of Huguenot melodies in the chanson collections suggests that composers like Lassus and Peernage wished to give their contemporaries psalms "en chant plus mélodieux."

26 From a preface written by Philibert Jambe de Fer for his Les CL. Pseaumes de David (Lyon: Cercia and De Mia, 1564); see Fidoux, Le psautier huguenot, II, 139.
CHAPTER VI

THE ROLE OF THE HUGUENOT PSALM
IN THE LOW COUNTRIES

Psalm-Singing and the Beginnings of the Calvinist Struggle in the Low Countries

The entire sixteenth century was a time of religious unrest in Western Europe. In the last years of the fifteenth century, the Biblical humanists were already demanding religious reforms. Combining scholarship with a renewed piety, these men criticized the clergy and reinterpreted old doctrines in the spirit of the new learning. Erasmus of Rotterdam was their most famous representative. He believed that a new Christianity would sweep over Europe as a result of pure Biblical knowledge and brotherly love. Erasmus was the hero of a hopeful Europe in the opening decades of the new century.

A less patient man was to have a far greater influence on the course of events. Martin Luther was unwilling to wait for the slow healing through love and letters. His challenge to emperor and pope divided Germany and inflamed Europe. Erasmus pleaded that physical force against the heretics would only result in chaos. Events have proved him correct, but the age listened to him no more. "In the
grip of a furious gale of hatred and misunderstanding it hurried past him into disasters and disruptions without end."¹

To combat the spread of Lutheranism in the Low Countries, Charles V set up his own Inquisition in 1522. Religious persecution became the primary occupation of all law-enforcing institutions, spurred on by the edicts of the emperor. In 1523 the first victims of the new Inquisition were sentenced to death; two Augustinian monks from Antwerp, accused of Lutheran beliefs, were burned at the stake in Brussels.

Soon another heresy, often mistakenly called Lutheranism, sprang up in the Low Countries; Anabaptism, an extreme creed renouncing society, government, and Rome, appealed to the lower classes, who found consolation in looking forward to heavenly riches as a reward for earthly suffering. This second wave sweeping westward from Germany exerted a much stronger influence in the Low Countries than had Lutheranism. Most Protestant martyrs in the Low Countries of the forties and fifties were Anabaptists, who met their death with a meekness that, although admirable, was hardly in keeping with the rebellious spirit of their time.

The task of providing leadership for that spirit fell to Calvinism, a third wave of new Protestant thought, which

rapidly inundated all of the Low Countries. Missionaries from Strasbourg and Geneva began preaching in the southernmost provinces in the early 1540's. By 1560 the entire country was under the influence of a religion with a strongly developed political sense. The clear call to rebellion against political and religious tyranny appealed to men who were beginning to feel themselves under a Spanish yoke that had to be thrown off.

The first documented evidence of Calvinism in the Low Countries dates from 1544 when Pierre Brully, Calvin's successor in Strasbourg, was sent to be minister to the Protestant church in Tournai. Brully and several Tournai citizens were arrested and sentenced to be burned at the stake. The first victim, an artisan named Arnoult Estallufrett, was executed on 30 January 1545. Refusing to recant, he sang a psalm until the flames overcame him.\(^2\) This is the earliest reference to Calvinist psalm-singing in the Low Countries.

To the northeast meanwhile, Emden was becoming an important center of Calvinism. The Lutheran churches in the province of East Friesland had been reformed to fit the Calvinist ideal, and many Dutch-speaking refugees found safety there. In Emden were printed the first Dutch psalters for use in Calvinist worship. Ministers trained in Emden led

the newly-formed Calvinist congregations—clandestine groups meeting in homes of members—in Antwerp, Ghent, and other Dutch-speaking centers.

The greatest impetus to French-speaking Calvinism in the Low Countries came from the south in the early sixties. The peace treaty between Spain and France in 1559 reopened the southern frontier of the Netherlands. French Calvinists were busily organizing, and the Walloons were quick to follow their example. In 1561 Guido de Brès of Tournai drew up a confession of faith for the Calvinist church of the Low Countries.

Gradually becoming bolder, the adherents of the new religion held public meetings and irritated the authorities by singing psalms in the streets. Valenciennes was especially restive. Groups of men and women gathered at night in front of the homes of the clergy, shouting insults and singing "psalms de David en langue françoise." Several were arrested and punished. On 18 December 1561 a royal decree forbade open-air sermons and public singing of French psalms, which the heretics were using as a signal to assemble. All those owning books of psalms and other "chansons ecclésiastiques" were ordered to show them to their priest. Only approved psalm-books could be used, and then solely

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3See the documents on psalm-singing in Valenciennes (1561-1562) in Appendix III A and B.
for singing in homes, not in the street or in public places. But the "chanteries," as the authorities name them in their inquests and deliberations, did not cease. On the night of 22 March 1562 several hundred men and women walked the streets of Valenciennes, singing psalms in front of the prison where two men were being held for just such public psalm-singing. Another defiant psalm was sung at the execution of the two prisoners. Later a certain Pelonne de Veulle was arrested for singing the ten commandments in public, and a Jacques Farvacque confessed to singing the chanson "En Dieu je me consolle," third stanza of Clément Marot’s Psalm 130.5

As Calvinism spread through all the provinces, psalms were heard everywhere. The published correspondence of Philip II with the leaders of the government in Brussels is full of references to psalms and "chanteries"—an activity the authorities feared as much as preaching. In one letter to Margaret of Parma, the king advised his sister, then regent in the Low Countries, to gag victims in order to prevent them from singing while being executed, "que m’a semblé chose de très-mauvais exemple, et dont plusieurs simples se pourroient scandalizer et laisser séduire."6

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4 The ordinance is reproduced in Appendix III C.

5 See Appendix III D.

6 Louis Prosper Gachard (ed.), Correspondance de Marguerite d’Autriche, duchesse de Parme, avec Philippe II (Brussels, 1867-1881), II, 354.
The center of heretical activity in the Netherlands was Antwerp. There the new religions had put down their deepest roots. In Antwerp a large German colony had introduced Lutheran ideas in the first part of the century. Later, hundreds of Anabaptists sought refuge within the walls of the busy metropolis. To Antwerp also came Calvinist refugees from the southern provinces and ministers from Emden, Geneva, and Strasbourg. Cardinal Granvelle called the city a receptacle for cast-off garments. 7

The exact date of the first Calvinist activity in Antwerp is not known, but both Dutch- and French-speaking congregations were established there in the fifties. On 21 June 1557 the Dutch preacher Adrien van Haemstede wrote from Antwerp to the church at Emden that one house was no longer large enough for services and that he was considering preaching out-of-doors. 8 The French-speaking church was founded in Antwerp in 1554 by François Perucel. Its members were refugees from London, to which city they had fled from persecution in the Low Countries, only to be forced to flee again when Mary Tudor re-established the Catholic faith in

7 M. V. Fris, "Notes pour servir à l'histoire des iconoclastes et des calvinistes à Gand de 1566 à 1584," in Annales de la société d'histoire d'archéologie de Gand, IX (1909), xii.

8 A. Uyttenhooven, Geschiedenis der Hervormde Kerken te Antwerpen (Amsterdam, 1794), p. 102.
England. Calvin wrote this congregation a letter on 21 December 1556.9

The earliest reference to the Calvinist Psalter in Antwerp is in a letter written by Gaspar van der Heyden, a minister serving the Dutch-speaking congregation there. In 1555 he notified a bookseller in Emden that the psalters of Jan Utenhove sold slowly because they were too expensive.10 The Utenhove psalters printed in London and Emden were evidently being brought into the Low Countries for use by the Calvinists. Van Haemstede’s martyrology reports in 1559 that a certain Herman Janssens, on his way to execution for heresy, sang "Wt dieper noot schreye ick tot dy, Heer God"—Utenhove’s Psalm 130.11 The same psalm, popular because it expressed the feelings of a downtrodden people, was sung in 1564 by a defiant crowd gathered at the execution of Christoffel Fabritius, a Calvinist minister in Antwerp.12 In a struggle between the guards and the


10 An extract from this letter is on p. 65 above.

11 "Doe sy nu ghebonden waren, werdens wygeleyt na de marckt toe. So hief Herman zijn herte totten Heere ende sangk den hondert ende dertichsten Psalm. Wt dieper noot schreye ick tot dy, Heer God etc."
Adrien C. van Haemstede, De Gheschiedenisse ende den dooht der vromer Martelaren (s.l. 1559), p. 453.

12 "Derwijle hy [Fabritius] aen den stake stont hebben sommige van den omstaende broeders den 130. Psalm opgeheven, en begonnen te singen."
onlookers several people were injured. The official report of the incident states that the previous night a crowd had gathered outside the prison where Fabriuus was held and had sung psalms in Dutch and French; persons living near the prison reported that this was a common occurrence. The execution of Fabrius is related in many old and recent histories as an illustration of the great unrest in Antwerp in 1564.

Although all religious meetings other than Catholic had been repeatedly forbidden by royal and city decrees, the Protestants were emboldened by the events of April 1566. The League of Nobles presented Margaret of Parma with demands that the king abolish the Inquisition and that the persecutions be suspended until the king replied. The regent decided to grant the request concerning the persecutions and instructed her agents to proceed with caution in the execution of the edicts against heresy. This agreement, known as the April Compromise, opened the floodgates, and 1566 was ever after to be known as "Het Wonderjaar"—the wondrous year. Refugees flocked back from England and Germany, singing psalms in their boats and wagons. May saw

13 This report is reproduced by P. Genard in "Personen te Antwerpen in de XVIIe eeuw, voor het 'feit van religie' gerechterlijk vervolgd. Lijst en ambtelijke bijhorende stukken," in Antwerpsch Archiefblad, IX (s.d.), 203.

14 "Le prévôt Morillon au Cardinal de Granvelle, Brussels, 28 avril 1566 . . . . Mais les fugitiz pour la dicte religion ne seront empeschez en leur retour, que
the first hedge-sermons (hagepreeken), services held in the
fields because there were no churches for Protestants. Thou-
sands of people in Flanders, Holland, and Zeeland forsook
the Mass to hear the preachers of the new religion.

The hedge-sermons outside Antwerp were in French and
Dutch and attracted large crowds. On the last Sunday of
June 1566, an Englishman in Antwerp wrote a letter to Lord
Cecil in which he described this new phenomenon.

th er er i j prechers preched an Inglish miell owt
of the town, on in the french tong. . . th'other
a stie Ducht man15. . . the french sermon in a
little wood, and t'other under a hedge, too payr
of butt lengths asonder: to which sermons came
out of the town in my sight, to the judgement of
most men that toke good vewe of them, at the
lest x or xij thosand persons, men and wemen,
and maynie of them of vayrie good credit and
vocation, and nether at theyr going forth anye
stay made of them, notwithstanding the went in
gret tropes, nor yet at theyr return anie on wurd
said unto anne on of them. I never sawe people
goo to anie thing more joyfullie, nor return
more contentid, nor use themselves in the chur-
chis more reverentlie then they did in the

... reviengent catervatim tant en Anvers que à Lille,
Tournay, et Valenchiennes; et Dieu ssait les propoz qu'ilz
tiagnent, et les chansons que se dient à chariot et sur
les batteaux."

Edmond Poulet and Charles Piot (eds.), Correspond-

15 This statement of the Englishman disproves the
claim of the Antwerp historian Floris Prims that the hedge-
sermons of June 1566 were held only in French; see his "Het
Calvinisme van voor de beeldstormerij, 1551-1566," in Ant-
werpiensia, XIV (1940), 104. In this essay Prims insists
that Calvinism in Antwerp was a foreign, French-speaking
movement forced upon the Dutch-speaking locals. Even a
superficial examination of the documents shows this position
to be untenable.
fildes. I wuld some what have towchid the french sermon as much as my symple hed broght away; but I dovt the trobling of Your Honour to moch . . . . From Andwerpe this sonday, the last of June 1566. This day in the afternone I hier the prech in the sam plassis agien, and so iiij tymes a weke, tell the Lordes of this town provied them a church.

. . . . . . . .
John Keyle to Lord Cecil. 16

The Antwerp chronicler F. G. Ullens, writing about a decade later, described the singing of psalms at these gatherings.

Saturday the 29th of June on Saint Peter and Paul's Day . . . two were going to preach the doctrine of Calvin in Laer, one in Walloon and the other in Dutch.

. . . . . . . .
Item, on the same day early in the morning, the city of Antwerp issued an order that no one should go to the sermons, but not paying any attention to this order, more than fifteen hundred went to both sermons. Similarly, the other day on Sunday still more went with their psalm booklets, others with letters and with scoffing poems, statues, and pictures directed against the mass, pope, and clergy, in order to sell them there . . . . but before they began to preach, they sang various Dutch psalms . . . . After the sermon was finished everyone sang a Dutch psalm together, and together shot off their firearms to show their happiness that the sermon was over, since it had lasted almost three hours. 17

A print by the sixteenth-century artist Frans Hogenberg shows a hedge-sermon outside Antwerp. (See Figure 1.) Men in the foreground are holding small books which could well be psalters. Three groups are distinguishable, in


17 The original Dutch text is reproduced in Appendix XI A.
FIGURE 1

A Print by Frans Hogenberg Showing a Hedge-Sermon Outside the Walls of Antwerp

The legend beneath the print reads:

Der alter kirch missbrauch sehr gross
Von Gottes Wort und lehr gar blos:
Haben bewegkt die gantze gemein,
Das sei die lehr begerten rein.
Darumb sei auf vorschidden ortt
Lauffen zu horen Gottes wortt.
Wie das Marinus hatt verkliert
Auch was davon Calvinus liert.

Anno Dei M.D.LXVI In Junio XIII.
agreement with chroniclers' reports that in addition to French- and Dutch-speaking Calvinists, Lutherans also worshiped in the fields.

Godevaert van Haecht, an Antwerp chronicler of Lutheran persuasion, described the hedge-sermons of those called "Mertinisten" or "van de confessie" (of the Augsburg confession). These Protestants held their outdoor services at Kiel, a hamlet near Antwerp, where, according to van Haecht's report, they sang "Mertinus psalmen."

On the 28th July 1566 they preached again at Kiel in the morning, and there were 7,000 people, and they also sang psalms following the custom of the confession . . . . And in the afternoon the Calvinists did not preach; but there was a sermon at Kiel, and after the sermon they sang Martin's psalms according to their custom, although the preacher did not sing with them; but he had given his permission; and because the Calvinists did not preach, many had come to listen. And after the sermon they made trouble, striking up other psalms and melodies in the midst of the Lutherans.18

As reported in the above eye-witness account, the Dutch-speaking Lutherans of Antwerp did not sing Calvinist psalms but had their own. A Lutheran Psalter in Dutch entitled Een Hantbooczken was printed in 1565, probably in Antwerp itself. This book was a translation by an unknown B. A. of the third edition of the Bonner Gesangbuch (1561), a Lutheran Psalter containing psalms rhymed by Mattheus

18The original Dutch text is reproduced in Appendix XI B.
Greiter, Hans Sach, and other poets, including the Wittenburg reformer himself. 19

Marcus van Vaernewijck, a Catholic chronicler and historian from Ghent wrote a detailed description of the Calvinist hedge-sermons outside his city and stressed their fondness for psalm-singing.

He had promised to preach at three o'clock in the afternoon, but began at two. The audience sat there in three groups, men, women, and young girls... each group had its own song-leader and had small booklets in their hands, and sang psalms the while. And they sold these books in which the psalms were printed as songs, each for one schilling...

They preached there in the morning and afternoon and sang psalms the while. Moreover, these psalms appealed to the members of the new religion so much that in the evening they would gather in groups of two to three hundred and sing them in different streets and alleys of the city... One hardly heard any other songs... Out in the fields, the preachers taught the people how to sing them, using simple tunes, and if the people sang badly and out of tune, then some of them would say: I think that you are growing, like the papists do in their churches. 20

The popularity of the Calvinist psalms in Ghent was one of the few phenomena of these troubled times that led to an attempt at humor. Van Vaernewijck records a Catholic joke, an almost-translatable pun: "The salmon will be very cheap


20 These are translated excerpts from a longer passage reproduced in the original Dutch in Appendix XI C.
when Lent comes because we hear so many of them on the streets."21

In August the "wondrous year" reached its unfortunate climax. The long-suppressed feelings of the Calvinists, who identified Spanish tyranny with the Catholic Church, erupted in a frenzied outburst of image-breaking. In Ghent, Antwerp, Amsterdam, Utrecht, and Valenciennes, enraged mobs pulled down images, destroyed organs, burned books, and intimidated the clergy. Calvinist reporters and historians have blamed the iconoclasm on a restive proletariat and roving bands of thieves. Catholics have accused Calvinist ministers and consistories of directing the operations. The truth is probably a mixture of these two accusations. All the contemporary reports agree, however, that the destruction was accompanied by the singing of psalms. A Catholic chronicler wrote the following outraged description of the destruction in the Antwerp cathedral:

On Tuesday the 20th of August, after Vespers, there was in Antwerp a great gathering of children and evil rabble in the Church of Our Lady, because that noon the statue of Mary had been set up in its place. They scoffed exceedingly the entire afternoon and attracted large crowds . . . . and before the Benediction, near the basin of holy water, began to sing psalms in large groups.

Shortly thereafter, Doctor Herman, the head preacher, came into the church with some of his followers, who began to cry "Long live the Beggars."

21"Die salmen . . . zullen nu zeer ghoeiden coop zijn jeghen den vastenen, mits dat men nu alzoo achter straten mede loopt." For the context and source see Appendix XI C.
Then the aforesaid went to the pulpit to preach, and all those who were in the church sang psalms with a loud voice, and Herman, proceeding in his sermon, preached a great deal about idolatry, expressly commanding that they should break into pieces all statues, figures, and ornaments of the church, the which was immediately begun in the choir of Our Lady, and did not cease until they had ruined and stolen everything that was in the church . . . 22

They also completely spoiled and destroyed the beautiful songbooks and other books concerning the church worth several hundred guilders, along with three beautiful pipe organs, and the children ran in the streets blowing on the pipes, which they sold to one another as a game.

The destruction which the Calvinists with their thievery wrought there within five or six hours can not be described nor the damage compared to any amount of money. 23

The image-breaking had a disastrous effect on the struggle for independence. Many nobles who had signed the April Compromise now sided with Margaret of Parma against William of Orange and other nobles who wished to give the Protestants more freedom. When Philip II heard of the image-breaking he decided to subjugate his rebellious subjects by force. The immediate effect of the destruction in the churches, however, was a measure of freedom for the

22The Calvinist version of the role of the preacher Herman is quite different: "Ce mardi au soir estans Mes- sieurs du Magistrat forttroublez de ce qui se commençoit, requirent un Ministre de l'Eglise Flamengue d'aller au Tem- ple, & exhorter ceux qui abbatoyent les images, de cesser. A quoy il obéit, & à ces fins estant monté en chaire, parla à eus. Mais voyant qu'on ne lui prestoit audience, & pour éviter plus grand danger, se retira. Neantmoins on chargoit ceux de la Religion reformée, d'estre auteurs de ce brisement . . . ."

Recueil des choses advenues en Anvers touchant le fait de la religion en l'an MCLXVI. (s.l., n.d.), fol. B 6r.

23For the original see Appendix XI D.
Protestants. Margaret gave her assent to an accord which permitted preaching the new religion where it was already practiced. The Protestants in Antwerp were clamoring for churches in which to hold their services, and had already appropriated some without permission. Although Margaret distrusted William of Orange because of his Protestant sympathies, she sent him to restore order in the troubled city. Orange gave the Lutherans and Calvinists permission to build their own churches, but forbade them to sing in groups on the streets, an activity that had to be reserved for their religious services.\footnote{24}

A period of industrious church-building ensued. Perhaps the Lutheran Van Haecht can be depended upon to give the least biased account of the Calvinist building program.

The Calvinists began to build two churches, one for the Walloons, and the other named "The Mole's Window." The Walloon church was octagonal. They worked on these churches very industriously; some men and women of the Calvinists worked now and then without pay. Many contributions were made to the building of these churches; each group was allowed to build three churches if they wished.\footnote{25}

In little more than a month after permission to build had been granted, the churches were finished and in use.\footnote{26}

\footnote{24}"Qu'ils ne pourront chanter sur les rues en troupeaux, sinon aux presches et exercices de leur Religion." Recueil des choses advenues en Anvers, fol. c 6\textsuperscript{f}.

\footnote{25}For the original see Appendix XI E.

\footnote{26}Le prevot Morillon au Cardinal de Granvelle, Louvain, le 5 octobre 1566. . . . Les affaires de la religion vont icy à l'accoustomé. . . . Les temples sont achevez
A diarist from Ghent described the new church there and the strange customs of the Calvinists.

13 December 1567
This church was called "the barn" by Catholics, and by some "the horse's cemetery," because they had found the carcass of a horse there, which someone had dragged in one night. The building was completely round, the roof from straw. The center was a place with benches for the elders and precentors, which they called the consistory; around these were other benches. One saw there no cross, no image, nor an altar.

January 1567. On the first day of the year the Calvinists held a fast day for the welfare of the state; they remained the entire day in church, listening to sermons and singing psalms. 27

The reference to precentors (voorzangers) shows that from the very beginning the Calvinist churches in the Low Countries used songleaders for congregational singing. This was their substitute for the organ, which was frowned upon as a papist contraption.

Freedom of worship for the Protestants did not last long. In the spring of 1567 the Calvinist stronghold of Valenciennes was subdued by Margaret's troops. Armed bands of roving Calvinists in Flanders were annihilated one by one. After William of Orange left Antwerp in April, thousands of Protestants fled to avoid persecution. In June

et consacrez à leur mode. L'on y at bescogné chauldement, et beaucou de damoiselles et gens de qualité y ont ouvré diligemment et donné grandes sommes."


27 For the original see Appendix XI F.
Margaret ordered the new churches destroyed, and in August those Protestants who had not fled saw the entrance of the Duke of Alva into the Low Countries, accompanied by four regiments of Spanish infantry. A reign of terror was to begin.

Music in the Established Calvinist Church, 1578-1585

A second period of religious freedom for Protestants in the Netherlands began in 1578 after the States-General under the leadership of William of Orange had rid the country temporarily of Spanish troops. The Religious Peace (Religieusvrede), signed in July of that year, guaranteed the public exercise of a second religion—Catholicism in cities where the Calvinists were in the majority, Protestantism where the Catholics ruled.

Religious tolerance was an unattainable ideal in the sixteenth century, especially in the embattled Low Countries. Catholics regarded the Religious Peace as an official introduction of heresy and found it increasingly difficult to co-operate with Calvinists who believed that rebellion against Spain should include a renunciation of the old religion. The Calvinists, especially those in Holland and Zeeland who had successfully withstood the Spaniard since 1572, saw in the Religious Peace an attempt to deprive them of their blood-bought rights.
In Antwerp a serious attempt was made to implement the Religious Peace. The city council assigned churches to Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists, and warned them all against inciting trouble. There was to be no singing in the streets, and it was strictly forbidden to compose, print, or sell songs that criticized another religion. 28 No doubt this action was directed against the geuzenliederen (songs of the beggars). Members of the extreme Calvinist party were called geuzen, the Dutch form of a French word for beggars, and their songs celebrating victories over the Spainards often included gibes at the pope and his followers. 29

Despite William of Orange's efforts to establish religious tolerance, anti-Catholic sentiment in Antwerp increased as Philip II's troops gradually reconquered provinces for Spain and Catholicism. Calvinists considered Catholics as traitors to the cause of freedom, and in July 1581 the Roman religion was banned in Antwerp. In August

28"Pour ce est il defendu de ne composer, chanter, imprimr, vendre ou exposer en public aucunes chansons picquantes, detractoires ou injurieuses, ballade, refreins, pasquils, escrits, figures ou peintures, par lesquelles l'une ou l'autre Religion, on quelqu'un en particulier ou en general, pourroit estre diffamé ou scandalisé, sur peine d'estre corrigé comme dessus."

Religions-Vrede ou Accord de religion, consenti et publié en Anvers le rixme de Iuin M.D.LXXIX (Antwerp, 1579), fol. A3r.

29Examples of geuzenliederen texts and melodies can be seen in P. Leendertz Jr. (ed.), Het Geuzenliedboek naar de oude drukken uit de nalatenschap van Dr. E. T. Kuiper (Zutphen, 1924).
all churches, even the cathedral, were in the hands of the
Protestants.

Although choral singing in the cathedral ceased, and
the choirmaster Severin Cornet was forced to seek employment
elsewhere, the choir remained together as a group. In
April 1582 a former treasurer of the cathedral requested
permission from the city authorities to collect rents from
church properties in order to pay the choir, "now in the
service of His Highness." The Antwerp cathedral choir had
become the private chapel choir of François of Anjou, who as
the newly-appointed Duke of Brabant was sovereign of the
independent Low Countries. On 14 March 1582 the Calvinists
vacated St. Michael's church, which was then given to Anjou
and his court for Catholic services. On 17 January 1583
the cathedral choir sang a special Mass at St. Michael's in
honor of the patron saint of the Brotherhood of St. Anthony.
The register of the Brotherhood includes a list of expenses

30 A letter written on his behalf to Ferdinand of
Austria is reproduced in Edmond van der Straeten, La musique
aux Pays-Bas (Brussels, 1867-1888), III, 253-254.

31 The entire letter is reproduced in Appendix XII A.

32 "Den 14 Meert [1582] hebben de gereformeerde moeten
ruymen door Begheren van syne Alteze den Hertog van Brabant
by consent ende wille van den breeding Raedt der stadt van
antwerpen de kercke van St. Michiels ende den 16 der selve
maednt is aldaer weder gedresseert den hooghen autaet tot
ergrief van de Catholycken, zoo sy hen noemen, ende aldaer
des anderen daeghs misse gedaen."
The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 71 C 36, pp.
139-140.
for this Mass, with payments "alles musiciens, alles chantres de l'église, alles corals, pour l'organist," and "pour le scuffleur." 33

There are also references in diaries of the time to Masses sung with choir and organ in private homes.

In these times they began more and more to celebrate the Mass in various houses in the city, indeed, also large sung Masses with discant and organs or with clavicymbals, and also sermons, Vespers, and the Benediction on important days. 34

Occasionally, at least, in the homes and churches of Calvinist-controlled Antwerp, the Mass was celebrated with sung polyphony and the organ.

The Calvinists wanted no musical instruments or polyphony for their services, and several Reformed synods in the Low Countries spoke out against organ-playing. The provincial Dordrecht Synod of 1574 made a stern pronouncement: organ-playing was not to be tolerated, even while the congregation left the building, since this made the people forget the sermon. 35 The national Dordrecht Synod

33 The complete account is reproduced in Appendix XII B.


of 1578 attacked the practice of playing the organ before the service, and decided that the organs should be removed from the churches.\textsuperscript{36} The Flemish provincial Synod held at Bruges in 1579 moved to abide by the Dordrecht decision.\textsuperscript{37} Not all the Reformed churches in the Low Countries followed these recommendations, however; in 1581 the Middelburg Synod had to remind some churches that using the organ was not good.\textsuperscript{38}

In many cities removal of the organs could not be accomplished because all church property had been seized by the civil authorities. Churches and their contents were assigned to various congregations, but remained city property.\textsuperscript{39} Organists were appointed and paid by the magistrature to play weekday and Sunday recitals, sometimes immediately after the service.

\textsuperscript{36}Ibid., p. 253. For this decision as recorded by the French-speaking secretary see E. Bourlier, Livre synodal (The Hague, 1896-1904), I, 53.

\textsuperscript{37}See H. Q. Janssen, De Kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen (Arnhem, 1868), II, 228.

\textsuperscript{38}See Rutgers, Acta van de Nederlandsche Synoden, p. 409 and Bourlier, Livre synodal, I, 85-86.

\textsuperscript{39}When the Bruges magistrature awarded the church of the Franciscans to the Calvinists on 29 August 1578, arrangements were made for the safe-keeping of chasubles and jewels and for the care of the organ and altar. If the Calvinists wanted to use the organ or altar they had to pay for the upkeep. See A. C. de Schrevel, Recueil de documents relatifs aux troubles religieux en Flandre, 1577-1584 ("Société d'Émulation de Bruges, Mélanges," Vols. VIII and X; Bruges, 1921 and 1924), X, 94.
In Antwerp, soon after the closing of the cathedral, the organist Servaes van der Meulen applied to the magistrates for the position of city organist. Van der Meulen had been cathedral organist for 25 years and wished to continue his profession under the new regime. His request was granted, with the stipulation that he should play "every evening for one hour on the organ some psalms and sacred songs." Van der Meulen was not satisfied with the proffered salary, and the position was given to a certain Jan Fabri. On 9 October 1582 Van der Meulen renewed his request because of Fabri's incompetence, his main argument being that Fabri did not use the pedals and had no knowledge of registration. The city magistrates gave Van der Meulen the position, which he held until August 1585 when Antwerp capitulated to the Spainards. The leader of the Spanish troops, Alexander Farnese, personally arranged that Van der Meulen be replaced because "il ait servi aux heretiques." It is difficult to believe, however, that Van der Meulen was dismissed simply because he played evening recitals in the cathedral, for others whom the city magistrates had appointed to cathedral posts were not regarded as collaborators. The

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40 From the detailed biography of Van der Meulen in Guido Persoons, "De Organisten van de Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk te Antwerpen van de beeldenstorm tot de dood van John Bull (1566 tot 1628)" (unpublished licentiaat's thesis, University of Louvain, 1959), I, 45.

41 Ibid., I, 338.
cathedral carillonneur, organblower, and clock maker, for example, all of whom had served under the Calvinist regime, were not replaced in 1585.\textsuperscript{42} Since Van der Meulen's predecessor as city organist, Jan Fabri, was named organist of the St. Jacob's church in Antwerp in 1588, Van der Meulen must have been more deeply implicated. According to a note on a 1615 document in the Antwerp Cathedral Archives, "Servatius van der Meulen ... during the Spanish regime Calvinist and iconoclast in secret, has served the heretical sermons and the singing of psalms by playing the organ."\textsuperscript{43} In spite of this testimony, it is very doubtful that Van der Meulen accompanied congregational singing of psalms on the cathedral organ. According to Frits Noske, this practice was first introduced into the Reformed churches of the Low Countries in the 1630's.\textsuperscript{44} It seems reasonable to assume, therefore, that Van der Meulen was one of those organists, frowned upon by the synods, who played psalm improvisations as preludes and postludes for Calvinist services.

For the Reformed Church of the sixteenth century, the organ was merely a recital instrument, controlled by the city authorities and played before and after the service if the consistories wished.

\textsuperscript{42}Ibid., I, 47.
\textsuperscript{43}Ibid., I, 44.
\textsuperscript{44}See Frits Noske, "Rondom het orgeltractaat van Constantyn Huygens," in Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziek Geschiedenis, XVII (1948-1955), 282.
The only musical activity within the service itself was the congregational singing of psalms. Although after 1578 the Calvinist services were held in churches where organs were available, leading the psalm-singing was still the responsibility of the precentor, who sometimes combined this task with other duties—reader, teacher, or even organ tuner. The treasurer's accounts of the Calvinist church council of Ypres include payments to Clais Snellart, reader and precentor in St. Jacob's church, to Daniel Coreit, reader and precentor in St. Martin's church, and to Jan de Hozebeck for his service in St. Jacob's church as precentor, clerk, and organ tuner. (A certain Jacob de Coninck was paid for quieting the children and for chasing dogs out of the church.) Jan de Hozebeck was also "organist, musician, and schoolmaster," but for these functions he was paid by the city.\(^4^5\)

Congregational singing was an important item on the agenda of the first national synod of the Reformed Church in the Low Countries. Held at Wesel in 1568, this synod included both Dutch- and French-speaking churches. Four resolutions on psalm-singing were passed:

\(^{45}\)See A. C. de Schrevel, Le protestantisme à Ypres et dans les environs de 1578 à 1584, d'après des comptes contemporains (Louvain, 1913), pp. 221, 228, 233, and 243.
1. The Dutch-speaking churches were to sing the Datheanus translation of the Marot-De Bèze psalms.\(^{46}\)

2. School children were to be taught to sing the psalms so that they could lead the congregational singing; if there was no school, or if the teacher was inexperienced in music, one or more precentors should lead congregational song, especially if the minister knew nothing about music.

3. Instructions on the correct manner for singing the psalms should be posted in the churches. (Unfortunately this manner is not specified.)

4. Charts listing the psalms to be sung on Sunday should be placed in the churches so that interested persons could study the psalms in advance; this was unnecessary if the congregation sang the psalms in numerical order.\(^{47}\)

Succeeding synods devoted an occasional resolution to the psalm and its role in the Calvinist liturgy. The national synod held at Emden in 1571 allowed the individual church to decide whether or not a psalm should be sung during the communion service.\(^{48}\) The Walloon Synod held at Antwerp in 1578 resolved that the weekday and Sunday afternoon services should begin with the singing of psalms.\(^{49}\) The 1581 national Synod of Middelburg passed a resolution that only the psalms of David should be sung in church and

\(^{46}\)The Dutch-speaking church had several translations to choose from, which probably prompted this resolution. It would hardly have been necessary to remind the Walloons to use the official Genevan Psalter.

\(^{47}\)Rutgers, *Acta van de Nederlandsche Synoden*, p. 20.

\(^{48}\)Ibid., p. 65 and Bourlier, *Livre synodal*, I, 18.

that songs not found in the Bible were prohibited. A similar resolution was made by the national Synod held at The Hague in 1586. Several Dutch churches had requested permission to sing "other sacred songs and psalms," but the synods forbade the use of any congregational song other than psalmody. This was in keeping with the precepts of Calvin, who believed that the Christian church should use only those songs that were translations of Scripture.

Although the Wesel Synod of 1568 declined to prescribe an order for singing the psalms, there is reason to believe that the French-speaking Reformed Church of the Low Countries adopted the Genevan order. In all liturgical matters, the Walloon Synods inclined toward Geneva, and in 1632 their synod held at Flushing specifically exhorted all the churches to observe the same order for singing the psalms. This order was probably the one prescribed by

50 Ibid., I, 80 and Rutgers, Acta van de Nederlandsche Synoden, p. 394.


52 Rutgers, Acta, p. 142.

53 For example, the decision to open the Sunday morning service with the confession of faith and the evening service with psalm-singing follows Calvin's La forme des prières. In addition, unlike the Dutch Reformed, the Walloons adopted Calvin's Genevan catechism, not the Heidelberg catechism. See E. Bourlier, "Les cultes du dimanche dans les églises wallonnes," in Bulletin de la commission de l'histoire des églises wallonnes. 2d series, IV (1909), 21-22 and 27-28.

54 Bourlier, Livre synodal, I, 372.
Following this schedule, a church would sing all 150 psalms every twenty-five weeks. At the three weekly services—Sunday morning and evening and a prayer service on Wednesday evening—certain psalms or parts of psalms were sung "après le second coup de la cloche," the signal for the service to begin. Others were listed for "avant et après le sermon."

After the fall of Antwerp in 1585, the southern provinces of the Low Countries were securely back under Spanish control. Protestants were forced to return to Catholicism or flee, and the French-speaking Calvinist church became a church in exile. At the close of the sixteenth century there were forty-three Walloon churches in The Netherlands to the north. Here the exiles maintained their language, culture, and way of worship. Seventeen of these churches remain in existence today, and still use the psalms of Geneva for their weekly services. The texts of Marot and De Bèze have been replaced by modern versions, but the melodies are the same as those that were heard more than four centuries ago on the streets of Tournai and Valenciennes.

55 Reproduced in Pidoux, *Le psautier huguenot*, II, 134-135. This schedule—"table pour trouver les psaumes selon l'ordre qu'on les chante en l'église de Genève"—was inserted in at least one copy of the psalter printed by Christophe Plantin in 1564; see Chapter II, pp. 47 and 53-54.

On the Use of the Polyphonic Huguenot Psalms

The most eloquent witness to the popularity of the polyphonic Huguenot psalms is the large number of them that were printed. In the previous chapters attention was called to a few of the 2,125 settings of the Marot–De Bèze texts, published either in polyphonic psalters or chanson collections of the sixteenth century. Large as this number is, it represents only about two-thirds of the polyphonic repertoire based on Huguenot texts. First of all there are the settings of Sweelinck (150) and Le Jeune (300) that were published in the early seventeenth century. One hundred and forty psalms appear in instrumental publications, like Le Roy's *Tiers livre de tabulature de luth*, 1552, which contains twenty-one settings for voice and lute. If we add the polyphonic *chansons spirituelles* and the settings of psalms by Calvinist poets other than Marot and De Bèze, the total number of compositions swells to over 3,000.

This number does not include the motet and chanson contrapuncta prepared by various Huguenot editors who substituted a Calvinist psalm or *chanson spirituelle* for the original text. The chansons of Lassus were a prime target. Simon Goulart, a minister and publisher of music in Geneva, issued a series of publications in which Lassus' texts were either adapted or completely replaced. In 1597 a certain Louis Mongart prepared a polyphonic psalter named *Cinquante Pseaumes de David*. He explained his editing technique in
the preface—"j'accommoday la lettre des Pseaumes de David aux chansons Françaises, Italiennes, Allemandes, mesmes à aucun mottets Latins d'Orlande de Lassus, prince des Musiciens de nostre siècle." Although printed by Jerosme Commelin of Heidelberg, Mongart's collection was dedicated to the collegium musicum of Amsterdam, implying that the Huguenot contrafacta were known in the Low Countries as well as in Geneva.

Polyphonic psalm, instrumental setting, chanson spiri-
tuelle, and contrafactum—in quantity at least, the poly-
phonic Huguenot repertoire rivals the Parisian chanson, the Italian madrigal, and the polyphonic Lutheran chorale. Yet this huge repertoire is barely mentioned in contemporary records. Only two meagre references have been known to historians until now.

The first reference is from Histoire ecclésiastique des églises réformées, a work formerly attributed to Théo-
dore de Bèze. It tells of the Huguenot Anne de Bourg who was a prisoner in the Bastille in 1560. Although confined in a cage where he suffered all the discomforts imaginable, "he rejoiced always and glorified God, now taking up his lute to sing Him psalms, now praising Him with his voice." 57

57 "Il n'estoit point en la prison sans beaucoup souff-
frir, car on le tenoit bien estroitement en la bastille ..
. et quelquefois .. on le retraignoit en une cage, en
la quelle il avoit tous les maalises, qu'on peut penser.
Ce nonobstant il se resiouissoit touiours, & glorifioit
Dieu, ores empoininant son luth pour luy chanter Pseaumes,
A second reference to the polyphonic performance of Huguenot psalms is in the Villemadon letter already described in Chapter I. The former courtier of Margaret of Navarre wrote Catherine de Medici on 26 August 1559 that during Charles V’s Parisian visit in January 1540 the musicians of Francis I and the emperor, indeed all the musicians of France, outdid one another in setting Marot’s psalms to music. Everyone in France was then singing psalms. The courtier described his visit to the sick-bed of the dauphin Henry, whom he found singing psalms, accompanied by lutes, guitars, viols, spinets, flutes, and the voices of his singers. Henry sent the melody and the parts ("le chant et les parties") of one psalm to Margaret of Navarre, who was an admirer and friend of Marot.58 Villemadon states that he visited the dauphin while Margaret was pleading with Francis I for the lives of the citizens of La Rochelle. This city rebelled in 1542 and was pardoned by the king on 31 December of that year.59 Thus the psalms of Marot enjoyed at least three years of popularity at court.

ores le louant de sa voix."

58 The pertinent section of the letter is reproduced in Appendix II.

59 Ludovic Lalanne, Dictionnaire historique de la France (Paris, s.d.), p. 1569.
Who were the composers that set Marot's psalms so soon after he wrote them, and what were these settings like? The composers in Charles V's chapel in 1540, according to a rolle des bénéfices of that year, were Thomas Crequillon, Jehan le Cocq, Nicolas Payen, and Jehan Lestannier. These men have left us no settings of Marot's psalms. Claudin de Sermisy and Albert de Rippe were the most active composers attached to the French court in 1540-1542. No settings of Huguenot psalms are among de Rippe's works, and from Sermisy there is only a setting of Marot's Pere de Nous, first published in 1553. And if, indeed, all the musicians of France outdid one another in setting Marot's psalms to music in 1540-1542, then only two of their settings found a place in the French chanson collections of the decade. Perhaps Margaret's courtier exaggerated, but this seems unlikely since he was writing a fellow eye-witness to remind her of her former love of the psalms.

The infrequency of Marot's psalms in the French chanson collections of the forties can perhaps be explained by the poet's fall from royal favor in 1543 when the Sorbonne condemned his psalms. This must have ended the official

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60 This rolle des bénéfices is reproduced in Joseph Schmidt-Görg, Nicolas Gombert (Bonn, 1938), pp. 290-303.

61 In Second livre de psalms et cantiques spirituels (Paris: Fezandat, 1553—RISM 1553/18).

62 These compositions are described on pp. 69-70 above.
popularity of his poetry at the French court. Later in the
decade publishers in Paris and Lyon brought out books of
polyphonic Huguenot psalms, but these were by composers not
then connected with the court—Certon, Mornable, Bourgeois,
and Janequin. Moreover, all of these settings are based on
melodies or texts printed in 1543 or later, so they could
not reflect the 1540-1542 court activity.

Ten years after Marot left the city, Fesandat of
Paris published two Livres de psalmes et cantiques spirituelz,
which contain psalm settings that might date from 1540 to
1542. Two composers represented, Sermisy and Jacotin (Le
Bel), were in the Chapel Royal at that time. Most of the
other composers are relatively unknown, but the group as a
whole seems to belong to Paris (Maillard, Le Gendre, Sohier,
Mithou). The settings were collected by the Protestant
Guillaume Morlaye, who included Manchicourt's setting of
Marot's Psalm 130, first printed in Antwerp in 1545. Per-
haps the other settings were also from the previous decade.

It is also possible that the first polyphonic psalms
printed in the Low Countries are an echo of the musical
activity in the French and Hapsburg courts circa 1540.
Appenzeller was Mary of Hungary's chapelmaster and would
have been in contact with Charles V's musicians upon the
emperor's arrival in the Low Countries after his Paris so-
journ. Jean Caulery was chapelmaster to Catherine de Medi-
ci, whose fondness for the Huguenot psalms is stressed in
the letter written to her by Margaret of Navarre's courtier.
And the mysterious Jean Crispel and Derick Gerard might
have been connected with the chapel of Charles V in 1540. 63

A third reference to the singing of polyphonic Hu-
guenot psalms lay hidden in the chronicle of Marcus van
Vaernewijck. In his description of the religious unrest
in the Low Countries he commented on the popularity of the
psalms among the Calvinists, adding that "they were also
sung in parts in the homes, in the shops, and similar estab-
lishments." 64 This welcome information, the only known ref-
erece to the actual singing of polyphony in the homes of
the Calvinists, is in agreement with statements and impli-
cations in the titles and prefaces of the polyphonic psalm
collections; these compositions were not meant to be sung
in church, where polyphony was frowned upon, but in the
homes and in places where amateurs gathered to make music.
Nevertheless, various writers have suggested that the poly-
phonic Huguenot psalms were, indeed, sung in church. Lud-
wig Finscher has surmised that circa 1580 the chordal set-
tings were sung in the Reformed churches of Switzerland,

63 Information on the emperor's chapel at that time
is scarce; the rolle des bénéfices of 1540 is the only doc-
ument between 1535 and 1547 that contains names of chapel
personnel; see Schmidt-Görg, Nicolas Gombert, p. 47.

64 "... ende ooc weren zij ghesongen met partijen
in de huijzen, up de wijnckelen ende dierghelijcke menaigen
... ." See this passage in its context in Appendix XI C.
the congregation singing the tune, a choir taking the other three voices. As for the more involved psalm-motets, both Finscher and Siegfried Fornacon have argued that these difficult compositions must have been composed for professionals, i.e. church musicians.

Pierre Pidoux's years of research in the archives of Geneva have brought nothing to support these hypotheses. Moreover, such conjectures ignore evidence presented by the publications themselves. Goudimel prefaced his chordal settings published in Geneva in 1565 with an "advis aux lecteurs" in which he specifically stated that these settings were not to be sung in church but in the home. The speculation that the motet-like settings were too difficult for non-professionals is contradicted by the dedication of certain books of psalm-motets to collèges musicales, which were groups of amateurs. Louys' dedication to the Antwerp collège implies that his psalm settings were to be performed

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65 Ludwig Finscher, "Die mehrstimmige Psalmkomposition," in Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart (Kassel, 1949 --), X, 1706.


67 "Nous avons ajusté au chant des Pseaumes, en ce petit volume, trois parties: non pas pour induire à les chanter en l'Eglise, mais pour s'esjoyr en Dieu particulièremment ès maisons. Ce qui ne doit estre trouvé mauvais, d'autant que le chant duquel on use en l'Eglise, demeure en son entier, comme s'il estoit seul." For title and contents of the publication in which this preface occurs see Pidoux, Le psautier huguenot, II, 152-153.
by the group: "Esperant que (par ce) vous vous delecterez à exalter le Seigneur, et sera son verbe mieulx divulgue et entendu entre vous." Later in the century Louis Mongart dedicated a collection of his polyphonic psalm contrafacta to a collegium musicum in Amsterdam, calling the group "l'honorable compagnie des nourrissons, disciples, fauteurs, et amateurs de la douce et saincte musique." In 1613 Sweelinck dedicated his second book of psalms to the same group of amateurs. His dedication implies that the group sang his psalms and encouraged the composer to publish them.

... ceste mesme Musique, que souvent vous chantée, ores estant revestué de nouvelles aisles, pour prendre un plus grand vol, que vos accouragements & acclamations luy ont donné, s'en retourne gracieusement à vous portant vos noms en son frontispice.

This evidence, all of it from the publications themselves, shows that both the simple and complex settings of Huguenot psalms were meant for amateur performance.

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68 See the dedication in Appendix X.C.

69 Cinquante pneumes de David avec la musique à cinq parties d'Oriande de Lassus ([Heidelberg; J. Commelin, 1597]), p. 2. (RISM 1597/6.)

70 From the dedication reproduced in Jan P. Sweelinck, Werken (The Hague, 1894-1903), III, second frontispiece. The publications of Sweelinck, Mongart, and Louys contradict the claim that the collegium musicum was "eine soziologische Erscheinungsform von spezifisch deutscher bzw. schweiz. Prägung;" from Kurt Gudewill, "Collegium musicum," in Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, II, 1555. Besides the collegia in Antwerp and Amsterdam, there were similar groups in Haarlem, Utrecht, Leiden, Nijmegen, and Deventer in the seventeenth century; see Dirk Balfoort, Het Muzikkleven in Neder- land in de 17de en 18de Eeuw (Amsterdam, 1938), pp. 30-35.
Although Van Vaernewijck reported that the Ghent Calvinists sang polyphonic psalms in their homes, it seems unlikely that only Calvinists would have performed the eighty-four compositions described in the preceding three chapters. Nothing in the nature of the publications indicates that they were designed for Calvinist use. None of the settings is in the simple note-against-note style that was so popular with Calvinists in the sixteenth and succeeding centuries. None of the dedications implies a Calvinist interest in the publication; in fact, several were dedicated to prominent Catholics.71 Moreover, if the publication of polyphonic psalms had been encouraged by the Calvinists, then this activity would have increased during the years of Calvinist control. The opposite is true; only the setting by Severin Cornet was published in Antwerp between 1578 and 1585. And Cornet's setting, like those of every Low-Country composer except Louys, Sweelinck, and Pevernage, appeared in a chanson collection as companion to the profane chansons condemned in the prefaces of Huguenot Psalters.

71 Jean Louys dedicated one of his three volumes to Jean Cocquiel, a Catholic who was forced to flee to Cologne during the Calvinist regime in Antwerp; see Ferdinand Donnet, "Les exilés anversois à Cologne (1581-1585)," in Bulletin de l'académie royale d'archéologie de Belgique, 5me série des annales, I (1898), 333. Waeirant and Laet's second Jardin musical of 1556 was dedicated to the abbot Michel de Francqueville of Cambray. Pevernage dedicated his volume of chansons spirituelles (1589) to the Bishop of Ypres, shortly after the religious troubles in that city.
In view of these considerations it appears incorrect to assert that "publishing either psalms or motets had a precise meaning for them [the Antwerp printers] and for their public: they were taking sides for or against the Reformed Church."72 Such a statement ignores the testimony of the sources, for each important music printer in the Low Countries published psalms and motets, sometimes together in one collection. In the history of music, indeed in all cultural history, the line between orthodoxy and heterodoxy cannot be this sharply drawn. Although the Marot-De Bèze texts and their melodies were early associated with the Calvinist movement, they were for a time considered common artistic property. Like the famous Huguenot chanson spirituelle "Susanne un jour," the Genevan psalms attracted both Catholic and Protestant composers. Moreover, in polyphonic settings the Calvinist melodies lost their liturgical function, becoming instead the basis of a religious house music that could be enjoyed by everyone. Thus these settings could be published in the chanson collections of a country where the Calvinists were bitterly persecuted and their psalm-singing forbidden. There is no proof that compositions using Marot-De Bèze texts were considered heretical

72 "Éditer des psaumes ou des motets avait, pour eux et pour leur public, un sens précis: ils prenaient ainsi parti pour ou contre l'église reformée."

during the years of their circulation. It is true that two Antwerp publications, together containing three psalm-settings, were seized by the Inquisition in 1568,73 but this was during the first months of Alva's reign of terror, when almost any book printed in the rebellious Low Countries was suspect; the censors also seized books containing only Latin motets.

It cannot be denied, however, that a definite relationship exists between the Calvinist movement in the Low Countries and the publication of polyphonic Huguenot psalms. In Antwerp, for example, their publication coincides exactly with the rise and fall of Calvinism in the southern provinces. The first setting was printed in 1542, when the first Calvinist missionaries were being sent from Geneva and Strasbourg. The last setting was in the year 1589, the final year of grace for Protestants in a city that had capitulated to Spain in 1585. This still does not prove that either the composers or publishers had aligned themselves with the Reformation. Although it has been suggested that Waelrانت and Faignient, both of whom set more than a few Marot texts, might have been sympathetic to the

new religion,\textsuperscript{74} again there is no proof of any overt Calvinist activity. Rather, the publication of polyphonic psalms in the Low Countries shows that the Huguenot texts and their melodies had found their way into the common culture, precisely during the years of Calvinist penetration. One reason for their currency was certainly the fact that fifty of the psalms were the work of Clément Marot, the most popular poet of the sixteenth century. Marot's popularity, plus the prevalence of monophonic psalm-singing, must have been a strong impetus for the publication of polyphonic settings during the decades of religious ferment in the Low Countries. Very gradually, as the boundaries between heresy and orthodoxy slowly took shape, Marot's psalms assumed sectarian overtones because they had been enlisted by the Calvinists for their songbooks. Thus after 1589, when the southern provinces of the Low Countries were securely back under Spanish control, the presses of Antwerp and Louvain no longer issued Huguenot psalms.

The next polyphonic psalms to be printed in the Low Countries appeared in the first decades of the following century, and in the Calvinist provinces to the north. Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck set the entire Genevan Psalter in a

style that ranged from simple four-part harmonizations to large polychoral motets. Sweelinck's polyphonic psalter was not an isolated phenomenon, however, but the final chapter in the history of the Huguenot Psalter in the Low Countries.
APPENDIX I

OTHER SOURCES CONTAINING THE ANONYMOUS PSALMS
IN PSALMES DE DAVID, ANTWERP, 1541

A. Noelz nouveauix. [Neufchâtel: Pierre de Vingle, 1532] contains Psalms 115 and 130 (A.'s version). Each is at the end of a chanson spirituelle and is anonymous.¹

B. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds fr. 2336. This manuscript is the only source, other than Psalmes de David, that contains all fifteen psalms. The ascriptions are the same in both sources except for Psalm 133 (second version), which is ascribed to Adelph (instead of Adel) in the manuscript. Since the version of the Marot psalms in the manuscript is later than that in Psalmes de David, it is unlikely that the manuscript was a source for the anonymous psalms in the printed psalter.

C. The 1542 Strasbourg Psalter, La maniere de faire prieres, contains Psalms 43, 120, 130 (A.'s version), and 142. Only Psalm 43 has a melody. The poets' names are not given.²

D. Oraison tresdevote . . . composee par M. Guillaume Farel. [Strasbourg: Knobloch, 1543] contains Psalm 120, with melody but no author's name.³

E. The 1545 Strasbourg Psalter, La forme des prieres et chantz ecclesiastiques, contained Psalms 43, 120, 130 (A.'s version), and 142. Although the only known copy of

¹See Marc Honegger, "La chanson spirituelle populaire huguenote," in Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie, VIII (1963), 131.


³Ibid., II, 25.
this psalter was destroyed in 1870, its contents can be reconstructed by means of existing bibliographical descriptions. All four psalms were anonymous and had melodies. 4

F. The 1548 Strasbourg Psalter, Pseaumes de David traduictz en rithme francoise, contains Psalms 43 and 120, anonymous and with melodies. 5

G. The 1553 Strasbourg Psalter, Pseaumes de David, mis en rime Francoysse, contains Psalms 43 and 120, anonymous and with melodies. 6

H. The 1555 Huguenot chansonnier, Recueil de plusieurs chansons spirituelles, contains Psalms 43, 100 and 130 (N.'s version; occurs twice). The three psalms are anonymous in this chansonnier without music.

I. Recueil des choses mémorables faites et passées pour le faict de la Religion et estat de ce Royaume, depuis la mort du Roy Henry II iusques au commencement des troubles. 3 vols. Strasbourg: P. Estiart, 1565-1566. Often called the Mémoirs de Condé, this book contains the complete text of Psalm 142 on p. 512 of Vol. I. On p. 505 this psalm is referred to in a quoted letter written by a certain D.V. (Villemadon) to Catherine de Medici. He reminds the Queen Mother that this psalm was once her favorite and that it was not written by Marot. 7

J. The 1569 Huguenot chansonnier, Chansons spirituelles a l'honneur et louange de Dieu, contains Psalms 43 and 130 (N.'s version). This is a second, enlarged edition of the 1555 chansonnier. Like its predecessor, the 1569 edition contains no music, and the texts are anonymous.

5Ibid., II, 38-40.
6Ibid., II, 64-66.
7Part of Villemadon's letter is reproduced in Appendix II.
APPENDIX II

EXTRACT FROM THE LETTER TO CATHERINE DE MEDICI
PRINTED IN RECUEIL DES CHOSES (1565-1566)

Dieu ... ce Père plein de miséricorde, mœit au coeur du feu Roy François d'avoir fort agréable les trente Psalms de David, avec l'Oraison Dominicale, la Salutation Angélique, et le Symbole des Apôtres, que feu Clément Marot avoit translatez et traduits, et dédiez à sa grandeur et Majesté: Laquelle commanda audict Marot presenter le tout à l'Empereur Charles le quint, qui receut benignement ladite translation, la prisa, et par paroles, et par present de deux cens doublons qu'il donna audict Marot, lui donnant aussi courage d'achever de traduire le reste desdits Psalms, et le priant de luy envoyer le plus tost qu'il pourroit Confiteomini Domino, quoniam bonus, d'autant qu'il l'aimoit.

Quoy voyans et entendans les Musiciens de ces deux Princes, voire tous ceux de nostre France, meirent à qui mieux, mieux lesdits Psalms en musique, et chacun les chantoit. Mais si personne les aimèrent estroitement et ordinairement, les chantoit, et faisait chanter, c'estoit le feu Roy Henri, de maniere que les bons en benissoyent Dieu, et ses mignons et sa meretrice les aime moyent ou feignoyent ordinairement les aimer tant qu'ils disoyent, Monsieur, cestuy-ci ne sera-il pas mien? vous me donneriez cestuy-la s'il vous plaist, Et ce bon Prince alors estoit à son gré empaesché à leur en donner à sa fantaisie. Toutesfois il retint pour luy, dont il vous plût bien et doi souvenir, Madame, cestuy,

Bienheureux est qui quoconques
Sert à Dieu volontier, etc.

Feit luy-mesme le chant à ce Psalm, lequel chant estoit fort bon et plaisant, et bien propre aux paroles. Le chantoit et faisait chanter si souvent, qu'il monstroit evidemment qu'il estoit point et stimulé d'estre benict, ainsi que David le descrit audict Psalm, et de vous voir la verité de la figure de la vigne. Cela fut au sortir de sa maladie à Angoulesme. La Roine ma maistresse (qui pour lors estoit avec le Roy Francois son frere) le priant d'embrasser en pitié et clemence les Citadins de la Rochelle, en lieu de les massacrer, m'envoya vers vous pour
savoir de sa maladie: laquelle trouvay ja tant diminuée, qu'il se mettoit à chanter lesdits Psalmes, avec lucs, violes, espinettes, fleustes, les voix de ses chantres parmi, et y prenoit grande delectation, me commandoit approcher, par ce qu'il cognoissoit que j'aymois la musique, et jouois un peu du luc et de la guiterne: et me fit donner le chant et les parties que je portay à la Roine ma maistresse, avec la reconvalescence de vostre bonne santé. Je n'oublieray aussi le vostre que vous demandiez estre souvent chanté, c'estoit

Vers l'Eternel des oppressez le pere
Je m'en iray, lui montrant l'impropere
Que lon me faict, etc.

Quand madicte Roine de Navarre vit ces deux Psalmes, et entendit comment ils estoyent frequemment chantez, mesmes de Monseigneur le Dauphin, elle demoura toute admirative, puis me dit, Je ne sçay où Madame la Dauphine a pris ce Psalme, Vers l'Eternel, il n'est des traducts de Marot. Mais il n'est possible qu'elle en eust sçeu trouver un autre où son affliction soit mieux despeincte, et par lequel elle puisse plus clairement montrer ce qu'elle sent, et demander à Dieu en estre allegée, . . . .

APPENDIX III

DOCUMENTS ON PSALM-SINGING IN
VALENCEPNN, 1561-1562

A. Excerpt from a letter written by Margaret of
Parma to the Marquis de Berghes,
4 October 1561.

Mon cousin, je suis esté advertie, non sans sentiment,
de certaines assemblées publicques puis peu de jours tenues
par gens hérétiques en la ville de Vallenchiennes, comme
aussi, en celle de Tournay, faictes de nuict, es lieux et
rues publicques, s'estans trouvez en icelles prescheurs
françois et grand nombre des manans et habitans desdiztes
villës, s'estans mis à chanter leurs psalmes, et, se trou-
vons devant les maisons d'aucuns gens d'église, y ont usé
de plusieurs propoz fort insolens, que sont choses de très-
mauvaise et dangereuse conséquence.

Source: Charles Paillard, Histoire des troubles religieux
de Valenciennes, 1560-1567, publié d'après des documents
inédits (Brussels, 1874), II, 31.

B. Excerpt from a letter written by the Magistrate
Of Valenciennes to Margaret of Parma,
5 October 1561.

Madame, il plaira à Vostre Altèze scavez qu'il y a
ce jour'hui huit jours, de nuict se sont trouvez plu-
siers allant en troppe par les rues chantant les psalmes
de David en langue françoise, lesquelz m'ont peu estre
cognu, au moyen de quoy nous avons le lendemain fait ung
ban et publication, affin de nous adverter et dénoncer
œuels ayans ainsi chanté . . .

C. The royal ordinance against psalm-singing at Valenciennes.

Ordonnance pour la ville de Valenciennes en forme de placard du décembre 1561

Par le Roy

A nostre Prévost-le-Comte, à Valenciennes, ou son lieutenant, salut.

Comme il soit venu à nostre connoissance que plusieurs adonnes aux nouvelles sectes, esmotions et trouble, cercchans partout semer leur venin, . . . se soient nagaires avancez par quelque conspiration secrète, et au pourchas d'aucuns estrangers et courtours, de faire assemblées de nuyt en nostre ville de Valenciennes, et y chanter en troupp eauclunes chansons ou psainmes en francois, chose grandement tendante à séditio, laquelle n'entendons aucuneement tolérer souz dissimulation; Pour ce est-il que, ce considéré, et désirans pourvooir et mettre ordre que choses de si grande conséquence ne se continuent et voysent plus avant, ains que telles nouvelites et insolences soient réprimées, et aussi mis ordre que, par telle manière de faire, icelle ville ne tumbe en quelque inconvenient; Nous, pour ces cause et autres à ce nous mouyons, avons, par l'advis et délibération de nostre très chiere et très amée seur la ducesse de Parme et de Plaisance, par nous Régentes et Gouernantes en noz pays de pardeca, et de noz très chiers et féaulx les chiefz et gens de noz con- saux d'estat et privé, ordonné et statué, ordonnons et statuons par ces présente les pointz et articles que s'ensuyvent.

. . . . .

Et combien que les psainmes de David ne soyent que bons et saintz, ce néantmoins, comme l'on a veu le scan- dale, que par occasion du chant d'icelx, est advenu en nostre d. ville de Valenciennes, mesmement que c'est ung signal entre les hérétique pour euls assembler, y joint que, par telles chansons, y a eu grande irrehérence à la parole de Dieu, laquelle convient traitter en lieu, en temps, et à propoz, aussi que, entre icelx psainmes, plusieurs ont meslé et adjouté diverses chansons sohan- daleuses et du tout hérétique, nous, pour ces causes et autres bonnes consideraons, ordonnons que tous ayant psainmes et autres chansons ecclésiastiques, seront tenuz les présenter, en déans quinze jours prochainement venans, à leur curé, pour, par luy estre examinés, defendant bien expressement en chanter ès maisons autres que celles qui auront ainsi esté examinées et admises, ny aussi chanter
aulcuns pseaulmes ou chansons ecleésiastiques en rue ou lieu publicque.

Donné en nostre ville de Bruxelles, sous nostre contrescel cy mis en placcart.
Le xviiié jour de décembre XV° LXI.


D. Excerpts from a list of charges against persons arrested during May 1562.

Pelonne de Veulle. Veu ne par ung sergeant thirer les bailles; laquelle sur ce interrogüée a dénié avoir thiré aux bailles. Confesse néantmoings avoir assis avecque les aultres sur le Marchié et chanté les dix commandemens, comme plus amplyment se peut veoir par les interroga- toires.

Jacques Farvacque, chavetier, chergié par ung tesmoing de l'avoir veu auprès du presecher, chantant avecque les aultres et aijant les mains joinctes, sans l'avoir veu faire aultre chose. Lequell, sur ce interroguë, a dict que, retournant de sa maison et trouvant plusieurs en genouix chantans la chanson En Dieu je me console, et qu'ilz par- loient de Dieu, il aurroit osté son bonnet, et se mist auprès d'eulx, et chanta avecque eulx quelquefois quelque mot quant il l'entendoit, comme plus amplyment est contenu en son interrogatoire.

APPENDIX IV

PLANTIN'S PRIVILEGE FOR HIS EDITION OF THE GENEVAN PSALTER

A. The summary of the privilege.

Le contenu du Privilege

Par Privilege de la Majesté Royale, il est permis à Christofle Plantin, libraire et imprimeur juré au pays de Brabant, d'imprimer ou faire imprimer, vendre et distribuer les Pseaumes de David, avec certains Cantiques, traduits en Rime française, visités, et approuvés par M. Josse Schellinck, Fortionnaire de S. Nicolas à Brusselles, à ce députe par le Conseil de Brabant: Et défendons à tous autres, de quelque estat, ou condition qu'ils soyent, de n'imprimer, ne faire imprimer, vendre ne distribuer lesdits Pseaumes et Cantiques, sans le consentement du ddict Plantin; et ce devant quatre ans accomplis, sur peine de confiscation desdits livres et d'amende, ainsi qu'il est amplement déclaré en l'original donné à Brusselles le 16 de juin 1564.

I. Fabri

Source: Les pseaumes de David, mis en rime francoise (Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1564), fol. A 1'

B. The privilege.

Philips Byder gratien Gods coninck van Castillien van Leon van Aragon . . .

Doen te wetene dat wy ontfanghen hebben di ootmoedighe supplicatie van Christoffel Plantin gesworen boeckprinter woonende binnen onser stad van Antwerpen Inhoudende hoe dat hy suppliant gheerne soude printen . . . alle die salmen van David metten notelen gemaect zoe nder nederlantscher talen nder jaer xvc vijftig gheapprobeert Bij onse ghedeputeerde heeren Joosen Schellinck portionaris van Sinte Nicolaes binnen onser stad van Brussessele ende gheprint met consente van onse heer ende vader den Keysere hooger memorien bij Simon de Cock boeckprinter binnen onser stad van
Antwerpen\(^1\) als inde fransoyse tale oock metten notelen en\(^{de}\) ten voorscreven tyde gheapprobeert als voo\(^{re}\) / ende gheudruct in onser voirs\(^{side}\) stadt van Antwerpen by Merten nuyts\(^2\) ende beyde noch eens byden\(^{en}\) selven hee\(^{re}\) n Joose heersien ende ghevisiteert, te wetene die ghene die ghemaect syn inder nederlantscher talen inden Neye die andere inde franchoise tale den xvi\(^{en}\) Juni beyde lest- leden ende bevonden Catholicque welcke auteurs al eest zoe dat die allen ghesworen printers toegheelaeten syn te moghen printen ende also oock hem supplian / heeft noch- tans dyen nyettegenstaende de selve by Commissarisen daer toe by ons geordineert late visiteren ende syn by hun ge- approbeert om gheprint te moghen worden als niet inhoudende dat eenichsins soude contrarieren den heylijghen kristen ghelove.

.......

Gegeven in onser stadt van Brussele den zessentwintichsten dach der maent van Meiye int jaer on\(^{se}/s\) hee\(^{re}\) n duysent vijfhondert ende vierentzestich van ons\(^{en}\) rijken van Spaengien, Sicillien etc. 't ix\(^{ste}\) ende van Napels 't xi\(^{ste}\) was underscreeven byden coonick in zyn en Raide ende onderteeckent I. Fabri Metten voirs\(^{side}\) zegele in rooden wasse daer onder aanhangen\(^{de}\).

Gecollationeert tegen het originael en\(^{de}\) bevonden daer mede \(^{con}\)corderen\(^{de}\) van woerde te woerde by my P. van Lazeals de Lovanio No\(^{tar}/ius\) Imp\(^{er}/ialis\).


\(^1\) Psalms in Dutch published by Simon Cock must refer to the Souterliedekens, first published by Cock in 1540. If Schellinc examined these psalms for him in 1550, perhaps Cock republished them at that time. There is no trace, however, of such a publication.

\(^2\) This is probably a reference to the French psalter published by Nuyts in 1555. This psalter was not examined by Josse Schellinc, however, but by Maistre Jean à Fine in 1554; see Chapter I, p. 34.
APPENDIX  V

PLANTIN'S RECORDS OF THE COST OF LES PSEAUMES DE DAVID

A. The record in Le grand livre. ¹

Pseaumes en france. et notés in 24.

1564

24 Junij  Pour A et 1/2B par damyes feilles as a voir deux ensemble 2 2 9

1 Julij  Pour 1a 2⁰ et 3⁰ feille 3 3 16

9 Julij  Pour 1a 4. 5. 6. 7. forme et 1e
         15 dud/ict/ pour 1a 8⁰ forme 9 9 10

23 Julij  Pour 1a 9. et 10. et le 30 Juillet
         pour 1a 11 forme ou feille 5 5 14

6 Augusti  Pour 1a 12. et 13. feille et 1e 13 jour
           dud/ict/ 1a 14 et 15 feille 7 7 12

19 Augusti  Pour 1a 16. forme et 1e 26
           dud/ict/ 1a 17 forme 3 3 16

                                            5-9-6

28 Aoust  Pour 1a 18. et 19. forme ou feille
           3 3 16

¹The interchangeable use of forme and feille (sheet) in this and the following record is noteworthy, since a forme is only one side of a printed sheet. The fact that Les Pseaumes de David was printed by half-sheet, a procedure in which one forme of type is used for printing both sides of a sheet, would explain the use of the words as synonyms in this context.
Som pour present au visitateur. 1 opera Ambrosii et Psalmi in 8°latina Paris et Considerationi valdesso. 2

Il y a 19 feille sont imprimes a .3. rames Par quoy y a 57 rames et les mains d'imperfections et espreuves a 3 rames qui font 60 rames ensemble et couste 23 1/2 patt la rame qui sont 75 fl 10. 3

Les Pseaumes en 24 imprimes en nombre de 1500 c 20 L 13 et 10 d de gros qui sont 124 fl 3 patt Parquoy me revient la piece piece /sic/ a 1 patt mais couste plus de 3/4 de 13 fl. sur le tout.

Source: Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Archive IV (Le grand livre des afares Comencant en Octobre 1562), folols. 69v and 70r.

B. The record in Le journal.

Le 24 Juin

Impression debiteur par casse . . .
- Pseaumes en francois notes en 24 par demyes feilles la impression de la feille a .19. patt et l'impression 19 font 38 et pour le dressement du format etc 11 patt font 2

Le premier de Juillet
Impression debiteur par casse du premier de Juillet 1564 . . .
- Psalmes .2. formes a savoir 3e et 4e 3

Juan de Valdes, Ciento i diez considérationes.

3000 is crossed out and 1500 written over it.

1/20 Flemish pounds, 13 stuivers, and 10 dinare equals 124 florins and 3 pattars because 1 Flemish pound equals 6 florins. The two monetary systems used in the Low Countries at the time can be broken down as follows:
- 1 Flemish pound = 20 stuivers, and 1 stuiver = 12 dinare. 1 florin = 20 pattars.
Le 9 Juillet
Impression debiteur par casse . . .
- Pseaumes pour les formes 5, 6, 7 _________ 5 __ 14

Le 15 Juillet
Impression debiteur par casse . . .
- Pseaumes en france la .8. feille _________ 1 __ 18

Le 23 Juillet
Impression debiteur par casse . . .
- Pseaumes en france la 9. et 10. feille _____ 1 __ 18

Le 30. de Juillet
Impression debiteur par casse . . .
- Pseaumes 11\textsuperscript{o} feille ____________________ 1 __ 18

Le 6. jour d’Aoust
Impression debiteur par casse . . .
- Pseaumes 12. et 13. feille _____________ 3 __ 16

Le 13. jour d’oct\textsuperscript{er} mois
Impression debiteur par casse . . .
- Pseaumes 14 et 15 feilles ________________ 3 __ 16

Le 19\textsuperscript{o} Aoust 1564
Impression debiteur par casse . . .
- Pseaumes .16\textsuperscript{e}. forme ________________ 1 __ 18

Le 26 jour d’Aoust 1564
Impression debiteur par casse . . .
- Pseaumes la 17 forme\textsuperscript{1} _____________ 1 __ 18

Le 2 Septembre 1564
Impression debiteur par casse
- Pseaumes .16. et 17\textsuperscript{e} formes ____________ 3 __ 16

Le 9 Septembre

Impression debiteur par casse . . .
- Pseaumes la 18\textsuperscript{o} forme ________________ 1 __ 18

\textsuperscript{1}The two digits are difficult to decipher due to a correction.
Le dernier le Septembre 1564
Impression debiteur par casse . . . .
- Pseaumes la 19 forme ou est la table 1 15

Source: Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Archive III (Journal des afaires commençant en Octobre, 1563), fol. 15r-18r passim.
APPENDIX VI

CORRESPONDENCE CONCERNING LES PSEAUMES DE DAVID

A. A letter written by Margaret of Parma to the theology faculty at the University of Louvain, 6 November 1564.

Marguerite, par la grace de Dieu, Duchesse de Parme, de Plaisance, etc., regente et gouvernante.

Vénérable, très-chiers et bien amez, nous vous envoyons un exemplaire des Pseaumes de David mis en rime francoise, imprimez en Anvers par congé obtenu par inadvertence de ceulx du conseil en Brabant, sur la visitation du curé de Saint-Nicolas en ceste ville, auquel aiat fait parler, il s'est excusé, comme verrez par l'escript qu'il nous a faict presenter cy-joinct. Et, combien que la traduction pourroit estre saine, si a'il semblé que, tant pour les notes de chant y estans ajustées par ceulx qui se sont séparez de l'Eglise, et que ladite traduction semble procéder des mesmes auteurs, l'on nous ait re-monestré de point les debvoir tollérer: qui nous a meu aussy de faire retire de l'imprimeur tous les exemplaires. Et néantmoins, attendu ce que ledict curé nous a remon-steré, et que ce que pourroit servir plutost à l'avancement de la religion que pour faire effect contraire ne voldrons empescher, nous avons bien voulu vous communiquer ledict livre, et vous requérir que veuillez examiner le texte d'icelluy, pour du moins sçavoir s'il se y trouve aucune erreur ou aultre chose contraire à la foy et religion catholique, et si, en obmetant lesdicte notes, et sans avoir regard à l'auteur, il se pourroit admettre. Sur quoy attendons votre responce de brief. A tant, etc.

De Bruxelles, le vié jour de novembre 1564.

Source: Louis Prosper Gachard, Correspondance de Philippe II sur les affaires des Pays-Bas (Brussels, 1848-1936), II, 514.
B. Excerpt from a letter of Viglius de Zuichem to Cardinal Granvelle, 15 November 1564.

Bruxelles, 15 novembre 1564.

Quant aux psalms de David, imprimez en Anvers par Plantin, avec les notes de Calvin et translatez par Marot et Bèze, et ce soubs congé donné au conseil en Brabant, plusieurs aussi par deçà en sont fort esté scandaliséz, et s'est excusé le chancelier sur les conseillers ayans accordé ledit congé sur le rolé, et le curé de S. Nicolas de ceste ville qui les a visité, et sustent la translation estre bonne, mais des notes dist ne savoir à parler. À la fin, l'on a fait retirer et brûler tous les exemplaires restans, et escript aux villes ce que V.I.S. verra par la copie, et demandé l'avis de seuls de Louvain, pour scâvoir si la translation et le text soit bon, selon qu'il est persuadé à aucuns seigneurs.


C. Excerpt from a letter of Margaret of Parma to Philip II, 30 November 1564.

Trouvant, ces jours passés, que l'on avait imprimé, en Anvers, en l'office de Christoffle Plantin, ung livret contenant l'interprétation des psalms de David en langue wallonne, ensemble le chant et notes sur chacun psalmus à la mode comme les ont accostumé chanter les sectaires, et véant qu'il estoit imprimé par permission de ceux du conseil en Brabant, signé de l'ung de leurs secrétaires et visité par le curé de St-Nicolas de ceste ville, j'ay incontinent mandé le chancelier de Brabant et luy déclaré ceste faulte et qu'il se deust enquérir comment cecy estoit passé, et que c estoit chose tant répugnante aux ordonnances de Vostre Majesté: lequel s'en est excusé, disant ceste permission n'avoir esté faicte avec sa participation, ains seulement par aulcuns des conseillers duct dit conseil commis aux requestes, lesquel l'avoient ainsi passé sur la visitation duct curé. Mais luy aiant faict la remonstrance que c estoit chose défendue expressément, mème dois que premiérement à Tournay et Valenchiennes l'on avoit commence de usé desdites chanteries, par quoy il a incontinent mandé ver luy ledict Plantin, non-seulement luy défendant expressément ladiste impression et distribution desdits livrets, mais aussi de faire brusier tous exemplaires qu'il en pourrait.
encore avoir envoyé et distribué. Et encore que ladict curé de St-Nicolas veuille dire n'avoir en ladicte traduction chose d'hérésie, si est-ce que je l'ay fait envoyer visiter par ceux de la faculté de la théologie à Louvain; et combien qu'il n'y eust du mal en icelle, si ne convient-il que l'on use en ce du chant et notes des sectaires.

Source: Louis Prosper Gachard (ed.), Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, duchesse de Parme avec Philippe II (Brussels, 1867-1881), III, 509.
APPENDIX VII

A LETTER FROM BENEDICTUS APPENZELLER TO MARY OF HUNGARY, 8 JULY 1558


Maestre Benedictus M[aestre] della Capilla della ser[enissima] ma Reyna de Ungria dize, que ha servido en el dicho oficio asu Alt[ez]a muchos años con el cuidado y diligencia posible, y a V[uestra] M[ajestad] de lo poco que pudo alinar con su ingenio los días pasados presentó algunas obras y libros de Canto y que acostumbrando el comprar vino y cerveza para su familia sin Maltota los dela villa le han quitado su excepción tres meses después dela partida dela Reyna para España, alos cuales aviendo recurrido muchas veces no se le ha hecho justicia sup[lica] a V[uestra] M[ajestad] que en consideración de sus servicios y que lo que el gasta en su casa es muy poco, y que siendo ya de mas de setenta años le queda poco vida, le haga merced de mandar que se le permita y de licencia de comprar su vino y cerveza sin Maltota como lo hazia enel tiempo dela dicha Reyna, y algunos días después de su partida.


J Vander Aa

[On verso side] Asu M[ajestad]
Par M[aestre] Benedictus M[aestre]
della capilla della ser[enissima] ma
Reyna Maria.

Source: Bruxelles, Archives générales du royaume, Papiers d'état et de l'audience, No. 1690/3 (Correspondance sciences et arts).

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APPENDIX VIII

DOCUMENTS FOR THE BIOGRAPHY OF HUBERT WAEILANT

A. References to Waelrant in the accounts of the Fraternity of Our Lady in the Antwerp Cathedral Archives.

optimo maximo honos a 1544 ad

Duytgeven van diens in dier cappellen ende anderens diverse saken der cappellen aengaende --

. . . . .

-huybrecht walmrapt vor dat hem de oud MRS dobbel lood toegesecht hebben van dat alle avent in lof sint een jar dienst __________ L 3 st — d —

. . . . .

-huybrecht walmrapt vor dat by eene misse heeft helpen singen ______________ L — st 16 d 8

. . . . .

-betalt hubert Waelrant tenuer voir en jaer ende en quartier jaers dienst hem gheloeft was bij melsior schadts te saemen __________ L iiiii st — d —

Source: Antwerp, Cathedral Archives, Archief van het Onze Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, Vol. II (Rekening van 't Jaer 1528 tot 1601), folis. cxiii² and cxvii².

B. References to Waelrant in the Antwerp City Archives.

-17 Aprilis 1556. Aerdt plaelincx sone wylen Aerts van Bruystum by Sint Truyen geboren Apotecarius . . . . Mr. hubrecht Wlant sanghere ende Joos vanden Vondele In-gesetene van Antwerpen getuygchen ens.

Source: Antwerp, City Archives, Notarissen No. 2076, second section, fol. 78v.

-September 19 [1567]. Jaques Abelincx, Pater — Joh[annes], Protes — Bernardt Wouters, Mr. hubrecht, componist — Com- paranten.
C. The rent contract between Gregorius de Coninck and Hubert Waelrant.

- ultima februarij 1553


Item sal stonden aene emmer soo haest alsb quaeym weeder syn zal, opten solder boven die ierste Camere, een schouwe doen maken ende die selve Camere met Loevens waghens schot doen besetten, ende dit al tot deselfs gregorius coste ende laste.

Ende is noch besproken dat meester hubrecht voorn[eem- de] duerende dese hueringhe sonder cost oft last van gregorius deselfs groriorius leerjongens, die hy heeft ende duerende dese hueringe hebben zal, zal leeren singhen, soo verre als uy heur beginsel vanden sange hebben ende hen selven daer toe vuyegen willen ende he goetduckt ende Gregorio belieft.

Allet welcke zij malcanderen gelovn soo voorscre[even] staet wel toondhoudene ende te voldoene, onder tverbandt van hen selven, ende van heurte goeden, die zy hebben ende
D. Contract for the apprenticeship of Jaspar Becquet to Gregorius de Coninck.

2 le mars 1553

Jehan becquet tambouryn, natif de Lisle en la conte de Flandres a p/\text{	extres}nt estant en ceste ville d anvers d ung couste, et grigorie de coninck menestrier ou instrumens joueur de divers bourgeois de la dicte ville d anvers d aultre coste Cogneurent et confesserent de leur bon gre et franche volunte per ensemble avoir fait en traictie de louaige touchant Jaspar becuet filz dudit Jehan becquet en la forme et maniere sequente.

Savoir que ledict Jehan mit son filz Jaspar illecq p/\text{	extres}nt, et en ce consentant avecque ledict gregoire de coninck icelluy Jaspar pour son apprentier et serviteur acceptant, en son service et en sa maison donner pour le temps et terme de cinço anz des hier premier jour de mars commenche a courir et ainsy lung laultre sans moy en-suyvant continuellment pendant lequel tempz. Ledict grigoire promect audict Jaspar dedens sa maison donner les despens de bouche estant en sante et maladie giste et buue a sa charge sans les despens ou coustz dudit Jehan becquet pere dudit Jaspar. Et quant a son entretienent des vestemens et habillemens tant draps lingnes que aultres a son corps necessaire, ledict grigoire nen sera point tenu ne oblige en icelles mais ledict Jaspar soy entretiendra touchant icelles des accidences et emolumens lesquelz on luy donnera estant aud/\text{ict} service de son maistre et les-quelles deniers de ces procedantz seront employez a son entretienement des vestemens et point aultrement.

Et ledict grigoire promect audict Jaspar de luy enseigner et monstre tant de chanter que de jouer de son stile de tout ce dont il se mesle et sen ayde. Et davantage de poivrre sans les despens du pere ne du sienne prendre acces et aller aupres de maistre hubert waillant chantre qui luy monsrrera la practique de chanter, d aultant qu'il pourra comprendre par entendement.

Ledict Jaspar promect sur son serment fait en mains de moy notaire, a servir en toute obeissance grigoire son
maistre, durant et pendant lesd'icts/ cincq anz bien leaulement et fidelement faisant tout ce quil luy commandera en ses besoingnes et affaires licites et honnestes, et laissant tout ce quil luy defendera et prohibera a tout heure et temps quant il plaera audict son maistre, et de riens retenir aupres de luy tant des denier a son maistre compenantz et appartennaz que des deniers a luy donnez lesquelz denierz a luy donnez son maistre receptra a son entretenement de ses habillemens comme dict est et les auttres deniers quil receptra au nom et au prouffit de son maistre seront au prouffit dud'ict/ son maistre seul.

Item que ledict Jaspar pendant ledict temps de cincq anz ne se pourra absenter de sondict maistre et nulp/ar/t soyt ici en anvers ou ailleurs ou pais de lempereur par decha ou de la mer ou auttre pais ville ou village ou que ce soit demourer ne jouer syl nayst quil ayt furny audict son maistre lesditz cincq anz.

Et que ledict Jaspar sera tenu et oblige de journellement apprendre les auttres disciples de sond'ict/ maistre estans en sa maison a la contemplation et volunte dudit son maistre.

Et pour tout le susd'ict/ furnir de la p/ar/t dudit Jaspar/ar/. Ledict Jehan becqet deumeure pleisige et respondant pour led'ict/ Jaspar jusques a la somme de cent florins a vingt pattars la pichet, et davantage promist en cas que ledict Jaspar sen allast ou sabsentast dudit son maistre devant lesd'icts/ cincq ans expirez et finiz quil fera son mieulx de le recoverir et de faire venir et entrier au ser

vice de sondict maistre pour furnier et achever lesd'icts/ cincq anz.

Semblablement Jehan de fossez jouer et bourgeois de ceste ville d anvers deumeure semblablement pleisige et respondant pour led'ict/ Jaspar pour furnir ce que dict est, pour auttres cent florins en toute la maniere comme dict est du pere.

Promectantz lesd'icts/ comparantz tant principaulx que pleisges ch/ac/un en son regard, tout ce que dict est, Entierement Leaulment entretenir observir furnier et accomplir et au contraire de ne point faire dire, ne venir par eulx ne auttres, par eulx en droit ou dehors en aulcune maniere Soubz obliga/tion de leur corps et biens meubles et immeubles presen/ns et advenir. Et Renunciation de toutes exceptions aides et defenses, dont et par moyen desquelles ilz sen pourroit aider contre ce que dict est en aulcune maniere. Et par especial audroit reprouchant La generale Renunciation sy nest que la especiale ne precede. Le tout sans freulde requerrantz Lesdiztz parties eulx de moy Notaire de ce estre faictz Instrumens publicqz ung ou
pluis/ieums en forme meilleure faict et passe en ladicte ville d’Anvers alla maison de moy notaire situee aupres la bourse des marchanz presens M. Servais gheerinck aussy notaire et Jehan Wellenz corduanier bourgeois d’anverz et inhabitanz, tesmoingz.

Source: Antwerp, City Archives, Notarissen No. 2075 (’s Hertoghen Sr., 1552-1553), second section, fol. 39r-40r.
### APPENDIX IX

**SOURCE MATERIAL FOR THE BIOGRAPHY OF JAN LOYS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date &amp; Place</th>
<th>Type of Document</th>
<th>Information</th>
<th>Source¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8 June 1506</td>
<td>Chapel list of Philip the Fair</td>
<td>Jennin Loys, member of the grande chapelle</td>
<td>Straeten, VII, 163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechlin</td>
<td>Proces-verbal</td>
<td>&quot;Jen Loys sanguire vander capellen tot wij vr. van Ville.&quot;</td>
<td>Doorslaer, p. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 Dec. 1510</td>
<td>Chapel list of Charles V</td>
<td>Jehan Loys, member of the grande chapelle of &quot;mondit seigneur l'archi-duc et ses dames ses seurs.&quot;</td>
<td>Straeten, VII, 274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechlin</td>
<td>Recompense of Charles V</td>
<td>&quot;Jehan Louys, chantre de la chapelle domestique . . . pour l'ayder à vivre.&quot;</td>
<td>Straeten, VII, 275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 April 1512</td>
<td>Chapel list of Charles V</td>
<td>Jehan Loys, member of the grande chapelle.</td>
<td>Le Glay, VIII, 105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Mar. 1512</td>
<td>Acta capitularia</td>
<td>&quot;Eodem die receptus fuit in chorales sub simili observatione Nicholas Loys frater Joh. Loys cantoris in curia principis, qui pro eodem simili pro se et patre eorum pro quo de ratio procisit, remunetiones . . . .&quot;</td>
<td>Doorslaer, p. 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechlin, St. Esbout's church</td>
<td>Recompense of Charles V</td>
<td>&quot;Jehan Loys, pour services et pour les despens à poursuivre l'office de mesueur de terre ou pays Oisthorne.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹The abbreviated sources are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Apr. 1514</td>
<td>Brussels</td>
<td>Chapel list of Charles V</td>
<td>Jehan Loys, member of the grande chapelle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 June 1517</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Chapel list of Charles V</td>
<td>&quot;... son noir y est relevé ... au moment du départ d'un voyage de Charles Quint en Espagne.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Aug. 1517</td>
<td>Middelburg</td>
<td>Rolle des bénéfices of Charles V</td>
<td>&quot;Aux Countries de flandres Jehan loys dit hennequin ... Aux hospitaux dartois Jehan Loys ... Aux Chapelles de hollande et frise Johannes Loys Aux Chapelles et Countries de La brielle et Oistriomne Johannes Loys&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Dec. 1517</td>
<td>Valladolid</td>
<td>Chapel list of Charles V</td>
<td>Jehan Loys, member of the grande chapelle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Mar. 1519</td>
<td>Valladolid</td>
<td>Rolle des bénéfices of Charles V</td>
<td>&quot;Aux hospitaux dartois Jehan loys&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Aug. 1523</td>
<td>Brussels</td>
<td>Payments to the servants of Margaret of Austria</td>
<td>&quot;Huissiers de chambre: Jehan Loys&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Oct 1526</td>
<td>Grenada</td>
<td>Rolle des bénéfices of Charles V</td>
<td>&quot;Aux coustreries de Flandres Jehan loys varlet de chambre de madame Aux hospitaux dartois Jehan loys varlet de chambre de madame ... Aux prebendes de gorkem Le filz de Jehan loys jach/iez chantre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Aug. 1534</td>
<td>Brussels</td>
<td>Payments to the servants of Mary of Hungary</td>
<td>&quot;Chapelle: ... Claix Loys; ... Paneterie: Jehannin Loys; ...&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1537</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;A Jehan Loys, joueur d'instrument de tyle, la somme de six livres ...&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1538</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Anfranchissement of Charles V</td>
<td>&quot;Jean Loys, sommelier de la paneterie et à Guillelmeta Wayxel, son espouse, femme de chambres de Marie de Honzrie&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1533       | ?        | Letter      | "Conseillement de Charles-Quint . . . à ce que les administrateurs du grand hôpital de Louvain vendent à Jean Loys, sommelier de la panetterie de la Con-
vernante des Pays-Bas, une rente dont celui-ci est redéposable à l'hôpital, à
cause du fief de Hamontaye; . . . ." | Le Glay, II, 223 |
| 1 Dec. 1548| Mons     | Payments to the servants of Mary of Hungary | "Chapelle: . . . . Clause Loys." | Le Glay, VIII, 149 |
APPENDIX X

THE DEDICATIONS IN JEAN LOUYS' PSEIAULMES CINQUANTE

A. Volume I, fol. A 1\textsuperscript{v}.

A Tresprudent & vertueux seigneur Geraerdit Grammeye, receveur de La ville Danvers, Jean Louys son humble serviteur felicite & valitude.

Ayant souvenance treschier Seigneur, du bon cœu que tousjours mavez porté, le nay voulu delaisser icelluy reconnostre, affin de non estre trouvé ingrât du benefice receu. Ains pour icelluy aucumement recompenser, vous desdie ce premier Livre de Pseaulmes de David. Lequel à mon meilleur pouvoir iay mis (depuis peu de temps en ca) en Musicue à cinq parties. Et combien que'a vostre Vertu appartient bien chose plus ponderouse. Vous requiers en ce supposer à avoir regardt à la iuventude encores estant en moy. Qui encoires rendra tout devoir à practiquer pour ce aprés faire chose de plus grande experience & sçavoir: Ou tousjours vostre Prudence sera participante (comme bien le merite) joiect que de ladicte science Musicale estes vray amateur & deffenseur contre les ennemys, dicelle. Si vous supply accepter à avoir ce pour aggreable, & me continuer tousjours au nombre de vos bons serviteurs & amys, tel que ie desire demeurer, comme scait le Createur, lequel mon Seigneur vous doint prosperer en felice & longue vie.

B. Volume II, fol. A 2\textsuperscript{r}.

A Honorable & Prudent Seigneur Iean Cocquiel, Marchant en la Ville Danvers, Jean Louys, son serviteur et amy, Salut et prosperite.

Ie suis certain (mon bien ayme Seigneur) que le plaisir que vous recueutes quant du commencement vous feis present de certeins Pseaullmes de David, quay mis en Musicue, na heu tant de continuation, comme le regret et malveillance qu'avez en moy, que mayant renduz icelux pour corrijer aucunnes faultes faites par l'escrivain, nay peu satisfaire à les vous rendre, par ce que furtivement me furent emblez, et ne les ay peu recouvrer de long temps aprés. Dont vous
prie, imputer le defaut (en ce) au larron et non à moy, qui en tous endroitz vous voudroie faire service, et amytie. Si est que par temps vuillinant averer et croire le conseil, d’aulcuns mes bons Amys. ma este persuade faire imprimer icelux Pseuulmes, ce que iay fait. et dont sont faitz trois Livres. Desquelsz (mon bon Sei- gneur) ie vous desdie, et faictz present du Second. Ce que vous prie accepter de bonne part et pardonner le me- ffaict commis par autrui. Nayant esgardt aussi que cest encoires Cas Iuvenil et de petit poix; esperant à l’adve- nir par labours, et diligent travail, icelluy augmenter; et toustous vous en faire participant (comme scavant et amateur, de l’art Musical; et que par droicte raison le meritez). Sur ce (mon bien ayme Seigneur) le Creadeur, vous maintieng, en felices desirs, et doint bonne vie et longue.


Aux Loiaux confederez Du College Musical, estant en la ville Danvers, Ieau Louys service à prosperité.

Pour eviter (mes bons Seigneurs) que (entre vous) contre moy ne sasme une tiltre l’ingratitute. Raison ma meu, vous faire participantz de mon Iuvenil labeur, qu’ay faict à la composition Musicaile; de certauns Pseuulmes de David, que puis n’a guieres ay produictz en lumiere, et vous desdier (de tresbonne affeccion) ce present Trois-siesme livre diceux. Esperant que (par ce) vous vous delecterez à exaiter le Seigneur, et sera son verbe mieuux divulgu et entndu entre vous: Que si le Don nest corres- pondant, tant aux parolles, comme qu’il vous est deu, et appartient, chose de plusgrande efficace, n’en veulliez imputer le default fors à la Juventude. Car quant à L’affection Ie l’ay bien si grande, que estre pervenu par travail & diligent labeur, à plus grande perfection en L’art Musical. Ie ne obserctray, user envers vous de l’obligé debvoir. Ne desirant (de ce) aultre recompense fors d’estre maintenu en voz graces, & amyties. Priant, au Creadeur (mes bons Seigneurs) vous donner felicite, en prosperes desirs.

Dizain à la collaudation du Present oeuvre par Paris Grant.

Si en ses motz Le Poete parfect
A bien dicter à monstre son scavoir
Semblablement en son chant par effect
Faict le facteur son engin percepvoir
Puis L’imprimeur pour user de Debvoir
S'est delecté à faire bel ouvrage.
Or prenez donc Musiciens couraige
Par vostre chant de donner à Dieu gloire
Chantez son nom, car espoir encoir' ay le
Qu'il nous aura (enfin) tous en memoire.
APPENDIX XI

DOCUMENTS ON PSALM-SINGING IN
ANTWERP AND GHENT, 1566

A. A description of the Calvinist hedge-sermons in
the chronicle of F. G. Ullens, Antwerp.

Saterdachs den 29 Juny op Sinte Peter en Pauwelsdach
. . . souwer op 't Laer twee Predicken, eenen in 't Walsch
den anderen in 't Duytsch de Leere van Calvinus.

. . . . .

Item op den selven dach 'smorgens vroech, heeft men
't Antwerpen een gebot gedaen van weghen de Stadt, dat
niemant en soude gaan ter Predicatien, maer dit gebot niet
achtende, hebbender terstont meer dan vyftienhondert gegaen
ter beyder Predicatien, dies gelych ook s'anderdachs op
den Sondach ginecker noch meer met haar Psalm Boocxkens,
ander met brieven ende met schimpighe Refereynen, Beelden,
Schilderyen tegen de Misse, Paus, ende Geestelycheyt, om
die aldaer te vercoopen, . . . .

. . . . .

. . . maer eer sy begosten te preecken songhen sy
diversche duytsche Psalmen.

. . . . .

Naer de Predicatien hebbense al t'samen gesonghen
Duytsche Psalmen, en te gelyck haar roers afgeschoten in
een tweeken van blyschap dat het Sermoen voleynt was, want
het hadde by naer dry uren geduert.

Source: F. G. Ullens, Antwerpensch Chronykje (Leiden,
1743), pp. 70, 75, and 77.

B. A description of the Lutheran hedge-sermons in
the diary of Godevaert van Haecht, Antwerp.

Item op den 28 dach predickte men weder op het Kiel
voor noen, en daer waeren 7000 menschen, en men sonck ook
psalmen naer costuyme van de confessie.

. . . . .

Ende na den noen en predickten de calvinisten niet;
dan op 't Kiel werd het sermoon gedaen en na den sermoon
songen sy Martinus psalmen, na haer maniere, hoewel den predicant niet mede en sonck: maer 't was met synen wil; en mits dat de calvinisten niet en preeckten, was er vaei daer gecomen om te luysteren. Ende na den sermoei maecckten sy discoort, heffende ander psalmen en voysen aen onder de Martinisten; hier saech men den haet! Nochtans _was_ tus- schen dese 2 religien geen groot verscil, dan meest in 't nutten van 't sacrament.


C. A description of the Calvinist activity at Ghent in the chronicle of the historian Marcus van Vaernwijk.

Hy hadden belooft ten drij hueren te predicken, naer noene, maer beghonde vanden twee hueren. Daer zaten audi- tuers in drie hoopkins, mens, vrouwen ende jonghe meits- kins, elt een lettel verscheeden, tsamen ontertent zoo vele int ghetal als den predicant jaren hadde, zeer vaste an melcanderen ghervoucht zijnde; elck hoopkin hadde haren onderwijsere, ende hadde oelen bouczxkins in haer handen, ende songhen ontertusschen psalmen, ende vercochten die bouczkins daer die psalmen in stonden gheprent als liedek- kens, elt voor eene twaelvaert. Daer waren veel omme- standers daer roontomme stonden, ende waren commen bezien wat men daer bedreef; want twas voor alle meinschen een vreemt ongheheu dijnck, sonderlijnhe die in Vlaenderen woonden.

... ...

In deze predicatie (ghelijc veel dijncx metter tijt vermeerderd maer niet altijts verbetert) zoo waren tenten ghespannen van zeijlen; daer preeckt ij predicanten, die hadden ooc haer tenten oft tabernaculen jegheen de hitte der zonne ende den regen ende eemen stoel oft hoochde van russen gheemact om somtijts neder te zitten, ende als zij staen vreest ende ghemackelik rusten, zoo waren daer voren bailgen gheemact. Men soncker ooc psalmen al avont.

... ...

Up onser Vrauwendach alfougst, preeckt men wederomme up Leerdriesch, ende daer was een machtich volck. Men preecker voor noene ende naer noene, ende men zancker ontertusschen psalmen; dat meer was, dees psalmzanghens beveilen de lieden vander nieuwer religie zoowel, dat zij die met hoopen van ij of iij hondert, werden zijnhende tsavonts up diversche straten ende steghen vander stad; want men wartse alle avonde sijnhende met sommige
liedekins van Luther, up den Wijnaert, die men nu heet den Wijen aert, voor tschepenhuis, up de Freemueneren ende Preecheeren brugge ende in veel ander plaatsen der stadt. Ooc wart mense zijnhendeh achter straten tsavonits algemeene. Men hoerder nauwelic gheenen anderen zamck; meer twas al meest jonck onghervoesschap volck, die een schotelvate een hemelrijk dijinct zijnde ende tot alle nieuwe dijghen beheerchlich zijn. Ooc ghijnghen mans ende vrouwen arm an arm al zijnhende dees psalmen up diverse wijsen. Zoo deden ooc die jonghe kinderen bij schoomen daghe, ende ooc werden zij ghesonghen met partijen in de huisen, up de wijnckelen ende dierscheliche menaigne, zoo dat die catholijcke daermende spottende zeijden: dijsalmen, (daer mede meenende zeker roode visschen die in den mont vandem Rijn ende Mase, daer zij in de zee sturten, ghevanghen werden) zullen nu zeer gheoden coop zijn jeghen den vastenen, mits dat men nu alzo achter straten mede loopt. De predicanten leerdense haer buten int velt zijghen, up simpel noten, ende als die lieden discoort ende qualic songhen, zoo spraken haerder sommige: wij dijncet dat ghij grotl, zoo de papen in haer keercken doen.

Zij songhen haer psalmen naer ende voor haer predication ende ander keerckeliche dienste, zoo devolthic, treffellic ende eerlic, zoot schijnt, datter menich meinsche van devocien om weenen moeste.

Source: Marcus van Vaernewijck, Van die beroerliche tijden in die Nederlanden en voornamelijk in Ghent, 1566-1568 (Ghent, 1872-1881), 1, 3, 36, 66-67, and 254.

D. A description of the iconoclam in the Antwerp Cathedral, August 1566, from the chronicle of F. G. Ullens.7

Op den 20, Augustyects dydachs naer de Vesperen, isser tot Antwerp een grote vergaderinghe geweest in onse Lieve Vrouwen Kercke van Kinderen ende quade rappalie, om dat het Marien Beelx snoenen boven op haer plaetsge geseet was, schimpende seer den geheelen achternoon, ende makende veel hopen volcx, . . . ende voor het Looff aen d'Wywatervat begosten te singhen Psalmen met groote hoopen.

Corts hier naer is Doctor Hermanus, als den principaalsten predicant met sommighe van syn adherenten, in de kercke gecom, ende hebben begonst te roepen, Vive le Geus, doen is den voorz. op den preckstoel gegaen om te preecken, soo hebben sy alsamen, die in de Kercke waren, luyer stemmen Psalmen gesonghen, ende Hermanus in syn sermoen voortgaende, heeft seer veel gepreect van de Affgoderye, expresselyck
gebiedende, dat men alle beelden, figure, chierat van de Kercke, ontstucken soude smyten, d'welck terstont een onse Lieve Vrouwen Choor begonst wirt, ende en lieten niet aff tot dat syt al bedorven ende gestolen hebben dat in de Kercke was, soo dat sy niet alleen om stucck en smeeten beelden, maer schandelyck tracteerden de heylige Sacramenten, als om verre ghietende het heylig Olies, daer sy haer schoenen mede smeerdien, en het silver stalen.

Oock hebben sy gansch bedorven ende te niet gedaen de schoon Sanckboecken ende ander boecken, de Kerck aengaende, ende menich hondert gulden weert synde, met noch drie schoon orgelen, end de kinders liepen met de pypen al blasende achter straten, die sy malcanderen om speilen vercochten.

De destructie die de Calvenisten daer binnen vyff of ses uren gedaen hebben met haer dieverye, en waer niet om te beschryven, noch met eenich gelt, de schade te gelycken.

Source: U[mensg], Antwerpsch Chronykje, pp. 86, 87, and 89.

E. A description of the building of Protestant churches in Antwerp, 1566, from the diary of Godevaert van Haecht.

En de calvinisten begonden 2 kercken te timmeren, een voer de Walen en de ander genoempt "de Mollekens rame;" en der Walen kercke werdt achtcantich gemaect; ende men vrocht aen dese kercken seer neerstich, en sommige vrouwen en mana van de calvinisten vrochten by tyden sonder loon; en daer werdt vael totter kercken bouwinghe ghegeven; elck mocht 3 kercken timmeren wilden sy.


F. A description of the Calvinist church in Ghent from the diary of Ph. de Kempenare.

\textit{15 December 1566}. Deze tempel werd door de Catholyken de Schure genaems, door sommigen het Peerdenerkhhof, want men had aldaer een peerdenromp gevonden, welk des nachts daer in gesleept was. Het gebouw was heel rond, het dak van strooi, en het midden was eene plaets met zitbanken voor de ouderlingen en voorzangers, dewelke sy het consistorie noemden; daer rondom waren andere banken, men zag daer geen kruis, geen beeld, noch autaer.

...
January 1567. Den eersten dag van het jaer hielden
de Calvinisten eenen vastendag voor het welvaren van den
staet, blyvende den heelen dag in den tempel, horrende
prediken en zingende psalmen; des avonds, t'huis komende,
aten zij vleesch en visch, zoo als elk had.

Source: Ph. de Kempenare, Vlaemsche Kronijk of Dagregister
van al het gene gedenkweerdig voorgevallen is, binnen de
stad Gent, sedert den 15 July 1566 tot 15 Juny 1585
(Ghent, 1839), pp. 19 and 21.
APPENDIX XII

DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF CATHOLIC CHURCH MUSIC
IN ANTWERP DURING THE CALVINIST REGIME

A. A request for permission to collect rents on
   church property in order to pay the
   cathedral musicians, 28 April 1582.

   Aen myn Eerwardige heeren gecommitteerde tot benefi-
   cien van de Gheestelycke goeden binnen deze stad Antwerpen.
   Vertoont in alder ootmoet Baudewyn de Vogelaer, hoe
   dat de suppliant sekere jaren geleden rentmeester geweest
   is over d'erffelycke goeden ende innecomen toebehorende den
   vicarissen, wesende de zangers ende choralen, alhier gelegen
   binnen de cuyp de ser stad vooorsyd, waer van nuter tyt
   eenige schuldenaers alhier ook woonende, den suppliant wey-
   geringhe doen van betalinge, seggende dat ty lieden met
   eender betalinghe willen gestaen, ende dat onder 't depel
   van sekere placat nopende den gheestelycke goeden onlanx
   gepubliceert, d welck gewerct, bid de suppliant in alder
   ootmoet, dat uwer Eerwardiger gelieven wilde den suppliant
   te continueren in den ontfanck van vooorsyde sangers ende
   choralen te mogen manen, ende tot effectuele betalinge van
   haerlieden schulden te bedwingen, ten fyne ty lieden sangers
   ende choralen (alsnu wesende in den dienst van Zyne Altese)
   daer mede mogen onderhouden werden, zoo ty lieden aertys
   onderhouden zyn geweest, twelck doende etc.

   [Marginal note] De gecommiteerde vooorsyd ordinere mits
   desen den remonstrant Baudw with de Vogelaer te doene binnen
   de XIII daghen naestcommende rekeninghe van de administratie
   by hem over de goeden ende incomen in desen vermelt gehab'd
   tot desen dage, om het zelve gesien ende gepasseert te wesen
   en daer naer voort gedaen te worden naer behooren. Actum
   xxviii aprilis 1582.

   J. van Baerle

Source: Leon de Burbure, "Notes extraîtes des archives de
la cathédral d'Anvers," (MS), Antwerp, City Archives, P.K.
2932-2934, I, 9.

274
B. A list of expenses for the Mass in honor of
St. Anthony (Abbot) held in St. Michael's
church, Antwerp, 17 January 1583.

L’an 83 en fist par Pierre Padrali le doyen a lonneur
de notre bon Dieu et invocation de Monsieur St Anthoine
celebrer une solemnelle messe en l’église de St. Michel a
l’hôtel grand de son altesse, dont l’offrande fust receue
en la somme de ______________________ L 1 2 9
et les despens furent ______________________ 2 6 1d
a scavoir L 1. 3. 4 alles musiciens, et L 1 2 9:
alles chantres, cappellains et 1 altures leurs droicts
comme il apert icy bas:
a cestuy qui tire les cloces _____ L 1 4
alles chantres de l’église _______ L 13 6
alles corals ______________________ L 3
pour la robe du prestre ____________ L 8
pour l’organist ______________________ L 1 8
pour le souffleur ____________________ L 8
au prestre qui a chanté la messe ______ L 1 8
au diacon et sub diacon _________ L 1
pour chandeller en tout _____________ L 2

____________________ L 1 2 9

debito L 2 6 1
credit 1 2 9

débiteur rest L 1. 3. 2. [sic]
pour la partie 7.13. 8.
axecentre

je suis comme il apert créditeur L 8. 17. ———

... Après avoir célébré la solemnelle messe comme
dit est, alla bonne heure, de Dieu, fumes tous les confrères
rassembler alordinaire diné ou Bancquest alla testé d’oïr
et ainsy que se estant asis à table et en apres avoir dict
la benédiction, survint les novelles comme les Francois,
de par la part de Monsr le duc dalanson, avoient surpris
la porte de St. Jacques, dont chacun furent en extreme per-
plexite, et par quooy l’un sen allast d’un coste et aultre
de lautre, et une partie demourant sur la place, esperant
en la majois/te de dieu quelque victoire; comme une demy
heure apres en suivit par sa sainte grace et furent les
Bourgeois victorieux, et puis apres chacun seriterat à son
logis. Mercy le bon dieu.

Source: Antwerp, Cathedral Archives, Capsa rerum extra-
ordinariarum, No. 626 (Broederschap van den H. Antonius
Abt, 1508-1784), fol. 244r-244v.
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Printed Music—Monophonic


Printed Music—Polyphonic

Each title is followed by its RISM number (Répertoire international des sources musicales, Vol. [B]/I), its Eitner number (Bibliographie der Musik-Sammelwerke), and its Pidoux number (Le psautier huguenot, Vol. 11), in that order where applicable. These sources contain more detailed bibliographical information than given here.

1540. Le Paragon des chansons. Sixiesme livre contenant XXV chansons nouvelles au singulier prouffit et delec-tation des musiciens. Lyon: J. Moderne, 1540. 1540/16 13400 8/Psalm 1377 Abel Estans assis au rives aquatiques fol. 2v In three partes.

1544. Le difficile des chansons. Second livre contenant
XXVI chansons nouvelles a quatre parties en quatre
livres de la composition de plusieurs maistres.
1544/9

1545. Le neufiesme livre de chansons a quatre parties au-
quel sont contenues vingt et neuf chansons nouvelles
convenables tant à la voix comme aux Instrumentz.
Composées par Maistre Pier de Manchicourt, maistre de
la chapelle de Nostre Dame de Tournay. Antwerp:
Tielman Susato, 1545. 1545k 45/11

1549. L'unziesme livre contenant vingt et neuf chansons
amoureuses a quatre parties, propices à tous instru-
mentz musicaux, avec deux prières ou oraisons qui
se peuvent chanter devant et après le repas.
Antwerp: Tielman Susato, 1549. 1549/29 1549k 49/1V

1552. Quatiesme livre des chansons a quatre parties nou-
vellment composez & mises en musicque, convenables
tant au instrumentz comme à la voix. Louvain: Pierre
Phalése, 1552. 1552/14

1Title and contents are incorrect in Pierre Pidoux,
This publication exists in incomplete form. A slightly changed reprint from 1555 was used instead. The page numbers below are from the 1555 edition (1555/20, 1555n).

La benedicite

Nostre bon pere tout puissant

Crispel

p. xxiii

La grace

Pere eternel te rendons grace

p. xxv

1555. Jardin musical, contenant plusieurs belles fleurs de chansons a trois parties, choyes dentre les oeuvres de plusieurs auteurs excellents en l'art de musicque, ensemble le blason de beau & laid Tetin propices tant a la voix comme aux instrumentz. Le premier livre. Antwerp: Waelrant and Laet, s.d. [1555/22 1556m

1/\text{Psalm 67}

Ne veuilles pas, o sire

Waelrant

p. v.

1/\text{Psalm 1187}

Rendez a Dieu louange et gloire

p. xxx.


In three volumes.

1556. Jardin musical, contenant plusieurs belles fleurs de chansons spirituelles a quatre parties, composées par maistre Jean Caulery, maistre de la Chapelle de la Royne de France, & de plusieurs autres excellents auteurs en l'art de musicque, tant propices a la voix comme aux instrumentz. Livre second. Antwerp: Waelrant and Laet, s.d. [1556/18 1556o 56/VI A

\text{1/\acute{O}raison dominicale}

Pere de nous que es la hauts es cieux

Caulery


\text{1/La salutation angeliq}

Resjouys toy, Vierge Marie

Caulery

p. vi

In two partes.
Cantique de Siméon  
Or laissez, Creator  
Caulery  
p. viii

Psalm 137  
Jusques a quand as estably  
In three partes.  
Caulery  
p. xii

Psalm 1037  
Sus, louez Dieu, mon ame  
Waelrant  
p. xviii

Psalm 127  
Donne secours, Seigneur, il en est heure  
Waelrant  
p. xx

Psalm 1137  
Enfans qui le Seigneur louez  
Waelrant  
p. xxv

Psalm 77  
Mon Dieu, j'ay en toi esperance  

1556. Jardin musical, contenant plusieurs belles fleurs  
de chansons a quatre partes, choysies d'entre les  
ceuvres de plusieurs auteurs excellentes en l'art de  
musique, propices tant a la voix, comme aux  
instruments. Le tiers livre. Antwerp: Waelrant and  
Laet, s.d.  
\[1556/19\] 1556p 56/VI B

Psalm 727  
Tès jugements Dieu veritable  
Waelrant  
p. xviii

Psalm 87  
O nostre Dieu et Seigneur amiable  
Waelrant  
p. xxv

Psalm 517  
Misericorde au pauvre vicieux  
Clemens non Papa  
Modern edition in Jacobus Clemens non Papa, Opera  
Omnia (Rome, 1951 -- ), XI, 62

1558. Di Huberto Waelrant Il primo libro de madrigali &  
canzoni francezi a cinque voci. Antwerp: Waelrant  
and Laet, 1558.  
Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket

Psalm 97  
De tout mon coeur t'exalteray  
Waelrant  
p. xxx

\[\text{Psalm 130} \]  
\Du fons de ma pensée  
Lassus  
\[\text{Du fons de ma pensée} \]  
Modern edition in Orlando di Lasso, Sämtliche Werke (Leipzig, 1894-1927), XVI, 159.


\[\text{Psalm 130} \]  
\Du fons de ma pensée  
Goudimel  
\[\text{Du fons de ma pensée} \]  
fol. Ttiii


\[\text{Psalm 130} \]  
\Du fons de ma pensée  
Lassus  
\[\text{Du fons de ma pensée} \]  
fol. iv


\[\text{Psalm 134} \]  
\Jamais ne cesseray  
Faignient  
\[\text{Jamais ne cesseray} \]  

\[\text{Psalm 1027} \]  
\Sus, loueze Dieu, mon ame  
Faignient  
\[\text{Sus, loueze Dieu, mon ame} \]  
p. 31

1569. Recueil des fleurs productes de la divine musique a trois parties, par Clemens non papa, Thomas Cricquillon, et aultres excellens musiciens. Second livre. Louvain: P. Phalèse, 1569. 1569/10 1569e

\[\text{Psalm 67} \]  
Ne veuilles pas, o sire  
Waelrant  
\[\text{Ne veuilles pas, o sire} \]  
fol. 12
1570. Premier livre des chansons a quatre et cinq parties, composées par Orlando di Lassus, Cyprian de Rore, et de nouveau plus correctement que cy devant imprimées & emendées, convenables tant aux instrumens comme à la voix. Louvain: P. Phalèse, 1570. 1570/5

Psalm 130
Du fons de ma pensée

Lassus

p. 4

1570. Second livre des chansons a quatre et cinq parties, composées par Orlando di Lassus, Cyprian de Rore, & Philippe de Mons, de nouveau corrigées & emendées, convenables tant aux instrumens comme à la voix. Louvain: P. Phalèse, 1570. 1570/6 1570a

Psalm 107
Données au Seigneur gloire

De Monte

Modern edition in Philippe de Monte, Opera (Bruges, 1927-1939), XX, 23.

p. 19

1570. Septiesme livre des chansons a quatre parties, de nouveau revu, corrigé et de plusieurs autres nouvelles chansons (lesquelles jamais n'ont été imprimées,) augmenté. Toutes convenables tant aux instruments qu'à la voix. Louvain: P. Phalèse, 1570. 1570/8 1570/d

Prière devant le repas
O Souverain pasteur et maistre

Clemens non Papa

p. 7

Action des graces

Père éternel qui nous ordonne

Modern editions of these two graces are in Clemens non Papa, Opera Omnia, XI, 71 and 73.

1581. Chansons Françoyses à 5, 6, et 8 parties, mises en musique par Severin Cornet, Maistre des enfans de la grande Eglise d'Anvers. Antwerp: C. Plantin, 1581. 81/1

Psalm 34
Jamais ne cesseray

Cornet

p. 9

1589. Chansons d'Andre Pevernarge, Maistre de la chapelle de l'Eglise cathedrale d'Anvers. Livre premier tenant chansons spirituelles, à cinq parties. Antwerp: C. Plantin, 1589. 89/1
Psalm 337
Resveillez vous chascun fidèle
Pevernage
p. XIX

Consécration de la table
0 Souverain pasteur et maistre
Pevernage
p. XVIII

Action de graces
Père éternel qui nous ordonnez
Pevernage
p. XIX

Psalm 517
Miséricorde au pauvre vicieux
Pevernage
p. XXI

1597. Cinquante psaumes de David, avec la musique a cinq parties d'Orlande de Lassus. Vingt autres psaumes à cinq & six parties, par divers excellent musiciens de nostre temps. /Heidelberg:/ J. Commelin, 1597.
1597/6 1597a 97/I

Psalm 127
On a beau sa maison bastir
A contrafactum; see p. 174 above, fn. 10.

Secondary Sources


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THE HUGUENOT PSALTER IN THE LOW COUNTRIES:
A STUDY OF ITS MONOPHONIC AND
POLYPHONIC MANIFESTATIONS
IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY
VOLUME II

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy
in the Graduate School of
The Ohio State University

By
Howard Jay Slenk, B.A., M.A.

* * * * * * *

The Ohio State University
1965

Approved by

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INTRODUCTION

This volume contains nineteen compositions, an anthology selected from the eighty-four settings of Huguenot psalms that appeared in the Low Countries during the sixteenth century. As in Volume I, the phrase "Huguenot psalm" embraces all texts found in the Calvinist Psalter, be they psalms, canticles, or graces. Twelve compositions are from chanson collections published in Antwerp or Louvain from 1542 to 1589. A manuscript of British provenance is the source for one setting—the polyphonic grace by Derick Gerard, who was probably of Netherlandish origin. Jean Louys, whose Pseaualmes Cinquante was published in 1555 by Waelrant and Laet of Antwerp, is represented by six of his fifty-one psalm settings.

In selecting the music for this companion volume to the dissertation, I have attempted to present pieces that best illustrate the compositional techniques discussed in Chapters III, IV, and V. None of the nineteen compositions has been published before. Indeed, of the eighty-four settings forming the polyphonic Huguenot repertoire in the Low Countries, only eight have been republished in recent times. These modern editions are cited in Chapters III

296
and V of Volume I and again in the annotations to the Bibliography of Primary Sources.
EDITORIAL METHOD

Titles

Placed at the head of each composition is the first line of Marot's text, which is used in this edition as a title. This was not the practice in the sixteenth century. Many settings were printed without title. Others were headed only by the Latin psalm incipit or the French title Marot gave his canticles and graces. I have placed the Latin incipits, as well as the French titles for the canticles and graces, at the left-hand margin. Where these do not appear in the original, they are between parentheses. I have also supplied the number of the psalm, which is found only in Louys' Pseaulmes Cinquante.

Texts

Like most of the printed part-books of the sixteenth century, the sources of the polyphonic Huguenot psalm in the Low Countries display distressing laxity in the use of texts. Spelling, punctuation, and even choice of words vary from book to book. For this edition I have brought the texts into conformity with the orthography and punctuation used by Georges Guiffrey in his excellent edition of Clément Marot's complete works.
Text underlay follows the sources as closely as possible. In the earlier prints there is little or no attempt
at placing the syllables under the notes to which they must
be sung. In these settings I have set the beginning of the
phrase more or less syllabically, with necessary melismas
near the end of the poetic line. In the part-books printed
by Waelrant and Laet and by Plantin, however, an attempt is
made at accurate placement of the text, greatly facilitating
the work of a modern editor.

Mention should be made of occasional inconsistencies
in the treatment of liaison. The seven-syllable line, "Non
ame à Dieu regarde," for example, is given to eight notes in
the bass of Appenzeller's setting of Psalm 130 (meas. 148-
153). The rhythm of the motif, as well as the rest after
the third note, implies that the silent syllable in "ame"
is to receive its own note. In the tenor, however, the line
is treated as a seven-syllable unit with "ame" assigned to
one note. The line of text is set twice in each of the
two upper voices, first as an eight-syllable unit, then
with the liaison pattern established in the tenor.

In Louys' Don't vient cela, Seigneur (Psalm 10), the
placement of text in the print implies that the word "mettre"
in line three should sometimes be sung as two separate syl-
lables, sometimes as one, in liaison with "en." (See
measures 14-24.)
All repetitions of text that are not written out in the sources are placed between parentheses. Replacements for erroneous words and phrases are also between parentheses and are cited in the Critical Notes.

Ligatures in the sources are consistently assigned to two semibreves meant to carry a single syllable. These are indicated here by the sign ——— .

Refrains, when they occur, have been labelled in the transcriptions.

Transcriptions

The basic rhythmic unit in the sixteenth century was the semibreve, which is represented by the half-note in this edition. Many editors advocate a reduction of the original note-values by four, since the normal rhythmic unit of our day is the quarter-note. I have chosen, however, a reduction by two in order to avoid entire phrases of syllabic sixteenth-notes, which would result from reducing by four the note-values sections of Waelrant and Pevernage. Although the predominantly white-note writing of men like Appenzeller and Caulery could be reduced by one-fourth, I have chosen instead to use consistent reduction throughout Volume II.

At the beginning of each composition I have reproduced the original clefs, mensuration signs (always Ė), and first few notes of music. In the transcriptions, however, I have used only the three clefs in general usage today:
treble, treble to sound an octave lower, and bass. I have not used modern meter signatures, even though the barring is regular. As a rule, the measure and its bars mark off every two half-notes. Occasionally, however, when it seemed to me that the composer had in mind a ternary group of semibreves, I have constructed a measure with three half-notes. Since the tempo of most Renaissance music followed the formula, tactus = semibreve = heartbeat, the half-notes in these pieces should progress at about seventy per minute.

A few passages use coloration in one voice, or the signature , to denote a ternary division of the semibreve. The colored notes are placed within the signs ∫ ∓ in this edition. The signature has not been reproduced, but is represented by triplets without coloration signs.

Each accidental in the sources is placed to the immediate left of the note to which it applies. Several of the sharps in the original, however, are used to create naturals, and for these I have used a natural sign in the transcription. Each accidental applies only to the note that follows it.

Musica ficta has been applied with caution. As a point of reference I have used the psalm settings of Waelrant, who is quite meticulous in the specification of accidentals. Since he raises the seventh scale degree in cadences to the final of the mode, this procedure may be accepted as standard for his day, and I have followed it.
Many modern editors of Renaissance music consistently make all final chords major. The composers represented here, however, when writing in a minor mode, raise the third in the final chord of some pieces and leave others minor. Throughout the repertoire, therefore, I have not added accidentals to the final chords.

The Huguenot melody

The six compositions by Louys and the psalm settings of Faignient and Pevernage are based on the Huguenot melody. These melodies have been reproduced in the appendix to this volume. They have been copied from the first volume of Fidoux's le psautier huguenot, where the original sources for each psalm tune are listed. Two melodies for Psalm 130 are given in the appendix, since Louys seems to have used a cantus prius factus that is a mixture of phrases from the Genevan and Strasbourg versions of the tune. (See Volume I, pp. 139-140.) Included also is the superius of Sermisy's chanson, Dont vient cela, used by Louys in his setting of Psalm 10.
CRITICAL NOTES

I have used only one source for each composition. Indeed, most of them were printed only once, as far as we know. A few were republished in later years, but I have not consulted these editions. An exception is Jean Crispeul's polyphonic grace, which was first printed in 1552 in Phalèse's *Quatrième livre des chansons a quatre parties*. This publication is incomplete today, however, and I have used the edition of 1555. (See the Bibliography of Primary Sources in Volume I.) A short title for each printed source is given below. A more complete title can be found in the Bibliography of Primary Sources, along with the numbers assigned the publication in RISM, Eitner's *Bibliographie der Musik-Sammelwerke*, and Fidoux's *Le psautier huguenot*.

1. *Du fons de ma pensée*. Benedictus Appenzeller

**Source:** *Des chansons a quatre parties, composez par M. Benedictus* (Antwerp: Henry Loys and Jehan de Buys, 1542), fol. 2v-6r.

Appenzeller used an early version of Naret's text; see Volume I, pp. 91-92. The final version can be seen in Jean Louys' setting of this psalm (No. 11).

Superius, meas. 125 - The word "je" omitted.
2. du fons de ma pensée. Pierre de Manchicourt

Source: Le neufiesme livre de chansons a quatre parties
       Composees par Maistre Pier de Manchicourt
       (Antwerp: Tielman Susato, 1545), fol. ii"-ii".

Manchicourt used an earlier version of Marot's text.
The tenor, however, has the final form of the text.
Here it has been made to agree with the other three
voices. See Volume I, pp. 91-92.

All voices, meas. 55-56 - The word "je" omitted.

3. O Souverain pasteur et maistre. Tielman Susato

Source: L'unziesme livre contenant vingt et neuf chansons
        (Antwerp: Tielman Susato, 1549), fol. ii".

4. O Souverain pasteur et maistre. Derick Gerard

Source: London, British Museum MS Royal Appendix 31-35,
        fol. 36" ff.

5. Nostre bon pere tout puissant. Jean Crispel

Source: Quatriesme livre des chansons a quatre parties
        (Louvain: Pierre Phalesse, 1555), p. xxi".

6. Resjouy toy, vierge Marie. Jean Caulery

Source: Jardin musical, contenant plusieurs belles fleurs
        de chansons spirituelles a quatre parties...
        livre second (Antwerp: Waelrant and Laet, s.g.),
        p. vi.

Contratenor, meas. 11, note 4 - b-flat' in original changed
to a'.

7. Or laissees, Creator. Jean Caulery

Source: Same as No. 6, p. viii.

Bassus, meas. 16 - Semibreve rest in original changed to
breve rest.
8. **Ne vues les pas, o Sire.** Hubert Waelrant


Nassus, meas. 27-31 - Text in original "N'en ta fureur terrible" changed to "Ne punir de l'horrible."

9. **Sus, louez Dieu, mon ame, en toute chose.** Hubert Waelrant

Source: Same as No. 6, p. xviii.

Lower three voices, meas. 36-50 - The words "qu'as" in original changed to "qu'en as."

10. **Donne secours, Seigneur, il en est heure.** Hubert Waelrant

Source: Same as No. 6, p. xx.

11. **Du fons de ma pensée.** Jean Louys


12. **Seigneur Dieu, ou l'oraison mienne.** Jean Louys

Source: Same as No. 11, III, p. x.

13. **Il faut que de tous mes esprits.** Jean Louys

Source: Same as No. 11, III, p. xxiiij.

Tenor, meas. 57 - The word "de" on the fourth note is "pour" in the original.

14. **Les gens entrez sont en ton heritage.** Jean Louys

Source: Same as No. 11, II, p. xxvj.

Tenor, meas. 26-28 - Text in original "Ton temple saint, iij," changed to "Ils ont pollu, Seigneur."
15. *Cr laisses, Creator.* Jean Louys

Source: Same as No. 11, II, p. xxiiij.

Quinta, meas. 46 - The word "Ge" is "Puis" in original.

16. *D'ont vient cela, Seigneur, je te supply.* Jean Louys

Source: Same as No. 11, III p. xij.

Superius, meas. 9 - The word "nous" is "moy" in original.
Tenor, meas. 12 - The word "nous" is "moy" in original.

17. *Sus, loueze Dieu, mon ame.* Noé Faignant


18. *Resveillez vous, chacun fiddle.* André Pevernage


Quinta, meas. 9, note 4 - 5 in original changed to b flat.

19. *O Souverain pasteur et maistre.* André Pevernage

Source: Same as No. 18, p. XVIII.
DU FONS DE MA PENSEÉ
(Psalm 130)

(De profundis) Benedictus Appenzeller

Superius
Contratenor
Tenor
Bassus

5. Du fons de ma pen-sée, (de ma pen-sée)
   De sa pensée, de sa pensée,

6. Du fons de ma pen-sée, de sa pensée,
   De sa pensée, de sa pensée,
   Du fons de ma pensée,

10. Au fons, (Au fons) de tous en-nuis,
   Au fons, Au fons de tous en-nuis,
   Au fons, (Au fons;) Au fons de tous en-nuis,
En- tens, ma voix plain- ti-
En- tens, ma voix plain- ti-
En- tens, ma voix plain- ti-

En- tens, Sei- gneur,
En- tens, Sei- gneur, il est sai-
En- tens, Sei- gneur, il est sai-
v.

(Sei- gneur, il est sai-
(Sei- gneur, il est sai-
(Sei- gneur, il est sai-

Ton o- reille en- ten-
Ton o- reille en- ten-
Ton o- reille en- ten-

Soit à son o-
Soit à son o-
Soit à son o-
Secunda pars

Si ta rigueur expression, En nos pêches tu tiens,
Si ta rigueur expression, En nos pêches tu tiens, Sei

Seigneur, (Seigneur,) qui est ce Qui de mourra des tiens?
Seigneur, (Seigneur,) qui est ce Qui de mourra des tiens?
Seigneur, (Seigneur,) qui est ce Qui de mourra des tiens?

Si n'es tu point
(Qui de-mourra des tiens?) Si n'es tu point,
Si n'es tu point
(Si n'es tu point, Si n'es tu point sevère, Si n'es tu point sevère, Si}

Si n'es tu point sevère, Si n'es tu point sevère, Si
90.

Severe, Si n'es tu point severe, (Si n'es tu point)

n'es tu point severe, Si (n'es tu point

re, Si n'es tu point severe, Mais

45.

Severe, Mais propice à mercy!

Severe, Mais propice à mercy!

Severe, Mais propice à mercy! C'est propice à mercy!

C'est

C'est pourquoy on reverse

C'est pourquoy on reverse

pourquoy on reverse, (C'est pourquoy on pourquoy on reverse, (reverse)

C0.

Toy et ta lay

Toy et ta lay

Toy et ta lay non si, [Toy et ta lay anse

Toy et ta lay non si, (Toy et ta lay anse
(Refrain) si, C'est pourquoi on rêve si, C'est pourquoi on rêve si, C'est pourquoi on rêve, (C'est si.) C'est pourquoi on rêve, (rêve-

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(Refrain)

du jour, Martin devant la garde

point)du jour, Martin devant la garde,

Martin devant la garde,

Martin

As-sise au point

devant la garde

As-sise au point,

As-sise au point,

As-sise au point
devant la garde,

As-sise au point

As-sise au point du jour,

As-sise au point du jour,

As-sise au point du jour,

As-sise au point du jour,

As-sise au point du jour.
(Et le ra-chete-ra.)

Et le ra-chete-ra.

Et le ra-chete-ra.

(ET le ra-chete-ra.)

(ET le ra-chete-ra.)

(ET le ra-chete-ra.)

(ET le ra-chete-ra.)

(ET le ra-chete-ra.)
DU FONS DE MA PENSÉE
(Psalm 130)

De profundis

Pierre de Manchicourt

Superius

Contratenor

Tenor

Bassus

Au fons de tous ennuis,

Dieu, je t'ay adres-sé e Ma cla-

meur jours

Dieu, je t'ay adres-sé e Ma cla-

meur, (Ma cla-

meur) jours

je t'ay adres-sé e Ma cla-

meur, (Ma cla-

meur) jours

321
et nuicts. En-tens sa voix plain-tive, Sei-

gneur, il est sai-son; Ton

Sei-gneur, il est sai-
son; Ton o-reille en-

Soit à mon o-
rai-
son. Si ta ri-geur ex-pres-
son.) Si ta ri-geur ex-pres-

Soit à mon o-
rai-
son. Si ta ri-geur ex-pres-

Si ta ri-geur ex-pres-

Soit à mon o-
rai-
son. Si ta ri-geur ex-pres-

Si ta ri-geur ex-pres-
Secunda pars cc.

En Dieu (je) me cons-

En Dieu (je) me cons-

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En Dieu (je) me cons-
tin et sans séjour, Martin devant la garde d'Assise au
sans séjour, Martin devant la garde d'Assise au
sans séjour, Martin devant la garde d'Assise au
point du jour. Qu'Israël en Dieu fonde Har-diment son
point du jour. Qu'Israël en Dieu fonde Har-diment son
point du jour. Qu'Israël en Dieu fonde Har-diment son

ap-puy! Car en grâce il abonde, Et secours est
ap-puy! Car en grâce il abonde, Et secours est
ap-puy! Car en grâce il abonde, Et secours est

en luy. C'est ce-luy qui sans doub-te Is- ra-El jec-
en luy. C'est ce-luy qui sans doub-te Is- ra-El jec-
en luy. C'est ce-luy qui sans doub-te Is- ra-El jec-

2
325
Hors d'iniquité toute,
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Hors d'iniquité toute,
Hors d'iniquité toute,
O SOUVERAIN PASTEUR ET MAISTRE

Prière devant le repas

Superius

Contratenor

Tenor

Basses

Tiellman Susato

0 Souverain pasteur et maistre,

0 Souverain pasteur et maistre,

0 Souverain pasteur et maistre,

0 Souverain pasteur et maistre,
tit à petit 

A ce jour-d'hui ta cré-a-tu-re, 

A ce jour-d'hui ta cré-a-tu-re, A ce jour-d'hui ta cré-a-tu-re, 

tit à petit 

A ce jour-d'hui ta cré-a-tu-re. 

ce (jour-d'hui ta cré-a-tu-re) Par ce-luy qui pour nous ves-tu-re 

(A ce jour-d'hui ta cré-a-tu-re) Par ce-luy qui pour nous ves-tu-re 

Un corps sub-ject, (Un corps sub-ject) à nous ves-tit 

Un corps sub-ject à nous ves-tit 

Un corps sub-ject à nour-ri-tu-re, (Par ce-luy qui pour nous ves-tit) Un corps sub-ject à nour-ri-tu-re, 

(Refrain) Un corps sub-ject à nour-ri-tu-re, Un corps sub-ject à nour-ri-tu-re, (à nour-ri-tu-re,) Un corps sub-ject à nour-ri-tu-re, 

Un corps sub-ject à nour-ri-tu-re, à nour-ri-tu-r...
O SOUVERAIN PASTEUR ET MAISTRE

Prière devant le repas

Derick Gerard

[Musical notation image]
Regarde ce troupeau petit,
Regarde ce troupeau maître, pasteur et maître,
(Regarde ce troupeau maître, pasteur et maître,)
Regarde ce troupeau petit,
Regarde ce troupeau petit,
(Regarde ce troupeau petit,)
Regarde ce troupeau petit,
Et de tes
Regarde ce troupeau petit,
(Regarde ce troupeau petit,)
Regarde ce troupeau petit,
Regarde ce troupeau petit,
70.

A ce jour

d'huy ta cré-

ture,

cré-
ture,

A ce jour

d'huy ta cré-

ture,

cré-
ture,

A ce jour

d'huy ta cré-

ture,

cré-
ture,

A ce jour

d'huy ta cré-

ture,

cré-
ture,

A ce jour

d'huy ta cré-

ture,

cré-
ture,

A ce jour

d'huy ta cré-

ture,

cré-
ture,

A ce jour

d'huy ta cré-

ture,

cré-
ture,

A ce jour

d'huy ta cré-

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cré-
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A ce jour

d'huy ta cré-

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A ce jour

d'huy ta cré-

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A ce jour

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d'huy ta cré-

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A ce jour

d'huy ta cré-

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A ce jour

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A ce jour

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A ce jour

d'huy ta cré-

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cré-
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A ce jour

d'huy ta cré-

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cré-
ture,

A ce jour

d'huy ta cré-

ture,

cré-
ture,

A ce jour

d'huy ta cré-

ture,

cré-
ture,

A ce jour

d'huy ta cré-

ture,

cré-
ture,

A ce jour

d'huy ta cré-

ture,

cré-
ture,
(Far ce-luy qui pour nous ves-tit.)

(Far ce-luy qui pour nous ves-tit, Far ce-luy qui pour

Far ce-luy qui pour nous

Far ce-luy qui pour nous ves-tit

nous ves-tit, qui pour nous ves-tit Un corps sub-ject à nour-ri-tu-

nous ves-tit, qui pour nous ves-tit Un corps sub-ject à nour-ri-tu-

Un corps sub-ject à nour-ri-tu-

Un corps sub-ject à nour-ri-tu-

Un corps sub-ject à nour-ri-tu-

Un corps sub-ject à nour-ri-tu-
NOSTRE BON PÈRE TOUT PUISSANT

Le bénéédiction

Jean Crispeil

- 5 -

Superius

Contratenor

Tenor

Bassus

Nos- tre bon pè re tout pu is sant,

Nos- tre bon pè re tout pu is sant,

Nos- tre bon pè re tout pu is sant,

Nos- tre bon pè re tout pu is sant,
bremen prendre pastu-re; Don- ne nous par ton
bremen prendre pastu-re, Don-ne nous (Don- ne nous) par
bremen prendre pastu-re; Don-ne nous
bremen prendre pastu-re; (Don-ne nous par ton

escri-tu-re Que nos es-pritz
ton escri-tu-re, Que nous es-pritz soy-ent nour-riz,
par ton escri-tu-re Que nos es-pritz soy-ent nour-riz,
escri-tu-re Que nos es-pritz, (Que nous es-

(Que nos es-pritz) soy-ent nour-riz, Et les biens
(Que nos es-pritz soy-ent nour-riz,)
(Que nos es-pritz soy-ent nour-riz,) Et
pritz) soy-ent nour-riz, Et
30.

donnez par ta cuire Aussi de

Et les biens donnez par ta cuire Aussi de toy,

les biens donnez par ta cuire, Aussi de toy

les biens donnez par ta cuire, Aussi de toy

35.

(Frénain)

toy soient beniz, (Aussi de toy soient beniz, (Aussi de toy soient beniz, Aussi de toy soient beniz, Aussi de toy soient beniz, Aussi de

40.

ent beniz.)

si de toy soient beniz.)

ent beniz.

toy soient beniz.)
RESJOUY TOY, VIERGE MARIE

(La salutation angélique)  

Jean Caulery
Est avec toy divinemen-

ment. 

ment.

ment. 

ment. 

ment.

ment. 

ment.
OR LAISSES, CREATEUR
(Luke 2)

(Le cantique de Siméon)

Jean Caulery

Superius

Contratenor

Tenor

Bassus

En paix ton serviteur,
En suyant ta promesse,
(En suyant ta promesse,
Puis que mes yeux ont

En suyant ta promesse,
Puis que mes yeux ont
Puis que mes yeux ont eu
Ce crédit d'avoir

Puis que mes yeux ont eu, (Puis que mes yeux ont eu) Ce crédit d'avoir

su
Ce crédit d'avoir veu

De

De ton salut l'adresse,

De ton salut l'adresse,

(De

De ton salut l'adresse,

De ton salut

De ton salut l'adresse,

De ton salut l'adresse,

De ton salut l'adresse,

De ton salut l'adresse,

(De

De ton salut l'adresse,

De ton salut l'adresse,

(De

De ton salut l'adresse,

De ton salut l'adresse,

(De

De ton salut l'adresse,

De ton salut l'adresse,

Salut mis au devant De tout peuple

Salut mis au devant De tout peuple vivant

Salut mis au devant De tout peuple vivant

Salut mis au devant De tout peuple vivant

Pour l'ou-yr et le croi-

Pour l'ou-yr et le croi-

Pour l'ou-yr et le croi-
Pour l'ouyr et le croi- re:

Pour l'ouyr et le croi- re;

Res-sour-ce des pet- itz,

Res-sour-ce des pet- itz,

(Pour l'ouyr et le croi- re:)

Res-sour-ce des pe-

Res-sour-ce des pet- itz,

Lu-mie- re des gen- tils,

Lu-mie- re des gen-

Lu-mie- re des gen-

Et d'Is-ra-El la gloi- re,

Et d'Is-ra-El la gloi-

Et d'Is-ra-El la gloi-

Et d'Is-ra-El la gloi-

(Refrain)

Et d'Is-ra-El la gloi- re,

Et d'Is-ra-

(Refrain)

Et d'Is-ra-El la gloi-

(d'Is-ra-El la gloi-

(d'Is-ra-El la gloi-

(d'Is-ra-El la gloi-

(d'Is-ra-El la gloi-

(d'Is-ra-El la gloi-

(d'Is-ra-El la gloi-

(d'Is-ra-El la gloi-
Gloire, et d'Israël la gloire.

Gloire, et d'Israël la gloire.

Gloire, et d'Israël la gloire.

Gloire, et d'Israël la gloire.

Gloire, et d'Israël la gloire.
NE VUEILLES PAS, ô SIRE
(Psalm 6)

(Domine ne in furore arguas me)  Hubert Waelrant

Superius

Tenor

Bassus

5.

vueilles pas, ô Sire, (Ne vueilles pas, ô Sire,

re, Ne vueilles pas, ô Sire,)

Me reprendre en ton ire, (Me re-

re, Me reprendre en ton ire, Me re-

reprendre en ton ire,  Me re-

prendre en ton ire,)

Moy qui t'ay irrité,

Moy qui t'ay irrité, (Moy qui t'ay

Moy qui t'ay irrité, Moy qui t'ay ir-
SUS, LOUEZ DIEU, MON AME, EN TOUTE CHOSE
(Psalm 103)

(Benedic anima mea)  Hubert Waelrant

5.

en toute chose, Sus, louez Dieu, mon
(Sus, louez Dieu, mon ame,) Sus, louez Dieu, mon ame en

sus, louez Dieu, mon ame en toute chose,

10.

ame en toute chose, Et tout cela, Et tout cela qui de-dans
toute chose, Et tout cela(Et tout cela,) Et tout cela
toute chose, Et tout cela, Et tout cela qui

Et tout cela, Et tout cela, (Et tout cela) qui
toy, son ame, et tant de benefices, et

toy, son ame, et tant de benefices, et tant de

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ne les
DONNE SECOURS, SEIGNEUR, IL EN EST HEURE
(Psalm 12)

(Salvum me fac)

Hubert Waelrant

Superius

Contratenor

Tenor

Bassus

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Car d'hommes droits tous desnu-
ex,

Car d'hommes droits sommes tous desnu-
ex,

Car d'hommes droits sommes tous desnu-
ex,

Car d'hommes droits sommes tous desnu-
ex,

Car d'hommes droits sommes tous desnu-
ex,

Car d'hommes droits sommes tous desnu-
ex.

Entre les fils des hommes ne demeur-
ex, (sommes tous desnu-
ex) Entre les fils des hommes ne demeur-
ex.
Un qui ait foy, tant sont di-mi nu ez, tant sont di mi nu ez.

Un qui ait foy, tant di mi nu ez, tant sont, tant sont di mi nu ez.

Un qui ait foy, tant sont di mi nu ez, tant sont di mi nu ez, (tant

(Refrain)

Un qui ait foy, tant sont di mi nu ez, tant sont di mi nu ez. Entre les fils des hommes ne de meu re Un qui ait foy, tant sont di mi nu ez, tant sont di mi nu ez.

Un qui ait foy, tant sont di mi nu ez, tant sont di mi nu ez. (Refrain)

Un qui ait foy, tant sont di mi nu ez, tant sont di mi nu ez.
DU FONS DE MA PENSÉE
(Psalm 130)

De profundis

Jean Louys

Superius
Contratenor
Quinta
Tenor
Bassus

5.

sé-e, Au fons de tous en-muis,

Du fons de ma pen-sé-e, Au fons de tous en-muis,

sé-e, Au fons de tous en-muis, (Au fons de tous en-

sé-e, Au fons de tous en-muis, (Au fons de tous en-

359
SEIGNEUR DIEU, OY L'ORAISON MIENNE
(Psalm 143)

Domine exaudi orationem meam

Jean Louys

Superius

Contratenor

Quinta

Tenor

Bassus

Seigneur Dieu, oy l'oraision
Seigneur Dieu, oy l'oraision
Seigneur, Seigneur

5.
raision mienne,

mienne,

mienne,

mienne,

Dieu, oy l'oraision mienne,

(Seigneur Dieu, oy l'oraision mienne,

Seigneur Dieu, oy l'oraision mienne,

Seigneur Dieu, oy l'oraision mienne,

Dieu, oy l'oraision mienne,

(Seigneur Dieu, oy l'oraision mienne,
Sec. 1.

Selon la vraie mercy tienne,

Selon la vraie mercy tienne,

Selon la vraie mercy tienne,

Selon la vraie mercy tienne,

Selon la vraie mercy tienne,

Selon la vraie mercy tienne,

Sec. 2.

Respond moy en affliction,

Respond moy en affliction, affliction,

Respond moy en affliction, affliction,

Respond moy en affliction, affliction,

Respond moy en affliction, affliction,

Respond moy en affliction, affliction,

Sec. 3.

Respond moy en affliction,

Respond moy en affliction, affliction,

Respond moy en affliction, affliction,

Respond moy en affliction, affliction,

Respond moy en affliction, affliction,

Respond moy en affliction, affliction,
IL FAULT QUE DE TOUS MES ESPRITS
(Psaume 138)

Confitebor tibi

Jean Louys
loz et prix j'exalte et prise;  
loz et prix, Ton loz et prix, Ton loz

Tous mes esprits Ton loz et prix j'exalte

Il faut que de tous mes esprits Ton loz et prix

et prix,Ton loz et prix, Ton loz et prix, mes prise,

(Ton loz

se, Ton loz (et prix j'exalte et prise,

et prise,

j'exalte et prise;

Des esprits, Ton loz et prix j'exalte et prise; Des

et prix j'exalte et prise,) j'exalte et prise;

(se, j'exalte et prise, j'exalte et prise;

se, (j'exalte et prise, j'exalte et prise;)
Devant les graines me présenter,
Pour te chanter, j'ai fait emprisonner.
(Devant les graines me présenter.)

Devant les graines me présenter,
Pour te chanter, j'ai fait emprisonner.
(Devant les graines me présenter.)

Devant les graines me présenter,
Pour te chanter, j'ai fait emprisonner.
(Devant les graines me présenter.)
40.

presenter, Pour te chanter, j'ai fait empreinte, Pour te chanter, en presente, Pour te
(Pour te chanter j'ai fait empreinte.)

j'ai fait empreinte, j'ai fait empreinte.
(Pour te chanter j'ai fait empreinte.)

45.

En ton temple adore-ray, (En ton

En ton temple adore-ray, En ton saint

En ton saint temple adore-ray, En ton saint

En ton saint temple adore-ray, En ton saint

En ton saint temple adore-ray, (En ton saint

En ton saint temple adore-ray,)

Celebre-
temple adore-ray, Celebre-ray ta reconnaissance,

Celebre-ray ta reconnaissance,

Celebre-ray ta reconnaissance, ta reconnaissance,

Celebre-ray ta reconnaissance, ta reconnaissance,

Celebre-ray ta reconnaissance,

Celebre-ray ta reconnaissance,
LES GENS ENTREZ SONT EN TON HERITAGE
(Psalm 79)

Deus venerunt gentes

Jean Louys

Superius

Contratenor

Quinta

Tenor

Bassus
Hierusalem destruit,

Si

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Hierasley destruit,
Hierasley destruit,
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Hierasley destruit,
65.

Ils ont bâli le corps,
De tes serviteurs morts,
Ils ont bâli le corps,
De tes serviteurs morts,
De tes serviteurs morts,
De tes serviteurs morts,

60.

De tes serviteurs morts
Aux corbeaux
(De tes serviteurs morts, serviteurs

pour les pays-tre, Aux corbeaux pays-tre!)
La chair des bien
morts) Aux corbeaux pour les pays-tre!
La chair des bien vi-
pais- tre!
La chair des bien vi-

morts) Aux corbeaux pour les pays- tre!

Aux corbeaux pour les pays- tre!
vi-vans (La chair des bien vi-vans)

vi-vans (La chair des bien vi-vans, La
vi-vans, (La chair des bien vi-vans, La
vi-vans, (La chair des bien vi-vans, La
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La chair des bien vi-vans, (La chair des bien

La chair des bien vi-vans Aux a-ni-maulx suy-vans

chair des biens vi-vans) Aux a-ni-maulx suy-vans,

vi-vans Aux a-ni-maulx aux-vans

vi-vans) Aux a-ni-maulx sui-vans

vi-vans)

§ 0.

Aux (a-ni-maulx suy-vans)

(Aux a-ni-maulx sui-vans, Aux

(a-ni-maulx suy-vans, (Aux a-ni-maulx suy-vans)

(Aux a-ni-maulx suy-vans) Boys

(a-ni-maulx suy-vans; (aux a-ni-maulx suy-vans) Boys
Nunc dimittis servum tuum Domine

Jean Louys

OR LAISSES, CREATEUR
(Luke 2)
dit d'avoir veu), Ce crédit d'avoir veu,
vou, Puis que mes yeux ont
Ce crédit d'avoir veu, Puis que mes yeux (ont eu, Puis
Puis que mes yeux ont eu Ce crédit d'avoir veu Puis que
Puis que mes yeux ont eu Ce crédit d'avoir

Puis (que mes yeux ont eu Ce crédit d'avoir veu)
ou Ce crédit d'avoir veu,
que mes yeux ont eu) Ce (crédit d'avoir veu, Ce
(mes yeux ont eu,) Puis que mes yeux
veu (Puis que mes yeux ont eu Ce crédit d'

Puis (que mes yeux ont eu Ce crédit d'avoir veu)
Puis que mes yeux ont eu Ce crédit d'avoir veu De ton salut,
crédit d'avoir veu)
ont eu Ce crédit d'avoir veu, d'avoir veu De ton sal-

Puis que mes yeux ont eu Ce crédit d'avoir veu
D'ONT VIENT CELA, SEIGNEUR, JE TE SUPPLY (Psalm 10)

Domine ut quid dereliquisti

Jean Louys

Superius

Contratenor

Quinta

Tenor

Bassus

(D'ont vient cela,)

Seigneur, je te supply.

Que

je te supply, (Seigneur, je te supply, Seigneur, je te supply,)

Que

ce-

la, Seigneur, je te sup-

ply,

Que loin de

vient cela, Seigneur, je te supply.

Que

N.B. Asterisks mark material drawn from the superius of Seneisy's chanson D'ont vient cela.
Mes mes au temps qui est dur et divers, et divers? Mes mes (au bly) Mes mes au temps, (Mes mes au
en ou bly) Mes mes au temps qui est dur et divers? Mes mes au en ou bly) Mes mes au temps qui est dur et divers? (Mes mes au

36.

Temps qui est dur et divers?) et divers? Par

Temps qui est dur et divers? (qui est dur et divers?)

Temps qui est dur et divers?) Par leur or-

Et divers? (Mes mes au temps qui est dur et divers?)

Temps qui est dur et divers?) Par

35.

Leur orgueil sont ar-
dants les

Par leur orgueil sont ar-
dants les pers-

Gueil sont ar-
dants les pers, sont ar-
dants les pers-

Par leur orgueil sont ar-
dants les pers, les pers-
Fais que sur eux tombe leur entreprise, Fais que sur eux tombe leur entreprise, Fais que sur eux tombe leur entreprise, Fais que sur eux tombe leur entreprise.
SUS, LOUEZ DIEU, MON AME, EN TOUTE CHOSE
(Psalm 103)

(Benedic anima mea)
et tant de bénéfices Qu'en as reçu
0 toi, mon ami, et tant de bénéfices Qu'en as reçu,

et tant de bénéfices Qu'en as reçu, (Qu'en

et tant de bénéfices Qu'en as reçu

25.

ceu, ne les metz en ou-bly.

ceu, ne les metz en ou-bly, ne les metz en ou-bly.

as re-cou, ne les metz en ou-bly.

as re-cou,) ne les metz en ou-bly.

- cou, ne les metz en ou-bly.
(Exultate justi in Domino)

André Pevernage
Droit, or- en- droit; Lou-enge est trè- s- sè- ante et bel- le,

Dieu joye or- en- droit; Lou-enge est trè- s- sè- ante et bel- le, et

or- en- droit; Lou- enge est trè- s- sè- ante, Lou-enge trè- s- sè- et bel-

or- en- droit; Lou- enge est trè- s-

Dieu, menuez en Dieu joye or- en- droit;

10.

et bel- le, Lou- enge est trè- s- sè- ante et bel- le En la bou-
bel- le, Lou- enge est trè- s- sè- ante et bel- le En la bou- che de

le En la bou- che de l’hom- me droit, de l’homme droit)

sè- sè- ante et bel- le En la bou- che de

enge est trè- s- sè- ante et bel- le En la bou-

che de l’homme droit. Sur la dou- ce har- pe,

l’hom- me droit. Sur la dou- ce har- pe, Sur (la douce har-

Sur la dou- ce har- pe, Sur la dou- ce har-

8 l’homme, droit. Sur la dou-

che de l’homme droit. Sur la dou- ce har- pe, Sur la dou- ce
O SOUVERAIN PASTEUR ET MAISTRE

Consécration de la table

André Pevernagé

402
O Souverain pasteur et maître, Regarde ce troupeau petit.
Et de tes biens, Et de tes biens souf-
Et de tes biens souf-
Et de tes biens souf-
Et de tes biens souf-
Un corps subject à nourriture.

Un corps subject à nourriture.

Un corps subject à nourriture.

Un corps subject à nourriture.
APPENDIX

Psalm 130 (Strasbourg)

Psalm 130 (Geneva)
Psalm 143

Seigneur Dieu, oy l’œ-rais-son mien-ne; Jus-qua tes o-

Se-

en af-

Psalm 138

Il faut que de tous ses es-

altes et pri-

Pour te chan-

do-

l’a-

Psalm 143

Sel-

reil-

Sel-

Psalm 138

Il faut que de tous ses es-

altes et pri-

Pour te chan-

do-

l’a-

Psalm 143

Sel-

reil-

Sel-

Psalm 138

Il faut que de tous ses es-

altes et pri-

Pour te chan-

do-

l’a-

Psalm 143

Sel-

reil-

Sel-

Psalm 138

Il faut que de tous ses es-

altes et pri-

Pour te chan-

do-

l’a-

Psalm 143

Sel-

reil-

Sel-

Psalm 138

Il faut que de tous ses es-

altes et pri-

Pour te chan-

do-

l’a-

Psalm 143

Sel-

reil-

Sel-

Psalm 138

Il faut que de tous ses es-

altes et pri-

Pour te chan-

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l’a-

Psalm 143

Sel-

reil-

Sel-

Psalm 138

Il faut que de tous ses es-

altes et pri-

Pour te chan-

do-

l’a-

Psalm 143

Sel-

reil-

Sel-

Psalm 138

Il faut que de tous ses es-

altes et pri-

Pour te chan-

do-

l’a-

Psalm 143

Sel-

reil-

Sel-

Psalm 138

Il faut que de tous ses es-

altes et pri-

Pour te chan-

do-

l’a-
Psalm 79

Les gens entrent sont en ton héritage, Ils ont poli, Seigneur, par leur outrance Ton temple saint, Hierusalem destructe, Si qu'en montceau de pierres l'ont reduit.

Ils ont baiile les corps de tes serviteurs morts Aux corbeau pour les paisre; La chair des bien vivants Aux aizmeaux suyvans Boys et plaisne champetre.

Or laissees, Creator

Cr laissees, Creator, En paix ton serviteur, En suyvant ta promesse, Puis que mes yeux ont eu Ce credit d'avoir veu De ton salut l'adresse.
Psalm 10

D'où vient cela, Seigneur, je te suppry. Que loing de

nous te tienx les yeux couver? Te cachex tu pour nous metier

en oubli Messes au tempe qui est dur est divex?  

Pur leur orgueil sont ardantx les pervex À tourner l'hum-

ble qui peu se priex? Fais que sur eux tombe leur

entre-prisex.

D'où vient cela, bel-le je vous sup-

ply. Que plus à moy ne vous re-

com-

nez? Tou-sieux serey, de tristex-se rem-

ply. Jus-
ex-

gue à tant qu-au vray le ne sam-

dez; Je croy que plus d'a-
ex ne de-

nez. Ou saul-

vax bryt de moy ou vous re-

vel-

le. Ou vos-
tre cuer a faict am-

sur ne-

le, Ou vos-
tre cuer a faict am-

sur no-

vel.
Psalm 103

Sus, louez Dieu, mon ame, en toute chose.

Et tout cela qui dans moy repose;

Louez son nom tres-sainct et accompli.

Presente a Dieu louenge et service,

Toy, mon ame, et tant de benesfices

Qu'en as receu, ne les metz enoubly.

Psalm 33

Reveillez vous, chacun fiemble,

Menez en Dieu joye en droit;

Louenge est tres-saincte et bel-le

En la bouche de l'homme droit.

Sur la douce harpe pendue en escharpe Le Seigneur louez;

De laiz, d'espinettes, Saintes chansonnettes A son nom jouez.