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**Reinterpreting the Genevan Psalter:
An Examination of Psalm 128 as Set by
Goudimel, Sweelinck, and Schütz**

By

Sara Alicia Ferguson

Accepted in Partial Completion
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Music

Kathleen L. Kitto, Dean of the Graduate School

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MASTER'S THESIS

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Sara A. Ferguson
February 27, 2014

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Goudimel, Sweelinck and Schütz**

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of
Western Washington University

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Abstract

The popularity of Psalm setting in the time of the Protestant Reformation is a topic that has seldom been explored in depth. By analyzing the Genevan Psalter, this thesis exposes the investigation of the inspiration veiled behind the masterpieces of Psalm 128 as set by three composers; Claude Goudimel, Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, and Heinrich Schütz. This music of the late Renaissance or early Baroque has been affected by outside incentives such as religion, culture, nationality, and the nature of the Reformation itself. By exploring the history of Psalmody during the Reformation, the experiences that each of these composers faced during their lifetimes, and by comparing their 128th Psalm settings, it can be determined why the fashion of Psalm setting evolved during this era and whether or not the music has withstood the test of time.

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Introduction

While in captivity in Babylon around 600 B.C. Jews began to codify their religion in that collection of prophetic, historical, theological, and poetic writings now known as the Old Testament.¹ They believed that they had been chosen specifically to restore Solomon's ancient capital of Jerusalem and make it the capital of the world. The center of their religion was their book proclaimed as the Word of God.

Eusebius (ca. 265 – ca. 339), a Roman historian, exegete, and Christian polemicist, became the Bishop of Caesarea in Palestine about A.D. 314.² He was a scholar of the Biblical canon and regarded as an extremely well learned Christian of his time. After being charged for the sacrilege of his Arian tendencies, Eusebius adopted the Nicene understanding of Jesus and rejected Arius. He presided over the ecumenical council that adopted the Nicene Creed which professed the Christian faith and formed the mainstream definition of Christianity.³

By the early part of the fifth-century, people not only had access to the Scriptures, but were urged to study them carefully.⁴ Some, however, could not read, and others could not afford manuscripts. But since the Bible was read during the public services of the Roman Catholic Church, anyone in regular attendance might become familiar with it. Those who were inclined to read or meditate could retire to rooms in the galleries devoted to their use, provided with copies of the Scriptures.

¹ Tony Gray, *Psalms and Slaughter*, 20-21.

² Balil Bas, *Eusebius of Caesarea's Imperial Theology and the Politics of the Iconoclastic Controversy*, 25.

³ *Ibid.*, 244.

⁴ George Fisher, *History of the Christian Church*, 116.

The missionary period from Gregory I (A.D. 590) to Gregory VII (born Hildebrand; 1073), included such events as the conversion of the northern barbarians, the origin and progress of Islam, and Charlemagne (A.D. 800) founding the German-Roman Empire.⁵ The flourishing period of the papal theocracy from Gregory VII (1073) to Boniface VIII (1294) was the height of the papacy, monasticism, and scholasticism.⁶ In this time arose the Crusades and the conflict between the Pope and the Emperor. The decline of medieval Catholicism and preparation for modern Christianity occurred from Boniface VIII (1294) to the Protestant Reformation (1517),⁷ during which transpired the papal exile and schism, the Reformatory councils, the decay of scholasticism, the growth of mysticism, the revival of letters, and the art of printing, the discovery of America, forerunners of Protestantism, and the dawn of the Reformation.

The Protestant Reformation was one movement which marked the fifteenth-century and the opening of the sixteenth as the period of transition from the Middle Ages to modern society. It had its own specific significance that is still, to some extent, a subject of controversy. Since astrology is an extinct pseudoscience, men no longer contribute the uncommon and malevolent position of the stars of that time to the matters of that era. There remains a diversity of theories on the subject. The French historian François Guizot (1787–1874) and numerous other writers have described the Reformation as a revolution against priestly authority.⁸ It was an upwelling of the human intellect to break the bonds which had been forced upon free thought. Roman Catholic writers found in the Protestant movement the abundance of infidelity and atheism. Rationalists supported the Reformation as the first

⁵ Philip Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, Vol 4.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ George Fisher, *History of the Christian Church*, 288.

step towards the emancipation of human reason from the sovereignty of tradition and doctrine. The Reformers themselves were confident that their movement seized the progress of unbelief and saved the religion of Europe.⁹ The Reformers exercised the right of private judgment while maintaining that authority resided not in the Church but in the Bible. In so doing they laid the foundation of the intellectual liberation, that freedom of thought and inquisition, which coming generations were to enjoy.¹⁰ It cannot be denied that Protestantism brought a revival of religious feeling among those who accepted it, and resulted in an awakening of religious enthusiasm within the Catholic body itself.

The fifteenth-century was an age of enlightenment. The freer spirit of the Gospel gradually gained strong enough strength to knock down the barricade which a vast religious institution had placed in the way of direct access to God. It was not an interest to destroy older beliefs, but the purifying power of deeper beliefs and of a purer searching of the truth. The Reformation did not attempt to build up a new religion, but to reform the old according to its own authoritative standards. It was distinctively Christian, because it found its source and regulative beliefs in the Scriptures.¹¹

The Protestant reform was led by humanists such as Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin.¹² They all desired to get rid of the religious style of the Middle Ages, and they all agreed in seeking a religion intimately tied to their inner life, a religion which looked for its justification to their personal experience. God himself is, to French theologian John Calvin, an acquisition of experience.¹³

⁹ George Fisher, *History of the Christian Church*, 288.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 289.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Charles Guignebert, *Ancient, Medieval and Modern Christianity*, 384.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 385.

Martin Luther (1483 – 1546) had firmly established the Reformation in Germany and Huldrych Zwingli (1484 – 1531) had already fallen on the field of Cappel of Switzerland before Calvin began to write the *Institutes of the Christian Religion* and to set the Genevan relationships in order. Calvin was a scholar with a well-trained, logical mind, disciplined by legal studies, whose words did not touch the hearts of the common people as did those of Luther. He was noble in his societal status and disposition, and addressed a higher and more educated class. It was mainly through others that his influence reached the lower ranks of society. He was unlike the other great reformers in the fact that his views never changed from the time of his conversion until his death. Luther was a translator but Calvin the interpreter of the Word.¹⁴ What his *Institutes* did for the Reformation was to reformulate its doctrinal ideas to a more methodical system.¹⁵

Calvin belonged to the second generation of reformers, whose work it was to unfold more clearly and more systematically the principles of Protestantism. He was a Frenchman born in 1509 at Noyon in Picardy.¹⁶ His father's position as financial agent of the Duke of Noyon and secretary of the district, as well as the esteem in which he was held by the nobility, was an advantage to the son. He was educated with the children of the noble family of Mommor (a house reckoned among the first nobility of Picardy), and when he was twelve, he was appointed to the clergy with plenty of financial support. From the start, he was destined for priesthood.

At Paris, where he was sent to pursue his studies, he became known for his intellect and his strict nature. He had not been there long when his father decided his son should study the profession of a jurist. Accordingly, he went to Orléans and Bourges and attended

¹⁴ George Fisher, *History of the Christian Church*, 322.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 320.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 319.

the lectures of distinguished doctors of the law.¹⁷ He would work far into the night arranging and digesting what he had heard during the day. Early in the morning he would awake to go over his summaries in his mind. He displayed such an aptitude in legal studies that frequently, when the professors were absent, he was invited to take their place. At the same time, influenced by his relative Peter Olivétan (who eventually became the first Protestant translator of the Bible into French), Calvin began to redirect his attention to the Scriptures. His Greek professor, Melchior Wolmar, encouraged Calvin to study Protestantism by examining the New Testament in the original language.

In Calvin's first publication, an annotated edition of Seneca's treatise on clemency, he appeared not as a reformer but as a sophisticated humanist, exhibiting considerable concern that his book should find a ready market.¹⁸ His sudden conversion took place not long after the publication of this book. Calvin was now engrossed in the study of the Bible. He had no sooner returned to Paris than he became a recognized leader among the Protestants, sought out by all those who desired religious guidance and direction. Calvinism very quickly became international; the Calvinists did not accept a territorial principle, but shared their religion wherever they could.¹⁹

Despite the burdens of the public and church affairs the city laid upon him, Calvin achieved a great work as a teacher and as a counselor of political leaders and reformers in many regions. On alternating weeks, he preached every day, in addition to giving three weekly theological lectures. His memory was remarkable. Without a scrap of paper in his hand, he would illustrate the most intricate passages of the prophets. Students congregated to Geneva to hear his instructions. Men who sought refuge from persecution went away

¹⁷ George Fisher, *History of the Christian Church*, 318.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 319.

¹⁹ Tony Gray, *Psalms and Slaughter*, 66.

thoroughly filled with his ideas. Under Calvin's guidance, Geneva became to the Romanic nation that Wittenberg was to the Germans.²⁰ A theological school was founded there, and Théodore de Bèze, a French poet, was placed over it.

Calvin was soon driven out of Paris by the brutal persecution of the carelessness of reformers posting advertisements against the Mass. He passed through Strasbourg where he was warmly received by Martin Bucer (1491 – 1551), another Protestant reformer, and then resided for a time in Basel in Switzerland. That is when the twenty-seven year old Calvin wrote the *Institutes of the Christian Religion* dedicated to King Francis who had begun the persecutions.²¹ The king had accused the Huguenots as the Protestants about this time began to be called of all the unruly fervor of the Anabaptist nonconformists in order to calm the irritation of the German Lutherans at the cruel treatment of their follow-reformers. To prove to the king the fallacy of these charges (and possibly to make him understand the new doctrine) was a part of Calvin's objective in writing the *Institutes*. The *Institutes* were therefore not only a contribution to theology, but also to literature. By the distinguished and effective style in which they were written, they exerted an insightful influence in shaping modern French prose.²²

Calvin taught that a unanimous ministry of believers could find salvation, not through the interventions of a church, but through individual faith alone. The Bible was being translated into the vernacular languages throughout Europe, and this new faith was based on the study and individual interpretation of the Scripture. As the Protestant Reformation grew, it came into increasing discord with the Roman Catholic Church and consequently the

²⁰ George Fisher, *History of the Christian Church*, 328.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 320.

²² *Ibid.*

monarchy. The continuing effort to eliminate rather than tolerate these Protestants resulted in a century of bitter persecution and fighting.

As a result of the Calvinist belief that to labor diligently is highly acceptable in the eyes of God, an idea which differed with the medieval concept that it was blessed to be poor and that exploitation was evil, Calvinism held an instant attractiveness for the new middle-class merchants.²³ While the Calvinists and their successors rejected luxury and held thrift to be a good quality, their teachings implied that financial security was a mark of God's favor. In this way, Calvinism became closely related to the rise of Renaissance capitalism, in an interesting mixture of both cause and effect.

Calvin's influence was extended not only by the distribution of his writings, but by his vast correspondence, of which were recorded on the rolls (Renaissance books) of monarchs, princes, nobles, and theologians. It was in the affairs of the Reformation in France that his activities were especially outstanding. Those who were struggling there to advance the cause of Protestantism looked to him for direction and support. Geneva was the refuge for the persecuted and the stronghold from which missionaries went forth to continue the battle. From its printing-press Bibles and numerous other publications in the French vernacular were distributed abroad.²⁴

Calvin laid down the standard on how Psalms should be set, as well as where these works should be performed, but some composers during this era had set their own benchmark. Unlike Luther, Calvin's stance on music was influenced by his understanding of its divine status rather than by his own response to it. As a humanist familiar with the musical ideals of earlier times, he was convinced that the power of music could affect human

²³ Tony Gray, *Psalms and Slaughter*, 66.

²⁴ George Fisher, *History of the Christian Church*, 328.

behavior, referring to it in his letter *A tous chretiens et amateurs de la parole de Dieu*.²⁵ He agreed with the concept of the divine origins of music and from that inferred that music should be used “*pour invoquer Dieu d’un zèle plus vehement et ardent*.”²⁶ However, he believed that the psychological effect of vocal music should be kept within reasonable limits and he excluded instrumental music because it belonged to the Old Testament. Congregational singing had already proved its advantages and appropriateness, but Calvin was strict in maintaining that all the music was to be monophonic: any kind of polyphonic texture would distract the congregation from the meaning of the words, and the meaning of the Scriptures was of upmost importance to Calvin. For the same reason, he insisted on the use of the vernacular for all church worship.

The origin, growth, and distribution of a metrical Psalter in the vernacular make a short but intense chapter in the history of music. In less than a century, poetry was written, the Psalm melodies were composed, and the main body of polyphonic music inspired by the Psalter was created. This period of growth ultimately parallels the growth and spread of Calvinism in Western Europe.²⁷ The Calvinist doctrines and Psalter found an especially receptive audience in France, the Low Countries of the Netherlands, as well as certain areas of Germany.

As far as the Reformation in the Netherlands goes, Protestantism spread rapidly in spite of the persecutions to which its supporters were subjected from the beginning. The atmosphere of the country was unusually favorable to the reception of the evangelical dogma. The people were sober, hard-working, and freedom-loving. Their intelligence was so remarkable that common laborers, even fishermen who dwelt in the huts of Friesland, could

²⁵ Translated as *to all Christians and lovers of the word of God*.

²⁶ Translated as *to invoke a god more vehement and ardent zeal*.

²⁷ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, “Calvin, Jean,” ed. Stanley Sadie.

read and write, and thus were able to discuss the interpretation of Scripture.²⁸ The proximity of the Low Countries to Germany and to France facilitated the introduction of the new beliefs. As the number of Protestants increased and the influence of France and Geneva began to be felt, the Lutheran teaching gave way to Calvinism.

The early seventeenth-century has generally been viewed as a period of severe division and conflict for central Europe. The Low Countries were divided into two distinct and political independent regions, the Northern and Southern Netherlands. The so-called Eighty Years War against Spain, which had begun in 1566, was checked by a twelve-year truce beginning in 1606; this established the economic power of the newly-formed, and largely Protestant, northern Dutch Republic. A barrier at the Southern Netherlands port of Antwerp allowed Amsterdam control of trade with southern Europe as well as the Baltic region. The European truce ended in 1618 with the onset of the Thirty Years' War, which pitted Germany and the Northern Netherlands against Spain.²⁹

Germany and the Netherlands held a sort of monopoly on the Reformation. It was natural that such a movement should spring up and rise to its highest power among a people in whom a love of independence was mingled with a hunger for a more spiritual form of religion than was encouraged by medieval ecclesiasticism.³⁰

In this age, new denominations began to elaborate their independent professions of faith and thereby developed distinct creeds and cultures. Most German states became confessional, embracing a single religion and regarding tolerance as dangerous and destabilizing. Church and state joined forces to define and enforce correct belief and

²⁸ George Fisher, *History of the Christian Church*, 341.

²⁹ James Haar, editor, *European Music 1520-1640*, 271.

³⁰ George Fisher, *History of the Christian Church*, 290.

behavior through education, propaganda, and censorship.³¹ In this process, music, like the other arts, became a tool of the social disciplining of the confessional states.

Following the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, armed controversy as well as conflicting ideologies shaped the development of music at many institutions throughout the Holy Roman Empire. The warfare, which began in Bohemia in 1618, spread to the rest of the Empire and eventually involved all the major powers in Europe, bringing Germany to the verge of total chaos. Technological advancements in the manufacture of firearms and enormous increases in the size of armies gave rise to unparalleled slaughter and destruction. Cities were pillaged, villages were destroyed, peasants were tortured and murdered. Agriculture died, and starvation and disease followed. As a result, Germany lost thirty to forty percent of its population.³²

This polarization of North versus South and Protestants versus Catholics unfavorably affected the development of music during the era. Nevertheless, music continued to be supported by the church, the state, and by the common class, whose life it permeated on a daily basis.³³

The Peace of Westphalia in 1648 was the great European settlement which ended the Thirty Years' War. It was agreed that in Germany, whatever might be the faith of the prince, the religion of each state was to be Catholic or Protestant according to its standing in 1624, which was fixed upon as the "normal year."³⁴ This agreement also confirmed the independence of the northern Dutch Republic and its control of trade and culture.³⁵

³¹ James Haar, editor, *European Music 1520-1640*, 353.

³² Michael Hughes, *Early Modern Germany*, 109.

³³ James Haar, editor, *European Music 1520-1640*, 271.

³⁴ George Fisher, *History of the Christian Church*, 410.

³⁵ James Haar, editor, *European Music 1520-1640*, 271.

During the Protestant Reformation, Calvin fixed the standard of setting and performing Psalms for worship in Geneva. This became the norm for the next two hundred years of Reformed worship. Several denominations, notably the Reformed Presbyterians, continue the practice of exclusive Psalmody.

By studying the metrical Psalmody set by the leading composers of different nationalities in the time of the Protestant Reformation, the determination to understand the influence that religion, culture, nationality, and the Reformation itself had on these settings is the overall objective. This study will focus on the lives and works of French composer Claude Goudimel, Dutch composer Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck whom composed in the French vernacular, and German composer Heinrich Schütz as exemplified in a musical analysis of Psalm 128.

Chapter One – Psalmody in the Reformation

Psalmody is the use of the biblical Psalms in worship, as distinguished from hymnody, the creation and use of extra-biblical poetic and musical compositions in the service. The distinction goes back to the Bible itself in Paul’s reprimand to enlighten one another through the use of Psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs, as written in Ephesians 5:19 as well as Colossians 3:16, although one should not assume these were mutually exclusive categories.

The term “Psalms” comes from the Greek Septuagint translation of the Bible via the Latin Vulgate. The Greek word *psalmos* denoted the twanging of a stringed instrument with the fingers, and later came to mean a song sung to the accompaniment of a plucked instrument. In turn, *psalmos* is a translation of the Hebrew *mizmōr*, which also appears to have denoted both the playing of instruments and the singing of songs. Strictly speaking, then, the title “Psalms” therefore means “Songs.” The name for the book in the Hebrew Bible is *tehillīm* or *sēpher tehillīm*, meaning “praises” or “book of praises.”³⁶ In Western Europe, the Greek was first translated into Latin, and later, during the Reformation, translated into the vernacular.

In the ancient tradition, the Psalms were chanted or spoken. It is not known exactly how this music sounded, though recent research has confirmed a similarity between Hebraic music and ancient forms of Christian chant. The Psalms formed the developing liturgy of the Eastern and Western churches, along with Greek and Latin hymnody. In the Western Church, the Psalms found more regular usage within the Offices or daily periodic worship of the monastic communities. The Catholic heritage of chant, often called Gregorian chant

³⁶ J.W. Rogerson and J.W. McKay, *Psalms 101-150*, 1.

because of the influence of Pope Gregory the Great (A.D. 540 – 604), includes the use of the Psalms sung to standard tones or melodies according to traditional rules. This music was performed by *coros*, groups of clergy or members of monastic orders, who had developed the necessary skills to perform them. Originally, the Psalms were sung monophonically, with one un-harmonized melody also called plain chant. In the later Middle Ages, additional voices were introduced, with such devices as counterpoint, a different simultaneous melody, and organum, a sustained tone over which others sang the melody. The deviation from the simpler form of chanting was opposed by those who believed that more elaborate musical detail called attention to the performance and thus corrupted the worship of God.

This early Psalmody was exclusively vocal. It is contradictory that the Psalms, which so often mention the use of musical instruments in the praise of God, were sung for centuries in the Church without any instrumental accompaniment at all. Additionally, the traditional Genevan Psalter used only one tune for each Psalm (see Appendix One). Since in many Psalms, the mood changes from one verse to the next, and since the congregation usually did not sing an entire Psalm but rather selected verses at the discretion of the pastor, it was necessary for the Church organist to arrange or improvise an introduction for the selection.³⁷ A lengthy five to ten minute introduction also served as a prologue to the worship service. The organist was expected to improvise on the Psalm melody for as long as necessary, and the congregation was eventually expected to join in by singing. For other Psalms used during the service, the introduction and interludes were much shorter, except for the offertory Psalm when a much longer introduction was again in order. For the final Psalm, the situation was reversed, and the organist's improvisatory coda formed the postlude for the service.

³⁷ Henry Bruinsma, "The Organ Controversy in the Netherlands Reformation to 1640," 211.

A service-book, simple but sufficiently full, was composed by Calvin in 1536 for the Genevan Church for use on the Lord's Day, or Sundays. The Genevan liturgy served as a free model and guide for the construction of service-books in Calvinistic churches of other lands.³⁸

It was on a trip to Strasbourg where he was received by Bucer in 1538 that Calvin was introduced to congregational Psalm-singing in German. The principal singer at the Cathedral, Matthias Greitter (ca. 1495 – 1550), had composed some original melodies for the purpose. Calvin adapted several of Greitter's and other German melodies to French Psalm texts. Complete Protestant Psalters, with one-line melodies, began to appear in Germany during the 1530s and 1540s. The first polyphonic setting of the complete Psalter in German was the four-part *Der gantz Psalter Davids* of Sigmund Hemmel (d. 1565) published in 1569. But it would be the incomplete Psalter of 1565 by Claude Goudimel (1510 – 1572) that would make the greatest impression in Germany, as in other Protestant regions. After his conversion to Protestantism in 1560, Goudimel set the entire collection twice.

The Psalms were sung in the French versions of French poets Clément Marot (1496 – 1544) and Théodore de Bèze (1519 – 1605). In 1542, Marot found refuge in Geneva with Calvin who had encouraged him to resume the versification of the Psalms. When he died in 1544, he had versified 49 Psalms. Calvin gave Bèze the responsibility of continuing Marot's work and completing the versification of the 150 Psalms of the Bible.³⁹ Bèze was a man of noble birth, fine wit, and polished manners, and had already won the respect of many of the court whom he had met through his social interactions.⁴⁰ Bèze loved Calvin like a father.⁴¹

³⁸ George Fisher, *History of the Christian Church*, 421.

³⁹ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, "Marot, Clément," ed. Stanley Sadie.

⁴⁰ George Fisher, *History of the Christian Church*, 337.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 324.

Calvin's endorsement of unaccompanied Psalm-singing in Reformed worship led directly to the publication of vernacular metrical paraphrases.⁴² Patterns of detailed textual interpretation and word-painting found no place in Calvin's church. Both the strophic nature of the Psalms and the religious philosophy behind the Psalter thus prevented such a relationship between words and music.⁴³

With the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth-century came the effort to involve all worshipers, not just the clergy, in the music of worship. But there were differences among the Reformation movements over the type of music that should be used in worship. The German-speaking Lutherans developed a tradition of hymnody, producing choral societies with freely composed devotional texts. They also made greater use of instruments, especially the organ. The French-speaking Calvinists of Geneva held a stricter view of what was acceptable in worship and limited their music to the Biblical Psalms, New Testament hymns, and a few other portions of Scripture.

Musical gatherings changed with the Renaissance and people were now familiar with secular music marked by measures instead of unmeasured chanting. To enable the congregation to join in the Psalms, it was necessary to force them into an attainable metrical structure and to introduce rhyme. However, the Calvinist emphasis on the authority of the Word of God rendered this practice problematic, for it required altering the Biblical texts which in turn destroyed Hebrew representation. The declared goal became to produce logical Psalmody while changing the words of the Bible as little as possible, though in actual practice, the best results were often obtained through more than a slight alteration. Calvin's

⁴² *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, "Psalms, metrical," ed. Stanley Sadie.

⁴³ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, "Calvin, Jean," ed. Stanley Sadie.

Genevan Psalter first published 1539 set a high standard for the metrical Psalters that were to follow in the Reformed churches.

By this time, Calvin had asked several composers from Geneva to adapt tunes that were suitable for the singing of Psalms in the Church. In 1562, an official Genevan Psalter collection of the 150 Psalms came out entitled “The Psalms of David.”⁴⁴ This Psalm book had a large circulation and contributed shape to the Reformed identity. Some Psalms became passwords and even war songs as the French Protestant people went through difficult times.

The Psalter is a collection of 150 separate songs. Psalms 1 – 2 form the doorway into the whole Psalter. The Psalms are in a particular order that explain each other such as Psalms 111 and 112 or that can be grouped. Some Psalms can be grouped into so-called affinity groupings, include types that celebrate God’s universal supremacy (Psalms 93 and 95 through 99), historical Psalms (104 – 107), Egyptian Hallel (Hebrew for “Praise”) (113 – 118), the Songs of Ascents (120 – 134), and the final Hallelujah Psalms (146 – 150).⁴⁵ In 1 Chronicles 25:1-5, the text describes some of the Psalmists as prophesying or being seers, i.e. messengers of God’s Word. If the regard for these Psalmists’ revelation was as high as it should have been, then it is unlikely that the editors went much beyond the recognized scribal practices, which would include minor editing like updating spelling and grammar, and clarifying place names. It is likely that many of the Psalms began as intensely personal poems, which were then adapted for congregational use, possibly even by the original author. It is also likely that some Psalms were composed by stitching together preexisting material. For those of the Church, it is this final form that is considered canonical.

⁴⁴ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, “Marot, Clément,” ed. Stanley Sadie.

⁴⁵ Crossway Bibles, *The ESV Study Bible*, 941.

The poetry of the Psalter can be highly sophisticated, subtle, and full of nuances.⁴⁶ Often its brevity results in vagueness, and in some cases the ambiguity seems preferred. Its dominant structure feature is parallelism, but the countless strategies utilized by the Psalmists to ensure that the second colon would elaborate and not merely repeat the thought of the first are still being rediscovered. The poets' consistency of metaphor and subtlety of wordplay imply a literary skill surprising for a people of a supposedly undeveloped culture.⁴⁷

The standard Hebrew text divides the Psalms into five books, perhaps in imitation of the five books of the Pentateuch. The Psalm that ends each book finishes with a doxology, or short hymn of praise derived from a similar practice in the Jewish synagogue.⁴⁸ Psalm 150 is the conclusion of both Book Five and of the entire Psalter.

The structure of Book Five (Psalms 107 – 150) reflects the closing demand of Book Four in 106:47 asserting that God does answer prayer (Psalm 107). The book concludes with five Hallelujah Psalms (146 – 150). In between, the Psalms insist upon the validity of the promises to David (Psalms 110; 132; 144).

Scholars have shed light on the different purposes of the various Psalms and have grouped them according to their type.⁴⁹ Psalm 128 falls under the category of “Hymns of Praise,” of which the primary goal is to call and enable worshipers to admire God’s great power and deeds; or it could be categorized as a “Song of Confidence,” which enables worshipers to deepen their trust in God through all manners of difficult circumstances; or it could be categorized as Wisdom Literature because it enlightens its readers by expanding

⁴⁶ Mitchell Dahood, *Psalms III 101-150*, xxv.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, xxvi.

⁴⁸ Crossway Bibles, *The ESV Study Bible*, 941.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 940.

some of the topics in Psalm 127.⁵⁰ It teaches that the man who worships the Lord and obeys his commandments is rewarded with a happy and prosperous family.⁵¹ The last verse in Psalm 127 began with “blessed is the man,” and Psalm 128 gives a further description of this man’s blessedness. In the context of ancient Israel, it consisted of a productive farm and a faithful wife and children around the table together. The ending of the Psalm shows that neither wisdom nor blessedness is individualistic; both relate to the larger reality of the well-being of God’s people.

Table one presents the text of Psalm 128 in its original form (Hebrew), as well as the most literal translation according to musicologist Mitchell Dahood:

⁵⁰ Crossway Bibles, *The ESV Study Bible*, 1107.

⁵¹ Mitchell Dahood, *Psalms III 101-150*, 227.

יִתְהַלֵּל Psalms Chapter 128

<p>א שִׁיר, הַמַּעֲלוֹת: אֲשֶׁרִי, כָּל-יְרֵא יְהוָה-- הַהֲלֹךְ, בְּדַרְכָּיו.</p>	<p>1 A Song of Ascents. How blest each one who fears Yahweh, who walks in his ways!</p>
<p>ב יִגִּיעַ פְּפִידָה, כִּי תֹאכַל; אֲשֶׁרִידָה, וְטוֹב לָךְ.</p>	<p>2 The fruit of your toils indeed shall you eat, happiness and prosperity shall be yours.</p>
<p>ג אֲשֶׁתְּךָ, כְּגִפְסוֹן פְּרִיָה-- בְּיַרְכְּתֵי בֵּיתְךָ; בְּנֵיךָ, כְּשִׁתְּלֵי זַיִתִּים-- סָבִיב, לְשִׁלְחָנְךָ.</p>	<p>3 Like a fruitful vine shall be your wife within your house, Your children like olive shoots around your table.</p>
<p>ד הִנֵּה כִי-בֵן, יִבְרַךְ גֹּבֵר-- יְרֵא יְהוָה.</p>	<p>4 See how the Reliable blesses the man who fears Yahweh.</p>
<p>ה יִבְרַכְךָ יְהוָה, מִצִּיּוֹן: וְרֵאָה, בְּטוֹב יְרוּשָׁלַם--כָּל, יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ.</p>	<p>5 May Yahweh of Zion bless you! Enjoy the prosperity of Jerusalem all the days of your life;</p>
<p>ו וְרֵאָה-בְּנִים לְבָנֶיךָ: שְׁלוֹם, עַל-יִשְׂרָאֵל.</p>	<p>6 Enjoy the children of your children, the peace of Israel's Most High.</p>

Like the second part of Psalm 127, the Psalm describes the blessings enjoyed by the god-fearing man in terms of abundant offspring. Although it is possible to suggest a number of appropriate settings for the Psalm's original composition – a wedding, a pilgrimage to Zion, a general blessing at a major festival – no certainty of place or purpose is possible. The Psalm appears to consist mainly of a blessing by a teacher or Church official, following a general statement. It differs from Psalm 127 in that it stresses the companionship and joys within the family circle (verse 3). The blessing enjoyed by the family will overflow into the general prosperity of Jerusalem and Israel (verse 5).⁵² It is important to remember that each poem is intended to be sung, and thus is to be read differently than an essay. Because the

⁵² J.W. Rogerson and J.W. McKay, *Psalms 101-150*, 128.

contents of these songs are expressed in a poetic language, readers need to be ready to interpret such staples of poetry as image, metaphor, simile, personification, hyperbole, and apostrophe. All of these factors contribute to the language of a Psalm. By describing the images of the text, the reader is allowed to conceive some sort of perception of what composers may have attempted to paint with music in accordance to thought processes in their respective cultures.

The Psalm begins with the text “blessed is everyone who fears the Lord, who walks in his ways!” The man whom fears the Lord is spoken well of so that everyone should do so in their own way in order to succeed in seeing the prosperity of Jerusalem. This can be achieved by regulating conduct in accordance with the teachings of God. Those who fear the Lord is careful to detect the negative commands. Those who walk in his ways perform the positive commands. The poet is describing how such a person earns their livelihood.⁵³

The second line declaims that “you shall eat the fruit of the labor of your hands; you shall be blessed, and it shall be well with you.” The good way for a man to follow is that he should live from his own work and not profit by that of others, provided he is in a fit condition to work hard in a trade. If one lives in such a manner, they will be happy, and it will be well with them. Others will see that they are happy and they will receive a good reward from God.⁵⁴ Ancient Israel never promised that a man would always enjoy the fruit of his labors on the land. Deprivation by an enemy nation, or drought, or disease, or a plague of locusts, could be his fate from time to time. The Israelites tended to regard such disasters

⁵³ Joshua Baker, editor and translator, and Ernest W. Nicholson, *The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimḥi on Psalms CXX-CL*, 33.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

as God's punishment, something that would pass by a truly god-fearing man, although the destiny of the individual was usually assessed by that of the community.⁵⁵

Verse three states that “your wife will be like a fruitful vine within your house; your children will be like olive shoots around your table.” This too is a rule considered to be of good conduct that you command your wife to be like a fruitful vine within your house. The vine could suggest the vitality and beauty of the wife who achieves a close and pleasant relationship with her several children.⁵⁶ She is compared to a vine which some people plant inside their house. As it begins to grow, it is led through an opening in the house into the sunlight so that its root is inside the house, while the branches are outside. So should a woman be faithful, remaining within the house and not going forth from the home. But her children should go forth into the world to work and bring in the necessities of the home, just as the branches of the vine shoot forth fruitful and plentiful.⁵⁷ If a wife is of this nature, then her children will be like olive shoots because the olive tree does not lend itself to grafting from any other tree. Such plants are good, being the legitimate offspring of the parent plant. So are the children born of a woman such as this; there can be no suspicion of illegitimacy, for their mother is pure and does not share with anyone other than her husband. Leaves of the olive tree are fresh throughout all the year, so will they be ever fresh in their splendor and beauty as a result of their good deeds. They will be with you to attend to you when you eat and they will always be around your table. They will not be scattered away from home, nor

⁵⁵ J.W. Rogerson and J.W. McKay, *Psalms 101-150*, 128.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Joshua Baker, editor and translator, and Ernest W. Nicholson, *The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimḥi on Psalms CXX-CL*, 31.

gluttonous, nor addicted to drinking. Nor will they eat nor drink except at your table.⁵⁸ The table suggests the joys of family life as the god-fearing man presides over meals.⁵⁹

The fourth line declares “behold, thus shall the man be blessed who fears the Lord.” That is to say, by such set of laws and standards of conduct will the man be blessed who fears the Lord.⁶⁰

Verse five exclaims “the Lord bless you from Zion! May you see the prosperity of Jerusalem all the days of your life!” Zion is the place of his Divine Glory, and one will succeed in seeing the prosperity of Jerusalem when Israel returns to her from exile.⁶¹ An individual cannot prosper separately from their community; thus this is also a prayer for Jerusalem.⁶²

Psalm 128 ends with the hopeful line, “may you see your children's children! Peace be upon Israel!” One will prolong their days until they have seen their children’s children, and also peace that will fall upon Israel. That is, the Redeemer will come in one’s lifetime; or if not, the Creator will revive them at that time, together with the righteous among the dead, who are destined to be resurrected, and they will then see peace upon Israel.⁶³

In sixteenth-century France, musical skills were a basic requirement for anyone who aspired to civility; others were urged to regard music not so much as a social grace or form of entertainment than as a means of spiritual edification. In his *Droict Chemin de musique* of

⁵⁸ Joshua Baker, editor and translator, and Ernest W. Nicholson, *The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimḥi on Psalms CXX-CL*, 33.

⁵⁹ J.W. Rogerson and J.W. McKay, *Psalms 101-150*, 128.

⁶⁰ Joshua Baker, editor and translator, and Ernest W. Nicholson, *The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimḥi on Psalms CXX-CL*, 33.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² J.W. Rogerson and J.W. McKay, *Psalms 101-150*, 128.

⁶³ Joshua Baker, editor and translator, and Ernest W. Nicholson, *The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimḥi on Psalms CXX-CL*, 33.

1550, Loys Bougeois (b. 1510 – d. 1559) bitterly complained of the obscenity of the secular music of his day, preferring instead “*choses saintes et divines*,” meaning in this case a Psalm or spiritual song (“*d’un Pseaume ou cantique spiritual*”).⁶⁴

The earliest known settings of the Genevan melodies in the French vernacular were that of Pierre Certon (b. ca. 1510-20 – d. 1572), published in 1546 by Attaignant. Among the most influential were Bourgeois’s *Pseaumes cinquante de David* (Lyons, 1547), written in a four-voice chordal style with the Psalm tune in the tenor.⁶⁵ In 1562, the complete Psalter with 125 tunes was published simultaneously in Geneva, Paris, Lyons, and elsewhere which were attributed to a Maître Pierre.⁶⁶ Soon after the publication of the complete Genevan Psalter in 1562, composers began to write polyphonic settings of all 150 Psalms.⁶⁷

After that, a number of composers in mid-century France, including Clément Janequin (1485 – 1558), Didier Lupi (b. ca. 1520 – d. after 1559), Claude Goudimel (1510 – 1572), Philibert Jambe de Fer (fl. 1548 – 1564), Richard Crassot (b. ca. 1530 – d. after 1581), Jean Servin (ca. 1529 – 1609), Pascal de l’Estocart (1539 – 1585), Claude Le Jeune (1528 – 1600), Jacques Arcadelt (1507 – 1568), and Pierre Certon (ca. 1510-20 – 1572) turned their attentions to Psalms and spiritual texts in French, producing great quantities of devotional music for domestic use by French Protestants.⁶⁸ Four polyphonic Psalters, each entitled *Les 150 pseaumes de David*, appeared in 1564: one by Goudimel in Paris, two by Jambe de Fer in Lyons, and one by Richard Crassot in Lyons. All are in note-against-note style with the Psalm melody in the tenor.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ Loys Bourgeois, *Le Droict Chemin de musique*, 6.

⁶⁵ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, “Calvin, Jean,” ed. Stanley Sadie.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, “Psalms, metrical,” ed. Stanley Sadie.

⁶⁸ James Haar, editor, *European Music 1520-1640*, 169 and 178.

⁶⁹ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, “Psalms, metrical,” ed. Stanley Sadie.

Despite their Calvinist associations, the Psalms and their tunes were initially exploited by composers on both sides of the religious controversy. Janequin, Arcadelt, and Certon were all Catholics who wrote and published settings of the Marot and Bèze Psalms using the Genevan melodies.⁷⁰ After 1560, however, when Catholic and Protestant positions became more firmly established and the identification of musical repertory with political and religious programs became clearer, most Catholic composers turned to other texts, and polyphonic music based on the Genevan Psalter became the domain of Protestant composers. The most prolific French composer of these was none other than Claude Goudimel.⁷¹

Calvin's musical ideals and his Psalter had rapidly gained support in other countries. In the Netherlands, the main Calvinist activity was in the Dutch-language area. The Dutch *Souterliedekens* (literally "Psalter Songs") appeared in various polyphonic arrangements. The earliest were the three-voice settings by Jacob Clemens non Papa (1510 – 1555) published in 1556 or 1557 by Susato. Petrus Dathenus's (ca. 1531 – 1588) published a translation of Marot and Bèze's Psalms, using Goudimel's settings, in 1566, and two years later, it became the official Psalter of the Dutch Reformed Church.⁷² It remained so until 1938.

In 1564, Plantin Press at Antwerp, one of the focal centers of the fine printed book of the sixteenth-century, printed an edition of the Psalter in French, but it was banned and had to be destroyed. A Dutch metrical translation of the Psalms by writer Willem Zuylen van Nyevelt (d. 1543) had been in use since 1540.⁷³ These *Souterliedekens*, based on Lutheran models and provided with folksong melodies, had the benefit of great popularity well into the

⁷⁰ James Haar, editor, *European Music 1520-1640*, 177.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, "Calvin, Jean," ed. Stanley Sadie.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

seventeenth-century. Translations by Jan Utenhove (1516 – 1566), using the Genevan melodies, appeared in London and Emden where he and his fellow Protestants had been exiled, and by 1565 he had completed his Psalter; it was published in 1566, the year after his death.⁷⁴ Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck (1562 – 1621) was among the Dutch Protestant composers who set the tunes of the French Genevan Psalter in polyphony noted as a leading composer of vocal and keyboard music as well as the most sought-after teacher of his time.

In Germany, Lutheran settings had been in use since 1524, but in 1573 Ambrosius Lobwasser (1515 – 1585) published a German version of Calvin’s 1562 Psalter.⁷⁵ It quickly became popular and was used not only in Germany, but also in German communities including Switzerland and the Netherlands, by Lutherans and Calvinists. It remained in general use among Calvinists until the end of the eighteenth-century. Heinrich Schütz (1585 – 1672), the first German composer to obtain international recognition, was among the Psalm-setting composers.⁷⁶ His compositions and teaching techniques influenced the establishment of a new level of artistic ability and intellectual depth of music, and influenced musical standards for 250 years after his death.

In England, Sternhold and Hopkin’s incomplete Psalter of 1556, intended for English refugees in Geneva, showed much of the character of the Genevan tunes. Their complete 1562 Psalter included thirteen Genevan melodies, and such later Psalters as those by Ravenscroft (1621), Playford (1677), and Tate and Brady (1696) either used Genevan melodies or displayed their stylistic traits. The Scottish Reformed Church was strongly influenced by the Genevan model after John Knox’s return in 1559. Of 105 melodies in the

⁷⁴ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, “Calvin, Jean,” ed. Stanley Sadie.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, “Schütz, Heinrich,” ed. Stanley Sadie.

first Scottish Psalter of 1564, forty-two were Genevan and were retained in the harmonized Psalter of 1635.⁷⁷

Almost all the various Psalters taken by colonists to America contained a few Genevan tunes. Towards the end of the eighteenth-century, however, hymn singing gradually replaced the Psalms and only a few congregations continued to use the Genevan Psalter. Later, the tunes were replaced by those of English or German attribution more suited to the texts, which had been translated into English. More recently, there has been a return to the original tunes.⁷⁸

A most influential Psalm-setter of all time from France, a most sought-after teacher and leading Dutch composer of vocal and keyboard music of the Netherlands, and a first composer to obtain international recognition of Germany all have various characteristics in common. Goudimel, Sweelinck, and Schütz are leading Renaissance or early Baroque composers who set the Psalms in its entirety. Naturally, their religion, culture, nationality, and the Reformation itself must have influenced their writing. The next chapter explores the life experiences that certainly contributed to the style of writing of their respective Psalms.

⁷⁷ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, "Calvin, Jean," ed. Stanley Sadie.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

Life Experiences that Inspired the Music

To understand what was written by the composers chosen, it is important to study the life experiences each man faced, including religious, political, social, and other aspects. In some ways, these influences sometimes contribute to the music analysis in and of themselves. The Renaissance and Baroque Eras were an age when a gentleman was generally expected to be able to read music, to sing, or to play an instrument.⁷⁹ While opera flourished in Italy and theatre thrived in England, poetry prospered in France. The most impressive musical monument that Goudimel could achieve was to set the translated Psalms into the French vernacular.

Claude Goudimel (ca. 1514-20 – 1572) was born in Besançon, France. Little is known about his early life. His first known publication is a book of chansons issued in 1549 by printer Nicolas Du Chemin at Paris University where Goudimel was then probably living.⁸⁰ Goudimel's name reappears in many subsequent collections between 1552 and 1555 as publishing collaborator with Du Chemin, indicating that Goudimel played an important role as both composer and editor during the time he worked for Du Chemin.

Goudimel's fame rests primarily upon his religious works. He was and is still principally noted for his Psalm settings. Polyphonic settings of the Genevan tunes were widely dispersed thanks to the work of Goudimel. An edition of 83 Psalms was first printed in 1551.⁸¹ Sixty-seven of these were written *en form de motetz*, that is in a contrapuntal motet style.

⁷⁹ Henry A. Bruinsma, "An Introduction to Vondel and Music," 97.

⁸⁰ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music*, "Goudimel, Claude," by Paul-André Gaillard.

⁸¹ Leeman L. Perkins, *Music in the Age of the Renaissance*, 737.

The Genevan Psalms had become a key symbol of self-identification for the Huguenots, used not only in Sunday worship services, but as marching songs for Protestant forces on the field of battle. They were hymns of victory when they were successful as well as songs of defiance performed by Huguenots awaiting a death sentence. Other contributing composers to Psalm settings of this era include Louis Bourgeois (c. 1510 – 1560), who unfortunately was sent to prison by musical authorities on December 3, 1551 for changing the tunes for some well-known Psalms without a license. He was released on the personal intercession of John Calvin, but the controversy continued: Those who had already learned the tunes had no desire to learn new versions, and the town council ordered the burning of Bourgeois' instructions to the singers, claiming they were confusing. Shortly after this incident, Bourgeois left Geneva never to return. It seemed that Goudimel may have earned the monopoly for the business in which they were involved together.

The public singing of the Psalms had been officially banned in 1558 by King Henry II. Ironically, Henry himself had sung Marot's translations at court when he was still Dauphin of France. At the same time, pipe organs in Calvinist areas of France and Geneva were being destroyed or being removed from the church buildings and stored.⁸²

Maybe his conversion from Catholicism to Protestantism was inspired by this disagreement with the operations of the new leadership, but it may be deduced that Goudimel was motivated to set the entire collection of Psalms because of this sudden change. By 1565, Goudimel had taken up residence in Metz, but soon left with many other Huguenots who also resented the new leadership and went first to his native Besançon, and then to Lyons.⁸³

⁸² Henry A. Bruinsma, "The Organ Controversy in the Netherlands Reformation to 1640," 209.

⁸³ Gustave Reese, revised, *Music in the Renaissance*, 387.

By this time, Goudimel had published eight books of polyphonic settings of Psalms in the French vernacular as translated by Marot and Bèze. His complete settings of the Psalter were published in both contrapuntal note-against-note (1564 and 1565) and imitative (1580) styles.⁸⁴ In his 1564 volume, which was sponsored by French patron Jean Brinon, the Psalms were set syllabically for four voices with the Psalm tune usually in the tenor (it occurs in the superius only in seventeen Psalms). Goudimel's Psalter became internationally recognized. It was officially approved by the Reformed Church and was translated into several languages to be distributed throughout Europe. There is evidence that it was used in the actual service as early as the sixteenth-century, although Goudimel stated in his own preface to his 1565 edition that the settings were to be sung in the home and not in the church.⁸⁵

Goudimel continued his editorial work during the last years of his life. On St. Bartholomew's Day 1572, the Catholic French Court suddenly turned on the Huguenots and massacred 10,000 of them in Paris and 30,000 in other towns throughout France.⁸⁶ (It had just been ten years earlier that the Huguenots were granted the right to worship in certain areas.) Sometime between the 28th and the 31st of August, Goudimel was killed in the massacre in Paris.⁸⁷

Just as it had been forbidden in France, public singing of Psalms was forbidden by royal decree in the Netherlands. If the Inquisition found Psalters in homes, they imprisoned the owners.⁸⁸ In April 1566, however, the power of the Roman Catholic Church had declined, and there was a period of religious freedom. Refugees flocked back from England and Germany, singing Psalms in their boats and wagons. In May, the Protestants held their

⁸⁴ Howard Mayer Brown and Louise K. Stein, *Music in the Renaissance*, 276.

⁸⁵ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, "Calvin, Jean," ed. Stanley Sadie.

⁸⁶ Tony Gray, *Psalms and Slaughter*, 93.

⁸⁷ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music*, "Goudimel, Claude," by Paul-André Gaillard.

⁸⁸ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, "Psalms, metrical," ed. Stanley Sadie.

first open-air services, usually in the fields just outside the city walls. Thousands of people in Flanders, Holland, and Zeeland abandoned Mass to hear the preachers of the new religion. Several chroniclers have described the singing of Psalms at these gatherings.⁸⁹ For instance, Marcus van Vaernewijck wrote in Ghent in 1566: “These psalms appealed to the members of the new religion so much that in the evening they would gather in groups of two or three hundred and sing them in different streets and taught the people how to sing them, using simple tunes.”⁹⁰

Psalm-singing paralleled the chaotic iconoclastic outburst of August 1566, which in turn led to strong repressive measures from ruling Spain.⁹¹ Immediately afterward, however, there was an even greater religious freedom for the Protestants. They quickly built churches in which they spent entire Sundays listening to sermons and singing Psalms.⁹² Within a year, the churches in the southern provinces of the Low Countries would be torn down by the Duke of Alba and his Spanish troops, whose task it were to conquer the rebellious Low Countries. Psalm-singing once again became an illegal activity, punishable by death.⁹³

Puritans who emigrated from England to The Netherlands worshipped first in Amsterdam. Little is known about their role in the Reformed Church, but this group of people did not advocate elaborate church music and especially condemned the use of the organ.⁹⁴ Calvin was more realistic in his liturgical views and was strongly influenced to remove anything related to Catholicism from worship services.⁹⁵ Calvin did not condemn music in the Church, but he justified the use of musical instruments in Old Testament

⁸⁹ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, “Psalms, metrical,” ed. Stanley Sadie.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ Henry A. Bruinsma, “An Introduction to Vondel and Music,” 101-2.

⁹⁵ Henry A. Bruinsma, “The Organ Controversy in the Netherlands Reformation to 1640,” 207.

worship by claiming that they were a necessary means of stirring the people to sing praises to God more effectively. However, Calvin taught that with the coming of Christ and the Holy Spirit, the human voice no longer needed the guidance of instruments in the singing of praise.

As stated earlier, the Reformation in the Netherlands was not originally Calvinistic. The Dutch Reform had native roots in the educational program of the Brethren of the Common Life⁹⁶ and had some influence of Lutheranism; but, overall, Netherlanders did not widely accept Lutheran doctrines or practice. The Dutch eventually had more in common with what developed in France and Geneva into Calvinism.

During the transition to Protestantism, most Reformed churches of the northern Netherlands had lost their stained glass windows and their religious sculptures, but the pipe organs were spared.⁹⁷ This seemed to be a phenomenon compared to areas such as France and Geneva where organs were being destroyed and removed, but the Calvinists in the Netherlands had too great of a community pride in their concert organs and were reluctant to destroy expensive musical instruments which had been paid for through municipal or church taxes.⁹⁸ Although retained, some time in the early seventeenth-century the use of organs was forbidden in most Protestant church services in The Netherlands.⁹⁹ It had been believed that the use of the organ at the end of the service as the congregation left would cause people to forget most of what they had just heard in the sermon.¹⁰⁰

One of the most important musical developments of the Calvinist Reformation in the Netherlands was the change in attitude all within a period of less than a century concerning the use of the organ in the worship services of the Dutch Reformed Church. While the 1560s

⁹⁶ Henry A. Bruinsma, "The Organ Controversy in the Netherlands Reformation to 1640," 206-7.

⁹⁷ Henry A. Bruinsma, "An Introduction to Vondel and Music," 99.

⁹⁸ Henry A. Bruinsma, "The Organ Controversy in the Netherlands Reformation to 1640," 206.

⁹⁹ Henry A. Bruinsma, "An Introduction to Vondel and Music," 99.

¹⁰⁰ Henry A. Bruinsma, "The Organ Controversy in the Netherlands Reformation to 1640," 207.

brought rejection of religious images as unorthodox, the 1640s brought a general reacceptance of the organ by the Church.¹⁰¹ It was a strange circumstance to find magnificent organs in churches being played by paid, full-time organists, but not being used for the worship services of the Church. (It is also interesting to note that Church disapproval of the organ is absent in the earlier years of the Dutch Reformation.¹⁰²) In Amsterdam and in the majority of the larger Dutch cities, the most important musical performances were daily organ recitals. Organists employed by the city were expected to give daily recitals for the edification of the citizens on top of performing for important civic occasions.¹⁰³

During this transition, the trend of setting Psalms had found its way into the Netherlands. In fact, about twenty-two years before Calvin's Genevan Psalter was completed in 1562, the Dutch already had their own complete Psalter, the *Souterliedekens*, published in Antwerp in 1540, which was used by Dutch Protestants in the forbidden meetings in their homeland.¹⁰⁴ Because Dutch worship services were considered illegal and such activities had to be carried out in fields and in private homes, the concern for the use of the organ in the Dutch Reformed Church was not broached in the early stages of the Reformation; therefore, it is not known for certain today whether these instruments were employed as accompaniment for these *Souterliedekens*.

It was a paradox that a composer could be in good standing with his Church while engaging in an activity disapproved by his Church and thus could become famous during his lifetime for the music which he wrote and performed in that same Church.¹⁰⁵ Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck (1562 – 1621) was born in Deventer, but Amsterdam was his home; he rarely

¹⁰¹ Henry A. Bruinsma, "The Organ Controversy in the Netherlands Reformation to 1640," 205.

¹⁰² Ibid, 206.

¹⁰³ Henry A. Bruinsma, "An Introduction to Vondel and Music," 99.

¹⁰⁴ Henry A. Bruinsma, "The Organ Controversy in the Netherlands Reformation to 1640," 206-7.

¹⁰⁵ Henry A. Bruinsma, "The Organ Controversy in the Netherlands Reformation to 1640," 205.

travelled, but his fame as an organist and teacher spread far beyond the Netherlands.¹⁰⁶ His few documented absences from Amsterdam, except for his marriage, were entirely work-related. Sweelinck came to be known as one of the most influential and sought-after teachers of his time, as well as one of the leading composers of vocal and keyboard music.

Growing up, the Sweelinck children adopted the surname of their mother because of the prominent position of her relatives in the Hanseatic town of Deventer. The paternal relatives did not have the same respectable reputation as organists.¹⁰⁷ In fact, very little is known about Sweelinck's father, Peter Swybbertszoon, outside of the fact that he married Elsgen, the daughter of the town surgeon, in Deventer. After the birth of Jan Pieterszoon, the family moved to Amsterdam. There, his father earned the post as organist of the *Oude Kerk* (Old Church). Jan studied with his father, who died when Jan was only eleven years of age.

The brief period before Sweelinck succeeded his father's position as organist at the *Oude Kerk* was filled in the interim by Cornelis Boskoop, who may have also been among Sweelinck's teachers.¹⁰⁸ Other known teachers of Sweelinck's include Jacob Buyck, pastor at the *Oude Kerk* whose organ instruction ended with the Reformation of Amsterdam in 1578, and Jan Willemszoon Lossy, a counter-tenor and shawm player at Haarlem, who taught him composition. Peter, Jan, and Jan's son Dirck were successive organists of the *Oude Kerk* almost uninterruptedly from about 1564 to 1652.¹⁰⁹ Certainly by 1580, but possibly as early as 1577, Jan Sweelinck became the organist at the *Oude Kerk*. Here, the organists were required to play an hour-long recital immediately following the morning and afternoon church services.

¹⁰⁶ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, "Calvin, Jean," ed. Stanley Sadie.

¹⁰⁷ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, "Sweelinck, Jan Pieterszoon," ed. Stanley Sadie.

¹⁰⁸ Henry A. Bruinsma, "An Introduction to Vondel and Music," 99.

¹⁰⁹ Henry A. Bruinsma, "The Organ Controversy in the Netherlands Reformation to 1640," 209.

Music for the Reformed Church of the Netherlands remained simple based on the Calvinist doctrine that considered polyphony a disturbance to worship.¹¹⁰ Monophonic settings of the Psalms provided the foundation of the Reformed Church's music, while polyphonic settings in French and Dutch were intended for domestic use only. The Dutch-texted Psalm settings (*Souterliedekens*), had been written near the middle of the sixteenth-century by Jacobus Clemens, Clemens' disciple Gerardus Mes, and Cornelius Boscop.

Though he was primarily an organist, the majority of Sweelinck's compositions were vocal works. His surviving output amounts to 254 vocal works, none of which were written in his native Dutch language but including 153 Psalms (three existing in two versions).¹¹¹ Probably a Protestant himself, Sweelinck set the complete Genevan Psalter in polyphony using the French metrical versions of Marot and Bèze. Sweelinck must not have been thinking in terms of performance during a church service, otherwise the Dutch rhymed version of Petrus Datheen used in most churches would have been a more obvious choice. Sweelinck therefore had in mind gatherings of singers in private houses, members of the well-to-do middle class, among whom the French language was highly respected. His Psalms were possibly written for and performed by his own Collegium Musicum directed by Sweelinck and known as the *Compagnie des nourissons, disciples, fauteurs et amateurs de la douce sainte musique*.¹¹² The dedications of the first two books to various mayors and a group of Calvinist merchants make this intention more clear.¹¹³

Sweelinck's first two Psalm settings appeared anonymously in a collection of 1597, his first complete book of Psalms was published in 1604, a third and fourth volume were

¹¹⁰ James Haar, editor, *European Music 1520-1640*, 264.

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, 275.

¹¹² Translated as "Company of cultivators, students, instigators, and amateurs of sweet, sacred music."

¹¹³ Henry A. Bruinsma, "An Introduction to Vondel and Music," 100.

published in 1613 and 1614, and a fourth and final book appeared posthumously, presumably in unfinished form, in 1621.¹¹⁴ His Psalm settings ranged from four to eight voices. His style was enriched by his knowledge of the Italian and English styles, influenced through his friendship with composers John Bull and Peter Philips, both English nonconformists working in the Netherlands.¹¹⁵ This style attracted many students, some of whom later founded the North German style. Sweelinck made use of all of the polyphonic traditions of the late sixteenth-century, and influences from England, Italy, Spain, Germany, and the Netherlands itself can be heard in his music. Living in Amsterdam, Sweelinck could easily get to know the music of his colleagues, thanks to commercial contacts and cultural exchanges. Having been around such a variety of literary and musical resources, Sweelinck gained the ability to compose in many contrasting moods. Sweelinck probably took the aesthetics of the madrigal as his guide in developing his art of word-painting.¹¹⁶

After the Calvinists banned organ playing during services, Sweelinck became a municipal employee, earning 16 guilders for his professional services as an organ consultant by the Church Counsel with the approval of the town magistrates.¹¹⁷ From then on, he was allowed to play only before and after the service. During the week, he had the opportunity to display his skill at the organ in the public recitals; he may have also played at the mayor's banquets for important guests. Rich merchants and well-to-do middle-class citizens paid for his services, and because of this, Sweelinck also received certain privileges and was able to have handsome editions of his music published.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, "Calvin, Jean," ed. Stanley Sadie.

¹¹⁵ James Haar, editor, *European Music 1520-1640*, 271.

¹¹⁶ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, "Sweelinck, Jan Pieterszoon," ed. Stanley Sadie.

¹¹⁷ Henry A. Bruinsma, "The Organ Controversy in the Netherlands Reformation to 1640," 208.

¹¹⁸ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, "Sweelinck, Jan Pieterszoon," ed. Stanley Sadie.

Sweelinck died of unknown causes on October 16, 1621 and was buried in the Oude Kerk.¹¹⁹ This was just after an internationally known composer from Germany had published his first set of Psalms and had begun his intended second set. The great production of the Netherlanders in the field of vocal polyphony comes to an end with Sweelinck's works.

Heinrich Schütz, born in Köstritz (now Bad Köstritz) near Gera and baptized on October 9, 1585, came from a well-known middle-class family of Franconian origin that had resided in Saxony since the middle of the fifteenth-century. He was discovered in 1598 by Landgrave Moritz of Hessen-Kassel during an overnight stay at the town inn owned by Heinrich's father, Christoph.¹²⁰ When he had heard young Heinrich sing, he was so pleased with his voice that he was motivated to ask his parents to allow him to come to his court, promising that he would be educated in the arts.¹²¹ After much resistance from Schütz's parents, the Landgrave continued to press his case in letters. Finally, in August of 1599, Christoph took his son to the Landgrave's court in Kassel.¹²²

At the Landgrave's court, Schütz served as a choirboy and pursued his education at the *Collegium Mauritanum*, an academy founded by the Landgrave in 1595 primarily for the children of the Hessian nobility but attended also by some of the boys in the *Hofkapelle*, as well as the sons of court servants.¹²³ Schütz excelled in all his subjects and showed a special talent for languages, learning Latin, Greek, and French. His musical training lay in the hands of the Landgrave's *Kapellmeister*, Georg Otto, who also taught at the academy.

After losing his treble voice due to puberty, Schütz decided to go to the University of Marburg in 1608 where he elected to study law. He quickly won distinction for his academic

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, "Schütz, Heinrich," ed. Stanley Sadie.

¹²¹ James Haar, editor, *European Music 1520-1640*, 357.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, "Schütz, Heinrich," ed. Stanley Sadie.

competence. By the next year, during a visit to Marburg, Landgrave Moritz advised Schütz that since Giovanni Gabrieli, a widely famed but old musician and composer, was still alive, he should not miss the chance to hear him and learn something from him. He offered Schütz a two-year stipend of 200 Thaler a year, which Schütz gratefully accepted.¹²⁴ Schütz left university for Italy, even though the expedition would have gone against the wishes of his parents. By the end of 1610, Schütz had made such progress that Sigismund, Margrave of Brandenburg, wrote to the Landgrave from Venice on Gabrieli's behalf urging the Landgrave to allow Schütz to remain another year since his composition and organ playing were coming along so well.

After his third year in Venice, Schütz was encouraged by his teacher, as well as other leading musicians there, to continue his studies. He followed their advice and remained in Italy, now supported by his parents who had presumably become somewhat more tolerant of his musical abilities. In August of 1612, not long after the start of his fourth year in Venice, Gabrieli died. On his deathbed, Gabrieli had left one of his rings to Schütz.¹²⁵ Soon afterwards, Schütz left Venice and returned to Germany. Schütz never acknowledged anyone other than Gabrieli who had a profound effect on Schütz's composition style.

Having returned to his home country, Schütz resumed his service at Landgrave Moritz's court. His family, meanwhile, renewed their efforts to deter him from pursuing music as anything but a hobby. Just as Schütz began to consider picking up the books that he had set aside so long before, music invaded his life again. The increasing pace of musical activities and the favor shown him by Elector Johann Georg I of Saxony must have persuaded him to abandon any thought of another career. On August 27, 1614, the Elector

¹²⁴ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, "Schütz, Heinrich," ed. Stanley Sadie.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

proposed to Landgrave Moritz that Schütz should come to Dresden for the baptism of his son and stay there for awhile.¹²⁶ Schütz then became Johann Georg's *Kapellmeister*, a career boost which helped Schütz's parents to finally accept his musical destiny.

Over the years, the Landgrave wrote the Elector requesting that he return his employee who he could not do without; however, Johann Georg would not let go so easily. Schütz became a permanent employee at the electoral court in Dresden by 1617 as conductor and music director of the largest and most important musical establishment in Protestant Germany.¹²⁷

Schütz composed several double-choir motets all containing a *basso seguente*, defined as an instrumental bass such as an organ which merely duplicated the lowest vocal part. Most of these compositions belong to larger collections and are closely related to the concerted motet and to other polychoral genres. Following the models of Gabrieli's large scale vocal sacred concerti, Schütz's polychoral settings, *Psalmen Davids, sampt etlichen Moteten und Concerten*, (Book 1 of Opus 2 published in Dresden in 1619) represent a generic hybrid.¹²⁸ They seem to combine, as Schütz's title indicates, compositional genres of both the motet and the concerto. Schütz's main interest in his *Psalmen Davids* lay in the contrasts and combinations of various independent choirs. He distinguished between the *cori favorite*, consisting of the most capable singers, and a *Cappellae* of voices and/or instruments to fill out the texture for the sake of sonority and brilliance. Gabrieli had instructed Schütz in this multi-choral technique, but Schütz himself had developed his own method within the genre.

¹²⁶ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, "Schütz, Heinrich," ed. Stanley Sadie.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

Schütz married Magdalena Wildeck on June 1, 1619.¹²⁹ Coincidentally, his *Psalmen Davids* dedicated to the Elector finally made it to the press the same day. Schütz may have intended to write a second volume of *Psalmen Davids*: as late as the 1660s he referred to the publication of 1619 as Part I.¹³⁰ This may have been postponed and cancelled due to his wife's short illness followed by her death in 1625.

Although Saxony did not take part in the Thirty Years War for well over a decade after it began in 1618, economic pressures started to make themselves felt at the electoral court toward the end of the 1620s. On Palm Sunday of 1628, the singers and instrumentalists of the *Kapelle* submitted a petition written for them by Schütz asking Johann Georg for back wages, a bold request considering there was no money to be paid.¹³¹ The musicians continued their duties without pay.

On April 22, 1628, Schütz requested permission from the Elector to pay another visit to Italy.¹³² The Elector eventually granted the request and wrote a recommendation to the Duchess of Tuscany at the Florentine court. Schütz thus spent some time in Florence from 1628 to 1629. He wrote in a letter to the Elector that, since his first visit to Italy “everything has changed and the music in use at princely banquets, comedies, ballets, and other such productions has markedly improved.”¹³³ He therefore focused his energy into absorbing the new developments.

In early October of 1631, both Schütz' father and father-in-law passed away. The autumn also saw Saxony enter the Thirty Years War for the first time where the economic situation at court worsened dramatically. Between 1634 and 1639 the number of musicians

¹²⁹ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, “Schütz, Heinrich,” ed. Stanley Sadie.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, “Schütz, Heinrich,” ed. Stanley Sadie.

dropped from 30 to 10, which grounded musical activities at the court to a halt.¹³⁴ By 1641 war, plague, and unpaid salaries had reduced the *Kapelle* to a state that, in Schütz's own words, resembled "a patient in the throes of death."¹³⁵ Despite some efforts on the part of the Elector to improve the circumstances, conditions worsened.

In 1645, at the age of 59, an apparently exhausted and exasperated Schütz requested permission to retire from active duty as *Kapellmeister* on the grounds that the *Kapelle* had gone completely to ruin and he had in the meantime grown old.¹³⁶ His request was denied, Schütz remained in his position and made a similar request again in 1651. Only in 1657, following the death of the Elector the previous year, was he relieved of his daily responsibilities, provided a pension, and granted a semi-retired status that required his presence at court only several times a year. Economic improvements came slowly after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.¹³⁷

After retirement, Schütz continued to write new works for major occasions and no doubt helped shape musical guidelines at court. He revised his *Psalmen Davids* for a 1661 edition that was commissioned by the Elector Johann Georg II.¹³⁸ Schütz died from a stroke in Dresden on November 6, 1672.

Having considered the biographical events surrounding the lives of these three composers, the analysis of their respective styles in their compositions should be comprehensible. Living during an era in which religion was being reformed across many varied territories could certainly have inspired the popularity of setting music to Biblical texts such as the Psalms. Being under rulers that oppressed many people of different social

¹³⁴ Eberhard Schmidt, *Der Gottesdienst am Kurfürstlichen Hofe zu Dresden*, 163.

¹³⁵ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, "Schütz, Heinrich," ed. Stanley Sadie.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, "Schütz, Heinrich," ed. Stanley Sadie.

statuses, be it economically or religiously, there certainly would be created a need to rebel and write music for instruments that were deemed illegal for the Church. Just being raised in an era in which gentlemen were generally expected to be able to read music, to sing, or to play an instrument was probably not the only incentive these foremost men faced upon setting their Psalms.

Chapter Three – Analysis of Psalm 128

Most Psalm settings fall into one of three general categories: the cantus firmus Psalm, where each line of the melody in the superius and/or tenor, separated by related interludes, is accompanied by a rhythmically altered form of the melody in the other voices; the *Lied* Psalm, where the uninterrupted melody appears in the superius; and the echo Psalm, where the full cantus firmus is found in two separate voices, often in canon. The cantus firmus provides the unifying element in each of the composers' Psalm 128 (see Appendix One).

In an attempt to compare the analyses of styles among the three composers chosen, one Psalm has been selected to represent the overall technique of each composer's Psalter. Obviously, since each Psalm has its own tune (in most cases), one Psalm can not represent the overall voice of each composers' Psalter; but in an effort to capture the distinctive approach these composers made in setting these texts, the 128th Psalm, called Blessed Is Everyone Who Fears the Lord, was the selected as each of the three contain enough characteristics of the composers to be able to compare and contrast their methods.

Goudimel had produced a large number of Psalm settings in the 1550s, but no complete Psalters.¹³⁹ As Catholics and Protestants alike had been singing the Genevan melodies until they were forbidden to do so by Church authority, these melodies Goudimel integrated into his earliest Psalm setting can be identified as the cantus firmus. His early, incomplete collection published by Nicolas Du Chemin in 1551 was written in a slightly embellished chordal style with the borrowed melodies mostly in the top voice, and it would be those that would be considered *Lied* Psalms. Goudimel revised his Psalms and

¹³⁹ James Haar, editor, *European Music 1520-1640*, 177.

republished selected pieces in a new and still incomplete edition through Le Roy & Ballard in Paris in 1557.¹⁴⁰ Goudimel set an incomplete selection a third time, which was also published by Le Roy & Ballard in 1562.

It was not until after his conversion that Goudimel set three complete versions (and several published revisions) of French Psalm texts which, if classified by musical form, range from the most simple to the most elaborate.¹⁴¹ The first edition was the note-against-note Psalm set for four voices that was easy to perform and intended to be sung by everyone. It was published in Paris in 1564 by Le Roy & Ballard. The second edition was a more ornamented, contrapuntal Psalm that was published in Geneva in 1565 also for four voices. His final edition published in 1568 was in the form of a motet, polyphonic and unaccompanied, filled with symbolism.¹⁴² Goudimel's Psalm setting style was always presented as cantus firmus, accompanied by either chordal texture or a more elaborate counterpoint. The melody is always clearly present in his works. His settings were also solely intended for domestic use; he abided by Calvin's standards against polyphony within the Church.¹⁴³

Goudimel's early setting (Du Chemin, 1551) came in four books with twenty-eight numbered pages of eight Psalms and the Ten Commandments. The texts of these Psalms were all translated by Marot. Only the superius and tenor parts survive with facsimiles in the National Library of Paris as well as a copy of the superius in the music collection of Alfred Denis Cortot (1877 – 1962), a Franco-Swiss pianist and conductor who collected antique

¹⁴⁰ Henri Gagnebin, translator, in the Critical Notes of "Claude Goudimel Oeuvres Complètes" originally written by Pierre Pidoux.

¹⁴¹ Howard Mayer Brown and Louise K. Stein, *Music in the Renaissance*, 276.

¹⁴² Henri Gagnebin, from the Preface of "Claude Goudimel Oeuvres Complètes."

¹⁴³ Howard Mayer Brown and Louise K. Stein, *Music in the Renaissance*, 277.

music.¹⁴⁴ The book opens with a dedication to Jean Brinon, the Seigneur de Villaines and counselor to the King at the Parliament of Paris. The dedication, like the notice of printing, is dated August 6, 1551, a time when Goudimel was a corrector for Du Chemin before becoming his partner.¹⁴⁵ The edition was executed very carefully and is practically without mistakes; however, it can not serve as the basis of music analysis because only the superius and tenor part books survived.

Goudimel's revised edition (Le Roy & Ballard, 1557) came in four books with eighteen foliated leaves consisting of nine Psalms and the Ten Commandments (the first page of Psalm 128 from this edition can be found in Appendix Two). The superius, contra, and tenor are preserved in the National Library of Vienna, the contra and tenor part books were formerly housed in National Library of Berlin, and the bassus part book is in the collection of Cortot.¹⁴⁶ In the title, the Le Roy & Ballard version poses itself as "revised, corrected, and expanded" by the author.¹⁴⁷ This new edition was followed by two further revised versions by the same publishers in 1558 and 1565. The expansion consisted of the addition of Psalm 114. The revisions and corrections do not concern typographical errors; the edition contains no mistakes and was corrected personally in 1551 by Goudimel under Du Chemin. Therefore, it can be assumed that the republished edition is also without mistakes. When comparing the two editions with each other, however, it becomes clear that Goudimel has subjected his work to a very important and painstaking revision so considerable that it would justify two parallel versions in any edition of the Collected Works. Next to the fragments

¹⁴⁴ Henri Gagnebin, translator, in the Critical Notes of "Claude Goudimel Oeuvres Complètes" originally written by Pierre Pidoux.

¹⁴⁵ Henri Gagnebin, from the Preface of "Claude Goudimel Oeuvres Complètes."

¹⁴⁶ Henri Gagnebin, translator, in the Critical Notes of "Claude Goudimel Oeuvres Complètes" originally written by Pierre Pidoux.

¹⁴⁷ Henri Gagnebin, from the Preface of "Claude Goudimel Oeuvres Complètes."

preserved from the Du Chemin edition, it appears that only the first and second parts of the Psalm 11 were not subjected to alterations. There are in all about a hundred small detail changes.¹⁴⁸

Goudimel's third incomplete setting (Le Roy & Ballard, 1562) comprised of eighty-two Psalms. Only the bassus part book of this edition exists. Goudimel reworked and completed this edition to contain all 150 Psalms and had it published in 1564. These consisted mostly of contrapuntal settings. There were only 125 different melodies in the Genevan Psalter, but melodies that were used in more than one Psalm were set more elaborately on their second appearances, and twenty-eight of these are set in an imitative style. Goudimel is credited with being among the first to place the Psalm melody in the superius, and he does so in all but fifteen of his Psalms in the collection of 1564.¹⁴⁹ Only a copy of a modern edition based on a reprint of 1580 survives. The 1564 collection was republished in 1565 at Geneva with complete Psalm texts and some musical amendments.¹⁵⁰ In this edition, only seventeen Psalms were given the melody in the superius and the remainder having it in the tenor.

Goudimel used the more ornate style exclusively in his third setting of the Psalms (Le Roy & Ballard, 1568). It was written for four voices with imitation which reproduces some of the pieces contained in the previous collection. This edition was republished in 1580 in Geneva by Pierre de Saint André.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ Henri Gagnebin, translator, in the Critical Notes of "Claude Goudimel Oeuvres Complètes" originally written by Pierre Pidoux.

¹⁴⁹ Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, 502.

¹⁵⁰ Henri Gagnebin, from the Preface of "Claude Goudimel Oeuvres Complètes."

¹⁵¹ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, "Calvin, Jean," ed. Stanley Sadie.

Goudimel made a substantial contribution to the Calvinistic repertory with his three different settings of the Psalter.¹⁵² For these compositions, he used the entire text, grouping several stanzas into a single movement. The subsequent section is a musical analysis of Gagnebin's modern notation of Goudimel's 1557 edition broken into parts as indicated by the music (see table two).

Table Two.

First Part

First Strophe	Second Strophe	Third Strophe
Measures 1 – 15	Measures 15 – 27	Measures 27 – 42
Begins in d-minor, modulates to a-minor, ends with imperfect authentic cadence (IAC)	Remains in a-minor with no final cadence	Begins in a-minor, modulates to d-minor, ends with IAC with no third at double bar
Voices come in together, but almost immediately go into imitative round, and end strophe together with IAC	Voices come in together and again go immediately into imitative round, but remain that way through end which bleeds into third strophe	Voices come in imitatively, but end together with an IAC at double bar

Second Part

Fourth Strophe	Fifth Strophe	Sixth Strophe	Seventh Strophe
Measures 1 – 14	Measures 15 – 25	Measures 25 – 36	Measures 36 – 52
d-minor ends with IAC with no third	Begins in d-minor, modulates to a-minor, ends with IAC	Begins in a-minor, modulates to d-minor, ends with IAC	Remains in d-minor with an IAC without a third
Voices come in imitatively, but end together	Voices come in together, gradually become imitative,	Voices come in imitatively, and almost end together	Voices come in together following Contra's lead, and

¹⁵² *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, "Psalms, metrical," ed. Stanley Sadie.

	and remain that way through end which bleeds into sixth strophe	(as Contra cuts off early as to prematurely bring in seventh strophe)	end together on a final IAC
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The frequent absence of the third of the chord is noteworthy. The work is in Dorian mode, fluctuating between today's d-minor and a-minor. The only similarities between the verses are the pattern in which the text is sung. With four lines of text per strophe, lines 1 and 3 rhyme, lines 2 and 4 rhyme, and one of the lines is sung twice in one or more voices for each strophe. The accompanying voices do not move with the melody to form a chordal texture. Instead, each voice is rhythmically independent and embraces an occasional short melisma, brief imitation, or decorated melody. The setting of the text is still mainly syllabic, but the four voices only sometimes declaim the words together making it difficult to hear the actual text of the Psalm half of the time.

The French text (table three) is as follows:

Table Three.

First Part

First Strophe	Second Strophe	Third Strophe
1 Bien heureux est quiconques Sert à Dieu volontiers, Et ne se lassa oncques De suivre ses sentiers,	2 Du labeur que sçais faire Vivras commodement, Et ira ton affaire Bien, et heureusement.	3a Quant à l'heur de ta ligne, Ta femme en ta maison Sera comme une vigne Portant fruit à foison.

Second Part

Fourth Strophe	Fifth Strophe	Sixth Strophe	Seventh Strophe
3b Et autour de ta table Seront tes enfans beaux, Comme un reng delectable D'oliviers tous nouveaux.	4 Ce sont les benefices Dont sera jouissant Celuy qui fuyant vices Craindra le Toutpuissant.	5 De Sion Dieu sublime Te fera tant de bien, De voir Hierosolyme En tes jours aller bien.	6 Et verras de ta race Double posterité, Et sur Israel grace, Paix et felicité.

As marked, the meter of this piece is simple duple. The tempo is not clearly affirmed in the transcription of Goudimel's composition, but director's are allowed to thus infer at what pace the music needs to be expressed. Allegro seems to be an appropriate tempo for this piece, with a bit quicker pace in part two.

Proportion, balance, and naturalness were idealized in this era. Loud, heavy singing did not only violate the spirit of good ensemble music-making, but would also seem to contradict this idealization. Renaissance music should not be performed consistently soft, but should be intense and shapely in both loud and soft passages.

One motif that can not escape the memory after hearing this work is the repetition of the three, steady half notes on a single pitch before dropping a third. This occurs several times in the top three voices as presented in the examples below:

Example 1. Goudimel, *Psalm 128*, superius, from ms. 3-4.

Superius

Sert à Dieu | vo -

Example 2. Goudimel, *Psalm 128*, contratenor, from ms. 1-2.

Musical notation for Contratenor voice. The staff is in bass clef with a 3/4 time signature. It shows a melodic line with a diamond-shaped note on the first measure, followed by a double bar line and a treble clef. The lyrics "reux est qui - con -" are written below the notes.

Example 3. Goudimel, *Psalm 128*, tenor, from ms. 3-4.

Musical notation for Tenor voice. The staff is in bass clef with a 3/4 time signature. It shows a melodic line with a diamond-shaped note on the first measure, followed by a double bar line and a treble clef. The lyrics "sert à Dieu vo - -" are written below the notes.

Example 4. Goudimel, *Psalm 128*, bassus, from ms. 42-44.

Musical notation for Bassus voice. The staff is in bass clef with a 3/4 time signature. It shows a melodic line with a diamond-shaped note on the first measure, followed by a double bar line and a treble clef. The lyrics "Et sur Is - ra - - el," are written below the notes.

One can see the additional note in the bass line that does not correlate with the main motive, but there are also several deceptive motives in the other voices throughout the piece. In example 5, the third half note in the series acts as the stepping stone to the note a third below the initiate tone.

Example 5. Goudimel, *Psalm 128*, superius, m. 7.

Musical notation for Superius voice. The staff is in treble clef with a 3/4 time signature. It shows a melodic line with a diamond-shaped note on the first measure, followed by a double bar line and a treble clef. The lyrics "à Dieu vo - lun -" are written below the notes.

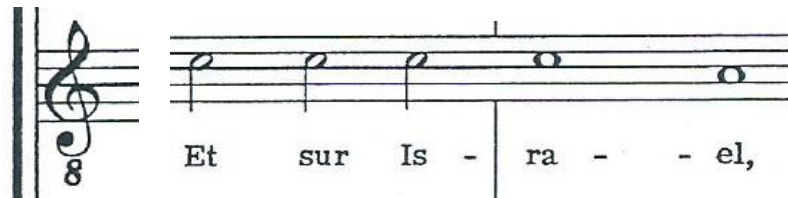
In example 6, the first note includes a trill-like deviation from the norm.

Example 6. Goudimel, *Psalm 128*, contratenor, from ms. 5-6.



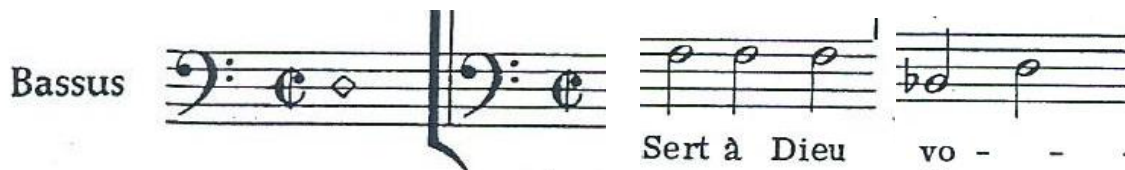
In example 7, there is an additional whole note (after three steady half notes) that augment the motif.

Example 7. Goudimel, *Psalm 128*, tenor, from ms. 42-43.



And in example 8, there is an additional half note (after three steady half notes) that expands and deceives the motive.

Example 8. Goudimel, *Psalm 128*, bassus, from ms. 4-5.



The second part (initiated by the fourth strophe) is composed in a fugal style beginning with a motive from the contratenor, followed by the superius a fifth higher, and

then subsequently by the tenor a third lower than the superius. (The bass does not return until the fifth strophe.)

Sweelinck contributed music for both Protestant and Catholic use. His 153 settings of the Genevan Psalter were published in four books in Amsterdam between 1604 and 1621.¹⁵³ His work is the highlight of the Calvinist repertory. His settings are notable for their use of imaginative word-painting in expression of various ambiances. In some of his settings, he adopts a strict cantus firmus treatment with the tune in the superius or tenor, while in others he features the tune set in canon between two voices in an echo effect. Some demonstrate antiphonal writing, where the melody passes between two groups, while others are based on imitative counterpoint.¹⁵⁴

In comparison to Goudimel, Sweelinck's Psalms too are from the French metrical Psalter of Marot and Bèze, and although his polyphonic settings range from two to eight voices, his 128th Psalm is also composed for four voices.¹⁵⁵ Both of the composers works are performed a cappella. Like Goudimel, Sweelinck uses the cantus firmus of Genevan Psalter as a foundation of his Psalm settings. Sweelinck interlaced the Genevan melodies into his work in a variety of ways, having simple cantus firmus in one voice, moving from voice to voice, or as a basis for equal imitation in all voices. His style, technique, and use of polyphony seem to parallel that of Goudimel's, though polyphonic settings of early Dutch Psalms (other than the *Souterliedekens*) were scarce.¹⁵⁶ Sweelinck's Psalms were also not intended for use in public Calvinist services, but for the circle of well-to-do, French-speaking musical amateurs.

¹⁵³ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, "Psalms, metrical," ed. Stanley Sadie.

¹⁵⁴ James Haar, editor, *European Music 1520-1640*, 272.

¹⁵⁵ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, "Calvin, Jean," ed. Stanley Sadie.

¹⁵⁶ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, "Psalms, metrical," ed. Stanley Sadie.

Sweelinck's 128th Psalm progressed from Claude Goudimel's square, open-fifth sound to a more polyphonic madrigal style (see Appendix Three). Sweelinck differed from Goudimel in his sporadic employment of chromaticism in his works. Where Goudimel worked his way through almost half of the Psalter in his eight books of Psalm motets, Sweelinck was the only composer who finished the task of setting all of the Marot-Bèze Psalms in this ornate style.¹⁵⁷ Unlike Goudimel, Sweelinck did not set all the stanzas of each Psalm, but he did use the complete texts for thirty-two of them.

Sweelinck's style shows distinct English traits, undoubtedly influenced by his friendship with John Bull and Peter Philips, both residents in the Low Countries. He adopted certain harmonic, melodic, and formal structures of pre-existent English pieces, appending them with Netherlandish polyphonic technique.¹⁵⁸ Table four exemplifies the musical analysis of Lagas's modern notation of Sweelinck's 128th Psalm published in the third book in 1614.

¹⁵⁷ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, "Psalms, metrical," ed. Stanley Sadie.

¹⁵⁸ James Haar, editor, *European Music 1520-1640*, 277.

Table Four.

First Part	Second Part	Third Part
30 Measures	21 Measures	34 Measures
Modern notation indicates d-minor with one b-flat in the key signature and occasional c-sharp accidentals; however, the tonality gravitates toward G-major with accidentals notated with f-sharps and b-naturals. Ends with a perfect authentic cadence (PAC) on a grand G-major chord.	Initiated by another G-major tonality. Ends with an IAC with all voices on a bold G. There is little indication that this chord is a major I: recent f-sharp accidentals give the cadence reassurance that G is the tonality, but there have been no recent b-naturals to make the tonality certain.	Begins in same uncertain G-major tonality. With a more complex curve ball, there are four surprise e-flat accidentals written within the last five measures of the section; but the altus sings two e's that have not been assigned this accidental. It seems that there intended to be a deception in tonality; however, this section ends exactly the way part one did with a PAC on a majestic G-major chord.
Voices are led in by the cantus and mostly sing text together, but the further into the piece, the more off-center the text becomes.	With no cantus voice written for this second part, the altus led in a fugal style section followed by the bassus and then the tenor. The altus and bassus match texts by ms. 3, and sing the text together (sometimes) with independent ornamentation. The tenor owns a simple, forward, on-the-beat part for this section introducing the text before the other parts sing them.	All voices enter separate and the text lines up for a word or two scarcely throughout the piece.

Immediately, one can notice that Sweelinck and Goudimel differ in the divisions that they make within the Psalm setting different phrases to different moods. Sweelinck does not have a straight blueprint as Goudimel does; there is no foreseeing how many times Sweelinck will have a voice repeat a line, or even an entire stanza, while auxiliary repetition of single words is occurring within the repeated line. The solitary segment where there is no repetition

whatsoever is in the tenor voice of the second part whose main purpose seems to be to keep the time. It can be seen in the text of table five that the French grammar has some slight changes to very few of the words from Goudimel's; this may have been a regional cause.

Table Five.

First Part	Second Part	Third Part
<p>1 Bienheureux est quiconques Sert à Dieu volontiers, Et ne se lassa oncques De suyvre ses sentiers. 2 Du labour que sçais faire Vivras commodement, Et ira ton affaire Bien et heureusement.</p>	<p>3 Quant à l'heur de ta ligne, Ta femme en ta maison Sera comme une vigne, Portant fruit à foison. Et autour de ta table Seront tes enfans beaux, Comme un rang delectable D'oliviers tous nouveaux.</p>	<p>4 Ce sont les benefices Dont sera jouissant Celuy qui fuyant vices Craindra le Toutpuissant. 5 De Sion Dieu sublime Te fera tant de bien, De voir Jerosolyme En tes jours aller bien. 6 Et verras de ta race Double posterité, Et sur Israël grace, Paix et felicité.</p>

Sweelinck marked his transcription of Psalm 128 as cut time in the first two parts, and in common time for the last part. When the music was rewritten for modern notation, all of it was assigned a common time signature. Either way, his music was composed in a simple duple meter. Sweelinck did not assign a tempo, but it was probably performed in an allegro pace, with a slower, moderato tempo for the third part.

The overall form of this selection is full sectional ternary. Sweelinck's main motive was to create a blend of voices that would paint the picture of the text rather than articulate the actual wording. The first part discussing the happiness that can be attained by walking in the ways of God, and it is interesting to hear the complexity and individualism of each voice blending together to create uplifting music that is meant to brighten spirits. There are two

times that the choir ends together on the word “heureusement” (happiness), and the composer has created a conclusive, perfect authentic cadence that practically sells the desire to follow to achieve this happiness as displayed by examples 9 and 10.

Example 9. Sweelinck, *Psalm 128*, SAT, First Part, from m. 19-20.

Musical score for Example 9, SAT, First Part, from m. 19-20. The score is in G minor (one flat) and 8/8 time. It features three vocal parts: Soprano (S), Alto (A), and Tenor (T). The lyrics are: - m heu - reu - se - ment, et heu-reu - se - ment, - r Bien et heu-reu-se - ment,.

Example 10. Sweelinck, *Psalm 128*, SATB, First Part, from ms. 28-30.

Musical score for Example 10, SATB, First Part, from ms. 28-30. The score is in G minor (one flat) and 8/8 time. It features four vocal parts: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The lyrics are: heu - reu - - se - ment. se - ment, Bien et heu-reu-se - ment. i-se - ment, Bien et heu-reu-se - ment. 1 et heu - reu - se - ment. The number 30 is written above the Soprano staff at the end of the first measure.

The second part is more serious with a slow sounding tenor articulating the text in a somber manner. The tenors seem to paint the gravity of the situation while the altus and bassus decorate the blessed life achieved once this life has been lead by singing more complex rhythms. As the composer paints the picture of the children being like olive shoots around his table, the altus and bassus take turns reiterating the pleasure of “comme une rang” as shown in example 11.

Example 11. Sweelinck, *Psalm 128*, ATB, Second Part, from ms. 17-18.

The image shows a musical score for three voices: Soprano (top staff), Alto (middle staff), and Bass (bottom staff). The lyrics are written below each staff. The Soprano part has lyrics: "en - fans beaux, Comme un rang, Comme un rang, Comme un". The Alto part has lyrics: "Com - me un rang de - lec -". The Bass part has lyrics: "fans beaux, Comme un rang, Comme un rang,". The music is in a key with one flat (B-flat) and a 3/4 time signature. The Soprano part features a complex rhythmic pattern with many eighth and sixteenth notes. The Alto part is simpler, with mostly quarter and half notes. The Bass part has a similar rhythmic complexity to the Soprano part.

The third part goes back to the uplifting mood that part one had set up. The repetition occurs so much that it seems that the composer knew the text should be repeated several times in order to ensure that his audience understood the message, but the overlapping imitation makes this comprehension more of an intricate task. It is exuberant to hear what Sweelinck does with the alliteration of the text “Et sur Israël grace, Paix et felicité.” By off setting the texts for the voices as shown in example 12, a peaceful, hushing sounds created with unvoiced hisses produce the serenity of the atmosphere.

Example 12. Sweelinck, *Psalm 128*, SATB, Third Part, ms. 32-34.

fe - li - ci - té, Paix et fe - li - ci - té, fe - li - ci - té.
et fe - li - ci - té, Paix et fe - li - ci - té.
et fe - li - ci - té, Paix et fe - li - ci - té.
- li - ci - té, Paix et fe - li - ci - té.

Like Sweelinck, Schütz's main interest as a composer was in the word, its individual meaning, and its portrayal through music. They shared a bond in that both of their music styles had significant influence from outside nationalities. These composers were interested in writing in the latest fashions and composed in polyphony despite what the Church had banned.

As opposed to Sweelinck's style, Schütz avoided imitative counterpoint in favor of a homorhythmic polyphony which allowed the text to be heard in performance. Schütz also differed from the aforementioned composers in that he wrote for more than a few voices and took pleasure in a bigger sound. Sweelinck's work was complex enough that it did not need a great amount of voices; but Schütz could compose for many voices or instruments because his text was not as convoluted textually.

Although the chronology of Schütz's printed collections is fixed, the dates of individual works within a print may differ considerably, and explains the grouping of dissimilar pieces found within various collections. Schütz himself classified only two compositional categories: those with basso continuo and those without. All of Schütz's

existing vocal music is almost exclusively set to Biblical texts. He used more texts from the Old than from the New Testament, and found Psalms and passages from the Songs of Songs particularly skewed to pleasant responses.¹⁵⁹

Schütz's Psalms were set to that of Cornelius Becker's rhymed German Psalm paraphrases. Schütz wrote his own melodies and harmonized in a simple style most of the time, but sometimes motet-like with imitative textures and complex structures. He never shied away from madrigalisms, or word painting, but also developed an extraordinary compassion in expressing theoretical meaning in a broader context. He used a variety of musical means – rhythmic, melodic, harmonic, textural, and structural – to influence a text and create specific musical affects to enhance its message. Schütz's reputation was partly built by his exploitation of many of these stylistic traits.¹⁶⁰

Twenty-six pieces in the *Psalmen Davids* are scored for at least two choirs, and a few of them require three or four. As was the case with Gabrieli's grand polychoral works of the *Symphoniae Sacrae* collection, Schütz's *Psalmen Davids* appear to have been intended for festive occasions. The instrumentation is flexible; generally Schütz simply recommends enhancing some of the choirs with brass or stringed instruments. He differentiates between choirs consisting of skilled soloists performing with one singer per part, and ripieno (all-together) choirs with more than one singer per part; the latter could include instrumental doubling. Schütz customized the vocal demands of his music to the skills of the singers at the court and public chapels of Protestant Germany.¹⁶¹ Schütz successfully adapted the Italian polychoral style to the German language. These Psalm settings often preserve the speech rhythms and accent patterns of the German in the Lutheran Bible.

¹⁵⁹ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, "Schütz, Heinrich," ed. Stanley Sadie.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

In the preface to his *Psalmen Davids* (1619), Schütz drew attention to the fact that he had composed the Psalms in the Italian manner utilizing the recitative style almost unknown in Germany up until this era.¹⁶² Schütz felt that it was appropriate that the words be recited in such a way that resembled how one would speak the text; and it was this employed method that would set his music apart from the *stylus antiquus*.¹⁶³ His music was furthest from the cantus firmus as he employed more of his own personal compositional style.

Schütz's *Psalmen Davids* represents a combination of the motet, being a short, polyphonic sacred choral music that can be unaccompanied, and the concerto, as it was written for solo voices/instruments accompanied by an orchestra if the director chooses, especially one conceived on a relatively large scale. Schütz set twenty Psalms in the year 1619 including Psalm 128 twice. Psalm 128, SWV 30, was written for eight voices (see Appendix Four); Schütz rewrote it for a magnificent nineteen. The breakdown includes four voices for Cappella I, four voices for Cappella II, five voices for Chorus I, five voices for Chorus II, and a basso continuo. Table six illustrates the musical analysis of Ehmann's modern notation of Schütz's "Der 128 Psalm *Wohl dem, der den Herren fürchtet*" from his *Psalmen Davids* SWV 44.

¹⁶² James Haar, editor, *European Music 1520-1640*, 356.

¹⁶³ *Ibid*, 359.

Table Six.

Verse 1	Verse 2	Verse 3
Measures 1 – 33	Measures 34 – 48	Measures 48 - 60
D-major ends on PAC	D-major ends on half cadence (HC) that bleeds one beat into next verse	D-major ends on PAC
Cappella I initiates Psalm; all choirs singing at ms. 13; single choirs take turns with solis and voices line up textually enough that all text can be audible at all times. Lots of text repetition.	Chorus I starts verse 2; Cappella II and Chorus II imitate repeated sections of text lead by Chorus I.	While Chorus II begins verse 3, Chorus I joins in and is followed by Cappella II in repetitive texts and imitative melismas.

Verse 4	Verse 5 & 6
Measures 61 – 74	Measures 74 – 113
D-major ends on PAC	D-major ends on PAC
All voices sing “Behold” / “Siehe” (twice) before Cappella I sings the rest of the verse soli.	All voices are together at the beginning of each phrase, but break off into individual, imitative, ornamented parts for the rest of each phrase that do not stray enough to convolute the text, and all end together on a strong I chord that is held by a fermata.

The meter of this piece is in a cut time; and with no marked tempo, the appropriate performable speed seems to be that of an andante moderato, a bit slower than a walking pace. A reoccurring rhythmic motif that Schütz uses quite a few times is the sequence of a dotted quarter note, eighth note, and two quarter notes and is shown in examples 13 and 14.

Example 13. Schütz, *Psalm 128*, Cappella I, m. 9.

der den Her - ren
der den Her - ren
der den Her - ren
der den Her - ren

Example 14. Schütz, *Psalm 128*, Chorus I, from ms. 35-37.

dei - ner Hän - de Ar -
dei - ner Hän - de Ar -
dei - - ner Hän - de Ar -
dei - ner Hän - de Ar -
dei - ner Hän - de Ar -

Example 14 displays the motives occurring individually and even off-beat (third voice). The German text is presented in table seven.

Table Seven.

Wohl dem, der den Herren fürchtet und auf seinen Wegen gehet!
Du wirst dich nähren deiner Hände Arbeit; wohl dir, du hast es gut!
Dein Weib wird sein wie ein fruchtbar' Weinstock um dein Haus herum, deine Kinder wie die Ölzweige um deinen Tisch her.
Siehe, also wird gesegnet der Mann, der den Herren fürchtet!
Der Herr wird dich segnen aus Zion, daß du sehest das Glück Jerusalem dein Leben lang, Und sehest deiner Kinder Kinder; Friede über Israel!

Schütz's Psalm 128 was probably written for a boy's or men's choir. Although the text has the same joyful message as the previous composers, the harshness of the German language creates a dark overtone for the piece. The augmented phrases that are stressed "wohl dem" (blessed is he), "wohl dir" (good for you) in a similar fashion to "wohl dem," and "siehe" (behold), with sustained chords. Example 15 shows a model of this.

Example 15. Schütz, *Psalm 128*, Cappella I, ms. 1-4.

SWV 44

Cantus

Altus

Tenor

Bassus

CAPELLA I

Although all voices sing “*siehe*” together at measures 61-65, Chorus II was selected for the example because it contains the voices that sing an individualistic melisma as shown in example 16.

Example 16. Schütz, *Psalm 128*, Chorus II, ms. 61-64.

The image displays a musical score for six voices, arranged in two groups of three. Each group consists of a soprano, an alto, and a bass line. The lyrics are: "Sie - - he, sie - he...". The notation shows a melisma on the word "he" in the second measure of each line. The music is written in a simple, homophonic style with a clear harmonic structure.

These chords dim the piece, but the aforementioned motive brings light to the message and lightens the mood.

In comparison to Goudimel, whose Psalm settings greatly influenced the substance of the Lutheran chorale, Schütz’s also employed the simple chords to align texts so that the message would be delivered without question. As book ends of this era, the two were more dissimilar than alike. Goudimel had been exploring setting in motet styles and composed for a cappella voices, whereas Schütz was mastering the art of the motet and combining it with other techniques while always using the services of a basso continuo.

While all three of these brilliant men had some of the same influences during this Renaissance era, the diversity in each one of their life experiences are what contributed to

different music being produced from the same texts. These men all chose to set the Psalms in their vernacular because it was quite simply the popular thing to do, especially as the Reformation was transpiring ubiquitously. Although banned from the Church, they also chose to set their Psalms in polyphony because they cared more about the way they felt the Psalms should be heard (even if the text was hard to understand at times) than the rules of the Church. These three gentlemen were considered musical leaders of their era because of their unique styles that set a standard of music composing in their land; while all along, each man experienced international musical influence.

Conclusion

Claude Goudimel, Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, and Heinrich Schütz have certainly contributed to the history of music in transition as leading Renaissance and early Baroque composers. All having set the Psalms in its entirety and it can be assumed that their religion, culture, nationality, and the Reformation itself must have influenced their writing. It was popular in this time to set music to Biblical texts such as the Psalms because the radical process of religion itself was being reformed. These men all chose to set the Psalms in the vernacular because it was the fashionable thing to do. Rebellion against new political leaders who represented a time of economical and religious repression was also an event that may have inspired the exploration of forbidden styles such as polyphony. These particularly exceptional musicians had some of the same influences during this era, but it was the diversity found in each one of their lives that contributed to special music being produced out of the same Scriptural texts.

Having considered these differences, the analyses of their respective styles can be measured more logically. Having compared the styles of these composers, one can see that much more goes into Psalm setting than just generating music to represent the words on a page. Understanding words of the text is crucial; especially as a composer chooses to paint the picture with his music. What is happening in the artists' lives as far as political influence and setbacks affects the standards set upon the music, moreover. Social interactions with musicians of other nationalities could add supplementary embellishments. Economic hardships may have influenced the composers to produce hurriedly something that a patron contributed to or dissuaded an artist from finishing. The composer's personal life and

everything that they experienced could impinge upon the work they produced: this produces the conclusion that the works are based upon the reality that each one of these particular persons, though having read the same Psalms, perceived a distinctive method of setting the words to music.

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Appendix One

Original Psalm 128 tune from the Genevan Psalter.

Beati omnes
qui timent
Dominum

T. D. B. - L. B.



Bienheureux est quiconques sert à Dieu volontiers,
Et ne se lassa onques De suivre ses sentiers.
Du labour que sais faire Vivras commodement,
Et ira ton affaire Bien et heureusement.

Appendix Two

Goudimel, First page of the revised 1557 edition setting of Psalm 128.

Pseaume CXXVIII 29
Bienheureux est quiconques
Beati omnes qui timent Dominum

Première Partie
1^{re} Strophe

Superius
Bien heu-reux est qui-con-ques Sert à Dieu vo-lun-tiers, Sert à Dieu vo-lun-tiers, Sert à Dieu vo-lun-tiers, Sert à Dieu vo-lun-tiers.

Contratenor
Bien heu-reux est qui-con-ques Sert à Dieu vo-lun-tiers, Sert à Dieu vo-lun-tiers. Et

Tenor
Bien heu-reux est qui-con-ques Sert à Dieu vo-lun-tiers, Sert à Dieu vo-lun-tiers. Et

Bassus
Bien heu-reux est qui-con-ques Sert à Dieu vo-lun-tiers, Sert à Dieu vo-lun-tiers. Et

5

vo-lun-tiers, Sert à Dieu vo-lun-tiers. Et

vo-lun-tiers, Sert à Dieu vo-lun-tiers. Et

vo-lun-tiers, Sert à Dieu vo-lun-tiers. Et

vo-lun-tiers, Sert à Dieu vo-lun-tiers. Et

10

Et ne se las-sa onc-ques De sui-vre ses sen-

ne se las-sa onc-ques, Et ne se las-sa onc-ques

Et ne se las-sa onc-ques De sui-vre ses sen-

ne se las-sa onc-ques, Et ne se las-sa onc-ques

Appendix Three

Sweelinck, First page of 1614 setting of Psalm 128 from the Third Book.

Premiere partie

CANTUS
Bienheureux est quiconques Bien - heureux est quicon-ques Sert à Dieu

ALTUS
Bienheureux est quiconques Bien - heureux est quicon-ques

TENOR
Bienheureux est quiconques Bien - heureux est quicon-ques Sert à Dieu

BASSUS
Bienheureux est quiconques Bien - heureux est quicon-ques

5

vo - lon-tiers: Sert à Dieu vo - lon-tiers: Et ne se las - sa

Sert à Dieu vo - lon-tiers: Sert à Dieu vo - lon-tiers: Et ne se las - sa, Et ne se

vo - lon-tiers, vo - lon-tiers: Sert à Dieu vo - lon-tiers: Et ne se las - sa, Et

Sert à Dieu vo - lon-tiers: Sert à Dieu vo - lon-tiers: Et ne se las - sa on -

Appendix Four

Schütz, Psalm 128 from the 1619 setting of the *Psalmen Davids*.

23. Der 128. Psalm
Wohl dem, der den Herren fürchtet*
SWV 44
Heinrich Schütz

CAPELLA I
 Cantus
 Altus
 Tenor
 Bassus

CAPELLA II
 Cantus
 Altus
 Tenor
 Bassus

CHORUS I
 Cantus Cornetto 1
 Quintus Cornetto 2
 Altus Cornetto [3]
 Tenor Cornetto [4]
 Bassus Voce

CHORUS II
 Quintus Violin
 Cantus Voce
 Altus Trombon [1]
 Tenor Trombon [2]
 Basso Trombon [3]

Basso continuo

4 8 #

* Die erste (achtstimmige) Fassung dieser Komposition ist als Nr. 9 (SWV 30) in der vorliegenden Werksammlung enthalten (vgl. Bd. 23, S. 178)
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Appendix Five

Text comparisons between the French and German translations of Psalm 128 as used by
Goudimel/Sweelinck and Schütz:

Bienheureux est quinconques sert à Dieu volontiers

Et ne se lassa onques De suivre ses sentiers

De labeur que sais faire Vivras commodement,

Et ira ton affaire Bien et heureusement.

Wohl dem, der den Herren Fürchtet

Und auf seinen Wegen gehet,

Du wirst dich nähren deiner Hände Arbeit

Wohl, dir, du hast es gut.