

The Lute in the Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century

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*Proceedings of the International
Lute Symposium Utrecht,
30 August 2013*

Edited by

Jan W.J. Burgers, Tim Crawford
and Matthew Spring

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Dedicated to the memory of Louis Peter Grijp
1954-2016

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INTRODUCTION

THE LUTE IN THE NETHERLANDS IN THE 17TH CENTURY

JAN W.J. BURGERS, TIM CRAWFORD
AND MATTHEW SPRING

This book contains the proceedings of the International Lute Symposium ‘The Lute in the Golden Age’, held in Utrecht on Friday 30 August 2013. It was part of an International Lute Festival organised by the Dutch Lute Society in collaboration with the Utrecht Early Music Festival. This event took place from 30 August to 1 September and comprised a host of lute-related activities: concerts, masterclasses, workshops, a summer school, lectures, and the presentation of three books and a double CD. Many of these activities were related to the theme of the symposium: the lute in the 17th-century Netherlands. The same is true of the books and the CD,¹ and of some of the papers that were given at other venues: one by Greet Schamp during the ‘Lute lectures’ on Saturday 31 August and another delivered by Fred Jacobs on the same day in the summer school series of the Early Music Festival. Both are included in the present volume. All the authors have significantly expanded their papers into full-scale book chapters. As the last part of the symposium was devoted to lute sources from the Netherlands, two of the authors who had independently written articles on that subject, François-Pierre Goy and Simon Groot, have graciously agreed to contribute these to the present book; the description

¹ *Nicolas Vallet, Collected works for lute*, facsimile edn. with an introduction by Simon Groot, 3 vols. (Haarlem [2013]); *Joachim van den Hove: Life and Work of a Leiden Lutenist 1567-1620*, ed. Jan W.J. Burgers, 2 vols. and CD ROM (Utrecht 2013; Muziek uit de Republiek, Speciale projecten); Jan W.J. Burgers, *The Lute in the Dutch Golden Age: Musical Culture in the Netherlands 1580-1670* (Amsterdam, 2013; Amsterdam Studies in the Dutch Golden Age); Willem Mook, ‘*Resveillez vous*’: *Nicolaes Vallet, Psalms and music for lute*, double CD (Spaarne Muziekdagen, 2013).

by Jan Burgers, Louis Grijp and John Robinson of a recently discovered Dutch lute source has further been added. Finally, Simon Groot also undertook to rework the talk on the subject of the entrepreneurship of the Dutch lutenists Nicolas Vallet and Joachim van den Hove that he had given at the presentation of the books and CD. With these additions to the original programme of the symposium, the present book offers a broad range of texts on its central theme: the lute in the 17th-century Netherlands.

The choice and scope of this theme requires some elucidation. The chronological terms ‘Golden Age’ and ‘17th century’, and the topographical terms ‘Dutch’ and ‘the Netherlands’ used in the title of this book and in the paragraph above have undergone changes in meaning over time and require some historical contextualization.

The Low Countries, the region roughly corresponding with the present-day Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg, consisted in medieval times of a number of large and small principalities such as Holland, Brabant and Flanders. Gradually these principalities came under the dominion of the Burgundian-Habsburg House, and as a result the Seventeen Provinces of the Netherlands, as the region now was commonly called, evolved in the first half of the 16th century into an administrative and to some extent a cultural entity. This growing unity was broken during the Dutch Revolt, when from 1568 onward religious dissent on the part of a strong Protestant minority led to open war. The situation was exacerbated by the widely felt aversion for the Lord of the Netherlands, King Philip II of Spain, who trampled over the old liberties of the lands and raised heavy taxes. At first, most of the Seventeen Provinces joined the rebellion, but Spanish military successes brought the south back into the royalist and Catholic camp. From 1585 onward the northern seven provinces began to liberate themselves from Spanish control and to form an independent state: the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands. It is this state that evolved into the present-day Kingdom of the Netherlands, and that is designated with the adjective ‘Dutch’. The term ‘Holland’ indicates the western provinces of the Republic, in the 17th century its richest and most important part (colloquially the name is also used for the country as a whole, but this is something best avoided). The term ‘the Netherlands’ in this historical context designates the common entity of the northern and southern parts.

The Southern Netherlands (roughly present-day Belgium and Luxembourg) remained under foreign rule: first by Spain then from 1598 under the Austrian Habsburgs. During the war the two parts of the old Netherlands became increasingly estranged. After the Peace of Westphalia

(1648) tensions subsided somewhat, but the two countries continued to grow apart with an increased religious polarisation between the Calvinists in the North and the Catholics in the South. The former rich cultural life of the southern provinces, especially in the cities of Antwerp and Ghent, never wholly recovered from the war, although in the 17th century the Southern Netherlands returned to a period of relative prosperity, in which musical life flourished in many churches and at the Brussels court of the Archdukes.

It was in the north, however, that the hard-won independence stirred up an unprecedented economic, scientific and cultural flowering. This cultural blossoming lasted for the greater part of the 17th century and is generally known as the 'Golden Age'. It was restricted in the main to a relatively small group of aristocrats and city burghers. The Dutch cities and towns, Amsterdam in particular, grew wealthy and populous thanks to their industries and thriving international trade. In part the money thus earned was channelled into grand houses and the production of luxury goods such as paintings, and into the pleasures of reading, feasting, music making and dancing. This required architects to build the houses, painters to paint the thousands of pictures that decorated the walls of the burghers, authors and printers to meet the demands of the readers, and also musicians to teach the young and to play at parties.

This brings us to the main theme of the symposium and the present volume: the lute in the Dutch Golden Age. In the mind of today's international public the Golden Age is always strongly associated with its painting and, to a lesser extent, its architecture; Rembrandt, Hals and Vermeer are household names all over the world. For educated Dutchmen, the period was also marked by its flowering of literature and poetry, with well-known authors such as Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft, Adriaen Bredero, Constantijn Huygens and Joost van den Vondel. Yet of all the arts, Dutch achievements in music during this time seem to have been almost completely passed over. This is something of a mystery, as musical scenes are depicted in hundreds of famous Dutch paintings of the period. Only in recent decades have musicologists and musicians become aware of the important, even all-pervasive role played by music in Dutch cultural life of the 17th century. Wherever people were together in an informal setting, they were apt to sing and play musical instruments; in this respect, the paintings seem to be depictions of real life. Hundreds of songbooks were printed, mostly just giving the lyrics as these were to be sung to popular tunes everybody knew. We can deduce from the many instrument makers mentioned in the administrative sources of the cities, and from the

inventories of goods and chattels of the deceased and the bankrupt that many people played a musical instrument.

In this period all over Europe the lute was one of the most important musical instruments and it is reasonable to suppose that in the Netherlands things were no different. Certainly Dutch paintings give ample support for this assumption. Yet for the international lute community of modern times the lute in the Netherlands remained something of a blind spot. Up until the 1980s, while there was an awareness of the dozens of 16th-century editions in the Southern Netherlands, first published by Petrus Phalesius in Leuven, and culminating in the books by Emanuel Adriaenssen printed later by the same firm in Antwerp, the general impression was that after that not much of interest happened. That two Dutch lutenists from the beginning of the 17th century, Joachim van den Hove and Nicolas Vallet, had published seven lute books, and that a number of lute manuscripts, one of which is the largest single such book in the world were of Dutch origin, had received comparatively relatively little notice. Editions and studies of Dutch lute music remained relatively rare, as were recordings of the repertoire.

In recent decades this unfavourable situation has rapidly changed for the better. From the second half of the 1980s onwards editions of Dutch lute music began to appear, mostly in facsimile but also critical editions so that today practically all the lute music of the Dutch Golden Age is available for researchers and players. Among the landmark publications are the complete works of Vallet and Van den Hove and the facsimile edition of the Thysius lute book.² These works now provide the materials for a closer study of the lute, the lutenists and lute music in the Dutch Golden Age, which is why the symposium of 2013 was dedicated to that subject.

Like the symposium, this book is divided into three parts. The first, more general section is devoted to the lute in its social and cultural contexts –

² For Vallet see note 1; previously his publications were edited separately in 4 volumes (Utrecht, 1986-92). For Van den Hove see again note 1; facsimile editions of his publications are also available: *Florida* 1601 (Utrecht, 2004); *Delitiae musicae* 1612 (Stuttgart, 2002); *Praeludia testudinis* 1616 (Brussels, 1982). A facsimile edition of the Thysius lute book, *Het Luitboek van Thysius / The Thysius Lute Book*, eds. J.W.J. Burgers, L. P. Grijp, J. H. Robinson, S. Groot, 3 vols. (Leiden and Utrecht, 2009). Facsimile editions of manuscripts written by Van den Hove or closely related to him are the Herold lute book (München, 1991), the Schele lute book (Glinde, 2004), and the Hove-1 lute book in Berlin (Glinde, 2006).

which is not to say that cultural elements are absent from the other parts. The first chapter, by Louis Grijp, whose untimely death prevented him from seeing this book in print, deals with a rather neglected aspect of lute music, namely its religious repertoire, in this case the Calvinist psalms in the Netherlands and elsewhere. There is a general awareness of the many lute settings of religious music, from the earliest surviving pieces from around 1500 up to the last ones from late in the 18th century, but to our modern taste these works seem to have little if any appeal. This was of course different in centuries past for men and women who were often deeply or even passionately devout, especially for those living through savage wars of religion. For lute composers and players before the modern lute revival these settings would often have had a special meaning. It is therefore fitting that a first step is taken to delve into this repertoire; one that will highlight the connections between the lute and other vocal and instrumental music, in which the religious works of course were often the most important in a composer's oeuvre.

In order to place the lute in its social context it is necessary to study not just its music, but above all the archival sources that tell us about lutenists of the past and the way they dealt with the world. This Simon Groot has done in his chapter on the lives of Joachim van den Hove and Nicolas Vallet. Groot shows that life was not easy for these professional musicians, but that they managed to earn a decent living by giving lessons, running dance schools (in Vallet's case) and by playing at weddings, banquets and other parties. Professional careers were sometimes derailed through financial misjudgement or misfortune; Vallet and Van den Hove both went bankrupt at one time or another, and Van den Hove even died in poverty. We know of the existence of many lutenists in the larger Dutch cities and towns, and we may assume that they were likewise able to carve out a reasonable, if perhaps precarious existence from their profession.

In the next chapter, Jan Burgers explores the role of Leiden as a centre of lute music in 17th-century Holland. Leiden was the second largest city in the province. Here more professional lutenists (most of foreign descent), are found than in all the other Dutch towns taken together, Amsterdam included. The probable reason for this is the presence of a university (founded in 1575), one which attracted students from all the Protestant countries of Europe. This international population must have contributed a good deal to the thriving lute culture found in Leiden.

Andreas Schlegel delves into the rich iconographical material of paintings from the Republic and also from the Southern Netherlands. He draws attention to specific problems not acknowledged before, such as the constant copying of paintings; and considers what this practice means for

the accuracy of the depictions of lutes. Combining his iconographic findings with the terminology of written lute sources, he tentatively identifies new regional lute types in the early 17th century in the Netherlands and in France.

The second part of the present volume is devoted to the fascinating person of Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687). During the greater part of his life he held high office serving three consecutive Princes of Orange. In this capacity he played a major role in the politics and the administration of the Republic. Huygens made a number of diplomatic journeys abroad, especially to England and France, during which he met many men and women of culture. He was a passionate lover of literature and music; and until quite recently was remembered mainly as one of the leading Dutch poets of the Golden Age. He was also a lifelong lover of music, playing the lute and several other instruments and composing himself. This musical aspect of his life was already well-known, but has recently received much more attention, thanks also to the new edition of his many letters pertaining to music.³ These documents, together with Huygens's poems, prove to be an inexhaustible source of information about this gentleman-musician.

On the basis of these writings as well as poems from other Dutch authors, Anthony Bailes reconstructs various aspects of Huygens's life as a lutenist. We learn about Huygens's schooling on the instrument (he was mostly bored as a youth, as it turns out), and on what types and sizes of lutes he played. Huygens considered buying a lute from Jacques Gaultier in England, and their correspondence on this transaction is instructive of the way that contemporary connoisseurs judged the quality of an instrument.

Huygens's correspondence with the 'English Gaultier' is explored further in the chapter by Matthew Spring. He presents new archival findings (it is now certain that the Jacques Gaultier died in London, in May 1656), and analyses the direct and indirect contacts between Gaultier and Huygens – the men met in person when Huygens was in England, and they continued to exchange letters on an irregular basis. It was thought that Gaultier visited the Republic in 1630, but this assumption is questioned by Spring; this may have been Ennemond and not Jacques Gaultier. Fred Jacobs analyses Huygens's contacts with French scholars and musicians as documented in the Huygens correspondence. France was of course at the

³ *Driehonderd brieven over muziek van, aan en rond Constantijn Huygens*, ed. Rudolf A. Rasch, 2 vols. (Hilversum, 2008).

time the leading cultural centre of Europe, and it is clear that Huygens was fully aware of this. In his own music, he tried to follow French taste and the newest French fashions as closely as possible. He corresponded with the leading theoretician Marin Mersenne. When he visited France in person he met the adored François Dufaut and attempted to buy Bologna lutes which were in high demand in Paris.

Sadly, of the 800 or so of Huygens's own compositions almost all have disappeared; none of his many works for lute has survived the ravages of time. On the basis of what is left – the *Pathodia sacra et profana*, a volume for voice and lute continuo published in 1647, and one piece for viol solo – as well as later observations of his now lost lute manuscripts and Huygens's own remarks concerning musical taste and preferences in his letters, Jacques Boogaart tries to reconstruct the musical style of Constantijn Huygens as a composer. His tentative conclusion is that Huygens was a gifted melodist, and that his instrumental works probably would have resembled those by Froberger and Dufaut, 'French in style and spirit but also strongly influenced by Italian expressiveness'.

The third and last portion of this book is concerned with lute sources that originated in the Netherlands. As mentioned above most of these are now available in modern publications, though not all have been exhaustively studied to date. The first two decades of the 17th century have yielded a rich harvest of Dutch lute prints and manuscripts, but a later period, roughly the third quarter of the century, is not as barren as it is often perceived to be. It is especially in this later period that new discoveries have been made. Studies of two lute books from the first quarter of the century are included here. François-Pierre Goy shows that four pieces in the Berlin lute manuscript Hove-1 (1615), now conclusively proven to be an autograph of Joachim van den Hove, are in fact not for lute but for *lyra-viol*. Although all of them have Van den Hove's name attached to them, one is in fact a composition by Alfonso Ferrabosco II, making this manuscript the oldest continental source with music for *lyra-viol*. Goy comes to the perhaps surprising conclusion that in many instances pieces for this bowed instrument have up to now been considered as lute works.

Simon Groot analyses the music of Adriaen Valerius's *Nederlandtsche Gedenck-clanck*, posthumously published in 1626, a history of the Dutch Revolt interspersed with poems and songs. The latter are set to well-known melodies, though unusually for the time the melodies for all the songs are given in staff notation. Each song is accompanied by tablatures for lute and cittern, but Groot makes clear that they were not composed as accompaniments to the songs. Most of these lute and cittern

pieces must have been derived from now-lost prints and manuscripts. Valerius thus allows us a glimpse of the large body of manuscript lute music that must once have circulated in the Netherlands.

The last chapters are devoted to lute music from the mid-century and later. First of all, Rudolf Rasch studies the handwriting in five books for lute, theorbo and solo viol that originated in Utrecht in the 1660s. These are the oldest layer of the so-called Goëss tablature manuscripts. On the basis of palaeographical evidence Rasch concludes that the one hand that is found in all five volumes belongs to Johan van Reede, an important Utrecht nobleman and a friend of Constantijn Huygens. Van Reede was probably also the first owner of the books, which after his death must have come into the possession of the Austrian Goëss family, possibly via Van Reede's granddaughter.

Jan Burgers's discoveries concerning the now-obscure French lutenist Fresneau or Dufresneau who lived in Leiden have been complemented by further evidence that the lute manuscript Kraków 40626, in which many of Fresneau's works are found, is largely an autograph collection by this lutenist. Most of the remaining works of Fresneau's relatively small but fine oeuvre (hitherto consisting of 38 pieces for lute and guitar) are found in the Utrecht manuscript Goëss I mentioned above. From the Leiden administrative sources we learn that Johannes Fresneau was married there in 1644, aged 28, and that he died in April 1670.

Greet Schamp has rediscovered a collection of eight long-forgotten tablatures for lute, guitar, harp and cittern in the Ghent University Library. These books probably originated in the Southern Netherlands around the middle of the century. Especially interesting is Hs. 15, a setting for twelve-course lute of a ballet by Balthasar Richard, for a long time a prominent musician at the Brussels court.

Recently an unknown manuscript source of Dutch lute music was found: a small lute book that had been written around 1659 for Andries van Vossen, a wealthy young man from a prominent family, who was destined to make a career in the government of his hometown, Enkhuizen. These Ghent and Enkhuizen manuscripts once again make clear that dozens of similar collections with music for various plucked instruments must once have circulated, of which only fragments have survived.

Taken together, the chapters in this book provide a broad and many-coloured overview of the lute in the 17th-century Netherlands. Most contributions are concerned with the Golden Age in the Dutch Republic, but the Austrian-controlled Southern Netherlands are also included. Collectively the texts bring us some steps further in our understanding of

the lute in its 17th-century social and cultural context, not only in the Netherlands but certainly also elsewhere in Europe. The lute was an instrument for the aristocracy and burghers, and the examples of Huygens and Van Reede show us how it functioned in higher circles, where it was used to ease otherwise often rigidly formal contacts. Focusing on extant Dutch lute books and manuscripts makes it clear how much more there is to be discovered, especially when research findings can be combined with archival research.

These results were made possible through the efforts of many people. First and foremost we must of course thank the speakers at the symposium and the authors of the chapters; it is their expertise and dedication that have made this volume what it is. A heartfelt word of thanks has to go out to those were responsible for the organisation of the symposium: the members of the committee of the Dutch Lute Society who, under the energetic direction of Ciska Mertens, organised the International Lute Festival, together with the staff of the Utrecht Early Music Festival under the direction of Xavier Vandamme, who delivered the opening speech at the International Lute Symposium. The editors also owe a great deal to Christopher Goodwin, who kindly undertook to proofread the entire manuscript and prepare the finished copy, which has in the process gained greatly from his considerable editorial expertise. Last but not least the editors are grateful to Cambridge Scholars Publishing, who have been not only willing to publish this book but also prepared to wait patiently for the copy to arrive.

I.

THE LUTE IN THE DUTCH GOLDEN AGE: THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXTS

PSALMS FOR THE LUTE IN THE DUTCH REPUBLIC AND ELSEWHERE¹

LOUIS PETER GRIJP †

Psalms have a special place in the Dutch lute repertory. The Thysius lute book for example contains a large number of settings of psalm melodies. What is more, half of the printed output of Nicolas Vallet, an important composer of lute music in early 17th-century Amsterdam, consists of psalm settings. Vallet's *21 Psalms* (Amsterdam, 1615) is a musical masterwork, and the *Regia Pietas* (Amsterdam, 1620) with all 150 psalms, forms the crown on his oeuvre. As it is the last major lute book devoted to Calvinist psalms anywhere in the world, it is also a crowning volume in the international genre of psalm settings for the lute.

The aim of this contribution is to underpin this claim for Vallet's psalm book, and to re-echo the special attention paid to him in 2013 with the new series of facsimiles edited by Simon Groot,² and Willem Mook's double CD of both secular and sacred works by Vallet.³ I will place Vallet's two psalm books in both their national and international musical contexts. The national context is that of the Dutch Republic, a Calvinist country in which psalms resounded during congregational singing in the churches and from bells ringing from the towers every hour, a country with carillonneurs such as Jacob van Eyck and organists such as Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, for whom psalms were a daily concern. The international context is that of Calvinist music traditions in France, Germany, Switzerland, and Hungary with their shared monophonic Genevan psalter on whose tunes composers

¹ I am much indebted to John Robinson for his kind help, and deeply impressed by his vast knowledge of the renaissance lute repertoire. I also want to thank Jan Burgers whose help went far beyond what one may expect from an editor.

² *Nicolas Vallet, Collected works for lute*, facsimile edn., ed. S. Groot (Haarlem, 2013), 3 vols. This is a sequel to *The complete works of Nicolaes Vallet in facsimile*, ed. L.P. Grijp with J. Burgers and R. Spencer (Utrecht, 1986-92), 4 vols.

³ *Resveillez vous. Nicolaes Vallet – psalmen en luitmuziek / psalms & music for the lute*, performed by Willem Mook (lute), the Nicolaes Vallet Lute Quartet, and vocalists Tineke Roseboom, Kaspar Kröner, Harry van Berne, Jasper Schweppe, and Jelle Draijer, double CD (Spaarnen, 2013) [http:// www.spaarnemuziek.nl](http://www.spaarnemuziek.nl).

such as Claude Goudimel, Claude le Jeune and Sweelinck based their polyphonic settings, and lutenists such as Adrian le Roy and Nicolas Vallet their lute settings. With these contexts in mind we can better judge the qualities of Vallet's psalm settings.

The Dutch Context

What was the situation in the Dutch Republic when Vallet published his psalm books in the early 17th century? Calvinism was the official religion. This meant that official public offices – burgomaster, alderman, sheriff and so on – were only accessible to members of the Dutch Reformed Church. Church buildings were only used for Calvinist services. Other religions were not altogether forbidden, but they were not allowed to hold public services in official church buildings, only in private churches, that could not be recognized as such from the outside, to avoid offending the Calvinists. This situation was the result of the Dutch Revolt against the Spanish King, who was the legitimate ruler of the Netherlands in the 16th century. The King's persecution of the followers of Protestantism was one of the main reasons for the Revolt, or Eighty Years War as it is sometimes called (1568-1648). When Vallet's lute books were published this war was at its midpoint, though during these years there was a truce (1609-21). Of all Protestants involved in the Revolt, the Calvinists were the most militant. It was they who eventually seized power.

Calvinism was very audibly present in Dutch public spaces. Bell players, such as Jacob van Eyck in Utrecht, played psalm variations from church towers.⁴ In their public performances, organists too played psalm variations. This might appear somewhat confusing as, in the early 17th century, during Calvinist services no organ playing was allowed, not even to support the singing of psalms by the congregation. This singing must have been chaotic, as many people did not know the psalm tunes very well. One solution was to play psalms on the organ before the service, so that the people became accustomed to the tunes by listening to them. This did not prove very effective, and there was a lot of discussion about using the organ for the accompaniment of congregational singing. Constantijn Huygens, no less, wrote a treatise on this matter, *Gebruyck of ongebruyck van 't orgel in de kercken der Vereenighde Nederlanden* (Use or non-use of the organ in the churches of the United Netherlands) in 1641, making a plea for instrumental accompaniment. In the course of the 17th century,

⁴ R. Van Baak Griffioen, *Jacob van Eyck's Der Fluyten Lust-hof (1644-c.1655)* ([Utrecht], 1991), pp.35, 275-95.

more and more cities allowed the use of the organ during services. The singing itself, although now accompanied by the organ, remained monophonic: no polyphonic singing was allowed. So Sweelinck's beautiful psalm motets were not sung in church, at least not during service. The same holds for Vallet's psalm settings for voice and lute: this was music strictly for the home.

The International Context

Concurrent with the first half of the Dutch Eighty Years War were the French Wars of Religion between the Catholics and Protestants (Huguenots) that took place during the years 1562-1698 and which cost millions of lives. One musical reference to the lute from these bloody and cruel confrontations comes from Anne de Bourg, a Calvinist counsellor of the Parliament of Paris who was imprisoned in the Bastille in 1560. Although 'confined in a cage where he suffered all the discomforts imaginable, he rejoiced always and glorified God, now taking up his lute to sing him psalms, now praising him with his voice'.⁵ Going to death singing was a token of great courage and of strong belief in heaven, and a number of Calvinist, Lutheran, Anabaptist, and Catholic martyrs are reported as doing so,⁶ but De Bourg seems to be the only one who accompanied himself on the lute.

The Monophonic Tradition

There is some irony in the reportedly awful quality of congregational psalmody in Dutch churches. John Calvin wanted new melodies for the psalms, instead of the secular melodies that had been used, for instance in the *Souterliedekens* where the psalm texts were translated into the vernacular and fitted to popular secular tunes. Genevan composers such as Louis Bourgeois and Maître Pierre wrote the new, immaculate psalm tunes in what they thought was a very simple way, using only two note values: whole and half notes. But obviously this was not simple enough for Dutch church congregations. In the end, they gave up rhythmical singing and

⁵ Quoted from *Histoire ecclésiastique des églises réformées* after *New Grove*, 'Psalms, metrical', ii: 'The European continent', 2 'France and Switzerland', (ii) 'Polyphonic settings'.

⁶ Dozens of examples of singing martyrs can be found in: L.P. Grijp, 'Zingend de dood in', in *Veelderhande liedekens. Het Nederlandse lied tot 1600*, ed. F. Willaert (Leuven, 1997), pp.118-48.

made all notes equally long – the so-called isorhythmic singing practice. ‘Singing on whole notes’, slowly and loudly, continued to be common practice, up until the 20th century. In 1840 a church musician observed that ‘thousands of countrymen are still of the opinion that the Psalms and Hymns are sung correctly and well and to God’s glory, when the faces of the singers glow with burning red and purple colours and the vaults tremble on their foundations’.⁷

In Vallet’s and Sweelinck’s time church congregations sang the psalms in Dutch, translated from the French. These translations by Petrus Datheen were criticized for their supposedly poor poetic quality. Many well-educated people preferred the original French texts by Claude Marot and Théodore de Bèze, for instance when singing the psalms at home. This may be one of the reasons why Sweelinck wrote his psalm motets to the French texts instead of Datheen’s translations. Vallet also published his *21 Psalms* with French texts. In his *Regia Pietas*, he left the choice to the singer, who could sing them in French, Dutch, German or Latin.

The most important merit of Datheen’s psalm book is that he was the first to complete a Dutch translation of the complete Genevan psalter and to have it published, which he did in 1566. This is only four years after the publication of the complete psalter in French. At this time psalm singing was a popular public activity. We know that in 1566, in the city of Ghent, groups of 200 to 300 people marched through the streets at night, loudly singing psalms. Many of them were adolescents, but also adult men and women were seen singing psalms, arm in arm. They learnt the psalms during field preaching; Petrus Datheen once preached to 15,000 people in the open air, near to the town of Poperinge in West Flanders.⁸

Datheen had followed the famous French psalter of Clément Marot and Théodore de Bèze, including the melodies – the so-called Genevan psalter. The court poet Marot had started his translations of the psalms at the Catholic French court, where they were sung to secular melodies. Calvin, though not very musical himself, acknowledged the importance of congregational singing during service; the use of the vernacular in the church was one of the cornerstones of the Reformation. Calvin therefore persuaded Marot to continue his work on the psalms in Geneva. Marot

⁷ F. van Lieburg, ‘Reforming Dutch Protestant piety 1780-1920’, in *Piety and modernity. The dynamics of religious reform in Northern Europe 1780-1920*, ed. A. Jarlert (Leuven, 2012), pp.157-85, at p.161, after *Het kerklied. Een geschiedenis*, ed. J. Luth, J. Pasveer, J. Smelik (Zoetermeer, 2001), p.251.

⁸ L.P. Grijp, ‘De honger naar psalmen en schriftuurlijke liederen tijdens de reformatie’, in *Een muziekgeschiedenis der Nederlanden*, ed. L.P. Grijp et al. (Amsterdam, 2001), pp.168-73.

translated 50 psalms and the work was completed by the theologist Théodore de Bèze and published in 1562. Together with the monophonic melodies that Calvin commissioned from Genevan musicians such as Louis Bourgeois and Maître Pierre, the Genevan psalter became one of the flagships of Calvinism. Martyrs such as Anne de Bourg and dozens of others died with these psalms on their lips.⁹ Even nowadays the same Genevan psalms are still sung and loved by many thousands of people, not only because of the religious tradition but also for their musical beauty.

Why psalms? As a radical reformer, Calvin believed that only the inspired words of the Bible were suitable for use in worship. Therefore he sought to confine the texts to close translations of the psalms and a few other biblical lyrics, such as the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Canticles of Mary (Magnificat), Simeon (Nunc dimittis), and Zechariah (Benedictus). The Calvinists sang psalms not only in church, but also at home. There they confined themselves at first to psalms, and avoided singing other religious songs, especially to secular melodies in which the old, secular words might be recalled in spite of the new more edifying lyrics. But in the 1620s, shortly after Vallet's and Sweelinck's last psalm settings, Dutch Calvinists such as Dirck Rafaelszoon Camphuysen and Bernardus Busschoff started to write and sing new religious lyrics written to popular tunes.¹⁰ After about 1620 the spell of the psalms seems to have faded.

The Polyphonic Tradition¹¹

When singing psalms at home, Calvinists with musical talent preferred settings for several voices, such as polyphonic motets and chansons. French composers such as Certon, Monable, Bourgeois, Janequin, Jambé de Fer, Ferrier, Goudimel, l'Estocart and Le Jeune provided four- and five part settings. Sometimes they followed the original monophonic psalm melodies very closely, in note-against-note settings, and elsewhere in *contrepoint fleuri*, that is with the cantus firmus in one voice against a more polyphonic texture. But there were also motet-like settings or compositions in which fragments of the psalm melodies occurred in

⁹ Grijp, 'Zingend de dood in'.

¹⁰ D.R. Camphuysen, *Stichtelycke rymen* ([Hoorn], 1624); B. Busschoff, *Nieuwe lof-sangen, en geestelijke liedekens*, c.1620-5. For the latter, see E. Stronks, *Stichten of schitteren* (Houten, 1996), p.25.

¹¹ Most of the overview in this paragraph is based on the relevant articles in the *New Grove Online*, such as 'Psalms, metrical, ii: The European continent', 'Goudimel, Claude', and 'Le Jeune, Claude'.

different voices. Again, all these settings for more than one voice were not to be sung in the church, but only at home.

Claude Goudimel (1514/20-1572) for instance set the psalms in a simple four-part homophonic style, note-against-note, so that the texts could still be easily understood. The psalm melody was usually placed in the tenor voice, somewhat hidden under the soprano and alto lines. The Parisian publishers Adrian le Roy and Pierre Ballard published a first edition with 83 such psalm settings in 1562, the same year that the entire monophonic Genevan psalter for the first time became available in print. Goudimel hurried to complete the work, and in 1564 the entire psalter appeared, in the customary four partbooks, that is, with each voice part having its own separate book. These simple polyphonic (or rather homophonic) settings became very popular and were also published in other languages, including Dutch (translated by Petrus Datheen, Leiden 1620) and German (translated by Ambrosius Lobwasser, Leipzig, 1573 and hundreds of later editions). But Goudimel was not yet finished with psalm melodies. He began a new series of settings, this time in a more elaborate, polyphonic style. This second series appeared in 1568 under exactly the same title as the previous one: *Les cent cinquante pseumes de David, nouvellement mis en musique à quatre parties* (The hundred-and-fifty psalms of David, newly set to music in four parts). Goudimel died in Lyons in the days following the infamous St Bartholomew's night or Parisian Blood Wedding of 1572, in which thousands of Calvinists were killed.

The most famous French composer who set Genevan psalms was Claude Le Jeune (1528/30-1600). He served as *maître des enfants* ([music] master of the children) at the court of François, Duke of Anjou, brother of King Henry III. Because Le Jeune had signed a confession of faith hostile to the Catholic League, things became too dangerous for him in Paris when in 1590 the city was besieged by the Protestant prince Henry of Navarre and he decided to flee. But Le Jeune was detained at the city gate, and the music manuscripts he had with him would have been tossed into the fire, had not his Catholic colleague and friend Jacques Mauduit taken a stand for him. Mauduit convinced the officer on duty that there was nothing heretical about the music. In 1596, Le Jeune was back in Paris and even named *maistre compositeur ordinaire de la musique de nostre chambre* (master composer in ordinary of our chamber music) to Henry of Navarre, now King Henry IV, who had in the meantime converted to Catholicism.

Le Jeune set the whole psalter twice: once in three parts, in virtuosic counterpoint, and once in simple note-against-note settings, in four and

five parts, comparable to those by Goudimel. These simple settings became much loved by Calvinists in the 17th century, including those in the Dutch Republic. They appeared in Dutch translations in Amsterdam (1629 and 1633) and in Schiedam (1665).¹²

After Claude Le Jeune's death in 1600, almost no polyphonic settings of the Genevan psalter were composed or published in France, where Calvinist musicians with a Catholic polyphonic training were dying out. The torch passed to Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck (1562-1621), organist of the Oude Kerk (Old Church) in Amsterdam. This city had gone over to the Protestant side in May 1578, when Sweelinck was about 16 years old. Sweelinck also set the entire Genevan psalter for several voices. It became a lifetime's work, because he composed extended polyphonic settings for four, five, six, seven, or eight voices, often including several stanzas. The music appeared in four books, published between 1606 and 1621. In using the French versifications of Marot and De Bèze Sweelinck was choosing to link into the international tradition for these works. I have already mentioned the problems connected with the unsatisfying Dutch translations by Datheen. Moreover Dutch-language polyphony was a poor genre with a small market. Nonetheless, other composers did set the psalter in Dutch, such as David Janszoon Padbrué of Amsterdam (1601), Cornelis van Schoonhoven of Delft (1624) and Lucas van Lenninck of Deventer (1649). Almost all this music has been lost.

The Lute Settings: French Publications

There are many lute settings of Calvinist psalms, just as there are many lute settings of other religious repertoire, whether Catholic or Protestant. The first printed psalms in tablature appear around 1550 in books by Francesco Bianchini (for the lute, published in Lyons) and Simon Gorlier (for four-course guitar, in Paris): see the Appendix below, which gives an overview of the lute sources with Genevan psalm settings, both printed and in manuscript. While these early tablature books contained a few psalm settings amidst secular songs and dances, in 1552 the lutenist, composer and music publisher Adrian le Roy devoted a whole book to lute psalms: *Tiers livre de tabulature de luth, contenant vingt & un Pseaulmes*. The 21 settings are for soprano voice and lute. The voice sings the cantus

¹² Rudolf Rasch, *Geschiedenis van de Muziek in de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden 1572-1795* Hoofdstuk Acht: De Kerken, i: Reformatorische richtingen, p.11, downloadable (Mijn Werk op Internet, Deel Een) at <http://www.let.uu.nl/~Rudolf.Rasch/personal/Republiek/Republiek08-Kerken1.pdf>.

firmus, which is doubled by the top voice of the lute part, so that the settings can also be played as instrumental pieces. A different technique is employed in Guillaume Morlaye's *Premier livre de psalmes, mis en musique par maistre Pierre Certon [...] reduitz en tablature de leut*, 1554, which contains lute settings of 12 psalms and the Cantic of Simeon set for four voices by Pierre Certon (Fig. 1).

The image shows a page from a lute book with two systems of music. Each system consists of a vocal line and a lute intabulation. The vocal line is written on a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are written below the vocal line. The lute intabulation is written on a six-line staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. It uses letters (a, b, c, d, e, f) to represent fret positions on the strings. The first system of music is for the first verse, and the second system is for the second verse. The page number 8 is in the top right corner.

La voix, a sur la premiere. Pseaulme II. Quare fremuerunt gentes. 8

Ourquoy font bruit & fassemblent les gens? Quel lefo-

lie à murmu rer les me ne? Pourquoi font tant les

Fig. 1. Morlaye 1554, f.8r: *Pseaulme II. Quare fremuerunt gentes.* / *La voix, a sur la premiere.* Psalm 2; the psalm melody is in the tenor of the lute intabulation, which represents Morlaye's altus, tenor and bass. On the vocal staff the superius of Morlaye's setting à 4; it starts with the tablature letter *a* on the first string.

Again the psalms are arranged for voice and lute, but now the voice sings the superius part of Certon's setting, and the lower voices are played on the lute, including the tenor in which Certon had laid down the psalm melody. This tends to mean that in Morlaye's settings the psalm melody does not come out very clearly.

Another important edition of lute psalms seems to have been published by le Roy and Ballard in 1562: *Livre de Tablature sur le luth par Adrian le Roy d'Octante Trois pseumes de David [...] composés à quatre parties par Cl. Goudimel* (i.e. 83 psalms set for four voices by Goudimel, arranged for the lute by Adrian le Roy). At least this is the title as it is

given in bibliographies;¹³ the book itself has been lost. The title is intriguing enough, because we know that in the same year 1562 Le Roy and Ballard also published 83 psalm settings in four parts by Goudimel, only the bass part of which has been preserved. This suggests that Le Roy must have been working simultaneously on the lute arrangements of Goudimel's vocal originals that he was preparing for print. It shows Le Roy's eagerness to be up to date with psalms for the lute. We can only speculate on the layout of the book, with or without a vocal part to go with the tablature.

Five years later, in 1567, Le Roy published the complete psalter for lute. This edition we do have, or to be more precise: the title page is in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris:

Les Pseaumes de David, composez en musique à quatre parties, par Cl. Goudimel. Nouvellement mis en tablature sur le leut par Adrian Le Roy. A Paris. Par Adrian Le Roy & Robert Ballard, Imprimeurs du Roy. 1567. Avec privilege de sa majesté.

(The psalms of David, set to music for four voices by Cl. Goudimel, recently put in tablature on the lute by Adrian le Roy, in Paris. [Published] by Adrian le Roy & Robert Ballard, printers to the King. 1567. With privilege of His Majesty.)

The rest of the book, from p.20 on, is in the Conservatoire National de Région de Rueil-Malmaison, in the western suburbs of Paris. It is the subject of a thorough dissertation by Jean Michel Noailly.¹⁴ The psalm tune is again in the top part, as it was in Le Roy's 21 psalms of 1552, but now the vocal part has been left out, probably to save space.

Le Roy's 150 psalms for lute of 1567 followed rather closely upon the publication of Goudimel's four-part setting of the complete psalter in 1564, again published by Le Roy and Ballard. This publication marks the end of a period of rapid exploration and exploitation of the polyphonic and instrumental possibilities of the Genevan psalter. After 1567, it would be 45 years before another complete psalter for the lute would see the light of day. However, this publication, *Cythara sacra* by Matthias Reyman (Cologne 1613), belonged to a German tradition, as we will see below.

¹³ E.g. H.M. Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600: A Bibliography* (Cambridge MA, 1965), [1562]; P. Pidoux, *Le psautier Huguenot du XVI^e siècle* (Basel, 1962) ii, p.137 (no.62/V); Noailly 1988 (see next footnote), ii, p.80 (no.66).

¹⁴ J.M. Noailly, *Claude Goudimel, Adrian le Roy et les C.L. pseaumes, Paris, 1562-1567* (diss. Université de St Etienne, 1988), 2 vols.

Apart from Le Roy's lute arrangements, the instrumental exploration of the Genevan psalter included arrangements for four-course guitar; such as *Le troysiesme livre* by Simon Gorlier (1551) mentioned above, and Gregoire Brayssing's *Quart livre de tabulature de guiterre* (1553) with a handful of psalms among the fantasies and chansons. Adrian le Roy's *Second livre de cistre* (1564) begins with half a dozen psalm arrangements for cittern, followed by over 30 dances. Outside Paris, A.F. Paladin published a *Tablature de luth, ou sont contenus plusieurs psalmes & chansons spirituelles* (Lyon 1562). This book has been lost but according to the title contained an exclusively religious repertoire.

French and Dutch Manuscripts

In the University Library of Uppsala two French lute manuscripts are preserved each containing a single psalm setting amidst other repertoire (Uppsala 76b, c.1570-90, and Uppsala 412, c.late 16th century). A third French manuscript (Uppsala 87, c.1560-70) includes nine psalms and The Articles of Faith, based on the four-part vocal settings of Pierre Certon (1555).

Dutch settings of psalms and canticles can be found in manuscripts too, most of them in the famous Thysius lute book, written by a Leiden student who would later become a Calvinist minister: Adriaen Joriszoon Smout (1578/79-1646). For a full description of its contents I refer the reader to the facsimile edition published in 2008 with its detailed lists of pieces, cognates and concordances.¹⁵ Among all kinds of other music – 'serious' dance forms, intabulations of polyphonic chansons, *villanelle*, madrigals, motets, merry dances and song tunes – at the heart of the manuscript (ff.233v-315v) there is a section with an impressive number of psalm arrangements of all kinds. The core of this section is a numerical series of psalm settings, though sometimes skipping one or more psalms in their order. They were written in the earliest phase of copying (called 'A' by the editors) in a characteristic style, probably arranged by a single, anonymous lute master (Fig. 2).

¹⁵ *Het Luitboek van Thysius / The Thysius Lute Book, facsimile edition of Leiden, Bibliotheca Thysiana 1666*, Muziek uit de Republiek / Music from the Dutch Republic, Special projects ii, with introduction J.W.J. Burgers, L.P. Grijp, concordances L.P. Grijp, S. Groot, J.H. Robinson, (Leiden and Utrecht, 2009), 3 vols.

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Handwritten musical score for Psalms 116 and 74. The score is written on five staves. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The music is written in a lute tablature style, with letters (a, b, c, d, e, f, g) placed on the lines of the staff. Above the staff, there are various lute-specific notations, including '1', 'P', 'B', and '1 P B'. The score is divided into measures by vertical bar lines. The first four staves contain the main melody, while the fifth staff is a continuation or a different part of the piece. Below the main score, there are four empty staves, suggesting a continuation of the piece or a separate section.

Fig. 2. Leiden 1666 (the Thysius lute book), f.281r: *Psal[m] 116. 74.* Psalms 116 and 74 are sung to the same melody.