

A Model for Engaging Psalms in Liturgical and Recreational Settings: A History-Based  
Account in Support of Transcribing Claude Goudimel's Homorhythmic Harmonization of  
Genevan Psalter Melodies

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### Authorization to Submit Thesis

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### **Abstract**

In this thesis, I will offer three transcriptions from Claude Goudimel's (1514-1572) *Les pseumes mis en rime Françoise par Clement Marot et Theodore de Beza, mis en musique à quarte parties par Claude Goudimel* (The Psalms Set in French Meter by Clement Marot and Theodore Beza, Put in Four Part Harmony by Claude Goudimel) alongside a historically informed account of the work in order to address a gap within the scholarship dedicated to Protestant Christian music. I have designed this study to expand the field of Protestant sacred music by providing a new approach to the modern transcriptions of Claude Goudimel's aforementioned work, also known as the Genevan or Huguenot Psalter. I offer these transcriptions in the spirit of inspiring further present-day appreciation for this masterwork. Along with providing a new approach to the transcription of the harmonizations, this thesis demonstrates how an historical interpretation of Goudimel's rendering of the Geneva Psalter provides further meaning to liturgical and recreational performers and audiences. This thesis stands as guiding example for future efforts in transcribing and a source for liturgical musical directors to follow.

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### **Dedication**

My dear wife Rachel has been an incredible helpmeet in my musical studies since our marriage. She continually encourages and trusts me as I set out on various musical adventures.

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## Introduction

Prolific use of psalms from *Les pseumes mis en rime Françoise par Clement Marot et Theodore de Beza* (The Psalms Set in French Meter by Clement Marot and Theodore Beza) by Protestants in songbooks has led to various versions that deviate from the original.<sup>1</sup> The editors of Christian songbooks naturally adapt repertoire to meet their practical needs for performance, including alterations to melody, harmony, and rhythm. Moreover, present-day church musicians usually have not studied the historical and musical context of the Genevan Psalter, as the work is commonly known. Since Christian songbooks are usually amalgamations of a variety of sources, the relevance of a full and accessible English-language version of the Psalter may not be clear. However, greater availability of the Genevan Psalter as harmonized by Claude Goudimel (1510-1572) would enhance present Christian singing experiences. The present challenge in meeting this need is finding a transcribed edition of the work that features the music and text in a contemporary presentation. In an article on the Genevan Psalter, G. R. Woodward notes that a complete set of Goudimel's harmonization was lacking in his day. Woodward ends the article with a letter to an imaginary scholar with the ability to produce an accurate, accessible edition of Goudimel's work. He even imagines a hypothetical correspondent who grieves over the inaccessibility of Goudimel's harmonies. He writes,

Dear Mr. Lecturer, here is a cheque to defray the expense of printing at the Clarendon Press *all* Goudimel's harmonies; being Palestrina's and Orlando di Lasso's Master, he is worthy of reproduction. Give the first stanza at least in French, with English

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<sup>1</sup> Songbooks that draw from the Genevan Psalter are the Dutch Psalter (*Souterliedekens* "Psalter Songs," 1540), Strasbourg Song Book (1541), Psalter Hymnal (Christian Reformed Church, 1934), Book of Praise (Canadian Reformed Church, 1961), Trinity Hymnal (1961) The Book of Psalms for Singing (1973), Arc en Ciel (1994), and New Genevan Psalter (2015).



translation, if only in nonsense verse, to show exactly how the words should tally with the music. As a favour, pray edit the book for me yourself, but let Dr. Chas. Wood, or Sir Hubert Parry, see that the settings are correctly given. I am sick of 'the Church's one,' and of the prosy, the commonplace common-measure, words that I hear everywhere – poor, weak melodies, with sweet, sickly, sentimental harmonies, and unecclesiastical progressions.<sup>2</sup>

The goal of this thesis is to provide the edition of Goudimel's Genevan melodies for which Woodward yearned. From the private and solemn traditions of medieval plainchant to today's high-spirited congregational singing in Evangelical tent revivals, the practice of singing to glorify scripture and text creates focus and unity among observers of Christian faith. This tradition, expressing belief, continues to accompany religious practices.

Through times of both change and conflict, the ability of musicians to adapt music to the resources of the time has been a feature of changing times in the Christian faith. Supporting this claim of song's place within religious observance, several principal historic sources concerning devotional practice turn to the practice of congregational singing.

As far back as Christianity's first century, the Roman magistrate Pliny the Younger (Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus, 61-112) attested to the prominence of song outside of the 66 books of the Old and New Testament Bible. While writing to one of his advisors, Pliny the Younger stated, "...they usually met before light on an appointed day to utter in turn songs to Christ as to God..."<sup>3</sup> In the fifth century, Church Father John Chrysostom (347-407) wrote the directive, "The grace of the Holy Ghost hath so ordered [that Psalms of David] should be recited and sung night and day." In a 2006 article for *Theology Today*, Robin A. Leaver,

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<sup>2</sup> G. R. Woodward, "The Genevan Psalter of 1562; Set in Four-Part Harmony by Claude Goudimel, in 1565," *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 44 (1918), 92.

<sup>3</sup> "Letters, Book 10, No. 96," *C. Plini Caecili Secundi Epistularum Libri Novem Epistularum ad Traianum Liber Panegyricus*, trans. Mauritius Schuster (Leipzig: B.G. Teubneri, 1933), 363.

professor emeritus of Westminster Choir College, notes that Lutheran theologians and musicians revered the concept of *viva vox evangelii* (that music is the ‘living voice of the gospel’).<sup>4</sup> The importance of group singing has been vital to Christian worship from the time of the early church until the present day. This is the case not only for Protestant Christianity, but present-day Protestant Christian worship in America.

There also exists a growth in the proliferation of studies, philosophies, and materials intended to reclaim the power of the early years and accomplishments of the Protestant Reformation. In *Grace Worth Fighting For* (2019), theologian Daniel Hyde challenges the common complaint that adherents to Reformed doctrine are needlessly dogmatic and quarrelsome about congregational worship. Hyde asserts that the events of the Synod of Dort are chiefly memorable for their observance of the principles of catholicity. Maintaining that contention then ought to encourage readers to “recapture and retrieve the riches of God’s grace so that we’re built up,” because the work of the past can offer a source of strength for the current generation of Protestant Christians.<sup>5</sup>

In the 2020 article “The Contested Legacy of Singing God’s Inspired Songs in the Reformed Churches in South Africa: The Regulating Role of the Word from Dordrecht to Totius and into the Present,” Simon N. Jooste and Johannes C. Potgieter discuss liturgical changes within the Reformed Churches in South Africa. By reviewing recent musical discussions that the churches have faced, it is evident that the basis for conclusions within this

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<sup>4</sup> Robin A. Leaver, “Motive and Motif in the Church Music of Johann Sebastian Bach,” *Theology Today* 63, no. 1 (2006), 39.

<sup>5</sup> Daniel R. Hyde, *Grace Worth Fighting For: Recapturing the Vision of God’s Grace in the Canons of Dort* (Leesburg: The Davenant Press 2019), viii.

denomination uphold *semper reformanda* (ever-reforming) principles.<sup>6</sup> While scholars of Christianity ascribe different meanings to this Latin expression, Jodocus van Lodenstein's (1620-1677) use of it as a call for the church to be purified in its actions and doctrines in his work *Beschouwinge van Zion* (Contemplation of Zion) from 1674 stands as a popular example.<sup>7</sup> The Reformed Churches in South Africa activities represent numerous other groups seeking change within their liturgical services. The function and form of music for public worship is important to the discussion of reform in present day Protestant churches and scholarship.

Regardless of a "wider-spread adversary," the Protestant founders' efforts still hold true today. An example of sixteenth-century music still in liturgical use is the *Les pseumes mis en rime Françoise par Clement Marot et Theodore de Beza* (The Psalms Set in French Meter by Clement Marot and Theodore Beza). However, most audiences know the 1562 songbook by its two shorter names. It may be referred to as the Genevan Psalter because of its prominent place in the Swiss city or the Huguenot Psalter because of its strong ties to the Huguenot people (French Protestant Christians). An example from this work is the music to the "Doxology" whose words are:

Praise God from whom all blessings flow  
 Praise Him all creatures here below  
 Praise Him above ye heavenly host  
 Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

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<sup>6</sup> Simon N. Jooste and Johannes C. Potgieter, "The Contested Legacy of Singing God's Inspired Songs in the Reformed Churches in South Africa: The Regulating Role of the Word from Dordrecht to Totius and into the Present," *In die Skriflig* 54, no. 2 (2020), 11.

<sup>7</sup> Wim A. Dreyer, "Calvin, Van Lodenstein and Barth: Three Perspectives on the Necessity of Church Reformation," *Hervormde Teologiese Studies* 73, no. 5 (2017), 62.

The melodies and text from the Genevan Psalter, especially the later harmonization given by French composer Claude Goudimel have appeared in Protestant liturgical settings since its initial composition; however, its prolific use has led to various changes from its original version and typically its full context remains unknown to partitioners. In addition, there remain gaps in the area of formal scholarship as well. I have transcribed Goudimel's harmonization of the Genevan Psalter with the aim of making Reformation music more accessible to students of Protestant sacred music. The new edition offers a version of Claude Goudimel's Psalm settings that meets the needs of twenty-first century notation and text practices while maintaining the composer's original pitches and rhythms.

To understand the context and messages of Goudimel's work, this thesis first offers an account of the early Protestant history under which French Protestantism emerged. Next, for the purpose of understanding Goudimel's relationship with Protestantism, an exploration of the French Huguenot movement will be provided. Goudimel's choice of psalms are important to worship practices of the time, because they have texts and melodic material that would be familiar to his contemporaries. This section also includes an account of the Genevan Psalter's genesis. I will explain Goudimel's ideals while providing the groundwork that supports Goudimel's musical renderings. The final phase in this multilateral design singles out three of the psalm settings to represent the salient musical features throughout the entire collection. In this section, I will describe how Goudimel's treatment of the harmony communicates his intimate knowledge of the text at hand. Together, while contributing to a body of work dedicated to a reawakening of tradition to meet contemporary standards in the practice of singing the psalms, this thesis stands as the initial step in what is to become an entire collected edition of Goudimel's Psalter, serving twenty-first century devotional practices.

## CHAPTER 1: BACKGROUND OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION

### Introduction

The instigators of the Protestant Reformation wanted to address corrupt practices in the Christian church. Like most events in history, there is not one precise moment when the movement begins. The movement gained momentum in the sixteenth century, but the political and religious discontent began long before this time. The following chapter discusses historical circumstances of the rise of Protestantism from the early Christian church (c. first and fourth century) to the Renaissance (c. fourteenth to seventeenth century). This narrative will provide a broad outline of the historical context for Goudimel's work related to Christian rites.

### Persecution and Controversy in the Early Christian Church

The dynamic of Western Christianity changed as the Western Roman Empire declined. Some scholars generalize the end of the explicit Roman government with the surrender of its last emperor Romulus Augustus (c. 460-476).<sup>8</sup> Long-standing political division, government corruption, slavery, and the spread of Christianity caused the political downfall of the Western Roman Empire.

Christianity's rise helped shape the development of the empire. Growth in the Christian church was often viewed as a threat to current Greco-Roman customs by political leaders. Ranging levels of persecution from political leaders confronted Christians in order to suppress their influence and cultural advancement. The hardships faced by early Roman

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<sup>8</sup> Alister E. McGrath, *Christian History: An Introduction* (New York: Wiley, 2012), 298r.

Christians created internal controversies within the early Christian church. The efforts to break down Christian practice drew some Christian congregants to participate in various forms of syncretism in order to achieve a sense of stability within their daily life instead of facing embargos or death. Once persecution ended, the church had to respond to those who parted with the faith. One reaction sparked a faction that would impact the development of Christian belief and practice addressed in the Protestant Reformation.

In 311, the same year that the Edict of Toleration denounced religious persecution, Caecilian was ordained the Bishop of Carthage. Contemporaries of Caecilian believed he was unfit to serve in a leadership office because he lapsed under persecution. A sect of the Christian faith led by Donatus Magnus (Donatus of Casae Nigrae, d. 355) did not accept the authority of the ordained bishop, because his brief apostasy would always taint the religious operations that he performed. Donatus' and his followers' disapproval did not dissipate easily and led to a split between them and the Christian church.<sup>9</sup> The Donatist's dissension continued for decades until Augustine of Hippo (*Aurelius Augustinus Hipponensis*, 354-430) opposed the schism. In contrast to the Donatist view, Augustine affirmed the validity of Church sacraments despite the religious failings of the priest (*ex opere operato*/from the work performed). After trying to persuade the Donatist church to abandon their uncompromising views, Augustine drew the power of the now Christian Roman government to suppress the sect in 390 with the aim of greater peace within the church.<sup>10</sup> A lasting impact of the Donatist controversy was the theological discussion of what determined a 'true church.'

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<sup>9</sup> Jesse A. Hoover, *The Donatist Church in an Apocalyptic Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 1.

<sup>10</sup> McGrath, *Christian History*, 297p.

This early example provides a framework for understanding internal Christian controversies during the third and fourth century. One consequence of this event is the slow rise of vernacularism. Conflict between Church leaders call for laity to participate in more judgements on what is fitting for their religious practices. Claude Goudimel's harmonic adornments of Christian psalmody fits within this ideal.

### **The Avignon Papacy**

The events leading up to and following the Avignon Papacy, the period between 1309 and 1377 when the papal see temporarily relocated from Rome to Avignon, fostered disillusionment in strict church governance by immoral leaders. Testing and criticizing church leaders grew to be one of the leading interests during the Protestant Reformation. Discussing this period will further create a context for the Protestant Reformation in which Goudimel's Psalter was created.

The involvement of the Catholic Church in civil politics often damaged the credibility of their ministry. The French monarch Philip IV (1268-1314) summoned a conclave to address the church's uneasy state. French bishop Clement V was selected as Pope. After his coronation Clement V did not move back to Rome, and this created precedence for the entire papal court to move to Avignon in 1309. The next seven popes ruled from Avignon instead of Rome. The change in location weakened the structure of the papacy and its unhealthy relationship with France in the time leading up to the Hundred Years' War. The simultaneous rule of three popes at one time diminished the idea that The Pope was a unifying Christian

leader in Western Europe.<sup>11</sup> The intervention of the Holy Roman Emperor, Sigismund of Luxembourg (1368-1437), ended the conflict.

The Holy Roman Emperor requested the pope in Pisa to call an ecclesiastical council. One of the goals was to end the thrice schism. In response, the Council of Constance assembled from 1414-1418. The gathering was successful in ending the papal divide after each region represented agreed to ordain Martin V (1369-1431). The session in Constance was in part successful because of the initiative to grant more authority to council decrees. This effort to centralize the power of the Catholic church to a smaller source would soon lead to new perspectives on ecclesiastical infallibility.<sup>12</sup> With resulting breaks and relocations whereby conflict ranges beyond “degree” and into “kind” and, with a growing desire to create inclusivity rather than exclusivity, within what might be seen as a form of geographical cure mentality, a point was reached whereby indoctrinated changes would become the basis for a number of critical Protestant reforms establishing new ecclesiastical tastes and reverences that would shape Calvin’s psalms and Goudimel’s harmonic elaborations.

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<sup>11</sup> McGrath, *Christian History*, 6g.

<sup>12</sup> Ullmann, *A Short History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages*, 198.



## CHAPTER 2: REFORMATION AND HUMANISM

### Pioneering Protestant Reformers

John Wycliffe (1320-1384), Jan Hus (1372-1415), and Martin Luther (1483-1546) were three of the most important figures in the Protestant Reformation. Luther is often generalized as the reformer of the reformers, and his announcement of his *Disputatio pro declaratione virtutis indulgentiarum* (Disputation on the Power and Efficacy of Indulgences) commonly known as the “Ninety-Five Theses” in 1517 typically marks the beginning of the Protestant Reformation. In 1520, Luther also published a treatise called *De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae, praeludium Martini Lutheri* (The Babylonian Captivity of the Church, prelude Martin Luther) mostly identified as “The Babylonian Captivity of the Church” further ignited controversy in Europe. The latter treaty likened the Roman church the pagan nation of Babylon. Luther most criticizes the use of sacraments and ecclesiastical governance in this work. While Martin Luther’s actions brought about quick change, he was not the first to protest Catholic doctrine. One of his predecessors was John Wycliffe.

Wycliffe was a theologian whose intellectual framework was heavily influenced by scholasticism, a systematic and scientific approach to inquiry. The largest legacy left by the British theologian was his translation of the New Testament into English.<sup>13</sup> The desire to read the New Testament in the vernacular led to the formation of a group of Wycliffe-inspired followers, the Lollards. This group emphasized the memorization and propagation of Biblical texts above common religious texts in the Middle Ages.<sup>14</sup> This practice was highly

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<sup>13</sup> McGrath, *Christian History*, 61.

<sup>14</sup> Fiona Somerset, *Feeling Like Saints: Lollard Writings after Wyclif* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), 8.

controversial in the fourteenth century because it violated church doctrine on when and how laity could interact with the Bible. In an effort to maintain the holiness of the Church's Scripture, they restricted its use. The idea of Scriptural supremacy in the day-to-day lives of congregants would later become central to the reformers who worked with the Genevan Psalter. Wycliffe responds to these strict practices in the following statement from his *Trialogus* (Three Part Discussion):

I am pleased again with the acute and lucid explanation of your sentiments, and in my opinion, the truth of Scripture is of infinitely greater authority than that of any person now living, or of any community that could be named; so that if there had been a hundred popes, and all the friars had been turned into cardinals, no concession ought to have been made to their opinion in a matter of faith, save in so far as they rest upon Scripture.<sup>15</sup>

The idea of Scriptural supremacy in the day-to-day lives of congregants would later become central to the reformers who worked with the Genevan Psalter. Since the Psalms are a part of God's Divine Word, they are a viable option for daily use in Protestant life. Bohemian Jan Hus also prorogated this belief.<sup>16</sup>

Hus challenged the Catholic Church's hierarchy by advocating for a more limited form of polity. The Czech theologian was not an anarchist; instead, Hus wished to see purity in the Church. In an address to the people of Krumlov, Hus declared that congregations should resist orders from emperors or bishops if they contradict the commands of God.<sup>17</sup> Hus drew his perspectives from the Book of Acts and the writings of St. Augustine. Hus's *De*

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<sup>15</sup> Johann Loserth, *Wiclif and Hus*, trans. by M. J. Evans (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1884), 147.

<sup>16</sup> Loserth, *Wiclif and Hus*, 20.

<sup>17</sup> Andrew Bradstock and Christopher Rowland, *Radical Christian Writings: A Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002) 53.

*Ecclesia* (Of the Church, 1413) criticized current church governance and offered a renewed approach to the system. The soon-to-be heretic challenged the Pope's primacy as the head of the church and powers held by clergy. Hus stands as another example of one who challenges papal authority, and this would be the basis for theological and ritual reform in the coming decades especially exhibited by the Huguenots.

Luther, Wycliffe, and Hus represent individuals whose ideas helped fuel the coming Protestant Reformation. Each theologian's beliefs may have varied, but their core concerns found sympathies beyond themselves. Wycliffe emphasizes the importance of sacred texts in the vernacular, and reliance on Biblical authority above all. A summary of Jan Hus illustrates concepts that had a part in weakening contemporary ecclesiastical structures. Hus's execution and the nationalistic movement which followed only strengthened his influence. The Catholic Church would face more opponents. Increased religious and nationalistic fervor against the old order and disunity within the church would make it harder to maintain unity. In this context, Huguenot worship and musical practices rose. While development within Christianity heralded the need for reform, influences outside the church also incited the spirit of change championed in the sixteenth century.

### **Humanism and the Printing Press**

The desire to establish knowledge of truth beyond papal decrees parallel humanist intellectual pursuits. Humanists sought to trace ideas back to their place of origin.<sup>18</sup> Theologians studying humanist philosophy applied this way of thinking in their religious

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<sup>18</sup> Chiara Bertoglio, *Reforming Music: Music and Religious Reformations in the Sixteenth Century* (Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2017), 10.

ideologies. Understanding the humanist movement provides a fuller context for the Protestant Reformation, and a context for Goudimel's work.

The Dutch humanist philosopher Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536) continued to debunk anachronistic scholarship and emphasized the importance of Biblical languages such as Greek and Hebrew. Erasmus's translation of the New Testament influenced the movement towards questioning the legitimacy of Catholic documents.<sup>19</sup> This practice was politically dangerous and can be seen as contesting the validity and power of the church's jurisdiction. Vernacular translations of religious texts were controversial and became more so when the French translations in the Genevan Psalter appeared in the middle of the sixteenth century. The printing press made it possible for translators and poets to disseminate their vernacular works, as Erasmus had.<sup>20</sup>

Before this invention, recording and disseminating information was an expensive and long process. The ability to disseminate printed material helped new ideas to reach new audiences.<sup>21</sup> The printing industry was still partly subject to Catholic authorities. Copyists had to obtain papal privilege for their works. As Protestantism rose, so too did networks for distribution of Protestant literature.

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<sup>19</sup> McGrath, *Christian History*, 5e.

<sup>20</sup> Richard G. Cole, "Reformation Printers: Unsung Heroes," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 15, no. 3 (1984), 324.

<sup>21</sup> Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 22.

## CHAPTER 3 FRENCH PROTESTANTISM: THE HUGUENOT LEGACY

### Introduction

This chapter will address the places, people, ideas, and works closely associated with Goudimel. Consideration will be given to sixteenth-century French politics, the religious activity of the Huguenot people, and key figures in French Protestantism. This chapter will provide a political, social, and religious context for Goudimel's career.

### Royal Politics in France

The decline of feudalism in the late Renaissance and the Early Modern era helped create the circumstances for the Protestant Reformation to become a political movement as well as a religious one. At the end of the Middle Ages, France had come to resemble a political nation-state. Small provinces became fewer and fewer. Some French rulers disregarded local government by appealing to absolute monarchy. This form of leadership challenged Protestant movements since it contrasted the state religion; however, Louis XII (1462-1515) stands out Louis XII stands out for his unique cooperation with smaller governments and Protestant groups.<sup>22</sup> This king did not have a son, so propagating his leadership did not seem promising. The succession passed to his son-in-law, Francis I (1494-1547). Fortunate for Protestants, the new French king was somewhat tolerant the of their movement. The parallels to Renaissance thought appealed to Francis, but his sympathies were was short-lived.

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<sup>22</sup> Pierre Goubert, *The Course of French History* (New York: F. Watts, 1988), 33.

A group of Protestant Christians, later known as Huguenots, challenged French Catholicism and the royal court's involvement with false practices. In 1536, French Protestants posted placards around Paris and even in the King's chamber that mocked the Catholic Mass. Specifically, the message on the placard challenged the veneration of the Virgin Mary and the use of relics.<sup>23</sup> Francis saw the document as a threat not only to his religion but to his authority. It was acknowledged as a threat to the king's authority and religion. Some Protestants were promptly arrested and burned alive while others fled to more tolerant cities such as Lyon, Strasbourg, and Geneva. This event became known as the Affair of the Placards. The event aided in pushing the French monarchy to a strong Catholic position and help spread French Protestants to nearby regions.<sup>24</sup> The strain created by the Affair of the Placards created greater divisions among Protestants and Catholics. The tension would persist into the coming decades.

The French Wars of Religion (1560-1598) was the following conflict between the two religious parties. The conflict stands, in terms of numbers, as the second deadliest European religious war. Notable events contributing to the back-and-forth of the religious warfare are the Massacre of Wassy (1562), the St. Bartholomew Day's Massacre (1572), and the Day of Barricades (1588). Among these, the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre evidences the complicating tensions between the two religious groups.

The St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre took place around the time of a controversial royal wedding in Paris. Disorder began when a mob colluded to assassinate a high-ranking

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<sup>23</sup> Barbra Diefendorf, "The Huguenot Psalter and the Faith of French Protestants in the Sixteenth Century," *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800): Essays in Honor of Natalie Zemon Davis* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 42.

<sup>24</sup> Holt, *The French Wars of Religion*, 19.

Huguenot member of the military in the French court. More attacks on Huguenots of all social classes occurred over the following weeks in Paris. It is estimated that up to ten thousand French Protestants were murdered. This massacre hurt the rising Huguenot movement just as it was starting to become a notable part of the French population. Many wealthy and prominent leaders were killed, and the event further damaged the Huguenots' reputation.<sup>25</sup> Historians assume that Claude Goudimel himself was among the victims.<sup>26</sup>

The Huguenots engaged heavily in civil politics. Their civil involvement both helped the group grow in size and face adversity. One form of consolation in times of persecution and war was the translation of psalms and the subsequent setting of them to music. The Huguenot theologians of the era encouraged composers like Goudimel to develop music for their religious reforms. I will therefore summarize Huguenot ideologies related to the Genevan Psalter, and how they affect the work of Goudimel.

### **Religion and Politics in Geneva**

One of the most prominent and influential figures among the Huguenots was John Calvin (1509-1564). His writings and works influenced many areas of European and American politics and religion. Much of the theological growth among the French Protestants occurred due to Calvin's writing and ministry. Calvin's life, and those of his contemporaries,

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<sup>25</sup> McGrath, *Christian History*, 3f.

<sup>26</sup> Paul-André Gaillard and Richard Freedman, "Goudimel [Godimel, Godimell, Godymel, Jodimel, Jodymel, Jodrymel, Jodimey etc.], Claude," *Grove Music Online*. 2001; accessed 18 Mar. 2021, <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.uidaho.idm.oclc.org/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000011539>.

help us understand Huguenot religious practices, particularly those concerning music for worship.

Calvin was born into a Catholic family but converted to Protestantism during his studies. His conversion and the events related to it made him a fugitive to the church and government in France, so he was forced to flee to a more friendly location. Following a friend to Basel, Switzerland, Calvin began to mature in new theology and his commitment to Protestant reforms.

While in Basel, Calvin spent time devoted to study and produced his theological treatise *Institutio Christianae Religionis* (Institutes of the Christian Religion, 1536). The "Institutes," as it is commonly known, systematically explains the Protestant position on a range of theological topics including soteriology, ecclesiology, sacramentality, and political theology. The Institutes became a central document for theological education among the Huguenots and Protestants, but its first end was to persuade Francis I that the Protestant Reformation should not be seen as a wholly new movement but one that is restoring malpractice and thought within the Catholic church.<sup>27</sup> In Calvin's preface, he continues to argue that the persecution of Protestants is unacceptable. Calvin's message mimicked Augustine's arguments to the Donatist saying that false prophets would arise and try to deceive faithful Christians. Calvin thus hoped to create the perspective that Protestantism was a reclaiming of true and traditional way by equating Catholic and Donatist practices. The systematic expression found in the Institutes served as the guide for his theological conviction

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<sup>27</sup> Calvin, *The Institutes of Christian Religion*, 3.



and for many of his fellow Huguenots. In many places in Europe, the document would precede Calvin in his future travel and activity.

While on his way to Strasbourg in 1536, Calvin had a brief stay in Geneva where he met the reformer William Farel (1489-1565). Although Calvin had no intention of working in Geneva, Farel convinced him to join his efforts to bring Protestant discipline and doctrine to the Swiss city.<sup>28</sup> After a few decades, the city would attract Huguenots as a model of a municipal culture shaped by theology. In this climate, Calvin began his ministry and the reforms that would both strengthen French Protestantism and shape the Genevan Psalter.

Huguenot worship ideals were not monolithic. Together with Calvin in Geneva, Martin Bucer (1491-1551) developed Reformed Protestant principles in Strasbourg, and Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531) in Zürich. Bucer's influences included Humanist and Renaissance thought, and his theology was central in his influence over Calvin. Most significant for the scope of this research is how Bucer's perspective on music edged its way into the French theologian while Calvin spent a brief hiatus in Strasbourg. In a preface to a 1541 hymnal, Bucer expresses a humanist belief that the character of music should be in direct service to the word.<sup>29</sup> Bucer would then go further to say that music's role should be one of service to the "Word" referring to Christ. He believed that music had the ability to persuade our spirit and mix it with many temperaments; therefore, it should only be used in the context of "sacred praise, prayer, teaching or admonition... so that absolutely no song and

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<sup>28</sup> Parker, *John Calvin*, 53.

<sup>29</sup> Bertoglio, *Reforming Music*, 218.

no instrumentalization may be sung or used except by and for Christian spiritual activates.”<sup>30</sup> These activities could also occur outside of the church in a family’s private or recreational activities as well. Calvin brought this outlook and revitalized earlier beliefs while serving in Geneva.

Upon returning to Geneva, one of Calvin’s first acts was to reintroduce chanting the Psalms.<sup>31</sup> Calvin argued that the singing of psalms as a form of public prayer and praise was an acceptable order for the congregation to follow. Singing arouses a sense of unity, thanksgiving, and love among the congregation.<sup>32</sup> The integration of praise and prayer to the heart thus made the subject of all singing central to a heightened spiritual experience. In the *Institutes*, Calvin writes that the true object of prayer is to carry our thoughts directly to God whether to celebrate his praise or implore his aid.<sup>33</sup> Therefore, the subject matter of songs for public worship must fulfill this demand. Calvin viewed the Psalms as a source of divine revelation. By this logic, song texts were theologically appropriate material for music for public worship. In Augustine’s *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, he said that “when a Christian prays with a Psalm, God is praised in His very words.”<sup>34</sup> Beyond music itself, the concept of art held sacred role in the eyes of Huguenots as well.

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<sup>30</sup> Charles Garside Jr., "The Origins of Calvin’s Theology of Music: 1536-1543," *The American Philosophical Society* 69, no. 4 (1979), 25.

<sup>31</sup> Rowland E. Prothero, *The Psalms in Human Life* (New York: Dutton, 1909), 140.

<sup>32</sup> John Calvin, “Epistle to the Reader (Genevan Psalter),” *Source Readings in Music History*, ed. Oliver Strunk (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1965), 366.

<sup>33</sup> Calvin, *The Institutes of Christian Religion*, 179.

<sup>34</sup> Bertoglio, *Reforming Music*, 300.

In a lecture on Calvinism and Art, Abraham Kuyper (1837-1920) revealed the reformer's perspective that art should reveal a higher reality than the one offered by this world.<sup>35</sup> The subject matter of art and music must include God and His works in order to enrich and individual's soul. That is why all artists must properly construct their craft so it properly edifies those consuming it. Calvin warns people to be careful that our ears do not become more intent on the music than the meaning of the words, because flattery is "most displeasing to God."<sup>36</sup> While the instruction given in the way of music seems to narrow and limit its possibilities, it was done with the intention of maximizing the use of music. The Huguenot vision of music was meant to free one from vice and evil.<sup>37</sup> Believing the Catholic church's use of music and icons was inappropriate, this vision first attempts to free Christians of misguided practices. With the perspective of Huguenot locations, leaders, and their thoughts in mind, I will examine a famous musical work produced in the French Huguenot context.

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<sup>35</sup> Abraham Kuyper, *Lectures on Calvinism* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1931), 154.

<sup>36</sup> Calvin, *The Institutes of Christian Religion*, 182.

<sup>37</sup> Garside, "The Origins of Calvin's Theology of Music," 28.

## CHAPTER 4: THE GENEVAN PSALTER AND CLAUDE GOUDIMEL'S HARMONIZATION

### The Genevan Psalter

The Genevan Psalter's influence and legacy extend to modern-day hymnals, which often feature selected works from the sixteenth century collection. Two examples include *The Book of Psalms for Singing* (Reformed Presbyterian Church of America, 1973) and *The Book of Praise* (Canadian Reformed Church, 1961). While it is beyond the scope of this study to provide comments on all the selections in these compilations, their presence reflects Goudimel's influence on Christian posterity and the need to account for historic work and its place in contemporary devotional life. An understanding of Reform practices is essential to the study of Claude Goudimel's Huguenot Psalter.

As the Protestant Reformation unfolded in Europe, new denominations sought to reorganize the liturgy, including the use and nature of music for worship. Huguenots emphasized the importance of understanding the text sung and maintaining modest musical structures.<sup>38</sup> Since the laity did not speak or read the Biblical languages, Reformers began a large-scale effort to give them access to the Bible, and especially the Psalms.

Congregational singing of versified text-settings is a feature of most Protestant church services. Reformers saw this approach to meaningful and understandable music-to-text relationship as a way of increasing expression in public worship while further spreading new Christian doctrines in a manner that united each social class participating in the reformation.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Diefendorf, "The Huguenot Psalter," 41.

<sup>39</sup> Waldo Selden Pratt, *The Music of the French Psalter of 1562: A Historical Survey and Analysis* (New York, NY: Columbia University, 1939) 5.

This inspired Calvin to complete the Genevan/Huguenot Psalter. In doing so, he served a sacred purpose.

In a letter affixed to this publication, French-Swiss theologian John Calvin (1509-1564) outlines some of the priorities in the Genevan Psalter and the music positions that Huguenots held. The reformer informs audiences that the words preached and prayed during a service should be delivered in a known tongue (language).<sup>40</sup> Taking all singing in a liturgical service as a form of prayer, it was then of utmost importance that the music be suitable for the occasion. One concern of the Protestant Reformation was seeking a form of public worship that was rightly ordered and contrasted the Catholic Mass.

John Calvin's work with the Genevan Psalter is one of the most significant works of art in the history of Protestantism. The songbook allowed Calvin to bring large-scale change to the ritual and worship of local churches around him. Calvin's own brand of public worship fostered the zeal and thoughts which transformed Europe and the Americas. Prefaced in the Genevan Psalter, Calvin wrote:

... one of the most necessary, [things is] that each of the faithful observe and maintain the communion of the Church in his neighborhood, attending the assemblies which are held both on the Lord's day and on other days to honor and serve God, so it is also expedient and reasonable that all should know and hear what is said and done in the temple to receive fruit and edification therefrom.<sup>41</sup>

Calvin himself did not anticipate that the music of the Huguenot Psalter would evolve out of monophonic form in official congregational worship. Under Calvin's leadership, the first French Protestant songbook was drafted in Strasbourg in 1539. This edition, *Aulcuns pseaulmes et cantiques mis en chant* (Some Psalms and Canticles Set in Song), was the first

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<sup>40</sup> Calvin, "Epistle to the Reader," 365.

<sup>41</sup> Calvin, *The Institutes of Christian Religion*, 364.

publication in the process that led to the completion of the Genevan Psalter in 1562. Poets who translated the text were highly important in this process.

Clement Marot (1496-1544) was the first to translate and versify the Psalter. He first attracted attention of the nobility by serving as a poet and *valet de chambre* in a court connected with Louis XII. Marot's education prepared him for the task of Biblical translation as its scope included Greek, Latin, and Italian. His proximity to arts in the royal scene helped develop his skill in composition. Soon, he also began writing and translating poetry, and dedicated several pieces to Francis I. While working in the court of the king, Marot considered the idea of turning the Psalms into French verse. Though Marot's works were distributed across Europe, translating Scripture into vernacular languages was still a heretical offense. In 1542, the court poet was charged for heresy. Instead of facing indictment or recanting, Marot fled for his life to Geneva, whose growing population of Huguenots made it safer for Marot than France.

Marot's departure from France would be His last achievements in the field of psalmody. Marot's new proximity to Calvin led him to craft nineteen more psalms in the French language. Although Marot could not return to France, the king extended approval towards his works and Marot was interested in receiving royal favor. In a poem written a year before his death, Marot expressed the opinion that life in Geneva was not exactly paradise.<sup>42</sup> Marot left for Turin, Italy in 1544 and then died suddenly a few months later. Since Marot did set all 150 psalms to verse, Calvin enlisted another poet to finish what Marot had started.

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<sup>42</sup> Douen, "Clement Marot and The Huguenot Psalter," 404.

Humanist and theologian Theodore Beza (1519-1605) began work on the Genevan Psalter in 1548 following a late conversion Catholicism. After his conversion, Beza was well trained in Classical languages and was offered a position as chair of Greek at the University of Lausanne in central Switzerland. Calvin reportedly became aware of Beza's French translation of Psalm 16.<sup>43</sup> Impressed at Beza's skill Calvin requested his help in completing the French psalter. Beza agreed and began work while in Lausanne. He translated and versified 34 psalms in 1551, and then completed the remaining 67 that were still lacking between 1552 and 1562. The final edition of the Psalter features about one-third of the work done by Marot and two-third by Beza. The combined talents of these trusted scholars helped to complete Calvin's ambitious project. The two humanists were able to undertake the task alone because the texts used in this songbook draw from a single source. It only needed to be translated and versified. Though it was a small team, the schemes in the Psalter are still noticeably diverse. Their skill is evident in the metrification and rhyme.

The Genevan Psalter contains 110 different meters. The translators sought both to create good French poetry in their use of meter and rhyme, and to remain faithful to the original texts.<sup>44</sup> The Psalter's skillful versification may be a factor that led to its wide influence especially as musicians added melodies to the text. Throughout the translating process, composers set each psalm with a single melody. As noted, the process of creating a psalter over a 23-year period meant that they could change and revise texts and music over several editions. That is true on a textual and musical level. In the time of the reformation, interest in the source of each tune was not nearly as strong as the concern for the text's

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<sup>43</sup> Douen, "Clement Marot and The Huguenot Psalter," 405.

<sup>44</sup> Diefendorf, "The Huguenot Psalter," 43.

lineage.<sup>45</sup> While the tunes need to be fitting and well crafted, they were often viewed as vehicles for expressing the psalms. Composers hardly received much advancement in their career by providing a melody for psalms. Publications from the sixteenth century do not always name the composer of individual psalms but do provide the name or at least the initials of the author. Musicians believed to be involved with the editing include Loys Bourgeois (1510-1559), Guillaume Franc (1505-1570), and Pierre Davantès (1525-1561). Bourgeois and Franc appear to be the individuals most likely involved with the process.

Franc was born in northern France but, like many, fled to the reformed capital city of Geneva after his conversion. Little is known about Franc's younger life, but given that he started a singing school in Geneva in 1541, he must have received a musical education. Two years later a note from the city council meeting states, "Inasmuch as the psalms of David are being completed, and that it is very necessary to compose pleasing melodies for them, order that Master Guillaume, the chanter, who is very competent to teach the children, should give them instruction for an hour on a day to be appointed, and that Master Calvin should be consulted about his remuneration."<sup>46</sup> Franc's strong involvement with the musical activity indicates an involvement with collecting melodies; however, it is likely that this involvement was low compared with Loys Bourgeois' role.

Loys Bourgeois was born in Paris, but little is known about his musical training until his Geneva arrival shortly after Franc in 1541. Through Bourgeois's life, the composer wrote music for religious congregations and amateur musicians. *Le droict chemin de musique* (The

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<sup>45</sup> Douen, "Clement Marot and The Huguenot Psalter," 406.

<sup>46</sup> Douen, "Clement Marot and The Huguenot Psalter," 451.



Right Way of Music, 1550), a music manual, and his work to create congregational pieces illustrates this further. Upon arriving in Geneva in 1545, the composer was paid to perform the psalms and teach choir singers at St. Peter's Church. Two years later Bourgeois gained citizenship in Geneva, married, and published a four-voice setting of the 1542 edition of the Huguenot Psalter. It is clear that Bourgeois was the chief editor involved with the final edition of the psalter; however, he was not the only one who determined the best tune or alteration for each psalm. Many details of the Psalter are unknown, but a brief examination of Franc and Bourgeois provides perspective on how the melodies were added to the text.

The melodies of the Psalter point to a newer style rather than an older one.<sup>47</sup> An older style can generally be categorized by how different it is from the Ionian or major mode. For example, the E-mode, or Phrygian mode, is the church mode furthest from the major mode because it contains the least number of major intervals in its scale pattern. The G-mode, or Mixolydian mode, is the closest to the newer sounds, because it contains the most major intervals. Since 73 of the 150 psalms settings lie closer to the major scale, a majority of the tunes look forward to a new tonal system that favors major intervals for melodic and harmonic use.<sup>48</sup> As the Genevan Psalter approached its final version in 1562, the tunes tended more towards a major quality. One explanation for this tendency in the Psalter is that the editor wanted to create uniformity in the metrical patterns of each line.

In some parameters of composition, the authors abandoned older models. One example of this is ambitus. Of the 125 melodic text-settings in the Huguenot Psalter, 91 have

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<sup>47</sup> Douen, "Clement Marot and The Huguenot Psalter," 34.

<sup>48</sup> O. Douen, *Clement Marot et le psautier huguenot*, vol. 2 (Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf, 1967, 337), 337.

an ambitus of an octave or more. While the overall range of most of the tunes is wide, the intervallic distance within a line is mostly contained to a fourth to a sixth.<sup>49</sup> These two pieces of data illustrate the connection to older and new styles. Gregorian chant melodies typically contained a range of about a sixth, and each line would explore the whole distance between the intervals or recite between three to four tones. The Genevan melodies explore new heights and depths gradually. The distance climbed in a given line could be similar, but the Genevan melodies differ by where successive lines followed. The two types also vary in their melodic motion.

In a melodic phrase, a tune may move in three different ways. It could be chant-wise, meaning that the same pitch is repeated as new text is sung. If a pitch moves one degree above or below, it is stepwise, whereas skip-wise movement is applied when a tone ascends or descends two or more scale degrees. Next to mode, melodic direction may be the most audible factor. Melodies characterized by mostly chant-wise and stepwise motion with few disjunct skips are similar to medieval sounds. Melodies that constantly rise or fall or have multiple skips in each line model regional folk sounds. Early twentieth-century musicologist Waldo Pratt also remarks that 115 of the tunes begin on either the first or fifth degree and one-third of the first lines in the Psalter contain skip-wise motion.<sup>50</sup> These characteristics form a framework for analyzing and performing this music.

I will now consider recurrent melodic figures. A melodic figure is a short collection of pitches featuring aspects of the framework from the previous paragraph. The repetition of a single pitch followed by an ascending interval is a characteristic gesture in music of the early

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<sup>49</sup> Pratt, *The Music of the French Psalter of 1562*, 50.

<sup>50</sup> Pratt, *The Music of the French Psalter of 1562*, 53.

Protestant Reformation.<sup>51</sup> Such gestures tend to rise to a peak, then descend to a cadence on a downwards step. The area of range, melodic motion, verse line length, duration patterns, melodic motion, and melodic figure assist musicians in assessing the quality of each melody. The reception of these musical forms by partitioners help spread them across Europe.

As Huguenots access and use of the Psalms grew, Catholic leaders attempted to respond with a similar movement and criticisms towards the Protestants. Philosopher Michel de Montaigne (1533-1592) objected to the practices of Huguenots in France in his work *Essays*. He objected to the translation and versification,

Are they not pleasantly conceited, who because they have reduced the [sacred psalms] into the vulgar tongues, and that all men may understand it, persuade themselves, that the people shall the better conceive and digest the same?... It is not without great reason, in my poor judgement, that the Church forbiddeth the confused, rash and indiscreet use of the sacred and divine songs.<sup>52</sup>

Convinced that the word and voice were consecrated parts of the world that should be under the strict supervision of the church, Montaigne found the vernacular *ad fontes* (to the source) movement in the realm of Biblical text offensive. Protestants and Catholics disagreed about how to properly use the Psalms. Hoping to challenge the Huguenot movement, royal bishop Antoine Godeau (1605-1672) paraphrased the Psalms in French royal court decades after the final edition of the Genevan Psalter. King Louis XIII (1601-1643) composed the melody to a few of the texts too. In the preface to his work, Godeau wrote, “To know the Psalms by heart is among Protestants a sign of their communion. To our shame it must be said, that, in towns or districts where Protestants are numerous, the Psalms are ever on the lips of artisans and

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<sup>51</sup> Pratt, *The Music of the French Psalter of 1562*, 54.

<sup>52</sup> Michel de Montaigne, *The Essays of Montaigne*, trans., John Florio (London: David Nutt, 1892), 369-370.

laborers, while Catholics are either dumb or sing obscene songs.”<sup>53</sup> The distinction may seem small, but it drew hard lines between perspectives.

Among the sixteenth-century composers to work with the Psalter were Claude Le Jeune (1528-1600), Paschal de l’Estocart (1538-1587), Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck (1562-1621), and Claude Goudimel. Goudimel is probably the most well-known. He attracted attention for his four-part harmonization of the Genevan melodies. Goudimel’s contribution to the area of sacred Protestant music soon spread to other countries especially as Calvin invited reformed Christians to sing the psalms during their work and around mealtimes.<sup>54</sup>

### **Claude Goudimel’s Harmonization of the Genevan Psalter (1565)**

Recreational psalm and hymn singing grew in Europe during the Protestant Reformation and later composers found new ways to adapt melodic material. The French and Swiss had different views about the propriety of harmonizing psalm melodies for public worship. German musicians, including the predecessors of Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750), tended to produce chorales for liturgical services while their western and southern neighbors firmly resisted multi-voiced chorales.<sup>55</sup> It is within this context that Goudimel composed his four-part harmonization of the Genevan Psalter.

Claude Goudimel was born in Besançon, France near the Swiss border. Besides the four-part setting of the psalms, the composer is remembered for his contributions to mass,

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<sup>53</sup> Prothero, *The Psalms in Human Life*, 155.

<sup>54</sup> Calvin, *Institutes of Christian Religion*. 365.

<sup>55</sup> Johann Sebastian Bach, *The New Bach Reader: The Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents*, eds. Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel (W. W. Norton and Company, New York), 138.

motet, and chanson. As a teacher, Goudimel also has a remarkable legacy. Just before 1540, he settled in Rome and opened the first public music school where figures such as Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1525-1594) and Orlando de Lassus (1530-1594) studied.<sup>56</sup>

Goudimel began his studies at the University of Paris in 1549. At this time, his early works were published. Paul-André Gaillard believes that Goudimel advanced as a musician by serving as a composer and music editor for Nicolas Du Chemin (1515-1576) in 1551.<sup>57</sup> Employment with Du Chemin allowed greater freedom to compose and publish works from 1551-1558. In 1558, Goudimel moved to Metz, which is in the north-east region of France. This is significant as it is the composer's entry into Huguenot practice and a resulting interest in psalm melodies from Geneva.

In 1562, he published a four-part harmonization book that contained sixteen Genevan melodies in Paris. Two years after that, he published an edition of the Genevan melodies that featured all 150 tunes with double counterpoint.<sup>58</sup> When he published his best-known 1565 version, it contained each psalm versed by Marot and Beza, melodies from the 1562 psalter, prefaces by Calvin and Beza, and the four-part harmonization. Following in the mindset of Swiss and French reformers, Goudimel said that these additional three parts were “not to be induced for singing in the church, but for worship of God particularly in the home.”<sup>59</sup> In this

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<sup>56</sup> Gaillard, “Goudimel.”

<sup>57</sup> Gaillard, "Goudimel.”

<sup>58</sup> “Claude Goudimel,” *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, vol. 6, 2004; accessed 22 Mar. 2021, <https://www.encyclopedia.com/history/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/claude-goudimel>

<sup>59</sup> Clement Marot, Theodore de Beza, and Guillaume Franc, *Les pseumes mis en rime Françoise par Clement Marot et Theodore de Beza, avec le chant de l'Eglise de Lausane* (Geneva: François Jaquy), 1565.

edition, Goudimel varied his harmonization of tunes when they repeated. For instance, the melody used for Psalm 24 also appears in Psalms 62, 95, and 111. In each reiteration of Goudimel's version, the harmonies differ. The French Huguenot composer's special approach to harmonizing these melodies show in the praise given to him by contemporaries and posterity.

People of many social classes lauded and delighted in Goudimel's edition of the Genevan Psalter. Poor peasants would write the opening of Psalm 127 (*On a beau sa maison bastir/ We have beautified his strong house*) on their doorposts, a nobleman would carve a portion of Psalm 101 (*Vouloir m'a pris de mettre en esriture/ Keep me blameless before your scripture*) in his table, and many would sing Goudimel's four-part harmonies before meals.<sup>60</sup> Music theorist Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) commented that "one is astonished to hear the vigorous and manly harmonies of Goudimel, so long forgotten by our learned musicians, issuing from these country cottages."<sup>61</sup> Woodward estimates that over 800 reprint editions of the Psalter have appeared in towns across Europe and the Americas.<sup>62</sup> This is impressive especially when one considers the strict laws around printing. The Psalter's reception demonstrates Goudimel's high contrapuntal skill and the desire to sing the Scripture among Huguenots.

In the composition manual *The Rules of Counterpoint Systematically Arranged for the Use of Young Students*, W.S. Rockstro (1823-1895) provides guidelines for writing

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<sup>60</sup> G. R. Woodward, "The Genevan Psalter of 1562; Set in Four-Part Harmony by Claude Goudimel, in 1565," *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 44 (1918), 180.

<sup>61</sup> Douen, *Clement Marot Et Le Psautier Huguenot*, 505.

<sup>62</sup> Woodward, "The Genevan Psalter of 1562," 182.

counterpoint in two to five voices. From this work, readers gain an insight into Goudimel's compositional technique. *Musica ficta* (false music), or an altered melodic pitch, appears periodically. Harmonic perfect fifths are very prevalent, consecutive perfect fifths or octaves are usually reserved for strain breaks, and there is rarely a third at the final cadence.<sup>63</sup> The cantus firmus is usually present in the tenor voice but there are numerous occasions when it appears in the superius (soprano) voice. For this practice, many successive Protestants identify Goudimel as contributor of this chorale practice. Altogether, these characteristics provide a miniature framework of Goudimel's psalm style.

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<sup>63</sup> W.S. Rockstro, *The Rules of Counterpoint Systematically Arranged for the Use of Young Students* (London: Robert Cocks and Company, 1882), 181.

## **CHAPTER 5: TRANSCRIBING CLAUDE GOUDIMEL'S FOUR PART HOMORHYTHMIC PSALMS**

### **Introduction**

With the context of this work now uncovered, proceeding information will address: (a) in literature review format, the principal ground-covering sources and scholarship related to sixteenth century French Protestant transcriptions, (b) the method(s) used in creating a twenty-first century version, and (c) three examples of transcription that I have harmonized.

### **Scholarship and Transcriptions Related to Goudimel's 1565 Edition**

To create an accessible and historically-informed edition of Goudimel's Psalter, I drew upon earlier transcriptions of sixteenth-century sacred music. There still remains, however, no single source containing all of Claude Goudimel's harmonized settings in a form that is practical for twenty-first century congregational singers.

One of the earliest and most significant works on the Huguenot Psalter in the English is Waldo Selden Pratt's 1939 book *The Music of the French Psalter of 1562: A Historical Survey and Analysis with the Music in Modern Notation*. Pratt transcribed each psalm melody in modern notation and analyzed its modal and metrical structure. Pratt does not include underlay of the French language, measure lines, and time signatures (Figure 1). Pratt notes the foot marks, which are the line divisions of the versification. This is helpful for scholars, but impractical for performers. The work also confines itself to the 1562 version which predates Goudimel's later harmonies. An excerpt from his work with Psalm One is provided below (Figure 1). My work builds upon Pratt's by adding the French text and later harmonizations.



I  
IO IO II II IO IO  
Iambic  
1539 (1542), to text by Marot

4 stanzas—62 notes

Figure 1. Pratt's transcription of Psalm One from the 1562 Genevan Psalter.<sup>64</sup>

In 1966, two doctoral students made independent attempts to create performance ready literature of sixteenth-century French works based on the Genevan Psalter. Donald Breshears' document titled "The Three-Part Psalms of Claude Le Jeune, Premier Livre: Performance Edition and Commentary (Volumes I and II)" provided twentieth-century musicians with an edition of Le Jeune's *Premier livre contenant cinquante pseumes de David mis en musique à III parties* (1602). From a practical standpoint, its main improvement was replacing the original part-books with a full score version. Breshear also transcribed each part into commonly used clefs, key signatures, and time signatures. His principal contribution was transcribing white mensural notation into modern notation (See Figure 2).<sup>65</sup> Breshear also included a preview of the manuscript's beginning and a declaration on the dynamics and

<sup>64</sup> Pratt, *The Music of the French Psalter of 1562*, 81.

<sup>65</sup> Donald Lee Breshears, "The Three-Part Psalms of Claude Le Jeune, Premier Livre: Performance Edition and Commentary (Volumes I and II)," PhD Dissertation, The University of Iowa (1966), 69.

tempi. Breshear's work in transcription also inadvertently demonstrates the challenge of combining old and new forms of notation. In what appears to be validation of tradition, the transcriber, rather than bracketing the modern notation, provides the older note styles in the top voice which identifies and highlights the cantus firmus. While the inclusion of an English translation below the French is a thoughtful addition, I will not place an English translation directly under the French.

1

PSALM 1

*[mf]* [*d = mm. 56 60*]

Qui au con- seil des ma - lins  
Who walk - - - - - eth not in coun- sel

*[mf]*

Qui au con - seil des ma - lins, des ma- lins n'a es - té,  
Who walk-eth not in coun- sel, coun- sel lewd a- stray,

*[mf]*

Qui au con- seil des ma- lins n'a es - té, qui  
Who walk-eth not in coun- sel lewd a - stray, who

6

n'a es - - - - té, qui au con- seil des ma - lins n'a es - té, Qui  
lewd a - - - - stray, who walk-eth: not in coun- sel lewd a- stray, Who

des ma- lins n'a es - - - - té, qui au con- seil des ma- lins  
in coun- sel lewd a - - - - stray, who walk-eth not in coun- sel

au con- seil, qui au con - seil des ma- lins, des ma - lins n'a es -  
walk-eth not, who walk-eth: not in coun- sel, in coun- sel lewd a -

12

n'est au trac des pe - cheurs ar- res - té, des pe- cheurs ar - - - -  
stand - - - - eth not in sin- ners wick- ed way, in sin- ners wick - - - -

n'a es- té, Qui n'est au trac des pe- cheurs ar- res - té, au trac des pe- cheurs  
lewd a - stray, Who stand - - - - eth not in sin- ners wick- ed way, who stand-eth not in

-té, Qui n'est au trac, au trac des pe- cheurs, qui n'est au trac des pe- cheurs ar- res - - -  
-stray, Who stand - eth not, who stand-eth not, who stand-eth not in sin- ners wick - -

Figure 2. Breshears' transcription of Psalm One from Le Jeune's Three-Part Psalms.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Breshears, "The Three-Part Psalms of Claude Le Jeune," 113.

The second doctoral student to submit a dissertation on the subject in 1966 was John MacMillan in the dissertation of “The Calvinistic Psalmody of Claude Le Jeune with Special Reference to the ‘Dodecacorde’ of 1598.” In addition to evaluating the contribution and artistic value of Le Jeune’s *Dodecacorde contenant douze Pseaumes de David, mis en musique selon les douze modes, approuvez des meilleurs Autheurs anciens et modernes. à 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. et 7. voix* (Dodecacorde Containing Twelve Psalms of David, Set to Music according to the Twelve Modes, Approved by the Best Ancient and Modern Authors for 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 voices), the author transcribed the psalm settings in a modern notation system that addressed many of the points undertaken by Breshears.<sup>67</sup> MacMillan’s active engagement of desirable features, as well as deliberate omissions, models the process undertaken in this thesis. A few distinguishing elements of MacMillan’s work includes measure lines written between, rather than within, the staves while also maintaining the original voice part designations (Figure 3). Placing measure lines between the staves allows for the likelihood of a natural flow of the unique rhythms to occur without visual or musical distractions. Many choir directors notice the common misconception non-deliberate note accentuations, attacks, and breaks when performers encounter measure lines. The drawback of resetting bar lines, however, is the same occurrence of unintentional embellishments only this time at the possible expense of the flow of the text (rather than the music). Together, the two “historic” dissertations bear witness to challenges faced when transcribing early music.

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<sup>67</sup> John Buchanan MacMillan, “The Calvinistic Psalmody of Claude Le Jeune with Special Reference to the ‘Dodecacorde’ of 1598,” PhD Dissertation, New York University (1966), iv.

Pse. 23 Seconde partie, à 5

Dessus C1  
Si seu - re - ment, que quand au val vien-

Second-Dessus C1  
Si seu - re - ment, que quand au val vien-

Haute-C C1  
Si seu - re - ment, que quand au val vien-

Taille C1  
Si seu - re - ment, que quand au val vien-

Basse-C C1  
Si seu - re - ment, que quand au val vien-

Figure 3. MacMillan's transcription of Psalm Twenty-Three from Le Jeune's *Dodecacorde*.<sup>68</sup>

In 1966, James Venner Cobb Jr's dissertation, "The 1583 Psalter of Paschal de l'Estocart: A Critical Edition" announced the objective "to transcribe into score form the music from the five part-books, which were preserved in complete form (thus making the facsimile printing one of potential value not only for study but also for possible publication and performance)...".<sup>69</sup> As Cobb mentions, placing transcriptions into a score order is a crucial choice is making the score accessible to amateur and professional musicians, and it is noteworthy to recognize that author's proposed twenty-first-century edition of Goudimel's Psalter applies the same transcription choice. After discussing the 1583 psalter at length, Cobb provides a hand-written transcription of each psalm in modern notation and in score format. The version of *Cent Cinquante Pseaumes de David pour 4, 5, 6, 7, et 8 voix* (One Hundred and Fifty Psalms of David four 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 voices) shows Cobb's transcription choices as

<sup>68</sup> MacMillan, "The Calvinistic Psalmody of Claude Le Jeune," 237.

<sup>69</sup> James Venner Cobb Jr., "The 1583 Psalter of Paschal de l'Estocart: A Critical Edition," DMA Dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (1966), 1.

he transformed the mensural notation in modern notation. The grand staff, modern clefs, key signatures, time signatures, measures, and reduced note values are included (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Cobb's transcription of Psalm One from l'Estocart's *Cent cinquante pseumes*.<sup>70</sup>

A notable addition to the field arrived in 1967 when Luther Dittmer and Pierre Pidoux submitted volume nine of *Oeuvres complètes* (Complete Works).<sup>71</sup> This volume features Goudimel's harmonization of the Huguenot Psalter in modern notation with a few now-obsolete symbols. They chose to not reduce the note values from the original manuscript. The source is designed for early music specialists. Some items not intended for a non-specialized audience member. Modern singers expect only to use the treble and bass clefs. Treble and bass are not, of course, the only G and F clefs. The lack of measure lines, a hybrid form of

<sup>70</sup> Cobb, "The 1583 Psalter of Paschal de l'Estocart," 76.

<sup>71</sup> Luther Dittmer and Pierre Pidoux, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 9 (New York: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1967), 1.

modern and mensural notation, and an underlay of all the French text also distinguish it from the twenty-first century edition.

In 1969, Robert Homer Leslie Jr. completed the PhD Dissertation at McGill University titled “Music and the Arts in Calvin’s Geneva.” Leslie’s subject matter overlaps with Cobb’s. Leslie’s dissertation reviews the music and arts associated in Geneva. The main emphasis is an aesthetic study of Pascal de l’Estocart’s 1583 *Cent cinquante pseumes* in relationship to Calvinistic ideology. Leslie also provides a transcription of each psalm in modern notation.<sup>72</sup> Leslie provides a brief guide to the process and features while presenting transcriptions. Robert Homer Leslie Jr.’s dissertation provides an excellent resource for individuals interested in l’Estocart’s polyphonic settings of the Genevan melodies and models a process for sixteenth century transcription work. Leslie also emphasizes the importance of exploring the historical ideas connected to work one transcribes.

In 1972, Cecil Mizelle Roper analyzed how the various publications of the Strasbourg Psalter impacted worship practices in Strasbourg. When examining the melodies from the song book, Roper provided select transcriptions that featured a large amount of editorial notes such as the psalm number, author of the text, metrical arrangement, tonality, and editions in which the tunes appeared.<sup>73</sup> Almost in a “lesson to be learned and look what’s been done” manner, Roper provides a small excerpt from the original manuscript at the start of each psalm as well (Figure 5). Roper’s addition of the basic background information educates

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<sup>72</sup> Robert Homer Leslie Jr., “Music and the Arts in Calvin’s Geneva,” PhD Dissertation, McGill University (1969), 17.

<sup>73</sup> Cecil Mizelle Roper, “The Strasbourg French Psalters, 1539-1553,” DMA Dissertation, The University of Southern California (1972), 186.

audiences to the psalm's structural elements. One disadvantage of Roper's work is not all of the text is featured under the music.

Psalm 1  
10.10.11.11.10.10.      Text: MAROT

1)      Tonality: Major



Str. 39, 42, 45<sup>(2)</sup>, 48, 53:



VI au conseil des malings n'a este,

Qui au conseil des malings n'a es-té

Qui n'est au trac des pe-cheurs ar-res-té,

Qui des mō-qurs au banc pla - ce n'a pri - se,

Mais jour et nuit, la loy con-tem-pl'et pri-se,

De l'E - ter - nel, et en est de fi - reux

Cer - tai - ne - ment ces - lui-la est heu-reux.

Figure 5. Roper's transcription of Psalm One from the Strasbourg Psalter.<sup>74</sup>

More recently Jonathan David Drake submitted a doctoral dissertation that transcribed the 17 motets of Claude Goudimel's contemporary Orlando di Lasso's *Il primo libro de mottetti*. Drake's goal was to provide a critical edition of this sixteenth-century work that

<sup>74</sup> Roper, "The Strasbourg French Psalters," 271.

transcribes the music from mensural to modern notation. Drake was not the first scholar to take such an initiative. In 1894, Franz Xaver Haberl began work on a modern critical edition of Lasso's motets. Drake justified revisiting this project to address some outdated typesetting features along with the need for more critical notes and commentary on the work.<sup>75</sup> Drake's work exemplifies in-part a number of the principles undertaken in this thesis. Working with a previously engaged work requires a new perspective in order to meet gaps and needs within the field's scholarship.

The previous survey documented eminent scholarship related to sixteenth-century transcription work in Protestant music accomplished in the past century. The dissertations, theses, or books share a connection with Goudimel's work. Similarities include subject matter, the notation system used, or both. Each example modeled beneficial approaches that may be applied in the twenty-first-century edition. Now, the transcription choices specific to this thesis will be explained.

### **Transcription Practices and Features of a Twenty-First-Century Edition**

In this document, I seek to elucidate the notation of the Psalter and explain the adaptations I have made for present-day performers. The following section will provide a background of the notation and transcription practices followed, noteworthy compositional techniques during the time of Goudimel, and a detailed explanation as to how the twenty-first-century edition's approach preserves and presents the Huguenot Psalter for modern audiences.

In an address given to the *Musical Quarterly*, Waldo Pratt, who completed extensive work on Goudimel, noted that all musical art is "conditioned upon the phenomena of sound"

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<sup>75</sup> Jonathan David Drake, "A Critical Edition with Commentary of Orlando di Lasso's *Il primo libro de motteti*," PhD Dissertation, Arizona State University (1999), 133-35.



or musical physics.<sup>76</sup> Continuing with a conversation about music history, Pratt explained that the musicologist compiles details on a work, accounts for its stylistic development, and describes its social application with authority when engagement and criticism of the original sources is performed. Familiarity with notation practice is essential to understanding source material.

German musicologist Johannes Wolf (1869-1947) wrote a book on music notation in 1919. The expansive book addresses the problems that modern students encounter in repertoire from before 1600. Willi Apel (1893-1988) work follows Wolf's lead. Apel first published his book on early polyphonic notation in the 1940s. While serving English speakers, Apel provided more detailed information on lacking areas in Wolf's research and sought to present the information in a more perspicuous way to novice students and scholars alike. Other authors on the subject include Anna Maria Busse Berger and James Grier. Each provided a valuable resource to the field of musical notation.

The practice of music notation is the pre-modern means of preserving music. Within the field, there are many types of notation or ways in which the music is written down. The concept of notation primarily refers to the traditions appearing in Europe before significant standardization occurred during the seventeenth century.<sup>77</sup> Goudimel, like his contemporaries, used this practice. In this case, polyphonic does not refer to texture; instead, it means music that contains more than a single melodic line. White mensural refers to a type of notation that strictly measures rhythmic proportions according to the tactus and its sub-divisions. The

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<sup>76</sup> Waldo S. Pratt, "On Behalf of Musicology," *Musical Quarterly* (1915): 6.

<sup>77</sup> Willi Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music, 900-1600* (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1961), xix.

system contrasts the earlier form of black mensural notation primarily by its hollow note heads.

Manuscripts containing polyphony are typically arranged in two ways: score order or part order. Score order has each line appear in a vertical relationship with the other voices. The stacked structure allows for a horizontal analysis of the melodic line and a vertical analysis of the line's relationship to other lines to take place. Part order, the way the 1565 Psalter is presented, denotes a method of organization where a single part is presented by itself. When the full score is unavailable, it is more difficult to see intervallic and harmonic relationships between the parts. The reason for choosing one approach above another has varied due to practical reasons. Score order was favored for its compact form in early music while part order grew in popularity as diverse ensembles formed.<sup>78</sup>

In Gioseffo Zarlino's (1517-1590) *The Art of Counterpoint*, the music theorist suggests that within four part writing one may find the elements that contain the "full perfection of harmony."<sup>79</sup> In the sixteenth century, the names and roles of each part from which we receive the typical vocal division among a mixed choir/congregation (soprano, alto, tenor, and bass), carried a cosmological significance that influenced how their parts should be constructed and how they should sound in relation to the other musical lines joining it. The twenty-first century edition retains the older part names which gives homage to older perspectives of each part.

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<sup>78</sup> Ian D. Bent, David W. Hughes, Robert C. Provine, Richard Rastall, Anne Kilmer, David Hiley, Janka Szendrei, Thomas B. Payne, Margaret Bent, and Geoffrey Chew, "Notation," *Grove Music Online*, 2001.

<sup>79</sup> Gioseffo Zarlino, *The Art of Counterpoint*, trans., Guy A. Marco and Claude V. Palisca (New York: W.W. Norton and Company Inc., 1968), 226.

The lowest voice part is called the bassus, and it is like earth. Composers often intend intention for the bassus to ground, sustain, and create stability in the ensemble.<sup>80</sup> Its slow and wider motions allow upper voices to move elegantly. The next part in ascending order is the tenor, and according to Zarlino, it is like water. The tenor, like water, is just above and connected to the life of earth. This voice is considered to be well-ordered when it governs, maintains, and regulates the mode of the composition. Harmonic blending is the job of the contralto which is like air. Contra parts will often seek to adorn the parts directly below (bassus) and above (superius) so that it “brightens” and “illuminates” the other parts.<sup>81</sup> This may mean it needs to be written last in order to best serve the other parts. Finally, the superius is like fire, so it is well-ordered when it behaves as an element of speed and when its high place in the texture is used to give coloration to the other parts. The humanist belief on the character of each part may be seen in Goudimel’s harmonization. Zarlino’s narrative on the heighten nature of music aligns with Huguenot perspectives about the need for music to be well-ordered and fitted to natural principles. The older notation system in which these parts were recorded provides the next challenged to be addressed in the transcription process.

The practice of using a white mensural system for notation generally occurred from 1450-1600. The notation style underwent development, but it was not nearly as extensive as the progress black mensural notation made from 1250-1450.<sup>82</sup> That allows for less variation within the black mensural system. The most obvious shift was in rhythm. Systems of pitch representation have remained relatively constant as the effectiveness of using vertical space

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<sup>80</sup> Zarlino, *The Art of Counterpoint*, 179.

<sup>81</sup> Zarlino, *The Art of Counterpoint*, 180.

<sup>82</sup> Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music*, 199.

has proven itself intuitive. In the *ars nova* period (1310-1377), when rhythmic experimentation and complexity rose in the literature, an advancement occurred in creating a reliable approach to rhythmic notation which departed from older systems. Apel argues that some of the simplest devices created from this intellectual time of contemplation was the bar-line and the tie.<sup>83</sup> These two symbols allow the musician to clearly express a wide array of time values and rhythm, but it should not be forgotten that music before this invention was still meeting the needs of the composer just as it should. Innovation helps posterity, but it does not nullify the work of the past. Since this improvement is viewed so highly, it will be used in the twenty-first century edition of Goudimel's Psalter. Now, I will further address the features of white mensural notation.

Wolf mentions the origin of the term white mensural in his studies. It typically describes how notes were no longer filled in with color. The exact reason for the shift is not entirely clear, but some considerations include the time and effort saved by not filling in note heads with black ink. Figure 6 shows the notes that may appear in a piece written in white mensural notation.

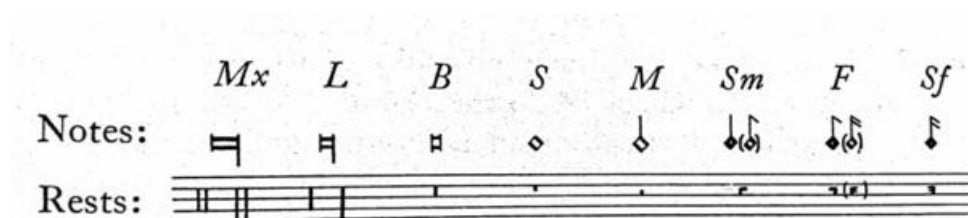


Figure 6. Notes within white mensural notation.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music*, 85.

<sup>84</sup> Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music*, 87.

Mx stands for *maxima*, L stands for *longa*, B represents *brevis*, S represents *semibrevis*, M stands for *minima*, Sm signifies *semiminima*, F communicates *fusa*, and Sf communicates *semifusa*. For current reference, a *semibrevis* developed into what is now known as a whole note and a *minima* as a half note. The psalms in the Huguenot Psalter stay within the *brevis* and *semiminima* range for sounding notes and rests. The mensuration of the notes is the next aspect that organizes the rhythms in white mensural notation.

In modern notation, the time signature divides notes into small and consistent groupings by measure lines. 4/4 means that the notes in a measure will equal the duration of four quarter notes. While this is helpful for present-day performers, it is limited compared to the role of mensuration symbols in early music. The mensuration of each piece is indicated at the beginning of a work. The symbols is like a time signature. The symbols are variations of circles and dots which show how the notes will relate to each other according to the *tactus* and its sub-divisions (Figure 7). The full circles denotes that the *brevis* relationship, or the *tempus*, will relate to the *semibrevis* by three, and the half circles signifies that the *tempus* will relate to the *semibrevis* by two. Identification of these relationships is not made by numbers but by terms. *Perfectum* means that the beats will be grouped by three, and *imperfectum* denotes the groupings will be by two. The qualitative terms (perfect and imperfect) likely refer to the understanding that three is a perfect number because it has a beginning, middle, and end. This may correspond to the religious importance of the number three, i.e. the symbolism of the Holy Trinity.

|   |   |       |       |
|---|---|-------|-------|
| tempus imperfectum cum prolatione imperfecta: | C | ⏏=⊖⊖  | ⊖=↓↓  |
| tempus perfectum cum prolatione imperfecta:   | ○ | ⏏=⊖⊖⊖ | ⊖=↓↓  |
| tempus imperfectum cum prolatione perfecta:   | Ⓒ | ⏏=⊖⊖  | ⊖=↓↓↓ |
| tempus perfectum cum prolatione perfecta:     | Ⓞ | ⏏=⊖⊖⊖ | ⊖=↓↓↓ |

Figure 7. Apel's mensuration chart.<sup>85</sup>

Within in the circle, a dot may be present or absent. This is the mensuration of the *prolatio*. This smaller mensuration classification tells whether the *semibrevis* relates to the *minima* by two or three. The dot represents three and an empty space represents two. This is consistent with the use of the circle in the *tempus* discussion. In comparison to modern practice, the *tempus* is like the large beat groupings of a meter. 4/4 time is an example of an imperfect (2) grouping of the large beat, and 3/4 time would be an example of a perfect (3) grouping. The *prolatio* is comparable to the idea of simple and compound meter. When a work is in simple meter, beats are divided by two. *Prolatio imperfecta* is akin to simple meter because the subdivisions are in groups of two. In compound meter, beats are divided by three; therefore, *prolatio perfecta* is analogous to similar to compound meter. When processing the chart provided by Apel, one needs to identify the two levels presented. There is mensuration at large (*tempus*) and small (*prolatio*) beat level (Figure 7). Here are a few examples. 2,2 would be *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione imperfecta*. 2,3 would be an example of *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione perfecta*. Having this background of white mensural's metrical component, I will explain how this knowledge applies to Claude Goudimel's work.

Many of the mensurations in Goudimel's harmonizations feature a variation of the basic mensuration practices in the white note system. At the end of the fourteenth and early in the fifteenth century, the metrical values of this scheme periodically underwent diminution or

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<sup>85</sup> Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music*, 96.

augmentation.<sup>86</sup> The increase or decrease in length would be called a proportion. When a proportion is made, the tactus shifts to the next closest notes. If it is an augmentation, the tactus moves to the next longer note and if it is a diminution, it moves to the next shorter note. A common example of a proportion and a prevalent example in Goudimel's partbook is the diminution of *tempus imperfectum cum prolatio imperfecta* (Figure 8). In the figure below, the line going through the half circle represents that the tactus of the mensuration should be at the next lowest note value (diminution). The symbol resembles the sign for the modern 2/2 time signature.

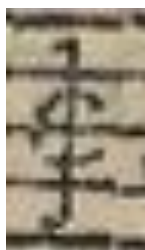


Figure 8. An example of a *tempus imperfectum cum prolatio imperfecta* mensuration in Goudimel's Psalter.<sup>87</sup>

A key choice to be made after the mensuration structure is comprehended is how the notes will be represented in modern notation. Creating a one for one rendition of the older notes to their contemporary counterparts was practiced by some 19<sup>th</sup> century editors but is advised against by Apel.<sup>88</sup> The literal renderings unlearn to modern musicians especially amateurs. In Apel's same argument he proposes that a reduction 1:4 ratio, where the

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<sup>86</sup> Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music*, 145.

<sup>87</sup> Clement Marot, Theodore de Beza, and Claude Goudimel. *Les pseumes mis en rime Françoise par Clement Marot et Theodore de Beza, mis en musique a quarte parties par Claude Goudimel* (Geneva: François Jaquy, 1565), 32.

<sup>88</sup> Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music*, 97.

*semibrevis* becomes a quarter note, is the most ideal option for editors. Musicologist Bernard Thomas suggests that the 1:4 conversion could create beaming and grouping challenges for some of the *minimas* depending on the note groupings.<sup>89</sup> Syncopations and stress deviations due to text underlay cause early music to not conform to consistent grouping patterns as prevalent in the Classical styles succeeding it. Sixteenth century music can be translated into modern notation, but that does not mean it will take on contemporary sensibilities concerning mensuration. While following the 1:4 reduction ratio could be difficult, modern musicians are more likely to recognize groupings at the quarter and eighth note level than the half and whole note level. In addition, most of the figures in Goudimel's Psalter do not face this challenge; therefore each transcription in the twenty-first century edition includes the change of white mensural notation to modern notation by a 1:4 ratio (*semibrevis* becomes the quarter note, see Figure 9).

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<sup>89</sup> Benard Thomas, "Renaissance Music in Modern Notation," *Early Music* 5, no. 1 (1977), 5.



























| White Mensural Notes  | Modern Notes   | White Mensural Rests   | Modern Rest  |
|---|--|--|--|
| Maxima       | Double Whole  | Maxima      | Double Whole  |
| Longa        | Whole         | Longa       | Whole         |
| Breve        | Half          | Breve       | Half          |
| Semibreve    | Quarter       | Semibreve   | Quarter       |
| Minim        | Eighth        | Minim       | Eighth        |
| Semiminim  | Sixteenth   | Semiminim  | Sixteenth    |

Figure 9. Mensural to modern note transfer chart

On each five line staff, there is a clef. The composer uses it to give reference to a specific pitch in order to give context to what pitch will be represented by each line and space. The signs used for each clef differ noticeably with modern renditions of G, F, and C clefs, and they do not remain in the same fixed position as seen in modern notation where the G clef typically appears on the second line from the bottom (treble) and where the F clef appears on the second line from the top (bass). The G clef looks like a condensed form of the G clef known by modern musicians, the C clef resembles the shape of a *brevis* instead of a “B” or a backwards three with two lines on the left, and the F clef is a grouping of two symbols where the first looks like a *brevis* (Figure 10).

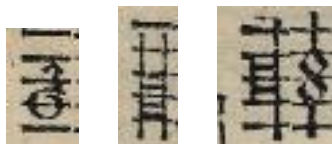


Figure 10. G, C, and F clef in sixteenth century notation.<sup>90</sup>

Typically, an F clef in modern notation will identify F3 as the second line from the top of the staff, and it does not move from that position. In Goudimel's Psalter, clefs may shift positions depending on the mode of the piece. The F clef's increased flexibility mimics the C clef in contemporary styles as represented by the alto and tenor clef. There are essentially alto and tenor clef equivalents with the F clef in sixteenth century music along with moving C clefs.

In the twenty-first century transcriptions, the C clefs in the superius and contralto part are changed to a G clef on the second line from the bottom of the staff (treble clef). When a C clef appears in the tenor, it becomes an F clef on the second line from the top of the staff (bass clef). F clefs in the bassus part that are on the third line from the top convert to an F clef on the second line from the top (bass clef). Each change reflects clefs commonly seen in each vocal part in the twenty-first century especially in hymnals.

Key signatures and accidental notation practices are almost identical to the modern notation tradition. The notation for the sharp symbol is X rather than #. (Figure 11). Most of the key signatures do not exceed one flat, so most of the notes appear as naturals. *Musica ficta*, the altering of a pitch to serve countpunal or leading tone purposes, appear occassionally as essential accidentals for melodic variations or harmonic function. The inclusion of an explicit sharp or flat sign is one change that occurred in mensural notation

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<sup>90</sup> Goudimel, *Les pseumes*, 32.

during this period. In times past, altered pitches may have just been noted by a dot. This system provides better clarity, but notation practices in the twenty-first century are slightly different; therefore, instead of using an “X,” which currently means a double-sharp, all sharps will be indicated by the “#” symbol.



Figure 11. Example of a sharp in sixteenth century music.<sup>91</sup>

Common in early music was the presence of a mark at the end of a line that indicated the pitch on the coming line. The check that specifies this is called a *custos*, which means guardian or protector. In early music transcription, another term often times used is the *plica*. Custodes help the performer think ahead to the coming line when a part-book and crowded staves make it difficult to locate the next staff. In Goudimel’s score they appear as black check marks (Figure 12).

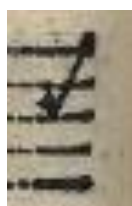


Figure 12. Custos from Goudimel’s Psalter.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Goudimel, *Les pseumes*, 34.

<sup>92</sup> Goudimel, *Les pseumes*, 34.

A ligature is the way in which early music sources signified that a slur or tie should be performed. In the case of vocal music, a ligature indicates the corresponding syllable of the pitches will receive a short melisma that is usually two to four pitches in duration. When the formations appear, it is usually by way of a *brevis*. Not many ligatures appear in the Huguenot Psalter, but when they do, transcribers must remember the following rule. Ligatures with an ascending tail to the left mean that the note with the stem and the note following it should be understood as *semibrevis* (Figure 13).<sup>93</sup> The appearance of ligatures in this work reflects its connection to the older neume tradition. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this notation fell out of use. So, the twenty-first century edition of Goudimel's Psalter will notate these ligatures as quarter notes.

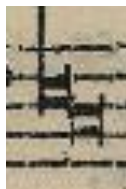


Figure 13. Two-note ligature from Goudimel's Psalter that equals the length of two *semibrevis*.<sup>94</sup>

The underlay of the middle French text is mostly syllabic. This makes syllabifying the words in a modern context simpler, because each syllable usually corresponds with a single pitch. 15<sup>th</sup> century liturgical works created more subjective work for the modern editor as they had to decide how a single phrase for two to six parts should be syllabified in a polyphonic setting.<sup>95</sup> Clarity in how text corresponds to pitches increased in the sixteenth century.

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<sup>93</sup> Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music*, 91.

<sup>94</sup> Goudimel, *Les pseumes*, 54.

<sup>95</sup> Thomas, "Renaissance Music in Modern Notation," 10.

Palestrina deserves credit for establishing this notation movement. In few instances a brief unmarked melisma appears at syncopated cadences. This is observed in the twenty-first century edition, it balances the poetic lines created by Marot and Beza; therefore It is important to consider the syllables of the lines.

Because of the increasing accessibility of printing presses, the text in Goudimel's edition is easier to read than hand written script that was also popular at the time. The French in Goudimel's Psalter contains some characters that no longer appear in Modern French. In addition, some of the word usage and orthography in the sixteenth century document have become archaic. I preserved most word choices and most spellings in the twenty-first century transcriptions, but I exchanged some letters to make the French easier to read. For instance, I replaced "y" with an "i" (e.x. *moy* becomes *moi*). "I" becomes "j" (e.x. *Ie* becomes *Je*). When "u" is in a word that currently uses a "v," it is changed (e.x. *nouuelle* becomes *nouvelle*). It was common to see a lower-case "s" to be written as a character that looks like an "f" – all these characters are altered to an "s" (e.x. *ainfi* becomes *ainsi*). Typesetters would place a tilde over the last vowel of a word indicating that the final letter was a "n," the "n" is added and the tilde is removed (e.x. *mō* becomes *mon*).<sup>96</sup> The ligature letter that looks like a combination of "f" and "t" becomes "n" (e.x. *efttranges* becomes *entranges*). Similarly, the ligature that resembles a backwards three (E) and a "t" becomes "t" (e.x. *nuEt* becomes *nuit*). The use of *ai* in Modern French was written as *oi* in Middle French, and the exchange has been made (e.x. *voudrois* becomes *voudrais*). All of these minor adjustments will make the French text more presentable while also while remaining faithful to the meaning of the text.

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<sup>96</sup> "Reading Old Regime French Documents," Portland State University Research Tools, accessed 26 Mar., <http://web.pdx.edu/~brtl/France-research-tools.htm>.

Syllabification features acknowledged while singing French were applied when setting the text under the music as well. Most of the rules are related to how consonants and vowels are divided. If there is a double consonant, it is divided (e.x. *irrité* becomes *ir-ri-té*). Two consonants that have a single phonetic sound, digraphs (*ch, th, ph, gn*), are treated as a single consonant unit and join the second syllable (e.x. *Seigneur* becomes *Sei-gneur*).<sup>97</sup> When consecutive vowels are pronounced as one sound (*eau, ou, ai, eu, ie*), they are placed in the same syllable (e.x. *fiureur* becomes *fur-eur*). These are some of considerations given to the syllabification of French text during the transcription process since it is not marked in Goudimel's version.

With a frame of reference for the notation practices in Goudimel's time and how the music and text in his Psalter will be represented in the twenty-first century edition, example transcriptions and a musical analysis will follow. This area will culminate the previous study and apply the principles that were just discussed.

### Select Examples and Analysis

I will present three psalm transcriptions to showcase the changes made in the transcription process. I believe each change made from the sixteenth century version to the twenty-first century serves the widest audience. The three psalms to be displayed are 1, 6, and 16. Following each transcription presentation, a concise analysis of the text's message and its relationship to Huguenot theology along with key musical features that represent Goudimel's sixteenth century style will be supplied. The first arrangement to be considered is Psalm 1 (Figure 14).

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<sup>97</sup> Joan Wall, *Diction for Singers: A Concise Reference for English, Italian, Latin, German, French, and Spanish Pronunciation* (Redmond: Celumbra, 2012), 238.

*Psaume 1 (Qui au conseil des malins)*

## Qui au conseil des malins (Psaume 1)

SUPERIUS  
CONTRA

Qui au con - seil des ma - lins n'a es -  
Et sem - ble - ra un ar - bre grand et  
Mais les per - uers n'au - ront tel - les ver -  
Car l'E - ter - nel les just - es co - gnaist

TENOR  
BASSUS

5

té Qui n'est au trac des pe - cheurs arr - es -  
beau, Plat - té au long d'un clair cour - rant ruis -  
tus: Ain - çois ser - ont sem - bla - les aux fes -  
bien, Et est soi - gneux et d'eux et de leur

9

té Qui des mo - queurs au banc pla - ce n'a  
seau, Et qui son fruiet en sa sai - son ap -  
tus: Et à la pu - dre au gré du vent  
bien, Pour - tant aur - ront fe - li - ci - té qui

213

pri - se, Mais nuit et jour la Loi con -  
por - te: Du quel aus - si la fue - ille  
chas - se: Par - quoi se - ra leur cau - se  
dur - ez: Et pour au - tant qu'il n'a ne

17

tem - ple - et prise De l'E - ter - nel et  
ne chet - mor - te: Si qu'un - te homme et  
ren - ver - se - e En ju - ge - ment, et  
soin ne cu - re Des mal - vi - vans, le

21

en est de - sir - eux. Cer - tain - e -  
tout ce qu'il fe - ra. Tous - jours heur -  
tous ces re - prou - vez Au rang des  
che - mins qu'ils tien dront. Eux, et leurs

25

ment ce - stui - la est heur - eux.  
eux et pros - per - re se - ra.  
bons ne ser - ont point trou - vez.  
faits en ru - i ne vien - dront.

Figure 14. Twenty-first century version of *Psaume 1*  
(*Qui au conseil des malins/Who Partake in Wicked Counsel*).



The first transcription up for analysis may be referred to as *Psaume 1* or by the title of the melody, which is the first words of the text, *Qui au conseil* (Who Partake in Wicked Counsel). The text of Psalm One is considered the introduction and summary of the entire Book of Psalms as it provides instruction on what kind of activity leads to blessedness and what kind of life leads to curses in a person's life. The stanza organization by syllables is 10.10.11.11.10.10 and a portion of the text reads,

*Qui au conseil des malins n'a esté  
 Qui n'est au trac des pecheurs arresté  
 Qui des moqueurs au banc place n'a prise,  
 Mai nuit et jour la Loi contemple et prise...  
 Certainment cestui-la est heureux.*

(Who in the counsel of the wicked has not been  
 Who is not concerned with the way of sinners  
 Who does not take a place among mockers  
 But night and day contemplates and takes upon the law...  
 Certainly, he is happy).

The main exhortation is that Christians should follow the counsel revealed by God's law (*loi*), or instruction, and remain strongly committed to its precepts and not join with those who do otherwise. The chapter "The Promises of the Law and the Gospel Reconciled" in John Calvin's *Institutes* makes reference to how the idea of "law" should be understood in the psalm text while defending the doctrine of justification as supported by Protestants. He writes, "Now, if that righteousness of works, whatever it be, depends on faith and free justification, and is produced by it, it ought to be included under it, and so to speak, made subordinate to it, as the effect to its cause; so far is it from being entitled to be set up to impair or destroy the doctrine of justification."<sup>98</sup> Calvin's interpretation of *Psaume 1* places the text in agreement

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<sup>98</sup> John Calvin, *The Institutes of Christian Religion*, vol. 2, trans., Henry Beveridge (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1997), 112-113.

with Reformation ideals that the whole Bible presents the idea that humans are justified before God by faith in Christ's righteousness alone and the function of the law is to lead believers to righteous works that accompany salvation. This understanding combats beliefs presented by Calvin's opponents in Geneva and sound in harmony with teaching of Luther. The melody and harmonization joined to *Psaume 1* communicates the delight of 'walking in the counsel' of God. When examining Goudimel's music, consideration must be given to each vocal part and its relationship between voices in the same composition.

Goudimel observes sixteenth century four-part writing rules in *Qui au conseil*. By looking at the first four chords present in the psalm, audiences will see Goudimel's strict attention to counterpoint rules articulated by Zarlino.

Figure 15. Excerpt of twenty-first century version of *Psaume 1* (*Qui au conseil des malins/Who Partake in Wicked Counsel*) without text.

I provide an example of the chart that supplies the options for four-part writing below (Figure 16). By observing this method of compositional technique, the Italian theorist suggests the artist “will achieve the desired end and earn honor that may well be valuable to him.”<sup>99</sup> From

<sup>99</sup> Zarlino, *The Art of Counterpoint*, 227.

the French Protestant perspective, this would be the honor of treating the divine gift of music appropriately.<sup>100</sup>

|   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|
|   | <b>THE UNISON</b>   |   | <b>THE FIFTH</b>  |
| If the soprano forms<br>and the bass forms<br>the alto will be    | a unison with the tenor,<br>a third beneath the tenor,<br>a fifth or sixth above the bass.              | If the soprano forms a<br>and the bass forms<br>the alto may form | fifth above the tenor,<br>an octave below it,<br>a third or tenth above the bass.                                       |
| But if the bass forms<br>the alto will form a                     | a fifth beneath the tenor,<br>third or tenth above the bass.  | If the bass is<br>the alto will form                              | a sixth below the tenor,<br>a unison or octave with the other parts.  |
| Likewise if the bass forms<br>the alto may be                     | a sixth below the tenor,<br>a third or tenth above the bass.  |   | <b>THE SIXTH</b>  |
| If the bass forms an<br>the other parts will be                   | octave below the tenor,<br>a third, fifth, sixth, tenth, or twelfth<br>above the bass.                  | If the canto forms<br>and the bass<br>the alto may make           | a sixth with the tenor,<br>a fifth below the tenor,<br>a unison or octave with the other parts.                         |
| If it is<br>the alto will form a                                  | a tenth below the tenor,<br>fifth or twelfth from the bass.   | But if the bass is<br>the alto will be                            | a third below the tenor,<br>a fifth above the bass.   |
| But if it is<br>the alto may be placed                            | a twelfth, then<br>a third or tenth above the bass.   | Likewise if the bass is<br>the alto will also be                  | a tenth below the tenor,<br>a fifth or twelfth above the bass.  |
| Thus the bass, being<br>the other parts may be                    | a fifteenth below the tenor,<br>a third, fifth, sixth, tenth, twelfth,<br>or thirteenth above the bass. |   | <b>THE OCTAVE</b>   |
|   | <b>THE THIRD</b>  |   | an octave with the tenor,<br>a third below the tenor,<br>third, fifth, sixth, twelfth, or thirteenth<br>above the bass. |
| If the soprano forms<br>and the bass forms<br>the alto may form   | a third with the tenor,<br>a third below it,<br>a unison or octave with the other parts.                | If the soprano forms<br>and the bass is<br>the other parts form a | a fifth below the tenor,<br>a third above the bass.   |
| But should the bass be<br>the alto may be placed                  | a sixth below the tenor,<br>a third or tenth above the bass.  | Likewise when it forms<br>the other parts may form                | an octave below the tenor,<br>third, fifth, tenth, or twelfth above<br>the bass.  |
| But if the bass is<br>then the alto will be                       | an octave below the tenor,<br>a fifth or sixth above the bass.  | If the bass is<br>the other parts will form a                     | a twelfth below the tenor,<br>tenth or seventeenth above the bass.  |
| If it is<br>may be  | a tenth, then the parts<br>unisons or octaves with the others.  | Finally if the bass is<br>the other parts will form a             |   |
| When the soprano forms a<br>and the bass a<br>then the alto forms | <b>THE FOURTH</b>   |   |   |
| But if it is<br>the alto is placed                                | fourth with the tenor,<br>fifth below the tenor,<br>a third or tenth above the bass.                    |   |   |
|   | a twelfth below the tenor,<br>a tenth above the bass.   |   |   |

Figure 16. Zarlino's chart four four-part voicings.<sup>101</sup>

The melody taken from the Genevan Psalter found in the tenor voices serves as the subject which the other parts are built on or the end that dictates the movement of the composition. Through consideration of the tenor's relationship to the soprano, one may predict the proper harmonic options.

<sup>100</sup> Louis Bourgeois, *Le droict chemin de musique (The Direct Path of Music)*, trans., Robert M. Copeland (Ottawa: Institute of Medieval Music, 2008), 10.

<sup>101</sup> Zarlino, *The Art of Counterpoint*, 182-183.



Figure 17. Melody of *Psaume 1*  
(*Qui au conseil des malins/Who Partake in Wicked Counsel*) without text.

Goudimel's harmonic choices reflect the assured and joyful feeling in Psalm One through stable root-position chords. The first interval between the tenor and superius is a sixth (Figure 18, m.1). That means if the bass is a fifth below, the contra should be in the same pitch class of another part, which it is with the bass (Figure 18, m. 1). In the second chord of m. 2, the superius is a sixth above the tenor. That means if the bassus is a tenth below the contra, it forms a twelfth with the bass. The first chord in the second measure has the fifth above the tenor. The bassus is the distance of an octave below it, and the contra forms a third with the tenor. The final example that will be noted also emphasizes Goudimel's conformity to sixteenth century principles and strong consideration of how to convey the text's meaning.

The image shows a musical score for two parts: SUPERIUS CONTRA and TENOR BASSUS. The music is in 2/4 time and B-flat major. The Superius part is written in a soprano clef and features a melodic line with various rhythmic values, including eighth and sixteenth notes. The Tenor/Bassus part is written in a bass clef and primarily consists of a steady bass line of quarter notes, providing harmonic support to the Superius part.

Figure 18. Excerpt of twenty-first-century version of *Psaume 1* (*Qui au conseil des malins/Who Partake in Wicked Counsel*) without text.

In the first chord of m. 3, the superius is a fourth away from the tenor, the bassus is a fifth below the tenor, and the alto forms a third with the bassus. In addition, each choice made by Goudimel in the first four measures adhere to sixteenth century voice-leading rules. Each part appears to mimic their described roles as explained by Zarlino. For example, the role of the bassus is often to provide stability by sounding the root of each chord, as in this excerpt. The superius presents energetic and free rhythms in measure carrying with it the strong mannerisms of fire. The tenor holds the unique melody, and the alto balances each chord. In terms of affect, the range of the voices is moderate, the mode is Ionian, and there are simple rhythmic jolts at the end of each phrase. Goudimel uses these musical characteristics to communicate the mood of one who takes counsel and delight in God's law and not the way of the wicked. In this short analysis, I took note of Goudimel's sixteenth century musical style in addition to commenting on how Goudimel's harmonizations show his sensitivity towards the text. Now, I will consider Psalm 6.

*Psaume 6 (Ne veuille pas)*

Ne vueille pas (Psaume 6a)

SUPERIUS  
CONTRA

TENOR  
BASSUS

5

S.  
C.

T.  
B.

7

S.  
C.

T.  
B.

Figure 19. Twenty-first century version of *Psaume 6 (Ne veuille pas/No Longer See)*.

G.R. Woodward considers Psalm 6 (*Psaume 6; Ne vueille pas/No Longer See*) is the germ of the Genevan Psalter, as it may be the first metrical psalm that Marot created and published.<sup>102</sup> The poet's text appears as early as 1533 in works created while in service to Francis I. This psalm along with other sacred texts circulated through the royal court for a brief period before he moved on from his role and became famous for briefly working with Calvin in Geneva. The metrical pattern is one of the shortest in the psalter with each line lasting for six or seven syllables (7.7.6.7.7.6). Smaller patterns help express the sentiment of penitence and prayer expressed in the text. Marot writes,

*Ne vueille pas, ô Sire  
Me reprédre en ton ire,  
Moi qui t'ai irrité  
N'é ta fureur terrible,...*

(No longer see, O Lord  
Do not repeat your anger towards me  
You who I have angered  
Do not have terrible anger towards me).

Psalm 6 communicates that Christians may find absolution and reconciliation apart from a priest, because the psalmist directly petitions God. Emphasizing the concept of forgiveness kept morale high among the Huguenots during times of persecution.<sup>103</sup> The psalm's solemn and fervent quality is reflected in the modal structure and cadential points throughout the tune.

Bourgeois set *Ne vueille pas* (No Longer See) in the ninth mode also known as the Aeolian mode. The mode is established by fact that only natural pitches are used in the

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<sup>102</sup> G. R. Woodward, "The Genevan Psalter of 1562; Set in Four-Part Harmony by Claude Goudimel, in 1565," *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 44 (1918): 167.

<sup>103</sup> Calvin, *The Institutes of Christian Religion*, 633.

melody, the melody begins and ends on A, and the primary use of the pitches A and E (the final and the fifth, Figure 20, mm. 1, 3, 5–6, and 8).



Figure 20. Melody of *Psalme 6 (Ne veuille pas/No Longer See)* without text.

According to Douen, this mode, and its similar mode (Hypo-Aeolian) are the closest to an ancient sounding collection of pitches.<sup>104</sup> The half-steps occur at important scale degrees. In addition, the Hypo-Aeolian mode is very similar to the Phrygian mode which Pratt considers to be an antique sound.<sup>105</sup> In cataloguing the origin of some of the Genevan melodies, Douen connects the tune to a melody known by the title *Dans l'empire oriental il es tune ville si bien parée* (In the Eastern Empire, there is a City Well Adorned).<sup>106</sup> Networks to Asian imagery also provides the sense that this tune is of an older mood. The text setting of the psalm in the melody and the harmonies draws out the longstanding idea of repentance in the text as well.

The word stresses on the word *vueille* (see/consider), which in the melodic text-setting of the French is the first two syllables of the psalm, are balanced by their assignment to short

<sup>104</sup> Pratt, *The Music of the French Psalter of 1562*, 3

<sup>105</sup> Pratt, *The Music of the French Psalter of 1562*, 36.

<sup>106</sup> O. Douen, *Clement Marot et le Psautier Huguenot* (Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf, 1967), 682.



rhythms. The unstressed syllables have the opportunity to be drawn out by tiny agogic, or long note, stresses which help balance the power between strong and weak syllables in order to increase the verbal flow of the line.

### Ne vueille pas (Psaume 6a)

The image shows a musical score for the twenty-first century version of Psalm 6. It consists of two staves: the top staff for Superius/Contra and the bottom staff for Tenor/Bassus. The music is written in a simple, homophonic style with a clear melisma in the second measure. The lyrics are in French and are aligned with the notes.

SUPERIUS  
CONTRA

TENOR  
BASSUS

Ne vue - il - le pas, ô Si - re Me re-pré-dre en ton ire, Moi qui t'ai  
Ains, Sei-gneur, vien en ten - dre Sur moi ta pi - tié ten - dre, Car ma-lade  
Et mon es - prit ne trou - ble Gran dement et au dou - ble En ex - tre  
He - las, Si - re, re - tou - rne, D'entour de moi den-tour - ne Ce mer-ueill  
Car en la mort cru - e - le Il n'est de toi nou - vel - le, Mem- oi - re

Figure 21. Excerpt of twenty-first century version of *Psaume 6* (*Ne vueille pas/No Longer See*).

The extended melisma in m. 2 then draws out the importance of the meaning of words such as *Sire* (lord), *tendre* (tender), *trouble* (trouble), *retourne* (return), *cruelle* (cruel) in the following verses (Figure 21). In Bourgeois' musical handbook for Geneva, he instructs readers that ligature figures (slurs and melismas) should be sung with “weightiness” or heaviness.<sup>107</sup> His intention was to honor God's glory and bounty with the gift of music. The text's declamation flows smoothly in the first sub-phrase of the Genevan tune. In those same places, Goudimel's harmonization contribute to the affect created by the melody and demonstrates he is in agreement with Bourgeois on how the text should be treated.

<sup>107</sup> Bourgeois, *Le droict chemin de musique*, 66.

Spacious voicings on the stressed syllables of *vueille* (see/consider) help give importance to the word while rhythmic figures make it flow with the line's metrical stream. The upper and lower voices are in the widest intervals that are non-dissonant and avoid being in the same pitch class (unison octave). The harmonies create a consonant and sturdy sound that rings more prominently than the preceding and succeeding chords especially since the perfect fifth is in the lowest of the voices (Figure 22, m. 1). The counterpoint at these two chords (m. 1) agrees with Zarlino's voicing rule when the superius is an octave from the tenor. While the first notes of the composition are in line with basic contrapuntal practices, the cadences in the first four measures stretch some of the sixteenth century rules and displays how Goudimel attempted to convey the text's ideas of humility.

### Psaume 6a (Ne vueille pas)

The musical score for Figure 22 shows two staves: Soprano/Alto (top) and Tenor/Bass (bottom). The time signature is 2/4. The Soprano/Alto part begins with a half note G4, followed by a quarter note A4, then a half note B4. The Tenor/Bass part begins with a half note G3, followed by a quarter note A3, then a half note B3. The two parts move in parallel motion for the first two measures, then diverge in the third and fourth measures.

Figure 22. Excerpt of twenty-first century version of *Psaume 6* (*Ne vueille pas/No Longer See*) without text.

There are two syncopated cadences in the first phrase (m. 2 and m. 4). The first brief point of closure is approached by a diminished function. Peter Schubert explains these principles further in his twenty-first century textbook on modal counterpoint. A diminished cadence is when a voice enters the close by a syncopation and dissonant suspension.<sup>108</sup> The

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<sup>108</sup> Peter Schubert, *Modal Counterpoint, Renaissance Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 136.

pitch creating the suspension in this case is the C at the apex of the tenor line in m. 2. The approach to a cadence is common since the syncopation is effective at signaling the closure is coming. Goudimel's choice to have the upper voices move in parallel motion with the tenor's upward ascent bring greater attention to the text's setting. This moment is noticeable, but it is not unusual. Dissonance between the soprano and tenor is resolved by parallel motion, but the syncopation and strong  $\hat{5}$  to  $\hat{1}$  skip masks the figure which creates a weak ending that prepares the stronger one that follows two measures later. In m. 4, the composer resolves the dissonances in contrary motion and a perfect authentic cadence transpires as the lower tenor voice approaches its cadence by descending step and the upper superius ends by ascending step. In addition to showing a grave affect in the melody and text, Goudimel's harmonization shows some of the compositional influences that affected his chordal and cadential writing along with how grave moods in the text guided the composer's choices. The next psalm example, number 16 (Figure 24), shows how Goudimel can use a flexible melody to blur the perception of a mode in order to show the relationship of ideas present in the psalm text. By Goudimel's setting, audiences see how the composer's knowledge of the text's message influences his compositional decisions in order to best deliver the meaning through music.

### Psaume 6a (Ne vueille pas)

The musical score for Psaume 6a (Ne vueille pas) is presented in two staves. The top staff is for Soprano and Alto, and the bottom staff is for Tenor and Bass. The time signature is 2/4. The melody in both parts is characterized by a syncopated rhythm, with the Soprano/Alto part starting on a half note and the Tenor/Bass part starting on a quarter note. The final measure of both parts concludes with a perfect authentic cadence, featuring a descending step in the Tenor/Bass and an ascending step in the Soprano/Alto.

Figure 23. Excerpt of twenty-first century version of *Psaume 6* (*Ne vueille pas/No Longer See*) without text.

## Psaume 16 (Ois moi, Seigneur)

## Ois moi, Seigneur (Psaume 16a)

SUPERIUS  
CONTRA



Ois moi Sei - gneur, ma gar - de et mon appui:  
 Mon vou - loir est d'ai - der aux ver - tu - eux,  
 Le Sei - gneur est le fond qui m'en - tre - tient,  
 Lou - é soit Dieu, par qui si sag - e - ment  
 Voi - la pour - quoi mon cœur est si joy - eux,

TENOR  
BASSUS



5



Car en toi gist tou - te mon es - per - an - ce.  
 Qui de bien vi - vre ont ac - quis les lou - anges:  
 Sur toi, mon Dieu, ma ren - te est as - seu - ree.  
 Je suis inn - ru - ist à pren - dre cene a - dresse:  
 Ma langue en rid, et mon corps s'en as - seu - re:



9



Sus donc aus - si, ô mon am - e de,  
 Mais mal sur mal s'en - tas - se - ra sur  
 Cer - tai - ne - ment la part qui - m'ap - par -  
 Car (qui plus est) je n'ai nul pen - se -  
 Sach - ant pour vrai, que dans le tom - beau



2

13

lui, Seig - neur, tu as sur moi tou - te puis -  
 ceux Qui vont cou - rants a - pres ces dieux en -  
 tient, En plus beau lieu n'eun peu m'ent - re liur -  
 ment, Qui tou - te nuit me m'en - seigne et re -  
 creux Ne sous - sri - ras que ma vi - e dem -

17

- san - ce: Et tou - tes fois point n'y a d'œ - vre mien -  
 - tran - ges. A leurs sang - lants sa - cri - fi - ces ne tou -  
 - e - e: Bref, le plus beau qui fun en l'he - ri - ta -  
 dres - se. Sans ces - se donc à mon Dieu je re - gar -  
 - eu - re: Et ne vou - drais au - cu - ne - ment per - met -

22

ne, Dont jus - qu'à toi quel - que pro fit re - vien - ne.  
 che, Voi - re leurs noms je n'ai point en la bou - che.  
 ge, Est, de bon - heur, es - cheu en mon par - ta - ge.  
 de: Aus - si est - il à ma dex - tre, et me gare.  
 tre Que pour - ri - ture en ton Saint se vinn met - tre.

Figure 24. Twenty-first century version of *Psaume 16* (*Ois moi, Seigneur/Hear me, Lord*).

Psalm 16 provides hope to Christians because God is their refuge and source of wisdom. Receiving the Lord's virtue should be a source of encouragement and reason for praise. Beza sets the idea as the following,

*“Seigneur, tu as sur moi toute puissance :  
Et toutes fois point n’y a d’œuvre mienne,  
Dont jusqu’à toi quelque profit revienne.*

*Mon vouloir est d’aider aux vertueux,  
Qui de bien vivre ont acquis les louanges.”*

(Lord, you are all my strength:  
And there is no work of mine within me,  
From which a profit will come back to you.

My desire is to help the righteous  
Whose life has acquired my praise).

Calvin speaks of this psalm in a number of places in the Institutes. In his second volume where he discusses the summation of the Christian life, he notes that gift of God to do good should be viewed as sign of dedication rather than a means of justification.<sup>109</sup> By extending service and aid, one is being faithful to a sacred obligation. Calvin also cites how he believe these texts were misused by bishops attempting to introduce the worship images of God and past Christians. He contends that a phrase such as *Qui de bien vivre ont acquis les louanges* (Who, through living well, has incurred my praise) should not be understood as an invitation to participate in iconography of saints, because doing so would be a form of “absurd” idolatry.<sup>110</sup> This strong contention further highlights Calvin’s iconoclastic perspective and strong belief that such worship practices should be changed. A later verse expresses a sense of hope and joy:

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<sup>109</sup> Calvin, *The Institutes of Christian Religion*, 11.

<sup>110</sup> Calvin, *The Institutes of Christian Religion.*, 102.

*“Voila pourquoi mon cœur est si joyeux,  
Ma langue en rid, et mon corps s’en assure :  
Sachant pour vrai, que dans le tombeau creux  
Ne soussriras que ma vie demeure :”*

(Here is why my heart is joyful  
My tongue is filled and my being is sure  
Knowing that in the hallow tomb  
My life will not be bound to remain).

Here a source of encouragement is extended by the promise of life beyond death. In a writing on the French Protestant’s hope for a resurrection, Calvin takes the previously quoted verse and exegetes that a portion of confidence should be received by those believing this promise. Calvin argues that the grace bestowed should be based on the significance of Christ’s resurrection. During that eschatological moment when one sees Christ in a “spotless” and “free from corruption” body, Christians will receive the fulfillment of the promise that they share in the benefits of Christ’s resurrection.<sup>111</sup> Thus, singing this psalm heightens one’s affection to live in service and hope. The musical context communicates the mystery and goodness of the proposals in the text while also exploring unique aspects of the sixteenth century modal counterpoint style.

The melody for *Ois moi, Seigneur* (Hear me, Lord) conveys a sense of jubilation and the harmonic activity colors it with the challenge of self-denial and waiting that comes as one obeys the divine instruction present in the word. Bourgeois arranged the melody in the Ionian mode, but its final cadence is on A.

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<sup>111</sup> Calvin, *The Institutes of Christian Religion*, 262.



Figure 25. Melody of *Psaume 16* (*Ois moi, Seigneur/Hear me, Lord*) without text.

A shift to the Aeolian mode does not happen until the end. The composer places an agogic accent on the A, and the tone is approached by an upward step from G (Figure 25, m. 26). Before that final instance, moments of modal characteristics besides Ionian may be noticed like the momentary cadence on A in m. 17, but the composition is mostly occupied with Ionian material. The opening phrase contains a descending C scale with leaps to G, the dominant, that then lead to the pause on the mediant. Similar scalar patterns are seen in the following phrases. C–E–G are favored pitches as starting points, ending points, and destinations for leaps. While the melody insists on the brighter and newer sounding mode, it is framed in different modal context by Goudimel’s harmonization in order to communicate the pressing challenge that comes from waiting on God to deliver on promises.

The first unique chord structure is in m. 4. A major, a non-diatonic chord requiring a *fict* (introduction of pitch outside the mode), frames the melody’s cadence pitch of E. The harmony and voice-leading conforms to sixteenth century practice, and Goudimel is using the full range of possibilities by not arriving at an expected chord.



## Ois moi, Seigneur (Psaume 16)

The musical score is written in 2/4 time. The top staff, labeled 'SUPERIUS' and 'CONTRA', uses a treble clef. The bottom staff, labeled 'TENOR' and 'BASSUS', uses a bass clef. The piece consists of nine measures. The first measure has a C4 in the bass and a G4 in the superius. The second measure has a C4 in the bass and an E4 in the superius. The third measure has a C4 in the bass and a G4 in the superius. The fourth measure has a C4 in the bass and a G4 in the superius. The fifth measure has a C4 in the bass and a G4 in the superius. The sixth measure has a C4 in the bass and a G4 in the superius. The seventh measure has a C4 in the bass and a G4 in the superius. The eighth measure has a C4 in the bass and a G4 in the superius. The ninth measure has a C4 in the bass and a G4 in the superius.

Figure 26. Twenty-first century version of *Psaume 16*  
(*Ois moi, Seigneur/Hear mee, Lord*) without text.

An alternative harmony could have been a C (bassus), E (tenor), G (contra), C (superius) chord. Such a chord choice abides by Zarlino's harmonic proportions. The tenor is a sixth below the soprano, the bass is a third below the bass, and the contra is a fifth above the bass. A stronger Ionian chordal progression contrasts this counterpoint in mm. 8-9. A G chord in root position at the momentary cadence in m. 8 is followed by a C chord in root position at m. 9 and the melody contains a C in the higher area of the tenor range.

## Ois moi, Seigneur (Psaume 16)

The image shows a musical score for 'Ois moi, Seigneur (Psaume 16)'. It is written in 7/4 time and consists of three systems of music. The first system includes parts for 'SUPERIUS CONTRA' (treble clef) and 'TENOR BASSUS' (bass clef). The second system starts at measure 5, and the third system starts at measure 9. The music features a mix of chords and melodic lines, with some notes beamed together and some measures containing rests.

Figure 27. Twenty-first century version of *Psaume 16*  
 (*Ois moi, Seigneur/Hear mee, Lord*) without text.

The dynamic relationship between the chordal voicings and the melodic contour provides a narration to the ideas suggested by *Psaume 16*. The melody pulls towards one mode and the harmonies pull towards another. These differences mimic the psalmist's feeling of hopefulness yet longing. Goudimel's interpreted the text's meaning through his harmonizations. The affectual quality and ordered structure of the music meets Huguenot

standards that musical rhetoric should be developed by what is seen as good from the perspective of God.<sup>112</sup>

This final section provided transcription examples that applied the methodology followed in crafting twenty-first century versions of Goudimel's Genevan Psalter. I noted common sixteenth century musical practices and techniques along with interpretations on how musical activity draws out meaning within short sections of the text. This guided presentation and analysis further summaries some of the history and theology connected to Goudimel.

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<sup>112</sup> Bourgeois, *Le droict chemin de musique*, 10.

## Conclusion

The present document provided a model for analyzing and transcribing the Genevan Psalter. First, I offered a historical account of the circumstances in the Christian church that led to the formation of Protestantism and one of its French sects. The exposition of Chapter One summarizes the religious and political conflicts of the era and place. Persecution under Roman rule was one force that caused the Christian church to consider its beliefs on public worship and the authority on which bishops operated. The events which transpired informed the future of Protestant politics and liturgical practices which included music. During the Avignon Papacy, corruption and inconsistencies in the church led individuals such as John Wycliffe and Jan Hus to question the extent of church leaders' authority. The gradual formation of humanism and the advancement of the printing press increased the desire to have a reliable and consistent source of truth in the church. One application of that result the growing consensus that theology should be primarily derived from the Holy Bible, and it should be available to the laity.

After establishing that broad perspective of Christian church history, I turned to a discussion of French Protestantism in the sixteenth century to convey the specific thoughts, people, and circumstances most related to Claude Goudimel. Activity in the royal French courts revealed the government's relationship to Protestants and how their policy effected its development. Viewing John Calvin as one of the most articulate and extensive writers on Huguenot theology and thought, considerable attention was given to his life and theology. The Protestant leader's significant relevance to this project was overseeing the production of the Genevan Psalter with its French text versifications and melodic compositions. Individuals

who served Calvin's vision produced a substantial piece of theology and art for French Protestantism that eventually attracted Goudimel to harmonize all 150 melodies.

Finally, the contents in this thesis presented relevant research in the transcription of sixteenth century sacred Christian music. Scholarship in the field helped frame the methodology and considerations given to twenty-first century transcriptions of the Psalter. After I described my transcription process, I presented three psalms. The analysis accompanying each transcription models an application of the process suggested in previous sections, an acknowledgement of some of Goudimel's compositional technique, and interpretations on the music's rhetorical achievement in communicating the text's affectual qualities.

The significance of the project is its ability to strengthen ties to an older art form that flourished in recreational and liturgical circumstances. Engagement with historical matters provided awareness of the music's place in history, and transcriptions make it easier for modern practitioners, whether they be professional or amateur, to engage in performing these psalms. This project is a first step towards a twenty-first century edition of the Huguenot Psalter for musicological, performance, and devotional purposes.

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