

**The Importance of Psalms and Accompaniment from Ancient Times through
the Protestant Reformation with Special Emphasis on Psalmody in the Dutch
Reformed Tradition**

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Abstract

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Throughout the history of Christian worship, the psalmody has remained central to congregations as a means of worship across religious, denominational, and cultural divides—from the use of psalms in ancient Judeo-Christian worship, to the manifestation of the Catholic Church, and through the Protestant Reformation. The banning of organ music in the new Calvinist Church of the sixteenth century, particularly in the Netherlands, provides a study of the importance of psalmody and, even more particularly, the necessity of organ accompaniment as means of enabling congregational worship. An examination of the vital Dutch organ and keyboard composers and works of the era allows for an understanding of how the organ as musical accompaniment became so central to psalmody, and alludes to its potential for continued benefits for Christian congregations around the globe as a way of uniting cross-cultural denominations.

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*The LORD is my strength and my shield; my heart trusts in him, and I am helped. My heart leaps for joy and I will give thanks to him in song.
—Psalm 28*

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Introduction

My passion for psalmody and the organ works that have arisen from it began during my time as church organist of the Christian Reformed Church in Rochester, New York. Though I had served as accompanist in various Protestant churches in South Korea, this was my first post in the United States. In South Korea, I had never accompanied or sung psalms—it is not the tradition there to do so. For the most part, psalms are restricted to recitations read alternately between celebrant and congregation. The beauty and ancient history of accompanied psalmody began to take hold in me, and it became an important aspect of my personal worship. My interest in psalm singing grew even greater when I took a post accompanying at a Roman Catholic Church a few years ago. The use of the singing and the interplay between the organ and congregational singing has since inspired me to look into the history of such works and to discover the importance of psalmody throughout the ages and across denominations.

Throughout the history of Christian religions and their denominations, the psalmody—and most especially the later musical accompaniment provided by the organ—has remained central to Christian congregations as a means of worship and unification. In order to understand the importance of psalmody and its accompaniment, this dissertation will begin with an overview of psalms in ancient Judeo-Christian worship, through the manifestation of the Catholic Church, and up until the Protestant Reformation. A discussion of the banning of organ music in the new Calvinist Church, especially in the Netherlands, as well as a detailed account of the vital Dutch composers and works of the era, will lead readers to an understanding of why the banning of organ accompaniment was unsuccessful, and eventually overturned, during this period and how organ music can continue to have a positive impact on Christian congregations around the globe.

I. Overview of the Book of Psalms

Psalms are the sacred poetry of ancient Judaism composed over three millennia ago, between 1500 BCE and 450 BCE, and compiled in the Book of Psalms. Although it is generally accepted that the author of the majority of the psalms is King David of Israel sometime around 1000 BCE, multiple authors are credited with contributing psalms. Moses is credited with writing Psalm 90, the oldest of the psalms. Other composers include King David (seventy-three psalms), Asaph (twelve psalms), the sons of Korah (ten psalms), King Solomon (two psalms), and the Ezrahites known as Etahn and Heman (one psalm each). The rest of the psalms included in the Book of Psalms do not credit composers.

The origin of the Book of Psalms in the Bible goes back to the *Sefer Tehillim*, found in the Ketuvim (‘Writings’),¹ the third and final section of the *Tanakh* or Hebrew Bible. The *Sefer Tehillim* is arguably the most significant collection of psalms—150 psalms in total—to be viewed as sacred poetry in the Judeo-Christian tradition. The Greek translation of the *Sefer Tehillim*, contained in the *Septuagint*, became the basis of the Book of Psalms in the Christian Bible. The title of this Greek-translated version, the *Psalmoi*, offers the origin of the English word, “psalms.”

It is probable that the sacred poetry of psalms were originally intended to be sung while accompanied by musical instruments.² In the earliest complete manuscripts of the *Septuagint*—the *Codex Vaticanus* (fourth century) and the *Codex Alexandrinus* (fourth–sixth centuries)—the Book of Psalms is entitled *Psalmoi* or “songs sung with plucked string instruments” and

¹ Ketuvim (‘Writings’) is one of three sub-divisions within the Jewish scriptures, the Hebrew Bible. The other two are Torah (‘Law’) and Nevi‘im (‘Prophets’).

² John Arthur Smith, “Psalm, §I–2: The Book of ‘Psalms’: General Musical Aspects,” *Grove Music Online*, accessed October 11, 2015, *Oxford Music Online*.

Psaltērion “[to or for] plucked strings,” respectively. The Hebrew word ‘*mizmôr*’ in the superscriptions, or headings, of fifty-seven psalms is also translated in the *Septuagint* as *psalmos*, the basic meaning of which is “a song sung with the music of plucked string instruments.”³

Psalm-numbering conventions differ between the in-print editions of the *Septuagint* (Greek) and in those of the Masoretic⁴ (Hebrew) text (see Table 1). This is likely because of a gradual neglect of the original poetic form of psalms, through both liturgical use and the carelessness of copyists. Protestant translations use the Hebrew numbering, while Catholic official liturgical texts follow the Greek numbering. However, modern Catholic translations of the Book of Psalms use the Hebrew numbering (noting the Greek number). Eastern Orthodox translations continue using the Greek numbering.⁵

Table 1 Comparison of Psalm-Numbering Conventions

Hebrew (<i>Masoretic</i>) numbering: Protestant and modern Roman Catholic	Greek (<i>Septuagint</i>) numbering: Vulgate
Psalms 1-8	1-8
9-10	9
11-113	10-112
114-115	113
116, verses 1-9	114
116, verses 10-19	115
117-146	116-145
147, verses 1-11	146
147, verses 12-29	147
148-150	148-150

³ John Arthur Smith, “Psalm, §I - 3: Ancient Judaism,” *Grove Music Online*, accessed October 14, 2014, *Oxford Music Online*.

⁴ The Masoretic Text is the basis of modern printed editions of the Hebrew Bible.

⁵ “Psalms,” *Wikipedia*, accessed May 31, 2015, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Psalms>.

The Book of Psalms is divided into five sections:

- Book 1 (Psalms 1-41)
- Book 2 (Psalms 42-72)
- Book 3 (Psalms 73-89)
- Book 4 (Psalms 90- 106)
- Book 5 (Psalms 107-150)

Each of the first four sections contains a closing doxology—a closing refrain praising God (e.g., “Praise be the Lord, Amen”)—and many argue Psalm 150 takes on the role of the final doxology of the Book of Psalms.⁶

II. The Psalms in the Ancient Hebrew Worship

i. Sacred Psalmody of Ancient Temple Worship

According to the Bible, music first appeared as an important part of regular worship during the monarchies of David and Solomon. The biblical narrative describing the transfer of the Ark of the Covenant into the Tabernacle in Jerusalem (2 Samuel 6) mentions music for the first time as an integral part of Jewish worship. Within this passage, it is described that David and all the House of Israel worshiped with dancing, shouts, and the playing of string instruments, percussions instruments, and *shofar* (an ancient horn). According to the Bible, decades after this transfer to the Tabernacle in Jerusalem, the Ark of the Covenant found a permanent dwelling place within the Jerusalem Temple, a temple built by King David’s son, King Solomon. Around this era, it is believed the psalms were adapted for liturgical purposes, particularly for singing

⁶ John Lamb, *The Psalms in Christian Worship* (London: Faith Press, 1962), 2.

during sacrificial rites⁷ carried out in the Temple. Therefore, it is appropriate to begin a discussion of psalms as they appeared during the Israelites' religious worship during the Temple period.

In ancient Jewish history, the Jerusalem Temple underwent a complete reconstruction. The first iteration of the Jerusalem Temple, also known as the First Temple, was destroyed by the Babylonians in 586 BCE. However, when the Israelites returned from exile to Judah in 539 BCE, they undertook the task of rebuilding the destroyed temple. The Second Temple was completed in 516 or 515 BCE. In both the First and Second Temple (First Temple: c950–586 BCE; Second Temple: 516 or 515 BCE–70 CE), music was an intrinsic element of the worship, and the playing and singing of psalms was one of the most important ways music was integrated into the service. However, there is little detailed information about how exactly the psalms or music in general were integrated in both temples, and information about the First Temple is even scantier than that of the Second.⁸

a. Psalms at the Time of the First Temple

According to John Arthur Smith in his book, *Music in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, thirty-eight psalms are reckoned to have been composed during the time of the First Temple and thirty during the first exilic period. In regard to only the actual poetic text of the psalms—excluding the superscriptions, subscriptions, and rubrics attached to them—Smith affirms that six psalms (7, 61, 66, 68, 81, and 87) were written during the time of the First Temple, four psalms (43, 96, 98, and 137) from the exilic period, and Psalm 95 is unconfirmed. Psalms 24 and 118 are also relevant, since they have pre-exilic contents. Smith also asserts that

⁷ There was a burnt offering by animal sacrifice twice a day in the temple.

⁸ Lamb, *The Psalms in Christian Worship*, 8-9.

except for Psalm 96, which is specified in the text, all references to the First Temple as the setting of the psalms are implied by either indirect references or circumstantial detail. Among those psalms, Psalms 43, 61, and 66 mention the music in the context of the offering of sacrifices as “coming to the alter (Psalm 43:4),” “fulfill[ing] my vows (Psalm 61:9),” and “entering God’s house with burnt offerings (Psalm 66:13).” Psalms 68 and 81, and most likely 95 and 118, have non-sacrificial contexts.⁹

It is unknown what other psalms were sung at the First Temple, but a few Old Testament scriptures are known to have been used for singing in the psalmodic style. The Song of the Sea (Exodus 15: 1-18, God’s victory over the Egyptians in the Red Sea) and the Song of the Well (Numbers 21: 17-18) may have been sung by the Levites at the afternoon sacrifice on the Sabbath. David’s Lament (2 Samuel 1:19-27), Ezekiel’s Lament (Ezekiel 19: 2-14), and Habakkuk’s Prayer (Habakkuk 3: 2-19) also have features that relate to Levitical liturgical use in the temple.¹⁰

There are a few relevant biblical sources about music as an integral part of worship, such as 1 Kings 10, First Isaiah, and the Book of Amos. These are the earliest biblical documents to contain references to music at the Temple, although the documents do not provide any detailed description of said music.¹¹ Chronicles, which was written much later in the pre-Herodian era of the Second Temple as retrospection, also offers clues to the integration of music into worship at the First Temple. For example, 1 Chronicles 15 is known as the earliest reference to the formation of a trained and official body of musicians to lead worship.¹² Although it does not

⁹ John Arthur Smith, *Music in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 44-45.

¹⁰ Smith, “Psalm, I - 3: Ancient Judaism,” *Grove Music Online*.

¹¹ Smith, *Music in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, 38.

¹² Andrew Wilson-Dickson, *The Story of Christian Music: From Gregorian chant to Black Gospel An Illustrated Guide to All the Major Traditions of Music In Worship* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1996), 18.

describe the scene in the First Temple, but rather the arrival of the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord at the Tabernacle in Jerusalem, it mentions the instruments the Levites played and their manner of singing:

... David told the leaders of the Levites to appoint their brothers as singers to sing joyful songs, accompanied by musical instruments: lyres, harps, and cymbals. So the Levites appointed Heman son of Joel; from his brothers, Asaph son of Berekiah; and from their brothers the Merarites, Ethan son of Kushaiah; and with them their brothers next in rank: Zechariah, Jaaziel, Shemiramoth, Jehiel, Unni, Eliab, Benaiah, Maaseiah, Mattithiah, Eliphelehu, Mikneiah, Obed-Edom and Jeiel, the gatekeepers. The musicians Heman, Asaph and Ethan were to sound the bronze cymbals; Zechariah, Aziel, Shemiramoth, Jehiel, Unni, Eliab, Maaseiah and Benaiah were to play the lyres according to alamotheh, and Mattithiah, Eliphelehu, Mikneiah, Obed-Edom, Jeiel and Azariah were to play the harps, directing according to sheminith, Kenaniah the head Levite was in charge of the singing; that was his responsibility because he was skillful at it. Berekiah and Elkanah were to be doorkeepers for the ark. Shebaniah, Joshaphat, Nethanel, Amasai, Zechariah, Benaiah and Eliezer the priests were to blow trumpets before the ark of God. Obed-Edom and Jehiah were also to be doorkeepers for the ark. So David and the elders of Israel and the commanders of units of a thousand went to bring up the ark of the covenant of the LORD from the house of Obed-Edom, with rejoicing. Because God had helped the Levites who were carrying the ark of the covenant of the LORD, seven oxen and seven rams were sacrificed. Now David was clothed in a robe of fine linen, as were all the Levites who were carrying the ark, and as were the singers, and Kenaniah, who was in charge of the singing of the choirs. David also wore a linen ephod. So all Israel brought up the ark of the covenant of the LORD with shouts, with the sounding of rams' horns and trumpets, and of cymbals, and the playing of lyres and harps. As the ark of the covenant of the LORD was entering the City of David, Michal daughter of Saul watched from a window. And when she saw King David dancing and celebrating, she despised him in her heart.

Here follows a description of the performance in the time of Solomon as the ark is brought to the First Temple (2 Chronicles 5:12-14):

All the Levites who were musicians—Asaph, Heman, Jeduthun and their sons and relatives—stood on the east side of the altar, dressed in fine linen and playing cymbals, harps and lyres. They were accompanied by 120 priests sounding trumpets. The trumpeters and musicians joined in unison to give praise and thanks to the Lord. Accompanied by trumpets, cymbals and other instruments, the singers raised their voices in praise to the Lord and sang:

“He is good; his love endures forever.”

Then the temple of the Lord was filled with the cloud, and the priests could not

perform their service because of the cloud, for the glory of the Lord filled the temple of God. (NIV)

The two descriptions above do not illustrate music in the First Temple directly but rather the various kinds of the Levite instruments and the manner of their singing, which may have been closely related to the Temple music. The instruments mentioned in these descriptions can be categorized into three basic types: winds, strings, and percussions.¹³

Table 2 Instruments Used at the Tabernacle/During the Moving of the Ark of the Covenant

Wind	Shofar	Horn made from the horns of wild goats and rams. Chiefly used for announcements and signals.
Wind	Hāsōsērâ	Silver trumpet. Similar to hālîl. Used for signals. At the dedication of the first temple, 120 trumpets were played.
Wind	Hālîl	Double-reed pipe. Sharp and penetrating sound.
String	Kinnôr	Lyre or harp. Plucked-string instrument.
String	Nēbel	Harp. Probably larger than kinnôr. Plucked-string instrument. Had a bulbous sound box.
Percussion	Asê bërošîm	Cypress woodwind instruments
Percussion	Tōp	Small hand drum
Percussion	Mēna ‘aně‘îm	Rattle
Percussion	Şeşelîm	Small metal cymbal

Smith assumes that plucked-string instruments, shofars, and hāsōsērâ may have been used during both sacrificial and non-sacrificial rituals; however, percussive instruments and the hālîl may have not been included during sacrificial rituals.¹⁴

In the latter description, we also find a clause sung by Levite singers: “For he is good, his love endures forever.” As the repeated refrains found in Psalm 118:1-14 and Psalm 136 (“For his love endures forever”), this clause may also have taken on the role of response to a call.¹⁵

¹³ Smith, *Music in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, 51-55.

¹⁴ Smith, 59.

¹⁵ Wilson-Dickson, *The Story of Christian Music*, 21.

b. Psalms at the Time of the Second Temple

The use of psalms in the Second Temple seems much clearer than in the First Temple.

The *Talmud*—a large collection of Jewish teachings not of the canonical books of the Old Testament—provides useful references about the role of music in the Second Temple worship.

The description below is found in the *Mishnah*, a redaction of the *Talmud*. It concerns the twice-daily sacrifices of burnt offering in the Second Temple:

Whenever the Kohen Gadol (the High Priest) wanted to offer the incense, he would go up the ramp with this assistant on his right side. When he reached half way up the ramp, the assistant would hold his right hand and helped him go up. The first [priest] passed him [the Kohen Gadol] the head and rear [right] leg [of the Tamid], and he would lean his hands on them and then throw them [on the fire]. The second one passed to the first one the two front legs who would then give them to the Kohen Gadol, who would then lean on them and throw them [onto the fire]. When the second one would then go away. And so they would pass him the rest of the limbs and he would lean on them and throw them. And whenever [the Kohen Gadol] wanted, he would [only] lean on them and others would throw them. He then went around the altar. From the southeastern corner to the northeast corner then to the northwest corner then to southwest corner. They gave him the wine for the drink-offering, and the Perfect stood by each horn of the altar with a towel in his hand, and two priests stood at the table of the fat pieces with two silver trumpets in their hands. They blew a prolonged, a quavering and prolonged blast. Then they have come and stood by Ben Arza, the one on his right and the other on his left. When he stooped and poured out the drink-offering the perfect waved the towel and Ben Arza clashed the cymbals and the Levites broke forth into singing. When they reached a break in the singing they blew upon the trumpet and at every blowing of the trumpet a prostration. This was the rite of the Daily Whole-offering for the service of the House of God.¹⁶

The Temple liturgy of this time period was refined and elaborate, much as the liturgy conducted during the time of King Solomon.

¹⁶*Mishnah Tamid* 7:3, quoted in Wilson-Dickson, *The Story of Christian Music*, 19. The first half of the paragraph is from “Mishnah Tamid Chapter 7,” *Mishnah Tamid*, accessed September 20, 2015, http://www.sefaria.org/Mishnah_Tamid.7.3?lang=en&layout=lines&sidebarLang=all.

Below is a summary explanation of the daily sacrificial liturgy (recorded in the *Mishnah*) as written by contemporary musicologist, James Mckinnon, in his article, “On the Question of Psalmody in the Ancient Synagogue.”¹⁷

On every day of the year the perpetual (*tamid*) sacrifice was celebrated. This took the form of a solemn morning service and an essentially similar one in the afternoon. Between the two, various offerings were brought in by the people, while on Sabbaths, festivals and days of the new moon there were additional (*mussaf*) public sacrifices. Preparation for it began early in the morning when the priests were summoned from the various chambers and gates of the Temple where they slept or stood guard. They made ready the altar fire and drew lots for the more privileged functions of the service such as the slaughter of the lambs, one each for the morning and afternoon sacrifices. The service proper began when the ‘eastern sky was alight as far as Hebron.’ The priests blew three blasts on their silver trumpets, the great gate of the sanctuary was opened, the lamb was slaughtered and its limbs made ready for the sacrifice. At this point the participants retired for prayer to the Chamber of Hewn Stone, a building along the south wall of the inner court where the Sanhedrin convened. They recited three items: (1) the Ten Commandments; (2) the Shema, ‘Hear, O Israel’; and (3) a number of benedictions which constituted the nucleus of what would become the eighteen benedictions of the Tefillah, literally ‘prayer.’ The service continued as two priests chosen by lot went to the sanctuary for the solemn incense offering before the Holy of Holies. As they moved across the court towards the Sanctuary an officer threw down a large rake, the *magrefah*, with a legendary great clatter. This was the signal for the participants to prepare for the final acts of the service, and accordingly the Levite musicians assembled on the *duchan*, a platform adjoining the people’s portion of the inner court towards the east. While the incense was being offered the people both within and without the Temple court prayed. After performing the offering the chosen priests withdrew from the Sanctuary and together with the other priests blessed the people from the Sanctuary steps. The limbs of the lamb were then carried up the altar ramp and cast upon the fire. Two priests gave three blasts on their trumpets, the *segan* waved a cloth, the Temple officer who was ‘over the cymbals’ clashed them together, and as the libation of wine was poured on to the fire the Levites sang a psalm accompanied by the string instruments *nevel* and *kinnor*. The morning service - and the afternoon service as well - ended with the conclusion of the psalm.

From the two quotations above, it may be assumed that the Levitical singing of a psalm, beginning with the striking a cymbal,¹⁸ was placed at the climax of the sacrificial rite. The

¹⁷ James Mackinnon, “On the Question of Psalmody in the Ancient Synagogue,” *Early Music History* 6 (1986): 162-3.

Talmud informs readers that there were particular psalms chosen for the worship, one for each day of the week:

On the first day (Sunday): Psalm 24
On the second day: Psalm 48
On the third day: Psalm 82
On the fourth day: Psalm 94
On the fifth day: Psalm 81
On the sixth day: Psalm 93
On the Sabbath: Psalm 92

Including these seven psalms, the total number of psalms known to have been sung by the Levites during the sacrificial rites at the Second Temple totals fourteen: Psalms 24, 30, 48, 81, 82, 92–94, and 113–118.¹⁹ *Mishnah Pesahim* 5:7 mentions that Psalms 113-118 (the *hallel*) were to be used at the Feast of Passover,²⁰ the Feast of Weeks,²¹ the Feast of Tabernacles,²² and possibly at the Feast of Dedication.²³ Meanwhile, superscriptions in the Masoratic text and *Septuagint* indicate that Psalm 30 was used at the dedication of the Second Temple. Regarding psalm 30, *Mishnah Bikkurim* 3:4 states that the Levites sang the psalm during the presentation of the first-fruits at the Second Temple.

There were more psalms employed in worship at the Second Temple; however, they were not related to the sacrificial rites. For instance, the Levite musicians may have sung the 15 Songs of Ascent (psalms 120–134) during the changeover of the priestly and Levitical groups after their

¹⁸ Smith, *Music in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, 72–73.

¹⁹ Smith, 89 and 93.

²⁰ Feast of Passover: feast for a commemoration of Jewish liberation over 3300 years ago by God from slavery in ancient Egypt that was ruled by the Pharaohs, and their freedom as a nation under the leadership of Moses.

²¹ Feast of Weeks: for commemorating the anniversary of the day God gave the Torah (five books of Moses) to the entire nation of Israel assembled at Mount Sinai.

²² Feast of Tabernacles: a week-long fall festival commemorating the 40-year journey of the Israelites in the wilderness.

²³ Feast of Dedications: Also called Hanukkah. An eight-day holiday commemorating the rededication of the Holy Temple (the Second Temple) in Jerusalem.

work in the Temple.²⁴ It is not possible to find exactly which psalms belonged to the Levites' repertory in the Second Temple, but on the whole, the repertory may have included eighty-four psalms.

ii. Psalms in Jewish Synagogues²⁵

The role of psalms in Jewish synagogues during the exilic period (586–538 BCE) was different from the role they played in the First Temple (c950–586 BCE). As opposed to the rituals performed in the Temple, the gatherings in synagogues did not focus on sacrifice.²⁶ It is assumed that because of the absence of sacrifice, no specially trained Levite musicians were considered necessary. Instead, during the exilic period, psalms were only recited for private prayer or as scripture for exegetical purposes.²⁷

When the Second Temple (516/515 BCE–70 CE) was destroyed in 70 CE, change occurred in the synagogues. Although sacrifice was still excluded from the ritualized worship, the synagogue began to include some elements of the formal worship found in the ancient temples. For example, the recitations of *Shema*—"Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God, the LORD is one (Deuteronomy 6:4)"—and various other blessings²⁸ moved into the synagogue and became regular features of synagogue liturgy.²⁹ The use of *Tefillah* (a series of eighteen prayers beginning "Blessed art thou, O Lord") may also have been included.³⁰ On occasion, psalms were

²⁴ Smith, *Music in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, 91.

²⁵ Meaning 'assembly.' The origin of the synagogue is obscure, but most scholars support that the synagogue dates from the exilic period and arose in Babylon as a religious substitute for the Temple. In the time of Jesus, it was a recognized and flourishing institution.

²⁶ It continued in this way until the destruction of the second temple in 70 CE and even several decades afterwards.

²⁷ Smith, "Psalm, §I - 3: Ancient Judaism," *Grove Music Online*.

²⁸ One of the blessings was the Priestly blessing (Numbers 6:24–26), which had been part of the Temple liturgy. Smith, *Music in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, 131–132.

²⁹ Brink and Holman, *Psalter Hymnal Handbook*, 18.

³⁰ Smith, *Music in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, 132.

recited among scripture readings, and at such times, they seem to have been intoned as a simple recitation in the style of the other readings. However, the singing of psalms (psalmody) as part of daily synagogue ritual did not take hold till much later. The earliest concrete evidence of psalmody as a distinct musical ritual of synagogue liturgy comes from the eighth-century extracanonical treatise, *Sopherim*, which mentions recitation of the daily proper psalms from the earlier Temple liturgy.³¹

Meanwhile, Christianity, which arose in 30s and 40s among Jews in Judea, had become established in the large Jewish communities of Israel and the Diaspora by the time of the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 70 CE. Although Christians still attended synagogues around this time,³² Christian gatherings apart from the Jewish traditions began to take place in private Christian homes.

³¹ Brink and Holman, *Psalter Hymnal Handbook*, 18.

³² 394 synagogues existed in Jerusalem around this time.

III. Psalms in the Early Christian Church

Despite breaking from the Jewish traditions, psalms remained central to early Christian worship. Much like their Jewish predecessors, early Christians used the psalms to worship not only in formal public service, but also in private within the home. For example, early Christians in Jerusalem sang psalmody when they broke bread in their homes and ate together (Acts 2:46). Their psalm-singing was also influenced by the Jewish synagogue and household music of the time, in which psalms were generally chanted with a ritualized form of speech intonation, called cantillation. This style of chanting later influenced the development of Gregorian chant, which came out in the sixth century.

Very little is known regarding the role of the psalms in Christian liturgy before the fourth century, and opinions are divided on what little evidence does exist. During these centuries Christian liturgical development was slow, and preserved documents from this era are rare. This is largely because of the religious persecution of Christians, which hindered the Church's development.³³ However, what is clear is that the psalms played an important role in the religious lives of early Christians. Psalms were not only sung during formal, public worship among the early Christians but also in private within the home.

During this period, early Christians composed new poetic texts, called hymns. These newly composed texts were commonly used and referenced as the psalms; Christian literature of the first and second centuries barely distinguish between the terms *hymnus* and *psalmus*.³⁴ Two forms of singing, the responsorial and the antiphonal, were mainly applied to these texts (see Figures 1 and 2). The responsorial form is defined by the congregation or choir responding in chorus to a solitary lead singer's verses, while the antiphonal form is defined by the alternation of two choirs. Interestingly, musical instruments were excluded from Christian worship at this

³³ Lamb, *The Psalms in Christian Worship*, 23.

³⁴ Brink and Holman, *Psalter Hymnal Handbook*, 20.

time.³⁵ It is posited that this is mainly because of the increasing association of musical instruments with pagan worship, moral degeneration, and war.³⁶

Figure 1 Methods of singing the responsorial psalmody

- 1) A solitary lead singer sings each psalm verse using a single melody; a choir (or all) may sing a refrain after each verse

Verse 1	Response	Verse 2	Response	Verse 3
Solo	Choir (or all)	Solo	Choir (or all)	Solo
Melody 1	Refrain	Melody 1	Refrain	Melody 1

- 2) A solitary lead singer sings each psalm verse using a different melody; a choir (or all) may sing a refrain after each verse

Verse 1	Response	Verse 2	Response	Verse 3
Solo	Choir (or all)	Solo	Choir (or all)	Solo
Melody 1	Refrain	Melody 2	Refrain	Melody 3

Figure 2 Methods of singing the antiphonal psalmody

- 1) Two choirs sing each psalm verse alternatively with a same melody

Verse 1	Verse 2	Verse 3	Verse 4
Choir 1	Choir 2	Choir 1	Choir 2
Melody 1	Melody 1	Melody 1	Melody 1

- 2) Two choirs sing each psalm verse alternatively. Each two verses are sung on a same melody.

Verse 1	Verse 2	Verse 3	Verse 4
Choir 1	Choir 2	Choir 1	Choir 2
Melody 1	Melody 1	Melody 2	Melody 2

- 3) After two choirs sing each psalm verse alternatively with a different melody, the two choirs sing a refrain together.

Verse 1	Verse 2	Answer	Verse 3	Verse 4	Verse 4
Choir 1	Choir 2	Choir 1 & 2	Choir 1	Choir 2	Choir 1 & 2
Melody 1	Melody 2	Refrain	Melody 1	Melody 2	Refrain

³⁵ Smith, *Music in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, 174.

³⁶ Henry Bewerunge, "History," *Plain Chant*, accessed June 15, 2015, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/12144a.htm>.

IV. Psalms in Early Monasteries

In the fourth century CE, the singing of psalms began to take on a more official importance than in ancient worship, both in monasteries and the formalized liturgy of Western churches. In the ninth century, Plainchant, or Gregorian chant, carried the psalms and other sung liturgical texts during both Mass and the Office. For psalm singing, it was customary to associate a specific psalm with a specific psalm tone in a specific mode. By about the eleventh century, the complexity of some of the liturgy was quite remarkable. The Catholic Church then changed psalmody forever, when the organ was officially introduced into Mass as a form of worship between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. During this time, the organ generally played in alternation with the choir or replaced the choir's part in whole.

Compared to the scarcity of information on psalmody in the Christian Church up to the third century CE, there is an abundance of information on the subject from the fourth century. The third and fourth centuries were a time of rapid growth for the Christian Church, and in the fourth century, church music developed considerably. Psalms came to hold a much more prominent place in church music than hymns,³⁷ as heretical Christian sects had begun to use hymnody to spread ideas not accepted by the Church. Monasteries in Syria and Egypt during the fourth century contributed to the enthusiasm for singing psalmody. They also introduced a developed style of composition, called *antiphon* (differing from the earlier antiphonal form). The antiphon (the Greek word meaning ‘sounding against’) is generally a short refrain that the two sides of a choir sing together between each verse of a psalm. For example, the phrase “His love endures forever” in Psalm 136 was repeated as the antiphon. The episcopate Ambrose of Milan first imported the antiphon in 386 from the Eastern Church to the Western Church, and in the fifth century, the antiphon was being used throughout Western churches.

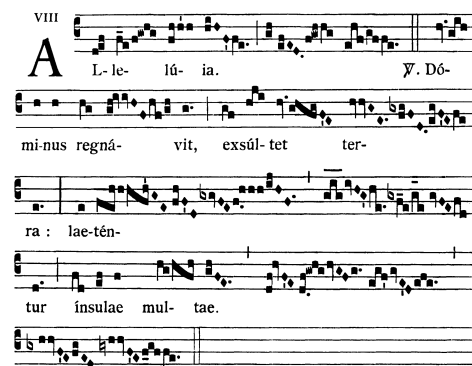
³⁷ The hymn in the context of the monastic Office was the regularly strophic non-rhymed Christian poetry of the type written by Hilary of Poitiers, Ephrem the Syrian (c. 306-373) and Ambrose of Milan (c. 340-397). St. Ambrose encouraged use of hymns in the Western church. Four hymns reckoned to be authentically his are *Aeterne rerum conditor*, *Deus Creator omnium*, *Iam surgit hora tertia*, and *Veni redemptor gentium*.

Figure 3 Antiphon for Palm Sunday, alternated with verses from Psalm 118³⁸



Along with the antiphon, the Alleluia chant of the Eastern Church was also adopted by the Western Church during the fourth century. The Alleluia chant was sung as a refrain with a long melisma, which is a group of notes sung on one syllable.

Figure 4 Alleluia chant, sung with a verse from Psalm 92:1, “The Lord reigns, let the earth rejoice; let all the isles be glad!”³⁹



The practice of specified hours of worship and liturgical formats also began to develop and become standardized during this time. By the sixth century, the monastic liturgical day was set to consist of eight periods of worship, collectively referred to as the ‘Divine Office.’ The

³⁸ *Hosanna filio David*, accessed November 26, 2014, Corpus Christi Watershed, http://www.ccwatershed.org/media/pdfs/15/03/28/22-17-23_0.pdf.

³⁹ *Alleluia Verse (Psalm 92:1)*, accessed June 1, 2015, Corpus Christi Watershed, http://www.ccwatershed.org/media/pdfs/13/03/09/17-02-16_0.pdf.

standardization of the liturgy was in large part because of the Rules of St. Benedict of Nursia (ca. 480–ca. 547 CE), the abbot and founder of the monasteries of Subiaco and Monte Cassino in Italy. St. Benedict proposed a Rule for his Order, which consisted of the day divided into six hours dedicated to prayer, five hours to manual work, and four hours to the study of scripture. The Rule’s six hours of prayer were then subdivided into daily services, consisting of the Mass (the Eucharist) and the Divine Office.

The eight periods of worship that define the Divine Office, consist of prayers, scripture readings, and the chanting of psalms and canticles.⁴⁰ Although there were variations throughout the Middle Ages, the common pattern of daily worship in monasteries and nunneries began with Vigils—often called Matins⁴¹—during the night and ended with Compline.

Matins (‘morning’): before daybreak
Lauds (‘praises’): at dawn
Prime (‘at the first hour’): 6 am
Terce (‘third hour’): 9 am
Sext (‘sixth hour’): mid-day
None (‘ninth hour’): 3 pm
Vespers (‘evening’): about 6 pm
Compline (‘completion’): end of the day

Psalmody became the backbone of the liturgical day. All the Offices involved the singing of psalms in sequence; for example, there were seven psalms for Lauds, five psalms for Vespers, four psalms for Compline, and so on. In many monastic institutions, it was common to sing all

⁴⁰ Canticles are similar to psalms in form and content and several appear in various Christian rites. Mainly three New Testament canticles were used daily in the Roman rite: *Benedictus*, or the canticle of Zachariah, at Lauds; *Magnificat*, or the canticle of the Virgin Mary, at Vespers; and *Nunc dimittis*, or the canticle of Simeon, at Compline.

⁴¹ For example, from the sixth century, Psalm 94 (*Venite exultemus Domino*, O come, let us sing unto the Lord and make a joyful noise unto him with psalms) has been sung at the beginning of the night Office (Vigil or Matins) as an invitatory, that is an invitation to prayer.

150 psalms each week.⁴² Therefore, it was not unusual for monks to memorize the entire Book of Psalms.

The antiphon was a particular feature of psalmody of the Lesser Hours—Prime, Terce, Sext, None, and Compline—and in the monasteries at Lauds and Vespers as well. Many short refrains, which took on the role of antiphon, were composed during medieval times, and between verses these refrains functioned as spiritual comment, or emphasis on a theme of worship. These refrains were often drawn from the words of the psalm verses themselves, or from other scripture. In the Middle Ages, the refrains of antiphonal psalmody were generally sung twice, once before the verses and once after the obligatory doxology (the *Gloria patri*), though there were exceptions (e.g., an antiphon might be sung twice or more at the beginning, or the repetition at the close might be restricted to the second half of the refrain).⁴³ As refrains became more elaborate, the participation in singing also changed. The choir and the soloist alternated singing the responses and refrains, as opposed to having the assembly sing the refrain as in the earlier centuries. The manner of chanting the body of the psalm also changed. As the role of the soloist became reduced, especially from the seventh century on, the execution of the choral was chanted antiphonally.

As psalms flourished in the monasteries, they became prominent in the Mass of the Western Church—the main occasion for public communal worship. The fourth century marked the birth of psalmody as a regular feature at two points in the Mass⁴⁴—that is, at the reading of the scripture lesson, and at communion. Later in the early medieval period, the chanting of psalms became a regular feature at the beginning of Mass (during the introit) and at the offertory

⁴² Since the second Vatican Council (1962–1965), the one-week psalter cycle has been transformed to a four-week cycle.

⁴³ Terence Bailey, “Psalm, I –2: The Nature of Early Psalmody,” *Grove Music Online*, accessed January 14, 2015, *Oxford Music Online*.

⁴⁴ Brink and Holman, *Psalter Hymnal Handbook*, 21.

as well. Plainchant, or Gregorian chant (a development of Plainchant), was the music that carried the sung liturgical texts (including the texts of the psalm) of both Mass and the Office throughout the Middle Ages.⁴⁵ Usually each melody, or psalm tone, followed a recitation formula composed in one of the eight musical modes introduced to the Western churches in Frankish regions near the beginning of the ninth century. The eight musical modes are: Dorian (I), Hypodorian (II), Phrygian (III), Hypophrygian (IV), Lydian (V), Hypolydian (VI), Mixolydian (VII), and Hypomixolydian (VIII).

Although it was possible to pair the singing of any psalm with various chants, it was customary to associate a specific psalm with a specific psalm tone, in a specific mode, as an aid to memorization and group performance. Matthias Lundeburg states in his book, *Tonus Peregrinus: The History of a Psalm-Tone and Its Use in Polyphonic Music*,⁴⁶ that each of the eight psalm-tones appear in three different basic forms, used mainly with three different purposes: psalms, canticles (the Magnificat, the Nunc dimittis, and the Benedictus and the Benedictie), and introitus psalms verses. In the liturgical hours, psalms were sung with the normal forms of psalm tones. The psalm tones of canticles had more melodically varied and elaborate tones than the normal forms. The introitus psalmody, used when the celebrant and ministers entered the church and approached the altar, was also more elaborate than the psalms; however, the introitus psalmody used only a fragment of a psalm with its antiphon.

Although the chanting of psalm texts in Latin with specific psalm tones became a large part of the medieval Mass, it hindered some aspects of worship. Since the Mass was mainly performed by the clergy and choir, the laity had little opportunity for direct participation. By

⁴⁵ Though singing the psalms is an ancient tradition, the earliest chants used for the psalms can be deciphered from the late ninth century, when the oldest liturgical book containing musical notation came out.

⁴⁶ Mattias Lundberg, *Tonus Peregrinus: The History of a Psalm-Tone and Its Use in Polyphonic Music* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Pub, 2011), 8.

about the eleventh century, the complexity of some of the liturgy was remarkable, as the musical techniques of adornment created sounds far from the experience of the early Christians. For example, the *Proper*—a part of the liturgy that can be changed according to the dates within the Church’s liturgical year—was more appropriately sung by members of the choir (i.e., the *schola cantorum*), or perhaps by a small group of expert cantors. Their musical creativity gradually developed the *Proper* into complex music, whose unique elaboration by polyphony laid the foundations for the future development of Western church music.

It is not until about the twelfth century that there appears indisputable evidence of the use of organs in the liturgy, and it is not until the fifteenth century that organ music was widely accepted during the Mass. At this point in time, the organ was mainly used as an alternative to the choir, playing in alternation with the choir or fully replacing it. That is to say, the organ did not accompany congregational singing yet, but rather it was used as a substitute for a complex vocal or choral part—usually an elaborate piece of the chant melody in which the organ could take the place of choir or congregation.

V. Metrical Psalmody around the Time of the Protestant Reformation

At this point in time, psalms had been established as a foundational form of the Christian's life and congregational worship, and the chanting of psalms had become one of the prominent musical acts in the service. When the Protestant Reformation occurred in the sixteenth century, the singing of psalms remained an important aspect of worship. In particular, John Calvin saw the importance of psalms in Christian worship, and he took a unique approach to the singing of psalms. Unlike psalms used in Catholic services, sung in Latin with elaborate melodies that were hard for the laity to follow, Calvin wanted to versify the psalms and a few other religious songs into poetic meter, so the laity could follow and participate much more easily. As a result, the Genevan Psalter was created. The Calvinists then took a radical approach to this groundbreaking metrical psalter; it became the sole reference for psalm-singing, and its unaccompanied congregational singing became the Calvinists' unique contribution to the tradition of church music.

The history of metrical psalm versifications traces back to a Greek translation of the Book of Psalms into metrical verse, made by Apollinaris around the year 470 CE.⁴⁷ Throughout the Middle Ages, psalms continued to be translated with metrical verse, mainly for the purposes of devotional life in the Church. However, an evident increase in the use of metrical psalm versification occurred around the time of the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation, when psalms were being used to promote congregational singing. One of the most significant protestant reformers and an influential French theologian and pastor, John Calvin (1509–1564), was a staunch advocate of the use of the metrical psalmody.

Calvin believed that music was a means of manifesting spiritual power; however, he was just as convinced of the possibility and danger of humans misusing music in the service of vanity and sensuality. Therefore, Calvin restricted church music to the unaccompanied congregational singing in unison of metrical psalmody, as well as a few other songs, such as the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments (the Decalogue), the *Magnificat* (Canticle of Mary), the Apostle's

⁴⁷ Miloš Velimirović, "Psalms, Metrical, §I: Introduction," *Grove Music Online*, accessed June 16, 2013, *Oxford Music Online*.

Creed, *Nunc dimittis* (Simon’s canticle), *Benedictus* (Zacharia’s canticle), and Luther’s *Glaubenlied*, “Christe qui lex es et dies (Christ, who art the light and day).” Polyphonic music, the playing of instruments, and singing at the altar were not allowed. The consequence of Calvin’s enthusiasm for the congregational singing of psalms, which resulted in the *Genevan Psalter*, became the hallmark of the Reformed tradition. Several incomplete psalters were published preceding the final version of the *Genevan Psalter* in 1562.

i. Notable Editions Preceding the *Genevan Psalter*

Calvin was first exposed to psalm-singing in metrical meter in Strasbourg, sometime in the 1530s or 40s. After Calvin was expelled from Geneva in 1538—where he had served as pastor for less than two years—he settled in Strasbourg and began serving the French-speaking congregation there. At the time Protestant congregations in Strasbourg had already been using their German versifications in singing metrical psalms for over a decade. Calvin was deeply impressed and influenced by the psalm-singing in their Reformed liturgy. Convinced that metrical structure was the most accessible form of congregational singing, Calvin quickly decided to begin versifying the psalms in French for his Huguenot congregation. However, considering his own versifications of the psalms not to be of sufficient quality, he began to collaborate with the French poet Clément Marot, whom he had met back in 1536 while visiting the court of Renée of France in Ferrara. Clément Marot was the favorite poet of Francis I of France, a monarch of the House of Valois who ruled as King of France. As Marot turned from writing secular verses to more metrical versions of psalms, he became very popular both in and out of the royal court.

Calvin used Marot's psalm versifications in his first psalter, *Aulcuns pseaulmes et cantiques mys en chant* (Certain Psalms and Canticles with Melodies, Strasburg, 1539). Thirteen psalm versifications by Marot (psalms 1, 2, 3, 15, 19, 32, 51, 103, 114, 115, 130, and 137) were chosen by Calvin to be included. Calvin also took part in versifying six psalms and three canticles (psalms 25, 36, 46, 91, 113, 138, the Song of Simeon, the Decalogue, and the Creed).⁴⁸ There is no preface or an appendix of liturgical text in this early psalter. Several of the melodies were most likely borrowed from earlier German Strasbourg songbooks, while others are ascribed to Matthäus Greiter, a cantor, and Wolfgang Dachstein, an organist, in Strasbourg. Although it is not clearly known which melodies were used in Calvin's first psalter, it is at least known that Greiter's melody created for *Es sind doch alle selig* (Psalm 119) in the *Strassburger Kirchenampt* of 1525 was taken for use in Calvin's first psalter as Psalm 36 and Psalm 68. Another three melodies have been ascribed to Dachstein,⁴⁹ though it is not known with which psalms they were paired.

Calvin returned to Geneva from Strasbourg in 1541 after the city council of Geneva called upon him to restore the churches and city, which they believed had deteriorated since Calvin had been expelled. As soon as he returned, he immediately sought—and this time gained approval from the city—to introduce congregational singing into worship. In the *Ecclesiastical Ordinances* which Calvin presented for the council's approval, music is mentioned in the following way: "It will be good to introduce ecclesiastical songs, the better to incite the people to pray and to praise God," and "[f]or a beginning the little children are to be taught; then with time

⁴⁸ Psalm 113 and the Decalogue were not metered, but written in prose.

⁴⁹ Duck Schuler, "The History of the Genevan Psalter," *The Genevan Psalter Resource Center*, accessed April 3, 2013, http://www.genevanpsalter.com/attachments/Gen_Psal_intro_Schuler.pdf.

all the church will be able to follow.”⁵⁰ The following year Calvin published his second psalter, under the title *La forme des prieres et chantz ecclesiastiques, avec la maniere d'administrer les Sacremens, & consacrer le Mariage: selon la coustume de l'Eglise ancienne* (The Liturgy of Prayers and Ecclesiastical Songs with the manner of administering the sacraments and consecrating marriage according to the custom of the ancient Church, Geneva 1542). This book contains thirty-five psalms and two canticles set to music: Calvin's five psalms and two canticles paired with Marot's *Trente pseaulmes* (Thirty Psalms), the manuscript of which was previously given in 1540 to Emperor Charles V, who encouraged Marot to continue his work. It also contains a catechism, as well as directions for baptism, communion, and marriage written by Calvin. Some of the tunes from the 1539 psalter were retained, while twenty-two new tunes were added. The musical editor of this psalter was probably Guillaume Franc, a cantor at St. Peter's in Geneva.

Since the *Trente pseaulmes* had been condemned by the faculty of the Sorbonne, Marot moved to Geneva from France in 1542 to escape religious persecution. In Geneva he met Guillaume Franc and Calvin, both of whom cooperated with him to revise and correct both the text and melodies of his *Trente pseaulmes*.⁵¹ In addition, he added twenty-five new texts (nineteen psalms,⁵² four canticles, and two table graces) to the next edition of the Calvinist psalter, *Cinquante Pseaulmes de David* (Fifty Psalms of David, 1543). Although it is said that each of the fifty texts was given its own melody, only the text edition without melody has been preserved.⁵³ Calvin enlisted Marot to continue providing more psalm versifications; however,

⁵⁰ Emily Brink, “The Genevan Psalter,” in Emily Brink and Bert Holman, *Psalter Hymnal Handbook* (Grand Rapids, Mich: CRC Publications, 1998), 30.

⁵¹ Pierre Pidoux, “History of the Genevan Psalter, II,” *Reformed Music Journal* (Apr, 1989): 32.

⁵² The newly added psalms were: Psalms 18, 23, 25, 33, 36, 43, 45, 46, 50, 72, 79, 86, 91, 101, 107, 110, 118, 128, 138.

⁵³ According to Pierre Pidoux, the text-only psalter was printed in Geneva by Jean Gerard. Pidoux, “History of the Genevan Psalter, II,” 32.

Marot left Geneva and died suddenly in 1544. Marot's death weighed down the progress of the Genevan Psalter, but his psalm versifications were posthumously utilized for other music publications, which appeared in Paris, Lyons, Strasbourg, and Geneva.

Succeeding Marot, the remaining psalm versifications of the Genevan Psalter were continued by Théodore de Bèze, who came to Geneva in 1548 and eventually succeeded Calvin as ecclesiastical leader. Bèze added thirty-four more texts⁵⁴ to the previous edition, and all were finally gathered together under the title, *Pseaumes octante trois de David* (Eighty-three Psalms of David, Geneva) in 1551.⁵⁵ Louis Bourgeois, who had been active as a music teacher in Geneva since 1545, was responsible for the melodies of this edition (e.g., the tune known as the "Old 100th" was included in this edition for the first time). According to a preface that Bourgeois wrote regarding the melodies, he composed many new melodies for Bèze's psalm versifications, rewrote or revised some of the old melodies, and left others untouched.⁵⁶ Bèze added six new psalm versifications (psalms 52, 57, 63, 64, 65, and 111) to the 1554 version of *Pseaumes octante trois de David* as an appendix. Four of them did not contain melodies, and the other two were set to previously composed tunes. However, they were not acknowledged in the title until *Pseaumes octante-neuf* was published in 1556 and again in 1559. In the 1556 edition, solmization syllables were printed beside each note; in the 1559 edition, all of the psalms were notated with the same clef, C4. Both versions of the *Pseaumes octante-neuf* contain a preface written by Pierre Vallette, who temporarily succeeded Bourgeois as a cantor and music teacher in Geneva.

⁵⁴ Psalms 16, 17, 20, 21, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 34, 35, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 47, 73, 90, 119, 120, 121, 122, 124, 125, 126, 127, 129, 131, 132, 133, and 134.

⁵⁵ The entire title is: *Pseaumes octantetrois de David, mis en rime françoise. A savoir, quarante neuf par Clement Marot, avec le Cantique de Simeon et les dix commandemens. Et trentequatre par Theodore de Besze, de Vezelay en Bourgongne.*

⁵⁶ Brink and Holman, *Psalter Hymnal Handbook*, 31.

ii. The Complete Genevan Psalter, 1562

Finally, the Calvinist Psalter was completed and published in 1562 as *Les pseumes mis en rime françois, par Clement Marot et Théodore de Bèze* (The Psalms Rhymed in French by Clement Marot and Théodore de Bèze). This is what is now known as the Genevan Psalter. Antoine Vincent was the main publisher in charge of producing copies, and it became so popular that a great number of copies were issued from printing presses in Geneva, Paris, Lyons, Caen, St. Lo, and elsewhere.⁵⁷ Within just a few years, the total issued copies of the Genevan Psalter are rumored to have reached 100,000 in over thirty editions. This does not include the thousands of copies translated into nine languages.⁵⁸ Even a Catholic commentator, Florimond de Raemon, mentioned in his *Story of the Birth of Heresy* that “the psalms of Marot and Bèze were received and welcomed by everyone with as much favor as ever any book was, not only by those with Protestant sympathies, but also by Catholics; everyone enjoyed singing them.”⁵⁹

The complete psalm versifications were included along with two other texts, the Ten Commandments (Decalogue) and the Cantic of Simeon (Nunc Dimittis). Among 125 melodies set for 152 texts (150 psalms and 2 canticles), 85 melodies were repeated from the 1551 edition, and 40 melodies were newly added. The composer of the new melodies is attributed to a certain “Maitre Pierre.” Several musicians named “Pierre” were active in Geneva at this time, and recent research has shown that the identity of “Maitre Pierre” could possibly be Pierre Davantes. Fifteen tunes were used twice, four tunes were used three times each, and one tune was used four times (see Table 3).⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Nicholas Temperley, “Psalms, metrical, §II: The European continent, 2. France and Switzerland,” *Grove Music Online*, accessed October 20, 2014, *Oxford Music Online*.

⁵⁸ John Witvliet, “The Spirituality of the Psalter: Metrical Psalms in Liturgy and Life in Calvin's Geneva,” *Calvin Theological Journal* 32, no. 2 (11/01, 1997): 274.

⁵⁹ Brink and Holman, *Psalter Hymnal Handbook*, 32.

⁶⁰ Brink and Holman, 33.

The melodic-motion was primarily stepwise and normally moving within an octave range, since the psalter was designed to be sung not by professionals or the clergy but by congregations.⁶³ The uniform notation of breathing rests and the time signature ♩ (*alla – breve*) were used exclusively.

In addition to the melodic and rhythmic simplicity of these melodic psalms, the musical expression of the tunes and the meter of the text seemed to be intertwined. Since Calvin wanted each psalm to have its own identity (although this goal was not reached: 125 tunes for a total of 152 texts), the meter and cadence of the text were reflected in the tune, and the tunes reflected the content of the text in the musical mode out of which they were constructed. For example, the tune for Psalm 51 (God, Hear My Plea, Be Merciful to Me) is in the dark Phrygian mode, while the tune for Psalm 19 (The Spacious Heavens Loud) is in the lighter Mixolydian mode.⁶⁴

Scholars have claimed that some of the melodies in the Genevan Psalter are particularly related to two contemporaneous musical genres: French chansons and Latin plainchants.⁶⁵ For example, the tune for Psalm 138 (With All My Heart I Thank You, Lord) is similar to Marot's chanson, "Quand vous voudrez faire une amie" and "Une pastourelle gentille" (see Figure 6). However, this is a very rare case.

⁶³ Calvinist congregations were assisted by a precentor (cantor), who led and supported singing with a strong voice.

⁶⁴ Witvliet, 286. Referred to Jan R. Luth, "Where Do Genevan Psalms Come From," *Reformed Liturgy and Music* 5 (1993): 41-42; Piet van Amstel, "The Roots of Genevan Psalm Tune," *Reformed Music Magazine* 3 (1992): 54.

⁶⁵ In his "The Spirituality of the Psalter," Witvliet mentions about main claims hitherto made by several scholars on this topic (pp. 286-287).

Figure 6 Melodies of Psalm 138 (second line) and Chanson “Une pastourelle gentille” (first line)⁶⁶

The image displays a musical score for two pieces of music, arranged in four systems. Each system consists of a vocal line (treble clef) and a lute line (bass clef). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are written below the notes.

System 1:
 U - ne pas - tou - rel - le gen - til - le Et un ber - ger en un ver - ger
 U loof ik Heer, met hart en ziel in eer - bied kniel ik voor u ne - der.

System 2:
 L'au - tri - er jou - ant à la bil - le S'en - tre - di - saient pour ab - ré - ger.
 Ja, in de te - gen - woor - dig - heid der go - den wijd ik U mijn - be - den.

System 3:
 Ro - ger, Ber - ger, Ber - gè - re, Lé - gè - re
 Naar t'hei - lig - dom waar Gij ver - toeft hef ik het hoofd, ik zal u prij - zen.

System 4:
 C'est trop à la bil - le jou - é Chan - tons No - é No - é No - é.
 Gij zult, o He - re, wijd en zijd uw heer - lijk - heid en trouw be - wij - zen.

Scholars seem to put more weight on the connection between the Genevan tunes and chants than on any to the French chanson. The tune for Psalm 80 (Hear Us, Shepherd of Israel) with the plainchant for the Easter sequence, *Victimae paschali laudes* (Figure 7), is probably the most notable example of the resemblance. Other sources also support the connection between some of the Genevan psalm tunes and plainchants. Louis Bourgeois, in his psalter preface of 1551, states that he used chants for two or three of the psalms.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ “Psalm 138” and “Une pastourelle gentile,” accessed November 3, 2013, Psalterium, <http://psalmen.wursten.be/ps138.htm>.

⁶⁷ Nicholas Temperley, “Psalms, Metrical, §II: The European continent, 2. France and Switzerland,” *Grove Music Online*, accessed November 3, 2013, *Oxford Music Online*.

Figure 7 The opening melody of Psalm 80 (first line) and the Easter sequence, *Victimae Paschali Laudes* (second line).⁶⁸

1. O pas - teur d'Is - ta - el, es - cou - te 2. Toy -
 Vic - ti - mae pas - cha - li lau - des* im -
 qui con - dui - s la trou - pe tou - te 3. De Jo -
 - mo - lent Chri - sti - - a - ni. Ag - nus
 - seph ain - si qu'un trou - peau:
 te - de - mit o - ves:

The Genevan Psalter was at the center of the spread of Calvinism throughout Europe. Between the early sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Psalter was translated into Dutch, German, English, Hungarian, and Italian. However, Calvinism found its most receptive audience in the Netherlands. The following chapter will explore Calvinist worship and its utilization of music in the Netherlands around the time of the Protestant Reformation.

⁶⁸ This score is from "Ex.2, The opening of the melody for Psalm lxxx compared with the Easter sequence Victimae paschali laudes (transposed up a 4th)" in Temperley, "Psalms, Metrical," §II – 2: France and Switzerland," *Grove Music Online*.

VI. 17th-Century Calvinist Worship in the Netherlands and Its Use of the Genevan Psalter

Use of psalmody in Christian worship underwent another great change during the Protestant Reformation, as the Calvinists attempted to ban the organ from worship. Though Dutch Reformed churches did not allow organ accompaniment during the service, organs were neither destroyed nor the playing of organs completely ceased, as they were used during daily recitals conscripted by town officials. The unique recreational use of organs and function of organists in the north Netherlands was soon broadened to performances before and after services for the purpose of familiarizing and educating the congregations with the Genevan psalm tunes, so they would be able to participate in the unaccompanied singing of the psalms during service. This function of the organ as a tool for the education and unification of the congregation was so fundamentally necessary that the Dutch Calvinist churches were forced to incrementally reinstate the organ's use during services and as accompaniment.

i. Background—the 16th and 17th Centuries

The Protestant Reformation in the Netherlands took place in the middle of the sixteenth century. By 1561 Calvinism was established throughout the Netherlands, and by 1566 most Protestants had converted to Calvinists. Calvinists assumed the political and social leadership in the northern regions of the Netherlands as many of the nobility began adopting Calvinism. Calvinist worship soon came to dominate the North, replacing the Catholic Church as the predominant means of worship. In the southern regions of the Netherlands (now Belgium), however, Catholicism remained powerful, despite the slow infiltration of Calvinism. To maintain this dominance, many southern Calvinists were persecuted or forced to move by the Catholic Church to the North, England, or Calvinist areas of Germany, since the Spanish government under Philip II and its southern noble supporters had suppressed Protestants in the Walloon provinces in 1566 and 67.

In the 1590s, Dutch economic power grew through the development of the trades and a massive wave of immigration by the southern Calvinists, bringing both capital and skills.⁶⁹ In the seventeenth century, religious independence from the Catholic Church, as well as political independence from Spain, coincided with a period of economic prosperity in trading cities in the northern Netherlands.⁷⁰ The stability and increased wealth encouraged literacy and artistic guilds. Large numbers of writers and artists from higher social classes fostered the artistic interests of the wealthy. Called the Golden Age, this prosperity lasted throughout the entire seventeenth century.

ii. Use of the Organ in the Netherlands

a. Catholic Worship: predominantly in the South Netherlands and Maastricht in the North

After the Thirty-Year's War (1618–1648), the Netherlands were divided into a Calvinist and a Catholic region. Catholic worship remained in the South Netherlands and particular regions in the North, which permitted freedom of worship (e.g., Maastricht, which was annexed with the South Netherlands). As opposed to the Calvinist churches in the North Netherlands, the organ was actively used at Mass and various Offices to play or improvise solo pieces, as well as to play verses in alternation with a choral group. Special feasts required even more organ music. The official pattern approved by Pope Clement VIII, *Cæremoniale episcoporum*, in 1600, allowed alternation by the organ with the choir's Gregorian chant (or polyphony). The typical pattern of the organ's participation is presented in Table 4. Pattern of the organ'

⁶⁹ Calvert Johnson, *Susanne Van Soldt Klavierboek* (Colfax, NC: Wayne Leupold Editions, 2012), 7.

⁷⁰ Rudolf Zuiderveld, "A Comprehensive Performance Project in Organ Literature, with a Study of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Keyboard Compositions Based on Genevan Psalm Tunes" (D.M.A. Diss., University of Iowa, 1978), 6.

Table 4 Typical pattern of the organ participations (marked with *)⁷¹

Asperges me	Gregorian chant (after 1644)
Introit	Gregorian chant
*Kyrie	Organ Versets in alternations with choral polyphony
*Gloria	Choral polyphony, or on lesser feasts organ versets alternated with choir
Gradual	Gregorian chant
Tract [Lent]	Gregorian chant
Alleluia	Gregorian chant for the Respond, then choral polyphony
*Sequence [rare]	Organ versets alternating with choir
Creed	Choral polyphony
*Offertory	Choral polyphony motet, or soloists accompanied by the organ; however, the Cathedral's Broederschap [Brotherhood] might use organ instead
*Sanctus	Choral polyphony (or organ versets alternated with choral polyphony)
*Consecration	Organ (or other churches used a hymn)
*Benedictus	Choral polyphony (or organ music)
*Agnus Dei	Organ versets alternated with choral polyphony
Communion	Gregorian chant
Ite missa est	Gregorian chant

b. Calvinist Worship: mainly in the North Netherlands

There was no single standard order of worship officially used throughout Dutch Calvinist Churches (Dutch Reformed Churches) during this period.⁷² Since each Synod had autonomy, Dutch refugee congregations used a varied liturgical format prepared by their local Synods. Although Calvin's original form of worship was not entirely used in the Calvinist churches of the Netherlands, it can be supposed where in the service the psalms were sung. Calvin's *La Forme de Priere*, Geneva, 1542, presents an example (see next page).⁷³

⁷¹ Johnson and Leupold, *The Netherlands, 1575-1700* (Colfax, N.C.: Wayne Leupold Editions, 2012), 10.

⁷² Johnson and Leupold, 11.

⁷³ Johnson and Leupold, 11.

Declaration of God's glory (Items marked with asterisks allowed singing.)
 Confession
 *Decalogue sung as an Exhortation to piety
 *Psalm
 Prayer for illumination by the Holy Spirit
 Gospel
 Sermon on the Gospel
 Intercessions for Government and for the people
 *Lord's Prayer paraphrase
 Aaronic blessing (if the Lord's Supper is not celebrated; otherwise continue below)

Prayer of Humble Access
 *Apostle's Creed [may be sung, optional]
 Elements brought forward
 Exhortation
 Words of Institution (read behind the Communion Table, which is never referred to as an alter)
 Excommunication [dismissal] of the unworthy
 Sursum corda (the opening dialogue to the Preface of the Eucharistic Prayer)
 *Communion with singing of Psalms and reading of Scripture
 Thanksgiving
 *Nunc Dimittis (Canticle of Simeon)
 Aaronic Blessing (Numbers 6:24-26)

The first Dutch translation of the Genevan Psalter was published by Jan Utenhove in Emden and London in 1551, but the official authorized version was authored by Peter Datheen (or Petrus Dathenus) and was kept in use from 1578 to 1773. As John Calvin only approved of unaccompanied congregational singing during worship, Dutch Reformed churches did not allow any instrumental accompaniment for the singing of the Dathenus' psalter. Therefore, organ playing was not permitted in worship. There were two main reasons for this. First, the organ was considered a remnant of Catholicism, and so was seen with a certain amount of suspicion. Second, the church administrators thought that organ playing would immediately cause the congregation to be distracted from the preacher's sermon and the didactic element of worship. According to a statement by the Synod of Dordrecht in 1572, "it [organ playing] helps people

mostly to forget what they have just heard in the service... and it leads to lightheartedness.”⁷⁴

This was considered inappropriate to the solemn nature of worship.

However, despite these strikes against it, organs were not removed from most Dutch churches, as they had been purchased with municipal funds raised through tax revenues, and as such were considered a good way to display the economic success of cities. Hired as municipal employees, organists were able to continue their musical activities through public concerts if not in worship, mainly before and after the service and in the noontime/early evening as people were leaving work for the day.

Meanwhile, in most cities in the Netherlands, the congregational singing of psalms during worship became slower and harder to sing at the right pitch without organ accompaniment. It may be assumed that it was very hard for congregations to remember the correct tempos and pitches for all 125 tunes without the support of the organ accompaniment, regardless of a precentor leading the singing. The wardens of the large city churches soon recognized this problem and began seeking solutions.

One of the solutions agreed upon was to allow the town organist to play variations on the psalm tunes both before and after worship, as well as during daily organ recitals, in order to familiarize the congregation with the tunes. A typical example of such a performance is found in the instructions drawn up in 1609 for the Utrecht organist, Peter Uutenbogaart:

... He is also obliged, when there is a sermon, to appear in the aforementioned church immediately after the first bell ringing, to play the organ in case there are already some people there.
To which end there will be placed a black panel, on which the psalm or hymn will be indicated which will be sung before the sermon, from which psalm or hymn he will at least play five or six verses.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Johnson and Leupold, *The Netherlands, 1575-1700*, 12.

A Dordrecht instruction from 1598, which affected Sweelinck's close colleague, Henderick Spuey, offers yet another example: "Both organists are obliged to appear here and should start with the psalm immediately after the sermon, and after played it five or six times they shall play grave, edifying pieces."⁷⁶ When even these compromises proved largely ineffective, churches gradually began to allow the municipal organist to accompany psalm singing during the service as well. For example, in the "Use and Nonuse of the Organ in the Churches of the United Netherlands (*Gebruyck of Ongebruyck van 't orgel in de kercken der Vereenighde Nederlanden*, 1641)" Constantyn Huygens (1596–1687)—known diplomat, writer, poet, musician and philosopher—proposed that the organ be employed to lead the psalm singing.

After the announcement of the psalm, an organ-pipe should be sounded to indicate the best key for that particular psalm: and let the organ play along with the voices of the congregation... Let the organ play a short time between each line, yes, even between each syllable, especially in those places where the organist notices that the inexperienced singers rush ahead so much that they should be stopped before they get the upper hand on singing.⁷⁷

And finally, between the 1630s and 1680s, organ accompaniment of psalm-singing was officially approved in many regions.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Quoted from *Bouwstenen voor een geschiedenis der toonkunst in de Nederlanden*, vol. 2, ed. Christiaan C. Vlam and Maarten Albert Vente (Amsterdam, 1971), 306f, in Peter Dirksen, "The Dutch 17th- Century Tradition of Psalm Variations," *GOArt Research Reports* 2, ed. Sverker Jullander (Göteborg: Göteborg Organ Art Center, Göteborg University), 60.

⁷⁶ Dirksen, "The Dutch 17th- Century Tradition of Psalm Variations," 60.

⁷⁷ Constanthyn Huygens, *Use and Nonuse of the Organ in the Churches of the United Netherlands*, trans. and ed. Ericka E Smit-Vanrotte (New York: Institute of Medieval Music, 1964), 77-79, quoted in ⁷⁷ Jamila Javadova, "Anthoni van Noordt Historical and Analytical Aspects of His Tabulatuurboeck Van Psalmen En Fantasyen of 1659" (D.M.A. diss., University of North Texas, 2008), 10.

⁷⁸ According to Calvert Johnson and Wayne Leupold, organ began accompanying Psalm-singing in 1630 Leiden and Hooglandse, 1632 Arnhem, 1634 Delft, 1636 Utrecht, 1638 Dordrecht, 1640 Middleburg, 1646 Alkmaar, 1649 Haarlem, 1662 Nijmegen, and 1680 Amsterdam.

VII. Organ Repertoire during the First Decades of Calvinism in the Netherlands

Throughout Judeo-Christian history, the psalms—and later the psalmody—remained so vital to congregations' worship that the banning of the organ as a tool to disperse and teach the congregation metrical psalmody during the Reformation was destined to be short-lived. The importance of psalmody in the minds of both the congregation, and eventually the clergy, was enough that the Dutch Calvinist Church finally brought back organ accompaniment to facilitate congregational worship through psalms between the 1630s and 1680s. Before taking this step, an organist's post during the first decades of Calvinism was only to play variations on the Genevan psalm tunes at daily recitals held outside church services, as a means to facilitate people learning the psalm tunes. In order to understand this process, it is necessary to study the work of various organists. However, despite the innumerable hours of their organ playing, little is known about how the organists of this era played, except that much was improvised. For this reason, the published psalm settings of Henderik Speuy, Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, and Anthoni van Noordt are significant sources to help historians understand how Dutch organists in the first decades of the Protestant Reformation performed psalm tunes.

i. Non-Anonymous 16th- and 17th-Century Dutch Keyboard Works Based on Genevan Psalm Tunes

Before organ accompaniment was permitted in Calvinist church services in the Netherlands, the main repertoire of town organists during the first decades of Calvinism was psalm-settings and fantasias.⁷⁹ The style of these two genres is quite different: the fantasia indicated all free-styled keyboard works, antithetical to psalm settings and variations bound to the *cantus firmus*. Psalm-settings and variations became particularly dominant genres, primarily because of the exclusive use of Genevan tunes in Dutch Calvinist churches.

In contrast to the many vocal and other instrumental settings of Genevan psalm tunes, it is surprising that only a few non-anonymous keyboard settings of psalm-based works have been preserved in manuscripts. Because Dutch organists were traditionally expected to improvise, only two known Dutch keyboard prints have been preserved from the seventeenth century—

⁷⁹ Dirksen, "The Dutch 17th- Century Tradition of Psalm Variations," 61.

those by Henderick Speuy (ca. 1575–1625) and Anthoni van Noordt (ca. 1620–1675). Jan Pieterzoon Sweelinck (1562–1621) left behind beautiful psalm variations for keyboard, but his settings were not preserved in a single score, as those of the previous two composers were, nor was his music published until after his death in 1621. These settings, of course, were not intended to accompany congregational singing, but they may serve as valuable examples for understanding how Dutch organists in the first decades of the Protestant Reformation performed with psalm tunes.

a. *De Psalmen Davids* by Henderick Speuy

A contemporary of Sweelinck, Henderick Joostenszoon Speuy was born around 1575 in Den Briel, located near Rotterdam. Since being appointed organist of both of Augustijnen Kerk and the Grote Kerk in Dordrecht, in 1595, succeeding Adriaen Servaessen, Speuy occupied the positions until his death in 1625. The specifications of the organs at these two churches are not preserved; however, it is known that an organ builder (Albert Kriespenning) was contracted to build a new organ at the Grote Kerk, and Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck visited to approve and inspect the new organ in 1614. Alan Curtis informs readers that according to Dr. Maarten Vente, this organ must have resembled another at St. Catherine's in Heusden by the same builder and of about the same cost. The specification of the St. Catherine's organ is as following:⁸⁰

Hoofdwerk

Quintadeen 8'
Prestant 4'
Holpijp 4'
Superoctaeff 2'
Gemshoren 2'
Mixtuer (dick en sterck) – [thick and strong]

Borstwerk

Fluyt 4'
Octaefken 2'
Schuyfflet 1 1/3' or 1'
Toeyseyn oft Cromhoren 8'

Pedal

Prestant 8'

Compass

Manual: CDEFGA-a'
Pedal: CDEFGA-d'

In addition:

Trom ende nachtegael [Drum and Nightingale] 2 Tramlanten,
1 buyten en 1 binnen [two tremulants, one outside and one inside]

⁸⁰Alan Curtis, "Henderick Speuy and the Earliest Printed Dutch Keyboard Music," *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, (Deel 19, 1962-1963): 145.

Speuy was also in charge of the town's harpsichord from 1604 onward.⁸¹ The same year, he acted as musical advisor for an edition of the psalms published by Jan Jansx Canin in Dordrecht.

Speuy's collection of Genevan psalm-settings for keyboard, *De Psalmen Davids/gestelt of het Tabulatuur van het Orghel en de Clavecymmel/met 2. Partijen*, 1610 (The Psalms of David/arranged on Organ and Harpsichord Tablature/in two parts), is known as the earliest preserved printed keyboard music from the Netherlands and the only one to appear during his lifetime.⁸² Although he left only twenty-one settings of twenty Calvinist psalms with two settings of the Lord's Prayer (Decalogue) using the Lutheran chorale tune 'Vater unser im Himmelreich' and one setting of the *Lofzang van Maria* (the *Magnificat*), the scarcity of such work alludes to them being very important materials.⁸³

In his dedicatory preface, Speuy speaks of young amateurs, who were to play his psalm-settings on the house organ or spinet for their edification.⁸⁴ However, he also may have used his psalm-settings practically for the organ performances before and after the sermon in Dordrecht.⁸⁵ Unornamented tunes in his settings may have been helpful for listeners to familiarize themselves with the Genevan psalm tunes.

⁸¹ Henderick Speuy, *Psalm Preludes for Organ or Harpsichord*, ed. Frits Noske (Amsterdam: Heuwekemeijer, 1963), IV.

⁸² Alan Curtis, "Henderick Speuy and the Earliest Printed Dutch Keyboard Music," 143.

⁸³ Psalms 5, 8, 9, 12, 16, 23, 24, 27, 37, 40 (2 settings), 42, 51, 65, 79, 100, 116, 118, 128, 129, and 130. The two versions of the Lord's Prayer, which are not psalms, were included in this collection, because it was typical that most early Dutch psalters included such biblical songs favored by the Calvinists.

⁸⁴ "...je me suis employé quelque temps a trouver ceste method d'appropriier ces chansons spirituelles a quelques Instruments de la Musique, & notamment a celuy des Orgues & de l'Espinette, afin que la Jeunesse addonnée aux jeux de ces instruments, s'accoustume a jouer sur iceux ces saints Cantiques – i.e., for organs and plucked keyboard instruments, and especially for the training of prospective organists who played these instruments. (Speuy, *Psalm Preludes for Organ or Harpsichord*, ed. Frits Noske, VI)." Although instrumental music publications were actually made in the Netherlands in his time, they commonly were not limited to specific instruments. (Lute scores were the exception.) For this reason, the indication in Speuy's title page, "des Orgues & de l'Espinette," made his collection the first preserved keyboard print in the Netherlands.

⁸⁵ The singing of psalms with organ accompaniment did not start again until 1638, after Speuy's death. In 1598 (during Speuy's tenure), the church council in Dordrecht outlined the duties of the organists as follow: immediately following the sermon, begin with five or six psalms in succession, to be followed by grave, devotional pieces of Speuy's choice. Alan Curtis mentions that his collection also could have been intended for other city organists in the Netherlands (Curtis, "Henderick Speuy and the Earliest Printed Dutch Keyboard Music," 151).

All settings are written in two parts, a *bicinium* (although six of them end with a four-part open-fifth): an unadorned melody in one part and improvisatory figurations played in the other. Although in seven of the pieces the cantus firmus is set throughout one part, in most of his pieces Speuy employs a special technique of arranging the cantus firmus, which is called a ‘migrating’ or ‘wandering’ cantus firmus technique. This treatment of cantus firmus is found in vocal polyphonic music in the fifteenth century in Europe. In Speuy’s bicinia, the cantus firmus appears alternately in the right or left hand in each successive phrase, accompanied in the opposite voice by figural counterpoint. This technique was not used by either Sweelinck or van Noordt.

For example, in Psalm 116 (Ick heb den Heer life, ‘I love the Lord’),⁸⁶ the migration of the cantus firmus happens in mm. 7–8 (see Figure 10.1), from the right hand to the left, and later in mm. 23–24 vice versa. Using half and whole notes, the original note values in the Genevan Psalter, the cantus firmus is accompanied by quick-moving figurations of predominantly sixteenth-note unconventional motion. Since the figurations of the accompanying part are various and improvisatory, it would be difficult to classify all the particular motives he employed. However, Speuy occasionally uses motives borrowed from the psalm tune throughout the composition, although it cannot be solely contributed to his compositional skill. For instance, he uses the descending third followed by a stepwise return to the beginning note in Psalm 16, which is the pattern of the first four notes of the tune (D-B-C-D, mm. 1–3 in Figure 10.1).⁸⁷ The four-note pattern is seen among running sixteenth notes, as in mm. 11, 12, and 14, and at the end, mm. 32, but it is more clearly seen when it is presented in eighth notes (mm. 13, 15, and 16 in Figure

⁸⁶ The first tune set in Speuy’s collection, it seems one of the most popular psalm tunes of the seventeenth century in the Netherlands. It appears in at least seven Dutch sources of the period.

⁸⁷ Zuiderveld, “A Comprehensive Performance Project in Organ Literature, with a Study of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Keyboard Compositions Based on Genevan Psalm Tunes,” 23.

10.2). In particular, measures 15–16, in which the cantus firmus moves from the lower to the upper parts, are accompanied by exactly the same fragment.

Figure 10 Henderick Speuy, *Psalm 116, Ick heb den Heer lief*⁸⁸

1) Migrating cantus firmus between mm. 7 and 8



2) D-B-C-D patterns in the accompaniment part, mm. 11–16



3) Register echo, m. 25



⁸⁸ All fragments of Speuy's scores are from Henderik Speuy, *Psalm Preludes for Organ or Harpsichord*, ed. Frits Noske (Amsterdam: Heuwekemeijer, 1963).

Speuy sometimes varies the four-note pattern with a rhythm, as in the register echo in mm. 24–25 (Figure 10.3). Even though the overall accompanying part tends to be improvisatory, these intermittent patterns help unify the whole piece.

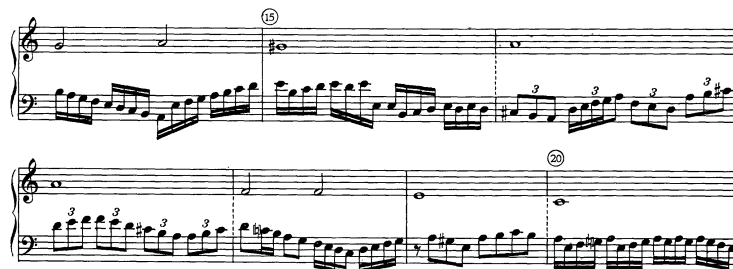
In addition, the unconventional, through-composed accompaniment suggests that Speuy may have been influenced by English keyboard sources to which he was exposed. Alan Curtis provides excellent examples, comparing the *Gloria Tibi Trinitas* by Nicolas Carlton⁸⁹ with excerpts from Speuy’s settings on Psalms 51, 65, and 130.⁹⁰ Curtis suggests typical figurations and a similarity between the two composers as follows: first, triplet figures—though rarely employed by Speuy—are used in a similar way.

Figure 11 Triplets

Nicolas Carlton, *Gloria tibi Trinitas*, mm. 14–17⁹¹



Henderik Speuy, *Psalm 51, Ontfermt u over my arme Sondaer*, mm. 14–20



⁸⁹ The date of this piece is not known; however, it is assumed that it dates from before 1587, which is decades ahead of Speuy’s compositions.

⁹⁰ Curtis, “Henderick Speuy and the Earliest Printed Dutch Keyboard Music,” 153-154.

⁹¹ All fragments of Carlton’s *Gloria tibi Trinitas* are taken from Thomas Mulliner, *The Mulliner Book*, ed. Denis Stevens (London: Stainer & Bell, 1966), 5.

The second indication of English keyboard influence lies in the four-note patterns within the major and minor third, including upper or lower neighboring tones (grouped with *a* in Figure 12), or a three-note stepwise motion (*b* in Figure 12), followed by descending thirds—both commonly employed in both Carlton and Speuy’s pieces. In addition, a lower neighboring tone followed by the octave is a typically used four-note pattern (*c* in Figure 12).

Figure 12 Four-note patterns

1) Carlton, *Gloria tibi trinitas*, mm. 12–15



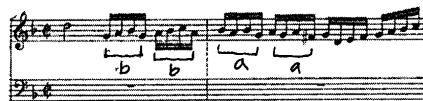
2) Henderik Speuy, *Psalm 65*, mm. 19–21



Speuy, *Psalm 65*, mm. 38–40



Speuy, *Psalm 130, Wt de diepten / O Heere / etc*, mm. 1–2



Speuy, *Psalm 130*, mm. 30–32



In many of Speuy's bicinia, a melodic incipit of the first phrase of the tune enters before the cantus firmus presents (i.e., *vorimitation*). Psalms 5, 6, 9, 12, 16, 23, 24, 27, 37, 40 (both two settings), 42, 65, 79, 100, 118, 128, 129, 130, and Lof-Sanck Maria all begin with the vorimitation technique. However, this technique appears only in the beginning of the piece and is never employed in the course of the work as a unifying device.

Figure 13 Vorimitation in Henderick Speuy, *Psalm 42: Als een Hardt ghejaeght*



Speuy's entire bicinia, which frequently employs a unique migrating cantus firmus technique, reveals a sheer instrumental conception. Many of the figural patterns fit the fingers well and have been derived from keyboard improvisations. The quick shifting of brief patterns and motives places Speuy closer to the English keyboard school, in the vein of Bull (his early works), Blitheman, and Carlton. Speuy's open-fifth cadences and occasionally strong modal harmonies are representative of an older style. On the other hand, the individual motives and other harmonies seem to feature a more contemporary styling,⁹² as Speuy sometimes uses triadic motives, broken thirds, wide leaps, and so on. Although Speuy's *De Psalmen Davids* (1610) is

⁹² Curtis, "Henderick Speuy and the Earliest Printed Dutch Keyboard Music," 155-156.

often considered a lesser offshoot of his contemporary, Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, this collection in itself is an important source, as it is the earliest preserved keyboard print from the Netherlands and the only one to appear during his and Sweelinck's lifetime.

b. Psalm Settings for Keyboard Instruments by Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck

A contemporary of Henderik Speuy, Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck is considered one of the first major keyboard composers of European history. In addition to his refined compositions, he was a renowned teacher, who contributed to the establishment of the north German organ tradition. Of Sweelinck's German students, four organists are considered to be major figures of the school in the early seventeenth century: Jacob Praetorius and Heinrich Scheidemann in Hamburg; Samuel Scheidt in Halle; and Melchior Schildt in Hanover. From among these cities, Hamburg became the center of north European organ music far into the eighteenth century, culminating in the works of Johann Sebastian Bach. Sweelinck's Dutch pupils were also undoubtedly many, and his influence is seen in the work of later composers, such as Anthoni van Noordt, who will be discussed in the next chapter. Sweelinck's influence even spread to Swedish (e.g., Andrea Düben) and English (e.g., Peter Philips) composers. The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, a primary keyboard collection from the Elizabethan and early-Jacobean period of English history, contains Sweelinck's variations based on English dance music, such as the *Pavan*.

Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck was born in the town of Deventer in 1562. In 1564 his family moved to Amsterdam, where his father, Pieter Swibbertszoon (or Peter Swybbertszoon), took up the organist position at the St. Nicolaaskerk (also known as the Oude Kerk, post Reformation), one of the most reputed posts in the Netherlands. After his father's death, Jan Pieterszoon adopted the maternal surname of "Sweelinck." He gained his early musical training from his father and later from Jan Willemszoon Lossy, an organist in Haarlem. His musical talent was apparent in his early childhood, so at barely fifteen years of age, he was appointed to his father's organ post at the St. Nicolaaskerk—then among the last Catholic bastions of the North Netherlands. However, this was soon to change. In 1578, only one year after he was appointed to

St. Nicolaaskerk, the church converted to Calvinism and the church's name was changed to the Oude Kerk. That is to say, his post underwent a radical change.

Sweelinck was no longer allowed to play during service because of the ban on organ music enforced by the Calvinists. He was, however, allowed to keep his post as a municipal employ until his death (1621). Sweelinck had grown up Catholic and seems to have remained a "passive Catholic"⁹³ even after the Protestant Reformation in Amsterdam. Although all his children were baptized Calvinists at the Oude Kerk, there is no record that Sweelinck ever converted to Calvinism. This may have been considered somewhat acceptable, as the Calvinists did not immediately impose their strict doctrines on the population. In order to encourage more of the population to convert to Calvinism, the church service in Amsterdam retained many elements of the Catholic rite, and some of the congregation remained true to Roman Catholicism. This extraordinary religious tolerance actually continued until 1619, shortly before Sweelinck's death.⁹⁴ Therefore, it is possible that Sweelinck, while working for the Calvinist Church, never officially converted to Calvinism.

While the first year of his work at the Oude Kerk, Sweelinck acted as organist during services, for the remaining forty years of his post his main duties belonged to playing organ preludes and postludes before and after the church service, in order to familiarize the congregation with the psalm tunes they would be expected to sing. In addition, he was charged with providing the organ music for official occasions and events.⁹⁵ Despite being banned during service, the organs of Oude Kerk were notable on their own.

⁹³ Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, *Sämtliche Orgel-und Clavierwerke Choralbearbeitungen* (Teil 1), ed. Siegbert Rampe (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2003), XXII.

⁹⁴ Jurjen Vis, "Sweelinck and the Reformation," in *Sweelinck Studies: Proceedings of the International Sweelinck Symposium, Utrecht 1999*, ed. Pierter Dirksen (STIMU: Utrecht, 2002), 52.

⁹⁵ He also performed on the harpsichord at official city functions.

Figure 14 Keyboards of the Large Organ at the Oude Kerk⁹⁷



Bovenwerk – Hoofdwerk - Rugpositief from the top

Typical of large Dutch organs of the sixteenth century, the *Bovenwerk* and *Rugpositief* of the large organ at the Oude Kerk had a compass of three octaves and three notes ($FGA-g^2-a^2$), which was shorter than the *Hoofdwerk* (Figure 14). The *Hoofdwerk* is not aligned with the other manuals (F in the *Rugpositief* below the C in the *Hoofdwerk*). In the case of playing echoes, as in Sweelinck's echo fantasias, it may have been difficult to use the *Hauptwerk* because of the different alignment. It seems more likely that the right hand played alternately on *Rugpositief* and *Bovenwerk*. The alignment of the three manuals made a manual coupling only possible between the keyboards of the *Bovenwerk* and *Rugpositief*.⁹⁸ Koos van de Linde presents another reason for the absence of the *Rugpositief*/ *Hoofdwerk* coupler: lower efficiency and less usability than the *Bovenwerk* and *Rugpositief* coupler. He says that “the main effect would have been to spoil the tuning, while bringing little reinforcement to the plenum...In Holland, it is not until the late seventeenth century that such couplers were added to the old organs, obviously only with the aim of producing more decibels than the ‘singing’ congregation.”⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Illustration taken from Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, *Complete Organ and Keyboard Works*, Part 3, ed. Harald Vogel and Pieter Dirksen (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2005), 140.

⁹⁸ Sweelinck, *Complete Organ and Keyboard Works*, Part 3, 140.

⁹⁹ Koos van de Linde, “Organs in Sweelinck’s Time,” in *Sweelinck Studies: Proceedings of the International Sweelinck Symposium, Utrecht 1999*, ed. Pieter Dirksen (Utrecht: STIMU, Foundation for Historical Performance Practice, 2002), 204.

The smaller organ in the Oude Kerk was built by Hendrik Niehoff and his partner Jasper Johanson in 1544/45. It contained nine stops in the *Hoofdwerk*, three stops in the *Bovenwerk*, and a pedal trumpet. In 1657 the organ was replaced by a larger one built by Hans Wolff Schonat. It has been assumed that Schonat may have retained three stops (Holoijp 8', Quintadeen 8', Gemshoorn 2') from the previous organ. In Sweelinck's time, the smaller organ was mainly used for daily evening recitals, including chamber music with singers and instrumentalists. The specification below is from 1567, when the contract for the alteration of the organ was agreed upon. Stops marked with an asterisk were newly added or altered at this time.¹⁰⁰

<i>Hoofdwerk</i> (FGA-g ² a ²)	<i>Borstwerk</i> (FGA-g ² a ²)	<i>Pedal</i> (FGA-c ¹)
<u>Lower Chest (<i>Principael</i>):</u>	Holpijp 4'	Trumpet 8'
Doof [Prestant] 4'	Kromhoorn* 8'	(Coupled to the <i>Hoofdwerk</i>)
Holpijp 8'	Regaal 8'	
Koppeldoof [Octaaf]* 2'		
Mixtuur		
Scherp		
<u>Upper Chest:</u>		Tremulant
Quyntedeem [Quintadeen] 8'		Borstwerk / Hoofdwerk
Gemsenhoorn [Gemshorn] 2'		3 Bälge (3 bellows)*
Sufflet [Sifflet]* 1-1/3'		Compass: FGA-g ² a ²
Symbel [Cimbel] III		Pedal: FGA-c ¹
Schalmei 4'		

The stops in the *Hoofdwerk* consist of a complete organ, like the combination of *Hoofdwerk* and *Bovenwerk* in the large organ. The *Borstwerk* (Brustwerk) was the complement of the *Hoofdwerk*, which can also be observed in the other small Niehoff instruments.¹⁰¹ The pedal part had one stop of its own, with a coupler from *Hoofdwerk*, which functioned the same as one in the large organ (i.e., sounded in the 16' register in the pedal, so that the bass part in polyphonic music could be played on the pedal).

¹⁰⁰ Sweelinck, *Complete Organ and Keyboard Works*, Part 3, ed. Vogel and Dirksen, 140.

¹⁰¹ Van de Linde, "Organs in Sweelinck's Time," 206.

Psalm Variations for Keyboard

Sweelinck mainly wrote his keyboard works during the last fifteen years of his life. Published posthumously, all of Sweelinck's keyboard works were widely circulated among his colleagues and pupils during the seventeenth century. Collectors of clavier music also loved Sweelinck's keyboard works, as is evidenced by the copies found all across Europe, including, Germany, England, Belgium, Italy, Hungary, and Russia.¹⁰² The outstanding acclaim that Sweelinck's music gathered from among other musicians and music lovers is probably a reflection of the richness and uniqueness of his work. Among Sweelinck's keyboard works, variations form the dominant genre. His variations may be divided into a few subgenres: Genevan psalm tunes, Lutheran chorale tunes, secular songs, and pavans. He thus did not write variations solely on psalms, but also on Lutheran chorale melodies, reflecting the traditions of his German pupils; Gregorian chant, recalling his initial background as a Catholic; and secular songs, showing his deep connection to English music.¹⁰³

It is not quite clear how many psalm settings he composed, since none of Sweelinck's keyboard works were published during his life. Only a small number of Sweelinck's psalm settings have been found in manuscripts from England, Italy, and Germany; and some had not been identified as his compositions for generations. Among them, his sacred variations on psalms are so-far known as follows (see Table 5 on following page).

¹⁰² Sweelinck, *Complete Organ and Keyboard Works*, Part 3, ed. Vogel and Dirksen, 11.

¹⁰³ Sweelinck, 10.

Table 5 Sweelinck's Sacred Variations on Psalms¹⁰⁴

Title	No. of variations	Source
Psalm 23	3	Lynar B2
Psalm 36	3	Torino G5
Psalm 60	2	Lynar B2
Psalm 116 (Melody based on the Lutheran chorale, 'Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort')	4	Lynar B2
Psalm 140 (Same tune as 'De Tien Geboden God,' Calvinist setting of the Ten Commandments.)	5	Fitzwilliam

Although not many psalm tunes composed by Sweelinck have been found (Psalms 23, 36,¹⁰⁵ 60, 116, and 140/De Tien Geboden Gods), what do exist represent the broad artistic palette he achieved through absorbing the musical trends and techniques of other countries and making them his own. This led to a range of artistic expressions in his variations—some of his psalm variations feature an old contrapuntal style, while others contain more contemporary compositional elements. Psalms 36 and 116 are beautiful examples of this, as they not only contain the before-mentioned various compositional skills, but also exemplify the contrasting styles. In terms of the treatment of the psalm melodies, the melody of Psalm 36 is entirely non-figured, which seems to reflect Sweelinck's earlier, more native style, while the melody of Psalm 116 shows three different melodic treatments, non-figured, sparsely figured, and strongly figured.

¹⁰⁴ Jan R. Luth, "The Music of the Dutch Reformed Church," in *Sweelinck Studies: Proceedings of the International Sweelinck Symposium, Utrecht 1999*, ed. Pieter Dirksen (Utrecht: STIMU, 2002), 37.

¹⁰⁵ Psalm 36 shares a melody with Psalm 68 in the Genevan Psalter, but according to Pieter Dirksen and Julia Dokter, the French (not Dutch) psalm 36 and this set of Sweelinck's keyboard variations show closer correlation between text and music. Pieter Dirksen, *The Keyboard Music of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck: Its Style, Significance and Influence* (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1997), 173-175. Julia Dokter, "Musical Rhetoric Lost in Translation: National, Religious and Linguistic Networks and the Determination of Title in Sweelinck's Organ Variations on Psalm 36" in *Networks of Music and Culture in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries A Collection of Essays in Celebration of Peter Philips's 450th Anniversary*, ed. David J. Smith and Rachelle Taylor (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2013).


The last two treatments reflect Sweelinck's later compositional style, thus making them worthy of discussion.

Psalm Variations for Keyboard: Psalm 36


As mentioned above, the melody is plainly presented in each variation, first in the soprano, second in the tenor, and finally in the bass. The twelve phrases of the tune are treated in *Bar* form (AAB or *Stollen* :|| *Abgesang*). Point of imitation and pre-imitation (vorimitation) are widely used in the accompaniment, but at the same time, various contrapuntal figurations accompany the cantus firmus. In the first variation, the first three phrases (*Stollen*) first occur accompanied by imitatively moving quarter notes and then, when repeated, freer figurations moving in eighth-notes accompany the phrases.¹⁰⁶ Starting at measure 31, the six-phrase *Abgesang* is accompanied by distinctive motivic and imitative patterns (e.g., mm. 31–32, 34–35, 38–39, 40–41, 42–44, 45–46, 47–49, 50–52, 53–55, and 56–58 in Figure 15).

Figure 15 Distinctive motivic and imitative patterns, Sweelinck, *Psalm 36*, variation 1.¹⁰⁷

mm. 31–32



mm. 34–35
mm. 38–39



¹⁰⁶ Zuiderveld, “A Comprehensive Performance Project in Organ Literature, with a Study of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Keyboard Compositions Based on Genevan Psalm Tunes”, 46.

¹⁰⁷ All fragments of Sweelinck's scores are from Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, *Complete Organ and Keyboard Works*, Part 3, ed. Harald Vogel and Pieter Dirksen, (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2005)

Figure 15 (Continued)

mm. 40–41



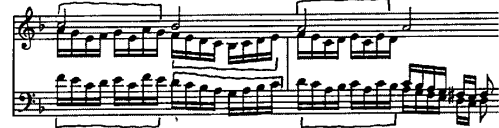
mm. 42–44



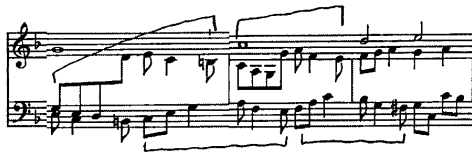
mm. 45–46



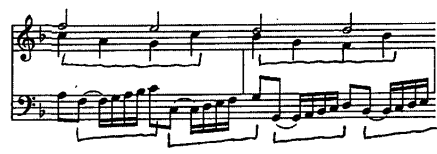
mm. 48–49



mm. 50–52



mm. 53–54



mm. 56–58



After four measures of vorimiation, the cantus firmus of the second variation begins in the tenor part. Although this variation is accompanied by a few distinctive motivic and imitative patterns as with the first variation, here the soprano part generally moves with more florid figural motions due to the change of the cantus firmus part, from the soprano to tenor (Figure 16).

However, as with the first variation, the movements of the accompaniment parts also become faster (sixteenth notes) in the second Stollen than in the first (more quarter and eighth notes).

Figure 16 Sweelinck, *Psalm 36*, Beginning of Variation 2



Particularly in this variation (Figures 16 and 17), Sweelinck shows his unique style by providing a little twist in the melody by adding passing tones (mm. 66, 74, and 79) and shortening the original note values of the psalter (mm. 72, 82, and 86), yet all within the original beat. For example, the passing tone *g* in the cantus firmus in m. 74 (Figure 16) not only makes a smoother connection to the next note, but it also helps to avoid a strong parallel 8th (*f-f*) given the appoggiatura in the top part. The late entrance of the melody in m. 72 seems to depend on contrapuntal factors. Since the fast ascending motive (*f-g-a-b^b-c*) in the soprano is immediately echoed in the bass part, starting the melody *c* in the last beat harmonically and contrapuntally makes more sense. The rests in mm. 82 and 86 (Figure 17) are also interesting. If the cantus firmus started right from the beginning of m. 82, neither the melody and nor the accompanying parts would sound clear enough. In the case of the rest in m. 86, it not only offers a natural breath but makes playing the descending parallel thirds easier. The consistently moving parallel thirds

(e.g., mm. 86–89) is seen in many of Sweelinck’s keyboard works, as well as in English keyboard music, such as in the works of Philips and Byrd.

Figure 17 Sweelinck, *Psalm 36*, Variation 2, mm. 82–89



Unlike the first variation, in which the second Stollen ends with a half-note chord, the ascending scale in the soprano part in the second variation smoothly makes a transition through the Abgesang (m. 96 in Figure 18.1). Triplet rhythms introduce the first phrase of the Abgesang (mm. 98–102), then the previous beat level (tactus) returns to the next phrase (m. 103). Throughout the Abgesang, the two accompaniment parts move imitatively. In addition to figuration echoes, fast passages in sixteenth notes in one part supported by slower notes in the other come out alternatively (Figure 18.2).

Figure 18.1 Sweelinck, *Psalm 36*, Variation 2, mm. 94–106



Figure 18.2 Sweelinck, *Psalm 36*, Variation 2, mm. 113–117



In the third variation, opening notes from the cantus firmus in diminution articulate the three major sections (Stollen: mm. 128–132, Stollen: mm. 149–151, Abgesang: mm. 164–166). One of those pre-imitations is presented in Figure 19.

Figure 19 *Vorimitation* in the First Stollen. Variation 3, mm. 128–132



Then each of the three sections begins slowly and moves gradually into quicker note values (e.g., mm. 150–153 vs. 157–160 and mm. 164–167 vs. 180–181).

Figure 20 Slow Beginnings in Accompaniment Parts, Variation 3, mm. 150–153



→ Faster moving accompaniment parts, mm. 157–160



Like in previous variations, new motives continuously appear and disappear in the accompaniment part; but here, imitations more freely intertwine throughout this set of variations (Figure 21).

Figure 21 Imitative Motives, *Psalm 36*, Variation 3, mm. 159–167



Sweelinck uses parallel 3rds and 6ths in many of his works, and it is likewise found in English keyboard music. Unexceptionally, it is easy to find those parallels in this variation. Parallel 3rds (mm. 184–185) and consistent parallel 6ths (between m. 187 and the end), in addition to combinations of the parallel 3rds and 6ths in a few measures (e.g., mm.134–135 presented in Figure 22, and 142–143), accompany the cantus firmus in the bass.

Figure 22 Combination of Parallel 3rds and 6ths, *Psalm 36*, Variation 3, mm. 134–135



Psalm Variations for Keyboard: Psalm 116

Composed in bicinium, the first variation can be compared to the previously reviewed Henderik Speuy's bicinium of Psalm 116. The big difference between the two settings arises from the treatment of the cantus firmus. Speuy's setting switches the cantus firmus between the upper and lower parts, while the accompaniment constantly generates new motives and shifts to the other unaffected. On the other hand, the cantus firmus in Sweelinck's version neither migrates to the other part nor changes the figural motives of the accompaniment as often as Speuy's. Through this difference, Sweelinck achieves the greater unity by maintaining the same motive for a longer period than Speuy. After a pre-imitation of the cantus firmus, Sweelinck builds the tension gradually toward a climax with sixteenth-note figurations that lasts until the

end of the variation, whereas Speuy's rapid figurations keep in same level of intensity throughout.¹⁰⁸

Without slowing down at the end of the first variation, the fast-moving accompaniment part of the first variation sequentially moves right into the second variation (Figure 23.1, mm. 31–33). This technique is found extensively in Sweelinck's keyboard variations, and seems the result of the autonomous character of psalm playing in the Dutch Reformed church at the time, when organists were not involved in the music of the service.

Figure 23.1 Smooth Connection to the Second Variation, mm. 31–33



As in the first variation, the second variation offers the cantus firmus in the soprano, but this variation is accompanied with more distinctive imitative motives than the previous set. Sometimes, the tune joins in the figuration (m. 38 in Figure 23.2). The decorated melody in m. 38 moves together in parallel 3rds down with the middle part, and then the figuration is imitated again in the next measure. The following phrase of the cantus firmus is decorated as well. The little added notes in the cantus firmus (m. 42 in Figure 23.3) are at this time derived from the repetitive patterns of the previous two measures. The varied pattern (a dotted quarter note followed by two sixteenth notes) in the cantus firmus is echoed in the middle part, which keeps moving in parallel.

¹⁰⁸ Alan Curtis, *Sweelinck's Keyboard Music: A Study of English Elements in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Composition* (Leiden: University Press [distributed By] Oxford University Press, London, 1972), 80.

Figure 23.2 Tune added with figurations, mm. 36–39 (tune marked with *)

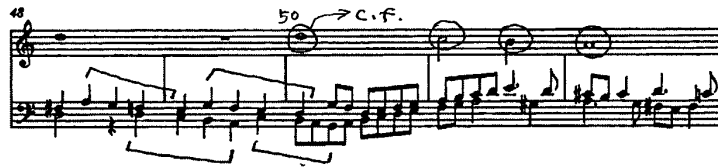


Figure 23.3 Tune added with a previously used pattern, mm. 40–44



Pre-imitations are used before each entrance of the third and fourth phrases of the tune (mm. 48–50 and 57–58).

Figure 24 Pre-imitation, mm. 48–50



A short pattern (eighth note–quarter note) is consistently interchanged between the upper and lower accompaniment parts under the last phrase of the tune (Figure 25, mm. 60–65).

Figure 25 A short pattern in the accompaniment, variation 2, mm. 60–65



One of Sweelinck's most significant stylistic traits displayed in his psalm variations is his use of coloratura. He applied this technique of coloration to the cantus firmus in the third and fourth variations of Psalm 116.¹⁰⁹ Although his predecessors in other countries—such as Gerolamo Cavazzoni, Paul Hofhaimer, and Hendrik Isaak—had written the cantus in an ornamental style, Sweelinck took their styles and developed them with his particular coloration. Varied by melodic and rhythmic twists, the ornamented melodies in most of his predecessors' works were hard to recognize in general but helped to create a certain mood (see Figure 26). This composition, which Hofhaimer made on Isaak's melody, *Ain Frewlich wesen*, exemplifies the disguised melody line. The slow-moving ornamented cantus reflects the sad mood of the second verse of *Ain Frewlich wesen*.¹¹⁰

Figure 26 Paul Hofhaimer, *Ain Frewlich wesen*, mm. 1–7.¹¹¹ (Melody is marked with *)



The technique of coloration, used in the first variation in Michael Praetorius' *Nun lob, mein Seel, den Herren*, is also comparable to that in Sweelinck's Psalm 116. Praetorius, a contemporary of Sweelinck, was the only other composer to use the chorale as a basis for organ composition. In

¹⁰⁹ Sweelinck used coloratura only with popular psalm tunes.

¹¹⁰ Robert Tusler mentions that ornamented melody was employed exclusively for expressive purposes by Sweelinck's predecessors. Robert Tusler, *The Organ Music of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck* (Bilthoven: A.B. Creighton, 1958), 44-45.

¹¹¹ The score fragment is from *Das Deutsche Gesellschaftslied in Österreich Von 1480-1550* (Denkmäler Der Tonkunst in Österreich ; Bd. 72. Wien: Universal Edition, 1930), 106.

this variation, the ornamented melody does not stick to the original rhythms of the melody, as we have seen in Sweelinck's predecessors. However, unlike those composers, Praetorius applies a lyric vocal coloratura (see Figure 27).

Figure 27 Michael Praetorius, *Nun lob, mein Seel, den Herren*, variation 1, mm. 26–37.¹¹²
(Melody is marked with *)



Sweelinck created his own technique of coloration, which neither fully resembles his predecessors' expressive ornamented cantus, which is hard for listeners' ears to grasp, nor his contemporary Praetorius' lyric vocal coloratura. Sweelinck's coloring is thoroughly instrumental but strictly adheres to the original tones and rhythms of the melody. For example, each phrase of the ornamented tune in the third variation of Psalm 116 is presented with the varied compositional techniques seen in Sweelinck's toccatas, echo fantasias, and secular variations (Figure 28.1–4 on the next page). On the contrary to the rapid figuration, the accompanying parts provide mostly chords only—such arrangement is similar to English harpsichord music.

¹¹² The score fragment is from Michael Praetorius, *Sämtliche Orgelwerke*, ed. Karl Matthaei and Wilibald Gurlitt (Wolfenbüttel: Mösel Verlag, 1960), 37.

Figure 28.1 Highly decorated melody, as in Sweelinck's toccata style, *Psalm 116*, Variation 3, mm. 75–79



Figure 28.2 Decorated melody similar to Sweelinck's echo fantasias, mm. 82–84



Figure 28.3 Parallels typically seen in toccatas, fantasias, and secular variations, mm. 91–94



Figure 28.4 Repeated notes in melody, seen in Sweelinck's fantasias and secular variations, mm. 111–112



Sweelinck continuously uses echoes, playful sequences, and rapid scalar figurations in the last (fourth) variation, as well. In particular, echoes are frequently used in this variation (Figure 29). Not only within each phrase of the tune, but also the connections between phrases are decorated

by an echo in all but one. For example, the motive used at the end of variation three is echoed in the beginning of variation four (Figure 29.1).¹¹³

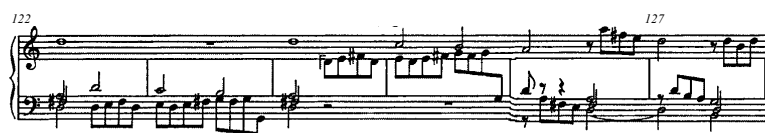
Figure 29.1 Echo between the 3rd and 4th variations, *Psalm 116*, Variation 4, mm. 106–107



Figure 29.2 Register echoes, *Psalm 116*, Variation 4, mm. 116–120



Figure 29.3 Echoes both in the melody and accompaniment, Variation 4, mm. 122–127



Use of the echo in organ music is always associated with Sweelinck’s style. This particular aspect of his style seems to resonate from the connection between him and English composers of his time. For instance, Sweelinck’s close English colleague, Peter Philips, used the echo effect in his “Passamezzo Pavana,” and it is almost a certainty Philips would have shared this piece with Sweelinck during his visit to Amsterdam.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Speuy’s setting on Psalm 116 also uses a similar motive in m. 32.

¹¹⁴ Curtis, *Sweelinck’s Keyboard Music*, 66.

Sweelinck interprets each phrase with his contrasting figuration, which forms the basis of his ornamentation, yet he does not give away even a small detail of the cantus. This technique of coloration, one of Sweelinck's strongest stylistic traits, influenced following generations of composers who wrote ornamental chorale preludes. Sweelinck also composed several variation movements in a toccata style with contrasting sections often consisting of running passages accompanied by full chords. The running-passage work of Sweelinck's toccatas is related to those of Spanish and English composers, whose passage works are often varied and quickly move between short melodic figures. As previously seen in Figure 28.1, Sweelinck applies these toccata-like figurations to the psalm melody itself, though most characteristics of the toccata in his work appear in the accompaniment. Meanwhile, a certain variation setting even forms a large toccata as a whole.¹¹⁵ Variations in Psalm 140 is an excellent example of this. Each variation becomes a part of the multi-sectional structure of one toccata: variation 1 (two-voiced toccata itself) as a first section, variations 2 and 3 (combined to a toccata) as a second section, variation 4 as an imitative section that contrasts to before and behind sections, and variation 5 (mostly three-voiced toccata) as a last section of the toccata (see Figure 30.1-3).

Figure 30.1 *Psalm 140*, Variations 2 and 3, mm. 50-58

¹¹⁵ Tusler, *The Organ Music of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck*, 80.

Figure 30.2 *Psalm 140*, Variation 4, mm. 93–102



Figure 30.3 *Psalm 140*, Variation 5, mm. 136–140



This discussion has shown the variety of cantus firmus placements and thoughtfully renewed motives in Sweelinck’s *Psalm 36* and *116*. In *Psalm 36* Sweelinck created an architectural structure that illuminates the *Bar* form, while providing a constantly renewed contrapuntal accompaniment. In *Psalm 116* he applied unique compositional techniques that he crafted from examples found throughout Europe. Sweelinck also derived a few technical devices from vocal styles of the era, but recreated them in an instrumental style (e.g., *coloratura* and *echo*). However, while experimenting with techniques, he still honored the original rhythms and tones of the psalm melody, leaving it untouched.

Both pieces may have been more suitable to play on church organs or organs consisting of two manuals and pedal, rather than on positive organs or plucked keyboard instruments. The *Versus Tertius con Pedali* of Psalm 36 expressly calls for a pedal cantus firmus. Pedal playing at that time was the exclusive technique of professional organists, who usually played at churches. The 2 *Vari[atio]*: of *Psalm 116* was meant to be played *Auf 2 Clauiren* (on two manuals), a form of performance possible on church organs in the Netherlands. Therefore, these two pieces are representative of how Sweelinck may have played psalm variations on the Oude Kerk organ during daily recitals.

c. *Tabulatuurboeck van Psalmen en Fantasyen* by Anthoni van Noordt

Anthoni van Noordt's compositions consist of ten psalm variations (Psalms 2, 6, 7, 15, 22, 24, 38, 50, 116, and 119) and six fantasias. They were published in 1659 in the *Tabulatuurboeck van Psalmen en Fantasyen* (Tablature Book of Psalms and Fantasias). It was the first keyboard music published following Henderick Speuy's Dutch keyboard publication, *De Psalmen Davids/Gestelt of het Tabulatuur van het Orghel en de Clavecymmel/met 2. Partijen*, 1610, the earliest of its kind. Anthoni van Noordt held two of the three main organist positions available in Amsterdam. Between 1652 and 1664 he was the organist at Nieuwezijds Kapel (formally the *Heilige Stede*, 'Holy Site'). His *Tabulatuurboeck van Psalmen en Fantasyen* was composed and published while working at this chapel.

The organ at Nieuwezijds Kapel was built by Jan van Covelens and renewed in 1635 by Levinus Eekman. The specification of the instrument after its renovation is seen below.¹¹⁶

<i>Hoofdwerk</i>	<i>Bovenwerk</i>	<i>Pedal</i>
Prestant 8'	Octaaf 4'	Trompet 8'
Holpijp 8'	Quintadeen 8'	
Octaaf 4'	Scherp 3 voices	
Sifflet 1'	Gedekt 8'	
Mixtuur	Spitsfluit 4'	Tremulant
Scherp	Nasard 3'	Nachtegaal
Trompet 8'	Gemshoorn 2'	3 bellows
	Regaal 8'	

The other position, organist at the Nieuwe Kerk of Amsterdam, was assigned to van Noordt after the death of organist Nicolaas Lossy, and van Noordt held this post until 1673. At the time of Anthoni van Noordt's appointment, the Nieuwe Kerk had two organs: a small organ in a transept and a larger organ. The transept organ was originally built in 1651 by members of

¹¹⁶ Anthoni van Noordt, *Tabulatuurboeck van Psalmen en fantasien: 1659*, ed. Jan van Biezen (Amsterdam: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1976), XIII.

the van Hagerbeer family, Germer and Jacobus. Before 1664 it was enlarged with a second department. Its specification enables a great variety of solo possibilities.¹¹⁷

1651 specification of the small organ at the Nieuwe Kerk

<i>Manuaal</i>	<i>Positief</i>
Prestant 8' (double from b ⁴)	Prestant 8'
Holpijp 8'	Quintadena 8'
Octaaf 4'	Octaaf 4'
Gemshoorn 2'	Fluit 4'
Tertiaan 1 3/5' (double from b ^b)	Quint 3'
Quint 1 1/2' (double from b ⁴)	Tertiaan 1 3/5'
Quintfluit 1 1/2' (double from b ⁴)	Trompet 8' (halved)
Superoctaaf 1'	
Mixtuur 1' IV-V	
Scherp 2/3' IV-VI	
Sexquialtera 2 2/3' II (from g)	
Dulciaan 8'	<i>Attached Pedal</i>

The larger, main organ at the Nieuwe Kerk was built in 1655 by Hans Wolff Schonat, who also built the small organ at the Oude Kerk in 1657. Although the original disposition from 1655 was not preserved, a likely disposition can be found in Hans van Nieuwkoop's article, "Anthoni van Noordt and the Organs of Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam."¹¹⁸ In 1673 Roelof Barentsz and Johannes Duyschot performed a restoration in the main organ¹¹⁹ and added a *Bovenwerk* and more stops to the other manuals. In particular, they installed six more stops in the *Rugpositief*

¹¹⁷ Stop list is from Hans Van Nieuwkoop, "Anthoni van Noordt and the Organs of Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam," *The Organ Yearbook* 21 (1990): 37.

¹¹⁸ Van Nieuwkoop, 37.

¹¹⁹ The restoration was started by Jacobus van Hagerbeer, and after his death, Roelof Barentsz and Joannes Duyschot continued.

and carried the principle of doubled pipes for a spatial effect.¹²⁰ Listed below are the new stops and the new manual indicated by an asterisk.

1673 specification of the main (larger) organ at the Oude Kerk after the renovation

<i>Manuaal</i>	<i>*Bovenwerk</i>	<i>Rugpositief</i>	<i>Pedaal</i>
Prestant 16'	*Prestant 8'	Prestant 8'	Prestant 16'
Quintadena 16'	*Baarpijp 8'	Quintadena 8'	Bourdon 16'
Octaaf 8'	*Quintadena 8'	Holpijp 8'	Prestant 8' (*Octaaf 8')
Holpijp 8'	*Octaaf 4'	Octaaf 4'	Octaaf 4'
Octaaf 4'	*Octaaf 2'	*Openfluit 4'	Quint 3'
Gemshoorn 4'	*Nasard 1 1/2'	*Quintfluit 3'	Mixtuur 4'
Quint 3'	*Sifflet 1'	*Superoctaaf 2'	Bazuin 16'
Mixtuur	*Sexquialtera	Spitsfluit 2'	Trompet 8'
Scherp	*Scherp 1 1/2'	*Fluit 2'	*Trompet 4'
*Trompet 8'		Quartanus	
*Vox humana 8'		*Sesquialtera	
		Mixtuur	
		Scherp	
		*Cornet 8'	
		Trompet 8'	

Van Noordt, since he held the position around the time of the completion of the renovation, probably took part in a proposal to renovate the main organ of the Nieuwe Kerk.¹²¹

It is not clear which organ or organs in Amsterdam van Noordt had in mind when he composed his psalms and fantasias. Although he published the *Tabulatuurboeck* when he was the organist of the Nieuwezijds Kapel, the organ at this chapel does not seem to be the best candidate for the performance of his compositions for the following reasons. The organ only had a Trompet 8' in the pedal, which would not have been enough for the performance of extensive obbligato pedal lines in the Psalm variations. (However, at the chapel organ, a bass line could have been

¹²⁰ Van Nieuwkoop, 38.

¹²¹ Rofer van Dijk, "The Organs of the Nieuwe Kerk and Their History," in *The Profusion of Heaven: The Organs of the Nieuwe Kerk in Amsterdam*, ed. Henk Verhoef (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2005), 36; quoted in Javadova, 6: "Despite the lack of archival documents it may be assumed that, during his years as an organist of the Nieuwe Kerk, van Noordt was responsible for a proposal to enlarge and renew the main organ of the Nieuwe Kerk."

played with a coupling from the *Hoofdwerk*.) In addition, the compass of the organ made it impossible to play F sharp and G sharp in the lower octave, which were regularly recurrent in van Noordt's music. Most of the organs in Amsterdam around 1660 were also unsuitable for the performance of van Noordt's psalms and fantasias because of the compass range required. According to Hans van Nieuwkoop, only the small organ of the Oude Kerk met the requirements of all of van Noordt's compositions.¹²² As seen in the specification below, there were three stops in the pedal division—Bourdon 16, Octaaf 8', and Trompet 8'—which made playing both pedal obbligato and solo possible; and of course, there were the F-sharp and G-sharp keys in the lower octave missing in other organs in Amsterdam. In addition, it may have been easy for him to access this particular organ, as his brother Jacob van Noordt was the organist at Oude Kerk.

1657 specification of the small organ at the Oude Kerk after the replacement by Hans Wolff Schonat¹²³

<i>Hoofdwerk (CDE - c''')</i>	<i>Borstwerk (CDE - c''')</i>	<i>Pedaal (CDE - a''')</i>
Prestant 16'	Holpijp 8'	Bourdon 16'
Holpijp 8'	Octaaf 4'	Octaaf 8'
Quintadeen 8'	Octaaf 2'	Trompet 8'
Octaaf 4'	Dulciaan 8'	
Quint 2'		
Octaaf 2'		
Mixtuur		
Sexquialtera		
Trompet 8'		
Vox humana 8'		

Although this organ could have been the only one able to accommodate all the pieces in the *Tablaturboeck*, it cannot be clearly stated that the small organ at Oude Kerk was the only instrument van Noordt had in mind when he composed his music. Jamila Javadova's dissertation

¹²² Van Nieuwkoop, 44.

¹²³ Van Nieuwkoop, 45.

provides a source supporting the new idea that the Nieuwe Kerk organ could have been used to play the *Tablaturboeck*. She mentions that this is discussed in *The Profusion of Heaven: The Organs of the Nieuwe Kerk in Amsterdam*, 2005.¹²⁴ Research conducted in the city archive of Amsterdam Rog er van Dijk, offers the following suggestion:

...the relationship between the organs of the Nieuwe Kerk (where in 1664 van Noordt became the organist) and the *Tablaturboeck* can no longer be excluded because the contract signed by organ builder Hans Wolf Schonat for the main organ included some changes to the organ completed in 1655. Such changes possibly were the manual compass and channels for F sharp and G sharp notes, which are present in van Noordt's works. A number of Schonat's pipes for F sharp and G sharp survive and it would "therefore seem plausible that these notes were added while building was in progress."¹²⁵

Psalm Variations in the *Tablaturboeck*

Anthoni van Noordt's *Tablaturboeck* (1659) contains ten psalm variations out of sixteen works, Psalms 15, 38, 6, 7, 2, 50, 119, 116, 22, and 24,¹²⁶ which were among those most beloved in the Netherlands during the 17th century. During van Noordt's time, the organ was still only played outside of Calvinist services; it was not until very late in 1680 that organ accompaniment of congregational singing was allowed in Amsterdam. That is, like Spuey and Sweelinck, van Noordt played psalm variations to familiarize people with psalm melodies only through daily recitals. The psalm melodies are fully presented in a single voice in three ways: plain melody (*cantus firmus*), colored or ornate melody (*cantus coloratus*), and a combination of the two.¹²⁷ He placed the *cantus firmus* in soprano, tenor, or bass, with figured counterpoint. Only four of the settings are bicinia, three employing the *cantus firmus* in the soprano, and one in

¹²⁴ Henk Verhoef, ed., *The Profusion of Heaven* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2005).

¹²⁵ Jamila Javadova, "Anthoni van Noordt Historical and Analytical Aspects of His *Tablaturboeck* Van Psalmen En Fantasyen of 1659" (D.M.A. diss., University of North Texas, 2008), 18.

¹²⁶ Order of the psalm numbers follows the order of the contents in the manuscript. All of them have multi movements, except Psalm 15 having only one movement.

¹²⁷ Javadova, 21.

the bass. Of twenty-four three-part settings, twelve have the cantus firmus in the soprano, ten in the bass, and two in the tenor. Thirteen four-part settings employ the cantus firmus ten times in the soprano, two times in the tenor, and once in the bass.¹²⁸

Table 6 Voice Settings (with indicating the part, in which cantus firmus is placed)

Psalm #	Bicinia	Three voices	Four voices
15		Var. 1 (S)	
38	Vars. 1 (S), 2 (S)	Vars. 3 (S), 4 (S), 5 (B)	
6		Vars. 1 (S), 2 (S), 3 (B)	Vars. 4 (S), 5 (S)
7		Vars. 1 (S), 2 (B)	Var. 3 (S)
2		Vars. 1 (S), 2 (B)	Var. 3 (S)
50		Vars. 1 (S), 2 (S), 3 (B)	Var. 4 (S)
119	Vars. 1 (B), 2 (S)	Vars. 3 (S), 4 (T), 5 (B), 6 (B)	Vars. 7 (T), 8 (T)
116		Vars. 1 (T), 2 (S), 3 (B), 4 (B)	Vars. 5 (S), 6 (S)
22		Vars. 1 (S), 2 (B)	Var. 3 (S)
24			Vars. 1 (S), 2 (S), 3 (B)

Table 7 Types of Psalm Melodies Used in the Variations

Psalm #	Plain Melody	Decorated Melody	In Combination
15	Var. 1		
38	Var. 1, 3, 4, 5		Var. 2
6	Var. 3, 4, 5		Var. 1, 2
7	Var. 1, 2, 3		
2	Var. 1, 2, 3		
50	Var. 1, 2, 3, 4		
119	Var. 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8		Var. 2, 3
116	Var. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6		
22	Var. 1, 2, 3		
24	Var. 1, 3	Var. 2	

¹²⁸ Zuiderveld, 59.

Table 8 Placements of the Cantus Firmus

Psalm #	Soprano	Tenor	Bass
15	Var. 1		
38	Var. 1, 2, 3, 4		Var. 5
6	Var. 1, 2, 4, 5		Var. 3
7	Var. 1, 3		Var. 2
2	Var. 1, 3		Var. 2
50	Var. 1, 2, 4		Var. 3
119	Var. 2, 3	Var. 4, 7, 8	Var. 1, 5, 6
116	Var. 2, 5, 6	Var. 1	Var. 3, 4
22	Var. 1, 3		Var. 2
24	Var. 1, 2		Var. 3

As seen in the above charts, each verse or variation of his psalm settings was presented in different compositional ways, much like a German partita. Therefore, it would not be enough to explore his psalm settings by analyzing only one or two pieces. These various styles will be analyzed by categorizing them into three groups: two-part, three-part, and four-part settings.

Psalm Variations in the *Tablaturboeck*: Two-Part Settings (*Bicinia*)

As a form, the bicinia was used less frequently by Anthoni van Noordt than Henderik Spuey and Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck. Among the entire works in his *Tablaturboeck*, Psalm 38 and Psalm 119 are the only two pieces containing bicinia. Both pieces start with a pair of bicinia.¹²⁹ In Psalm 38, verses one and two are compiled without full cadences in between (i.e. a *variation* type). The two bicinia in Psalm 119 represent a *versus* type.¹³⁰ In all four bicinia, the psalm melody starts right on the first beat. Instead of vorimitation (i.e. a short pre-imitation of

¹²⁹ Only the last measure of the first variation ends with a four-part chord.

¹³⁰ According to Javadova, “Anthoni van Noordt Historical and Analytical Aspects of His *Tablaturboeck* Van Psalmen En Fantasyen of 1659,” 23, the term *versus* was initially introduced in Wener Breig’s *Die Orgelwerke von Heinrich Scheidemann* and is also used by Peter Dirksen in his book, *The Keyboard Music of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck: Its Style, Significance and Influence* (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1997), 126. A *versus* relates to those variations that consist of discrete stanzas, which can be performed separately, possibly for *alternatim* practice. A *variation* does not end without full cadences but links to the next variation. That is, it is not possible to play individual variations separately.

the incipit of the cantus firmus), the initial melody accompanies the cantus in quarter-note value from the very first beat (Figure 31).

Figure 31 Anthoni van Noordt, *Psalm 38*, mm. 1–5¹³¹



Van Noordt starts several variations in this way (e.g. verse 1 in Psalm 38, verse 3 in Psalm 50, and verses 1 and 6 in Psalm 116).

Van Noordt uses real vorimitation in the other twelve variations.¹³² Using figured materials borrowed from the tune was a typical technique he favored to start his variations. The subsequent accompaniment line continuously generates numerous groups of figurations (Figure 32.2–3), as Sweelinck composed in his psalm variations (Figure 32.1). One of the figurations is derived from the first few notes of the incipit melody, as Henderik Speuy did with the four-note pattern in his Psalm 116 (Figure 10.2). Here, van Noordt varies the first seven notes of the melody in mm. 1–2 (C-B-A-B-C-D-E in Figure 31) to ascending sequential sixteenth-note figures, which appears in mm. 14–15 (figuration b in Figure 32.2).

¹³¹ All fragments of van Noordt's scores are from Anthoni van Noordt, *Tabulatuurboeck van Psalmen en fantasyen: 1659*, ed. Jan van Biezen (Amsterdam: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1976).

¹³² Verse 5 in Psalm 38, verses 1 and 4 in Psalm 6, verses 2 and 3 in Psalm 7, verse 3 in Psalm 2, verse 4 in Psalm 50, verse 7 in Psalm 119, verse 5 in Psalm 116, verse 2 in Psalm 22, and verses 1 and 3 in Psalm 24.

Figure 32 Continuous introductions of the new figuration

1) Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, *Psalm 60*, variation 1, mm. 24–34

Musical score for Sweelinck's *Psalm 60*, variation 1, measures 24–34. The score is presented in three systems, each with a treble and bass clef. Measure numbers 24, 27, and 31 are indicated at the start of their respective systems. The music features a complex rhythmic pattern with frequent sixteenth-note runs and rests, characteristic of the 'new figuration' style.

2) Anthoni van Noordt, *Psalm 38*, variation 1, mm. 11–19

Musical score for Anthoni van Noordt's *Psalm 38*, variation 1, measures 11–19. The score is presented in three systems, each with a treble and bass clef. Measure numbers 15 and 18 are indicated at the start of their respective systems. The music features a complex rhythmic pattern with frequent sixteenth-note runs and rests, characteristic of the 'new figuration' style. Brackets labeled 'b' and 'c' are used to group specific rhythmic figures.

3) Anthoni van Noordt, *Psalm 38*, variation 2, mm. 1–11

Musical score for Anthoni van Noordt's *Psalm 38*, variation 2, measures 1–11. The score is presented in three systems, each with a treble and bass clef. Measure numbers 5 and 10 are indicated at the start of their respective systems. The music features a complex rhythmic pattern with frequent sixteenth-note runs and rests, characteristic of the 'new figuration' style. The first system is labeled 'Vers 2. a 2.' and 'Men.'.

Like the two bicinia in Psalm 38, each of the two bicinia in Psalm 119 shows different styles for treating melody. One uses only a plain melody; the other mixes decorative figurations in the plain melody. Especially in the first verse of Psalm 119, the plain psalm tune in the lower part is combined with a rapidly moving counterpoint in the upper part (Figure 33.1), while in the second verse, the psalm tune played in the upper part is decorated with eighth and sixteenth notes. The left hand part, generally moving with eighth-note figurations, forms a duet with the lively melody. Sometimes the left hand part pre-imitates a following figuration in the right hand part (mm. 1–2 and 7–8 in Figure 33.2).

Figure 33.1 *Psalm 119*, verse 1, mm. 1–6



Figure 33.2 Decorated melody, *Psalm 119*, verse 2, mm. 1–8



Additionally, van Noordt varies the accompaniment line with a change of rhythmic configurations. Written ornaments and triplets are notable examples of this, as both Speuy and

Sweelinck also applied those figurations to their bicinia and other styles of variations (Figure 34.1–3). Since Speuy’s accompaniment part is more improvisational, with quickly shifting motives, van Noordt’s technique seems to more fully resemble Sweelinck’s technique in terms of unifying groups of figurations (Figure 34.1–2).

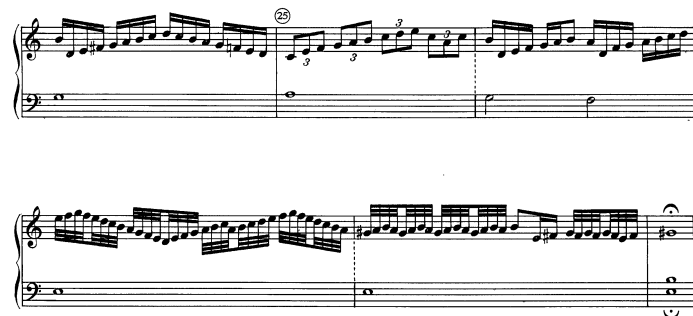
Figure 34.1 Written ornaments and triplets, van Noordt, *Psalm 119*, verse 1, mm. 33–46



Figure 38.2 Sweelinck, *Psalm 60*, mm. 46–51



Figure 38.3 Henderick Speuy, *Psalm 100*, mm. 24–29



Psalm Variations in the *Tablaturboeck*: Three-Part Settings

Contrary to the sparse number of two-part settings found in van Noordt's *Tablaturboeck*, three-part variations are the most frequently seen (see Table 6). For instance, van Noordt wrote as many as four variations in three parts out of six variations in his Psalm 116. Among those four three-part settings, the third variation is worthy of attention. Actually, Psalm 116 is the only psalm for which all three composers (van Noordt, Speuy, and Sweelinck) wrote a setting. Sweelinck's two three-part variations of his Psalm 116 all present the melody in the soprano; however, van Noordt was the first composer in the Netherlands to present the melody in the pedal (bass) in three-part settings, and a total of ten of his variations were written in this way.¹³³ And while Sweelinck also used three-part settings many times, unlike van Noordt, he never placed the melody in the bass.¹³⁴

In van Noordt's third variation of Psalm 116 (Figure 35.1), the middle part continuously imitates varied motives generated by the soprano part. In a performance of van Noordt's work, the bass melody would have been idiomatic to a pedal solo stop, such as the Trumpet 8', which was available in many Dutch organs of the time. Anthoni van Noordt's German counterpart, Matthias Weckmann (1616–1674), used the same technique in the fourth variation of the quartus versus in his *O Lux Beata Trinitas* (Figure 35.2).¹³⁵ Weckmann's distinctive changes in rhythmic patterns are observed in the accompaniment, while the rhythms themselves are much simpler (e.g., *figurae cortae* and dotted rhythms).

¹³³ Verse 5 in Psalm 38, verse 3 in Psalm 6, verse 2 in Psalm 7, verse 2 in Psalm 2, verse 3 in Psalm 50, verses 5 and 6 in Psalm 119, verses 3 and 4 in Psalm 116, and verse 2 in Psalm 22.

¹³⁴ Dirksen, *The Dutch 17th-Century Tradition of Psalm Variations*, 65.

¹³⁵ Hans Van Nieuwkoop, "Anthoni van Noordt and Matthias Weckmann – Two Contemporaries," in *Then Proceedings of the Weckmann Symposium Held in Göteborg, August 30 – September 3, 1991*, ed. Sverker Jullander (Göteborg: University of Göteborg, 1993), 192-193.

Figure 35.1 Melody in the bass in three-part variation setting, Anthoni van Noordt, *Psalm 116*, verse 3, mm. 10–22



Figure 35.2 Matthias Weckmann, *O Lux Beata Trinitas*, variation 4 of the quartus versus¹³⁶



¹³⁶ The score fragment is from Matthias Weckmann, *Sämtliche Freie Orgel- Und Clavierwerke*, ed. Siegfert Rampe (Kassel; New York: Bärenreiter, 1991), 94.

Van Noordt introduced another advanced compositional technique in his three-part variation setting in Psalm 119 (third verse): a pedal obligato with two parts played with the hands. As the following Figure 36 illustrates, the middle part in the left hand acts as another solo line that interplays with the decorated psalm melody in the treble (or the right-hand part). Underneath, the pedal moves in a slow, walking rhythm. This overall feature appears to be in the style of a trio sonata.

Figure 36 Pedal obligato, *Psalm 119*, verse 3

The trio style is also found in the second verse in *Psalm 6* (Figure 37.1). The imitative accompaniment line in the middle part weaves together with an adorned melody in the treble.

The bass line plays the role of *basso continuo* under these two parts. Even though van Noordt did

not mark this one as *pedaliter*, the use of the pedal in this style is appropriate. The Figure 37.1 is a score arranged to play verse 2 of *Psalm 6* on one manual with pedal.¹³⁷ The use of the pedal is especially unavoidable when play compositions with wide spacing, such as on mm. 15–16 (Figure 37.2).

Figure 37.1 Trio style, *Psalm 6*, verse 2

Figure 37.2 Implies the use of the pedal due to wide spacing, *Psalm 6*, verse 2, mm. 15–16

¹³⁷ Anthoni van Noordt, *Tabulatuurboek van Psalmen en fantasien: 1659*, ed. Jan van Biezen (Amsterdam: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1976), 10. This edition is based on Max Seoffert's edition of 1896 for the *Vereeniging van Noord-Nederlandsche Muziekgeschiedenis*.

Out of twenty-three settings arranged in three parts, two verses present the psalm melody in the tenor: verse 4 of *Psalm 119* and verse 1 of *Psalm 116*. Although both are indicated to play *manualiter*, it would be possible to play the tenor part in *Psalm 119*, verse 4, on the pedal with a 4' solo stop, as Sweelinck's pupil, Samuel Scheidt, remarked in his *Tablatura Nova* (1624).¹³⁸ A few notes of the tenor cantus firmus ventures lower than the bass line, bringing out the melody (Figure 38). In addition to the solo in the tenor, the lively moving outer parts could be played on separate manuals, as they imitate each other frequently.

Figure 38 *Psalm 119*, verse 4, mm. 31–33



Verse 1 of *Psalm 116* shows less frequent imitation techniques between the outer voices than verse 4 of *Psalm 119*, although the beginning of the verse reveals a distinct motivic imitation of the cantus firmus (Figure 39.1).

Figure 39.1 *Psalm 116*, verse 1, mm. 1–4



It is less appropriate to play the tenor cantus firmus on the pedal in *Psalm 116* than in *Psalm 119*, because there are moments that use sixteenth-note motives in the tenor part (m. 15 in Figure 39.2).

¹³⁸ Samuel Scheidt, *Tablatura Nova: Für Orgel Und Clavier*, Bd. 1, ed. Max Seiffert (Brietkopf & Härtel, 1892), 188.

Figure 39.2 *Psalm 116*, verse 1, m. 15



Psalm Variations in the *Tablaturboeck*: Four-Part Settings

Of the thirteen four-part settings found in the *Tablaturboeck*, the psalm melody is placed only once in the bass (verse 3, *Psalm 24*) and twice in the tenor (verses 7 and 8 in *Psalm 119*). The psalm tune in the tenor parts can be played on the pedal board. Verse 7 in *Psalm 119* is even marked *in de Tenor pedaliter* (Figure 40).

Figure 40 Indication of playing tenor in the pedal, verse 7 in *Psalm 119*



The compositional techniques found in verses 7 and 8 of *Psalm 119* are similar to those found in the three-part setting, in which the cantus firmus is also in the tenor part. Continuously generated new motives in the accompanying parts imitate one another. Some phrases of the cantus firmus are preceded by vorimitation (e.g., mm. 45–48 in Figure 41.1 and mm. 8–10 in Figure 41.2), but many of the others are accompanied by groups of independent motives (e.g., mm. 49–52 in Figure 41.1 and mm. 15–22 in Figure 41.2).

Figure 41.1 *Psalm 119*, verse 7, mm. 45–50



Figure 45.2 *Psalm 119*, verse 8, mm. 6–17



Ten of the four-part settings employ the psalm melody in the soprano. These are intended for performance on two manuals and pedal. Most of them start with a vorimitation of the cantus firmus (e.g., Verse 4 of *Psalm 6*, verse 3 of *Psalm 7*, verse 3 of *Psalm 2*, verse 4 of *Psalm 50*, verse 5 of *Psalm 116*, and verse 1 of *Psalm 24*). All verses adhere to an unadorned psalm melody

but verse 2 of *Psalm 24*. Anthoni van Noordt used a special treatment in verse 2 of *Psalm 24*—a coloratura on the psalm melody, which he used only once in the entire body of his work. It was a technique derived from the contemporary works for cornetto and violin¹³⁹: the highly decorated melody is accompanied by a slow-moving left hand on the other manual and basso continuo in the pedal. The addition of an extra part to the solo appears three times at the end of each phrase (mm. 5–7, 24–27, and mm. 40–43). These three sections briefly break up the horizontally moving coloratura and build immediate tension instead (Figure 42.1). This was a unique treatment that van Noordt used in his *Tablaturboeck*.

According to Han van Nieuwkoop, these techniques—using coloratura in the soprano and adding an extra voice for the coloration—are also seen in Anthoni van Noordt’s counterpart, Matthias Weckmann (1616–1674).¹⁴⁰ In particular, verse 6 in Weckmann’s *Es ist das Heil uns kommen her* and verse 2 in *Magnificat II. Toni* show similar features (See Figure 42.1–4).

Figure 42.1 Use of coloratura and addition of an extra part, Anthoni van Noordt, *Psalm 24*, verse 2, mm. 1–7



¹³⁹ Van Nieuwkoop, “Anthoni van Noordt and Matthias Weckmann – Two Contemporaries,” 196.

¹⁴⁰ Van Nieuwkoop, 195-197.

Figure 42.2 Matthias Weckmann, *Es ist das Heil uns kommen her*, Sextus Versus, mm. 141–147¹⁴¹



Figure 42.3 Addition of a fifth part, van Noordt, verse 2, *Psalm 24*, mm. 24–27



Figure 42.4 Addition of a fifth part, Weckmann, *Magnificat II. Toni*, verse 2, mm. 31–36



¹⁴¹ Fragments of Weckmann's scores in Figures 42.2 and 42.4 are from Hans Van Nieuwkoop, 196.

In addition to Weckmann, one of Sweelinck's students, Heinrich Scheidemann, is a figure that deserves attention.¹⁴² Scheidemann's *Jesus Christus unser Heiland* presents rapidly moving coloratura over slow-moving accompaniment, which is seen above in van Noordt's and Weckmann's pieces.¹⁴³

Figure 43 Scheidemann, *Jesus Christus unser Heiland*, mm. 12–23¹⁴⁴



In the last variation of Psalm 116, another of van Noordt's pioneering techniques is on display: the pedal obligato. The technique of pedal obligato had not previously been seen in Dutch compositions of settings of Psalm 116. As seen in Figures 44.1–3, van Noordt's treatment of the pedal in this variation resembles Weckmann's pedal obligato¹⁴⁵, and his pedal parts likewise require a quite advanced pedal technique.

¹⁴² According to Javadova, several documents (e.g., Johann Gottfried Walther's *Musicalisches Lexicon*) allude to van Noordt's admiration and connection to the works and life of Scheidemann. Javadova, 43.

¹⁴³ Javadova, 31.

¹⁴⁴ The score fragment is from Heinrich Scheidemann, *Orgelwerke*, Bd. 1, ed. Gustav Fock, and Werner Breig (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1967), 64.

¹⁴⁵ Van Nieuwkoop, 194.

Figure 44.1 Pedal obligato, van Noordt, *Psalm 116*, verse 6, mm. 10–24

The image displays three systems of musical notation for a pedal obligato. Each system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The first system starts at measure 10, the second at measure 15, and the third at measure 20. The notation includes various rhythmic values such as quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, as well as rests and accidentals.

Figure 44.2 Pedal obligato, Weckmann, *Es ist das Heil uns kommen her*, Sextus Versus, mm. 133–140

The image displays two systems of musical notation for a pedal obligato. Each system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The first system starts at measure 133 and the second at measure 137. The notation is more complex, featuring many sixteenth and thirty-second notes, particularly in the right hand of the upper staff. A 'rit.' (ritardando) marking is present above the second system.

Figure 44.3 Weckmann, *Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ (I)*, Secudus versus, mm. 6–11¹⁴⁶

The image displays one system of musical notation for a pedal obligato. It consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff, starting at measure 6. The notation includes various rhythmic values and accidentals.

¹⁴⁶ Fragments of Weckmann's scores in Figures 45.1–2 are from Matthias Weckmann, *Sämtliche Freie Orgel- Und Clavierwerke = Complete Free Organ and Keyboard Works*, ed. Siegbert Rampe (Kassel; New York: Bärenreiter, 1991), 38 and 27, respectively.

As explored so far, psalm variations in Anthoni van Noordt's *Tablaturboeck* show his refined workmanship. Features of both old and new styles appear in them. In addition to composing in a Renaissance style, he adopted a traditional style seen in his Dutch predecessors, such as Henderik Speuy and Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck. However, going beyond his predecessors, he took new elements and techniques from across Europe for the first time in the history of Dutch keyboard music. For example, the use of obbligato pedal in his psalm variations was an advanced and new technique in the Dutch keyboard music of the time. In particular, the elaborate pedal basso continuo in his trio-like variation (e.g., verse 3 of *Psalm 119* and verse 2 of *Psalm 6*) demonstrates strong ties to contemporary Italian continuo writing. The use of coloratura in the psalm melody of his four-part setting of *Psalm 24* shows a link to mid-seventeenth-century north German organ compositions, particularly those by Weckmann, Scheidt, and Scheidemann. In addition to these special features seen in his psalm variations, the *Tablaturboeck* as a whole was an important work in the history of keyboard music. It was not only the first keyboard music published following Henderick Speuy's earliest Dutch keyboard publication of 1610, but it also significantly reflects the styles and manner of organ playing during the Reformation, particularly those of the daily recital.

Conclusion

The psalms are the most beloved and widely used texts of the Christian canon. Acting both as the inspired word of God and a congregation's collective prayers, the psalms are sung collectively to inspire harmony in worship. Since the creation of psalms, and in particular the creation of accompanied psalmody, they have been used to unite Christians across thousands of years and hundreds of generations.

However, the use of psalms in worship does not only unite Christians around the world—it also served as a bridge between the ancient religions of Judaism and Christianity. The 150 psalms of the Book of Psalms were composed, edited, and compiled over a long period of time, from 1500 BCE to 450 BCE, and they first became significant as ancient Jewish sacred poetry, standing as an important part of Temple, synagogue, and family worship. As discussed in the second chapter, there is a scarcity of information about how the psalms were used, but descriptions in the Old Testament scriptures¹⁴⁷ and literary sources, such as the Talmud, offer modern worshippers clues to the deep significance psalms held in the worship of our Judeo-Christian ancestors.

The use and significance of psalms were continued in Christianity, despite the departure of early Christians from the Jewish tradition. Much like their Jewish predecessors, early Christians used the psalms to worship not only in formal, public service but also in private within the home. This continuity in use not only between Jewish and Christian worship but between formal and informal worship is one indication among many of the deep importance of psalms.

¹⁴⁷ For example, Isaiah 30:29 and 64:11; Jeremiah 33:11; Amos 5:22-23 and 8:3; 1 Chronicles 6:31-32, 15:16-24, 16:4-6, 25:1-7; and 2 Chronicles 5:11-14.

The hymn that Jesus sang with his disciples after the last supper (Matthew 26:30) was the *Hallel* (Psalms 113–115). It is also known that early Christians in Jerusalem sang psalmody when they broke bread in their homes and ate together (Acts 2:46). In Paul’s letters, he mentions that with psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs, we give thanks to God (Ephesians 5:19–20 and Colossians 3:16). There is no doubt that the use of sung psalms is definitive to the nature of Judeo-Christian religions.

The break between early Jewish and Christian worship is not the only separation that the use of psalms has survived. The singing of psalms flourished in monasteries, becoming prominent in the Mass of the Western Church in the fourth century. When the Protestant Reformation occurred in the sixteenth century, Reformers regarded the singing of psalms as an important part of worship. John Calvin, one of the most important figures of the Reformation, was integral in advocating the unaccompanied congregational singing of metrical psalmody in vernacular. And the result, the Genevan Psalter, began being used widely all across Europe, as well as by many Presbyterian platforms in North America—and the tradition of singing Genevan tunes remains in much of worship today. Psalmody remained so vital to congregations’ worship that during the Reformation, its importance was enough to galvanize the Calvinist Church to bring back organ accompaniment to facilitate congregational worship through psalm. The singing of psalms has bridged many branches of the Judeo-Christian family tree, and the importance of psalmody continues to be advocated as a bridge of worship across the globe.

An example of global contemporary change in the use of psalms can be seen in South Korea. Presbyterian churches in South Korea do not have a tradition of singing psalms. During service in South Korea, a psalm is most often read alternatively between the minister and the congregation. This is not because the Korean Church disregards the singing of psalms in worship,

but is historically motivated: when missionaries from North America first spread Protestantism into Korea in the nineteenth century, the hymnals¹⁴⁸ missionaries created for Korean missionary work were based on current American hymnals, which did not focus on metrical psalmody but reflected new styles and a wider variety of tunes. Since Protestant denominations published a hymnal together in 1983,¹⁴⁹ it has been officially used in most Protestant denominations. Among Korean theologians, it is said that this unique situation hindered any improvement of the hymnals in each denomination. In addition, some Protestant churches in Korea have even excluded liturgy (including the psalms) and neglected using the hymnal to sing only contemporary Christian songs instead.

However, this modern wandering from the formal traditions of psalmody has brought other Protestants to call to restore liturgies and more disciplined hymns. As one of the expedients, a Presbyterian platform, the General Assembly of Presbyterian Church of Korea, started to versify the Genevan Psalter in Korean, and the first edition was published in 2009. Soon after its publication, a few churches began to use the psalter to replace the reading of psalms in service. While the Korean Genevan Psalter is still new to the worship of most Presbyterians in Korea—because Genevan psalm tunes and rhythms are yet unfamiliar to the congregations—this is changing. Once again, the singing of psalms is beginning to bridge the cultural differences of denominations around the world to unite Christian worship.

The new introduction of unfamiliar psalmody in Korean congregations, and the struggle to incorporate the singing in worship, is reminiscent of the unaccompanied Genevan psalter being sung in Calvinist churches in the Netherlands in the sixteenth century. Psalmody is used to unite congregations, but in order to unite there must become an ingrained familiarity and

¹⁴⁸ For example, “Chan-mi-gah, 1892,” published by American Methodist missionary, George Heber Jones, and “Chan-yang-gah, 1894,” published by American Presbyterian missionary, Horace Grant Underwood.

¹⁴⁹ Tong-il Chan-song-gah, 1983.

harmony between words and tune within the worshipers. Fortunately, unlike during the Reformation, Korean churches have the free use of organ accompaniment and choral support. Moving into the future, both the Korean Church and future denominations should look to the importance of organ accompaniment in disseminating the psalmody, look to the use of public recitals to galvanize the Christian community, and remember that it is the use of word and song that so often unites all Judeo-Christian communities in praising God.

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