CLAUDE GOUDIMEL: EXEMPLAR OF THE CALVINISTIC MUSICAL ESTHETIC

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STUART JAY OUWINGA

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ABSTRACT

CLAUDE GOUDIMEL: EXEMPLAR OF THE CALVINISTIC MUSICAL ESTHETIC

By

Stuart Jay Ouwinga

This thesis is an attempt to present the sixteenth century French composer, Claude Goudimel (1510?-1572), not only as representative of a highly developed school of contrapuntal art, but also as ideologically bound by his conversion from Catholicism to Calvinism to a system not always entirely conducive to the predominant kinds of contemporary musical expression. It is introduced by a discussion of the origin and development of the Calvinistic attitude toward music, and of its material "canon", the Genevan Psalter. This volume was directly responsible for the composer's greatest and most varied work. From the time of his conversion until his death he was preoccupied with setting these tunes.

Since little is known of Goudimel's life, almost the entire available body of his writings is included within this work. These literary pieces include dedications and dedicatory odes to his volumes of musical settings, and

two personal letters, all in English translation. All known personal facts are included, as well as a thorough discussion of the Rome/Palestrina controversy.

Goudimel was murdered in Lyons, 27 August 1572, as a result of the infamous massacre of Huguenots which began in Paris on Saint Bartholomew's Day (24 August) and spread to many other French cities. From this it is presumed that he was a prominent figure in the early French Protestant movement, a fact substantiated by the many memorial odes and sonnets which appeared. The best of these are included in the text.

Since Goudimel wrote both "Catholic" and "Protestant" music, the distinguishing factors are discussed. It is when he became a Protestant, however, that the composer's music became best known. And, accordingly, the various psalm settings receive the bulk of attention, including examples of the many variant settings of a typical tune.

In sum, this thesis is an updated biography of Goudimel, availing itself of virtually every discoverable and obtainable reference to the composer's life and work. Since most research in this area was and is being done by French men and women, many of the composer's dedications and all of the poetry appears in English for the first time. It was the present author's attempt to preserve the poetry as poetry rather than merely literal translation. Attention was thus given primarily to meter, rhythm, and rhyme-scheme.

Exact meanings are usually intranslatable, but the mood and intent are, hopefully, unchanged. All translations, unless indicated, are the author's own. As this was begun the evening of 27 August 1972, it can be construed as a 400-year memorial of the composer's death.

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A THESIS

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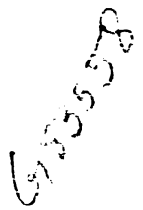
To my father, who first taught me
about Calvinism,

and

To my mother, who first taught me
about Music.



SONNET

Called out of silence to this stunning light
Left burning by past revellers in sound
And sanctity, how did you come to fight
Under the burden of the gift you found
Demanding more than does the sun at night,
Evoking more than graves revoke the ground?

Goudimel, one of millions, one of few,
Out of what troubled noise did music take
Upon itself to stir your songs, to make
Decaying echoes dare a noise that is new?

Is it your harp that helps this ancient psalter
Make David's sense lined out to David's kin?
Entering into Song, once you were in,
Love graced the notes you did not dare to alter.

S. O., 3-6-73

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In January, 1537, the French reformer John Calvin, with his colleague Guillaume Farel, submitted a memorandum to the City Council of Geneva in which it was proposed that the singing of the psalms within public worship of the newly reformed church would be conducive to the nourishment of piety. It was not until 1562 that this goal was achieved in the appearance of the completed Genevan Psalter. Although originally the "brain-child" of Calvin himself, this psalter was the culmination of the combined talents of both poets and musicians who, while carefully supervised by Calvin and confined by the limitations of his redoubtable theological system, were quite free to develop their individual gifts toward the production of a unique document, as beautiful as it is austere. While not to make less of the merits of such artists as Marot, Beza, Bourgeois, "Maître Pierre", and others, it was the genius of Calvin that brooded over the production like a mother hen and hatched a phenomenon of such influence that it has affected the development of Protestant hymnody for the past 400 years. But the influence of Calvin on music, originally

limited to the words and music of the Genevan Psalter itself, now seems to have been more subtly and profoundly embodied in the opinions and attitudes expressed in his writings. His goal, the psalter, was his self-approved apotheosis of all that he believed to be musically necessary as relating to the direct worship of God, public or private, formal or informal.

What he did for music was to effect the production and dissemination of that one distinguished body of psalm settings. But his attitudes and feelings about music in general, and worship music in particular, had their effect not only on the rapid physical reproduction of psalters but also in the works of the musicians and artists contemporary with him and immediately succeeding him. Wherever Calvinism spread its most obvious manifestation was psalm-singing. That this era was at first marked by abstemiousness and austerity among Calvin's followers did not mean that the creative spark was dead. It was a time of profound conflict, both physical and spiritual; and after the somewhat manneristic efforts of the Calvinist Reformation's first devotees found their focus, those who succeeded became productive especially in the fields of literature and painting. But music too soon caught the rhythm of the times and, after the relaxation of the fears of papistic influence, an original strain developed--based on the fusion of the Genevan tunes with the learned techniques of "Catholic"

counterpoint. The tenor voice, which had previously carried the tune, or cantus firmus, became the superius (soprano) and polyphony was gradually being replaced by homophony. It was during the sixteenth century, the time of the Reformation, that these stylistic changes were taking place; and it seems logical to assume that the ostensibly spiritual movement had its important effect on musical expression.

Caught in that upheaval, and deeply affected by personal and social revolutionary forces, was the composer Claude Goudimel. Both Catholic and Protestant influences are found in his music. Although his psalm-motets are considered his best works, it was his 1564-1565 harmonized version of the Genevan Psalter which became the most widely circulated and popular of all other comparable versions by other composers. Usually regarded as musically rather crude, it is nevertheless important for more than simply historical reasons. Its musico-social influence on the development of psalmody and hymnody is incontestable.

It is the author's desire in this thesis to clarify some of the difficulties involved in the original Calvinistic concept of music; and, using an evaluation of Goudimel's work as an example, to point out some of the problems encountered by this talented artist as he attempted to reconcile the diverse forces of his creative nature with his newly adopted religious position and the limitations it implied.

CHAPTER II

THE CALVINISTIC BACKGROUND

Claude Goudimel, in the brief preface to his 1565 setting of the Genevan Psalter, not only hints at, but rationalizes the predicament he encountered in presenting harmonized versions of the tunes:

> To our Readers:
> To the melody of the psalms we have, in this little volume, adapted three parts, not to induce you to sing them in Church, but that you may rejoice in God, particularly in your homes. This should not be found an ill thing, the more so since the melody used in Church is left in its entirety, just as though it were alone.[1]

It would be improper to scrutinize these two uneasy sentences out of their Reformation context. They invite comparison with Calvin's own preface to the original unharmonized Genevan Psalter, and in that light much of their apparent obscurity can be least be partially clarified.

These two prefaces, differing in almost every aspect, even intent, are related in conviction. The Goudimel preface is, in effect, a reaction to the reformer's theologizing on music, and especially to the effect that this theologizing

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[1]Oliver Strunk, ed., Source Readings in Music History (New York: W. W. Norton, 1950), p. 349.

had already had on the musical practices of the Reformed Church. In the twenty-two years (1543-1565) between these prefaces the final words on music within Calvinistic public worship had quite successfully been put into effect. Only three years before Goudimel's preface (1562) the great work on the Genevan Psalter had been completed.

Calvin's preface has rarely received a very thorough examination in the light of the reformer's theological views. Musicians studying an age of polyphony are generally disconcerted at the abrupt appearance of enforced monody of a restrained nature. Consequently, many scholarly and respected authorities are given to glib and denigrating statements on the phenomenon of the musical expression of Calvinism. Some, however, have reexamined the sociological forces prevalent when this useful music was conceived and, in the light of its accompanying theology, have been able to acquire a more informed focus on its singular raison d'être. Because more than four centuries have elapsed since the "baptism" of Calvin's "brain-child", almost anyone with a spark of historical perspective is now in a better position, so long as he is even partially sympathetic, to offer some more reliable judgments on the matter. Many facts are still unknown, and known facts are sometimes ignored for various reasons. At most, then, statements on so complex a subject can be only partially conclusive.

One of the finest recent evaluations of Calvin's preface attempts an objective clarification of the reformer's own feelings on music as revealed in his literal statements.[2] Calvin, says the author, divides worship into preaching, prayer, and the Sacraments. Prayer is differentiated into that which is spoken and that which is sung. There is no objection to singing because of the authority of historical precedence. Therefore, "music . . .becomes for him one of the three fundamental expressions of formal worship."[3] Calvin always distinguished between music used within public worship and that used for amusement anywhere else. Elsewhere he is quoted as affirming that "we have the right to express through gay songs our joy in living. Everything is to be moderated, that we do not take the world and its pleasures as an absolute, but, on the contrary, as a suite of gifts which God has given us and for which we must return thanks (. . .) and nowhere is it forbidden to laugh or to tipple, or to delight oneself with musical instruments or to drink wine."[4]

Certain other familiar Calvin-isms are also stated or implied here: the omniscience of God, the corrupted state of the world, and the Platonic imperative to be moderate in

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[2]Charles Garside, "Calvin's Preface to the Psalter: A Re-Appraisal," Musical Quarterly, XXXVII (1951), pp. 566-577.

[3]Ibid., p. 568.

[4]Leon Wencelius, L'Esthetique de Jean Calvin (Paris: Société d'Edition "Les Belles Lettres," no date), p. 266.

all things. In his Commentary on the Book of Job, Calvin sums up the foregoing conclusions even more succinctly, and seems to suggest the perpetual apprehension that anything which should amuse might be abused: "Music itself cannot be condemned, but because the world almost always abuses it, we should always be on our guard as this passage (in Job) warns us."[5]

Returning to the preface, after the three-fold division of the expressions of formal worship with its implication that music is associated very closely with prayer, Calvin reveals his very Greek, very Renaissance conception of the duality of music--that music is both melody and text. And, as far as texts are concerned, none can compare with the inspired psalms traditionally ascribed to King David. These are to be used to the exclusion of all non-Biblical texts, including the great Catholic hymns of the past. These feelings are the "rock" upon which a whole tradition of Protestant psalmody is built.

In the final paragraphs of the preface are contained some of the most brilliant and poetic passages ever composed to praise the gift of music. Calvin's interest in music spreads far beyond his own limitations on its use within public worship. Says Calvin: "Now among other things proper to recreate man and give him pleasure, music is either the first or one of the principal, and we must think that it is

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[5]Wencelius, op. cit., p. 572.

a gift of God deputed to that purpose."[6] His discussion continues until it seems to embody more of a respect for music's power than for its charm: ". . .for there is hardly anything in the world with more power to turn or bend, this way and that, the morals of men, as Plato has prudently considered. And in fact we find by experience that it has a secret and incredible power to move our hearts in one way or another."[7]

Hereupon follows the famous metaphor of the funnel pouring melody into the heart, and the comparison of the bird's instinctive singing to man's knowing what it is he sings. (To appreciate its full beauty almost the entire half would have to be quoted.) It has been aptly summed up thus: "This statement is not the extravagant enthusiasm of a musician praising his beloved art, as Luther did so often, but the carefully reasoned and dispassionate statement of a man who was primarily a lawyer, theologian, and philosopher."[8]

While this preface quite possibly contains the best of Calvin's statements on the character and use of music, both the Institutes and the Commentaries also contain scattered opinions and ideas on the subject. The treatment of music is unavoidable in a system so inclusive as Calvin's; most necessarily so because the Bible, upon which the entire

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[6]Garside, op. cit., p. 572.

[7]Strunk, op. cit., p. 347.

[8]Garside, op. cit., pp. 572-573.

system is constructed, is replete with allusions to musical practices among the people of God. Collectively, the references to music in Calvin's writings comprise a profound statement which has often been misconstrued by critics not fully agreeing with the reformer's other ideas. More objectively, many scholars have recently attempted to scrape away some of the accretions that time and misconstruction have attached to his insights.

Fundamental to Calvinistic belief is the idea of "Christian Liberty," i.e., that man is free to communicate directly with a personal God without the intervention of priest or Pope. Music is an expression of this freedom and thus "through holy songs we incite ourselves to praise God, meditate on His works, love Him, fear Him, glorify Him."[9] Musical praise was not necessarily to be confined to formal public worship; nor was it mandatory that informal vocal music employ sacred words. This seems to be implicit in Calvin's division of music into psalms, hymns, and odes.[10] The performance of certain plays with music and dancing (e.g., those of Beza and Louis Des Masure) suggest an "excellent picture of the use of music as Calvin wished to see it outside the service."[11]

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[9]Wencelius, op. cit., p. 225.

[10]Ibid., p. 257.

[11]H. P. Clive, "The Calvinist Attitude to Music and its Literary Aspects and Sources," Bibliotheque d'Humanisme et Renaissance--travaux et documents, XIX, p. 298.

This mention of artistic forms is not surprising; Calvin, himself an excellent prose writer and adequate poet, was immersed in the scholarly intricacies of Renaissance Humanism. It is not wise to divorce Calvin's literary ideas from his musical ones since music was to him predominantly a means of conveying words. "Instead of referring to pagan Antiquity, Calvin appealed to the sponsorship of the Fathers of the Church. But the leitmotif was the same: in both ancient periods music and poetry had been closely joined."[12] The words which most impressed Calvin were those charged with "weight and majesty". Since the Psalms of David, which cover the gamut of human feelings with immeasurable moral effect, fit his specifications, David replaced Orpheus and Apollo.[13] Other reasons for using the psalms are: 1. The example of the ancient Church and Saint Paul's testimony (Ephesians 5:19; I Corinthians 14:15, 26; Colossians 3:16). 2. The warmth and uplift they would bring to prayer. 3. The discovery of what benefit and consolation the pope and his partisans have deprived the Church, by appropriating the Psalms to be mumbled between them without understanding. This last, libelous-sounding statement is Calvin's own. (Calvini Opera, ed. 1863 seq., vol. Xa, 12.)[14]

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[12]François Lesure, Musicians and Poets of the French Renaissance (New York: Merlin Press, 1955), p. 51.

[13]Clive, op. cit., p. 294.

[14]Louis F. Benson, The Hymnody of the Christian Church (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1956), p. 80.

But these ancient Hebrew writings were scarcely fit for the sixteenth century Huguenot bourgeoisie. Calvin, attuned to the studied lyricism of French Renaissance poetry and aware of the efficacy of simple verse on the retention of thoughts, has been called "the first (post-Reformation) church leader who deliberately set up a literary standard for his church song and called a poet to his service."[15] His sojourn in Strassburg was the occasion of his exposure to popular religious song, and he was apparently so moved that upon his return to Geneva he made it a sine qua non that the psalms be made a part of public worship. "This purpose, indomitable and perhaps not without a touch of the heroic, is the historical basis on which the whole structure of Metrical Psalmody rests."[16] Simply put, the Psalms kept doctrine safe while the tunes made it popular. And it was also Calvin's sensitive nature which responded to the popular music of the Strassburg service: "He occupied himself looking for tunes."[17] And he soon discovered the magnificent tune of Mattheus Greiter which became the famous Psalm LXVIII, the "Marseillaise of the Huguenots."

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[15] Ibid., p. 100.

[16] Benson, op. cit., p. 81.

[17] Wencelius, op. cit., p. 281.

What he wished for music to effect and what he actually effected within the continuing history of music are bound up within Calvin's detailed system of active thought. The complete body of musical references could be enumerated, layed out, and analyzed to the last empirical detail without establishing what is the "spark" that set the whole psalm-singing movement into operation. For all its apparent reasonability, the system called Calvinism is ultimately based on the irrational, on faith in a Supreme Being as revealed in natural phenomena and in what is called "Grace". This latter, Grace, is "Special" in its redemptive effect on those persons who respond to the teachings and sacrifice of Christ as the only means of redemption from the depraved state of mankind. It is "Common" in the beneficent effect this sacrifice has had on all mankind and the created universe itself: "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son . . ." (John 3:16). The duty of the man who accepts these ideas is to desire to become like Christ--ultimately self-sacrificing in his relationships with other people. That this ideal state cannot be attained by mere human volition does not nullify the mandate--the Gift, the sacrifice of Christ, was the final and complete redemptive gift of God; and man's response involves the exalted and exultant humility of thankfulness, a willful gratitude bound up in continual petition for more of the Grace that first effected it. Following upon this Biblical train of

thought as interpreted by Calvin is the belief in an ultimate judgment by God of every individual according to what he has done "in the flesh". Salvation, then, while involving faith put into action, is not the result of human merit. God is sovereign, and human responsibility, especially artistic, must be characterized by that "weight and majesty" prescribed by Calvin for the music of praise.

From this perspective, simplified and possibly abstruse to the uninitiated, the ideas of Calvin on art and music must be considered. Because his redoubtable doctrines have been so often exaggerated it is easy to lose sight of their original ingenuousness. The natural world and its stylized manifestations--e.g., art, music, and literature--are basically good. But everything has been tainted with Original Sin which has thoroughly disrupted the God-man, and consequently man-man, relationship. Redemption is possible, and the creative person responding to God and His gift of the Christ must take into consideration the infinite variety and beautiful order underlying the created universe. Since he has received these good gifts, he must also present gifts as nearly good and perfect as his talents will allow, always aware that he is not perfect himself, but is becoming graciously perfected by his Creator.

What Calvin did for music, directly or by the popular influence of his ideas, is generally consistent with these very strictures. To sum up his theories: Music has the

power to move the soul of man, but not of animals. ("Soul" must be assumed to mean an intangible, immortal quality of mankind that distinguishes him from the beasts, as Calvin himself must have observed that animals do respond to music. They do not perform or compose it, however, unless artificially conditioned.) Music is not able to drive out evil spirits. Although music influences the human soul, it does not have the miraculous or therapuetic powers attributed to it by earlier theorists. This would detract from God's omnipotence. Calvin agrees with the contemporary theorists--Bardi, Galilei, etc., the "Musical Humanists"--on the emotive power of music, that the text is more important than the tune, and that for the sake of clarity monody or syllabic homophony is to be preferred to polyphony. The last seems partially to justify these four-part homophonic settings of the psalm-tunes by Goudimel which can be described as a kind of "harmonic monody". Simplicity sounds the keynote, and severely monodic psalm settings throw the texts in clear relief. The elaborateness of the Catholic service was distasteful to Calvin for, among other reasons, the confusion of texts in vocal polyphony. He considered such excesses spiritually dangerous. The "inspiration" of his ideas, so finely worded but not entirely original, can be found in the writings of Plato, Aristotle, Saint Paul, Jerome, Chrysostom, Augustine, the "Musical Humanists", and even

Luther.[18] Calvin's own doctrine of "Common Grace" is present in the respect with which he held the teachings of even the "pagan" philosophers.

As relating to musical practice, Calvin is much condemned for his insistence on unaccompanied unison psalm-singing, at least within public worship. Pratt[19] notes that: ". . .it is often supposed that nothing but unison singing was intended or practiced. It is true that Calvin opposed the printing of harmonized versions, partly because he felt that they would distract attention from the sense of the words, partly perhaps for other practical reasons." Among these practical reasons may be imagined the difficulty of teaching elaborate polyphony to an entire assembly of worshippers, many of whom would necessarily be recalcitrant and unmusical. And it was imperative that the entire assembly be at least encouraged to take part in the singing--another reason for the stressing of vernacular participation. Although contrapuntal settings of the psalm-tunes were being produced by Goudimel and others even before the Genevan Psalter was completed, it is thought by some that "none of these polyphonic settings found its way into the approved public worship of the Calvinist churches."[20] But public worship

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[18]Clive, op. cit., p. 107.

[19]Waldo Selden Pratt, The Music of the French Psalter of 1562 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), p. 65.

[20]Robert M. Stevenson, Patterns of Protestant Church Music (Durham: Duke University Press, 1953), p. 19.

has a way of interpolating usages which are not "approved", and it would be difficult to be definite on the question of what actually took place. To soften Calvin's insistent tone, some authorities argue emotionally: ". . . it is not from a lack of aesthetic sense that Calvin preferred unison singing, but in his concern for absolute purity which, for him, is essential for beauty."[21] And some, after having objectively studied the music and history of the Genevan Psalter, and still unable to place this stringent music in reasonable perspective, have responded with curously self-conscious embarrassment: "Our (French) musical inferiority compared to that of Germany is the evident consequence of the narrowness of ideas and practical utilitarianism of Calvin in the matter of sacred song."[22] The reformer is blamed for what he could not sensibly be expected to accomplish; whereas, what he did accomplish--The Genevan Psalter--is no small achievement for a non-musician. It is, of course, an intellectual and volitional tour de force, but as such it has had a strong influence within the history of human sensibility.

It seems unlikely that any other leader of the Calvinist Reformation would have conceived the idea of

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[21]Wencelius, op. cit., p. 269.

[22]Orentin Douen, Clément Marot et le Psautier Huguenot (Paris: L'Imprimerie Nationale, 1879), vol. II, p. 375.

furnishing metrical arrangements and tunes to all 150 psalms. The artists who did the actual work were felicitously hand-picked by Calvin for their God-given talents regardless of whether they were of the Reformed conviction. On this matter, however, only the spiritual stance of Clément Marot, the first versifier, remains questionable, although he was greatly sympathetic to revolutionary causes. Marot contributed about one third of the texts; he was superseded, at Calvin's request, by the scholarly Théodore de Bèze (Beza), who was also Calvin's successor at Geneva. The authorship of the tunes is less certain. Louis Bourgeois, a Parisian musician, was persuaded by Calvin to commence the project. He, like Marot, left Geneva for unspecified reasons before the task was completed. The identity of his successor, one "Maître Pierre", will probably never be ascertained, though most scholars believe he was one Pierre Dubuisson who was active at that time and place. One cannot help but believe that Calvin, the formidable theologian, was enthusiastic about the activities of these artists and that through them his own creative capacities were vicariously extended.

While it is unfortunate that Calvin is not given more credit, if not for the music and verse, at least for the concepts behind it, there is some truth in the following observation:

> Happily Calvin was not the Reformation; harmonized religious song responded so well to its spirit that it established itself in France in spite of the reformer, and it developed considerably, judging by the large number of harmonized Psalters which were printed.[23]

True, Calvin was not the Reformation; and harmonized religious song did become established almost immediately. The spirit of any such reforming movement is not bound by the well-reasoned personal opinions of any one of its leaders. Because Calvin's emphasis was on the clarity of verbal declamation, it cannot be concluded that he was opposed to contrapuntal music *per se*. He had a purpose: it was imperative that the plain word be funneled into the heart as directly and simply as possible. The Psalter was to provide this necessary tool of devotion both public and private. The enjoyment of other music for various occasions was, as we have seen, considered a legitimate pastime and praiseworthy even in a religious sense. But what other music was available? The most highly developed counterpoint was the exclusive "property" of the Catholic Church and therefore anathema to the early Reformed. Popular song was predominantly homophonic, certainly harmonized, however simply. The secular *chanson*, a delightful blend of homophonic and polyphonic styles, was certainly not beyond the technical skill of many educated Huguenots. It was in fact the Huguenot composers Goudimel, Le Jeune, and Jannequin, who developed the *chanson* to a very high level.

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[23]Douen, *op. cit.*, p. 375.

It is not clear whether Calvin objected more to the complexity of contrapuntal music or to its association with the Catholic Church. The former sometimes seems a rationale for the latter--he was sensitive enough to realize the effect and value of contrapuntal music since he could not have escaped being exposed to it many times; but because his reforms demanded the iconoclastic deracination of everything papistic, this music also had to go--perhaps reluctantly, but very justifiably. Some of the documented condemnation of Calvin on such music is, however, partially erroneous. One example from the Institutes declares:

> The songs and melodies which are composed to please the ear only, as are all the quaverings and trills of Papistry and all that they call broken-music and composition, and four-part songs, in no wise accord with the majesty of the Church and cannot be other than gravely displeasing to God.[24]

Recent scholarship has shown it to be only partially authentic:

> This famous text is found only in the French translation of 1560, a translation which abounds in errors, contradictions, even nonsense, and which, naturally, Calvin did not review. This text is absent from the Latin edition of 1559, the only one which has authority. Calvin said: 'The songs and melodies which are composed to please the ear only in no wise accord with the majesty of the Church, and cannot be other than gravely displeasing to God.' The author of the translation intercalated: 'as are all the quaverings and trills of Papistry and all that they call broken-music and composition, and four-part songs.' What importance has this intercalation?

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[24]Emile Doumergue, "Music in the Work of Calvin," Princeton Theological Review, VII (October, 1909), p. 547.

> Moreover, even were the text authentic, the legend would not be advanced, for it does not at all mean what it has been made to mean. Calvin would not be condemning here ex professo either harmony in general, or four-part singing in particular, but only a certain harmony, which he would carefully specify--'the four-part singing of Papistry,' nothing more.
>
> In reality, . . ., Calvin, after the example of the Lutherans, whose musical sense is not contested, and on the advice of Goudimel, (sic) to whom no one denies artistic genius,--Calvin simply desired that in the churches, the Calvinists should sing 'all and well, '. . .'
>
> In other terms: singing in unison (this for the music) and singing in the common tongue (this for the words)--such is the democratic singing which Calvin confined himself to requiring with more energy and vigor than all the other reformers.[25]

To judge simply by the great number of harmonized psalm books which appeared, it would seem that this "democratic singing", whether or not it was entirely unisonal at first, soon became almost universally harmonious--not only in musical terms, but also almost certainly within the grand structure where Calvin had placed it.

Interestingly enough, it was not only for the Psalms of David that Calvin had an ear: "nor did our Reformers reject those other ancient hymns which for ages had been closely united with the psalms in public devotion. The Te Deum, the Nunc Dimittis, the Magnificat, were likewise transferred in a metrical shape to the Protestant ritual."[26]

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[25]Doumergue, op. cit., pp. 547-548.

[26]Charles W. Baird, The Presbyterian Liturgies (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1957), p. 18.

The reformers referred to were successors of Calvin in the Reformed tradition. They were perhaps more "Calvinistic" in their recognition of the value of these former hymns and, of course, another generation removed from the fear of Papistic associations. Included, however, within Calvin's own services were the Nunc Dimittis and a musical setting of the Ten Commandments. When Calvin returned to Geneva from his rewarding stay in Strassburg, he discovered that his colleague, the indomitable Guillaume Farel, with whom he had previously sent the memorandum on psalm-singing to the Geneva City Council, had already made a beginning, however slight, in worship music: "All that he did towards the performance of Divine service, was to set the Apostle's Creed and Ten Commandments to music, and cause them to be sung by the congregation."[27] Included in the completed Psalter, in addition to the 150 psalms, were found settings of the Ten Commandments and the Song of Simeon. In the first complete harmonized Psalter of Goudimel, which appeared in 1564, there also were included two table prayers--for before and after the meal. These were not included in subsequent settings, but the Ten Commandments and the Nunc Dimittis were still present and continued as part of the Calvinist "psalm" tradition. The Song of Simeon still appears today in the hymnbooks of some denominations.

It is not surprising that the Ten Commandments, hammering so heavily as they do upon the Sovereignty of God, would have special appeal to Calvin and his followers. No

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[27]Baird, op. cit., p. 48.

service was complete without their humbling reiteration. And the Song of Simeon with its nobly nostalgic theme of parting, enhanced by the haunting tune of Bourgeois, has scarcely been equalled since by another piece of such a nature. It was sung at Calvin's funeral, not as a special Requiem, but simply out of custom. "They sang, as usual, the Song of Simeon, with which, in the Calvinistic worship, the celebration of the Supper is always closed."[28]

Calvin's attitude toward musical instruments seems marked more by unfamiliarity with their potentialities than by actual displeasure with their usage. As has been noted, their playing was an acceptable form of diversion outside of public worship. But within the House of God, at least in Geneva, even the retention of an organ was not condoned. This may have been due to the influence of Farel and the puritanical City Council. Calvin was not opposed to organs per se, but apparently did not consider them of indispensable use in public worship. Although he cannot be quoted as arguing the point, he would probably have reasoned much the same way as he did in opposing vocal harmony--the clarity of the Word must predominate. An interesting anecdote, recently brought to light from the minutes of the Council of Geneva, related how for eighteen years Calvin attempted to avoid the destruction of an organ in the former monastery of Rive. He

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[28]Baird, op. cit., p. 48.

suggested that it be sold and the money be given to the poor. But he was unable to effect this, and the instrument was finally dismantled for scrap metal.[29]

The situation was somewhat different at Strassburg, possibly due to the influence of the German Lutheran movement: "The organ is not completely suppressed, but its role is strongly restrained."[30] And according to the Strassburger Kirchenordnung of 1598: "The organist would give a short introduction; he would play the melody which the congregation would then sing, he was permitted one or two short interludes; at the end of the service only, after the benediction, he had the leisure of executing a longer piece."[31] This does not differ greatly from the present-day practices in Calvinistic churches. Again, while the opinions and personal wishes of Calvin were not honored to the letter, the spirit of Calvinism was not so restricted that its followers could not very soon recognize and select from the rich resources available that which was usable and praiseworthy for their pious exercises. It has been customary to think of Calvinists as preoccupied with the evil inherent in things per se. This became true of

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[29]Percy A. Scholes, The Puritans and Music in England and New England (London: Oxford University Press, 1934) pp. 337-339.

[30]Théodore Gérold, "Les Premiers Recueils de Mélodies Religieuses Protestant a Strasbourg," Revue de Musicologie, VI, (1925), p. 49.

[31]Gérold, op. cit., p. 50.

certain groups within the Calvinistic tradition--especially the Scottish, the English and American Puritans, and to some extent the Dutch elements. But it is somewhat of a post hoc, propter hoc supposition. If such ideas were merely implicit in the life and works of Calvin they often became explicit in the misconstructions of his followers and within the varying ethnic temperaments into which they were dispersed. While Calvin was merely unconvinced that organs had any redeemable function within public worship, the later Scottish Covenanters were plainly hostile and boasted when the last organ in the country was destroyed. In the Netherlands, on the other hand, the organ was, after a short interlude, gladly reinstated within the Reformed Churches and became a central figure in the musical tradition of the Dutch.

In his enthusiasm for the participation of the entire congregation in devotional activities, Calvin did not overlook the children. He proposed, in fact, a choir of children who were to be taught "modest and churchly singing". Listening to their clear voices the people may "little by little" join in praise.[32] It would seem that Calvin, realizing how much easier it is for children to memorize, desired that the congregation learn by rote by listening to a children's choir.[33]

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[32]John T. McNeill, The History and Character of Calvinism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 139-140.

[33]Wencelius, op. cit., p. 266, 293 (footnote).

Whether these children's choirs were ever effectively employed is not known. But psalm-singing in general became irrepressible. The students at the Geneva Academy sang psalms in French from 11:00 to 12:00 daily.[34] Already in 1545 a Walloon student at Strassburg had written to a friend in Antwerp: "You would not believe the joy that is experienced in singing the praises of the Lord in the mother tongue, as is done here. Each one has in his hand a book of music."[35] And this was long before the official Genevan Psalter had been completed.

The refugees at Strassburg had been a singing group; and even under Farel at Geneva there had been some musical activity, as related in a letter of one Gerard Roussel to a Bishop Briçonnet in 1525: "The singing of the women mingling with the voices of the men produces a marvelous effect most pleasing to hear."[36] Sometime later, probably after the Psalter had been completed and the first harmonized versions had appeared, it was observed by Florimond de Remond, a staunch Catholic, "Everyone carries a psalter, . . ., and sings these psalms as spiritual songs, even the Catholics, not

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[34]McNeill, op. cit., p. 195.

[35]Ibid., pp. 147-148.

[36]Ibid., p. 149

thinking any evil of it, for these psalms are pleasant, easy to learn and appropriate for playing on instruments."[37]

That the Huguenots later used instruments is also confirmed by another contemporary observer: "They sung, . . ., Psalms in French rhyme, with vocal and instrumental music, which extremely pleased such people as were fond of novelty, and contributed to increase their numbers daily."[38]

It is apparent also that singing in harmony, at least in public, became prevalent. After a description of a Catholic-Protestant conflict at Pré-aux Clercs, one author sums it up in the reflections of another historian:

> With the divining sense of the great historian, and in spite of the confusion of names and dates which he strangely mixes, M. Michelet appears to have uncovered the truth. The novelty which alone explains the enthusiasm of the students, the crowd, and the doubled rage of the clergy, is the appearance of harmony, the first public execution of a true and splendid religious music in four parts.[39]

Whether harmonized or not, the singing of psalms became so popular that in less than two centuries more than thirty editions of the Genevan Psalter appeared in the Netherlands alone and almost as many in Germany. The psalms were translated into about twenty different languages and

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[37]H. Kling, "Les Compositeurs de la Musique du Psautier Huguenot Genevois," Rivista Musicale Italiana, VI, (1899), p. 517.

[38]Baird, op. cit., p. 87.

[39]Douen, op. cit., II, 13.

became known in some places as the "siren of Calvinism". It is from the appearance of psalm-singing that the church of Calvin may be dated.[40] That this practice was conducive toward unifying the young church is undeniable.

> This singing of psalms by the entire assemby, and not only by the priest alone, was in the eyes of the reformers a glorious privilege of their church: they clung to the idea that each one could take part and avoided as a dangerous innovation all that might make it difficult or risk the exclusion of any part of the assembly.[41]

Many years later, with mixed bewilderment and nostalgia, the great philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau, attesting to the tenacity of psalm-singing in certain locales, observed:

> I remember having seen in my youth, near Neuchatel, a sight rather agreeable and perhaps unique on the earth...One of the most popular amusements of these simple peasants is to sing with their wives and children the four-part psalms, and one is very surprised to hear coming from these country cottages the strong and masculine harmony of Goudimel, so long forgotten by our learned artists.[42]

And since it is with this "strong and masculine harmony" that the psalms of Calvin's Psalter became most well known, it is wise to pursue the peculiar music with which these words were so long associated.

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[40] Doumergue, op. cit., p. 539.

[41] Felix Bovet, Histoire du Psautier des Églises Réformées, (Neuchatel: Librairie Generale de J. Sandoz, 1872), pp. 68-69.

[42] Wencelius, op. cit., p. 294.

CHAPTER III

CLAUDE GOUDIMEL

The Obscure Life

So little is known about the life of Claude Goudimel that the major encyclopedias, dictionaries of music, and articles include him within a few paragraphs, concluding with a listing, either partial or as complete as is known, of his compositions. But outside of relating the known facts of his life and enumerating his output, only one other consideration is often brought up: the controversy involving his supposed stay in Rome, with the attendant possibility of his having been the master of Palestrina. Little is ever mentioned of the importance of his place in that momentous social, political, and religious upheaval which coincided with his lifetime--the Reformation, particularly the Calvinist Reformation, with which his major musical concern is thoroughly identified and which eventually cost him his life.

Goudimel was born in or near the city of Besançon, in eastern France, that part then known as Franche-Comté.

Georges Becker[1] supplies two irrevocable proofs: the preface of a selection of masses edited by Goudimel in 1554 is signed Claudii Godimelli Vesontini (Vesontini being the Latin for Besançon), and the title of a book of chansons published in 1586--it is probably a re-edition--carried the indication that these chansons were collected and reviewed by Claude Goudimel, natif de Besançon. The actual date of Goudimel's birth has been subject to much speculation. Generally the guesses range from 1500 to 1510. Becker opts for 1505: his reasons, which involve the Rome/Palestrina controversy, will be brought up later.[2]

Eleanor Lawry[3] in her remarkable work on the psalm-motets, notes that the Goudimel family was involved in the baking industry. Unless other sources are discovered, this is all that is known of the composer's native situation. Many sources list the variant spellings of the name Goudimel, the most recent authorities no doubt relying on an ancient footnote in La France Protestante (ed. Emile Haag, Paris: Joel Cherbuliez, first edition, 1885, page 308): "Few names have been more often altered than his, one finds it written

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[1]George Becker, "Goudimel et son Oeuvre," Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Francais, XXXIV, (1885), p. 338.

[2]Becker, loc. cit.

[3]Eleanor Lawry, "The Psalm Motets of Claude Goudimel", New York, New York University, 1954, diss., p. 5.

Gaudimel, Gaudinel, Guidomel, Goudmel, Gudmel, Godmel, Godimel and even Gaudiomel, or Gaudio Mell." To this list, Michel Brenet[4], who was perhaps first to ascertain the family's involvement in baking (des metiers de boulanger et de fournier), adds the additional, somewhat more Gallic, variants: Godymel, Godimet, Jodimel, Jodymel, Jodrymel, and Jodimey.

But it is the final variant of the older list--Gaudio Mell-which proves the most interesting because it is directly involved with the Rome/Palestrina controversy. This scholastic brouhaha was partially an attempt to account for that lacuna between Goudimel's suggested birthdate and the next available date in his life, 1549, when some of his chansons appeared in a collection published by du Chemin of Paris.[5]

The controversy resulted from the discovery of two obscure references in two equally obscure sources to one Gaudio Mell. Since the myth, from its origin to its most carefully reasoned conclusion, is best presented in the still excellent, though dated, work of Brenet, it is this author's work which will be cited in the following resumé of the situation.

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[4]Michel Brenet, Claude Goudimel (Annales franc-comtoises), Besancon, 1898, p. 7.

[5]Becker, op. cit., p. 349.

The first source appeared in 1684, one hundred twelve years after Goudimel's death (1572), seventy years after that of Palestrina (1614). The author was one Antimo Liberati, organist and composer of the Roman school. In a short historical exposé he attempted to present an artistic genealogy of the masters of religious music. Relating to Palestrina's education, he noted that among the many foreign masters who founded the musical schools in Italy and Rome was one Gaudio Mell, a Fleming of great talent and a pleasing and cultivated style, who founded at Rome a noble and excellent school of music, from which flowed many virtuous streams; but the principal and superior torrent, who absorbed and surpassed all the others was Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina.[6]

Naturally eighteenth century writers wished to determine the exact identity of this Gaudio Mell. A Rinaldo de Mell was first proposed; then his name was replaced by that of Goudimel, which name, it must be remembered, occurred in many variant spellings.

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[6]The original source, quoted and translated into French by Brenet, is: Lettera scritta del sig. Antimo Liberati in riposta ad una del sig. Ovidio Persapeggi, etc. Roma, 1685, in 63 pages. The letter is dated from 1684. An example of this rare small volume can be found in the library of the Paris Conservatory.

The musical historian Baini,[7] then preparing a large monograph on Palestrina, accepted this interpretation without question as it did propose to offer more information on his man. Now the myth had authority and the smell of authenticity behind it. More musicians were added to Palestrina's musical family tree, and Goudimel became the founder of a Roman school. The fact that many of his students were older than he (Animuccia) or were scarcely born at the time of his supposed sojourn in Rome (Alessandro della Viola and Giovanni Maria Nanino) did not seem to disconcert the deluded. Orentin Douen, the pastor famous for his large work on Clément Marot and the Huguenot Psalter, added Lassus to the list of Goudimel's pupils and continued with incredible assertions about Goudimel's clerical school being sanctioned by Pope Paul III and establishing various precedents in the politics of the Vatican.[8]

Returning to the test as interpreted by Baini, recent research has revealed so many errors in his method of working that little credence is now given to these suppositions. And although further research into the original Liberati text has proved futile, if Goudimel had held at Rome so high a rank

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[7]This great early work of Baini, Memorie storico-critiche della vita e delle opere di G. Pierluigi da Palestrina, was published at Rome in 1828, in two volumes.

[8]Orentin Douen, Clément Marot et Le Psautier Huguenot, Paris, L'Imprimerie Nationale, 1879, II, p. 23.

as is imagined, it seems certain that the numerous and well informed Italian musical writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries would not have omitted his name, his music, or his teachings from their many volumes of contemporary observations.

The existence at Rome of some of Goudimel's manuscripts was also indicated by Baini; but their precise location was not specified. Neither was their number or nature, nor any indication whether these pieces were unedited or printed. Nothing of Goudimel appears in the collections of the pontifical chapel of which the catalogue has been published.[9]

Since the Missa brevis of Palestrina is constructed on some of the same themes as those of Goudimel's mass, Audi filia, many writers have tried to perpetuate the story that the latter was instructor of the former. They fail to note that this practice of using other composers' themes was in common usage among sixteenth century composers, including Palestrina. Goudimel's mass was printed in Paris in 1558, along with a piece by one Jean Maillard called Je suis déshéritée. Both compositions were used by Palestrina in his Missa brevis and in his Missa sine nomine, which appeared together in 1570. One can conclude that Palestrina knew from printed copies the two French pieces which he saw fit to use as bases for his own compositions.

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[9]Haberl, Bausteine fur Musikgeschichte, II, Leipzig, 1888.

In addition to the Liberati manuscript cited by Baini, another reference to Goudimel by one Ottavio Pitoni, a contemporary of Liberati, is handled so cavalierly by Baini that more serious doubt is cast on his scholarly abilities. In 1677 Pitoni became master of the chapel of Saint Mark in Rome. Liberati, whose birthdate and death-date are unknown, had been living in Rome since 1661, when he entered the pontifical chapel. For some time after that date the two were Roman contemporaries. Pitoni died in 1743.

Pitoni consigned his research to the composers living between 1500 and 1700. Baini, who drew largely on Pitoni's work, made no mention of the latter's article on Goudimel, which opposed his hypothesis by creating a contradiction between the known facts of Goudimel's life and the date of his death. A copy of Pitoni's work was found among the papers of one Adrien de la Fage, a French writer, who brought it back from Italy among his literary explorations. It now resides in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris. Under the heading, Claudio Goudimel Vesontino, is found a short, purely bibliographical reference indicating that Pitoni knew neither that Goudimel lived in France nor that he died in 1572. There is no allusion to a Gaudio Mell.

Under the heading, Gaudio Mell, however, the following is entered:

> Gaudio Mell or Claudio Mell, Fleming, founded at Rome a noble and excellent school of music from which came many illustrious professors, among whom was Gio. Pierluigi da Palestrina, he left Rome and became chapelmaster to the king of Portugal; from which, through curiosity, he returned to Rome in 1580 to see Palestrina, and while he was chagrined at not being able to see him, he eventually recovered from it. This is what Antimo Liberati reports in his letter to Persapeggi, folio 22. It could be that this is the Goudimel already mentioned.[10]

Pitoni only borrowed the first part of Liberati's account; the pages of Liberati make mention of the career of Gaudio Mell after his professorship, and this is why Baini preferred to stick with Liberati's text without citing that of Pitoni.

Another volume of the papers of La Fage contains a brief version of the same account:

> Glaudio or Gaudio Mell, Fleming, after having founded at Rome a good school of music, became a "master" in Portugal, from which he returned in order to be consoled by the sight of his pupil Palestrina in 1580, so it is said.[11]

This latter quotation was, according to La Fage, in the autograph of Janacconi, Baini's teacher; and it is from Baini that La Fage received the text in question.

These accounts of Pitoni and Janacconi do not conflict. The problem lies in Baini's confusing Gaudio Mell, said to have lived in Portugal until 1580, with Goudimel, whose continual residence in France from 1549 until his death in 1572 has been fully established. Although the existence and merit

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[10] Brenet, op. cit., p. 11. (Translation mine, S.O.)

[11] Ibid., p. 12. (Translation, S.O.)

of the royal chapel at Lisbon, Portugal have been attested to since the fifteenth century, the historians of that country have not yet given out a complete chronological list of the masters of that chapel. Thus Gaudio Mell remains more obscure than Goudimel--a name in Italian notebooks, but not yet an historical personage in his adopted country.

The second major document upon which this controversy hangs dates from 1546, but was discovered much more recently than the research of Baini. It is not concerned with Goudimel's supposed role as teacher of Palestrina, but is offered to attest his presence in the Eternal City at a determined date.

In 1546 the Netherlandish musician Adrien Petit, called Coclicus, pursuing a musical chair at the University of Wittenberg, presented his petition to the Price Elector of Saxony. Ernest Pasque, who discovered this manuscript, published it not in the original Latin but in a German translation; and he was reluctant to disclose its archival origin.[12] His German version shows Petit soliciting the good graces of a Lutheran prince, proving his artistic merit and Protestant zeal. He continues, saying that in 1534 Alexandre Farnese, becoming Pope under the name of Paul III, and wishing to surround himself with artists, engaged him

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[12]Brenet, op. cit., p. 12. The second footnote indicates that Pasque's translation was published in the Niederrheinische Musik-zeitung, 1861, #3.

(Petit) as chanteur in his chapel. Petit so distinguished himself by his talents, along with his celebrated compatriots Goudimel and Constanzo Festa, that the Pope favored him by appointing him his confessor and giving him the bishopric of Duiatum, near Rome, among other gifts of gratitude. But because of his affluence, he made many enemies who denounced his Lutheran opinions. He was arrested, imprisoned in the famous fortress of Sant' Angelo, judged by the Pope himself, dispossessed of his personal goods and condemned to perpetual imprisonment. Fortunately, a bishop Lodi, who admired his talents, obtained his pardon and procured the means for his leaving Rome.

Another letter of Petit, which does not refer to Goudimel, makes mention of dealings with the kings of France (Francis I) and England (Henry VIII).[13]

The stories of Petit are almost too colorful to be believed. The name Duiatum does not resemble any known area near Rome. Neither Petit nor Goudimel is included in the published lists of the chapel of Paul III. Nor is there any mention of the name Petit or Coclicus among the musicians surrounding Francis I.

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[13]This letter was published by Otto Kade in Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte, XXIX, 1897, pp. 10ff. Also included is a biography of Petit.

In 1552 Petit's long list of musicians, Compendium musices, appeared.[14] Neither of the names Goudimel nor Festa was included. This was only six years after Petit had indicated their supposed relationships under Pope Paul III.

It seems most reasonable to say that, from lack of specific evidence, it is unlikely that Goudimel ever visited Rome, and even more doubtful that he established a music school there and became the master of Palestrina.

Because the composer Goudimel is already an obscure personage, it may seem unnecessary to pursue the unproved, even more obscure, controversies and "legendary" aspects of his life. Even though the myths promulgated, especially by Douen, were long held as fact, the conclusions of Brenet are now generally accepted. As late as 1946, however, Robert Jaques,[15] who had not availed himself of Brenet's research, attempted to revive the stories of Goudimel's Roman excursion. His discussion is unconvincing; but that such an attempt was made is curious and deserves some attention to those authors who were most active in propagating the legend.

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[14]Copies of this rare document, according to Brenet, p. 14, can be found in the Mazarine library and the library of Bordeaux.

[15]Robert Jaques, "The Contribution of Claude Goudimel to Church Music," New York, Union Theological Seminary, 1946.

Though it is impossible to point to a common denominator among them, it is interesting to note that they were all Protestant; and their arguments are all subtly interlaced with a definite need to have Goudimel, the Calvinist, be master of Palestrina, the ostensibly Roman Catholic. Such biases can lead to absurd logic, as in Douen, and often result in misperceptions as to the importance of the influence of Calvinism on musical history. Because Calvin stressed the underscoring of the word with the simplest unaccompanied musical line, some have placed him in the grand-parentage of the oratorio. Perhaps because of its secular associations, opera is carefully excluded from his ultimate progeny. Remembering the concurrent developments of opera and oratorio in Italy late in the sixteenth century and the simultaneous developments in France of sacred and secular monody, it is more nearly correct to assume that Calvin--the Humanist scholar--was simply in tune with the spirit of the times. The monodic presentation of the musically heightened word--whether the French vernacular versions of the ancient Hebrew psalms or the Italian vernacular versions of the ancient Greek plays--was gradually replacing the usage of many interwoven voices. The music of Goudimel and his contemporaries ranges from the elaborate polyphonic mass, motet, and chanson to the simple solo song with lute accompaniment and homophonic dances. While Goudimel's music does not cover this entire gamut, it does arise from the radically

changing and diverse milieu in which these forms of expression were employed: the Roman Catholic Church (Masses, Magnificats, and Motets), secular diversion of an occasional nature (chansons), private devotion among members of the Reformed (Calvinistic) Churches (homophonic psalm settings, melodic psalm settings), and, possibly, sacred occasions in the Reformed Churches (Psalm-motets). Usages in the regular public worship of the Reformed Churches are speculative; there was apparently much practical diversity from place to place. The appearance, in 1549, of some of Goudimel's four-part chansons establishes the first known and provable fact of his existence as a composer. And it is to his remaining productive years, so far uncolored by myth and too much speculation, that more attention must be given.

Though it is impossible to separate the man from his music--it is mainly from publication dates and prefaces to his works that the scant facts of Goudimel's life have been culled--for the sake of clarity, the few known remaining facts of the composer's life will be presented before the writings and music are treated in more detail.

Between 1549 and 1552 a total of twenty-nine chansons by Goudimel appeared in company with those of other composers in several volumes published by Duchemin of Paris.[16] It is assumed that Paris was Goudimel's residence at that time. He

[16]Brenet, op. cit., pp. 14-15.

was employed by Duchemin as proofreader (correcteur) and editor; during this association his works were brought out by that publisher. In 1551 the first book of psalm-motets appeared.[17] The preface to this first selection of psalms is of extreme interest and will be presented later, when the composer's work is evaluated. It must be noted now, however, that secular chansons and other "Catholic" pieces appeared periodically almost to the end of Goudimel's life. His preoccupation with Genevan psalmody, which began as early as 1551 or before, when Calvin's Psalter was as yet incomplete, appears to have been interrupted occasionally by what some would call "reversions" to an earlier type. But order of publication, while important, cannot be taken as an infallible record of a composer's artistic or spiritual development.

Perhaps Goudimel's greatest period of activity was between the years 1551 and 1558. He produced such heterogeneous works as the Amours and Odes d'Horace of Ronsard, the great contemporary French poet; chansons spriituelles on the words of Muret, Magnificats, Masses, chansons, motets, and his first psalm settings. The date of Goudimel's conversion to Calvinism is presumed to be between 1558 and 1561.

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[17] Although Douen places the first psalm settings in 1562 and Becker in 1555, Brenet, researching the records of Duchemin, has discovered the date to be 1551. The remaining facts of Goudimel's life, unless otherwise noted, are also derived from Brenet, whose work supersedes the above two authors and has not been surpassed in this century except for some smaller discoveries by Pidoux and Lesure.

But this date, unfortunately, was arrived at by the same semi-trustworthy chronological speculation previously noted. His last published masses appeared in 1558; the real preoccupation with the psalms began in 1561. While remembering that his first psalm-settings appeared in 1551, it must also be noted that the Genevan tunes were rapidly becoming common property among Protestants and Roman Catholics alike. But the exact date of Goudimel's conversion is of little importance when one considers its staying power. As will be seen, it was more than a preoccupation with the usable tunes of the Genevan Psalter. Outside of his affecting prefaces to some of the psalm settings, a few incidental episodes bear on the seriousness of his religious convictions.

An interesting pre-conversion incident, illustrating more fully the force of his change, is related by one Auguste Castan.[18] In 1554, in the course of a criminal process begun against a musician named Claude Boni, one François Bonvalot, administrator of the archbishop's residence at Besançon and a declared enemy of the Reformation, addressed himself in a letter to Goudimel, asking him to gather, at Paris, accounts of the legal antecedents of that individual. Presumably, Goudimel, since he had the confidential respect of Bonvalot, was also not in sympathy with the Reformation.

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[18]Cited by Brenet, page 20, footnote #1, Auguste Castan, "Une date de la vie de Claude Goudimel," in the Mem. de la Soc. d'emul. du Doubs, 1875, p. 522ff.

Since the name Goudimel no longer appeared on the title pages of Duchemin's editions after 1556, it is assumed that the association of the two men dissolved at about that time. Lesure,[19] who located the most recent document of the composer, not only brought more light on Goudimel's years as editor, but offered a reference to the liquidation of his contract.[20]

Goudimel, here spelled Godimel, is described as "musician, student at the University of Paris, proofreader (correcteur), at present living at the home of Nicolas du Chemyn, book merchant (marchant libraire), printer, bourgeois de Paris, living on the rue Sainct Jehan de Latran," etc. The notice, dated 17 August 1555, centers on the dissolution of a contract which fixes the conditions of their collaboration. This contract has not been located; Lesure suggests that it would be dated 1548, as Goudimel's music edited by Duchemin, began to appear regularly from the beginning of 1549. Both Brenet and Lesure, assuming for lack of evidence that Goudimel was neither employed by the king nor any religious community, conclude that, since he must somehow eke out a living, he chose this position as correcteur.

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[19]François Lesure, "Claude Goudimel, étudiant correcteur et éditeur parisien," Musica Disciplina, II, 1948, pp. 225-230.

[20]Cited in Lesure, op. cit., p. 227, footnote #5, Paris, Archives Nationales, Minutier Central, LXXIII, 21.

Lesure also mentions the clarity of his texts and the fastidiousness which attended their redaction. It seems correct to assume that Goudimel, living with Duchemin, bourgeois de Paris, found his work rewarding, and that the spirit of the Calvinistic work ethic, becoming so influential in mid-sixteenth century society, already prevailed in his method. For reasons still obscure, the partnership dissolved sometime between 1555 and 1556.

The dedication of his third book of psalm-motets, 20 June 1557, indicates that Goudimel now lived in Metz. Reasons for his removal from Paris are unknown. The dedications to his first and second complete psalter settings, 1564 and 1565, also confirm his residence in that city. One of the few extra-musical references to his life describes an incident of 18 March 1565, in which Goudimel became the godfather (parrain) of a child at the Reformed Church of Metz. The godmother was one Catherine Senneton, daughter of Antoine Senneton, president of justice of Metz, to whom Goudimel dedicated his seventh book of psalm-motets. It was during his stay at Metz that the composer devoted his full attention to the Genevan tunes, continuing to produce his psalm-motets as well as the two different versions of the complete collection of all 150 psalms.

It is not known when Goudimel left Metz. The conjectures of Brenet involve the composer's relationship with

the poet Paul Schede, known as Melissus.[21] The first of two letters (which will be cited later) from the composer to the poet, dated 1570, bears no indication of locale. The second, dated 23 August 1572, was sent from Lyons. It has been generally assumed that Goudimel spent at least the last several years of his life at Lyons. Though he lived in the vicinity of Geneva, there is no evidence that he ever visited Calvin's "City of God".

The obscurity of Goudimel's life lies in such stark contrast to his violent death that it is this latter fact alone that remains in the memories of some musical historians. That he was murdered on 28 August 1572, as a result of a presumably religio-political conflict in the city of Lyons has been attested to by many contemporaries. The infamous massacre of Huguenots at Paris on Saint Bartholomew's Day (24 August 1572) has been recounted in most standard historical works. It has been suggested, however, that the conflict at Lyons may not have been a direct result of the Parisian melée of four days previous.[22] Regardless of the

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[21]The best sources of information on the poet Melissus are: Allegemeine Deutsche Biographie, XXI, (1885), p. 293 ff.; Melissis Schediasmata poetica, Frankfurt, 1574; and Melissis Schediasmata reliquiae, Frankfurt, 1575. The latter two contain the poet's works; the last, his pieces addressed to Goudimel, Lassus, Muret, Baïf, Ronsard and others.

[22]M. le pasteur Puyroche, "La Saint-Barthelemy a Lyon", Bulletin de la Société de L'Histoire du Protestantisme Francais, XVIII, 1869, pp. 305, 353, 401.

various causes, Goudimel perished. That he was well-known is indicated by a surprisingly large number of eulogies.[23]

The first notice of his death appeared in a pamphlet by one Jean Ricaud, one of three Protestant ministers living in Lyons in 1572.[24] The passage concerning Goudimel's death has been quoted by Douen, Brenet, Becker, and other musicologists:

> Goudimel, excellent musician, and the memory of whom will be perpetual for having happily worked (on) the psalms of David in French, the greater part of which he has set to music in the form of motets in four, five, six and eight parts, and were it not for his death would soon have completed the work. But the enemies of the glory of God, and some evil persons, envious of the honor which this person had acquired, have deprived those who love (a) Christian music of so good a thing.[25]

The ingenuousness of this statement speaks almost more eloquently than those more sophisticated eulogies in the form of poems. Some of the latter, however, give more graphic accounts, whether truthful or imagined, of the composer's death. In the collected works of Melissus (Melissis Schediasmata reliquiae, Frankfurt, 1575) are included seven brief epitaphs by various authors. Of

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[23] All eulogies and their sources, with some French translations, are cited in Brenet, op. cit., p. 28, footnotes 1-3, p. 29, footnote 1. Becker, op. cit., includes four eulogies, pp. 345-347.

[24] Brenet, op. cit., p. 27, footnotes 2 and 3. The author cites the original source and the documents in which the final establishment of its authorship are to be found.

[25] Brenet, p. 27.

the two Latin pieces by Melissus himself, the fourth verse of one reads:

Goudimel ille meus, meus (eheu!) Goudimel ille est
Occisus. Testes vos Arar et Rhodane
Semineces vivosque, simul violenter utrisque
Absorptos visi plangere gurgitibus.[26]

And he, my Goudimel, alas!, is dead;
Your rivers saw it happen, Saône and Rhone;
You saw how those half-dead and those who lived
Shook when they found themselves pitched in your depths.

(after the French of M. Brenet)

From the same volume, a Latin verse by one J. Posthuis begins thus:

Qui cygnos dulci superabat et Orphea cantu
Claudius, Eois notus et Hesperiis,
Heu facinus! praeceps Araris turbatus in undas
Insontem medio liquit in amne animam.[27]

He who surpassed the songs
of Orpheus and the swans,
Claude, celebrated in the East and West,
(O grievous crime!) was thrown
Into the rushing Saône,
Giving his warm soul to her waves' cold test.

(after the French of M. Brenet)

These passages indicate that Goudimel may not yet have been dead when he was thrown into the river. A most affecting eulogy, in the form of a sonnet, was offered in sympathy to Melissus, the composer's friend, by one A. Du Cros:

Pourquoi t'ebahis-tu, que malheureusement
On ait a Goudimel ainsi ravi la vie
Veu que de nuire a nul il n'eut jamais envie
Honoraut la vertu, cheminant rondement.

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[26]Brenet, loc. cit., p. 27.

[27]Brenet, op. cit., p. 28.

Pourquoi demandes-tu, si c'est le payement
De ses divins labeurs pour l'ingrate patrie?
Oste de ton esprit, Melisse, je te prie,
Et cette question et cet etonnement.
Voudrois-tu de sa mort cause plus suffisante
Que d'avoir ete bon, et de vie innocente?
S'il eust ete athee, idolatre, ou sans foi,
Traitre, meurtrier, parjure abominable;
Alors pourrois-tu bien, au regne ou tu nous voi,
Trouver cette mort rare, et fort esmerveillable.[28]

Why are you wondering how unhappily
Our Goudimel has thus been reft of life;
wishing no harm to anyone, nor strife;
honoring virtue, rounding out his way?
Why are you asking: Is this proper pay
for his divine career? His country's grief
is but ingratitude. Your disbelief,
Melissus, must be shed entirely.
Would you believe death could sufficiently
atone for suffering life so innocently?
If he had been a traitor to his cause,
idolator, murderer, seamy or scurillous,--
But you well know: in following God's laws
he found his death rare, strong, and marvellous.

Another sonnet-epitaph, simply signed "R. E. P.," is found in a collection, La Fleur des Chansons, containing music by Lassus and Goudimel. It appeared in 1574:

Sous le penible faix de ce poudreux tombeau,
Du mielleux Goudimel la cendre se repose,
Surmonte par la mort qui domte toute chose,
Mais non ce qui estoit d'iceluy le plus beau:
Car son esprit gentil, qui luit comme un flambeau
Par tout cest univers, pour la douceur enclose
Dans ses tons musicaux, par cil qui tout dispose,
Est ores iouissant d'un repos tout nouveau.
Et comme, estant icy, d'une douce musique
Il louangeoit son Dieu, mariant maint cantique
Du Roy-prophete hebreu a ses plaisants accords,
Ainsi estant aux cieux avec ioye et liesse,
Il rend graces a Dieu pour ce que de largesse
Il l'a faict iouissant des celestes thresors.[29]

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[28]Becker, op.cit., p. 346.

[29]Douen II, pp. 35-36.

Under the burden of this dusty stone,
Great Goudimel in ashes now is lying,
Conquered by death as all things, but not dying
From those bright deeds for which he is well known;
His gentle spirit like a flame was shown
Through all the world for all the sweetness lying
Within his music, phrase to phrase replying,
Exultant in an newly turning tone,
And as, when he was here, with music sweet
He would praise God, his moving tones would meet
The words of David--Hebrew prophet-king;
So, being now in Heaven with joy and mirth,
Returning thanks to God, chanting His worth,
He glories in those treasures he would sing.

The most sophisticated of all memorials, also a sonnet, follows the acrostic principle: each line begins with a letter from Goudimel's name in toto, a fortuitous fourteen. It is signed S. G. S., and is usually ascribed on one Simon Goulart, Senlisien.

Combien est l'homme heureux qui perdant cette vie,
La trouve dans les cieus! Combien doit s'esjouir
A qui Christ avec soi donne pour en jouir
Une vie tirant une gloire infinie!
De ce monde la rage et fureur ennemie
Envahit meschanment (o triste souvenir)
Goudimel le divin qui nous faisait ouir
Odes du grand David en celeste harmonie.
Vi, maugre le gosier venimeux et cruel
Du Lyon infernal, saint chantre Goudimel
Je te voy maintenant dans l'angelique bande
Mariant a la voix les louanges de Dieu.
Entre les bons tu vis en ce tenebreux lieu
Leur laissant a jamais tes Psalmes pour offrande.[30]

Called from this life, how happy is this man
Lifted to Heaven. How right he should rejoice
At what his Christ has given. His new-found voice
Utters of life more than a mortal can
Describe. The rage and furor, while they ran,
Engaged the world in travesty of Grace.
Goudimel, now most blessed, your singing race
Ordained the songs of Zion sweeter than

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[30]Becker, op. cit., p. 347.

Ultimate David did himself. Your psalms
Dispell your dying, Lyon's hell, the qualms
Inferred and felt, the horror of the Saône.
Married, the voice and verbiage of our Lord
Elect to tell His praise. Your felling sword
Left nothing to assauge the swirling Rhone.

The Few Writings

It is unfortunate that Oliver Strunk, in his excellent compilation, Source Readings in Music History (W. W. Norton, New York; 1950), includes only Goudimel's brief preface to the 1565 settings of the Genevan Psalter. This inclusion follows the justly famous preface of Calvin to the still unfinished Psalter of 1543 and in some ways seems to trace at least one of the tenets of Calvin to its practical conclusion: the careful exhortation to use "this little book" only at home, as harmony at church is not to be recommended. Virtually nothing of the composer's personality shines through this apologetic note. For this, it is necessary to turn to his previously published collections, the psalm-motets, two of which bear lengthy dedications. In addition to these three complete prefaces and several dedicatory odes, there remain the two late letters to Melissus. Not sufficient perhaps for a thorough investigation into Goudimel's artistic and spiritual make-up, this small handful of manuscripts, all that has been discovered of the composer's literary effort, are revealing enough to offer a few interesting insights into his particular milieu.

The preface to the first book of psalm-motets reveals that as early as 1551, the same year that an important but incomplete version of the Genevan Psalter appeared, Goudimel had already been serously impressed by the Calvinistic movement:

> To the very noble and very eminent person, Your Grace, Jean Brinon, lord of Villaines and adviser to the King in his Parliament at Paris, Claude Goudimel begs humble greeting. The divine Plato wrote among other things (very illustrious Senator) that there was among men nothing more deceiving, nor which induced humans to error, than the seeming sanctity, and false similitude to think true and good, of which it has happened that formerly so many liberal sciences, curiously bound, and divinely inspired under the shadow and color of good, have been corrupted and put to bad use, as it clearly appears to us from painters, poets, and others who up to the present have been more occupied with lascivious, disorderly, lewd, and damnable works than with using their intellect to exalt and glorify the name of the Almighty who has wished all sciences to be known to man, for the contemplation of his high and divine majesty. What should I say of the very noble and excellent science of Music? That Strabo in the tenth book of his Geography by the evidence of pythagorics calls philosophy; and for all that (O offense deplorable) we see it today so depraved and disguised by lascivious, coarse, and immodest chansons that many good souls are entirely corrupted and enervated. I do not wish on that account to accuse those who (rejecting all lewd uncleanliness) are engaged in composing motets, psalms, and sacred and faithful songs: in the imitation of which (my highly honored lord) inspired by a good will and Christian affection, I set about publishing the praises of the Creator. And knowing for a long time that in you, possessed of the spirit of God, all particular virtues and refined sciences appear as a miracle and are by you divinely sustained and humanely nurtured, and that among all the arts Music by means of you, and support of your noble birth, has been more renowned in this country of France than it ever has been before: I have had the boldness to offer to you and dedicate this my humble labor, not knowing to whom more worthy I could dedicate it, nor who by the multitude of his

> favors and kindnesses has obligated me more than you; under the name of whom my present work stands assured from the sting of slanderers and envious ones, and received by the good and virtuous. Begging you to receive and to regard it worthy of your lordship. From Paris this sixth day of August 1551.[31]
>
> (translated, E. Lawry)

After the traditionally formal greeting, Goudimel progresses to an extremely overwrought and pregnant sentence which, except for its complicated structure, could have been written by Calvin. The initial reference to "divine Plato" and the tortuously reasoned condemnation of artistic decadence are built upon the puritanical presuppositions of the reformer. Whether it was the works of Calvin or of one or other contemporary religious leaders that influenced Goudimel's conviction is open to question. That he was a conscientious and highly intelligent student who was at one time completely converted to the reforming spirit has been established; but his individual instructors and mentors are not known. It can only be assumed that the Calvinistic attitudes and dicta had already infiltrated and become established in the areas of Goudimel's intellectural maturation. Though his references to Plato, Strabo, and the Almighty seem to bespeak an erudition approaching the formidable, his ideas cannot be construed as entirely original. When he puts forth the basic question, "What should I say of the very noble and excellent science of Music?," he consigns it immediately to

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[31]Eleanor Lawry, "The Psalm Motets of Claude Goudimel", New York: New York University Press, 1954, p. 8.

philosophy and lapses into the recurrent and obsessive tirade against corruption in art, specifically in music, i.e., the abundance of "lascivious, coarse, and immodest chansons". Against this ill-defined and over-felt decadence he places the Almighty, "who has wished all sciences to be known to man, for the contemplation of his high and divine majesty". While the Calvinistic concept of the sovereignty of God is evident here, the adjective divine loses power as it was also used to define Plato. His invocation of the Platonic spirit derives from Calvin and ultimately from Augustine.

It is not clear what musical forms were being referred to when the composer lists "motets, psalms, and sacred and faithful songs". While the first two categories are generally understood in their sixteenth century context, "sacred and faithful songs" seems to cover all unclassified pieces of religious musical literature. Nevertheless, the word "faithful" received especial significance during the Reformation; and compositions such as those to which Goudimel referred, and which he intended to imitate, would almost certainly be associated with Protestant worship, either public or private.

There is little else of the personal in this dedication--simply the whirlwind of obsequious rhetoric in which these things were customarily enveloped. In his dedication to Book III of the psalm-motets, however, the composer

exchanges some of this dreadful artificiality for the tone of a more amiable puritan:

> To Monsieur de La Bloctiere, M. Claude Belot, from Anjou, lawyer in the court of Parliament of Paris. C. Goudimel, his good friend wishes salutation. Sir, in order to assure you of the good wish that I have always had not to bury by ingratitude the debt which obliges me by the friendship that your kind favor brings me, I know of no better way nor more suitable to your particular favor and reverence towards letters and the Muses, than to present to you this, my third book of Music to the divine verses of the divine and royal Prophet. Also I could in no wise choose the man who seemed to me should favor this, my humble work, with better heart than you, who along have amiably constrained me to change, even to lay aside the secular lyre of the secular poet Horace, in order to take in hand and boldly undertake to touch and handle the sacred harp of our great David. O greatly desirable exchange! There I could only sing a song ill suited, rude, and discordant, unworth certainly of a true Christian; here, now besides I hear a Calliope harmonious, sweet, and consummate in its perfection of Music for my instruction and consolation. Pray now, Sir, and good friend, recognize for your own what had already been half yours before and receive it with as good countenance and good will as it is addressed to you by one who prays all powerful God, author and distributor of all good things, to magnify your spirit from day to day in the perfection of true and divine harmony. From Metz, this twentieth day of June 1557.[32]
>
> (translated, E. Lawry)

In his reference to "the secular lyre of the secular poet Horace", Goudimel betrays some guilt at not having spent more time in the setting of sacred texts. His musical setting of the Odes of Horace appeared in 1555. His return to the psalms--"O greatly desirable exchange!"-- is accompanied by the ever petulant denigration of things merely

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[32]Lawry, op. cit., p. 9.

secular, not necessarily lewd or lascivious. If Plato were "divine" Horace certainly is not so; his words, to Goudimel, are "ill suited, discordant, unworthy certainly of a true Christian". Could we possibly assume that he was rationalizing some difficulty in setting these words? In the words of David, however, he hears "a Calliope harmonious, sweet, and consummate in its perfection of Music, for my instruction and consolation". The classical reference to the Muse as metaphor for "divine" David's art is apparently not inconsistent with the composer's convictions. More notable, but perhaps more subtle, is the phrase "for my instruction and consolation", typical of the Calvinist's attitude to the Scriptures.

The concluding sentences constitute what a dedication should be; they stand in direct contrast to the fawning conclusion to the dedication of Book I. In a subtly beautiful insight Goudimel consigns his work to a friend, asking that he 'recognize for your own what had already been half yours before . . ." By which, it seems, he regards the psalms as the common property of Christians and is simply handing back to a brother believer a copy stamped with an original musical perspective. This is followed by a virtual benediction, indicating that the dedicatee is no impersonal personage but is held in high affection by the author.

Less personal and again too verbose is the dedication to Book IV:

A Monseigneur Monsieur de Senneton, conseiller du roy en la Court de Parlement à Paris et prési-- dent à Metz.

Sir, knowing with what affection you have received my first attempt to set the Psalms of David, as much for the subject which in itself is much recommended for Christian men, as for the good opinion that you have of my work, I have just finished another volume of my projected plan, hoping by this means to please to a certain extent your wishes and those of my friends. That which I have done more ardently for the assurance which I have from you in this work, has with your grace been approved: persuading myself also that the finished and perfected work will please you, since it is neither fashioned with less care, nor by any other hand than that which originally showed it to you. I also hope that you recognize here what great diligence and other grace that you have already seen in it. Then your humanity, recognized among all, and the honor and good which is your singular virtue, the benefit of which I received from you daily, have constrained me, as far as I am able, for all other recognition of such honest friendship which you bear me through your grace, to bring to light this, my work, under the favor and tutelage of your name, as a token of complete good will, with perpetual obligation to remain forever

your humble and obedient servant

Claude Goudimel[33]

Book V is dedicated to Francois de Scepaulx, seigneur de Vieilleville, comte de Duretal et maréchal de France, who was governor of Metz while Goudimel lived there. Stanzas four through six concern the composer's religious feelings and social position:

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[33]François Lesure, "Deux 'nouveaux' receuils de Psaumes en Forme de Motets de Claude Goudimel, "Revue de Musicologie, LIV (1968), pp. 100-101.

Je ne veux pourtant que l'on die
Que ma lyre soit engourdie
Tenant le mouvoir de mes doys
Je ne veux point qu'une paresse
En si beau sujet soit maitresse
Des humbles soupirs de ma voix

Je veux, quelque tems qui se brasse
Lever les yeux devant la face
Du Seigneur qui me sauvera
Quelques rages, quelques tempestes
Qui puissent menacer nox testes
Ma voix toujours le chantera

Puis ayant certain asseurance
De ta faveur qui me dispense
De ne trembler dessous la peur,
J'ay bien ose prendre l'adresse
De presenter a ta hautesse
Ce petit trait de mon labeur.[34]

I do not wish for men to say
my lyre and muse have passed away.
My fingers clutch a subtle note
too beautiful for laziness
to master them or be mistress
of that which leaves my humble throat.

I wish, in spite of winds that brace,
to raise my eyes before the face
of Him who saves and keeps me warm.
No matter what the wrath, or rage,
or swirling tempest may presage,
I will still sing above the storm.

Then, being certain in your grace,
under the favor of your face,
not trembling and distraught with fear,
I dare to summon up the nerve
to offer you with simple verve
this little labor I hold dear.

Various fragments and more dedicatory odes appearing in further collections of Goudimel's psalm-motets can be cited to indicate the composer's attitude toward his own

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[34] Ibid., p. 101.

works and toward music in general. From Book VI comes the couplet:

> Le plus fidelle tesmoignage
> De tous mes labeurs les plus beau.[35]
>
> The most faithful witness
> Of all my labors the most beautiful.

And from Book VIII, dedicated to one Anthoine Poart, Seigneur de Foignon:

> Le plus doux travail de ma vie
> Guidant mon esperance aux cieux.[36]
>
> The sweetest pains-taking of my life
> Guiding my hope toward Heaven.

The expressions "faithful witness" and "hope toward Heaven", whether or not they were fresh in Goudimel's time, have become clichés in fundamentalistic Protestant Christianity--along with such doctrinal bywords of Calvinism as Predestination and The Sovereignty of God. Yet in the words of this devout sixteenth century composer they retain an ingenuousness now often lost.

Also from the dedication to Book VIII, the following lines contain the only reference to the actual performance of Goudimel's music:

> Puis c'est toi qui chante a rechantes
> Mes premiers travaux que tu vantes,
> Et qui tous s'animent de toy:
> Donques que scauroye mieux faire
> Que donner ce que je scay plaire
> A celuy qui fait cas de moy?[37]

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[35]Michel Brenet, Claude Goudimel, Besancon, 1898, p. 31.

[36]Loc. cit.

[37]Lawry, op. cit., p. 15.

Since it is you who sing and sing again
My earliest efforts, those which you are praising,
Giving them all the gladness you contain;
What better trust could occupy my doing
Than to give pleasing gifts and to remain
Dear to the one who cherishes my singing?

How, when, and where this music was actually performed has not been documented; but, as further evidence that it attained some degree of popularity, Lawry[38] cites the following reprintings: Book I (1551, 1557, 1564), Book II (1559, 1566), Book III (1557, 1566), Book IV (1560, 1565), Book V (1562), Book VI (1565), and Books VII and VIII (1566).

Also from Book VIII, the following lines show the influence of the psalms, suggesting that Goudimel was as interested in the meanings of the words as he was preoccupied with their musical settings:

Qui sur tout ne veut qu'on se lasse
De chanter et chanter la grace
Et les louanges de ce Dieu,
Qui, sous le vent de sa parolle,
Fait trembler l'un et l'autre polle.[39]

Who through all things desires that one allow
Himself to sing, and in his singing show
The grace and praises of this mighty God,
Who, in His words' deep rushing, takes the role
Of one who shakes the earth from pole to pole.

It is not only the many books of psalm-motets that contain these diverse and sometimes poetic dedications, but the various other psalm settings are often preceded by odes

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[38]Lawry, op. cit., p. 15.

[39]Orentin Doue, Clement Marot et le Psautier Huguenot, Paris, L'Imprimerie Nationale, 1879, II, p.30.

and sonnets also. One, which Douen[40] does not identify by date, begins with both a sonnet and an ode. They are, according to Douen, probably not by the composer but by a poetic friend of his. But who can say for sure?

SONNET

A Monseigneur Monsieur de'Ausance,
chevalier de l'ordre et lieutenant general du roy a Metz,
Claude Goudimel.

Si j'avois appris l'art d'un Lysippe ou Apelle,
Pour animer tableaus avecques le pinceau,
Ou pour tailler en cuire aveques le cizeau,
D'une scavante main, quelque image imortelle,
Tu recevrois de moi la piece la plus belle
Qui feust en ma boutique, et l'ouvrage plus beau,
Qui sembleroit parler, et qui, franc du tombeau,
Rendroit de tes beaux faits la memoire eternelle.
Mais le ciel en naissant ne m'ha donne cest heur
De pouvoir autre don offrir a ta grandeur,
Que cest oeuvre qui prend le surnom de la Muse.
Il n'est pas aussi grand comme est la voulonte;
Imite toutefois la divine bonte,
Qui le petit present du pauvre ne refuse.[41]

If I have learned the art of Lysippus
Or apelles--to liven up tableaux
Or work in leather like the one who sews
With knowing hands--what image, then, is this
That you receive from me; the finest piece
Of work from my small shop, a song which grows
And seems to, singing, say all that it knows
To bring back memories of your works of peace.
The heavens at my birth have given this hour
No better reason than to sing and shower
Your name with greatness. Music for the Muse
Is named--a gift less grand than the good-will
Of Him we imitate, but worthy still:
As a present from the poor He will not refuse.

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[40]Douen, op. cit., II, p. 31.

[41]Douen, op. cit., II, p. 31.

ODE

A mon dict Seigneur d'Ausance

Iadis le Royal prophete,
Fameux lyrique poete,
Chanta en langaige hebrieu,
Dessus sa harpe d'ivoire,
Et la grandeur et la glore
Des grand's merveilles de Dieu.

Plus d'une voix prophetique,
Soubs les loix de la musique,
Predict comme le Sauveur
De ce monde viendroit naistre,
Lequel nous feroit congnoistre
Sa bonte et sa grandeur.

Ce sainct don de prophetie
Et ce beau don de poesie,
Qu'il avoit de Createur,
Ioinct a la doulce pratique
De ce bel art de musique,
C'estoit un rare bon-heur.

C'estoient trois graces ensemble,
Que le ciel bien peu assemble,
Et qui de divinite
Son ame avoient eschauffee,
Plus que la muse d'Orphee,
Eslongne de verite.

De l'une et de l'aultre grace
La France a suyvi la trace,
Restoit la troisieme soeur,
La Fille du ciel, musique,
Que doibt avoir un cantique
Confit en telle douceur.

Le ciel, pour tout heritaige,
M'a donne pour mon partaige
Ceste grace d'entonner
Une voix harmonieuse,
Faisant la harpe fameuse
D'un tel Roy refredonner.

Ayant receu faveur telle
De la puissance immortelle,
Que doibz-ie faire, sinon
Le Royal prophete ensuyvre,
Faisant la harpe revivre
Soubz la faveur de ton nom?[42]

Of old a Royal prophet,
A famous lyric poet,
Chanted in ancient Hebrew,
Above his harp of ivory
The grandeur and the glory
Of his God and what He could do.

Then in a voice prophetic,
Within the laws of music,
Prophesied that the Savior
Of the world would come to be
Born, as to have us see
His good-will and his grandeur.

This gift of prophecy
And this gift of poetry,
Received from his Creator,
Joining as heart to heart
With music's careful art,
Gave him much gladness later.

Three graces came together.
(This only heaven could gather.)
And who by holiness
Is warmed within his soul
Becomes more true and whole
Than the muse of Orpheus.

Of one and another grace
France has retained a trace.
From sisters three, the third--
Music, the daughter of heaven--
Remains to sing, and even
To thwart the sweetest bird.

Heaven, for my heritage
Gave me the gift to guage
These graceful notes, to entone
So rich and deep a voice
The Harpist would rejoice
At the harmony alone.

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[42]Douen, op. cit., II, p. 31.

Having received such grace
How shall I rightly place
The immortal power and fame
Of the Royal prophet's word,
And have the harp record
The favor of your name?

In the sonnet, the poet compares his art to the painter and the worker in leather, even going so far as to call his music an item produced in a shop (Qui feust en ma boutique, . . .). His concern for craftmanship derives not only from the medieval guild systems, but also from the new interest in the bourgeois--the middle and working classes--that flourished in the atmosphere of the Reformation. This perfectionistic preoccupation with the "made thing" has been a characteristic of intellectual Calvinists ever since. The almost servile tone of the author in the last part owes something to the customary formal dedication, as previously exemplified, but as much or more to a prevailing Christ-like spirit that sees the human gift of creativity as an emulation of the divine. And thus this dedication, couched in the usually more impersonal language of poetry, transcends in human feeling those earlier prosaic flatteries.

The ode, however, does not come off so well. It is too long, and, as it comes on the heels of a sonnet, redundant and awkward in conceit. The tone is in character, however, and the notion of a pious parody comes

through.[43] In form though lyric as a popular chanson in the Villon-Marot tradition, the content concerns the usurpation of mythical conceits by those from the Judeo-Christian tradition. A strange hybrid, it is perhaps more acceptable to the Roman Catholic attitude than to the newly "reformed". David replaces Orpheus, and the here ambiguous Graces, no longer attending Venus, have converted into a mini-trinitarian guardian-angel delegation for the divine preservation of a somewhat sanctimonious art. But through these infelicities of form shines a familiar spirit of profound piety--a shade too puritanical, but of irreproachable conviction.

A similar ode, even longer and more disconnected, precedes the 1580 setting of the psalms, that interesting compromise between the purely polyphonic style and the block-like, unadorned version of 1564-5.

ODE

A Monseigneur Monsieur Roger de Bellegarde, gentilhomme ordinaire de la chambre du roy, Claude Goudimel.

Comme iadis les poetes,
Les Sybilles et Prophetes,
Remplis d'un divin esprit,
Au Dieu des dieux le plus sage
Encommencerent l'ouvrage
Qu'ils coucherent par escrit;

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[43] H. P. Clive, "The Calvinist Attitude to Music and its literary aspects and Sources", Bibliotheque d'Humanisme et Renaissance--travaux et documents, pp. 302-307. This excellent essay illustrates the extreme lengths to which some of Calvin's ideas were pushed. It was assumed that if the words of a secular chanson were changed, the whole piece, words and music, would become "sacred". A large body of works, called "pious parodies", arose from this tradition.

Ainsi moi, dont la poitrine
De meur, s'eschauffe et mutine,
Par mains accords bien reduits,
A toi, qui es L'Accord mem,
Je presente le proeme
De l'oeuvre que ie conduis,

Oeuvre porte sur les ailes
Des louanges immortelles
Du Dieu iadis adore
Par la troupe fugitive,
Qui vit la deserte rive
Du pays tant desire.

Car, comme la renommee
De la harpe d'Idumee
S'espand dedans l'univers,
D'autant qu'un roy plein de'adresse
A la chorde chanteresse
Daigna manier ses vers;

Ainsi cestr melodie,
Faite beaucoup plus hardie,
Ira suivant pas a pas
De ces louanges sacrees
Les routes plus asseurees
Contre l'oubli du trespas.

Tellement que la noblesse
De ceste antique Deesse,
Iointe a son premier bon-heur,
Au lieu d'amours et de moises,
Dedans les bouches Francoises
A recouvre sa grandeur.

C'est cette sesme noblesse
Pour qui l'on dit qu'en la Grece
D'un seul nom estoient nommez
Les annonceurs des presages,
Les Musicients, les sages
Et les poetes estimez.

Ceste grandeur recouverte
Rendra la ville deserte
Ou regnent les voluptez,
Et la Musique divine
Servira de medecine
A toutes adversitez.

Car, comme les Platoniques
Pensent que les Republiques
Et les royaumes terriens
Changent, ainsi que se change
L'entresuitte et le meslange
Des accords musiciens;

Ainsi cest accord celeste,
Qui poursuit et qui deteste
L'empire de Cupidon,
Fera que verrons changee
D'amour la flamme enragee
En un cleste brandon.

Qui est-ce donc qui merite
De ces Accords la conduite,
Sinon un qui soit ne tel
Que la discrete sagesse,
La vaillance et la noblesse,
Doit un iour rendre immortel?

Ce sera toi, Bellegarde,
Que Dieu de son ceil regarde,
Qu'un roy cherit de faveur,
Que toute la France honore,
Que ie prise, et qui encore
As du tout gaigne mon cueur.[44]

As long ago the poets,
The Sybils and the Prophets,
Filled with a holy fire,
To the God of gods most wise
Began to realize
In words their warm desire;

Thus I, whose heaving breast,
Would let you have the best
Of that which warms my heart
(As does a perfect poem),
Do offer you the proem
Of my imperfect art.

Art carrying on its wings
The praises that it sings
To God forever blessed
By this His faithful flock
Which flees from rock to rock
Within a land distressed.

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[44]Douen, op. cit., II, pp. 33-35.

For when the mounting fame
Of a harpist with no name
Began to strike the world,
It was a skillful king
Who, knowing how to sing,
Deigned to record each word;

And thus this melody,
Strong as a tune should be,
Shows, step by step through time
The rising route of praise,
The most assured ways
Against neglectful crime.

Such that the nobleness
Of this antique Goddess
In her first happy state,
Revives the loving chance
Among the tongues of France
To sing back what is great.

And this same nobleness
Is, as they said in Greece,
Named by a single name
By bringers of good news,
Musicians, those who muse,
And poets of good fame.

This grandeur re-revealed
Empties the town and field
Where carnal pleasures reign,
And Music's soothing note
Serves as the antidote
To every wracking pain.

For as the men Platonic
Dream of their states laconic,
And earthly royalties
Change, and in changing, fall;
Music reigns over all
In well-mixed harmonies.

Thus this celestial sound
Which shatters to the ground
The empire of false love,
Reduces it to shame
By true love's raging flame,
Touched from a torch above.

Who is it who deserves
This art my music serves,
If not one who so clever,
Considerate, and discreet;
In wisdom so replete
His name should last forever?

It is you, Bellegarde,
Whom God's eye does regard;
Kingly you take your part,
Adored by all of France.
Your honor has by chance
Completely gained my heart.

Notable in this ode, as well as in the previous, are references to France. A touching concern for the welfare of that unhappy country which turned against many of its native sons can be found in Goudimel's genuine desire for her conversion, and in his acknowledgement (in the first ode) that she has retained at least some grace. Whatever this "grace" may be, it is not too clearly defined in this context. May it be presumed that the sensitive composer was one of the first to recognize and note the elegance and grace in artistic style by which France was already becoming known? But still, she seemed to lack some transcending salutary "grace", a kind which would be in keeping with Goudimel's acceptance of the Calvinistic doctrines. But the composer, in his poetry (and if it is not his, it nevertheless assumes the same attitude as his other dedications) does not beg the question; he simply accepts humbly what he believes to be true, and expands the Calvinistic aesthetic into practical considerations beyond the ken of Calvin himself.

Also included are intimations of the psalms: stanza III: ". . . la troupe fugitive,/ Que vit la deserte rive/ Du pays tant desire." And, as Douen[45] notes, the end of stanza VIII is reminiscent of Marot's statement about the Psalter: "Et la Musique divine/ Servira de medecine/ A toutes adversitez." Marot: "Cest un jardin plein d'herbes et racines,/ Ou de tous maux se trouve medecines." ("It is a garden full of herbs and roots,/ Where medecines for all evils can be found.")

The ancient concept of music as a healing art, though contradicted by Calvin and perhaps chosen by the poet only as a happy conceit, appears in stanzas V and the previously noted stanza VIII. The effect is as a restorer of national, or at least parochial, morality, rather than as a physical tonic. This is closer to Calvin's concept of music as a funnel of either good or evil words. In stanza V, the result is ". . . Contre l'oubli du trespas." And in stanza VIII it serves ". . . A toutes adversitez." (Marot: ". . . de tous maux . . .")

Stanza IX anticipates Dryden in seeming to assert that music will survive the earth's crumbling. But perhaps too much analysis is not in order for a poem so disjointed and possibly spurious.

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[45] Ibid., p. 34, footnote 1.

The remaining dedicatory piece by Goudimel is that previously mentioned, short, often quoted introduction to the 1565 setting of the Psalter:

> To Our Readers:
> To the melody of the psalms we have, in this little volume, adapted three parts, not to induce you to sing them in Church, but that you may rejoice in God, particularly in your homes. This should not be found an ill thing, the more so since the melody used in Church is left in its entirety, just as though it were alone.[46]

So terse and tenuous a statement reveals the predicament Goudimel encountered in presenting harmonized versions of the Genevan tunes. While he is apprehensive about presenting these settings for public worship, he does not hesitate to offer them for home use. He reasons that since Calvin's melodic canon is not being violated, his efforts are justified. Suddenly his restlessness is terminated, leaving the reader with the impression that he has more to say and that the initiated must be thoroughly familiar with the reasons for his particular attitude. But only in placing these uneasy sentences within the context of the Calvinistic milieu is their apparent obscurity at least partially clarified.

The two letters written late in Goudimel's life to his poet friend, Melissus, are possibly the most affecting and personal pieces of the composer's writing. Both concern his incessant and conscientious application to the setting of words the poet had given him.

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[46] Oliver Strunk, Source Readings in Music History, W. W. Norton, New York, 1950, p. 349.

P. Melissus.

I am sending the second part of your poetry, which I have set to music as time has permitted me. Accept it in the same good spirit in which it is offered you. If I had had more time I would have done it better and sooner. Be assured that in order to put it in good order I spent the entire day yesterday; but it is the nature of mortal men to fool themselves, especially when they wish to do things too quickly. If you find mistakes, would you be kind enough to correct them, for I would sooner show my ignorance than lose the respect of a man like you. Expect from me all that can be asked of a friend. Give my regards to Truchetus, Comes, and Brunellus. Goodbye, my Melissus.--Written the last day of November, 1570.--To you until death.

Claude Goudimel[47]

The letter is no less personal for being practical; the tone is warm, the clichés, sincere. The final letter, however, reveals more of the circumstances of Goudimel's actual surroundings and mundane concerns.

To Paul Melissus, poet laureate.

I have received both of your letters, most honey-sweet Melissus, and your Symbolum, the one with your most distinguised dedication to me; which was exceedingly pleasing because of the very great skill it shows. In view of which, since I have not sent an immediate reply, I wish that you will pardon me; for I have been distracted with many affairs on account of property...believe me, which caused me the greatest annoyance, so that I was compelled to depart for Besançon where that person...is living. When I was brought thither, possessing a title of restoration, he refused to listen so that I was reciting to deaf and dead. I summoned that person to justice; he appeared; we disputed for a period of two months not without the utmost disgust. At length with both our cases discussed back and forth, sentiment was widespread to his detriment, so that the lawsuit was terminated; I have assuredly come into possession of

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[47]Becker, op. cit., p. 344.

> a solemn pledge. These things completed, I left Besançon, returning to Lyons. Scarcely getting sight of the city walls, I contracted a horrid and dangerous fever; which for the duration of a month surprisingly distorted and wasted me, so it was for this reason that I was not able heretofore to provide your Symbolum with the harmony of music. But when, God willing, I get up out of bed and regain strength, I shall certainly take my pen in hand, and whatever skill the muses bestow upon me I shall pour forth on it. Farewell, my most beloved Melissus and, as you are wont, honor my affection. Again farewell.
> Lyons, August 23, 1572.
>
> C. Goudimel[48]
>
> (translated, E. Lawry)

How strange, that only one day before the infamous massacre in Paris, Goudimel, in this interesting letter, could give no indication of the rumblings which in a few days would erupt in his own town. From all indication it can be assumed that he was still severely ill when, a few days later, he was assassinated. Of course, he had no way of knowing what terror was about to strike and, industrious as always, having battled for wordly property and physical health, was still planning further musical activity when the last battle took place.

As these two letters, collected in the works of Melissus, are mentioned by most biographers of the composer, one would assume that the poet's Symbolum, mentioned specifically in the last letter, would have been investigated, particularly for that "most distinguished dedication"

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[48]Lawry, op. cit., p. 12.

to Goudimel. But such does not seem to be the case; the volume, if extant, is either too rare to peruse or, if it has been checked, the dedication may offer no more insight into the composer's life.

Possibly more can be gained from the letters themselves. Kindness, conscientiousness, and industry seem to characterize Goudimel throughout these pieces. He transcended major changes in personal conviction, the petty trials of property ownership, and, possibly, ill health to devote his life to musical composition. From the last letter, it can almost be inferred that he had finally "transcended" his preoccupation with psalm settings. But it is for these that he is best known; and in addition to his own preferred judgement on these works, the many reprintings have borne this out. It is the music, especially the settings of the Genevan Psalter, which now must be considered.

The Abundant Music

The final section of Brenet's work on Goudimel, containing a catalog of the composer's works, lists sixty-eight separate entries. Beginning with the first book of psalm-motets (1549) and concluding with a volume by Lassus which includes music by others, including Goudimel (1597), the list contains much music which is now lost. But judging by what remains, Goudimel must be considered a prolific composer. The gamut of his works may, for reasons of simplicity, be divided between sacred and secular, Catholic

and Protestant; when divided by form there are three main divisions: Masses and Motets, Chansons and other secular pieces, and psalm settings.

The sacred-secular division is dependent mainly on textual differences but also, excepting one psalm setting (1565), upon a more homophonic style in the latter--some of the chansons. The Catholic-Protestant division, which does not coincide with the composer's successive embracings of these two faiths (he apparently began writing psalm-motets when he was still within the Mother Church), is dependent more on textual differences, as the "Protestant" psalm-motet does not differ greatly in style from the Latin motets and masses. These traditional Latin texts were felt by Calvin to be too papistic and incommunicable for use in public worship; his "reformed" church must exist solely on a diet of vernacular psalms. Thus, all the psalm settings are here considered "Protestant" music. Since it is with Goudimel's expression of Calvinism that we are mainly concerned, the Catholic works will not be discussed. But certain interesting points must be brought out concerning the secular chansons.

It is interesting that after so severe a condemnation of the secular chanson in the preface to his first book of psalm-motets, Goudimel continued to publish many of these airy numbers. It would appear that either his preface lacks sincerity or the time and truth of his conversion is indefinite. The latter is likely true since, except for his growing

involvement in setting the psalm tunes, there is not sufficient evidence to pin-point the exact time of his acceptance of the Calvinistic ideology. In this respect, his life is similar to that of Calvin himself. As to the former: the outburst of formal condemnation of the chanson need not cast doubt on the composer's sincerity simply because it was followed by the appearance of more chansons. True, the chanson tradition had degenerated, at least verbally, into the licentious delectation of the elite. But it does seem that Goudimel was over-reacting--a prevalent behavioral phenomenon of this revolutionary era. While not all his chansons are extant, those few that remain, judging by their titles only, are not marked by particularly risqué language. Douen[49] lists a number of them, including:

> Ne pensez pas vous monstrer cruelle.
> Ie sens en moy croistre l'ardant desir.
> Si l'ame estoit au corps semblable.
> Bon iour, mon coeur, bon ior, ma douce vie.
> Vous m'avez promis.

Probably the necessity of supporting oneself through musical composition dictated the continuing publication of old and new chansons, as these would presumably be the more marketable until the rage for psalms took over. At any rate, considering the unsettled personal and political situations of the time, the composer appears more human for having been a bit naughty at times.

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[49] Orentin Douen, Clément Marot et le Psautier Huguenot, Paris: 1879, II, p. 25.

Also within the realm of secular music, but not so frivolous, belong the settings of the great French poet Ronsard. Three composers were selected by the poet to provide music for his Odes: Jannequin, Certon, and Goudimel. A fourth, one M. A. Muret, completed the work. An excellent treatment of the entire situation, including many musical examples, is contained in Julien Tiersot's Ronsard et la Musique de son Temps (Breitkopf and Haertel: Leipzig, no date). Commenting on one of the settings of Goudimel, the ode Errant par les champs de la Grace, Tiersot notes that "it consists of a harmonious beauty, an ampleness of lines of which many other examples cannot be found in the secular music of the sixteenth century".[50]

Notwithstanding the little known beauties of some of his secular and Catholic music, it is to the music of Calvinism, the tunes of the Genevan Psalter, that Goudimel devoted his most supremely successful attention. The element of risk involved, not only politically but also in treating still not well known sectarian music, must have been subsequently obviated by a rising interest, even among Catholics, in this peculiar body of melodies. The composer's interest, judging by the date of his first book of psalm-motets (1551), antedated by eleven years the appearance of the completed Psalter (1562). Of these psalm-motets, the several books of which appeared over many years, Eleanor Lawry has given

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[50]Julien Tiersot, op. cit., p. 29.

the best account in her excellent and definitive dissertation.[51] The essence of her statement is as follows: The motets contain from one to ten partes each; scoring is predominantly à 4 but individual partes vary from à 2 to à 8. Two motets have cantus firmus settings, in nine more the cantus predominates. Fifteen show little use of the cantus; in fourteen the cantus is negligible. Melodic similarity unifies most of the works.

While some motets flow in an unchecked stream of "Gombertian" polyphony, many follow Josquin's tradition with points of imitation separated by clear-cut cadences contrasted with occasional chordal sections.

Standard devices include: imitation at different intervals, sometimes in pairs, sometimes becoming canons à 2, à 3, à 4, and even double canons; inversion, retrogression, and retrograde inversion; varied order and spacing of the entries of vocal parts; and subtle rhythmic fluctuations between binary and ternary groupings in individual voice parts, producing an ensemble of intricate counter rhythms.

Dissonances are frequent. They comprise the various suspensions, including that type in which the dissonant note is repeated; stressed and unstressed passing tones; échappée and cambiata; upper (rarely) and lower neighboring tones.

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[51]Eleanor Lawry, op. cit.

Augmented and diminished intervals occur but they do not involve the bass.

Accidentals are reminiscent of the rules of musica ficta; some seem to be added for the sake of color alone. The treatment of the texts is often madrigalistic.

These intricate polyphonic works which are of paramount importance in the history of sixteenth century music and represent the consummation of Goudimel's craft are a far cry from the succeeding psalm settings. So much depends upon the flow of independently moving voices that the original melodies are often lost. To remedy this, or perhaps in a kind of Calvinistic condenscension to the hoi polloi, Goudimel turned to works of the utmost simplicity. Before considering these particular harmonization, it would be wise to turn again, and in more detail, to the tunes of the Genevan Psalter, from which all this meticulous business was begotten.

Although it would be impossible to trace each of the finished tunes of the Genevan Psalter to its original source, sufficient research has been done to indicate that these tunes fall into about three main categories: 1. Old sacred tunes, including Gregorian Chant; 2. Popular tunes, including secular chansons; and 3. New, freely composed tunes.[52]

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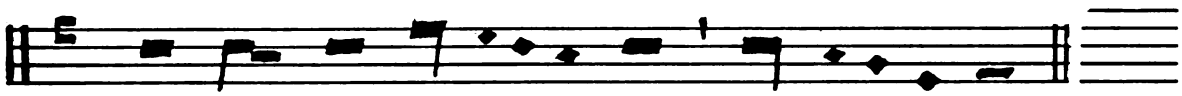
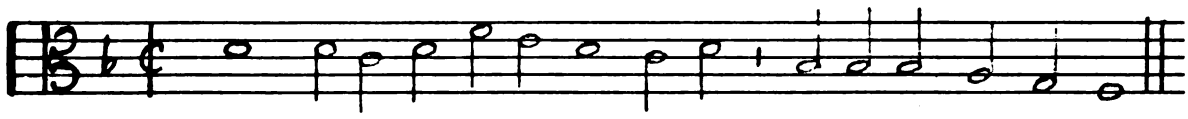
[52]The most complete work on the origins, alterations, and final redactions of the tunes can be found in: Pierre Pidoux, Le Psautier Huguenot I, Bâle, Barenreiter, 1962.

Pidoux[53] suggests, for instance, that the tune for Psalm XX derives from the Ordinarium Missae: In Festis Duplicibus 1. Cunctipotens Genitor Deus. Following are the initial phrases of each:

Cunctipotens Genitor Deus:



Psalm XX:



Douen,[54] in his earlier research into the origins of the tunes, neglects to mention the Gregorian influence. But he supplies many chansons and cantiques populaires, some associated with Catholicism, which show marked similarities to the Protestant tunes. The following phrase, for instance, derived from the chanson Gente pastourelle, is found, sometimes with slight variation, in many of the Genevan tunes:

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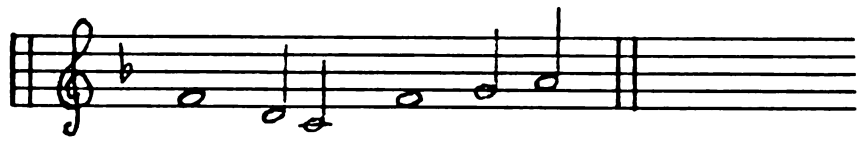
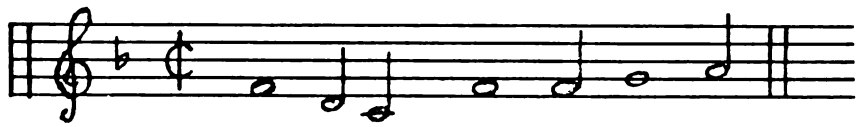
[53]Pidoux, Ibid., pp. 28-29.

[54]Douen I, p. 725.

Gente pastourelle:



Psalm LVI:



Because of the popularity of Goudimel's harmonized versions, the tunes were for many years wrongly attributed to him. While the merest amount of investigation would have proved this false, it is interesting in that it indicates the subjective emotional aura that attended the spread of psalm-singing. Perhaps it was the misunderstood and somewhat obscure relationship between Calvin and the musicianly Louis Bourgeois, the initial composer-arranger of the psalm-tunes, which prompted the public to find a hero in the more versatile Goudimel. And Bourgeois, having left Geneva for Paris some time before the Psalter was completed, may have been nearly forgotten, if ever very well-known, by the time the well-made arrangements of Goudimel came into vogue. Naturally, all the music would have been called Goudimel's, including the tunes, much as we now refer to Bach's chorales, none of the tunes of which are his own. Also, the music of the sixteenth century was a culmination of church-dominated polyphonic refinement--an apotheosis of centuries of usage

often involving the free appropriation of any available tunes. Composers were only becoming recognized as original artists--originators and arrangers of their own and/or others' tunes; how a tune was handled, not who wrote it, was the criterion for musical excellence and craft.

The successor to Bourgeois was the obscure "Maître Pierre", possibly Pierre Dubuisson. He is generally considered to be an inferior musician when compared to Bourgeois; much as Beza usually takes second place to Marot as a psalm versifier. While this may be true, excellent poems and tunes sometimes seem to emerge in spite of their creators: one should be glad for the finished product and at least acknowledge the spirit that produced it. If the tunes of "Maître Pierre" are not all of as high quality as the best of those of Bourgeois, there remain some excellent melodies.

Because of the obscurity of "Maître Pierre" and the fact that numerous other even more obscure Pierres were active at the time, it is likely that others contributed to the final redaction of the Psalter's musical canon. More amazing, and more important is the fact that these diverse talents, under the auspices of Calvin, produced so consistent a style that, even in its variety of rhythm, it sometimes gives the impression of being hermetically sealed--quite consistent with the common dogmatic conception of Calvinism. It was dogma that produced the tunes--dogma

infused with a humanitarian and missionary spirit whose essence seems somehow captured in these carefully pruned but expressive melodies.

It is generally believed that the particular style of the tunes can best be attributed to the transitional period from which they sprang. To symbolize the major upheavals of thought and feeling in the sixteenth century, it seems almost simplistic to fix on this type of tune as characteristic of that era. But this does also seem quite reasonable: Remembering that at the time of the Reformation the music of the newly-formed churches fell into the category of popular music, and was in fact heavily dependent upon popular music for its material; and since it is now generally accepted that the popular music of a period is one of the best sources of insight into the artistic expression of that particular time and place, it may be safely concluded that this body of tunes--the Genevan Psalter--constitutes a musical incarnation of early Calvinism not unlike the codified Gregorian repertoire as it is related to the Catholic faith. There is a kind of evolutionary irony in all this: all things papistic were to be abhorred by Calvinists. Yet some of the Genevan "mother" tunes were unquestionably Gregorian in origin. All were, at the insistence of Calvin, monodic self-sufficient melodies, useful to everyone, not just the clergy. It appears that Calvin,

through temporarily necessary Puritanism, unconsciously did a partial service for the mother Church by "cleaning up" its own corrupted polyphony and encouraging the restoration of melody, pure and simple, back to the common believer. On the other hand, the Catholic simplicity of chanting Psalm tones was abandoned for linguistic and anti-papistic reasons. The whole construction of the Genevan Psalter is in a limited way a kind of cultural "Reformation". But Calvin, of course, is only partially responsible. Not only did the other reformers, especially Luther and excepting Zwingli, contribute to the respect for more simple musical expression of their theologies; but the Catholics themselves had for many years lamented the confusion, especially verbal, into which their music had developed; and many were known to have been impressed by the reforming trend.[55]

In spite of their simplicity and popular spirit, the suave ingenuousness of these tunes may also derive in part from certain rather pedantic experimentations in contemporary musical practice, i.e., the so-called vers mesurés à l'antique of the French poet Jean-Antoine de Baïf, with the musical settings of his associates. Assuming that the knowledgable workers on the Psalter were apprised of these

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[55]An excellent resumé of the many Church Councils antedating the Reformation, which met with the intention of purifying musical practices within the church can be found in: H. P. Clive, "The Calvinist Attitude to Music", Bibliotheque d'Humanisme et Renaissance, XIX (1957), pp. 98-102.

experiments, the very likely made use of some of the propsoed ideals. But it must be remembered that the Académie de Poesie et de Musique, under which these proceedings took place, was not formed until 1570, eight years after the Psalter was completed. Inasmuch as a description of the Baïf experiments sounds so much like a description of the Marot-Bourgeois style, it is likely that the influence of the poet's circle was felt before its practice was given official recognition:

> . . .The poet . . .wrote strophic French verses in ancient classical meters (vers mesurés à l'antique), substituting for the modern accentual principle the ancient Latin usage of long and short syllables: and composers (Le Jeune, Mauduit, and others) set these verses to music for voices a cappella, strictly observing the rule of a long note for each long syllable and a note half as long for each short syllable. The variety of verse patterns thus produced a corresponding variety of musical rhythms in which duple and triple groupings were freely alternated. This measured music (musique mesurée), as it was called, was too artificial a creation to endure for long, but it did serve to introduce non-regular rhythms into the later air de cour, a feature which remained characteristic of this form as it was developed by a school of French composers in the first half of the seventeenth century; and after about 1580, the air de cour was the predominant type of French vocal music.[56]

Although the author does not point out any relationship between the Genevan psalm-tune and the Baïf style, his description closely resembles the practices of Bourgeois in melody and, subsequently, Goudimel in his harmonized

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[56]Donald Jay Grout, A History of Western Music (New York: W. W. Norton, 1960), p. 223.

version of 1564-5. Also, the verse-forms of Marot, with their great variety, may have been influenced by Baïf. The psalm settings of Le Jeune, using somewhat altered psalm-tunes, are a perfect compromise between the styles, as he was one of the Baïf coterie as well as a confirmed Calvinist. But whether Goudimel was actually involved in the experiments remains to be proven.

The restriction of using only long and short (half as long) notes is hardly better illustrated than in the Genevan tunes. This may, in fact, be the most successful body of tunes which in some way reflect those contemporaneous rhythmic experiments; though they are far removed from Baïf's original intentions. The kind of musical mannerism which resulted is akin to the Gallic precision and meticulousness of Calvinistic thought.

It was the subtle fusion of various styles, popular and Gregorian being the most predominant, plus the availability of current musical invention, that resulted in the distinctive style of the Genevan Psalter. That these tunes were musically satisfactory to contemporary taste seems unquestionable; but some other questions are raised: So accomplished a composer as Goudimel did not consider it an unworthy task to set most of the collection three times. But was it because he so highly regarded the tunes for their basic musicality or because he, being a Calvinist, was severely limited in his choice of materials? His

terse preface to the settings of 1564-5 seems to indicate his intimidation by Calvin's ideals: the music is not to be used in public worship, and not a single tune was altered, other voices were merely added. But in spite of these rationalizations, he did counter the acceptable method three times, and later became a martyr-hero of the faith. Also, since he continued to produce (or publish) secular chansons and was contemplating larger secular works before he died, it would seem that he was not so bound by the stringent procedures of Geneva, but produced his musical offerings on the basis of the tunes which he respected for their musical as well as symbolical merit.

As to the characteristics of the tunes themselves, these have been extensively analyzed, and it is necessary only to touch on some of the major points insofar as they relate to Goudimel's treatment.[57]

The many tunes represent all the modes of the Gregorian system in both authentic and plagal forms. Supposing the employment of musica ficta, the melodies conform to the common practices of the sixteenth century. Pratt[58] suggests, rather anachronistically, that the preponderance of tunes built on the C-scale (altered hypolydian)

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[57]This excellent and thorough analysis of the tunes is found in: Waldo Selden Pratt, The Music of the French Psalter of 1562 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939).

[58]Ibid., pp. 34-35.

indicates a trend toward "modern" major tonality. He seems determined to force all of the tunes into simplistic frame of altered major and minor. But, in fact, the impression of the Church modalities, sometimes slightly altered as was customary in contemporary popular music, is predominant to the ear.

Remembering that the "poetic texts are laid out in many meters, to which the tunes were naturally forced to conform, and that the tunes themselves vibrate freely among various types of mode or scale", a third point "concerns the singular variety in the single lines as to the patterns of their long and short tones".[59] Because the latter is given detailed attention in the source just cited, only the concluding observations need be noted. They will reaffirm some conclusions previously drawn:

> The lengths of the lines are fixed by the verse and its meters, but lines of the same length and accent are often given several different patterns in different tunes or even the same tune. To some extent this may be due to outside sources, as where secular melodies are borrowed or closely imitated. But attentive study of the facts as a whole indicates that the collection is pervaded by some general tendency or intention to achieve large variety, while keeping to a certain general uniformity. Even more than the diversity of poetic meters or the use of all the accepted modes, this opulence "style" for the musical contents of the French Psalter.[60]

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[59] Ibid., p. 35.

[60] Ibid., p. 39.

Much of this style, as far as rhythm is concerned, must be attributed to the original versifier of the psalms, Clement Marot. His style set the pattern which his successor, Beza, followed. The "unity in variety" displayed in Marot's poetry was honored by Bourgeois and the other redactors of the tunes. The spirit of the Humanists and their respect for the classical tradition can be felt in the combined production of all who worked on the Psalter. And to this list must be added Goudimel. While Bourgeois is the first musician of Calvinism, Goudimel must be considered its first real composer.

As the psalm-motets derived directly from Goudimel's previous excursions into Catholic polyphony, the two later complete psalm settings resulted from his acceptance of the strictures of Calvinism. In 1551 Goudimel provided simple harmonizations to the 83 tunes of the incomplete Psalter. These were published in 1562 in Paris (Adrian Le Roy and Robert Ballard) in four part books. Only a single Bassus is still extant.[61] Since the Psalter was completed in Geneva in the same year, Goudimel apparently went to work immediately, harmonizing the completed book. This setting

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[61]Pierre Pidoux, ed., Claude Goudimel--Oeuvres Completes (New York: The Institute of Medieval Music, 1967), Vol. 9, p. V.

appeared in 1564 (Le Roy and Ballard) under the following title:

> Les cent cinquante Pseaumes de David, nouvellement mis en musique a quatre parties, par C. Goudimel. A Paris. Par Adrian Le Roy, & Robert Ballard, Imprimeurs du Roy. 1564. Avec privilege de sa maieste. Pour dix ans.

As only the Superius and Contra are extant of the four part-books, the remaining voices must be derived from an unaltered printing in 1565 (Tenor) and an edition of Goudimel's music published in the same year by the heirs of Francois Jaqui (Bassus). This last edition included the four vocal parts in a single volume. When referring to the settings of 1564-5 these three sources must be considered. "One fact appears to be ascertained", says Pidoux: "The utilization of the Jaqui edition as 'original source' of Goudimel's harmonies is only possible conjointly with the minute examination of the other two editions."[62]

Goudimel's homophonic style is usually considered too "primitive" to be worthy of much attention. The very fact that such a work appeared among the works of a contrapuntist and in an age of consummate polyphony, focuses attention on the rapidly growing usage of simply harmonized tunes and the rising importance of the solo song. That these changes occurred simultaneously with the rise of Protestantism does not necessarily indicate that the ostensible

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[62]Pierre Pidoux, "Notes sur quelques éditions des psaumes de Claude Goudimel", Revue de Musicologie, 1958, p. 192.

religious revolution was solely responsible. Interest in accompanied monody was growing and was soon to flower in the opera and oratorio at the turn of the century.

The fact that the composer so strongly stated in his preface that the melodies were unaltered, obviates much further exploration of the rhythm of these settings. There are basically long and short note values, the original Bourgeois redactions, to which three other voices are added. Apart from the cadential formulae, the homophonic settings are strictly note-against-note. Although only the final notes, in the Pidoux edition, are rendered as breves, it is likely that, in interpretation, the concluding chords of each phrase were held longer than the semi-breves of the score--possibly as long as the final chord itself.

As the completed Psalter contains 125 melodies for 150 psalms, the Ten Commandments, and the Song of Simeon, several of these tunes are used for different texts. While most of these repeated tunes are used twice, many are used three times and one, four times. Interestingly, Goudimel gave different and more elaborate settings to each of these repeated tunes. Thus, the collection actually contains 29 polyphonic pieces among 125 more severely harmonized settings.

In all but seventeen cases, the original cantus firmus lies in the tenor voice. In the exceptions, five of which are polyphonic, the cantus lies in the superius. The reason for this, it seems, is that the composer scrupulously followed

the melodies as presented in the original Psalter. There they are notated in the tenor clef (C-clef on the fourth line) with the exception of those having clausulae for the Superius, which are notated with the C-clef on the first line.[63]

The most recent research on these psalm-settings indicates that Goudimel, in his polyphonic setting of 1568, "introduced into that new collection a certain number of compositions which had already been included in the publications of 1564-1565. With minor changes, one finds repeated . . .a total of eighteen compositions. It is noteworthy that Goudimel did not repeat certain of the polyphonic pieces in the new edition, and we may ask what his rationale was in leaving them out".[64] Four of these pieces, Pidoux continues, were composed by Thomas Champion and were included, intentionally or inadvertently, in Goudimel's first collection. They were not included in the later group. Five other pieces, possibly by Champion, were also excluded from the 1568 version.

As to Goudimel's own music: the most striking characteristic of the harmony in the 1564-5 settings is the almost total lack of inverted chords. This movement

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[63]Pierre Pidoux, ed., Claude Goudimel-Oeuvres Complètes (New York: The Institute of Medieval Music, 1967), Vol. 10, p. XI.

[64]Pierre Pidoux, op. cit., Vol. 9, pp. V-VI.

in root position produces a strong but awkward bass line; neither are the superius or contra very smooth. The range of the tenor, being the lyrical cantus firmus that it is, is almost invariably wider than any of the other voices, including the bassus. This calls for much voice-crossing, especially between the contra and the tenor; occasionally these crossings are found between the superius and the contra or between the tenor and the bassus.

Even though the tenor is well defined within this open harmonic context, it would nevertheless be somewhat obscured by the higher voices if the psalm were sung exactly as it appears in print. Possibly, by this time, the popular cantus firmus style of monodic unaccompanied singing, especially of the Calvinist psalms in Geneva, had taken so firm a hold that everyone, no matter which vocal part he were singing, was very familiar with the original psalm-tune. Congregational singing as we know it today was just beginning to develop, and even the most unlearned could attempt to carry the basic melody at home or in those churches where harmony was gradually being introduced, while others attempted the other voices. There would likely be a preponderance of members singing the well-known tune; women and children would naturally carry the cantus up an octave. Although Goudimel can hardly be called the originator of the superius cantus firmus, he was one of the composers

whose music shows this gradual change of style most strikingly--the gradual movement of the cantus from the tenor to the superius. As was noted, seventeen psalms of the 1564-5 collection contain superius melodies; in the 1568 collection, all the melodies appear at least once in the superius.

Except for the larger vocal range in the superius, and consequently, occasional voice-crossings with the contra, these superius cantus firmus settings do not differ greatly in homophonic style from the others. The same "strong and masculine" harmony prevails; the same chiches decorate the cadences which almost invariably end on open fifths. All in all, the homophonic pieces of Goudimel appear to be polyphonic skeletons--the barest essentials of what might be the basis for a polyphonic composition. Outside of the cadences all notes move together; but only one voice--the original cantus--can be considered a "vocal" melody. Whether this tune falls in the tenor or the superius does not seem to matter; the two voices are virtually interchangeable--possibly the result of an established practice of singing the cantus an octave higher or, if we may retroactively judge from the present-day practices of hymn singing, an octave lower. The importance which Calvin gave to the basic tune was not so much his original idea, though he fitted it rationally into his larger philosophical structure. It is more like a basic response to inherent

human limitations--one cannot sing in harmony with oneself; but virtually everyone, even the entirely unmusical or "tone-deaf", carries a large repertoire of recongnizable tunes in his head, whether he can sing or whistle, or neither. And to these were appended the Word.

In 1580 the printer Pierre de Saint André produced in Geneva a volume of Goudimel's settings of the entire Genevan Psalter. For some obscure reason the description of the work in the title was identical to that of the editions of 1564 and 1565. Thus for many years an edition of 1568, listed in the works of the Parisian publishers Le Roy and Ballard, was thought to be an identical reprinting of the previous version. An extant Superius part-book (1568), however, differed from the earlier setting; and it is now generally believed that the Saint André edition must have utilized this version of twelve years previous. A number of copies of this later edition are extant and have been used twice in modern editions of this work. Henry Expert used a set of part-books from the Bibliotheque de l'Arsenal in Paris (Maîtres Musiciens de la Renaissance Francaise: Paris, 1894-1897). And Pierre Pidoux, noting that the Superius parts of 1568 and 1580 are identical, also utilized a 1580 set in his continuing presentation of the complete works of Goudimel (The Institute of Medieval Music: New York, 1967).

Pidoux, in his preface, includes some interesting observations on this collection: An anonymous 16th century owner of the only extant Superius part-book (Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris) wrote at the bottom of the first page: "Ceulx en teste desquelz est • 𝄞 • ont esté par mov mis en tablature et certifies sur l'hebreu." (Those which have • 𝄞 • placed at their head were put in tablature by me and certified for their Hebrew).[65] Pidoux concludes:

> There is no doubt that this refers to a lute intabulation. The 'certification' of the Hebrew text causes us to smile, because it does not extend beyond the first strophe of each psalm; it is, of course, a possible precaution aimed at allaying any suspicions concerning the 'orthodoxy' of the French version. Was there a similar reason for giving the names of the poets--Clement Marot and Théodore de Bèze--only by their initials, and for indicating the titles of the French psalms only by their Latin incipits?

The questions posed by Pidoux will have to go unanswered until more intensive studies are done in Huguenot intrigue.

The music of the 1580 version differs in several ways from the previous settings. It is in some ways a compromise between the severe style of the 1564-5 homophony and the elaborate counterpoint of the psalm-motets. It appears, in fact, to be the previous setting in augmentation, as the predominant note-length of the cantus is exactly twice as long as it is in the homophonic version.

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[65] The compositions marked by this sign are Psalms: I, XXXII, LXXIII, XXXVI, and CXXXIII.

The non-*cantus* voices are consequently much freer, their predominant note-length being half that of the notes in the melody.

In contrast to his former scrupulousness, Goudimel actually alters ten of the tunes, possibly indicating that this particular version was not intended for usage in Reformed public worship. And *all* of the melodies, unlike their earlier presentation, appear at least once in the *superius*. They are usually repeated in the *tenor* except where these present *clausulae* for the *superius*.

While the psalms in the 1564-5 version are presented in Biblical order, for some obscure reason those of the 1580 version follow another plan. As the composer sheds no light on his re-placement, several other speculative opinions have been offered: 1. the compositions are grouped into suites. This would explain the unusual presence of compositions for equal voices (Pss. 80 to 87). 2. They are grouped by similar subject matter. This is the case only at the beginning of the volume. 3. They are grouped by mode, though this procedure is not always strictly followed. Though this latter assumption seems the most logical, the basic question remains open.[66]

In the finalized Genevan Psalter one tune was used for the following four psalms: XXIV (24), LXII (62), XCV

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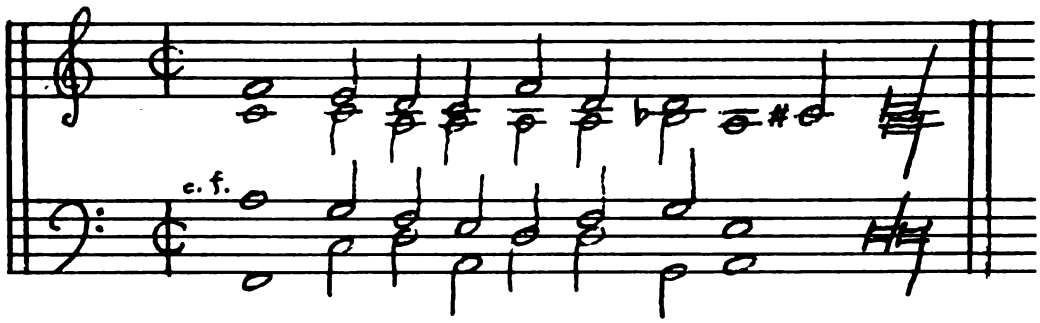
[66]Pidoux, *op. cit.*, Vol. 10, pp. XI-XII.

(95), and CXI (111). Since Goudimel never repeated his harmonies, except for occasional borrowings from earlier settings, the presentation of the final phrases of these four psalms in the collections of 1564/1565 and 1568/1580 will serve to indicate with what infinite variety and care the composer labored on these melodies.[67]

Psalm XXIV (1564-1565):



Cantus firmus in tenor. Dorian mode, with D Minor suggested by musica ficta at cadence. Third lacking from final chord. All chords in root position. No overlapping of voices.

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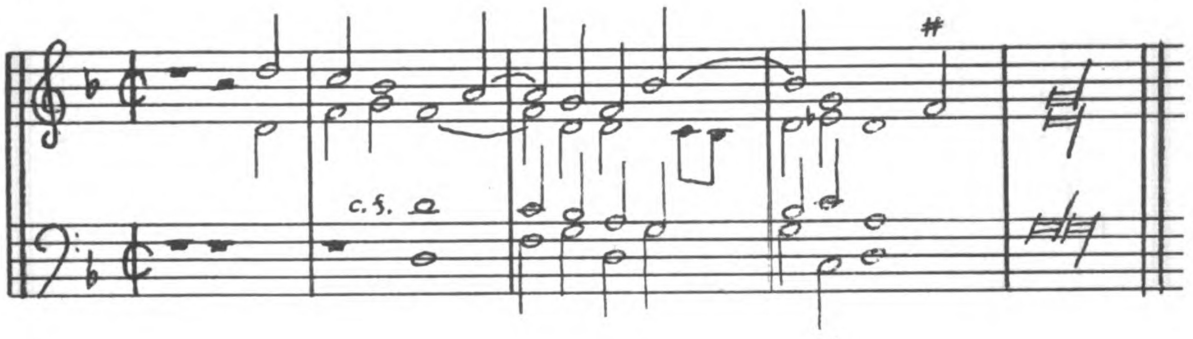
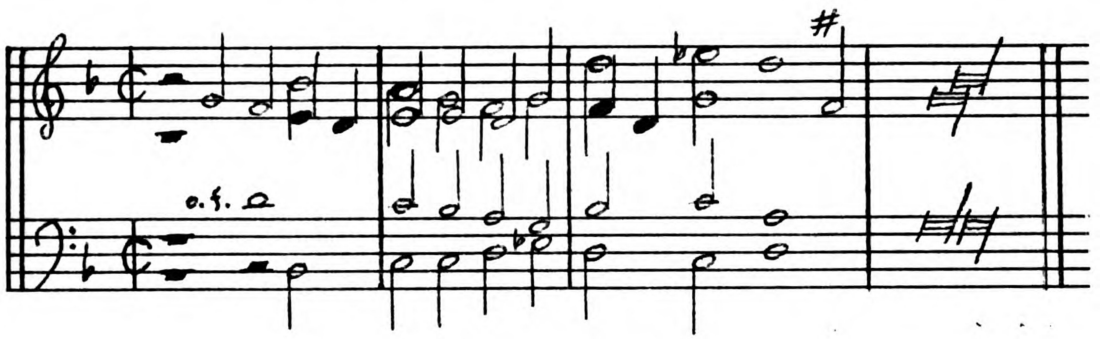
[67]The settings of 1564-1565 are derived from Pierre Pidoux, Claude Goudimel--Oeuvres Complètes (New York: The Institute of Medieval Music, 1967), Vol. 9. The reductions of pss. 62, 95, and 111 are mine. The settings of 1568-1580 are derived from Henry Expert, Les Maitres Musiciens de la Renaissance Francais (New York: Broude Brothers, 1964), Vols. 2, 4, and 6.

Psalm LXII (1564-1565):



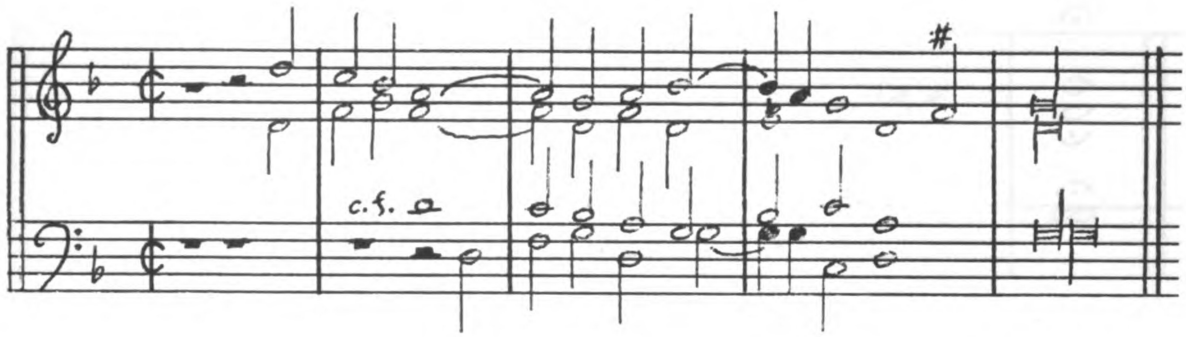
Cantus firmus in tenor. Transposed Dorian mode, with G Minor suggested by musica ficta at cadence. (The sharp above the score was suggested by the editor.) Third lacking from final chord. All chords in root position. No overlapping of voices. Suspension (4-3) in superius at cadence. Simple neighboring-tone ornament in contra, measure 2. Tenor and bassus note-against-note; superius and contra much freer. Free melodic imitation in superius anticipates cantus firmus.

Psalm XCV (1564-1565):



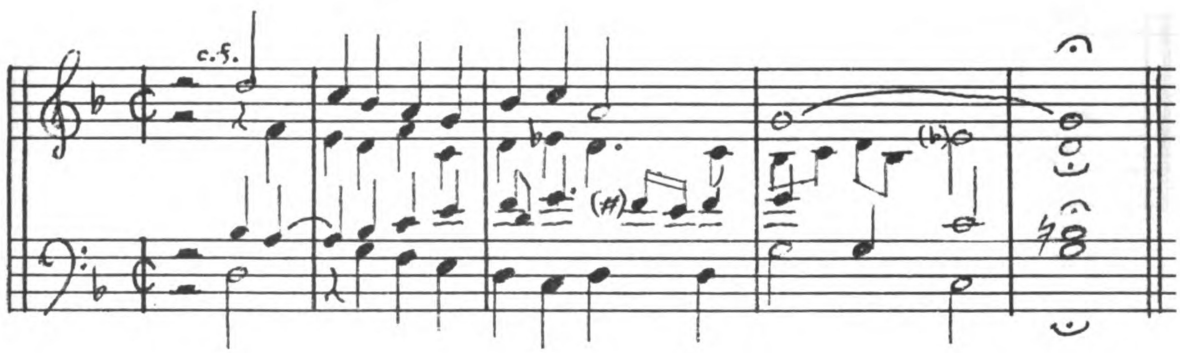
Cantus firmus in tenor. Transposed Dorian mode, with G Minor suggested by musica ficta at cadence. Cf. previous example. Tripled root and third in final chord. Two chords in first inversion; chord of seventh on C (seventh tone is in cantus firmus and resolves downward). Contra lies above superius throughout. Suspension (4-3) in superius at cadence. One ornament in superius: appogiatura (4-3) which resolves into unison with cantus firmus, measure 1. Penultimate measure very similar to same in previous example except that the two high voices are interchanged.

Psalm CXI (1564-1565):



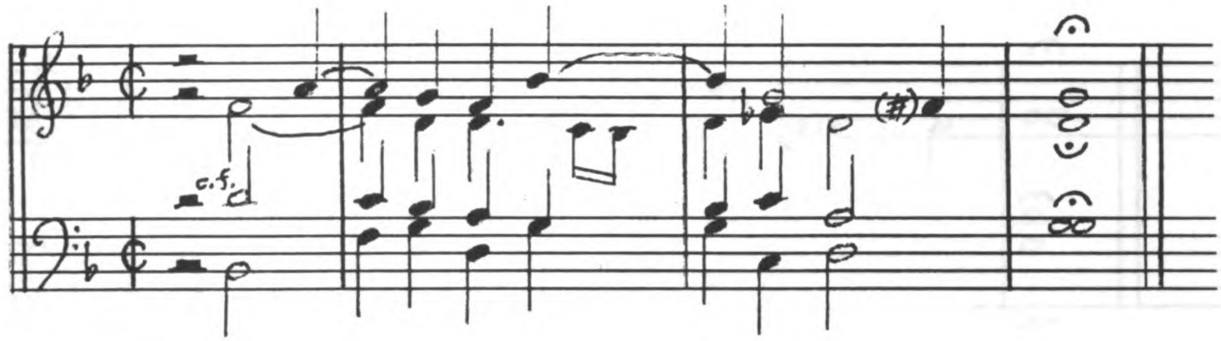
Cantus firmus in tenor. This setting differs only slightly from that of Psalm LXII, q. v. Both accidentals are supplied by the editor. The first chord of the penultimate measure is in first inversion with a doubled fifth. The following dissonant passing tone proceeds to a direct fifth superius with the bassus, measure 4.

Psalm XXIV (1568-1580):



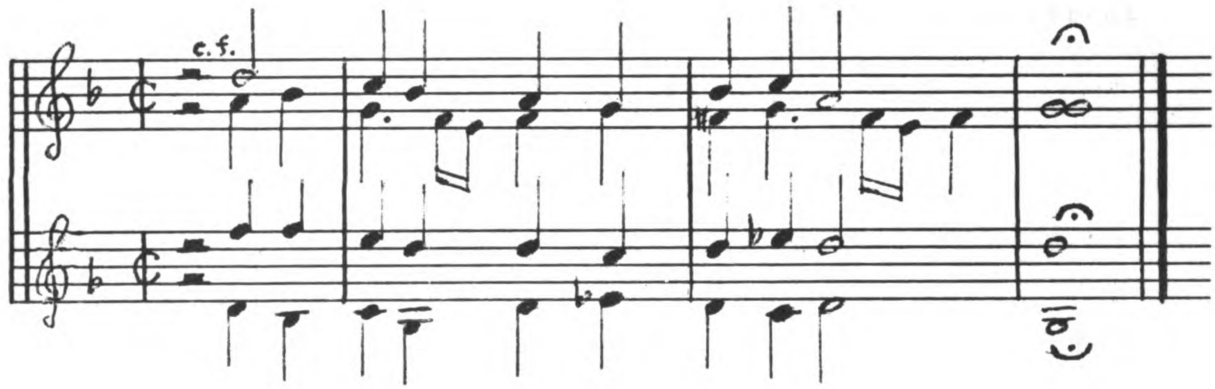
Cantus firmus in superius. Transposed Dorian mode with "Picardie" third. Full final chord, Two chords in first inversion. Bassus resembles cantus firmus melodically. This is the smoothest setting so far, in terms of movement of voices. Overlapping voices in contra and tenor.

Psalm LXII (1568-1580):



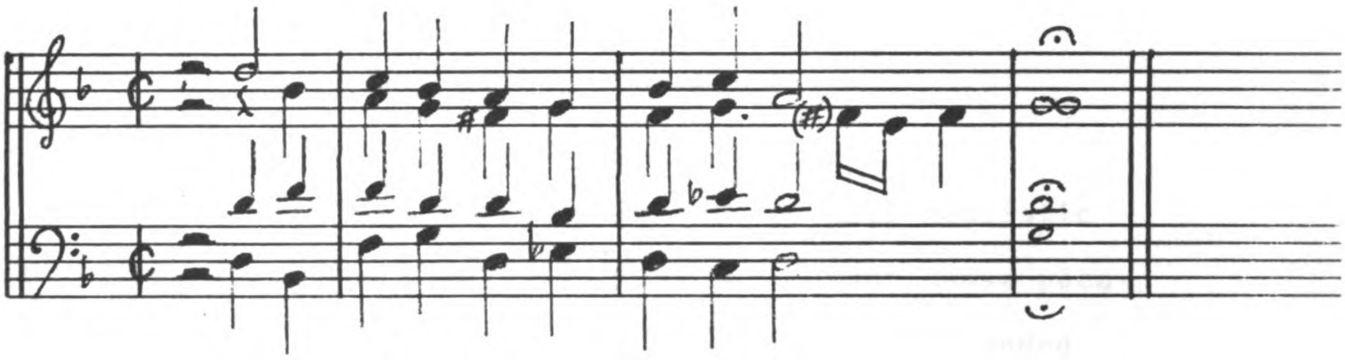
This setting is identical to the setting of the same psalm in the earlier collection, from which Goudimel borrowed it.

Psalm XCV (1568-1580):



Cantus firmus in superius. Transposed Dorian mode. Third lacking from final chord. Two chords in first inversion. N. B.: The reduction is given entirely in the treble clef; in performance the voice crossing would not sound so drastic as they appear. Or perhaps the composer has something other than the traditional SATB in mind(?).

Psalm CXI (1568-1580):



Cantus firmus in superius. Transposed Dorian mode. Third lacking from final chord. One chord in first inversion. This final setting, note-against-note at the cadence, is at that point as simple as the earlier homophonic settings. A glance at the body of these later works, however, reveals an intricate and sometimes quite elaborate counterpoint not found in the collection of 1564-1565. But even the variety given to the cadential formulae shows a neglected master at work.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

It would not be appropriate to go into heuristic ecstasies about the unsung Goudimel and pursue these peculiar bodies of psalm-settings to their last unsuspended cadences. The importance, it seems, of the 1564-1565 setting belongs more to that complex realm maybe best called historico-social significance, than to any time-transcending merit in the harmony itself. Which is not to say that these homophonic settings are unredeemably crude; even ingenuous is perhaps not the best word: Goudimel, the contrapuntist, was a talented and meticulous craftsman. That completed body of tunes--the Genevan Psalter--contains many melodies of such profound and moving beauty that they are still widely sung, usually to different, less dated harmonies than those of Goudimel. But in deference to his name and influence in the early dissemination of psalm-singing, settings of these tunes in modern hymnals often indicate that the harmony is "after Goudimel".[1]

Four hundred years after the composer's death he is mainly remembered as the most important harmonizer of the Genevan Psalter--not the young, obscure composer whose

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[1]The Psalter Hymnal, (Grand Rapids, Michigan: The Publication Committee of the Christian Reformed Church, 1959) contains three of the original settings of Goudimel (#233, #334 and #432) and several psalm-tunes set by other composers.

early glory, never so finely repeated, was to weave melodious phrases freely around some of those restrained, expressive tunes; but as the one who gave such devoted and careful interest to those same tunes that he at one time waived what contrapuntal magic he contained for a humbly exalting offering, not so much of his musical skills as of his newly found faith.

To the uninitiated these settings (1564-1565) appear gauche, especially in the light of such contemporaries as Lassus and Palestrina--the giant once thought to have been a student of Goudimel. This again affirms the sociological importance of these settings, the role they played in the spread of the Calvinist movement. Even though Calvin's ideas on music were overloaded with intellectual restrictions, the fact remains: He created the Genevan Psalter. And it is unlikely, in a time of flowering counterpoint, that a composer without the determinating convictions of Goudimel would have involved himself in so apparently unrewarding a project as the note-against-note settings. The later settings are more musical but lack the complete practicality of the earlier. Though other composers--Le Jeune, Jannequin, and later, Sweelinck--made arrangements of these tunes, only Goudimel was completely successful in providing the early Huguenots with the most accessible settings for general use as well as those for the more sophisticated.

Goudimel's conflict, in reassessing the developing musical attitudes of Calvinism, was understandable, but perhaps over-reactive. In defying the monophonic personal opinions of Calvin by causing harmony to intrude on the whims of one unmusical man, Goudimel was more sinned against than sinning. But he succeeded as no one else had, or perhaps could, in presenting those somewhat sacrosanct tunes in their pristine form with his naïvely put "additions". Thus, he enhanced the tunes much as the fig leaves enhanced Adam and Eve; not really covering up their naturalness or hiding any shame; simply pointing out the possibilities of beauty inherent and to be inherited.

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