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### **Orlando di Lasso's psalm settings**

### **an examination of genre in late sixteenth-century psalm motets and German Leider**

Temme, Diane

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2019

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# ORLANDO DI LASSO'S PSALM SETTINGS

AN EXAMINATION OF GENRE IN LATE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY  
PSALM MOTETS AND GERMAN LIEDER

Diane S. Temme

Dissertation

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the  
degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Music

Bangor University

20 December 2017



## **Abstract**

**Diane S. Temme, *Orlando di Lasso's Psalm Settings: An Examination of Genre in Psalm Motets and German Lieder*, Ph.D. Dissertation: Bangor University, December 2017. Supervisor: Christian Leitmeir.**

Lasso was considered the greatest composer of his generation with undisputable mastery of all sixteenth-century genres. The dynamism of the late sixteenth century saw the most sophisticated compositions in the continuation of the psalm motet tradition. However, more flexible applications for the psalms in the form of meditations, vernacular translations, and paraphrases opened the door for new and diverse interpretations. This dissertation is a study of Lasso's engagement with established musical traditions and new trends in psalmody. This study unfolds in two parts. First in the discussion of the Latin psalm motet genre and then ensuing with investigation of the German Lied. In each of the genres (1) there is a focus on the definition and classification of terms and older traditions, (2) the examination of the text and the discussion of ways in which the music engages with the prose and poetic forms, and (3) the evaluation of Lasso's interpretation of psalm texts. From negligible German Lieder to expansive motet cycles, the psalms afforded endless polyphonic inspiration and the diversity of which categorically points to the shifts and development of cultural and aesthetic traditions. The use of psalms to reflect devotion and confession amplifies the Catholic Reform implemented at the Bavarian court during Lasso's lifetime. This context along with Lasso's compositional innovation provides an interesting study for the stylistic development of psalm settings in the late sixteenth century.



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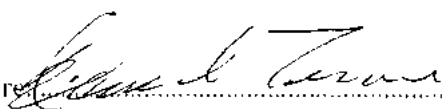
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## Acknowledgements

I would like to thank above all my patient and magnanimous doctoral supervisor, Christian Leitmeir, from whom I have learned the humble art of scholarship. Thank you for the years of training, advice, encouragement, and support - even in the darkest and most desperate of times. I would also like to thank my doctoral committee, John Cunningham, and Gwawr Ifan for their advice during this process. My humble thanks also goes to Bernhold Schmid and Franz Körndle who offered assistance and hospitality during my research in Augsburg and Munich. Many thanks also to Barbara Eichner and Ute Evers for stimulating and fruitful exchanges. I also am indebted to Moritz Kelber, Megan Eagen, Twila Bakker and so many other peers who have added to the enjoyment of working on this PhD. This study would not have been made possible without the financial support of Bangor University and DAAD. I would like to thank Wyn Thomas for the personal support from the very first day I dared to set foot into the university music building. I could not have even begun to imagine the journey that lay before me. I would like to thank David Burn, Sally Harper, and Chris Collins for the constructive suggestions in the final stages. Finally, I would like to acknowledge the support of the Lasso scholarship community, many of which have already been mentioned above, but including also Henri Vanhulst, Philip Weller, Richard Freedman, and David Crook.

The degree of excellence in this field of scholarship is simply  
astounding and truly, always inspiring.

*Pygmaei gigantum humeris impositi plusquam ipsi gigantes vident.*



## **Dedication**

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents;  
in memory of the days when my mom kept a midnight vigil while I did  
my school work and made sure I always had a hot cup of tea.



## Abbreviations

BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
CM	Orlando di Lasso, <i>The Complete Motets</i> edited by Peter Bergquist with David Crook and James Erb (Madison: A-R Editions, 1995–)
DKL	Konrad Ameln et al., <i>Das Deutsche Kirchenlied, DKL: kritische Gesamtausgabe der Melodien</i> 1, (Kassel, 1975)
EDK	Joachim Stalman, <i>Edition des deutschen Kirchenliedes</i> (Kassel, 1993)
JAMS	<i>Journal of the American Musicological Society</i>
JRMA	<i>Journal of the Royal Musical Association</i>
LV	Lasso Verzeichnis
NJE	<i>New Josquin Edition</i> , Edited by Willem Elders, 20 vols. (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1987–).
StadtAA	Stadtarchiv Augsburg
StAN	Staatsarchiv Nuremberg
RISM	<i>Répertoire international des sources musicales. Einzeldrucke vor 1800. Series A/I.</i> (Kassel, 1971–); Series B/VIII
SW	Lasso, <i>Sämtliche Werke</i> . Edited by Franz Xaver Haberl and Adolf Sandberger, 21 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1894-1927.) Reprint, 1973.
SWNR	Lasso, <i>Sämtliche Werke, neue Reihe</i> . Edited by Siegfried Hermelink et al., (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1956-96).



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[73, 056 words]



# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### Psalms in the Sixteenth Century

Infelix ego, omnium auxilio destitutus, qui caelum terramque offendi! Quo ibo? Quo me vertam? Ad quem confugiam? Quis mei miserebitur? Ad coelum levare non audio, quia ei graviter peccavi. In terra refugium non invenio, quia ei scandalum fui. Quid igitur faciam? Desperabo? Absit. Misericors est Deus, pius est Salvator meus. Solus igitur Deus refugium meum: ipse non despiciet opus suum; non repellet imaginem suam. Ad te igitur, piissime Deus, tristis ac moerens venio, quoniam tu solus spes mea, tu solus refugium meum. Quid autem dicam tibi, cum oculos elevare non audeam? Verba doloris effundam; misericordiam tuam implorabo et dicam:

“Miserere mei, Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam  
Deus qui lucem habitas inaccessibilem.”<sup>1</sup>

The tormented meditations of the condemned Dominican friar, Girolamo Savonarola (1452-98), resonated through the time and space of sixteenth-century Europe. The meditations on Psalms 30 and 50<sup>2</sup> were composed by Savonarola during his imprisonment in Florence under the extreme duress of torture and impending execution for his unwillingness to recant ideas of reform. Although Savonarola was finally executed 23 May 1498, the meditations quickly proliferated in numerous editions. These psalm meditations continued to be

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<sup>1</sup> ‘I am unhappy and stripped of all help, for I have sinned against heaven and earth! Where shall I go? Where shall I turn? To whom shall I flee? Who will take pity on me? I dare not raise my eyes to heaven, for I have sinned seriously against it. I find no refuge on earth, because I have been a scandal to it. What then shall I do? Shall I despair? Far be it. God is merciful, my Saviour is kind. God alone then is my refuge: he will not despise his work, he will not cast away his image. I come to you, most kind God, sad and sorrowing, for you alone are my hope, you alone are my refuge. But what shall I say to you, when I dare not lift up my eyes? I shall pour forth words of suffering; I will beg your mercy and say: “Have mercy on me, O God, according to your great mercy.”’

Translation by John Patrick Connelly in Girolamo Savonarola, *Prison Meditations on Psalms 51 and 31* (Milwaukee, 1994), pp. 30-1.

<sup>2</sup> Vulgate numeration of the psalms will be used throughout.

printed throughout the sixteenth century in numerous languages, including Italian, Flemish, Spanish, English, and German. The impact of Savonarola's anguished psalm meditations is tremendous in the challenge of existing social, political, and religious structures of early modern society.<sup>3</sup>

These psalms voiced a harbinger of reform that was surely not intended by Savonarola but was recognised and adopted by sixteenth-century reformers from Martin Luther (1483-1546)<sup>4</sup> to Philippe Duplessis Mornay (1549-1623).<sup>5</sup> Though Savonarola was undoubtedly a devout Catholic, his ideas and ardour for change kindled the imagination of others. Protestants notably appropriated Savonarola's writing and message to fit their own ideologies.<sup>6</sup> This inspiration was cemented by his persecution and consequent martyrdom at the hand of the Catholic Church for the sake of ecclesiastical reform. In addition to the writings of Luther and Mornay, Cyriacus Spangenberg provides another example of the influence of Savonarola's psalm meditations in his publication, *Historia vom Leben Lere und Tode, Hieronymi Savonarola, Anno 1498 zu Florentz verbrand* (Wittenberg: Peter Seitzen, 1556).<sup>7</sup> In his narrative, the inception of the meditation on Psalm 30 is

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<sup>3</sup> Patrick Macey, *Bonfire Songs: Savonarola's Musical Legacy* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 1-2.

<sup>4</sup> Girolamo Savonarola and Martin Luther, *Meditatio pia et erudita super psalmos: Miserere mei et: In te Domine speravi* (Wittenberg: Johann Rhau-Gunenberg, 1523 and Strasbourg: Johannes Herwagen, 1524) which include a prefatory letter by Martin Luther extolling Savonarola. *Enarratio Psalmorum LI. Miserere mei Deus, et CXXX. De profundis clamavi [...]* *Adiecta Est Etiam Savonarolae Meditatio in Psalmum LI* (Strasbourg: Crato Mylius, 1538) consists of commentaries by Luther which includes Savonarola's meditations.

<sup>5</sup> Philippe Duplessis Mornay, *Discours de la Vie et de la Mort* (Paris: Guillaume Auvray, 1584) was the first translation into the French language. Following this publication, Mornay (the so-called pope of the Huguenots) printed many of his own psalm meditations through the end of the century.

<sup>6</sup> On Savonarola in Lutheran tradition, see Matthias Pohlig, *Zwischen Gelehrsamkeit und konfessioneller Identitätsstiftung: Lutherische Kirchen- und Universalgeschichtsschreibung 1546-1617* (Tübingen, 2007), pp. 367-70.

<sup>7</sup> Cyriacus was the son of Johann Spangenberg, a Lutheran pastor and teacher in Nordhausen.

described as God comforting Savonarola through the words of the Holy Scripture during his imprisonment, especially in Savonarola's frightened state and under extreme physical torture. Even in these conditions, the psalm was able to calm Savonarola; and furthermore, enabled him to write about hope in his state of anguish and despair. The central role of the psalm in his ability to withstand personal spiritual warfare is highlighted and praised as an exemplary model.

*Darauff bleib er beruhen/ und machte eine sehr schöne  
Betrachtung daruber/ vom kampf der Hoffnung/ und der  
Trawrigkeit in betrübten Gewissen.*

Citing the psalms from memory, it is notable that Savonarola does not make any extra-biblical references to philosophy and literature. On the contrary, he cites often and exclusively from the Bible, frequently cross-referencing other psalm verses.<sup>8</sup> This aspect of Savonarola's psalm meditation does not only highlight his personal internalisation of biblical texts but would have undoubtedly appealed to a doctrinal self-sufficiency of scripture as promoted by Lutherans and other Protestant reformers. The translations of Savonarola's psalm meditations by Cyriacus's father, Johann Spangenberg, similarly aligns Savonarola as one who warned Christians about false teaching and emphasises the consolation expressed in the meditations. Particularly in the prefatory letter to *Der LXXX. Psalm, Qui regis Israel intende* (Leipzig: Nicolaus Wolrab, 1542), Johann Spangenberg comments that the plainness of the unadorned words which are not a product of human wisdom are even more rich in godly art and understanding.

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<sup>8</sup> 'He was calmed by it [the Psalm], and he wrote a very lovely meditation on the fight for hope and on sorrow in saddened conscience.' Savonarola, *Prison Meditations*, p. 20. Translation mine.

Fundamentally, Protestant and Catholic reformers alike could appreciate the introspection of the psalms and the affective qualities of the prose.<sup>9</sup> In this, Savonarola's meditations and martyrdom not only captivated the general sixteenth-century public, but also moved composers to respond to the emotive content of the meditations. Both psalm meditations by Savonarola were set to music by leading sixteenth-century composers from Adrian Willaert to William Byrd. These settings are listed in the table below.

**Table 1.** Sixteenth-century musical settings of Savonarola's psalms<sup>10</sup>

<b>Meditation on Psalm 50</b>				
<u>Composer</u>	<u>Date of Composition</u>	<u>Court/Patron</u>	<u>Text</u>	<u>Voices</u>
Adrian Willaert	ca. 1530s	d'Este (Ferrara)	Infelix ego Ad te igitur	6vv
Cipriano de Rore	ca. 1530s or 1540s	Duke Ercole II d'Este	Infelix ego Ad te igitur	6vv
Nicola Vicentino	1550s	Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este	Infelix ego Ad te igitur	6vv
Simon Joly	1552	Cardinal François de Tournon	Infelix ego 21 motets	4vv
Orlando di Lasso	1560s	Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria	Infelix ego Solus igitur Ad te igitur	6vv 4vv 6vv
Jacob Reiner	1570s		Infelix ego Solus igitur Ad te igitur	6vv 4vv 6vv
William Byrd	1570s	Lord John Lumley?	Infelix ego Quid igitur Ad te igitur	6vv 4vv 6vv
<b>Meditation on Psalm 30</b>				
Clemens non Papa			Tristitia Quid igitur	4vv
Claude Le Jeune		Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este	Tristitia Vocabo Dominum	5vv

<sup>9</sup> Donald Weinstein, 'A Man for All Seasons: Girolamo Savonarola, the Renaissance, the Reformation and the Counter Reformation' in Donald Weinstein et al. (eds.), *La figure de Jerónimo Savonarola y su influencia en España y Europa* (Florence, 2004), pp. 3-21.

<sup>10</sup> Derived from 'Table 1: Musical Settings of Savonarola's Psalm Meditations' in Patrick Macey, 'Introduction' to *Savonarolan Laude, Motets, and Anthems* (Madison: A-R Editions, 1999), p. xiii.

Given the fact that Savonarola composed these psalms already at the end of the fifteenth century, it is obvious that the study of these meditations precedes the actual subject matter of late sixteenth-century psalms; however, the enduring impact of the meditations clearly sets the trajectory and tone for the use and interpretation of psalm texts throughout the sixteenth century. With the Savonarolan psalm meditation marking a starting point for creative inspiration in the way composers responded to psalms, Orlando di Lasso represents the mastery and sophistication of sixteenth-century musical genres. As the greatest composer of his time, he was certainly already confronted with new interpretations of psalm texts. Musical settings of the psalms during this period must take into account the connotations of reform as well as the aesthetic and artistic rendering. Further examination of this dynamic context serves as the background for the study of Lasso's work, especially in the development of psalm genres during this time. The confessional politics of the sixteenth century combined with reform to confront shifting trends lead to ambiguity in fluid musical genres of this period. It is, therefore, necessary to clarify and define genre in order to better understand the meaning and context of the psalms in the late sixteenth century.

Given its extensive use in even the earliest liturgical contexts, the Book of Psalms is perhaps the most significant biblical text in the practices of Christian worship. It is also critical to point out that the psalms were always a main body of texts that provided material for extended musical composition. During the sixteenth century, however, the increased interest in psalms as a source of inspiration was marked by the rise of a new tradition of polyphonic psalm settings beginning with Josquin des Prez (ca. 1450-1521). The regenerated interest in new possibilities



for psalmody is illustrated by the seminal setting of Josquin's *Miserere mei, Deus*. The motet itself addresses the affective potential of the psalms, personal engagement with the text, and begins a musical tradition which would influence generations of composers to follow.

### Psalmic Expression as a Voice of Reform

As previously mentioned, Savonarola's psalm meditations were almost universally held in great esteem by champions of reform, Catholic and Protestant. The centrality of the psalms along with their adaptations and interpretations were able to accommodate 'vastly different world-views' and in doing so, 'formed the heart of both public and private devotions.'<sup>11</sup> The psalms often expediently traversed the space between the boundaries of different confessions. Nonetheless, the use of the psalms often consciously resulted in the signification of religious identity. This is also a central theme that is explored in Megan Eagen's recent dissertation on psalm motets in Augsburg. In this, she meaningfully unlocks significance and interpretation of the texts through the paradigm of confessional identity.<sup>12</sup> This aspect is indeed paramount to understanding the importance of these texts. Fundamentally, this identity is central to the ways in which the psalms were adapted and interpreted in a variety of different contexts in the late sixteenth century. The creation of such newly realised possibilities and significance in vernacular translations, paraphrases,

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<sup>11</sup> Linda Phyllis Austern et. al., 'Introduction' to *Psalms in the Early Modern World* (London, 2011), p. 33.

<sup>12</sup> Megan Eagen pursues this angle in a recent study on psalm motets in Augsburg. Megan Eagen, *The Articulation of Cultural Identity Through Psalm Motets, Augsburg 1540-1585* (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, 2016).

and commentaries continue the discourse of context and meaning of psalms throughout the sixteenth century.

In the *Zweite Vorrede auf den Psalter* (1528), Martin Luther refers to the psalter as a small Bible (*kleine Biblia*) which is like a handbook compiled by the Holy Spirit as an example for Christendom. Luther, like Augustine, continues to extol the performative function and the superior affective power of the psalms.

*Wo findet man feinere Worte von Freuden, denn die Lobpsalmen oder Dankpsalmen haben? [...] Wiederum, wo findest du tiefere, kläglichere, jämmerlichere Worte von Traurigkeit, den die Klagepsalmen haben? [...] Also auch, so sie von Furcht und Hoffnung reden, brauchen sie solcher Worte, daß dir kein Maler also könnte die Furcht oder Hoffnung abmalen, und kein Cicero oder Redekundiger also Vorbilden.*<sup>13</sup>

The first hymns of Martin Luther were intonations of rhymed vernacular psalm paraphrase. Three examples of these psalm paraphrases are included in the so-called *Achtliederbuch* (Nuremberg: Jobst Gutknecht, 1524) [RISM B/VIII 1524<sup>13</sup>].

**Table 2.** Luther psalm paraphrases in the *Achtliederbuch*

<u>Hymn</u>	<u>Psalm</u>	<u>Source of Paraphrase</u>
<i>Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein</i>	Ps. 12	(Usquequo, Domine)
<i>Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl</i>	Ps. 14	(Dixit insipiens in corde suo)
<i>Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir</i>	Ps. 130	(De profundis clamavi)

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<sup>13</sup> ‘Where would one find finer words of joy than the psalms of praise or thanksgiving? [...] On the other hand, where do you find deeper, more pitiful and miserable words of sadness than the psalms of lamentation? [...] So also, as they speak of fear and hope, they need such words: fear and hope, that no painter could portray, and no Cicero or orator could describe.’ Martin Luther, ‘Zweite Vorrede auf den Psalter (1528 oder 1529)’ in Johann Walch (ed.), *Dr Martin Luthers sämtliche Schriften* (St. Louis, 1898), iv, col. 23. Translation mine.

From the prefaces of these publications, it is clear that books of hymns and psalms were not only intended for congregational use but were to be used for educational purposes and personal devotion.

As in the Lutheran tradition, rhymed vernacular translations of psalms were often set as Protestant hymns which served the purpose of reflecting their biblical and denominational orientation. The Genevan Psalter serves as one of the best examples of the importance of the psalms in identity and community.<sup>14</sup> Not only did these settings serve a function in formal worship settings, but they promoted private devotional practices. As the Huguenots sang the metrical psalms, they merged their liturgical and personal lives together, reinforcing their confessional identity. The songs were not only sung in the Christian tradition of worship but extended further into all aspects of society.<sup>15</sup> Calvin's position on psalmody is strongly Augustinian in personal expression and the psalms' performative nature. The affective quality imbued in the words of the psalms similarly resonates in Luther's writings. The Genevan psalter gained immense popularity

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<sup>14</sup> The Genevan Psalter, translated by John Calvin, was first published in 1539. Calvin also enlisted the help of Clément Marot and later, Théodore de Bèze

<sup>15</sup> John Calvin expresses a particular fondness for the psalms and encourages their permeation into a broader context:

And in truth we know from experience that song has great force and vigour to arouse and inflame people's hearts to invoke and praise God with a more vehement and ardent zeal. There must always be concern that the song be neither light nor frivolous but have the gravity and majesty as Saint Augustine says. And thus, there is a great difference between the music which one makes to entertain people at the table and in their homes, and the Psalms which are sung in the church [...] And how much more widely the practice of singing may extend! It is even in the homes and in the fields an incentive for us, and, as it were, an organ for praising God and lifting our hearts to him [...]

John Calvin, 'Preface to the *Genevan Psalter* (1543)' translated in Charles Garside, *The Origins of Calvin's Theology of Music: 1536-1543* (Philadelphia, 1979), pp. 31-3. Cf. Joel Beeke, 'Calvin on Piety' in Donald K. McKim (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to John Calvin* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 139.

across various Christian denominations and the 1562 edition of the psalter which included all 150 psalms in metrical, rhymed paraphrase served as an inspiration for polyphonic settings. These most notably include the settings of Claude Goudimel<sup>16</sup> and Claude Le Jeune,<sup>17</sup> both published in 1564.

While the first collection of Lutheran metrical translations appeared in the *Achtliederbuch* (Wittenberg, 1524), Ambrosius Lobwasser's German translation of the Genevan Psalter, *Der Psalter dess königlichen Propheten Davids, in deutsche reyme verstendiglich und deutlich gebracht* (Leipzig, 1573) was immensely popular among the German laity in the late sixteenth century. The paraphrase was commonly sung to Goudimel's harmonisations and was used by Protestants and Catholics. In response, many Lutherans and Catholics attempted to create more confession-specific psalm translations that were not dependent on the Reformed tradition.

Psalm translations and corresponding polyphonic settings followed Lobwasser's example using both the text and melodies as direct quotations. Additionally, they were increasingly used as the basis for polyphonic settings in German Lieder and free motet composition. Moreover, the creation of vernacular psalms and their dissemination by both confessions not only filled a demand for a new repertoire in changing worship practices, but also clearly reflected a theological and political orientation. Notably, vernacular psalmody marked a change in which the musical function, aesthetic, didactic understanding, homiletic possibilities, literary

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<sup>16</sup> Claude Goudimel, *150 Pseaumes de David* (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1564) [RISM G 3204].

<sup>17</sup> Claude Le Jeune, *Dix pseaumes de David* (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1564) [RISM L 1681]. Two other complete sets of psalms were published posthumously in the first decade of the seventeenth century.

imitation, and musical composition expressed various interpretations of the psalms in the sixteenth century.<sup>18</sup>

A specific example of interpretative possibilities in vernacular psalms is in the contrafacta of Orlando di Lasso's chansons. The popularity of Lasso's chansons combined with Calvinist theology yielded a number of publications in which the texts of Lasso's chansons were altered to encompass spiritual themes. This was accomplished in the supplantation of the text with the Reformed vernacular psalm paraphrase. Such alteration allowed collections such as the *Cinquante pseumes de David avec la musique a cinq parties d'Orlande de Lasso* (edited by Simon Goulart) to be used in Reformed worship. In such *chansons spirituelles*, Richard Freedman asserted that the creation of musical contrafacta was a conscious reclaiming of Catholic space for Protestant worship.<sup>19</sup> Protestant editors were able to claim secular and popular space for themselves by integrating these chansons into the rituals and practices of their daily lives, including religious worship.

Such examples of contrafacta and musical appropriation are excellent in demonstrating the function of music under the influence of Protestant reformations and their communities in the late sixteenth century. However, many of these examples largely demonstrate the responses of editors and do not reflect the intentions of the composer. Certainly, Lasso was not untouched by these contemporary trends of Protestant reform. This is evidenced by his compositions on a wide variety of different sources, including texts which may

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<sup>18</sup> Susan Gillingham, *Psalms through the Centuries: Volume One* (Blackwell, 2012), p. 132.

<sup>19</sup> Richard Freedman, *The Chansons of Orlando di Lasso and Their Protestant Listeners: Music, Piety, and Print in Sixteenth-Century France* (Rochester, 2000).

be considered more or less ‘controversial’ from a Catholic perspective. This includes chansons, such as *Monsieur l’abbé* [LV 154] and *Du fond de ma pensee* [LV 155] by Huguenot poet, Clément Marot, with unmistakable Protestant underpinnings.<sup>20</sup> Lasso’s engagement with German Protestant texts is somewhat curious, especially as they prominently appear in the first publication of German Lieder.<sup>21</sup> In this, Martin Luther’s *Vatter unser im Himmelreich* is followed by a second Lutheran text by Johannes Agricola, *Ich rieff zu dir Herr Jesu Christ*.<sup>22</sup> It seems paradoxical that such works were composed by a Catholic composer, dedicated to the staunchly Catholic Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria (r. 1579-1597), and printed by a Catholic printer. This first book of German Lieder was even reprinted on three further occasions by Adam Berg in Munich [RISM 1569l, 1576q, 1581i]. Duke Wilhelm’s father, Albrecht V’s post-Tridentine *Schul Ordnung der Fürstenthumb Obern vnnd Nidern Bayerlands* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1569) explicitly mentions the cultivation of German Lieder, especially in combatting ‘enticing new songs and counterfeit psalms’ (*vil verfürischer newer Lieder/vnnd gefelschter Psalmen*). As demonstrated in the ordinance, the aggressive program of Catholic reform in Bavaria included the censorship of religious materials as public consumption was regulated in the promotion of designated ‘Catholic’ materials produced by approved printers.<sup>23</sup> With the

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<sup>20</sup> The chansons are included in the first book of chansons for four voices: *Le premier livre de chansons à Quatre Parties* (Antwerp: Jacob Susato, 1564) [RISM 1564c].

<sup>21</sup> *Neue Teütsche Liedlein mit Fünff Stimmen* [...], (Munich: Adam Berg, 1567) [RISM 1567l]

<sup>22</sup> *Ich rieff zu dir Herr Jesu Christ* is included in the so-called *Klug’sche Gesangbuch*, 1533 [DKL/RISM B VIII WitK 1533<sup>02</sup>, EdK ee4].

<sup>23</sup> The censorship of books in Munich was already mandated in 1565 with a restriction on the sale of books outside of approved printers. The Tridentine index of censored books was printed in Munich by Adam Berg in 1569, *Librorum authorumque S. Sedie Apostolicae, sacrique Consilii Tridenti autoritate prohibitorum* [...] *Pro usu monasteriorum in Bavaria editi*. David Crook, ‘A Sixteenth-Century Catalog of Prohibited Music,’ *JAMS* lxii, 1 (Spring, 2009), p. 16.

regulation and conscious effort to contain Protestant culture, it is interesting that settings of Lutheran texts were not only permissible but were even popular in Catholic Bavaria.

Psalm texts were undoubtedly a mark of new-found religious zeal in the sixteenth century which manifested in a demand for music to suit changing worship and devotional practices. Although this dissertation will primarily explore Lasso's engagement with the position of Catholic reform at the Bavarian court, he was also familiar with popular Protestant texts and freely composed on them. On one hand, the tolerance for cross-confessional borrowing could be explained by an intentional 'forgetting' of the confessional implications of the text.<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, there is a blurring of confessional lines probably stemming from the concession that popular Protestant songs could not be effectively contained. This point is hinted at by Duke Albrecht V in the *Schulordnung* in the prohibition of songs that were encountered by the general public. In addition, psalm paraphrases were generally accepted, barring the absence of explicitly contentious or heretical doctrine. For this reason, psalm paraphrases of Protestant origin became popular even in Catholic territories. In the course of the sixteenth century, there is a tangible shift in this permissive attitude with an intensified focus on a specifically Catholic repertoire of vernacular psalms.

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<sup>24</sup> Isabel Karremann, Cornel Zwierlein, Inga Mai Groote (eds.), 'Introduction,' *Forgetting Faith? Negotiating Confessional Conflict in Early Modern Europe* (Berlin, 2012), pp. 1-26; esp. pp. 24-5.

## Research Aims and Overview

Throughout this dissertation, Lasso's psalm settings will be examined primarily to address questions of musical genre. The context for these genres will be explored in terms of musical traditions, possibilities for artistic commentaries and expression, and consequences of reform. As previously mentioned, musical traditions which serve as the basis for the late sixteenth century psalm motet are already established from the early part of the century, particularly with the work of Josquin. Though, underlying sentiments of reform in both Catholic and Protestant expressions can also account for a new repertoire of vernacular music and lyric. As a basis for polyphonic settings, vernacular psalm paraphrases do not only convey doctrinal ideologies, but underlying identity politics as well.

Orlando di Lasso's diverse compositional output and unparalleled international reputation makes him an exceptional case study of various influences of psalmody and their effect on the development of late sixteenth-century genres. Lasso's extensively cosmopolitan background and prolific career solidifies his position as the most versatile, well-known, and esteemed composer of the late sixteenth century. Lasso did not only speak French, Italian, Latin, and German, but he was fluent in the composition of all corresponding vernacular musical genres. His reputation as a composer is supported by the extensive dissemination of his music in print. In some of these, he is immortalized by laudatory poems in praise of his artistic virtues.<sup>25</sup> For example, Lasso's rising star is documented in the dedication of the *Livre des Meslanges* (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1560) to François II, King of France (r. 1559-1560). The poet, Pierre de Ronsard (1524-

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<sup>25</sup> James Haar, 'Orlando di Lasso, Composer and Print Entrepreneur' in Kate van Orden (ed.), *Music and the Cultures of Print* (New York, 2000), pp. 125-51.



1585) writes about the excellence of the artists and lists the pantheon of great composers of the time beginning with Josquin and ending with Arcadelt.<sup>26</sup> In the 1572 reprint, Lasso is added to the list as one who even surpasses the ‘perfection’ of Arcadelt, earning Lasso the famous moniker: ‘*le plus que divin Orlande*.’<sup>27</sup> Lasso’s promotion of greatness as a chanson composer is but one testament to the international career and fame he enjoyed during his lifetime.

Lasso’s compositions on the text of the psalms are certainly representative of the wide variety of ways in which psalmody was used and interpreted in the late sixteenth century. He composed on complete psalm texts, single psalm verses, and selections of verses. In terms of genre, he composed settings for office psalmody including falsobordone settings, polyphonic settings of German and French psalm paraphrases, and tangentially, the setting on Savonarola’s meditation on Psalm 50, *Infelix ego*. Already from this broad overview, it is clear that Lasso responds to a number of different impulses, particularly with the growth of new vernacular genres. Firstly, the focus of this dissertation is the Latin psalm motet. In dealing with the complete psalm texts which define this

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<sup>26</sup> ‘Sire, when some excellent worker in this art reveals himself, you should guard him with care, as being something so excellent that it rarely appears. Of such men have arisen within six or seven score years Josquin Desprez, a native of Hainaut, and his disciples, Mouton, Willaert, Richafort, Jannequin, Maillard, Claudin, Moulu, Certon, and Arcadelt, who in the perfection of this art does not yield to the ancients [...]’ Translation by Gary Tomlinson in W. Oliver Strunk (ed.), *Source Readings in Music History* (New York, 1998), pp. 302-3.

<sup>27</sup> Ronsard directs this dedication to Charles IX, King of France (r. 1560-1574) who is well-known to have admired Lasso’s music. It is thought that Lasso considered a position at the French court around 1574, but this did not come to fruition. The preface to the *Mellange de Chansons*, (Paris: Adrian Le Roy and Robert Ballard, 1572) is practically identical to the 1560 publication in the listing of great composers, but with the additions of Jacquet and finally, Lasso. ‘And at present, the more than divine Orlande, who, like a bee, has culled all the most beautiful flowers of the old [composers] and, besides, seems alone to have stolen the harmony from the heavens, for us to delight in it on earth, surpassing the old [composers] and making himself the sole prodigy of our time.’ Translation in Charles Jacobs (ed.), *LeRoy & Ballard’s 1572 Mellange de Chansons* (University Park, 1982), p. 28.

genre, the scope of the dissertation is expanded to include the German psalm paraphrases as compositions which also set a complete psalm text.<sup>28</sup> Through analysis of compositional technique and style, the inquiry will focus on developing a typology of Latin and German genres. Further taking into account chronology and the influences of confessional politics during the late sixteenth century, the concept of genre will be used to explore questions of context and function.

Accordingly, the body of this dissertation will be divided into two main parts. The first of these will explore Lasso's contribution to the Latin psalm motet genre. The psalm motet is a sixteenth-century invention which not only highlights the most sophisticated compositional practices of its time but shows the increasingly wide-spread and varied influence of the psalms as a source of inspiration and reflection. The psalm motet would also become a prime vehicle for personal expression. The paraliturgical genre allowed freedom from liturgical constraints which resulted in new aesthetic and interpretative possibilities. Furthermore, the tendencies of sixteenth-century theory reflected humanist interest towards the study and importance of language. This is closely mirrored in enhanced practices of using musico-rhetorical techniques in composition to express the meaning of the text. The study of the psalms with new-found relevance in personal expression and private devotion factors in the popularity of musical settings. The development of this new and innovative psalm motet genre can be seen from the time of Josquin and throughout the course of the sixteenth century.

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<sup>28</sup> The chansons have been omitted since they have already been investigated at length. Richard Freedman, *The Chansons of Orlando di Lasso*.

The foundational study on Latin psalm motets by Edward Nowacki catalogues no fewer than 100 psalm motets in the first three decades of the sixteenth century.<sup>29</sup> Nowacki, as well as other studies on the early repertoire, define the psalm motet as the polyphonic composition on a complete psalm text or an integral portion of the psalm text. Lasso composed approximately 530 motets; of these, psalm texts significantly comprise just over one-third of this output. There are 185 motets which are generally based on psalm texts, including complete psalms and excerpts. Unsurprisingly, many of these texts have liturgical origins as introits, responsories, and communions; however, the offertory is by far the most prominent liturgical text represented in the motet repertoire. There are 33 individual psalm motets that are composed on the complete psalm text, including the *Penitential Psalms*. I have chosen to largely exclude the latter from this dissertation on two grounds. Firstly, the *Penitential Psalms* comprises a special case in the corpus of psalm motets in its concept and composition. Also, I have previously studied the motet cycle to expound on some of these unique characteristics.<sup>30</sup>

The second part of this dissertation will explore the settings of German psalm paraphrase which were composed relatively late in Lasso's career. These settings will be similarly examined taking themes of musical tradition, style, and interpretation into account. The most significant source of text in this repertoire is the psalm versification by Casper Ulenberg (1549-1617). Because many translations had been heavily reliant on the Genevan Psalter, Ulenberg is

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<sup>29</sup> Edward Nowacki, 'The Latin Psalm Motet 1500-1535,' in Ludwig Finscher (ed.), *Renaissance-Studien: Helmuth Osthoff zum 80. Geburtstag* (Tutzing, 1979), pp. 159-84.

<sup>30</sup> Diane Temme, *A Preliminary Study in Aspects of Structural Continuity in Lasso's Penitential Psalms* (M.Phil. diss., Bangor University, 2012).

credited for the publication of a true Catholic paraphrase. Orlando di Lasso composed a set of the first 50 psalms together with his son, Rodolfo, and further developed two of these psalms more fully into larger settings of polyphonic Lieder.

In the Latin psalm motet and German psalm settings, Lasso is considered to be highly innovative for his responses to earlier musical traditions. He not only offers creative techniques and intelligent interpretations of text with music, but also influences the tradition for the consideration of other composers. In the case of the German Lied, Lasso is regarded a turning point since the incorporation of heavy Italian influence would lead to the transformation of the genre.<sup>31</sup> This Italian influence extended to his students (Ivo de Vento, Leonhard Lechner, Johannes Eccard, and Jacob Regnart) who composed German Lieder explicitly in Neapolitan or Roman styles towards the end of the sixteenth century.

Orlando di Lasso was particularly apt to negotiate this period of dynamic change signalling both the height and the consequent decline of the late-Renaissance style into the seventeenth century. Even as he was perceived to grow more conservative in his later years, Lasso pioneered developments in German Lieder toward the end of his life. Throughout Lasso's career, the psalms can be seen as critical responses to the immediate context. The variety and quality of such responses demonstrate Lasso's ability as a composer to create appropriate musical interpretations for these meaningful texts across different genres.

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<sup>31</sup> Ludwig Finscher, 'Lied and Madrigal, 1580-1600,' in John Kmetz (ed.), *Music in the German Renaissance: Sources, Styles, and Contexts* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 189-92.

To this point, the English poet and music critic, Dyneley Hussey (1893-1972) summarises:

As the last and greatest representative of the Netherlandish School, Orlando di Lasso grew beyond the constricting boundaries of school and nation. There was no form of music, sacred or secular; no feeling of solemnity or cheerfulness that he could not have succeeded in conveying.<sup>32</sup>

As the defining composer of the late sixteenth century, the work of Lasso is paramount in a study of genres during this period. The cultivation of the psalm motet and the development of new vernacular psalmody display Lasso's compositional mastery and adaptability. Lasso's achievement here echoes a larger cultural narrative which highlights the diversity, importance, and meaning of the psalms throughout the sixteenth century.

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<sup>32</sup> Quoted in Karl-Robert Danler, *Orlando di Lasso oder der Aufstieg Münchens zur europäischen Musikmetropole* (Munich, 1983), p. 5.

# **PART I**

## **LATIN PSALM MOTETS**



## Chapter 2

### Overview and Classification of Psalm Motets

#### Foundation of the Psalm Motet Genre

The expansive development of the psalm motet is a phenomenon of the sixteenth century. The first instances of early psalm motets appear around the turn of the century with only one known example predating 1500.<sup>33</sup> The sixteenth century also saw a parallel in the expansion of polyphonic liturgical settings which encompassed psalm motets used in an extra-liturgical context. Such extra-liturgical psalm motets became a prime medium for showcasing the most sophisticated compositional techniques in symbolic and personal expressions of the text.<sup>34</sup> The function of the sixteenth-century motet is highly diverse and is still not entirely understood; however, it is clear that the early psalm motet often drew from the liturgy as a point of reference. This is especially obvious in the use of liturgical elements such as antiphons, the doxology, or psalm tones. Though it should be added that the use of these features does not necessarily indicate its practical use in a liturgical context. On the contrary, it has been established that the psalm motet would not have been substituted in place of office psalmody.<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, the early psalm motets were contained in collections of motets instead of liturgically-ordered cycles which indicates that liturgical significance

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<sup>33</sup> Anonymous setting of Psalm 121 in Trent 89 (fols. 220-222). Nowacki, 'The Latin Psalm Motet,' p. 182.

<sup>34</sup> Paul Doe and Alejandro Enrique Planchart 'Psalms: IV. Polyphonic psalms: 1. Up to 1600: (iv) Independent psalm motets' in *New Grove*.

<sup>35</sup> Anthony Cummings, 'Towards an Interpretation of the Sixteenth-Century Motet,' *JAMS* xxxiv, 1 (Spring 1981), pp. 43-59; Timothy Steele, *The Latin Psalm Motet, ca. 1460-1520: Aspects of the Emergence of a New Motet Type* (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1993).



was not a primary consideration in practical use. Rather, they were more versatile compositions that could be performed in a variety of contexts, including paraliturgical situations, in private devotion, and festive secular occasions.<sup>36</sup> Nonetheless, the early psalm motet was informed and shaped by such liturgical traditions of psalmody throughout the development of the genre. It is due to the suggestion of the stylistic features that the issue of liturgical significance continues to resurface despite evidence that the motets were not used in this context.

The foundations and popularity of the psalm motet genre are unequivocally attributed to the work of Josquin who is regarded as the first composer to draw extensively and freely from the psalms. Josquin was very flexible in his use of psalm texts and composed on single psalm verses, select verses, complete psalms, and thematic compilations of verses. Comprising ‘the most important, aesthetically the most rewarding, and historically the most influential group in his motet oeuvre,’<sup>37</sup> the psalm motets have also been scrutinised for their authenticity. Of the 24 psalm motets in Josquin’s output, only seven been given a secure attribution.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Edward Nowacki, ‘The Latin Psalm Motet,’ p. 183-4.

<sup>37</sup> Ludwig Finscher, ‘Four-Voice Motets’ in Richard Sherr (ed.), *The Josquin Companion* (Oxford, 2000), p. 272.

<sup>38</sup> Patrick Macey, ‘*Celi enarrant*: An Inauthentic Psalm Motet Attributed to Josquin,’ in Willem Elders (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Josquin Symposium Utrecht 1986* (Utrecht, 1991), pp. 25-44; Patrick Macey, ‘Josquin as Classic: *Qui habitat*, *Memo esto* and Two Imitations Unmasked,’ *JRMA* cxviii (1993), pp. 1-43; Leeman Perkins, ‘Josquin’s *Qui habitat* and the Psalm Motets,’ *Journal of Musicology* xxvi, 4 (Fall, 2009), pp. 512-65.

**Table 3.** Psalm motets positively attributed to Josquin

<u>NJE</u>	<u>Ps.</u>	<u>Incipit</u>	<u>Voices</u>	<u>Parts</u>
16.6	37	<i>Domine ne in furore tuo</i>	4	2
18.3	50	<i>Miserere mei Deus</i>	5	3
18.4	88	<i>Misericordias Domini</i>	4	3
18.7	90	<i>Qui habitat in adiutorio</i>	4	2
17.4	113	<i>In exitu Israel</i>	4	3
17.14	118	<i>Memor esto verbi tui</i>	4	2
15.13	129	<i>De profundis clamavi</i>	5	3

Even in light of numerous doubtful and misattributed works, it remains that Josquin's influence on the genre resonated well into the sixteenth century which includes dubiously-ascribed motets which appeared in later German prints. The popular rise of the psalm motet correspondingly led to the printing of collections exclusively comprised of psalm motets beginning in 1535.<sup>39</sup> A more substantial three-volume collection was printed by Johannes Petreius in Nuremberg around the same time: *Tomus primus psalmodum selectorum* (1538) [RISM 1538<sup>6</sup>], *Tomus secundus psalmodum selectorum* (1539) [RISM 1539<sup>2</sup>], *Tomus tertius psalmodum selectorum* (1542) [RISM 1542<sup>6</sup>]. While Attaignant's 1535 anthology contains only music by contemporary Franco-Flemish composers,<sup>40</sup> Johannes Petreius's encyclopaedic collection, on the other hand, cements Josquin's place within the genre. This is concordant with a significant 'Josquin renaissance' largely due to Protestant reception in sixteenth-century Germany.<sup>41</sup> Increasing

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<sup>39</sup> *Liber nonus XVIII daviticos musicales psalmos habet* (Paris: Pierre Attaignant, 1535) [RISM 1535<sup>1</sup>]

<sup>40</sup> Despite the centrality and influence of Josquin's motets, Attaignant omits the older generation in favour of newer works by living composers. Geneviève Bazinet, *Pierre Attaignant's Encyclopedia of Sacred Music: The 1534-1539 Motet Series* (Ph.D. diss., McGill University, 2013), pp. 144-5.

<sup>41</sup> Stephanie Schlager, *Josquin des Prez and His Motets: A Case Study in Sixteenth-Century Reception History* (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, 1996). Winfried Kirsch, 'Josquin's Motets in the German Tradition' in Elders (ed.), *Josquin Proceedings*, pp. 261-78, esp. pp. 263-6. Dana Cristle Collins Judd, *Aspects of Tonal Coherence in the Motets of Josquin* (Ph.D. diss., King's College University of London, 1993), pp. 256-276.

interest and popularity in the setting of psalm texts as the basis for such early motet compilations has been attributed to humanist currents towards new interpretations of biblical text and collective Protestant influence in the popularisation of psalm texts in worship and devotional contexts.<sup>42</sup> In addition to Franco-Flemish composers and the works of the old masters, Petreius also includes a significant number of German composers including Heinrich Isaac, Ludwig Senfl (1486-1543), Thomas Stoltzter (ca. 1480-1526), Leonhard Päminger (1495-1567), and other lesser-known composers of German provenance. Lasso was not only clearly influenced by Josquin, but more directly by his predecessors at the Bavarian court. The following section will explore the continued traditions of the psalm motet genre and its significance in the context of the court in the second half of the sixteenth century.

### Psalm Motets and the Bavarian Court

Lasso was certainly familiar with the early psalm motet repertoire. They were performed in the context of the Munich court chapel as seen in Munich, BSB Mus. Ms. 19 which contains Josquin's centonisation of Ps. 118, *Memor esto verbi tui*. A further source for the early psalm motet is Munich, BSB Mus. Ms. 10. The manuscript is dated (along with Munich, BSB Mus. Ms. 12) around Ludwig Senfl's arrival to the Bavarian court (ca. 1523) after serving in the Imperial court under Maximilian I (r. 1486-1519). When Senfl was not able to secure a position in the court of the newly-crowned Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V (r. 1519-1556), he came to Munich where he was positioned as the court composer until

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<sup>42</sup> Mariko Teramoto, *Die Psalmmotettendrucke des Johannes Petrejus in Nürnberg (gedruckt 1538-1542)* (Tutzing, 1983), pp. 2-5.

his death sometime in 1543.<sup>43</sup> The collection of motets that were commissioned by Duke Wilhelm IV (r. 1508-1550) displays Senfl's newfound importance that would be central to shaping the Munich court chapel traditions. It also signalled a subsequent change in the repertoire in which older works were replaced by new compositions by Senfl.<sup>44</sup>

Munich, BSB Mus. Ms. 10 contains 14 motets by Ludwig Senfl and Josquin, including a significant number of psalm motets. Two of Josquin's psalm motets are included: *Miserere mei, Deus* and *Qui habitat*. There are four psalm motets by Senfl: *Miserere mei, Deus*, *De profundis clamavi, Deus in adiutorium*, and *Ecce quam bonum*. The inclusion of Josquin's psalm motets in the manuscript shows his continued relevance and longevity of the performance repertoire in the Munich court chapel. In addition, it emphasises the connection in the psalm motet tradition between Josquin and Senfl. As previously discussed, the reception of Josquin's psalm motets marks a specific type of German reception which was widely disseminated with the *Liber selectarum cantionum* (Augsburg: Grim & Wirsung, 1520) [RISM 1520<sup>4</sup>].<sup>45</sup> This tradition was further reinforced by the motet collections printed by Johannes Petreius in the early part of the sixteenth century. Here, Petreius meaningfully demonstrates the continuation of this tradition with the addition of other contemporaneous German composers.

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<sup>43</sup> Martin Bente, *Neue Wege der Quellenkritik und die Biographie Ludwig Senfls: Ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte des Reformationszeitalters* (Wiesbaden, 1968), pp. 57-62.

<sup>44</sup> Thomas Schmidt-Beste, 'Dedicating Music Manuscripts: On Function and Form of Paratexts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Sources' in Ignace Bossuyt et al. (eds.), *'Cui Dono Lepidum Novum Libellum?' Dedicating Latin Works and Motets in the Sixteenth Century* (Leuven, 2008), pp. 93-5.

<sup>45</sup> Stephanie Schlagel, 'The *Liber selectarum cantionum* and the "German Josquin Renaissance"' *Journal of Musicology* xix, 4 (Fall, 2002), pp. 564-615; Kirsch, 'Josquin's Motets in the German Tradition,' pp. 261-78.

In total, Ludwig Senfl composed sixteen motets on psalm texts. Four of these psalm settings set the text of antiphons, 11 are composed on the complete psalm text as shown in the following table:

**Table 4.** Psalm motets attributed to Senfl

<u>Ps.</u>	<u>Incipit</u>	<u>Voices</u>	<u>Mm.</u>	<u>Parts</u>
10	<i>In Domino confido</i>	4	262	2
12	<i>Usquequo Domine</i>	4	229	2
46	<i>Omnes gentes plaudite</i>	5	285	2
50	<i>Miserere mei, Deus</i>	5	409	3
69	<i>Deus in adiutorium</i>	4	162	2
127	<i>Beati omnes I</i>	4	160	2
127	<i>Beati omnes II</i>	4	121	2
116	<i>Laudate dominum</i>	3-6	41	1
126	<i>Nisi Dominus</i>	5	161	2
132	<i>Ecce quam bonum</i>	4	316	2
129	<i>De profundis clamavi</i>	5	173	2

The core of Senfl's motets make use of a cantus firmus. Outside the liturgical genres, the psalm motets are perhaps the most meaningful devotional music of the late sixteenth century which is manifested in increasingly elaborate psalm motet settings.<sup>46</sup> Senfl's psalm motets are generally scored for four or five voices and divided into two parts. Senfl's procedure for the setting of psalm texts is visibly modelled after the example of Josquin, resulting in a structured and conservative style. The settings extensively use sophisticated imitation or canonic techniques in settings of the psalm text, often using a liturgical reference. Senfl's psalm motet, *Ecce quam bonum*, contained in Mus. Ms. 10, was certainly performed at the Bavarian court and would have been familiar to Lasso.

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<sup>46</sup> Walter Gerstenberg, 'Vorwort' to Ludwig Senfl, *Sämtliche Werke: III. Motetten, 1. Gelegenheitsmotetten und Psalmvertonungen* (Basel, 1939), p. v.

Representative of Senfl's early psalm motet idiom, *Ecce quam bonum* is an extensive setting of Ps. 132 which sets the entire text of the psalm with a doxology and a repeating refrain: 'Ecce quam bonum et quam jocundum habitare fratres in unum.' As in other psalm motets such as *Nisi Dominus* and *Usquequo Domine*, the division of the psalm text is unbalanced. This is explained by a thematic division that separates the heavy and burdened meaning of the text from the uplifting and hopeful message which concludes the psalm.<sup>47</sup> In *Ecce quam bonum*, the first part contains the bulk of the psalm text. It is balanced with the doxology and the repetition of the refrain which is repeated three more times in the setting after its introduction. There is no difference in the mood of the text to support the division. Apart from the refrain, the focus of the setting is clearly on the intense depiction of the words in the music (**Ex. 1**). Senfl clearly illustrates the details of the psalm text, such as the vivid depiction of the ointment quickly running down from the head ('in capite') (linear descending scalar motive in crochets) to a slower torculus-like figure ('quod descendit') into the dotted texture of the beard ('in barbam'). Senfl is meticulous in the word painting of the text which is completed at the end of the prima pars. It does not seem out of place for the benediction to come at the conclusion of the motet in the opening of the secunda pars with the emphasis on the refrain and the inclusion of the doxology.

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<sup>47</sup> James Cade Griesheimer, *The Antiphon-, Responsory-, and Psalm Motets of Ludwig Senfl* (Ph.D. diss., University of Indiana, 1990), pp. 40-42.

Text of Ludwig Senfl's *Ecce quam bonum*

[Prima pars]

**Ecce quam bonum et quam  
jocundum habitare fratres in unum**

Sicut unguentum in capite quod  
descendit in barbam barbam Aaron  
quod descendit in ora vestimenti eius

Sicut ros Hermon qui descendit in  
montem Sion

**Ecce quam bonum et quam  
jocundum habitare fratres in unum**

[Secunda pars]

Quoniam illic mandavit Dominus  
benedictionem et vitam usque in  
saeculum

**Ecce quam bonum et quam  
jocundum habitare fratres in unum**

Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto.  
Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et  
semper in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

**Ecce quam bonum et quam  
jocundum habitare fratres in unum**

[First Part]

**Behold how good and how  
pleasant it is for brethren to  
dwell together in unity**

It is like the precious ointment upon  
the head, that ran down upon the  
beard, even Aaron's beard: that went  
down to the skirts of his garments;

As the dew of Hermon, and as the  
dew that descended upon the  
mountains of Sion:

**Behold how good and how  
pleasant it is for brethren to  
dwell together in unity**

[Second Part]

For there the Lord commanded the  
blessing, even life for evermore.

**Behold how good and how  
pleasant it is for brethren to  
dwell together in unity**

Glory be to the Father and to the Son  
and to the Holy Ghost, as it was in  
the beginning, is now, and ever shall  
be: world without end. Amen.

**Behold how good and how  
pleasant it is for brethren to  
dwell together in unity**

Senfl's setting of *Ecce quam bonum* was notably performed in front of the Reichstag in Augsburg to open the proceedings of the Imperial Diet in 1530. This motet features an echoing refrain: 'Ecce quam bonum et quam jucundum habitare fratres in unum.' This has been interpreted as a persistent homiletic appeal to unity in the theological and diplomatic matters that would be discussed, including Martin Luther's *Confession*.<sup>48</sup>

**Example 1.** Ludwig Senfl, *Ecce quam bonum*, prima pars, mm. 1-62

Ec - ce quam bo - num et quam jo - cun -

Ec - ce quam bo - num et quam jo - cun -

7

Ec - ce quam bo -

Ec - ce quam bo -

- dum, ec - ce quam bo -

- dum, ec - ce quam, ec - ce quam bo -

<sup>48</sup> Bente, *Neue Wege der Quellenkritik*, pp. 314-5.

There is also some reading of this psalm motet in respect to Senfl's Protestant sympathies and later correspondence with Martin Luther. Rebecca Wagner Oettinger, 'Ludwig Senfl and the Judas Trope: Composition and Religious Toleration at the Bavarian Court,' *Early Music History* xx (2001), pp. 216-7; Robin Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications* (Minneapolis, 2017), pp. 51-2.



13

- num et quam jo - cun - - - dum, - - -

- num et quam jo - cun - - - dum, ha - bi - ta -

num et quam jo cun - - - - - dum, ha - bi -

- num et quam jo - cun - dum, et quam jo - cun - dum, ha - bi - ta -

19

ha - bi - ta - - - re fra - tres in u - num.

- re fra - - - tres in u - - - - num.

ta - re fra - - - tres in u - num.

re fra - - - - tres, fra - tres in u - - - num.

24

Si - cut un - guen - tum in ca - pi - te, in ca -

Si - cut un - guen - tum in ca - pi - te, in ca - pi - te, in

Si - cut un -

Si - cut un - guen - tum in

- pi - te, in ca - pi - te, in ca -  
 ca - pi - te, in ca - pi - te, in ca - pi - te,  
 guen - tum in ca - pi - te, in ca - pi - te, in ca -  
 ca - pi - te, in ca - pi - te, in

- pi - te, sic - ut un -  
 in ca - pi - te, sic - ut un - guen - tum in  
 - pi - te, sic - ut un - guen - tum in ca -  
 ca - pi - te, sic - ut un - guen - tum in ca - pi - te, in ca -

guen - tum in ca - pi - te, quod de - scen -  
 ca - pi - te, in ca - pi - te, quod de - scen -  
 - pi - te, in ca - pi - te,  
 - pi - te, in ca - pi - te,

44

dit, de - scen - dit, dit, quod de - scen - quod de - scen - quod de - scen

49

quod de - scen - dit in dit, de - scen - dit in bar - bam, dit, in bar - bam, dit in bar -

54

bar - bam, in bar - bam, bar - in bar - bam, in bar - bam, bar - in bar - bam, in bar - bam, bar - bam in bar - bam bar -

- bam Aa - - - ron:\_\_\_\_\_

bam Aa - - - ron:\_\_\_\_\_

bam Aa - - - ron:\_\_\_\_\_

bam Aa - - - ron:\_\_\_\_\_

The structure of the motet is reinforced by the strict imitation of each phrase. In this manner, the motet exhibits clear internal divisions of the text throughout the entire psalm that aids the listener in the comprehension of the individual phrases despite the polyphonic texture and melismatic lines. The refrain is not exactly repeated but is made up of three separate points of imitation which are used in varied contrapuntal arrangements. The imitative counterpoint and the effective use of the refrain recalls Josquin's treatment of the psalm motet.

In contrast, Lasso's eight-voice setting of *Ecce quam bonum* [LV 1139] is tentatively dated from the 1580s but was first printed only posthumously in the *Magnum opus musicum* (Munich: Nicolas Henricus, 1604) [RISM 1604a]. Lasso's setting illustrates the growing trend of more succinct settings. *Ecce quam bonum* is a one-part motet with a through-composed text. Lasso uses homophonic and polyphonic textures with extensive antiphonal textures throughout. The brevity of the psalm does not achieve the detailed, obvious word painting of Senfl's setting. For example, the word, 'descendit' appears in the setting three times and at each appearance, Lasso takes a different approach. At the first occurrence, Lasso treats the voices in a conventional manner in step-wise descending lines

(Ex. 2). Compare this to the next incidence in the text which does not seem to react to the text at all (Ex. 3).

**Example 2.** Orlando di Lasso, *Ecce quam bonum*, prima pars, mm. 17-19, Choir II

quod de - - - scen - - - dit

quod de - - - scen - - - dit

quod de - - - scen - - - dit

quod de - - - scen - - - dit

**Example 3.** Orlando di Lasso, *Ecce quam bonum*, prima pars, mm. 23-28, Choir I

Quod de scen-dit in o - ram ve - stimen - ti e - jus

Quod de - scen - - - dit in o - ram - - - ve - stimen - ti e jus

Quod de - scen - - dit in - - - o - ram ve - sti - men - ti e - jus

Quod de - scen - - dit in o - ram ve - stimen - ti e - jus

The final occurrence is punctuated by the descent of the Bassus to D which is the bottom of the tessitura (Ex. 4, m. 32). In contrast to this, Choir I enters at 'in montem Sion' at m. 33, climbing to the top of register.

**Example 4.** Orlando di Lasso, *Ecce quam bonum*, prima pars, mm. 30-36

The musical score is for four voices: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#). The lyrics are: 'in mon - tem Si - on' and 'qui de - scen - dit'. The score shows a complex polyphonic texture with overlapping vocal lines and a chromatic melismatic figure.

Lasso's setting of *Ecce quam bonum* still takes into consideration the internal phrase structure (of which Senfl is also highly conscious). Though in a late sixteenth-century polychoral idiom, the extensive use of imitation is superseded by the alternation of choirs in antiphony. Lasso's setting is strategic in its use of word painting which does not always manifest in the ways one might expect based on the psalm text itself and Senfl's earlier setting. In the concise and more subtle approach to the word painting, the polychoral texture itself is a fitting choice for the psalm. The equal choirs alternate and, after a short chromatic melismatic figure at 'jocundum,' all voices come together at 'fratres in unum.' This simple device illuminates the meaning of the psalm text and is further used formally as a structural device to mark the end of the psalm verses.

**Example 5.** Orlando di Lasso, *Ecce quam bonum*, prima pars, mm. 1-13

Ec - ce quam bo - um

Ec - ce quam bo-num

Ec - ce quam bo - num

Ec - ce quam bo - num

et quam ju - cun -

et quam ju - cun -

et quam ju - cun -

et quam ju - cun -

et quam ju - cun -

6

ha - bi - ta - re fra - tres,

ha - bi - ta - re fra -

ha - bi - ta - re fra -

ha - bi - ta - re fra -

dum, ha - bi - ta - re fra -

- dum, ha - bi - ta - re fra -

dum, ha - bi - ta - re fra -

dum, ha - bi - ta - re fra -

(fra - tres) in u - num

- tres in u - num in u - num

- tres, fra - tres in u - num

- tres in u - num

- tres in u - num (in u - num)

tres in u - num, (in u - num)

- - tres in u - num (in u - num)

tres in u - num

Another figure to consider in the context of the Bavarian court is Lasso's predecessor, Ludwig Daser (ca. 1526-1589). Daser was born in Munich and received his musical training in the Munich court chapel from a young age. He became the *Hofkapellmeister* in 1552 until he was replaced by Lasso in 1563.<sup>49</sup> The refashioning of the Munich court chapel throughout the sixteenth century attests to the mutable religious and political posturing of the Bavarian court. Rebecca Wagner Oettinger has rightly assessed the shifts in the climate stating that although Senfl's Protestant sympathies and leanings were tolerated under Duke Wilhelm IV of Bavaria, Ludwig Daser was most likely dismissed for his

<sup>49</sup> Franz Körndle, 'Daser, Ludwig,' *MGG2*.



Protestant beliefs under Wilhelm IV's successor, Duke Albrecht V.<sup>50</sup> Undoubtedly, both fashionable trends and confessional politics played a role in the appointment of Italian musicians at the Bavarian court for stylistic reasons as well as the purpose of avoiding such discomfiture of confession. It is under these circumstances that Orlando di Lasso was recruited and employed at the Bavarian court in the second half of the sixteenth century. Daser eventually took a position as *Hofkapellmeister* to the Stuttgart court chapel under the Protestant Duke of Württemberg, Ludwig III (r. 1568-1593).

As a direct contemporary of Lasso, Daser composed psalm motets that are also more similar in style to Lasso than Senfl (with whom he may have studied in his time at the court chapel). Daser composed only a few psalm motets in relation to Senfl and Lasso. These motets (listed in **Table 5.**) also show the shift in genre tending towards shorter settings, divided into one or two parts, and commonly with the addition of more voices including eight-voice polychoral settings.

**Table 5.** Psalm motets attributed to Ludwig Daser<sup>51</sup>

<u>Ps.</u>	<u>Incipit</u>	<u>Voices</u>	<u>Mm.</u>	<u>Parts</u>
22	Dominus regit me	6	70	2
114	Dilexi quoniam exaudiet	8	100	1
122	Ad te levavi oculos meos	4	141	2
133	Ecce nunc benedicite	4	77	1

Since Daser was dismissed from Munich and continued to compose after this, it is logical to look at what might be considered earlier works that were contained

<sup>50</sup> Oettinger, 'Ludwig Senfl and the Judas Trope,' pp. 222-5.

<sup>51</sup> An eight-voice polychoral setting of Ps. 132, *Ecce quam bonum* dated 1578 exists only in organ tablature. Jakob Paix, *Thesaurus motetarum* (Strasbourg: Bernhard Jobin, 1589) [RISM1589<sup>6</sup>]. This is unrelated to the settings previously discussed by Senfl and Lasso.

in the court chapel manuscripts to establish the practical context. The earliest example is possibly *Ecce nunc benedicite* which is copied in Munich, BSB Mus. Ms. 16 (fols. 34<sup>v</sup>-39<sup>r</sup>) probably around 1552 for use in the court chapel under Albrecht V.<sup>52</sup> The manuscript also contains motets by a number of composers including older compositions by Jaquet of Mantua, Mouton, Josquin, Rore, Senfl, Claudin, Verdelot, and Willaert, among others. Another hint concerning the early composition date of the motet is the opening of the psalm in a conservative style which follows the older generation of composers, not dissimilar to the compositional techniques that were examined in Senfl's setting of *Ecce quam bonum* (**Ex. 1**).

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<sup>52</sup> Daser may have copied these works as the newly appointed *Hofkapellmeister* around this time. Bente, *Neue Wege der Quellenkritik*, p. 191.

**Example 6.** Ludwig Daser, *Ecce nunc benedicite*, mm. 1-24

Ec - ce nunc \_\_\_\_\_ be - ne - di-

Ec - ce nunc \_\_\_\_\_ ec - ce nunc be - ne - di - ci -

Ec - ce nunc \_\_\_\_\_ ec - ce nunc be-ne \_\_\_\_\_

Ec - ce nunc, \_\_\_\_\_ ec - ce nunc, ec -

8

- ci - te Do - mi - num, o - mnes ser -

te Do - - - mi-num, o - mnes ser -

di - - ci - te Do - mi-num, o - mnes

- ce nunc be - ne de-ci - te \_\_\_\_\_ Do - mi-num, o - mnes ser -

13

vi Do - - mi - ni: Qui sta-tis in do - mo Do -

vi Do - mi - ni: Qui sta-tis in do - mo

ser - vi Do - mi - ni:

vi Do - mi - ni:

19

- mi-ni

Do - - mi - ni in do-mo Do - mi ni

Qui sta-tis in do - mo Do - - - mi - ni

Qui sta - tis in do - mo Do-mi - ni

It is also interesting to consider Daser as the possible copyist of the manuscript. Like the arrival of Ludwig Senfl to the Bavarian court and the copying of Munich, BSB Mus. Ms. 10 and 12, it is not insignificant that Mus. Ms. 16 was copied around the time that Daser was appointed to the *Hofkapellmeister* post. In line with his new position, the manuscript reflects his new responsibilities including the expansion and updating of the court repertoire. From the examination of Mus. Ms. 10, it was apparent that Senfl's association with Josquin was significant in his presentation to Wilhelm IV (especially in the genre of the motet). In similar fashion, Daser may be representing himself here as an extension of great Franco-Flemish composers evidenced by the style of the motet that he includes. This motet is heavily influenced by earlier examples, including the imitative counterpoint which defines the setting and the bold homophonic declamation which concludes the psalm motet.

**Example 7.** Ludwig Daser, *Ecce nunc benedicite*, mm. 66-77

The musical score for Example 7, Ludwig Daser's *Ecce nunc benedicite*, measures 66-77, is presented for four voices: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The key signature is one sharp (F#). The lyrics for all parts are: "qui fe - cit coe - lum et ter - ram qui fe - cit coe -". The notation shows a homophonic declamation style, with each voice part having a similar melodic contour. The Soprano part begins with a half rest, followed by a quarter note G4, a half note A4, and a quarter note B4. The Alto part begins with a half rest, followed by a quarter note F#4, a half note G4, and a quarter note A4. The Tenor part begins with a half rest, followed by a quarter note E4, a half note F#4, and a quarter note G4. The Bass part begins with a half rest, followed by a quarter note D4, a half note E4, and a quarter note F#4. The score concludes with a final cadence in measure 77.

72

lum et ter - ram

lum et ter - ram et ter - ram

lum et ter - ram, et ter - ram

lum et ter - ram et ter - ram

The influence of Ludwig Daser during his time at the Munich court was not inconsiderable. Evidence of this lies in his music contained by the court chapel manuscripts which includes another psalm motet by Daser, *Ad te levavi oculos meos* (Ps. 122). This four-voice, two-part motet appears in Munich, BSB Mus. Mus. 13 (also likely copied by Daser himself) which is dated around 1555. The motet itself is not particularly remarkable, incorporating clear points of imitation in the four-part polyphonic texture which sets the complete psalm text with the refrain of the first verse. It is, however, interesting in the proximity to Lasso's setting of the same psalm [LV 405]. The psalm, *Ad te levavi oculos meos* is an especially popular text which had been set by other notable composers throughout the sixteenth century.<sup>53</sup> Lasso's setting first appears in print in 1570<sup>54</sup> and was dedicated to Abbott Johannes of Weingarten along with other six-

<sup>53</sup> Palestrina composed a four-voice setting which is included in the *Liber secundum motectorum quatuor vocum* (Milan: Francesco and heirs of Simon Tini, 1587) [RISM P 733]. Five-voice settings were composed by Clemens non Papa, Gombert, Rore, and de Monte.

<sup>54</sup> Orlando di Lasso, *Selectorum aliquot cantionum sacrarum sex vocum fasciculus, adiunctus in fine tribus Dialogis octo vocum* [...] (Munich: Adam Berg, 1570) [RISM 1570c]

voice motets, including three other psalm motets. This setting was possibly composed in the 1560s and has not been found to overtly model any earlier settings.<sup>55</sup> Despite this, it is obvious that Lasso uses Daser's setting as a starting point for his own composition. This is firstly palpable in the division of the text and the same tonal type,  $\sharp$ -g2-C, indicative of Mode 6. In the opening motive, Lasso prepares a most dramatic octave leap at 'levavi' followed by a dotted figure with three stepwise descending crochets. Although Daser is not quoted directly, the order of the voice entries graduates from the Cantus to the Bassus in the unfolding of the polyphony. Furthermore, the descending figures featured in Daser's motet fundamentally belong to his opening motive also appearing after the initial upward leap of a fourth. Lasso does not directly reference Daser, but instead, he hints enough at the characteristic features of the former setting to give an impression of Daser. In doing so, Lasso discloses his familiarity with the motet.

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<sup>55</sup> Peter Bergquist, 'Introduction' to *CM 7*, p. xix.

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**Example 8.** Orlando di Lasso, *Ad te levavi oculos meos*, prima pars, mm. 1-18

Ad te le - va - - vi o - cu - los me - -

Ad te le - va - - vi o - cu - los me - os,

le - va - - vi o - cu -

Ad te

Ad

6

Te levavi oculos meos, te levavi oculos meos, te levavi oculos meos, te levavi oculos meos, te levavi oculos meos, te levavi oculos meos.

11

os, le - va - vi o - cu - los me - os, \_\_\_\_\_

va - vi o - cu - los me - os, qui

me - os, \_\_\_\_\_ qui

me - os, le - va - vi o - cu - los me -

le - va - vi o - cu - los me - os,

os, le - va - vi o - cu - los me - os,

15

qui ha - bi - tas in cae - lis \_\_\_\_\_

ha - bi - tas, qui ha - bi - tas in cae - lis

ha - bi - tas in cae - lis. Ec -

os, qui ha - bi - tas in cae - lis. Ec -

qui ha - bi - tas in cae - lis. Ec -

qui ha - bi - tas in cae - lis. Ec -

**Example 9.** Ludwig Daser, *Ad te levavi oculos meos*, prima pars, mm. 1-15

Ad te le - va - vi o - cu - los me - os, o -

Ad te le - va - vi o - cu - los me -

Ad te le - va -

6

cu - los, o - cu - los me - os, qui ha - bi - tas in

- os, o - cu - los me - os, qui ha - bi - tas in

vi o - cu - los me - os, qui ha - bi -

11

coe - lis, in

coe - lis, in coe - lis, in coe -

tas in coe - lis

coe - lis, in

It is somewhat curious that Lasso does not introduce the ascending triadic motive at ‘qui habitas in caelis’ in the Altus and Tenor I (**Ex. 8**, mm. 14-15), especially since there is no contrapuntal conflict. Taken, therefore, as a conscious decision, it essentially resembles Daser’s setting of ‘*qui habitas*’ which also begins only sounding the pitches a’ and f/f (**Ex. 9**, mm. 9-10). In the middle section of the first part, Lasso temporarily switches to a more homophonic texture which emphasises the long and short stresses of the words. The smallest reduction involves three-voice antiphony at ‘ita oculi nostri’ at the same place where Daser likewise reduces the texture and introduces an antiphonal technique.

**Example 10.** Orlando di Lasso, *Ad te levavi oculos meos*, prima pars, mm. 40-45

i - ta o - cu - li no - stri

i - ta o-cu-li no - stri

i - ta o-cu-li no - stri ad

ta o - cu - li no - stri ad

o-cu-li no - stri ad Do

o-cu-li no - stri ad

**Example 11.** Ludwig Daser, *Ad te levavi oculos meos*, prima pars, mm. 44-51

The image shows a musical score for four voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass) in a setting of 'Ad te levavi oculos meos'. The lyrics are: 'I - ta o - cu - li no - stri ad Do - mi'. The music is written in a four-part setting, with each voice part having its own staff. The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across multiple notes. The Soprano and Alto parts have a similar melodic line, while the Tenor and Bass parts have a different, more rhythmic line. The lyrics are: 'I - ta o - cu - li no - stri ad Do - mi'.

The final example for consideration here involves the beginning of the secunda pars at 'Miserere nostri.' As expected, Lasso setting does not resemble Daser at a glance; however, Lasso decorates the Cantus which is reminiscent of Daser's opening line. However, Lasso uses a mirrored two-voice point of imitation of Daser's model in the Cantus and Altus parts over a homophonic foundation of the other voices (**Ex. 12**, mm. 77-82) which recalls the two-part counterpoint which characterises the secunda pars of Daser's motet.

**Example 12.** Orlando di Lasso, *Ad te levavi oculos meos*, secunda pars,  
mm. 69-82

Mi - se - re - re no - stri Do - mi - ne,

Mi - se - re - re no - stri Do - mi - ne,

Mi - se - re - re no - stri Do - mi - ne, mi - se -

Mi - se - re - re no - stri Do - mi - ne, mi -

Mi - se -

Mi - se -

74

Mi - se -

re - re no - stri Do - mi - ne, mi -

se - re - re no - stri Do - mi - ne, mi -

re - re no - stri Do - mi - ne, mi -

re - re no - stri Do - mi - ne, mi -

mi - se-re - re no - stri, mi - se - re - re no - stri

re - re no - stri, mi - se - re - re no - stri

- se - re - re no - stri, mi - se - re - re no

- se - re - re no - stri, mi - se - re - re no - stri

se - re - re no - stri, mi - se - re - re no - stri

- se - re - re no - stri mi - se - re - re no - stri

Example 13. Ludwig Daser, *Ad te levavi oculos meos*, secunda pars, mm. 68-75

Mi-se - re - re no stri\_ Do - mi - ne,

Mi - se-re - re no - stri\_Do - mi - ne

Mi - se - re - re no - stri, Do -

Mi - se - re - re

It is not surprising that Lasso had used Daser's motet as an immediate source of inspiration. Although Lasso's reference to Daser is subtle, it seems unlikely that the similarities in the settings are a matter of mere coincidence and that, perhaps, Lasso composed this motet as an homage to Daser. Later correspondence between the composers shows that Lasso and Daser remained on amicable terms after Daser's dismissal from Munich.<sup>56</sup>

The development of the psalm motet in Munich alone and its record contained in the manuscripts of the court chapel accords with a larger picture of motet composition in the sixteenth century. Furthermore, with Lasso's predecessors, Senfl and Daser, it is evident that the court composer actively sought to form his own identity within the court chapel and was responsible for the introduction of repertoire which is to be representative of the contemporary court practice. Conscious of past examples and in the tradition of his predecessors, Lasso, demonstrated their relevance during his time at the Bavarian court.

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<sup>56</sup> Leuchtman, *Briefe*, p. 255-6. Item Nr. 54: '*Lasso, vermutlich aus München, an Ludwig Daser, fürstlich württembergischen Kapellmeister in Stuttgart, ohne Orts- und Zeitangabe.*' Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 11.12 Aug. 2<sup>o</sup>, fol. 86<sup>r</sup>-87<sup>v</sup>. Lasso addresses the letter to '*Dem ern vesten vnnd wolgeachten Hern Ludwich Daser F. württenwergerischer Capelmeister meinem ginstigen liebenn hern vnd em ginstigen liebenn hern vnd freundt zu aigen handen*' and signs it as '*Tuus seruus et amicus, Orlandus Lassus.*'



## The Psalm Motet Repertoire

Historiographical tradition has deemed Orlando di Lasso an authority on the sixteenth-century psalm motet genre. In this, Lasso is the culmination of a German national tradition of Catholic psalm motets.

*Die katholische, ausschließlich lateinische Psalm-Motette in Deutschland beginnt mit Stoltzers und Senfls Psalmen und erreicht ihren Höhepunkt in Lasso.*<sup>57</sup>

It is evident that Lasso wrote psalm motets throughout his career, composing a total of 40 complete psalms. Moreover, this number includes the masterpiece cycle of the *Psalmi poenitentiales* which is a defining piece of late-Renaissance art. Although Lasso proves in previous examples that he is very mindful of his predecessors, unlike the genres of the Mass and the Magnificat, it is apparent that Lasso does not overtly make use of models and keenly avoids obvious parodies. Instead, Lasso is apt to use the psalm motet genre as an outlet for musical expression through controlled compositional experimentation. This section will outline a typology of Lasso's psalm motets taking stylistic criteria and chronology into account.

In overview, the following table provides a list of these motets ordered by psalm with incipit, voicing, modern measures (breves) for a comparison of durations and the different structures of the motet. The penitential psalm cycle is listed separately from the individual motets.

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<sup>57</sup> 'The Catholic, exclusively Latin psalm motets in Germany begin with Stoltzer's and Senfl's psalms and achieve its pinnacle with Lasso.' Ludwig Finscher, 'Psalm: III. Die Mehrstimmige Psalm-Komposition, 3. Die Psalm-Motette,' *MGG2*. Translation mine.

**Table 6.** Lasso's motets on complete psalm texts

<u>Ps.</u>	<u>LV</u>	<u>Incipit</u>	<u>Voice</u>	<u>Mm.</u>	<u>Parts</u>
1	327	<i>Beatus vir, qui non abiit</i>	6	205	9 vv + dox
3	722	<i>Domine, quid multiplicati sunt</i>	6	58	1 part
3	1143	<i>Domine, quid multiplicati sunt</i>	12	116	2 parts
4	403	<i>Cum invocarem</i>	6	101	3 parts
8	637	<i>Domine, Dominus noster</i>	6	61	1 part
53	234	<i>Deus, in nomine tuo</i>	4	130	2 parts
64	202	<i>Te decet hymnus Deus in Sion</i>	4	210	13 vv
66	266	<i>Deus misereatur nostri</i>	8	90	1 part
69	734	<i>Deus in adjutorium meum intende</i>	6	48	1 part
99	247	<i>Jubilare Deo omnis terra</i>	6	135	2 parts
102	398	<i>Benedic anima mea Domino</i>	6	329	5 parts
109	406	<i>Dixit Dominus Domino meo</i>	8	102	1 part
111	235	<i>Beatus vir qui timet Dominum</i>	4	238	11 vv + dox
112	342	<i>Laudate pueri Dominum</i>	7	93	1 part
115	357	<i>Credidi propter quod locutus sum</i>	5	78	2 parts
116	522	<i>Laudate Dominum omnes gentes</i>	12	81	1 part
116	1122	<i>Laudate Dominum omnes gentes</i>	6	63	1 part
119	986	<i>Ad Dominum cum tribularer</i>	6	76	2 parts
120	267	<i>Levavi oculos meos in montes</i>	8	84	1 part
121	543	<i>Laetatus sum</i>	3	164	4 parts
122	405	<i>Ad te levavi oculos meos</i>	6	124	2 parts
125	250	<i>In convertendo</i>	8	108	2 parts
126	122	<i>Nisi Dominus aedificaverit domum</i>	5	130	2 parts
127	242	<i>Beati omnes qui timent Dominum</i>	5	133	2 parts
127	553	<i>Beati omnes qui timent Dominum</i>	3	109	2 parts
130	50	<i>Domine, non est exaltatum cor meum</i>	5	114	2 parts
130	541	<i>Domine, non est exaltatum cor meum</i>	3	126	2 parts
130	834	<i>Domine, non est exaltatum cor meum</i>	6	111	2 parts
132	1139	<i>Ecce quam bonum</i>	8	56	1 part
133	1129	<i>Ecce nunc benedicite Dominum</i>	7	49	1 part
140	510	<i>Domine clamavi ad te</i>	5	233	3 parts
146	343	<i>Laudate Dominum, quoniam bonum</i>	7	191	4 parts
147	227	<i>Lauda Jerusalem</i>	6	182	4 parts

***Penitential Psalms***

6	794	<i>Domine, ne in furore tuo</i>	5	12vv + dox
31	795	<i>Beati quorum remissae sunt</i>	5	16 vv + dox
37	796	<i>Domine, ne in furore tuo</i>	5	25 vv + dox
50	797	<i>Miserere mei Deus</i>	5	22 vv + dox
101	798	<i>Domine exaudi orationem meam</i>	5	16 vv + dox
129	799	<i>De profundis clamavi ad te Domine</i>	5	10 vv + dox
142	800	<i>Domine exaudi orationem meam</i>	5	31 vv + dox

To reiterate the scope of the psalm motet genre, these motets are settings of the complete psalm text. At a glance, there are very few duplications of the same psalm. In the cases where Lasso composes multiple settings [Pss. 3, 116, and 127], the vocal texture of the psalm is drastically amplified or reduced. Lasso demonstrates variability in the setting of the Latin psalm text in the number of viable configurations in terms of voicing and structure. About a third of the psalm motets reflect a bipartite structure, as commonly seen in the early tradition of the psalm motet. Roughly another third is made up of the shorter one-part settings. These are most frequently scored for five and six voices also at about the same proportion. The scale and scope in the musical treatment of the psalm texts is broad indeed, ranging from three-voice to twelve-voice settings and brief one-part settings to the expansive five-part *Benedic anima mea Domino* [LV 398]. The motet cycle of the penitential psalms ordered by the church modes is a singular curiosity.

It is difficult to ascertain the chronology of the motets since only a couple are ascribed a specific date. All of the psalm motets appear in the posthumous edition of Lasso's motets edited by his sons, Ferdinand and Rodolfo.<sup>58</sup> Nevertheless, it is possible to look at a chronology of psalm motets based on their appearance in print. From this, it is likely that one of the earliest composed psalm motets was the five-voice setting of Ps. 130, *Domine, non est exaltatum cor meum* [LV 50] which first appears in print in 1556 in a motet collection containing other

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<sup>58</sup> Orlando di Lasso, *Magnum opus musicum* (Munich: Nikolaus Henrici, 1604) [RISM 1604a]. Although the motets are not ordered chronologically, Horst Leuchtmann has established that within the ordering by number of voices, they are sub-categorised by type: honorary motets, sacred texts, psalm texts, and poetic texts. Horst Leuchtmann, 'Zum Ordnungsprinzip in Lassos Magnum Opus Musicum,' *Musik in Bayern* xl (1990), pp. 40-72.

miscellaneous motets for five and six voices. Below is a list of the motets as they chronologically appear in print and in the court chapel manuscripts.

**Table 7.** Lasso's motets first appearances in print and Munich court chapel manuscripts chronologically

### 1556

*Domine, non est exaltatum cor meum*, 5vv [LV 50]

*Il primo libro de mottetti a cinque & a sei voci nuouamente posti in luce [...]*  
(Antwerp: Johann Laet, 1556) [RISM 1556a]

Munich, BSB, Mus. Ms. 20 (56<sup>v</sup>-67<sup>r</sup>) [Manuscript dates from around 1560]

### 1559?

*Domine, ne in furore tuo*, 5vv [LV 794]

*Beati quorum remissae sunt*, 5vv [LV 795]

*Domine, ne in furore tuo*, 5vv [LV 796]

*Miserere mei, Deus*, 5vv [LV 797]

*Domine exaudi orationem meam*, 5vv [LV 798]

*De profundis clamavi ad te Domine*, 5vv [LV 799]

*Domine exaudi orationem meam*, 5vv [LV 800]

Munich, BSB, Mus. Ms. A, 1570<sup>59</sup>

### 1562

*Nisi Dominus aedificaverit domum*, 5vv [LV 122]

*Sacrae cantiones quinque vocum, tum, viva voce, tum omnis generis instrumentis cantata commodissimae [...]* (Nuremberg: Johannes Montanus, 1562) [RISM 1562a]

### 1564

*Te decet hymnus Deus in Sion*, 4vv [LV 202]

*Thesavri musici tomus quintus, et ultimus, continens sacras harmonias quatuor, vocibus compositas [...]* (Nuremberg: Motanus & Neuber, 1564) [RISM 1564<sup>5</sup>]

<sup>59</sup> It was largely assumed that Lasso composed the cycle around 1559 based on the preface to its publication in 1584 stating: '*Anni sunt, plus minus, viginti quinque, cum septem Psalmos Poenitentiales Musicis modis reddidi.*' Orlando di Lasso, *Psalmi Davidis poenitentialis, modis musicis redditi, atque antehac nunquam in lucem aediti [...]* (Adam Berg: Munich, 1584) [RISM 1584e]. The manuscript was completed around 1570, but the date of origination is debatable. Bossuyt suggests a date of 1563. Ignace Bossuyt, 'The Copyist Jan Pollet and the Theft in 1563 of Orlandus Lassus' 'Secret' Penitential Psalms' in Albert Clement and Eric Jas (eds.), *From Ciconia to Sweelinck: Donum Natalicium Willem Elders* (Amsterdam, 1994), p. 262.

## 1565

*Lauda Jerusalem*, 4vv [LV 227]

*Cantus Orlandi Lassi chori bavariae cuius magistri, quinque et sex vocibus perornatae, sacrae cantiones nunc primum omni diligentia in lucem editae [...]* (Venice: Hieronymus Scotto, 1565) [RISM 1565c]

*Deus, in nomine tuo*, 4vv [LV 234]

*Beatus vir qui timet Dominum*, 4vv [LV 235]

*Beati omnes qui timent Dominum*, 5vv [LV 242]

*Jubilate Deo omnis terra*, 6vv [LV 247]

*In convertendo*, 8vv [LV 250]

*Modulorum Orlandi de Lassus. Quaternis, quinis, sênis, septenis, octonis & denis vocibus modulorum secuncum volumen [...]* (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1565) [RISM 1565a]

## 1566

*Deus misereatur nostri*, 8vv [LV 266]

*Levavi oculos meos in montes*, 8vv [LV 267]

*Tenor. Orlandi Lassi Sacrae cantiones (vulgo metecta appellatae sex et octo vocum [...])* (Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1566) [RISM 1566e]

## 1568

*Beatus vir, qui non abiit*, 6vv [LV 327]

*Laudate pueri Dominum*, 7vv [LV 342]

*Laudate Dominum, quoniam bonum*, 7vv [LV 343]

*Selectissimae Cantiones, quas vulgo motetas vocant, partim omnino novae, parim nusquam in Germania excusae [...]* (Nuremberg: Theodore Gerlach, 1568) [RISM 1568a]

## 1569

*Credidi propter quod locutus sum*, 5vv [LV 357]

*Cantiones aliquot quinque vocum, tum viva voce, tum omnis generis instrumentis cantatu commodissimae. [...]* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1569), [RISM 1569a]

## 1570

*Benedic anima mea Domino*, 6vv [LV 398]

*Cum invocarem*, 6vv [LV 403]

*Ad te levavi oculos meos*, 6vv [LV 405]

*Dixit Dominus Domino meo*, 8vv [LV 406]

*Selectiorum aliquot cantionum sacrarum sex vocum fasciculus, adiunctus in fine tribus Dialogis octo vocum [...]* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1570) [RISM 1570c]

### 1573

*Laudate Dominum omnes gentes*, 12vv [LV 522]

*Domine clamavi ad te*, 5vv [LV 510]

*Moduli sex septem et dvodecim vocum, Orlando Lassusio [...]* (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard) [RISM 1573b]

### 1575

*Domine, non est exaltatum cor meum*, 3vv [LV 541]

*Laetatus sum*, 3vv [LV 543]

*Beati omnes qui timent Dominum*, 3vv [LV 553]

*Orlandi de Lasso, Illustrissimi Bauariae Ducis ALBERTI Chori Magistri, Liber Mottetarvm, Trium vocum Quae cum viuae voci, tum omnis generis Instrumentis Musicis commodissimè applicari possunt.* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1575) [RISM 1575b]

### 1577

*Domine, Dominus noster*, 6vv [LV 637]

Munich, BSB, Mus. Ms. 15 (8<sup>v</sup>-32<sup>r</sup>), *Missa Domine dominus noster M. Orlando di Lassus 1577 in Novembre*

Munich, BSB, Mus. Ms. 79 (32<sup>v</sup>-39<sup>r</sup>), *Orlandus de Lassus Missa Domine dominus noster*

*Tenor. Moduli. Quatvor 5. 6. 7. 8. Et novem vocum.* [...] (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1577) [RISM 1577e]

### 1582

*Domine, quid multiplicati sunt*, 6vv [LV 722]

Munich, BSB, Mus. Ms. 11 (154<sup>v</sup>-160<sup>r</sup>), *Orlando de Lassus. Anno 1579 in Aprili.*

*Deus in adiutorium meum intende*, 6vv [LV 734]

*Mottetta, sex vocum, typis nondum uspiam excusa: singulari authoris industria iampridem composita, et praelo submissa [...]* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1582) [RISM 1582e]

Munich, BSB, Mus. Ms. 11 (169<sup>v</sup>-174<sup>r</sup>), *Anno 1579. In septembri. Or. Las. Autore*

### 1585

*Domine, non est exaltatum cor meum*, 6vv [LV 834]

*Cantica sacra, recens numeris et modulis musicis orname, nec ullibi antea typis vulgata. Sex et octo vocibus [...]* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1585) [RISM 1585b]

## 1594

*Ad Dominum cum tribularer*, 6vv [LV 986]

*Cantiones sacrae sex vocum, quas vulgo motectas vocant, Nunc primum lucem aspicientes, tum viuae vocis, tum omniuaro instrumentorum concentui accommodate, & singulari confectae industria* (Graz: Georg Widmanstetter, 1594) [RISM 1594a]

## 1604

*Laudate Dominum omnes gentes*, 6vv [LV 1122]

*Ecce nunc benedicite Dominum*, 7vv [LV 1129]

*Ecce quam bonum*, 8vv [LV 1139]

*Domine, quid multiplicati sunt*, 12vv [LV 1143]

*Magnum opus musicum Orlandi de Lasso capellae bavaricae quondam magistri. Complectens omnes cantiones quas motetas vulgo vocant, tam antea editas quam hactenus nondum publicatas II. III. IV. V. VI. VII. IIX. IX. X. XII. Vocum [...]* (Munich: Nicolas Henricus, 1604) [RISM 1604a]

### Early Psalm Motets (ca. 1555-1564)

In the publication of Lasso's motets, it appears that the compositional chronology of the works generally corresponds to their order of print.<sup>60</sup> In many cases, the dated examples in manuscript do appear in print shortly thereafter. For example, *Domine, Dominus noster* [LV 637] dated 1577 in the court chapel manuscripts appears in print the same year. Also, the motets which are dated in 1579 (*Domine, quid multiplicati sunt* [LV 722] and *Deus in adiutorium meum intende* [LV 734]) subsequently appear in the 1582 motet collection. However, it is also true that certain works were not printed until long after they were composed. A case in point is the *Psalmi poenitentiales* which were completed in manuscript around 1570 but were first printed in 1584. Again, these psalms were treated exceptionally by Albrecht V who secretly held them in his private collection. With the assumption that the psalm motets are generally first printed around the time they were composed, it is possible to use the chronology as a way to trace compositional trends and style in Lasso's output.

As already mentioned, the earliest psalm motet is likely *Domine, non est exaltatum cor meum* [LV 50] which was first printed in 1556 by Johann Laet, the same year he took an appointment at the Munich Court. Various texts including laudatory poems, responsories, antiphons, miscellaneous psalm verses, and this complete psalm were included in this first printed collection of motets. The psalm motet is obviously modelled on earlier styles, built primarily on the use of imitation and a five-voice polyphonic texture throughout the setting. Like Ludwig Senfl's treatment of psalms, the text is divided in half at a thematic

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<sup>60</sup> Peter Bergquist, 'Introduction' to *CM* 11, p. xi.



turning point which shifts away from the negative confessions to the hope that is offered. The setting is largely comprised of an even five-voice polyphonic texture through the development of imitation at each new phrase of text.

**Example 14.** Orlando di Lasso, *Domine, non est exaltatum cor meum*, prima pars, mm. 1-25

The image displays a musical score for a five-voice setting. It consists of five staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The first staff is a vocal line with the lyrics "Do - mi - ne, non est" followed by a long horizontal line indicating a sustained note, then "ex - al - ta - - - tum cor". The second staff is a vocal line with the lyrics "Do - mi - ne, non est" followed by a long horizontal line. The third staff is a vocal line with the lyrics "Do - mi - ne, non est" followed by a long horizontal line. The fourth staff is a vocal line with the lyrics "Do - mi - ne, non est" followed by a long horizontal line. The fifth staff is a vocal line with the lyrics "Do - mi - ne, non est" followed by a long horizontal line, then "ex - al -".

Do - mi - ne, non est, \_\_\_\_\_

me - um, non est ex - al - ta - tum cor \_\_\_\_\_ me - um, Do -

Do - mi - ne, non est \_\_\_\_\_ ex - al - ta - tum \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ ex - al - ta - tum cor me - um, ex - al - ta - tum \_\_\_\_\_ cor me -

ta - tum cor \_\_\_\_\_ me - um, Do - mi - ne, non

Do - mi - ne, non est ex - al - ta - tum cor me - um, ex - al -

- mi - ne non est ex - al - ta - tum \_\_\_\_\_ cor me - um, ex - al - ta -

\_\_\_\_\_ cor me - um, ex - al - ta - tum cor me - um, non est ex -

um, Do - mi - ne, non est ex - al - ta - tum cor me um,

est \_\_\_\_\_ ex - al - ta - tum cor me - um, ex -

16

ta-tum cor me - um ne - que e - la-ti  
 - tum cor me - um ne - que e - la-ti sunt, ne-  
 - al - ta - tum cor me - um ne - que e - la-ti  
 ex - al - ta - tum cor me - um, cor me - um  
 - al - ta - tum cor me - um ne - que e - la-ti sunt o - cu-li,

21

sunt, ne - que e - la-ti sunt o - cu  
 - que e - la - ti sunt o - cu-li me - i, ne - que e - la - ti  
 sunt o - cu - li me - i, o - cu-li me - i, ne  
 ne - que e - la-ti sunt, ne - que e - la - ti  
 ne - que e - la-ti sunt,

Aside from this compositional technique, the setting treats the repeated doxology-like final phrase of text 'ex hoc nunc et usque in saeculum' in a four-

voice antiphonal texture. Lasso exercises conservatism in the treatment of the text, composing in a similar style to his immediate predecessors with a focus on the structure and counterpoint. Lasso only hints at the idea of word painting with an exceptional use of the E<sup>b</sup> sonority at ‘Si non humiliter.’<sup>61</sup> This psalm motet is a representative example of Lasso’s early style (ca. from late-1550s to early-1560s) around the beginning of his career at the Bavarian court. The earliest motets mainly demonstrate a five-voice texture, two-part structure which is primarily built on imitative counterpoint. There is, furthermore, a lack of word painting and limited variability in the texture which is largely continuous polyphony. *Nisi Dominus aedificaverit domum* [LV 122] (first printed in 1562) also shares this same early psalm motet style.

Although the *Psalmi poenitentialis* motet cycle was composed early in Lasso’s career, the compositional approach is significantly different to *Domine, non est exaltatum cor meum*. Lasso experimented with the treatment of individual verses in the 1560s with *Te decet hymnus Deus in Sion* [LV 202], *Beatus vir qui timet Dominum* [LV 235], and *Beatus vir, qui non abiit* [LV 327]. All of these settings except *Te decet hymnus Deus in Sion* include the doxology divided into two parts (‘Gloria patri’/‘Sicut erat’) as a liturgical reference. Although the function and utility of these expanded settings is not fully understood, it is clear that the short individual treatment of the psalm verses allowed for a juxtaposition of greater contrast in voicing and textures than previously seen in the early settings of psalm motets. The vocal texture tends towards homophony, but often not in a strict sense with staggered entries.

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<sup>61</sup> The aberration of Mode as an affective tool is described with catalogued examples in Bernhard Meier, *The Modes of Classical Polyphony* trans. Ellen Beebe (New York, 1988).

**Example 15.** Orlando di Lasso, *Beatus vir, qui non abiit*, v. 1, mm. 1-19

Be - - a - - tus vir,

Be - - a - - tus vir, qui non

Be - - a - - tus vir, qui non

Be - - a - - tus vir, qui non

Be - - a - - tus vir,

Be - - a - - tus vir, qui non

6

qui non ab - i - it in con - si -

ab - i - it, qui non ab - i - it in con - si -

ab - i - it, qui non ab - i - it in

ab - i - it, in con - si - li -

qui non ab - i - it in con - si -

ab - i - it, in con - si -

- li - o im - pi - o - rum, et in

- li - o im - pi - o - rum et in vi -

con - si - li - o im - pi - o - rum et in vi - a pec -

o im - pi - o - rum, et in vi - a

li - o im - pi - o - rum, et in vi - a pec -

- li - o im - pi - o - rum, et in vi - a pec -

vi - a pec - ca - to - rum non ste - tit,

a pec - ca - to - rum non ste - tit,

- ca - to - rum non ste - tit,

pec - ca - to - rum non ste - tit,

- ca - to - rum non ste - tit, et

- ca - to - rum non ste - tit,

As in the *Psalmi poenitentialis*, the style of *Beatus vir, qui non abiit* varies from verse to verse. Lasso often uses the verse number as the designation of voices. This motet is no exception with a highly imitative tricinia set for v. 3 and a more homophonic four-voice setting on v. 4.

**Example 16.** Orlando di Lasso, *Beatus vir, qui non abiit*, v. 3, mm. 52-63

Et e - rit, et e - rit tam -

Et e - rit, et e - rit, tam -

Et e - rit, tam - quam

56

quam li - bnum, quod plan - ta - tum est

- quam li - gnum, quod plan - ta - tum est se - cus de -

li - gnum, quod plan - ta - tum est se - cus

60

se - cus de - cur - sus a - qua - rum,

cur - sus a - qua - rum, se - cus de -

de - cur - sus a - qua - rum,

After this setting of *Beatus vir, qui non abiit* (printed in 1568) Lasso did not compose another psalm motet structured according to the individual verses. It is evident that Lasso composed the verses to be self-sufficient musical entities that might have also enjoyed performance outside of the context of the entire psalm. This is evidenced by the tricinium (v. 3) of *Beatus vir qui non abiit* which was reprinted singularly a few times during Lasso's life in collections of music for three voices.<sup>62</sup> A further example of a verse extraction is shown by select inclusion in posthumous compendia. For example, the two-voice psalm verses were taken from such extended psalm settings to be included in an edited volume of bicinia for the purpose of teaching students how to sing.

**Table 8.** Lasso psalm motets included in *Bicinia Sacra, ex variis auctoribus in usum iuventutis scholasticae* [...] (Nuremberg: Catharina Gerlach, 1591). [RISM 1591<sup>27</sup>]

<i>Domine ne in furore</i> [LV 794]
v. 8 <i>Discedite a me</i>
<i>Beati quorum remissae sunt</i> [LV 795]
v. 10 <i>Intellectum tibi dabo</i>
<i>Domine ne in furore</i> [LV 796]
v. 5 <i>Putruerunt et corruptae</i>
<i>Miserere mei, Deus</i> [LV 797]
v. 9 <i>Auditui meo dabis</i>
<i>Domine exaudi orationem meam</i> [LV 798]
v. 2 <i>Non avertas faciem</i>
v. 9 <i>Tota die exprobant</i>
<i>Domine exaudi orationem meam</i> [LV 800]
v. 6 <i>Expandi manus</i>
<i>Beatus vir qui timet</i> [LV 235]
v. 6 <i>In memoria aeterna</i>

<sup>62</sup> *Tricinia sacra ex diversis* [...] (Nuremberg: Theodore Gerlach, 1567) [RISM 1567<sup>2</sup>]; *Selectissimarum sacrarum cantionum (quas vulgo moteta vocant) flores, trium vocum* [...] (Louvain: Pierre Phalèse, 1569) [RISM 1569<sup>5</sup>]; Orlandi de Lasso [...], *Liber Mottetarum, Trium vocum* [...] (Munich: Adam Berg, 1575) [RISM 1575b].



This compositional planning of individual verses formed a portion of my previous study on formal aspects of the *Psalmi Davidis poenitentialis* motet cycle. Therein, I demonstrated an emphasis on balance and symmetry between psalms and between verse structures.<sup>63</sup> In order to elaborate on the discussion of structure and techniques used in Lasso's early psalm motets, it is fortunate to have a number of theoretical foundations already in place by the work of scholars especially in the last fifty years.<sup>64</sup> Sixteenth-century harmony is generally understood as a fundamental result of linear Modal counterpoint; nonetheless, the conceptualisation of vertical harmony by late sixteenth-century composers serves to demonstrate how such structures are used and connected in the practical context of composition. This is particularly true in homophonic and quasi-homophonic textures in Lasso's early compositions. Such homophonic writing with the vertical harmony rooted in the lowest voice is increasingly represented in both secular and sacred genres in the late sixteenth century.

The approach to a harmonic analysis has been developed by Horst-Willi Gross in a lesser-known study on harmonic structures and relationship in the broader

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<sup>63</sup> Diane Temme, *A Preliminary Study in Aspects of Structural Continuity in Lasso's Penitential Psalms* (M.Phil. diss., Bangor University, 2012).

<sup>64</sup> This body of theory includes Siegfried Hermelink's conception of functional tonalities using combinations of key signature, cleffing, and Modal Final. Siegfried Hermelink, *Dispositiones modorum: die Tonarten in der Musik Palestrinas und seiner Zeitgenossen* (Tutzing, 1960). Harold Powers expanded on Hermelink's theory of tonalities through the categorisation of 'tonal types.' Esp. Harold Powers, 'Tonal Types and Modal Categories in Renaissance Polyphony,' *JAMS* xiv (1981), pp. 428-70; 'Modal Representation in Polyphonic Offertories,' *Early Music History* ii (1982), pp. 43-86. Bernhard Meier interpreted modality through treatises as a real basis for theory and expression in *The Modes of Classical Polyphony*; finally, David Crook's discussion of normative tonal compass in Lasso's motets helped define the practical sonic vocabulary by outlining technical parameters in late-Renaissance composition. David Crook, 'Tonal Compass in the Motets of Orlando di Lasso' in Dolores Pesce (ed.), *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (New York, 1997), pp. 286-306.

works of Lasso.<sup>65</sup> The *Psalmi poenitentiales* are comprised of individual verses that conclude with the minor doxology. The similarity in the homophonic texture of the first verse of the doxology ('Gloria patri') and the imitative counterpoint of the second verse ('Sicut erat') with the addition of a sixth voice insinuates a connection in the treatment of these verses across the motet cycle. The harmonic analysis in the 'Gloria patri' verses revealed a structural outline in the first setting which served as a pattern for the subsequent verses.

**Figure 1.** Simplified harmonic outline of the 'Gloria Patri,' *Psalmi poenitentiales* (Ps. 6)<sup>66</sup>

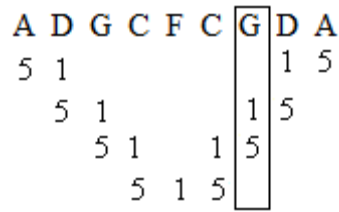
	A D G C F C D A									
<b>D</b>	5	1	4				7	1	5	
<b>G</b>			5	1						
<b>C</b>				5	1	4	1			

The harmonic chain of fifths begins to appear not only in the shifting of tonal centres, but also in progressive 5 -1 relationships, which act to link these centres together. This scheme makes sense through the first half of the verse, i.e. 'et Filio,' but noticeably, in the second half G is evaded by a neighbouring harmony C to D. Despite this omission, the harmonic structure has been implied as the underlying structure.

<sup>65</sup> Horst-Willi Gross, *Klangliche Struktur und Klangverhältnis in Messen und lateinischen Motetten Orlando di Lassos* (Tutzing, 1997).

<sup>66</sup> Temme, *Aspects of Structural Continuity*, p. 115, Ex. 4.2.2. The bold letters indicate tonal centres, (most are transitory) with the numerals relating the harmony to the distance from the centre of the tonal space. The order of the tonal centres on the vertical axis are listed from top to bottom as they occur in the music and do not imply hierarchy. The letters across the top indicate the harmonic changes in the verse.

**Figure 2.** Underlying harmonic pattern of the ‘Gloria Patri’ verses<sup>67</sup>



The harmonic structure is not only symmetrically balanced in the form, but also reinforces Lasso’s interpreted structure of the text. There is a cadential figure at ‘Gloria patri’ (A–D), though this cadence is evaded in the Bassus. The subsequent caesura at ‘et filio’ follows with the alignment of all voices with the text. Lasso bisects the verse here in terms of the underlying harmonic structure, inverting the direction of the harmonic chain of fifths. The formula allows for the controlled and gradual expansion of the tonal space through the first designated half-verse before the harmony finally reverts to the origin through the established pattern of successive fifths. These principles govern the setting of this text within the cycle and can be observed in subsequent settings of the doxology in the cycle. This example of the *Psalmi poenitentiales* is useful in establishing a clear precedent for the deliberate use of harmony as a structural device. However, the example of such formal patterns illuminates the manipulation of harmonic relationships in the formation of musical syntax. Moreover, the harmonic events symmetrically planned together with the text demonstrates a significant amount of forethought to the structure of the verses within the larger cycle. From the discussion of an isolated phenomenon in the *Psalmi poenitentiales*, other compositions demonstrate similar schemes of harmonic structuring with the expansion and

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid, p. 116, Ex. 4.2.3.

retraction of tonal space and variations which can be found within a prescribed formula.

As a further example, Lasso's eight-voice psalm motet, *In Convertendo* [LV 250] first appeared in print in 1565. The final line of the psalm text in the secunda pars, 'portantes manipulos suos' is repeated about three times and additionally concludes with a final extended cadence. Gross comments that the chain of fifths here remarkably encompasses the entire tonal space of the motet (in Mode 2, transposed).<sup>68</sup> Starting at this point of text from D, Lasso employs the same harmonic chain of fifths to reach the extreme limits of this tonal space. The harmony moves through D G C F B<sup>b</sup> (with an avoided cadence on E<sup>b</sup>). The movement is reversed to the upper limit with an avoided cadence of the same nature on A. The harmonic movement is once again reversed until B<sup>b</sup> where the harmony again centres on G for a penultimate cadence before the extended final.

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<sup>68</sup> Gross, *Klangliche Struktur und Klangverhältnis*, pp. 63-4.

**Example 17.** Orlando di Lasso, *In Convertendo*, secunda pars, mm. 93-108

por-tan - tes, por-tan - tes, ma - ni - pu los su - os, po -

98

por - tan - tes ma - ni - pulos su - os, por -  
tan - tes ma - ni - pu - los su - os, por tan -  
los su - os, por - tan - tes ma - ni - pu - los su - os,  
los su - os por - tan - tes ma - ni - pu - los su - os, por - tan -  
por - tan - tes ma - ni - pulos su - os, por - tan -  
ni - pulos su - os, por - tan - tes ma - ni - pulos su - os,  
los, por - tan - tes por tan - tes ma - ni - pu  
los su - os, por - tan - tes ma - ni - pu - los su - os,

tan - tes ma - ni - pu - los, ma - ni - pu - los su - os.  
 - tes ma - ni - pu - los su - os.  
 por - tan - tes ma - ni - pu - los su - os, ma - ni - pu - los su - os.  
 os, ma - ni - pu - los su - os, ma - ni - pu - los su - os.  
 - tes ma - ni - pu - los su - os, ma - ni - pu - los su - os.  
 por - tan - tes ma - ni - pu - los su - os, ma - ni - pu - los su - os.  
 los su - os, ma - ni - pu - los su - os.  
 por - tan - tes ma - ni - pu - los su - os, ma - ni - pu - los su - os.

This is a further example of the same harmonic structure which was seen in the *Psalmi poenitentiales*. Though in his analysis, Gross has overlooked the structural component of this scheme. As the final phrase of the secunda pars comes to an intentional and elaborate close, the final phrase of the prima pars, 'facti sumus laetantes' follows the same harmonic pattern of fifths, but only between Bb to D.

**Example 18.** Orlando di Lasso, *In Convertendo*, prima pars, mm. 48-55

fa - cti su - mus lae - tan - tes.

fa - cti su - mus lae - tan - tes fa - cti su - mus lae - tan - tes, lac tan tes.

fa - cti su - mus lae tan - tes, fa - cti su - mus lae tan - tes.

fa - cti su - mus lae - tan - tes fa - cti su - mus lae tan - tes.

fa - cti su - mus lae - tan - tes.

fa - cti su - mus lac - tan - tes, fa - cti sumus lac tan - tes.

fa - cti sumus lae - tan - tes, fa - cti sumus lae - tan - tes.

fa - cti su - mus lae - tan - tes.

With no other instances of this type of progression in the rest of the setting, it seems that Lasso planned a parallel close for the prima and secunda pars of the motet. This is formed by the final phrase and is written as a final *tutti* after the polychoral antiphonal writing. The end of each part is marked by the change of texture and the distinctive harmonic formula. This is created by the added punctuation of the harmonic structure connected explicitly to these points of the text within the two-part form of the motet. The harmonic elaboration of the last phrase comes as a consequence of the repetition of the same text. In this manner, Lasso's harmonic structures are certainly not arbitrary devices, but are intimately bound together and musically understood in connection with the text. Likewise, the appearance of similar structures in a composition often indicates interrelated parts of text which is generally detached from specific meanings. It

can be surmised that some of Lasso's early psalm motets were experiments in large-scale structures, often combined with references to an older style of imitative technique. As John Milsom observes Lasso's motets in collections published in the early 1560s, he talks about the difference between 'archaic' and an 'archaizing' style:

Lassus is well able to look over his shoulder and draw upon the musical language of the past. He is not a modernist in every note he wrote. This is not a side to Lassus that has been stressed much in the past, but it is certainly there to be taken into account.<sup>69</sup>

#### Mature Psalm Motets (ca. 1565-1573)

From the mid-1560s, it appears that Lasso began to add more variation to the psalm motet in the development of vocal textures and the seamless integration of this texture, counterpoint, and expression into increasingly shorter musical settings. Still in 1564, Lasso's psalm motet, *Te decet hymnus in Sion*, appears in an edited collection of motets, *Thesavri musici tomus quintus, et ultimus, continens sacras harmonias quatuor vocibus compositas [...]* (Nuremberg: Montanus & Neuberg, 1564) [RISM 1564<sup>5</sup>] which contains a number of motets by older composers including Clemens non Papa, Crecquillon, Bacchius, and one Josquin attribution. As he was appointed *Hofkapellmeister* to the Bavarian court in 1562, Lasso increasingly began to publish a sizeable number of works with his position in the title.<sup>70</sup> The bulk of Lasso's psalm motets were likely composed during the 1560s until the mid-1570s with their increasing appearance in print. The change in approach to the psalm motet is first palpable with *Lauda Jerusalem* [LV 227]

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<sup>69</sup> John Milsom, 'Absorbing Lassus,' *Early Music* xxxiii, 1 (February, 2005), p. 107.

<sup>70</sup> E.g. *Orlandi Lassi chori Bavariae ducis magistri, quinque et sex vocibus perornatae [...]* *liber secundus* (Venice: Hieronymus Scotto, 1565) [RISM 1565c].



which was first printed in RISM 1565c. The expansive four-part motet integrates a number of compositional techniques within the fabric of the motet without division of the motet into individual verses. The prima pars features mastery of the six-voice polyphonic texture blended with some homophony in which Lasso shows acute awareness of voice groupings and is not inhibited by dramatic contrasts and the blending of different textures between voice groupings (**Ex. 19**, mm. 37-39). The polyphony is treated more liberally with elaboration and variety in the points of imitation which are not strictly applied to all voices.

**Example 19.** Orlando di Lasso, *Lauda Jerusalem*, prima pars, mm. 31-42

The musical score for Example 19, Orlando di Lasso's *Lauda Jerusalem*, prima pars, measures 31-42, is presented in six staves. The lyrics are: "Qui po - su - it fi - nes tu - os pa - Qui po - su - it fi - nes tu - os pa -". The score shows a complex polyphonic texture with various voice groupings and imitations. The lyrics are distributed across the staves as follows:

- Soprano: Qui po - su - it fi - nes tu -
- Alto: Qui po - su - it fi - nes tu -
- Tenor 1: po - su - it fi - nes tu - os pa -
- Tenor 2: Qui po - su - it fi -
- Bass 1: Qui po - su - it fi - nes tu -
- Bass 2: Qui po - su - it fi - nes

- os pa - cem: et a - di - pe fru - men -

- os pa - - - cem: et a - di - pe fru - men -

- - - - - cem: et a - di - pe fru - men -

- nes tu - os pa - - - cem: et a -

- - os pa - - - cem: et a - di - pe fru -

tu - os pa - - - cem: et a - di - pe fru - men

ti sa - ti - at te, et a - di - pe fru - men - ti,

ti sa - - - ti - at te, et

ti sa - ti - at te, et a - di - pe fru

- di - pe fru - men - ti, et a - di - pe fru - men ti

men - ti sa - ti - at te, et a - di - pe fru

- - ti sa - ti - at te, et a - di

The text of Ps. 147 is beautifully illustrated with many descriptive metaphors which invite obvious word painting. There is a rare cadence on F that ‘fortifies the gates’ in the prima pars marking the phrase, ‘quoniam seras portarum tuarum.’ The secunda pars begins with the setting of the verse, ‘qui emittit eloquium suum terrae velociter currit sermo eius.’ The verse is divided in half beginning with a three-voice texture, contrasting with the six-voice polyphony of ‘velociter.’ The many repetitions in short repeated crochets give way to four-voice antiphony in the repetition of the text. The verse is concluded with all voices leading to a cadence.

**Example 20.** Orlando di Lasso, *Lauda Jerusalem*, secunda pars, mm. 50-62

Qui e - mit - tit e - lo - qui - um su - um ter -

Qui e - mit - tit e - lo - qui - um su - um ter -

Qui e - mit - tit e - lo - qui - um su - um

ve-lo-ci-ter, ve-lo-ci-ter, ve-lo-ci-ter cur-rit ser-mo

ve-lo-ci-ter, ve-lo-ci-ter, ve-lo-ci-ter cur-rit ser-mo e-

- rae: ve-lo-ci-ter ve-lo-ci-ter cur-rit ser-mo e-

- rae: ve-lo-ci-ter, ve-lo-ci-ter,

ve-lo-ci-ter, ve-lo-ci-ter,

ter - rae: ve-lo-ci-ter, ve-lo-ci-ter cur-rit ser-mo e-

e - jus, ve-lo-ci-ter cur-rit ser-mo e - jus.

jus, ve-lo-ci-ter cur-rit ser-mo e - jus, ve-lo-ci-ter cur-rit ser-mo e - jus.

jus, ve-lo-ci-ter cur-rit ser-mo e - jus, ve-lo-ci-ter cur-rit ser-mo e - jus.

ve-lo-ci-ter cur-rit ser-mo e - jus, ve-lo-ci-ter cur-rit ser-mo e - jus.

ve-lo-ci-ter cur-rit ser-mo e - jus, ve-lo-ci-ter cur-rit ser-mo e - jus.

jus, ve-lo-ci-ter cur-rit ser-mo e - jus.

The rest of the *secunda pars* is intricate in the balance of textures, beginning with the free polyphonic writing which is broken up into 'bite-size' four-voice antiphonal 'buccellas.' The range contrast in the high and low antiphonal voices is even more stark at 'ante faciem frigoris ejus' and continues through 'quis sustinebit' which is depicted by confident homophonic texture and equal note values. Lasso does not musically relate the similar points of text in this instance, but rather treats the words as they appear. There is obvious parallelism in the first verses marking the *secunda* and *tertia pars* ('Qui emittit eloquium suum'/'Emittet verbum suum'), although apart from the three-voice writing, there is nothing musically to intimate further acknowledgement of this similarity. As observed previously, it is not uncommon for Lasso to match the part (or verse) of the motet with the number of voices; and so, it is unsurprising that the *tertia pars* is also set here as a *tricinia*. Again, Lasso takes advantage of the obvious text with downward melodic gestures in minims to 'melt' ('liquefaciet ea') and the depiction of the water running down in descending crochets at 'et fluent aquae.'

**Example 21.** Orlando di Lasso, *Lauda Jerusalem*, tertia pars, mm. 107-119

et li - que - fa - ci - et e - a: fla - bit spi - ri-  
li-que-fa - ci - et e - a, et li-que-fa - ci - et e-a: fla - bit spi - ri-tus  
li-que-fa - ci - et e - a, et li-que-fa - ci - et e-a: fla - bit spi - ri-  
113  
tuse - jus, et flu - ent, et flu - enta - quae.  
e - jus, et flu - ent, et flu - ent a - quae.  
tus e - jus, et flu - ent, et flu - enta - quae.

The elaborate treatment of the psalm text should not be considered a normative practice in Lasso's mid-career compositions. The anomaly is reason to suspect that this psalm motet was possibly composed and performed for a special occasion. Looking at the other psalm motets that were printed in the same year in RISM 1565a, the majority are standard two-part settings of a similar length (ca. 130 breves). Admittedly, there is still no evidence nor anecdote to establish the utility and purpose for such longer polyphonic psalm settings; however, a paraliturgical function in the context of Vespers may be the best estimation. According to the revised *Antiphonarium Romanum*, the recitation of *Lauda Jerusalem* is included in first and second vespers of the female *cursus* and Corpus

Christi. Although the psalm does not contain the doxology, the opening of the psalm does appear to contain a reference to psalmodic recitation. The following example is recorded in a multi-volume antiphoner which originated from Augsburg around 1580 and is a rare source documenting the liturgical tradition of the Augsburg cathedral.<sup>71</sup> The Antiphoner not only contains the chant repertoire, but also the first verse of psalms in musical notation which is quite unusual.

**Example 22.** *Lauda Iherusalem*, København, Det kongelige Bibliotek Slotsholmen, Gl. Kgl. Saml. 3449 8o [XII], fol. 109<sup>v</sup>



The psalm, *Lauda Jerusalem*, as recorded in the antiphoner is explicitly recorded for a number of feasts including the celebration of Vespers for the Vigil of Kiliani and Companions, the Dedication of a Church, St Michael, and St Dionysius. The psalm motet begins with the intonation of the psalm with the Cantus and Tenor on c” and c’ respectively. The intervallic descent of the fourth is also reinforced and repeated at the top of the vocal texture in the first half-verse of the psalm text. This melodic gesture reappears in the Cantus at the beginning of the quarta pars.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. F. A. Hoeynck, *Geschichte der kirchlichen Liturgie des Bisthums Augsburg* (Augsburg, 1889), pp. 79-83.

**Example 23.** Orlando di Lasso, *Lauda Jerusalem*, prima pars, mm. 1-7

Lauda Je - ru - salem Do - mi - num, lau - da Je - ru - sa lem Do - mi - num

Lau - da Je - ru - sa lem, lau - da Je - ru - sa - lem Do - mi num

Lau - da Je - ru - sa lem Do - mi - num, lau - da Je - ru - sa - lem Do - minum

Lau - da Je - ru - sa lem Do - mi - num

Lau - da Je - ru - sa - lem Do - mi - num

Lau - da Je - ru - sa lem Do - mi - num

In addition to the use of this fragment, the exploration of psalmody is tangible in the restricted cadence structure. Although the chant is prescribed in Mode 8, the polyphonic setting employs the tonal type  $b\text{-}g2\text{-}C$  in a transposed Mode 7. In the prima and quarta pars, the end of each line of verse is marked with a principal cadence on C. Aside from this, the intermediary cadences on G and F are used sparingly and ultimately continue to the termination of the phrase on C. Despite such hints at a possible connection to the Augsburg Cathedral, I have not discovered any further clues as to its intended use. Obviously, in connection with the psalm tone, there may have been a number of occasions that would have been suitable for its paraliturgical use, but it seems likely that a particular event



requisitioned this festive psalm motet possibly between the years 1564 and 1566, based on the time of its publication.<sup>72</sup>

As traces of the early psalm motet can yet be seen, Lasso experiments with the number of voices and different styles. One such exceptional experiment is the motet, *Jubilate Deo omnis terra* [LV 247] which uses the cantus firmus, ‘*Si Deus nobiscum quis contra nos?*’ (Romans 8:31). With Lasso’s cantus firmus motets, James Haar is able to connect the melody and text of the cantus firmus to the motet itself. Though in this case, the meaning of the cantus firmus in connection with the motet is not clear.<sup>73</sup> In earlier examples of Lasso’s psalm motets, older musical styles were cultivated and continued to be performed. This is demonstrated, for example, in printed motet collections such as RISM 1564<sup>5</sup>. In the motet, *Jubilate Deo omnis terra*, Lasso uses the cantus firmus in the Tenor voice which repeats a total of six times (**Ex. 24**). Although the inspiration for some other cantus firmus motets are visibly derived from compositional models by an earlier generation of composers including Clemens non Papa, Crecquillon, and Verdelot, there is no existing indication that this psalm motet is based on a known source.<sup>74</sup>

The style of the cantus firmus motet hearkens back to an older practice of motet composition which exhibits a deliberately archaic style and a discernibly ‘historicist’ approach to the music.<sup>75</sup> The uniquely dated style of the motet did not

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<sup>72</sup> One guess might be the construction project heightening the Augsburg Cathedral tower in 1565 which may have found dedication that year. However, more evidence would be needed to substantiate this.

<sup>73</sup> Peter Bergquist, ‘Introduction’ to *CM* 4, p. xiv.

<sup>74</sup> James Haar, ‘Lasso as Historicist: The Cantus-Firmus Motets’ in Delores Pesce (ed.), *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 267-75.

<sup>75</sup> Haar, ‘Lasso as Historicist,’ pp. 265-6.

preclude it from inclusion in a number of motet collections and reprints,<sup>76</sup> but it also constitutes an exception in the psalm motet output. Lasso did not continue in this experiment or set any other complete psalms using a cantus firmus technique.

**Example 24.** Orlando di Lasso, *Jubilate Deo omnis terra*, prima pars, mm. 1-12

The musical score for Orlando di Lasso's *Jubilate Deo omnis terra* (prima pars, mm. 1-12) is presented for six voices. The notation is as follows:

- Staff 1 (Soprano):** Treble clef. Notes: G4 (half), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), C5 (half), B4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), G4 (half). Lyrics: Ju - bi - la - te De - o om - nis ter - ra, ju - bi - la - te
- Staff 2 (Alto):** Treble clef. Notes: G4 (half), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), C5 (half), B4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), G4 (half). Lyrics: Ju - bi - la - te De - o om - nis ter - ra, ju -
- Staff 3 (Tenor 1):** Treble clef. Notes: G4 (half), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), C5 (half), B4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), G4 (half). Lyrics: Ju - bi - la - te De - o, om - nis ter - ra, ju - bi -
- Staff 4 (Tenor 2):** Treble clef. Notes: G4 (half), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), C5 (half), B4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), G4 (half). Lyrics: Si De - us
- Staff 5 (Bass 1):** Bass clef. Notes: G3 (half), A3 (quarter), B3 (quarter), C4 (half), B3 (quarter), A3 (quarter), G3 (half). Lyrics: Ju - bi - la - te De - o, (ju - bi -
- Staff 6 (Bass 2):** Bass clef. Notes: G3 (half), A3 (quarter), B3 (quarter), C4 (half), B3 (quarter), A3 (quarter), G3 (half). Lyrics: Ju - bi - la - te De - o,

<sup>76</sup> First printed in RISM 1565c (=reprinted RISM 1568d; RISM 1569g; RISM 1584b); printed in *Selectissimae cantiones, quas vulgo motetas vocant* [...] (Nuremberg: Theodore Gerlach, 1568) [RISM 1568a] (=reprinted and expanded RISM 1579a; RISM 1587e); *Moduli sex septem et dvodecim vocum, Orlandi Lassusio* [...] (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1573) [RISM 1573b] (=reprinted RISM 1576h); *Sex vocum cantiones, Orlandi di Lassus* [...] (Strasbourg, Nicolaus Wyriot, 1580) [RISM 1580b]; *Magnum Opus musicum, Orlandi de Lasso* [...] (Munich: Nicolaus Henricus, 1604) [RISM 1604a].

7

De - o om - nis ter - ra

- bi - la - te De - o om - nis ter

la - te De - o om - nis ter - ra, om - nis ter - ra

no - bis - cum quis con - tra nos,

la - te De - o om - nis ter - ra

(ju - bi - la - te De - o) om - nis ter - ra

The innovation of added voices and textures also led to the experimentation with the polychoral idiom beginning in the mid-1560s. A number of works by composers at the Imperial court and Bavarian court which were contained in motet anthologies dating from the 1560s. This pre-dates a flourishing Roman polychoral tradition in the 1570s.<sup>77</sup> Lasso's connections to Rome early in his career are evident, especially in his appointment as maestro di capella at San Giovanni in Laterano in 1553. At the Bavarian court, further opportunities for musical exchange came through visits and recruiting trips. Furthermore, the publication and reception of Lasso's music in Rome has been documented at length.<sup>78</sup> It is striking that the first three examples of Lasso's polychoral psalm

<sup>77</sup> *Thesauri musici* (Nuremberg: Montanus and Neuber, 1564) [RISM 1564<sup>5</sup>]; *Novus thesaurus musicus* (Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1568) [RISM 1568<sup>2</sup>]; Denis Arnold, 'The Grand Motets of Orlandus Lassus,' *Early Music* vi, 2 (April, 1978), pp. 171-2.

<sup>78</sup> Noel O'Regan, 'Orlando di Lasso and Rome: Personal Contacts and Musical Influence' in Peter Bergquist (ed.), *Orlando di Lasso Studies* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 138-48. Notable visits include the musical exchange which was facilitated by Cardinal Otto Truchsess von

motets first printed in 1565/6 (*In convertendo Dominus* [LV 250], *Deus misereatur nostri* [LV 266], *Levavi oculos meos in montes* [LV 267]) can be found in Roman manuscripts: Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale, Mss. Mus. 77-88; Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Giulia XIII 24; Rome, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Santa Cecilia G 792-795; Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale, Mss. Mus. 117-121. The esteem that Roman composers (including Palestrina) had for Lasso's motets is clear as well as the influence that these polychoral pieces played in the early development of the Roman and later Venetian *cori spezzati* idiom.<sup>79</sup>

Except in the earliest polychoral psalm motet, *In convertendo* [LV 250], Lasso tends towards a similar compositional procedure for the other psalm motets. The psalms consist of a one-part structure and the texture is largely polyphonic using limited imitation and interjections of homophony which are also neither regular nor consistent. In the psalm motet, *Levavi oculos meos in montes* [LV 267], the setting begins only with the Cantus, Altus, and Tenor with the entry of the Bassus five breves later. Although the opening motive of 'levavi' displays an ascending line, it is a far less dramatic gesture than previously seen in the octave-leap of the six-voice motet, *Ad te levavi oculos meos* [LV 405] (**Ex. 8**). The Cantus line in Choir I is strictly imitated in the Cantus of Choir II, but the other voices do not adhere to this imitation. The voices between the choirs are nearly repeated at 'qui fecit caelum' (**Ex. 25**, mm. 13-15), but dissolves into an eight-voice polyphonic texture until the end of the line.

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Waldburg in 1561/2 and Lasso's visit to Rome in 1574 to present the *Patrocinium Musices* to Pope Gregory XIII and was awarded the Order of the Golden Spur. Leuchtmann, *Leben*, pp. 170-5.

<sup>79</sup> O'Regan, 'Orlando di Lasso and Rome,' pp. 148-50; The revision of the manuscript dividing Lasso's motets into separate choirs is documented in Noel O'Regan, 'The Early Polychoral Music of Orlando di Lasso: New Light from Roman Sources,' *Acta Musicologica* lvi (1985), pp. 234-51.

Example 25. Orlando di Lasso, *Levavi oculos meos in montes*, mm. 1-27

The image displays a musical score for Orlando di Lasso's piece "Levavi oculos meos in montes". The score is written for a choir and instruments, spanning two systems. The first system contains measures 1 through 5, and the second system contains measures 6 through 10. The lyrics are written below the vocal staves.

**System 1 (Measures 1-5):**

- Staff 1 (Soprano):** Le - va - vi o - cu - los me - os in mon -
- Staff 2 (Alto):** Le - va - vi o - cu - los me - os in mon -
- Staff 3 (Tenor):** Le - va - vi o - cu - los me - os in mon -
- Staff 4 (Bass):** (Empty staff)
- Staff 5 (Instrument 1):** (Empty staff)
- Staff 6 (Instrument 2):** (Empty staff)
- Staff 7 (Instrument 3):** (Empty staff)
- Staff 8 (Instrument 4):** (Empty staff)

**System 2 (Measures 6-10):**

- Staff 1 (Soprano):** - tes, un - de ve - ni - et au - xi - li - um mi - hi, \_\_\_\_\_
- Staff 2 (Alto):** - tes, un - de ve - ni - et au - xi - li - um mi - hi,
- Staff 3 (Tenor):** - tes, un - de ve - ni - et au - xi - li - um mi - hi,
- Staff 4 (Bass):** un - de ve - ni - et au - xi - li - um mi - hi, \_\_\_\_\_
- Staff 5 (Instrument 1):** Au - xi - li-
- Staff 6 (Instrument 2):** Au - xi - li-
- Staff 7 (Instrument 3):** Au - xi - li-
- Staff 8 (Instrument 4):** Au - xi - li-

qui fe - cit cae - lum,  
 qui fe - cit cae - lum,  
 qui fe - cit cae - lum,  
 qui fe - cit cae - lum,  
 um me - um a Do - mi - no qui  
 um me - um a Do - mi - no qui fe -  
 um me - um a Do - mi - no qui  
 um me - um a Do - mi - no qui

qui fe - cit cae - lum et  
 qui fe - cit cae - lum et ter -  
 qui fe - cit cae - lum et ter -  
 qui fe - cit cae - lum et ter -  
 fe - cit cae - lum et ter - ram, et ter -  
 cit cae - lum et ter -  
 fe - cit cae - lum et ter - ram, et  
 fe - cit cae - lum et ter - ram, et ter -

ter - ram. Non det in com - mo - ti - o - nem pe -  
 - ram. Non det in com - mo - ti -  
 ram. Non det in com - mo - ti - o - nem,  
 ram. Non det in com - mo - ti - o -  
 - ram. Non det in com - mo - ti -  
 ram. Non det  
 ter - ram. Non det in com - mo - ti - o - nem,  
 ram. Non det in com - mo - ti -

dem tu - um, pe - dem tu - um  
 o - nem pe - dem tu - rum, pe - dem tu - um  
 in com - mo - ti - o - nem pe - dem tu - um  
 nem pe - dem tu - um  
 o - nem pe - dem tu - um  
 in com - mo - ti - o - nem pe - dem tu - um  
 non det in com - mo - ti - o - nem pe - dem tu - um  
 o - nem pe - dem tu - um

*Levavi oculos meos in montes* is composed in Mode 6 (b-C1-F). Akin to the tradition of polyphonic psalm recitation, Lasso consistently cadences the eight-voice texture C-F every other verse following a section of four-voice antiphony. Internal cadences follow the Mode and use the principal cadences C and F. There are few instances of word painting in the through-composition of the psalm text. Firstly, Lasso could not resist the setting of 'Ecce' in equal semibreves in all voices in Choir I at mm. 35-36 to graphically depict the looking eyes. [o o] Secondly, the regularity of the Mode is disrupted as Lasso anomalously shifts the tonal centre to G at 'Per diem sol non uret te' to depict the 'burn of the sun.'

**Example 26.** Orlando di Lasso, *Levavi oculos meos in montes*, mm. 53-56

The musical score for Example 26 shows eight voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor 1, Tenor 2, Bass 1, Bass 2, and two additional parts) in four staves. The lyrics are: "Per di - em sol non u - ret te ne - que". The music is in Mode 6 (b-C1-F) and features a tonal shift to G at the beginning of the phrase "Per diem sol non uret te". The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and accidentals.



Lasso's cultivation of this style is an outgrowth of a Franco-Flemish tradition which began with the polychoral motets of Adrian Willaert. In the development of the polychoral psalm motet, Lasso is primarily concerned with the interplay of different textures within the eight-voice and twelve-voice configurations which range from antiphony to free polyphony between all voices. Furthermore, it is significant that Lasso pays close attention to the integrity of the Mode and the regular cadence points which help regulate the structure of the one-part psalm.

#### Late Psalm Motets (ca. 1574-1594)

After the 1573 motet publication, *Moduli sex septem et dvodecim vocum* [...] (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard) [RISM 1573b], Lasso's output of psalm motets noticeably went into decline. This is possibly due to a shift in his focus on new liturgical music that was required by post-Tridentine reform in the Munich court chapel beginning in the late 1570s. Nonetheless, the new psalm motets that appear in the mid to late-1570s are more specific in style and intent. There is also a marked shift in Lasso's attitude towards his patron, Albrecht V, in the late-1560s that orientates Lasso towards his heir, Wilhelm, in the dedication of his works. One such example of this is the publication of the three-voice psalm motets in the 1575 collection of tricinia, dedicated to the three sons of Albrecht V.<sup>80</sup> The dedicatory preface to the publication indicates that Lasso composed

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<sup>80</sup> Entire preface with English translation in *CM* 11, Plate 3.

'Most serene and illustrious princes and lords, Lords Wilhelm, Ferdinand, and Ernest, Counts of the Rhine Palatinate, Dukes of Bavaria, etc.

My most clement lords, eternal health and peace. After I had published many compositions of all sorts in various parts of the world, certain of my pious and honest friends began to urge strongly that what I had rather often ere now published in songs of more numerous voices, I should not refuse to attempt for three voices. Since often indeed those who gather together to refresh themselves do not have precise knowledge of the art

these easy and enjoyable tricinia for private entertainment. The majority of Lasso's tricinia are structured into two parts; the more expansive *Laetatus sum* [LV 543] in four parts is an exceptional case. The clefs are varied in low (c1c4F4) and high (g2c3F3) configurations to accommodate different voice ranges. The counterpoint in these settings is generally straight-forward, generated by a point of imitation at the beginning of the phase and usually clearly separated by a cadence (**Ex. 27**). The independent lines range from predominantly syllabic to florid melismatic writing (**Ex. 28**).

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of music, they thought that I would do a thing welcome to many if I should thus composer songs so that they might conveniently be sung sometimes even by a few people. [...] there have certainly come to my mind neither worthier nor more suitable Maecenases than you most illustrious princes, who, of course, have been so bound together in, as it were, a joyful harmony of brotherly love, so much of one mind, that my music compared to your concord seems mere discord. Therefore, I have gladly allowed this work inscribed and dedicated with your most famous name to see the light. I pray therefore that you accept it from me, whatever it may be, with calm spirits, and that you never cease to look after me with your original benevolence. May God the Best and Greatest always preserve you safe and sound for the good of the church and the homeland. Munich, 15 August 1575 A.D. Your illustrious highnesses' most devoted Orlandus de Lassus.'

**Example 27.** Orlando di Lasso, *Domine, non est exaltatum cor meum*, secunda pars, mm. 64-84

Sic - ut ab - la - cta - tus  
Sic - ut ab - la - cta - tus est, sic - ut ab - la -  
Sic - ut ab - la - cta - tus est, sic - ut ab - la -

6

est, sic - ut ab - la - cta - tus est, sic - ut ab - la - cta -  
cta - tus est, sic - ut ab - la - cta - tus est, sic - ut ab - la -  
cta - tus est, sic - ut ab - la - cta - tus est, sic - ut ab - la -

11

- tus est su - per ma - trem su - am, su -  
cta - tus est su - per ma - trem su - am, su -  
cta - tus est su - per ma - trem su - am, su - per

16

per ma - trem su - am, su - per ma - trem su - am  
- per ma - trem su - am  
ma trem su - am, su - per ma - trem su - am

**Example 28.** Orlando di Lasso, *Domine, non est exaltatum cor meum*, secunda pars, mm. 93-126

Spe - ret Is - ra - el, spe -

Spe - ret Is - ra - el in Do - mi - no, spe - ret Is - ra - el in Do -

Spe - ret Is - ra - el, spe - ret Is - ra - el in Do - mi -

98

- ret Is - ra - el in Do - mi - no, spe - ret Is - ra -

- mi - no, spe - ret Is - ra - el in Do - mi - no, spe -

no, spe - ret Is - ra - el, spe - ret Is - ra - el,

103

el, spe - ret Is - ra - el, spe - ret Is - ra - el in Do - mi -

- ret Is - ra - el, spe - ret Is - ra - el in Do - mi -

spe - ret Is - ra - el, spe - ret Is - ra - el in Do - mi -

107

no, ex hoc nunc et us - que,

no ex hoc nunc et us -

no, ex hoc nunc et us - que, ex hoc

111

ex hoc nunc et us - que,

que, ex hoc nunc, ex hoc

nunc, ex hoc nunc, ex hoc

115

ex hoc nunc, ex hoc

nunc, ex hoc nunc, ex

nunc, ex hoc nunc, ex hoc

119

nunc et us - que in sae - cu - lum, ex hoc

hoc nunc et us - que in

nunc et us - que in sae - cu - lum, ex hoc

123

nunc et us - que in sae - cu - lum.

sae - cu - lum.

nunc et us - que in sae - cu - lum.

Considering the intent of the publication, it is possible that Lasso was considering his future at the Bavarian court in light of Albrecht's advancing age and Wilhelm's severe bout of illness in 1575. The security of his position would be reason to ingratiate himself with the potential heirs and patrons as indicated in the preface. In addition to the dedication, the collection opens with the dedicatory motet, *Haec quae ter triplici* [LV 540], which in epideictic rhetoric extols the virtue of the Wittelsbach brothers and heightens this praise to contemplation with the verse and in the musical setting. Furthermore, Lasso composed three-voice motets at the urging of 'pious and honest friends' so that his music might be accessed and performed by more people. This may have included general use in churches, confraternities, as well as schools, in addition to light courtly merriment.<sup>81</sup> The case for three-voice motets is made already in 1569 by the publication of Jean de Castro's *Il primo libro di madrigali, canzoni et motetti a tre voci* (Antwerp: Elisabeth Saen, widow of Jean de Laet, 1569) [RISM C 1468] with two three-voice arrangements of Lasso's motets (*Veni in hortum meum* [LV 114] and *In te Domine, speravi* [LV 193]).<sup>82</sup> The tricinia became a widespread genre, especially in the late 1560s and 1570s. Originally popular as didactic pieces for young singers, it also became an important expression of private devotion. This is shown in Gérard de Turnhout's *Sacrarum ac aliarum cantionum trium vocum* (Antwerp: Pierre Phalèse, 1569) [RISM T

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<sup>81</sup> This is the explicit intention that is recorded in Georg Rhau's collection of three-voice settings: *Tricinium tum veterum tum recentiorum in arte music symphonistanum* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1542)

<sup>82</sup> Ignace Bossuyt, 'Orlando di Lasso as a Model for Composition as Seen in the Three-Voice Motets of Jean de Castro' in Peter Bergquist (ed.), *Orlando di Lasso Studies* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 164-70.

1434] which was likely intended as a collection of devotional pieces for the cathedral's Confraternity of Our Lady in Antwerp.<sup>83</sup>

The great popularity for accessible three-voice settings, not least in view of the Jesuit schools in Bavaria, growing confraternities and sodalities, is documented in the demand for reprints. This not only attests to the popularity of Lasso's motets, but also the vogue of three-voice motets for devotional, recreational, and pedagogical use in the 1570s. It is striking that these three-voice motets were printed and disseminated across Europe by way of Germany, the Netherlands, France, and Italy in only a matter of a couple of years.

**Table 9.** Publications containing Lasso's three-voice psalm motets

- 1575** *Orlandi de Lasso, Illustrissimi Bauariae Ducis ALBERTI Chori Magistri, Liber Mottetarum, Trium vocum Quae cum viuae voci, tum omnis generis Instrumentis Musicis commodissimè applicari possunt* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1575)  
[RISM 1575b]
- 1575** RISM 1575b Expanded and Revised  
*Orlandi de Lasso, Illustrissimi Bauariae Ducis ALBERTI Chori Magistri, Liber Mottetarum, Trium vocum [...]* (Antwerp: Phalèse & Bellere, 1575)  
[RISM 1575c]
- 1576** RISM 1575b Revised  
*Modvli nondum prius editi Monachii Boioariae Ternis vocibus ab Orlando Lasso [...]* (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1576)  
[RISM 1576d]
- 1577** RISM 1575b Expanded  
*Orlandi de Lasso, Illustrissimi Bauariae Ducis ALBERTI Chori Magistri, Liber Mottetarum, Trium vocum [...]* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1577)  
[RISM 1577d]

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<sup>83</sup> Kristine Forney, 'Music, Ritual and Patronage at the Church of Our Lady, Antwerp,' *Early Music History* vii (1987), pp. 41-2.

- 1577** *Second livre du meslange des pseavmes et cantiques a trois parties, recueillis de la Musique d'Orlande de Lasso, autres excellens musiciens de nostre temps* (s.l., 1577)  
[RISM 1577<sup>3</sup>]
- (Contains *Domine, non est exaltatum cor meum* [LV 541] and *Beati omnes qui timent* [LV 553])
- 1579** RISM 1575c Revised
- Canto motetti d'Orlando Lasso a tre voci* [...] (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1579)  
[RISM 1579d]
- 1591** RISM 1575c Expanded
- Orlandi de Lasso, Illustrissimi Bauariae Ducis ALBERTI Chori Magistri, Liber Mottetarvm, Trium vocum* [...] (Munich: Adam Berg, 1591)  
[RISM 1591b]
- 1592** RISM 1579d Reprint
- Canto motetti d'Orlando Lasso a tre voci* [...] (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1579)  
[RISM 1592a]
- 1604** *Magnum opus musicvm Orlandi de Lasso capellae bavaricae quondam magistri. Complectens omnes cantiones quas motetas vulgo vocant, tam antea editas quam hactenus nondum publicatas II. III. IV. V. VI. VII. IIX. IX. X. XII. Vocum* [...] (Munich: Nicolas Henricus, 1604)  
[RISM 1604a]
- 1613** *Orlandi de Lassus Illustrissimi Bavariae Ducis ALBERTI Choris Magistri Cantiones sacrae ternis et quaternis vocibus* (Antwerp: Pierre Phalèse, 1613)  
[RISM 1613b]

From Lasso's posthumously published works that were included in the *Magnum opus musicum*, two of these psalm motets are polychoral works: *Ecce quam bonum*, 8vv [LV 1138] and *Domine, quid multiplicati sunt*, 12vv [LV 1143]. Although the bulk of Lasso's polychoral output is localised in the 1560s and 1570s, it is clear that he did not cease to compose Magnificats, Masses, motets, and litanies in the previously-discussed polychoral style.<sup>84</sup> Even though it is tempting to think that these motets may have been composed around the same

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<sup>84</sup> A list of Lasso's polychoral works is provided in Anthony Carver, *Cori Spezzati: Volume 1, The Development of the Sacred Polychoral Music to the Time of Schütz* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 79-80.



time as other psalm motets of similar style, it is unlikely that these compositions were composed any earlier since there is no conceivable reason that they would not have already been included in motet publications. There is no ostensible difference in approach to the earlier polychoral psalm motets which employ a one-part structure and similar textures. This style was certainly popularised during this time. The grand texture and brevity of these polychoral psalm motets combined with the flexible use of the psalm text would have lent the motets to a number of uses including ceremonial, political, or celebratory occasions.

In the expansion and experimentation of the psalm motets, Lasso eventually tended towards an idiomatic and versatile six-voice texture that accommodated elaborate polyphony as well as homophonic and varied antiphonal arrangements. One interesting example of Lasso's affinity to the six-voice setting is in the posthumously-published six-voice motet, *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes* [LV 1122] which borrows the opening motive from the earlier twelve-voice version (Ex. 28). It is possible that the motet was reworked in six voices to accommodate forces for a celebratory occasion.

**Example 29.** Orlando di Lasso, *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes* [LV 1122],  
mm. 1-11

Lau - da - - - te Do - - - mi-num

Lau - da - - - - - te Do - - - mi - num

Lau - da - - te Do - - - - mi-num

5

om - - - nes gen - - - tes, lau - da -

om - - - - - nes gen - tes, lau -

om - - - - - nes gen - - - - tes, lau -

om - - - - - nes gen - - - - tes,

om - - - - - nes gen - tes,

om - - - - - nes gen - - - tes,

musical score for a choir with three vocal parts and two piano accompaniment parts. The score is written on six staves. The top three staves are for the vocal parts, and the bottom two staves are for the piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "da - - - te e - - - um". The vocal parts are in treble clef, and the piano parts are in treble and bass clef. The piano parts include a piano (p) marking and a fermata over the final note.

da - - - te e - - - um

da - - - te e - - - um

da - - - te e - - - um

piano (p) marking and a fermata over the final note.

**Example 30.** Orlando di Lasso, *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes* [LV 522], mm. 1-8

[illegible]

In a number of cases, the performance context of the psalm motets (excluding the tricinia) suggests celebratory events. This can be seen in the literature to the collection of six-voice motets in RISM 1582e which provides a potential example of how *Deus in adiutorium meum intende* [LV 734] could have been performed. In a Veronese source, Giuseppe Turrini (1826-1899) suggests that the Lasso motets were purposed for the anniversary of the church founding on the first day of May.

*Il Turrini sulla legatura delle parti di motetti e canzoni sacre di Orlandi di Lasso (1582) trovò questa, purtroppo unica, concertazione per una probabile esecuzione in Chiesa nel primo giorno di Maggio, anniversario della Fondazione.*<sup>85</sup>

The names of the salaried singers and instrumentalists indicate two singers (Discantus and Bassus), three cornets (Discantus doubled, Altus, and Quinta Vox) and two sackbuts (Tenor and Sexta Vox). Although the psalm motet is not explicitly mentioned, this can nonetheless be considered a possibility. This provides broad insight into the practical manner in which Lasso's motets may have been performed. The importance of Lasso's late six-voice psalm motets particularly in the homophonic style may have been just as influential as his polychoral works in the development of Italian sacred music.

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<sup>85</sup> 'On the composition of the motet and sacred songs of Orlando di Lasso (1582), Turrini unfortunately only found one occasion for probable performance in church on the first day of May, the anniversary of its founding.' Enrico Paganuzzi, *I Fati rinascimentali a Verona* in *La Bottega del Suono, Le mostre della Cassa di Risparmio di Verona, Vicenza, e Belluno* (Verona, 1987), p. 29 cited in SW, Supplement II, p. 67. It is recorded that the Holy Roman Emperor, Henry II (r. 1014-1024) was in Verona at the founding of the Benedictine Abbey of St Zeno which was established on 1 May 1014. Lodovico Moscardo, *Historia di Verona: nella quale si contengono I successi occorsi [...]* (Verona: Andrea Rossi, 1668), p. 114.

## Chapter 3

### The Spirit of Catholic Reform in Late Sixteenth-Century Bavaria

The Wittelsbachs used the intensification of confessional politics not only to defend the Christian faith and earnestly encourage Catholic Reform in Bavaria and the Rhine Palatinate, but even more effectively to fashion a self-aggrandising propaganda of piety and secular authority. The Jesuits were instrumental in this programme of reform having first been invited to Bavaria at the request of Duke Wilhelm IV. Peter Canisius (1521-1597) was appointed to the Faculty of Theology at the University of Ingolstadt. Future designs for the institution were stalled upon the death of Wilhelm IV in 1550. It was not until 1556<sup>86</sup> that the Jesuit College was founded with the backing of Albrecht V together with detailed instructions from the founder of the Jesuit Order, Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556).<sup>87</sup> The Jesuit influence in educational institutions grew with the need for dedicated clergymen who would be able to combat the reproaches of Protestantism, resulting in the founding of the Jesuit schools in Bavaria. In conjunction with these efforts, the support of the *Collegium Germanicum* in Rome was instrumental in the success of these new schools.<sup>88</sup> The college was founded in 1552 by the Papal Bull, *Dum sollicita*, to recruit and train German clergyman. Ignatius of Loyola actively sought candidates for the school and in his

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<sup>86</sup> In the same year, Jesuit colleges were also founded in Cologne and Prague.

<sup>87</sup> Written only a couple months before his death, Ignatius of Loyola stresses in his letter, '*Istruzione per il Collegio che si manda a Ingolstadio, partito alli 9 giugno 1556*' the importance of the Duke's approval as benefactor and patron. Aldo Scagione, *The Liberal Arts and the Jesuit College System* (Amsterdam, 1986), pp. 62-3.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Francesco Cesareo, 'The Collegium Germanicum and the Ignatian Vision of Education' in *The Sixteenth Century Journal* xxiv, 4 (Winter, 1993), pp. 829-41.

negotiations with Albrecht V, it became clear that qualified teachers and clergy were necessary for the Jesuit College planned in Ingolstadt. Consequently in 1555, it was reported that 48 students were ready to be enrolled in the autumn of that year, not least due to the efforts by Ignatius and the support of Albrecht V.<sup>89</sup> Albrecht allowed the Jesuits to come to Munich in 1559 and established the Jesuit school there in a repurposed Augustinian church. The success of this school served as a model for other schools in Bavaria and the Rhine Palatinate.

In the 1560s, the sacrament of the Eucharist was challenged in the Utraquist debate of communion under both species. With the infiltration of such Protestant influence, Albrecht V strengthened the position on Catholic confessionalisation especially in light of the Ortenburg Conspiracy (1563-1564).<sup>90</sup> It is certainly no coincidence that during this tense period, the *Kapellmeister* of the Munich court chapel, Ludwig Daser retired in 1563 with a 'serious illness.' This was probably due to the fact that Daser held Protestant beliefs as revealed by an inquisition.<sup>91</sup> In 1569, Albrecht V further dispelled opposition by mandating that all teachers, priests, and officials in Bavaria swear an oath (*professio fidei tridentinum*) to uphold Tridentine principles and reform.<sup>92</sup> The following year, a Spiritual Council (Geistlicher Rat) was established to help implement and oversee

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<sup>89</sup> Andreas Steinhuber, *Geschichte des Collegium Germanicum Hungaricum in Rom* ii (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1895), pp. 28-9.

<sup>90</sup> Joachim von Ortenburg led the Protestant front in Bavaria with the adoption of Reformed worship. In 1564, Duke Albrecht V seized Ortenburg's castles and confiscated his Bavarian holdings. He expelled the clergy and imprisoned other nobles in collusion. Ludwig Holzfurtner, *Die Wittelsbacher: Staat und Dynastie in acht Jahrhunderten* (Stuttgart, 2005), p. 172; Max Spindler, *Handbuch der bayerischen Geschichte* ii (Munich, 1988), pp. 711-3.

<sup>91</sup> Adolf Sandberger writes that 'Daser would have to yield to the genius of Lasso and 'Kirchenpolitik' of Albrecht V; the illness was more or less a valid pretext for dismissal.' Adolf Sandberger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte*, p. 44. Oettinger, 'Ludwig Senfl and the Judas Trope,' pp. 223-4.

<sup>92</sup> Andrew Thomas, *A House Divided: Wittelsbach Confessional Court Cultures in the Holy Roman Empire, c. 1550-1650* (Leiden, 2010), pp. 107-8.

measures of Catholic reform in the duchy. Albrecht V would furthermore establish a seminary in Ingolstadt in 1574, the *Collegium Albertinum*.

During the reign of Albrecht V, the University of Ingolstadt and the palpable rise of Jesuit institutions were central to the fight against heresy and the spread of Protestantism in the empire. Moreover, Ingolstadt was particularly significant in the education of the Bavarian dukes beginning with Albrecht V, his son, and grandson (Wilhelm V and Maximilian I, respectively). This ensured the continuation of the reforms to the uniform practice of the Catholic faith which had started under Albrecht V, not least in the continued support and patronage of these educational institutions.<sup>93</sup> The influence of the Jesuits was also palpably deepened with the confidence of priests that served as confessors, especially to Wilhelm V<sup>94</sup> and Maximilian I.<sup>95</sup> The political agenda of Catholic Reform was not limited to the ducal succession, but also in the procurement of high ecclesiastical positions to promote Catholic confessionalisation and expand Wittelsbach influence. Albrecht V's son, Ernst would later serve as the Archbishop of Cologne (1583) and Bishop of Münster, Freising, Hildesheim, and Liège. The sons of Wilhelm V were likewise educated and intended for careers in the church: Philipp

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<sup>93</sup> Walter Ziegler, *Das Testament Herzog Albrechts V. von Bayern (1578)* in Egon Greipl et al. (eds.), *Aus Bayerns Geschichte: Forschungen als Festgabe zum 70. Geburtstag von Andreas Kraus* (St. Ottilien, 1992), pp. 259-309.

<sup>94</sup> The rector of the Jesuit school in Munich, Dominicus Mengin, was close to Wilhelm in Landshut and accompanied him on pilgrimages. Susan Maxwell, *The Court Art of Friedrich Sustris: Patronage in Late Renaissance Bavaria* (New York, 2011), p. 101. Nineteenth-century sources surmise that Wilhelm's sense of piety stemmed from the influence of his confessor and that Wilhelm was reliant on Mengin for spiritual and political counsel. Wilhelm Schreiber, *Geschichte des bayerischen Herzogs Wilhelm V des Frommen nach Quellen und Urkunden dargestellt* (Munich, 1860), pp. 27-8. Kaspar Torrentinus from the area around Dillingen served after Mengin as Wilhelm V's confessor.

<sup>95</sup> Maximilian I had only Jesuit confessors who gave him spiritual and political guidance: Gregor of Valencia (1587-1595), Johann Buslidus (1595-1623), Adam Contzen (1624-1635), and Johann Vervaux (1635-1651).



Wilhelm was appointed Prince-Bishop of Regensburg in 1579 at the precious age of three with the administrative help of Jakob Miller, a distinguished alumnus of the *Collegium Germanicum* in Rome. Wilhelm V's younger son, Ferdinand, succeeded his uncle to the Archbishopric of Cologne in 1595.<sup>96</sup>

Following the death of Albrecht V in 1579, Wilhelm V was not only obligated to continue the work of conforming the duchy to a unified Catholic front, but compellingly pursued this vocation to earn him the appellation, 'Wilhelm the Pious.' The Jesuit school in Munich established by Albrecht V grew to exceed its capacity even after the completion of a new *gymnasium* in 1576. It was decided that a new Jesuit church and school should be built; and on 1 January 1582, the plans for this church were announced.<sup>97</sup> Born on the Feast of St Michael, the dedication of the church and school undoubtedly had personal relevance to Wilhelm V. Additionally, the construction of the church was a militant symbol for post-Tridentine Catholicism which was consolidated at Munich at the hand of the Bavarian Wittelsbach. In the same manner that St Michael slays the dragon, as depicted in the prominent bronze sculpture of St Michael by Hubert Gerhard (ca. 1540/50-1620) between the doors of the church, Wilhelm had been chosen by God to slay the heresy of false teaching.<sup>98</sup> The Church of St Michael in Munich was founded by Wilhelm V in 1583 following the successful campaign to recover the Archbishopric of Cologne. The foundation stone for the adjoining Jesuit school was laid in 1585. Following the completion of the church in 1597, Wilhelm V

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<sup>96</sup> Andreas Kraus, *Geschichte Bayerns: Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, 2004), p. 228.

<sup>97</sup> Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *Sensuous Worship: Jesuits and the Art of the Early Catholic Reformation in Germany* (Princeton, 2002), p. 58.

<sup>98</sup> Further details which illuminates the purpose of the church is found in the tract, *Tropaea Bavarica Sancto Michaeli Archangelo*, provided for the dedication ceremony on 2 February 1597.

abdicated in favour of his son. In part, this was due to the financial debts incurred by the Cologne War and the building of the church.<sup>99</sup>

The religious practices of Catholicism such as private devotion, public processions, and pilgrimages which took root in sixteenth-century revitalisation continued well throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The example of both personal and public piety shown by Duke Maximilian I would serve as a model for the rest of his subjects and would come to be known as the *pietas Bavarica*. The consolidation of power under the Bavarian Wittelsbachs in the sixteenth century was not only accomplished through the unification of the Catholic faith, but through their own public fashioning as true champions and defenders of the Catholic Church. The legacy of the Bavarian Dukes is cemented in the state politics of Maximilian I and the influence of his confessor, Adam von Contzen who had formulated an anti-Machiavellian approach to politics in the publication of *Politicorum libri decem* in 1621.<sup>100</sup> In this work, Contzen idealises the secure union of church and state under a Catholic prince.

This image of the Catholic prince, the opponent of Machiavellian reason of state, was developed to perfection in Austrian Habsburg propaganda. Linked to a miraculous legend, and associated with cults of devotion to the Eucharist, the crucifix, and the Virgin Mary, this *pietas Austriaca* was transformed into allegiance to the imperial institutions and loyalty to the dynasty.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Maxwell, *The Court Art of Friedrich Sustris*, p. 7.

<sup>100</sup> Adam von Contzen, *Politicorum libri decem, in quibus de perfectae reipublicae forma, virtutibus et vitiis, institutionibus civium, legibus, magistratu ecclesiastico, civili, potential reipublicae itemque sedition et bello, ad usum, vitamque commune accomodate tractator* (Mainz: Johannes Kinck, 1621).

Cf. Robert Bireley, *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War: Kings, Courts, and Confessors* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 86ff; Michael Printy, *Enlightenment and the Creation of German Catholicism* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 59-60.

<sup>101</sup> R. Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal 1540-1770* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 78.

Although Contzen dedicated the *Politicorum libri decem* to the Habsburg Emperor, Ferdinand II (r. 1619-1637), the Wittelsbachs employed the same approach to dynastic piety. The Wittelsbach Dukes participated in daily Mass, undertook pilgrimages,<sup>102</sup> and actively participated in newly-established Marian sodalities.<sup>103</sup> The shrine of Our Lady of Altötting was frequented by the Bavarian dukes and was the site of well-known miracles from the time of Albrecht V.<sup>104</sup> The dukes' outward trappings of conformity to religious order, morality, and devotional practice exemplified Contzen's Catholic prince and established a 'dynastic cult' that would surround the Bavarian Wittelsbachs as the protectors of the temporal and spiritual realm.<sup>105</sup>

### Implementation of the Roman Rite and Liturgical Influences

'The Jesuits succeeded in converting the court into a convent, and Munich into a German Rome.'<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Alexander Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda: The Soundscape of Counter-Reformation Bavaria* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 278-83.

<sup>103</sup> Albrecht V and Wilhelm V joined the Munich sodality in 1578. Wilhelm founded a confraternity in 1579 and it was designated an archconfraternity of Mariae zu Alten Oetting in 1581. In addition to the pilgrimages, all of the Wittelsbach dukes also made oaths to Our Lady of Altötting. Wilhelm V signed the membership book of the archconfraternity in blood. Philip Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria* (Berkeley, 1993), p. 164. In 1645, Maximilian I, in similar fashion, had written a pledge to Our Lady of Altötting in his own blood. This would, in turn, influence Maximilian's son, Ferdinand Maria, who also deposited such a pledge in his own blood at Altötting. David Crook, *Orlando di Lasso's Imitation Magnificats*, pp. 65, fn. 3.

On Marian Devotion cf. Bridget Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany: Protestant and Catholic* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 188-199; Crook, *Orlando di Lasso's Imitation Magnificats*, 65f.; esp. pp. 68-73.

<sup>104</sup> Many pilgrimage shrines including Altötting, Bettbrunn, Thalkirchen, and Deggendorf experienced a resurgence in the revitalisation of Catholicism from the sixteenth century. Furthermore, books on the miraculous wonders experienced at these sites and the participation of the ducal family encouraged many to undertake these pilgrimages. Martin Eisengrein, *Vnser liebe Fraw zu Alten Oetting* (Ingolstadt: Alexander Weissenhorn, 1571) was popularly reprinted a number of times into the seventeenth century.

<sup>105</sup> R. Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal*, p. 76.

<sup>106</sup> Thomas Campbell, *The Jesuits, 1534-1921: A History of the Society of Jesus from its Foundation to the Present Time* (New York, 1921), p. 346.

The influence of the Jesuits was not only palpable in newly established institutions, but it was also demonstrated in the practices of the Munich court chapel. The intensified confessional politics undoubtedly impacted the form and style of worship practices. For example, the Marian devotion as expression of sixteenth-century politics is also discernible in the musical activities of the court chapel. David Crook has widely explored the connections of the Marian cult in Bavaria with the compositional output of Orlando di Lasso. He concludes that the Litany of Loreto,<sup>107</sup> the Magnificats, Marian antiphons, as well the Marian motets were direct expressions of this devotional trend.<sup>108</sup>

Wilhelm V succeeded his father, Albrecht V, upon his death in October 1579. The theme of dynastic narrative comes to the fore in Albrecht's last will and testament dated 11 April 1578. In this document, he instructs his sons to continue in the mission of Catholic Reform (which included the maintenance of the Jesuit colleges). They were admonished to remain steadfast in the Catholic faith and were cursed if they should fall away and fail to protect the church.<sup>109</sup> No doubt impacted by his father's last wishes, Wilhelm V began an especially

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<sup>107</sup> The Litany of Loreto attracted substantial interest following a much-publicised exorcism of a lady-in-waiting to the Fugger family by Peter Canisius. It was recorded that sacred texts were spoken, including the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, and other prayers, but at the Litany of Our Lady, the devil began to groan. Excerpt in Crook, *Orlando di Lasso's Imitation Magnificats*, p. 74, fn. 35. Anecdote recorded in Martin Eisengrein, *Vnser liebe Fraw zu Alten Oetting* (Ingolstadt: Alexander Weissenhorn, 1571).

<sup>108</sup> David Crook, *Orlando di Lasso's Imitation Magnificats*, p. 73. The entire chapter, 'The *Patrona Bavariae*: Music and the Counter-Reformation in Bavaria' explores the relationship between Marian devotion and the music of the Bavarian court in the sixteenth century, pp. 65-82.

<sup>109</sup> He 'cursed, damned and banned them as unruly and willful offspring, thrusting them into the depth of hell for eternal damnation [...] We wish on them the anger of God [...] and will, along with all of our pious forebears, swiftly condemn and shower curses on them from the next world so that they can expect to fear us both on earth and in hell.' Maxwell, *The Court Art of Friedrich Sustris*, p. 105 quoted from Ziegler, 'Das Testament Herzog Albrechts V,' pp. 268-70.

robust programme of reform, especially in the practices of his own court. Thus, the years after the accession of Wilhelm to the ducal throne signalled an intensification of policies including the implementation of Tridentine Reform in the Munich court chapel.

The adjustment of court practice was marked during these years by the replacement of the Freising Rite with the Roman Rite. This was already mandated in 1568 with the Papal Bull, '*Quod a nobis*' which required the adoption of the revised *Brevarium Romanum*<sup>110</sup> except in cases where the existing tradition had been in use for more than 200 years. David Crook observes the lack of liturgical compositions in Lasso's works stemming between 1555 and 1579 which may suggest that compositions were pending liturgical reforms based on the outcomes of the Council of Trent.<sup>111</sup> From around 1580, Lasso focuses on the need for new liturgical items consistent with implemented reforms and the private wishes of the duke. This repertoire not only included additional polyphony for Vespers, but also numerous settings of the Magnificat. The liturgical cycle of hymns by Orlando di Lasso contained in Munich, BSB, Mus. Ms. 55 were copied between 1580-1581 as a response to the new practice of the Roman Rite at the Munich court chapel.<sup>112</sup> Daniel Zager works from the hypothesis that new liturgical music in response to Tridentine reform was not

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<sup>110</sup> As a result of Tridentine reform, the *Catechismus* (1566), the *Brevarium Romanum* (1568), and the *Missale Romanum* (1570) were all published '*ex decreto Sacrosancti Concilii Tridenti restitutum*.'

<sup>111</sup> Crook, *Orlando di Lasso's Imitation Magnificats*, p. 57.

<sup>112</sup> Daniel Zager, 'Post-Tridentine Liturgical Change and Functional Music: Lasso's Cycle of Polyphonic Latin Hymns' in Peter Bergquist (ed.), *Orlando di Lasso Studies* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 41-63. Daniel Zager, 'Liturgical Rite and Musical Repertory: The Polyphonic Latin Hymn Cycle of Lasso in Munich and Augsburg,' in Ignace Bossuyt et al. (eds.), *Orlandus Lassus and his Time: Colloquium Proceedings, Antwerpen 24-26.08.1994* (Peer, 1995), pp. 215-232.

mere compliance, but rather, a means to visibly establish and promote the relationship between Munich and Rome.<sup>113</sup>

A further step was taken to ensure consistent practice of the newly implemented Roman Rite. In October 1581, Wilhelm V was recommended a young Jesuit consultant from the *Collegium Germanicum*, Dr Walram Tumler. Tumler was tasked with overseeing the court chapel and to make suggestions concerning its liturgical practices. All sources agree that this was not a very successful endeavour in the sense that Tumler had scathing critiques of the musicians and the lack of decorum in the court chapel.<sup>114</sup> Steinhuber records that Tumler received a friendly welcome from Duke Wilhelm V, but that the musicians were quick to loathe him and waited for him with great annoyance. Although this is likely somewhat of an exaggeration, the animosity between Tumler and the court musicians (especially Orlando di Lasso) is highlighted by the account of Wilhelm Fusban:

Indeed Orlando, who acted as chapel-master and had, moreover, published shameful music prints, took offense and with his accomplices - some of whom were married, some of whom were accustomed to wear swords and thus resembled mercenaries more than pious servants of God - conspired in anger against Walram. But the anger that took hold was vain and powerless.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> Zager, 'Post-Tridentine Liturgical Change,' p. 63.

<sup>114</sup> This is recounted in a seventeenth-century unpublished history of the *Collegium Germanicum* by Wilhelm Fusban and is discussed in Steinhuber, S.J., *Geschichte des Kollegium Germanikum Hungarikum*, pp. 296-99; Thomas Culley, S.J., *Jesuits and Music I: A Study of the Musicians Connected with the German College in Rome during the 17th Century and of Their Activities in Northern Europe* (Rome, 1970), pp. 90-2; Leuchtmann, *Leben*, pp. 189-90; Crook, *Orlando di Lasso's Imitation Magnificats*, pp. 34-8.

<sup>115</sup> Translation by Crook, *Orlando di Lasso's Imitation Magnificats*, p. 36 quoted in Leuchtmann, *Leben*, p. 189.

Further criticisms included the omission of prayers and antiphons, hurried psalm recitation, and worn-out vestments. Besides this, there was nothing explicitly in Tumler's reprimands concerning the music itself. Perhaps Tumler was pacified by the fact that Lasso was already at work composing new post-Tridentine liturgical music for the court. After addressing the court with recommendations for improvement, Tumler remained to assist in the implementation of the Roman Rite in the churches of Munich and further afield in the duchy. Scholars agree that the most problematic issue for Tumler was his unrealistic expectations for the Munich court chapel stemming from a disconnect between ecclesiastical and secular institutions.<sup>116</sup> Consequently, Campbell's quote that the Jesuits had converted the court into a 'convent' and Munich into a 'German Rome' was not an overstatement. The external signs of Catholic Reform including the implementation of the Roman Rite in the court chapel throughout the duchy and the founding of St Michael's Church not only demonstrated the allegiance to Rome but positioned Munich as the Catholic authority north of the Alps, second only to the Holy See.

### The Homophonic Psalm Motets

The introduction of the Roman Rite in Munich certainly had an influence on the composition of new supplemental materials to accommodate the new liturgy with a special focus on the veneration of the Blessed Virgin. In response to Tumler's suggestions, the Commemorations and Marian antiphons were reinstated in the

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<sup>116</sup> 'Wollte Tummler den ganz München in ein Kloster strenger Observanz verwandeln?' Leuchtmann, *Leben*, p. 190. Crook, *Orlando di Lasso's Imitation Magnificats*, pp. 37-8; Harold Powers, 'Modal Representation in Polyphonic Offertories' in Iain Fenlon (ed.), *Early Music History: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Music* (Cambridge, 1982), p. 51.

celebration of Vespers and possibly Compline.<sup>117</sup> The other complaint that Tumler expressed was the rushed recitation of the psalms with prolonged choral responses that were ‘noisy and confused.’<sup>118</sup> To remedy this, Tumler requested psalm tones, responsories, and litanies to be sent from Rome.<sup>119</sup> Based on the written accounts, even if Lasso was indignant towards Tumler, Lasso’s output in the 1580s demonstrates a concentrated effort in the composition of new liturgical settings of hymns, offertories, passions, responsories, and Magnificats to accommodate the new practices of the court chapel.

With items copied 1576-1581, around the critical time of reform at the Bavarian court, Munich, BSB Mus. Ms. 2748 is instrumental in the understanding of the shift in the orientation of court chapel practices. The manuscript firstly contains a falsobordone setting of *In exitu Israel de Aegypto* (Ps. 113) for six voices, dated 15 July 1581 (fols 2<sup>r</sup>-17<sup>r</sup>). It also contains a set of psalm tones, nine Magnificats,<sup>120</sup> two Marian antiphons (*Salve Regina* dated 1579 and 1581), and a Litany of Loreto. Peter Bergquist has assessed most of the compositions contained here to be of little musical value aside from the insights they contain about the performance repertoire of the Munich court chapel.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Crook, *Orlando di Lasso’s Imitation Magnificats*, pp. 37-8. Lasso responded with the composition of a number of antiphons, dated in the court chapel manuscripts from 1582-1585. Cf. Crook lists Lasso’s settings of Marian antiphons on p. 39, Table 2.1.

<sup>118</sup> Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*, p. 82.

<sup>119</sup> Crook, *Orlando di Lasso’s Imitation Magnificats*, p. 36.

<sup>120</sup> The first of several Magnificats is copied 1581 as a New Year’s gift to the ‘Illustrious Prince Wilhelm, Duke of Bavaria’ (fol. 18<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>121</sup> Peter Bergquist, ‘Vorwort’ to *SWNR* xxv, p. vii.



**Example 31.** Orlando di Lasso, *In exitu Israel*, v. 3

The image displays a musical score for six voices, likely SATB and two additional parts, in Orlando di Lasso's *In exitu Israel*, v. 3. The score is written in C major and 4/4 time. It consists of six staves, each with a treble or bass clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are in Latin: "Ma - re vi - dit, et fu - git;". The music features a variety of note values, including minims, crotchets, and quavers, with some notes tied across measures. The lyrics are placed below the corresponding staves, with hyphens indicating syllables that span multiple notes or measures. The first staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The second staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The third staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The fourth staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The fifth staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The sixth staff has a bass clef and a key signature of one sharp.

Ma - re vi - dit, et fu - git;

Ma - re vi - dit, et fu - git;

Ma - re vi - dit, et fu - git;

Ma - re vi - dit, et fu - git;

Ma - re vi - dit, et fu - git;

Ma - re - vi - dit, et fu - git;

Jor - - da - nis - con - ver - sus est re - tror - sum

Jor - - da - nis con - ver - sus est re - tror - sum

Jor - - da - nis con - ver - sus est re - tror - sum

Jor - - da - nis con - ver - sus est re - tror - sum

Jor - da - nis con - ver - sus est re - tror - sum

Jor - - da - nis con - ver - sus est re - tror - sum

Crook postulates that the new setting of Ps. 113 may have been composed for an additional celebration of Sunday Vespers at the Munich court.<sup>122</sup> The psalm is a six-voice falsobordone setting which is characterised by simple chords based in root position. Falsobordone was commonly used for polyphonic recitation of psalms performed *in alternatim* with plainchant, particularly at Vespers.<sup>123</sup> The psalm tone is sung in the Tenor with small internal embellishments in the Quintus voice ('et' and 'Jordanis') below the Tenor within the setting in addition to some cadential formulae. In his study on the *tonus peregrinus* psalm tone, Mattias Lundberg comments on Lasso's ability to add detail to word setting with this particular psalm. He specifically references the 'cadential flourishes' that appear in each verse.<sup>124</sup> The observation that such embellishments would sound 'forced' if performed at a standard pace of recitation indeed suggests that the psalm was intended to be sung at a slower tempo than usual or customary. Because the embellishments are sparse and the falsobordone is otherwise typical in style, it was probably not Lasso's intent to compose an extravagant setting. It seems here, rather, that Lasso is responding to the very critique that Tumler voiced regarding the rushing of the psalm recitation.

It is an interesting point that a number of compositions which are included under the topic of liturgical reform actually predate the visit of Walram Tumler to the Bavarian court. For example, the falsobordone setting of Ps. 113 was copied July 1581 and thereby, predates the arrival of Tumler by three months. Daniel Zager has indicated that the hymn cycle of Mus. Ms. 55 was composed between October

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<sup>122</sup> Crook, *Orlando di Lasso's Imitation Magnificats*, p. 52.

<sup>123</sup> Murray Bradshaw, *The Falsobordone: A Study in Renaissance and Baroque Music* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1978).

<sup>124</sup> Mattias Lundberg, *Tonus Peregrinus: The History of a Psalm-tone and Its Use in Polyphonic Music* (London, 2011), p. 124.

1580 and August 1581 if the composition and copy dates are believed to be accurate.

While Tumler's presence in Munich has long provided evidence of Wilhelm's desire for liturgical reform, it is clear that Tumler's arrival did not constitute the initial catalyst for such change, which, given the chronology of Lasso's work on the hymn cycle, was already underway in 1580. [...] Thus, Lasso's composition of a hymn cycle is motivated specifically by post-Tridentine liturgical change at the Munich court.<sup>125</sup>

By extension, it is not unreasonable to place *In exitu Israel* in the same category of Lasso's post-Tridentine liturgical settings. In the transition from the use of the Freising Rite to the Roman Rite, it is irrational to think that Lasso was not already familiar with this tradition.<sup>126</sup> The evidence points towards the deduction that Lasso had already begun work on new liturgical items already in the late 1570s and certainly by 1579 at Wilhelm's decision to fully implement post-Tridentine reform at court. Furthermore, Mus. Ms. 2748, *In exitu Israel* appears to echo an issue which Lasso had already addressed. The anecdote of Tumler's activities in Bavaria stemming from Jesuit sources illustrates how Tumler was productive in his mission to rectify court practices to the Roman standard. However, Lasso's setting of Ps. 113 predicates his consciousness of certain musical issues which leads one to wonder if the record, in part, actually reflects Lasso's own critique on the reforms needed and the current musical situation of the court chapel. Although there is no further evidence of this, it is undeniable that Lasso served an active role in the musical adoption of the Roman Rite. *In exitu Israel* demonstrates Lasso's ability to adapt the psalm in falsobordone to achieve a slightly more detailed, yet traditional setting for solemn performance

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<sup>125</sup> Daniel Zager, 'Post-Tridentine Liturgical Change,' pp. 62-3

<sup>126</sup> Leuchtmann, *Leben*, pp. 87-99.

at Sunday Vespers. A further undated setting of the same psalm in four-voice falsobordone is included in Mus. Ms. 55 along with Lasso's aforementioned hymn cycle of 1580-1581. In contrast to an earlier setting in the court chapel manuscripts, the unadorned style of the falsobordone reinforces the post-Tridentine aesthetic in the clarity of the text declamation and simple chordal progressions.<sup>127</sup> The settings of psalms between the years 1576-1581 indicate a demand for simplicity in the spirit of liturgical reform. In measures of reform, these compositions were required to replace older settings to enhance new liturgical practices in the court chapel. The simple style of the falsobordone and the settings of Ps. 113, *In exitu Israel*, likewise contained in the manuscript in falsobordone style, supports the influence of post-Tridentine reform as an impetus for a prevailing sacred aesthetic, especially concerning the polyphonic setting of liturgical psalms.

An interest in the polyphonic settings of liturgical items including falsobordone settings of the psalm tones was already seen during Senfl's tenure at the Bavarian court under Wilhelm IV.<sup>128</sup> However, in the late sixteenth century, composers responded to liturgical reforms in Rome in the production of polyphony for the Divine Office. This is evidenced by the introduction of the revised *Breviarium Romanum* in 1568. Following the amendment, the music printing market was consequently flooded with publications of polyphonic psalms, especially those designated for the celebration of Vespers.<sup>129</sup> The exponential

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<sup>127</sup> Crook mentions the setting of Ps. 113 by Ludwig Senfl contained in Munich, BSB Mus. Ms. 13. Crook, *Orlando di Lasso's Imitation Magnificats*, pp. 52-3.

<sup>128</sup> Senfl composed sets of polyphonic psalm tones for four voices, Munich, BSB Mus. Ms. 52: 'Ad voces Aequales' (fols 1<sup>v</sup>-9<sup>r</sup>); (fols 12<sup>v</sup>-20<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>129</sup> Klaus Fischer estimates in the period 1571-1581, there are roughly 35 identified surviving publications of Psalms; 1570-1600 there are 125 settings; 1600-1630: 265 settings. Klaus Fischer, *Die Psalmkompositionen in Rom um 1600 (ca. 1570-1630)* (Regensburg, 1979).

growth of liturgical, polyphonic psalm settings during this time of Tridentine reform continued throughout the late decades of the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth century. Beginning around 1573, psalm prints began to nominally demonstrate their compliance with the Council of Trent in their titles, presumably as a strategy to market these new publications.<sup>130</sup> It should be noted that the council had no explicit decree concerning the nature and performance of polyphonic psalms; however, falsobordone settings in many ways embodied the ethos of Catholic liturgical music according to established reform ideals. This involved a special emphasis in the centrality of sacred text, free from lascivious influences. The clarity and simplicity of homophonic declamation could then enable the listener to meditate on the words of the Holy Scripture.<sup>131</sup>

As a compositional type, there are a small number of psalm motets in Lasso's oeuvre with a distinctly homophonic texture. These compositions are stylistically striking in contrast to a great number of other motets which use homophonic textures intermittently or in a less strict sense. *Domine, Dominus noster*, Ps. 8 [LV 637] is the earliest example of this kind of motet and is copied in Munich, BSB Mus. Ms. 15. Munich, BSB Mus. Ms. 11 contains two further examples: *Domine, quid multiplicati sunt*, Ps. 3 [LV 722] and *Deus in adiutorium meum intende*, Ps. 69 [LV 734].

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<sup>130</sup> Ippolito Camatero, *Salmi di corista a otto voci per le festa di Natale di Pasqua & alter feste del anno secondo l'ordine del concilio di Trento comodi alle voci accompagnate anco con agni sorte di instrumenti musicali a misura breve & anco alla ordinaria* (Venice, Girolamo Scotto: 1573). Giammateo Asola, *Secundus chorus vespertinae omnium solemnitatum psalmodiae, iuxta sacrosancti Tridentini concilij decretum, duoque B. Virginis cantica, primi toni, vocibus quator paribus concinendus* (Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1578; reprint: 1583).

<sup>131</sup> Christian Leitmeir, *Jacobus de Kerle (1531/32-1591): Komponieren im Spannungsfeld von Kirche und Kunst* (Turnhout, 2009), esp. Appendix 8. Murray Bradshaw, *The Falsobordone*, p. 47. Cf. Craig Monson, 'The Council of Trent Revisited' *JAMS* lv, 1 (Spring, 2002), pp. 1-37.

**Table 10.** Orlando di Lasso's homophonic psalm motets

<u>Incipit</u>	<u>Ps.</u>	<u>Date of Copy</u>	<u>Munich, BSB.</u>
<i>Domine, Dominus noster</i>	Ps. 8	November 1577	Mus. Ms. 15
<i>Domine, quid multiplicati sunt</i>	Ps. 3	April 1579	Mus. Ms. 11
<i>Deus in adjutorium</i>	Ps. 69	September 1579	Mus. Ms. 11

These motets are through-composed settings of the entire psalm text for six voices. They have a unipartite structure without a doxology and constitute some of the most succinct psalm motets in Lasso's motet output. The distinct compositional features are strongly evocative of liturgical psalmody in the harmonic clarity which is created by the texture. It is interesting that Lasso only composed very few motets in such strict style. Moreover, it is significant to note that this homophonic style occurs in these psalm motets which are all consistently dated from the final years of the 1570s. These are the only psalm motets that have been copied into manuscript for explicit use by the court chapel. Despite the simple aesthetic, the lack of certain characteristic features such as the doxology, formal structure of the psalm tone, tonal organisation, and antiphonal recitation of the psalm, precludes the performance of these motets in liturgical context. The setting of complete psalm texts in this manner evokes a long-standing tradition of psalmodic recitation in the Divine Office and is tantalisingly evocative of falsobordone settings which enjoyed immense popularity in the sixteenth century due to their textural simplicity and harmonic clarity.

Liturgical psalmody and the trend toward simplicity is reflected by growing popularity of post-Tridentine falsobordone settings of psalm texts. Not only do Lasso's homophonic motets take this into account, but also the rise of homophonic

trends in secular genres. In the wider repertoire of Lasso's works, the overwhelming homophony, harmonic clarity, and declamation of the text likewise brings to mind the motet, *O decus celsi* [LV 721]. It is presumed that the motet was composed for the Jesuit play based on the biblical story of Esther which was performed in Munich in 1577. Although many details concerning the use of the motet in the production are unknown, the declamatory style of the motet has been a subject of interest among scholars.<sup>132</sup> The laudatory four-line Sapphic stanzas appear to be suggestive of a sixteenth-century adaptation of a 'declaiming chorus.'<sup>133</sup>

**Example 32.** Orlando di Lasso, *O decus celsi*, mm. 1-9

O de-cus cel-si, ge-nus at-que cae-li, te guis o-ra-tor

O de-cus cel-si, ge-nus at-que cae-li, te guis o-ra-tor

O de-cus cel-si, ge-nus at-que cae-li, na-te Ti-ta-num Jo-vis u-na vir-tus, te guis o-ra-tor

O de-cus cel-si, ge-nus at-que cae-li, na-te Ti-ta-num Jo-vis u-na vir-tus,

na-te Ti-ta-num Jo-vis u-na vir-tus, te guis o-ra-tor

na-te Ti-ta-num Jo-vis u-na vir-tus,

<sup>132</sup> It is known that music was used and even commissioned for the Jesuit plays; however, *O decus celsi* is not specifically mentioned in the record of the play (Munich, BSB, Clm 524, fols 157f.) but has been identified in this context based on the mention of 'Assuerus,' the name of the king who marries Esther. Leuchtman, *Leben*, pp. 193-4. Franz Körndle, 'Between Stage and Divine Service: Jesuits and Theatrical Music' in Philippe Vendrix (ed.), *Music and the Renaissance: Renaissance, Reformation and Counter-Reformation* (London, 2011), pp. 544-5.

<sup>133</sup> Philip Weller, 'Lasso, Man of the Theatre,' in *Orlandus Lassus and His Time: Colloquium Proceedings, Antwerpen, 24-26.08.1994* in Ignace Bossuyt et al. (eds.), (Peer, 1995), p. 102.



mi-tra, san-cte, di - gnis lau - di-bus or - net, (lau - di-bus or - net?)

mi-tra, san-cte, di - gnis lau - di-bus or - net, (lau - di-bus or - net?)

mi-tra, san-cte, di - gnis lau - di-bus or - net, (lau - di-bus or - net?)

lau - di-bus or - net, (lau - di-bus or - net?)

mi-tra, san-cte, di - gnis lau - di-bus or - net, (lau - di-bus or - net?)

lau - di-bus or - net, (lau - di-bus or - net?)

The treatment of the verse in strict metre recalls a sixteenth-century interest in the revival of classical poetics. In France, the poet, Jean-Antoine de Baïf (1532-1589) founded the *Académie de poésie et de musique* in 1571. His main ambition was to develop the metres of antiquity in the declamation and expression of French poetry (*musique mesurée à l'antique*).<sup>134</sup> The concept behind Lasso's setting of *O decus celsi* is also experimental in this sense. The rhythm of the text declamation is strictly measured with antiphony between groups of four voices and all voices together.

<sup>134</sup> Kate van Orden, 'Chanson and Air' in James Haar (ed.), *European Music: 1520-1640* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 214-5.

**Table 11.** Orlando di Lasso, *O decus celsi* text and structure

Text	Voicing	Caesura
O decus celsi, genus atque caeli, nate Titanum, Jovis una virtus, te quis orator mitra sancta dignis laudibus ornet?	C1C2AT1 AT1T2B C1C2A T2 C1C2AT1T2B	G G F G
Te Deum toto veneramur orbe, tu parens nostro populo salutem ac pios reges tribuis benigne numine sancto.	AT1T2B C1C2AT1T2B C1C2AT1 C1C2AT1T2B	D D Bb G
Maximas ipsi tamen ore grates reddimus laeti tibi quod dedisti hoc die nobis pius Assuerum, Marte potentem.	C1C2AT1 AT1T2B C1C2A T2 C1C2AT1T2B	G G F G
Hunc pie serva pius ut vocasti, Nomen aeternum cupidi rogamus Gesta quae tantum deceant monarchum Quo dare cures.	AT1T2B C1C2AT1T2B C1C2AT1 C1C2AT1T2B	D D Bb G

The use of texture is systematic. The various voicing patterns are established in the first half of the poem and repeated in the second half. In addition, the setting of the text in Mode 2 receives consistent treatment. The end of each line of text is marked with a harmonic caesura and a full cadence at the end of each stanza invariably on the Modal Final - G. The musical material of the first half of the motet is exactly repeated in the second half with the exception of 'Maximas ipsi' which is only slightly varied. The pedantic setting and the outwardly bland homophonic psalm motets are thought to be of negligible musical value. However, since such strict procedures are highly atypical in Lasso's motets, they display a distinct sense of novelty and experimentation. It would be logical to conclude that such experimentation in text declamation also indirectly inspired Lasso's treatment of the psalms in the 1570s. The simplicity of homophonic declaration in *O decus celsi* with the strict observance of antiphonal procedures and regularity in the representation of the Mode correlates well with psalmodic traditions and the aesthetic conventions of post-Tridentine Catholic Reform.

Lasso's motet, *Domine, dominus noster* was copied in Mus. Ms. 15 in November 1577 together with a corresponding parody Mass which closely imitates the motet. The motet also first appeared in print the same year, indicating that it was likely composed somewhat earlier.<sup>135</sup>

Characteristic of falsobordone is the recitation of a verse with a simple chordal structure and a consistent formula of harmonic progression leading to an intermediate or final cadence. The tonal organisation also contributes to the formal outline of psalm verses in which the bipartite structure of the verse is strictly observed. Quotations of the static psalm-tone as a cantus firmus are rarely used in the composition of motets and are even gradually detached from falsobordone settings. In Book Four of *Le Istitutione Harmoniche*, Gioseffo Zarlino discourages composition on the psalm tone since the composer is simply not obligated to use it in non-liturgical settings such as motets because of the obvious harmonic and contrapuntal constraints.<sup>136</sup> To be clear, the settings of Lasso's homophonic psalm motets are not limited by a cantus firmus or strict adherence to a given psalm tone or falsobordone setting.<sup>137</sup> Despite the restrictive use of texture and the simplicity of the setting, Lasso is able to present the psalm text with theatrical flair and in a manner that references trends in liturgical polyphony.

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<sup>135</sup> Orlando di Lasso, *Tenor. Moduli. Quatuor 5. 6. 7. 8. Et novem vocum*. (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1577) [RISM 1577e]

<sup>136</sup> 'But when writing other compositions such as motets or other similar things, the composer does not have to follow the chant, or tenor, of the psalm tones, for he is not obligated to do it. On the contrary, such a practice might be considered a shortcoming and be attributed to a lack of power of invention.' Gioseffo Zarlino, *On the Modes: Part Four of Le Istitutioni Harmoniche, 1558* translated by Vered Cohen (New Haven, 1983), p. 48.

<sup>137</sup> A well-known example of psalm motet composition according to the psalm tone is the sixth penitential psalm, *De profundis clamavi* [LV 799] in the *Psalmi poenitentiales* motet cycle.

In the six-voice motet, *Domine, dominus, noster*, there are a number of observations to be gathered in the way that Lasso introduces the psalm setting to emulate liturgical psalmody. Though the division and punctuation of the verses in falsobordone settings is strict, it is obvious that Lasso is not necessarily concerned with this observance of the verse structure. In keeping with the setting of the poetry as prose, Lasso divides the psalm text similarly to the procedures used in *O decus celsi*.

**Table 12.** Orlando di Lasso, *Domine, dominus noster* text and structure

Text	Voicing	Cadence
Domine, Dominus noster quam admirabile est nomen tuum in universa terra quoniam elevata est magnificentia tua super caelos	C1C2AT1T2B C2AT1T2 C1C2AT1T2B T1T2B C1C2A C1C2AT1T2B	G    D
Ex ore infantium et lactantium perfecisti laudem propter inimicos tuos ut destruas inimicum et ultorem	C1C2 T1 C1C2AT1T2 AT1T2B	D  Bb
Quoniam videbo caelos tuos opera digitorum tuorum lunam et stellas quae tu fundasti	C1C2 C1C2A T2 AT1T2B	G
Quid est homo quod memor es eius? aut filius hominis quoniam visitas eum?	C1C2 T1 C1C2A T2 C1C2AT1T2B	G
Minuisti eum paulo minus ab angelis gloria et honore coronasti eum et constituisti eum super opera manuum tuarum	AT1T2B C1C2AT1T2B C1C2 T2 C1C2AT1	G
Omnia subiecisti sub pedibus eius oves et boves universas insuper et percora campi	C1C2AT1T2B AT1T2B C1C2AT1T2B	D
Volucres caeli et pisces maris qui perambulant semitas maris	C1C2A C1C2 T1T2	D
Domine, Dominus noster quam admirabile est nomen tuum in universa terra	C1C2AT1T2B C2AT1T2 C1C2AT1T2B	G

The voicing serves to demarcate nuances in the structure of the text, adding textural contrasts and balance between high and low voice groupings. Obvious instances of word painting are also evident in the designation of voices. All voices are employed to signify words relating to ‘God’ (‘Domine, dominus noster’), ‘magnificentia,’ or ‘gloria et honore.’ High voices are used effectively at ‘elevata est,’ ‘ex ore infantium et lactantium,’ and at ‘caelos.’ Low voices are used for ‘inimicos,’ ‘fundasti,’ and in a very literal sense at ‘minuisti eum paulo minus ab angelis.’ The device pervades the motet and adds a layer of sophistication in the musical interpretation of the words.

As in *O decus celsi*, the harmonic treatment of the motet in Mode 2 is also very controlled as is plainly seen in the cadence plan.<sup>138</sup> Though the harmonic rhythm appears to be quite fast (changing at every minim) with well-defined parameters, the first half-verse contains the entire harmonic vocabulary for the rest of the setting with the final at G. There is a secondary cadence point at D and passing cadence points at B<sup>b</sup> and A. Already in the first phrase, ‘*Domine, dominus noster*,’ Lasso expands through the harmonic vocabulary in fifths.

Domine, Dominus noster	[quam]
G D G C F Bb	[Eb]

In this scheme, Lasso establishes this progression while also firmly stating the Mode. As already mentioned, the opening phrase is sung with all voices followed by a reduction to four voices until ‘in universa terra’ and a strong cadence on G. This first half-verse is repeated at the conclusion of the motet.

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<sup>138</sup> Stefan Pontz, ‘Contrapunctus-Simplex-Kompositionen von Orlando di Lasso und Jacobus Gallus’ in Bernhold Schmid (ed.), *Orlando di Lasso in der Musikgeschichte: Bericht über das Symposium der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften München 4.-6. Juli 1994* (Munich, 1996), pp. 191-220.

**Example 33.** Orlando di Lasso, *Domine, dominus noster*, mm. 1-6

Do-mi ne, Domi nus no ster, in u ni-ver sa ter - ra

Do-mi ne, Domi nus no ster, quam admi-ra bi le est no men tu-um in u ni-ver sa ter - ra

Do-mi ne, Domi nus no ster, quam admi-ra bi le est no men tu-um in u ni-ver sa ter - ra

Do-mi ne, Domi nus no ster, quam admi-ra bi le est no men tu-um in u ni-ver sa ter - ra

Do-mi ne, Domi nus no ster, quam admi-ra bi le est no men tu-um in u ni-ver sa ter - ra

Do-mi ne, Domi nus no ster, in u ni-ver sa ter - ra

The strict compositional procedure highlights Lasso's free experimentation with text declamation and texture in relationship to the psalm text. At the beginning of the setting, the verse falls naturally into a strong dactylic metre which moves the text in a comfortably efficient manner. The most definitive feature of the settings is the homorhythmic aspect and the unified declamation of the text. This is, however, at times discreetly undermined in offset voices. This occurs namely at the words 'minuisti' (**Ex. 32**, m. 32, Tenor 2) and 'sub pedibus' (**Ex. 33**, m. 44, Tenor 1) which maintains Lasso's propensity to incorporate subtle word play, but not in such a manner as to distort the overall texture or the intelligibility of the setting. Lasso is not as strict in the later homophonic psalm motets in which he varies the texture and pattern of voice entries more frequently.

**Example 34.** Orlando di Lasso, *Domine, dominus noster*, mm. 32-38

glo ri - a et hono re co ro na sti e - um

glo ri - a et hono re co ro na sti e - um

Mi - nu - i sti e - um pau - lo mi - nus ab An ge - lis, glo ri - a et hono re co ro na sti e - um

Mi - nu - i sti e - um pau - lo mi - nus ab An ge - lis, glo ri - a et hono re co ro na sti e - um

Mi nu - i sti e - um pau - lo mi - nus ab An ge - lis, glo ri - a et hono re co ro na sti e - um

Mi - nu - i sti e - um pau - lo mi - nus ab An ge - lis, glo ri - a et hono re co ro na sti e - um

**Example 35.** Orlando di Lasso, *Domine, dominus noster*, mm. 43-49

Omni-a subie cis - ti sub pe dibus e ius, et perco ra cam - pi

Omnia subie cis - ti sub pe dibus e - ius, et perco ra cam - pi

Omni-a subie cis - ti sub pe dibus e - ius, oves et boves u niver - sas in super et perco ra cam - pi

Omni-a subie cis - ti sub pe dibus e - ius, oves et boves u niver - sas in super et perco ra cam - pi

Omni-a subie cis - ti sub pe dibus e ius, oves et boves u niver - sas in super et perco ra cam - pi

Omni-a subie cis - ti sub pe dibus e ius, oves et boves u niver - sas in super et perco ra cam - pi

In contrast to the rigid metre imposed on the setting of *O decus celsi*, the rhythm is dictated by the accentuated rhythmic patterns of speech. The stresses are expressed in long and short note values which results in a natural ‘reading’ of the verse. Both examples demonstrate classical patterns of mixed metrical feet and the rhythmic fluidity with which the verses are treated.<sup>139</sup>

The limitations imposed by the homophonic texture and the stagnation of most vocal lines create some issues in part-writing; however, in certain parts, the crossing of voices facilitates an audible deception which supports the continuity of vocal lines. This has already been seen, for example, in **Ex. 31** as the Cantus 2 continues the line, ‘*quam admirabile est nomen tuum,*’ in lieu of the Cantus 1. A more expressive example is found at the opening of *Deus in adjutorium meum intende* with equal Cantus parts. After the intoned ‘Deus,’ Cantus 2 supersedes Cantus 1 and sustains the chordal intonation with minute semitone inflections that affect the movement of the Bassus fluctuating between D, A and E (the space of a fifth above and below A as a tonal centre). The limitations and restrictions based on harmonic parameter and homophonic texture are relieved as the settings become varied in the use of different voice groupings.

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<sup>139</sup> ‘Section II.27. Metre, Accent, Rhythm, and Rhyme in Liturgical Texts’ in David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 279-284.



**Example 36.** Orlando di Lasso, *Deus in adjutorium meum intende*, mm. 1-3

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De - us in ad - ju - to - ri - um me - um in - ten - de

De - us in ad - ju - to - ri - um me - um in - ten - de

De - us in ad - ju - to - ri - um me - um in - ten - de

De - us in ad - ju - to - ri - um me - um in - ten - de

in ad - ju - to - ri - um me - um in - ten - de

in ad - ju - to - ri - um me - um in - ten - de

This setting of *Deus in adjutorium* evokes an intoned line but does not quote the chant. This contrasts with Ludwig Senfl's general approach to the psalm motet on the same text which features the chant as the initial point of imitation in rigid rhythm. Lasso is unbound by this convention and is more varied in the rhythmic patterns which create a dynamic effect in the declamation of the text.

**Example 37.** Ludwig Senfl, *Deus in adiutorium meum intende*, mm. 1-10

De - us, in ad - iu - to - ri - um me - um in - ten - de, in - ten - de, in -

De - us, in ad - iu - to -

7

de, in - ten - de

De - us, in ad - iu - to - ri - um me - um in - ten - de

ten - de

ri - um me - um in - ten - de

Lasso's homophonic psalm motets share similar features in terms of an introduction of tonal stability, stagnant vocal lines which facilitate recitation, and harmonic support provided by a moving bass. Crossing voices of equal range alleviates the doubling of parts where the melodic motion is limited by the restriction of harmonic space, especially in a six-voice texture. However, where

such instances occur, the result is generally the effect of intoning chant which creates an impression of liturgical recitation. The experiment of the homophonic psalm motets shows the effective blending of theatrical oration, masterful text painting, and incorporation of the defining characteristics of liturgical psalmody to amplify the meaning of the psalm. In this way, Lasso is able to use liturgical influences creatively in the setting of the psalm text. In the vehicle of the psalm motet, this was further facilitated by the fact that Lasso was not bound by liturgical rules.

*Domine, dominus noster* [LV 637]

With similarities in style and approach, Lasso's homophonic psalm motets (as a compositional type) can be pinned chronologically to the final years of the 1570s at a time when Catholic reform at the Bavarian court was at the forefront of the composer's consciousness. These psalm motets embody humanist influences in the classical oration of the text while commenting on liturgical applications. This implies that such settings emulate features of post-Tridentine psalmodic recitative, but do not function as Office polyphony. The meaning of these motets ultimately returns to the position of the Bavarian court in the 1570s.

Many aspects of Lasso's treatment of the homophonic psalm motets are reflective of a broader idiomatic style which can be placed squarely within the study of the post-Tridentine motet. With a focus on the intelligibility of the text, the homophonic declamatory style is arguably one of the main characteristics associated with a formulation of an idealised, post-Tridentine musical aesthetic. Certainly, it is self-evident that there is a clear distinction to be made in compositional procedures which define liturgical and paraliturgical genres;

however, it does not preclude a strong influence of liturgical ‘style’ on genres such as the motet as shown in the previous section. The work of Lasso and his response to trends in sacred music would also influence Italian liturgical music in the late 1570s. This is a mere starting place for the interpretation of homophonic psalm motets as they reflect a distinct post-Tridentine development in compositional aesthetic in regard to psalmodic recitation.

The sixteenth-century holdings of the Munich court chapel are especially rich in documentation of the liturgical shifts in the court tradition and works that were written by court composers to accommodate such changes. The select inclusion of Lasso’s pieces in the Munich court chapel holdings bears witness to the performance context. In addition to this, there is the historical significance that is attached to these compositions such as the new repertoire composed to accommodate the adoption of the Roman Rite around 1579. The allegiance of the newly-crowned Duke of Bavaria to Rome was politically essential in the post-Tridentine age of Catholic Reform, especially in his personal agenda to consolidate the power and influence of the Bavarian Wittelsbachs within the empire. The signification in the adoption of visible Tridentine aesthetics in the practices of the Roman Catholic Church during these years would have further marked the new Duke of Bavaria as a champion of the Counter-Reformation in congruence with his programme for liturgical reform. The music that was composed and published during this time would cement and circulate the court’s confessional orientation and influence.

The performance context of such psalm motets can only be imagined. Though, the aesthetic, the brevity of the through-composed psalms, and the simplicity of the part-writing hints that these pieces may have been suitable for a variety of

functions. Munich, BSB Mus. Ms. 15 contains only the work of Orlando di Lasso including the motet, *Domine, dominus noster* along with the parody mass on the same motet which bears the date November 1577. Of the motets contained in the manuscript, only the first compositions are copied with dates. The first item in the manuscript is *Beatus Nicolaus iam triumpho* which is dated 28/29 November 1577 which was likely composed by Lasso to be performed for the Feast of St Nicholas presumably in that same year. As a psalm, *Domine, dominus noster* appears in the Mass Proper in a number of major feasts including the Feast of the Holy Trinity and All Saints which suggests that the motet might have been performed at least a couple of times in the church year, in addition to a context of general performance and entertainment.

The motet itself was esteemed by Lasso enough to form the subject of the subsequent Mass which adds to its prominence among the other motets in the manuscript. A further detail which distinguishes this motet in the collection is a thin flourish on the illuminated initial of the Bassus in the form of a dragon's head. This added detail is noticeable, especially since the rest of the manuscript is uniformly devoid of illustration. The letter 'D' in this case clearly stands for 'draco' that is drawn in the initial. However, it is questionable if the copyist Franz Flori was diverted in his task of copying the motet or if there might be a clue in the illustration regarding the context of the piece. To decipher this, one must return to the significance of the post-Tridentine aesthetic and the years of reform in Munich during the late 1570s.

In 1574, Albrecht V not only established the seminary at Ingolstadt, but also the *Domus Gregoriana*, a boarding house for poor but talented young boys who could sing or play an instrument. The support and success of this establishment was

expanded to include a parallel institution for boys of noble background. A written account is excerpted here from the founding of the Jesuit Seminary in Ingolstadt in 1576:

*Und es verstrich weiterhin kein ganzes Jahr, und auch München erfreute sich einer neuen Erziehungsschule für Knaben, zunächst für Adelige. Die Veranlassung zur Gründung gab ein von den Schülern der Jesuiten aufgeführtes Schaustück, welches dem Herzog so wohl gefiel, daß er [...] den Gedanken faßte, ein neues Erziehungsinsitut zu gründen. Dem Gedanken folgte rasch der Entschluß, und diesem ebem so rasch die That. Mehrere dem Gymnasium zunächst liegende Gebäude wurden zusammengekauft, und an ihrer Stelle erhob sich das neue Konvikt. Am St. Michaelstage 1577, als an dem Tage jenes Heiligen, von dem das Haus fortan den Namen tragen sollte, bezogen es drei Jesuiten, und mit ihnen 30 Zöglinge größtentheils adliger Abkunft. So rief Herzog Albrecht durch seine hochsinnige Freigebigkeit Anstalten ins Leben, die noch nach Jahrhunderten herrliche Früchte fuer Vaterland und Kirche trugen.<sup>140</sup>*

The founding of the school is recorded as an occasion for the production of a Jesuit play by the students. With the aforementioned style and context of *O decus celsi*, it is not implausible to think that by its appropriate style, *Domine dominus noster* also played the role as a choral insert to the Jesuit drama. In any case, the illuminated dragon in the manuscript may well be symbolic of a relationship to St Michael. The significance of St Michael as a patron of the militant Counter-

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<sup>140</sup> 'And less than a year would pass and Munich rejoiced over a new school for boys and nobility. There was a play performed by Jesuit students at the occasion of the founding which pleased the Duke so well that he [...] came up with the idea to found a new educational institute. The idea was followed quickly by the decision, and it was likewise followed quickly by the deed. A number of buildings located next to the school (Gymnasium) were bought together and the new seminary was raised in their place. On the Feast of St Michael 1577, the day of that saint after whom that building henceforth would be named, three Jesuits moved in and with them, 30 pupils of mostly noble descent. And so, the institution originated with Duke Albrecht's great generosity, and it bore glorious fruit still after centuries for the Fatherland and the Church.' Translation mine. Historischen Vereine von und für Oberbayern, *Oberbayerisches Archiv für Vaterländische Geschichte*, vii, (Munich, 1846), p. 88.

Reformation is relevant as the dragon relates to the threat of heresy and a reminder of the necessary defense of the Catholic faith. With the connection of Ps. 8 in the Feast of St Michael, it can be surmised that the psalm motet was possibly composed for this occasion especially in the celebratory dedication of the Michaelkonvikt on 29 September 1577. It would not be unreasonable to date the composition of the motet earlier than the copy date of the parody mass in November 1577.

In this case, the use of the motet in dramatic context with the Jesuit school would not only explain the approach and style of text setting, but also demonstrate technical simplicity that could effectively accommodate students. Such commercial viability is supported by the publication and reprinting of the motet since its composition.

*Tenor. Modvli. Quatuor 5. 6. 7. 8. Et novem vocum.* (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1577) [RISM 1577e]

*Selectissimae Cantiones, quas vulgo motetas vocant, partim omnino novae partim nusquam in Germania excusae sex & pluribus vocibus compositae* (Nuremberg: Catharina Gerlach & Johann vom Berg, 1579) [RISM 1579a]  
Reprinted in 1587 [RISM 1587e]

*Le Thresor de Musique D'Orlande de Lassus, Prince des Musiciens de nostre Temps.* (Geneva: Simon Goulart, 1582) [RISM 1582h]  
Reprinted in 1594 by Paul Marceau in Cologne [RISM 1594b]

*Magnum Opus Musicum* (Munich: Nicolas Heinrich, 1604) [RISM 1604a]

A couple of factors would add to the commercial appeal of the psalm motet including the experimentation of a strictly homophonic setting that could be used for a variety of private and public occasions and easily performed by amateur musicians. The motet was undoubtedly used for paraliturgical purposes and may have found further performance in confraternities.

In addition to its publication, Lasso's psalm motet found imitation firstly in his own parody mass. In a later setting by his student, Leonhard Lechner, it was a subject of a parody mass which was included in the *Liber missarum sex et quinque vocum* in 1584.<sup>141</sup> Giovanni Gabrieli also composed an eight-voice polychoral setting of the same psalm referencing Lasso's bold homophonic declamatory style and antiphonal technique. The psalm motet is included in the *Sacrae symphoniae I [...]* *senis, 7, 8, 10, 12, 15, & 16 tam vocibus, quam instrumētis* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1597) [RISM G 86] which was dedicated to the four sons of Marcus Fugger: Georg, Anton, Philipp, and Albert on the celebration of their quadruple wedding.<sup>142</sup>

**Example 38.** Giovanni Gabrieli, *Domine, dominus noster*, mm. 1-7

Do - mi-ne, Do - mi-nus no - ster quam ad - mi-ra - bi - le est no - men tu -

Do - mi-ne, Do - mi-nus no - ster quam ad - mi-ra - bi - le est no - men tu -

Do - mi-ne, Do - mi-nus no - ster quam ad - mi-ra - bi - le est no - men tu -

Do - mi-ne, Do - mi-nus no - ster quam ad - mi-ra - bi - le est no - men tu -

<sup>141</sup> Leonhard Lechner, *Liber missarum sex et quinque vocum* (Nuremberg: Catharina Gerlach, 1584) [RISM L 1298]

<sup>142</sup> Susan Lewis Hammond, *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany* (London, 2007), pp. 68-69.



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in u - ni - ver - sa ter - ra

in u - ni - ver - sa ter - ra

in u - ni - ver - sa ter - ra

in u - ni - ver - sa ter - ra

um in u - ni - ver - sa ter - ra

um in u - ni - ver - sa ter - ra

um in u - ni - ver - sa ter - ra

um in u - ni - ver - sa ter - ra

Gabrieli employs the same strict homophony at the beginning of the setting with the quick underlying harmonic rhythm in a similar progression.

Domine, Dominus noster  
G D Eb Bb C G

In Gabrieli's setting, the voices dramatically pause after 'Domine, dominus noster;' and even though Lasso shifts the voice grouping at this point, Gabrieli is able to achieve a similar division of the text. All voices enter at 'in universa terra.' At this juncture, Gabrieli deviates from Lasso as the music turns into a richer polyphonic texture leading to a cadence on G. The following table shows the structure of Gabrieli's setting. The following designations are Choir I (higher voicing): Cantus (g2), Altus (c1), Quintus (c2), Tenor (c4) and Choir II (lower voicing): Septimus (c3), Sextus (c4), Octavus (c4), Bassus (F4).

**Table 13.** Giovanni Gabrieli, *Domine, dominus noster* text and structure

Text	Voicing	Cadence
Domine, Dominus noster quam admirabile est nomen tuum in universa terra quoniam elevata est magnificentia tua super caelos	Choir II  Tutti Choir II Tutti	G  D
Ex ore infantium et lactantium perfecisti laudem propter inimicos tuos ut destruas inimicum et ultorem	Choir I Tutti Choir II	G  G
Quoniam videbo caelos tuos opera digitorum tuorum lunam et stellas quae tu fundasti	Choir I Tutti Choir II	D
Quid est homo quod memor es eius? aut filius hominis quoniam visitas eum?	Choir I  Tutti	D
Minuisti eum paulo minus ab angelis gloria et honore coronasti eum et constituisti eum super opera manuum tuarum	Choir II Tutti Choir I	Bb G
Omnia subiecisti sub pedibus eius oves et boves universas insuper et percora campi	Tutti Choir II Tutti	D
Volucres caeli et pisces maris qui perambulant semitas maris	Choir I	D
Domine, Dominus noster quam admirabile est nomen tuum in universa terra	Choir II  Tutti	G

The influence of Lasso's setting as a model for Gabrieli is evident in the structure of his voicing which perfectly mirrors Lasso's scheme in high and low voice groupings and using all voices to a grand effect. The compositional structure is also reinforced by the repeat of the first half-verse at the end of the setting. Notably, Gabrieli is more concerned with the balance of homophony and polyphony, yet he is still able to demonstrate instances of word painting. A notable example of this occurs at 'magnificentia tua super coelos' with ascending scalar passages which raises the magnificence over the heavens.

**Example 39.** Giovanni Gabrieli, *Domine, dominus noster*, Bassus, mm. 11-14



This setting of *Domine, dominus noster* shows Lasso's direct influence on Gabrieli which is unsurprising given that Gabrieli apprenticed at the Bavarian court around 1575-1579.<sup>143</sup> Together with Lechner's parody mass, these settings attest to a comfortable familiarity with Lasso's settings through the court repertoire. Another example of stylistic imitation further demonstrates the wide-spread influence of the motet. There are not many psalm motets that have survived in Ludwig Daser's works; however, the six-voice psalm motet, *Dominus regit me* exists in Regensburg, Proske-Bibliothek Ms. A. R. 1012. The manuscript bears the name of a Lutheran pastor from Neuburg, Philipp Ludwig Drechsel with the date 1610. Among Daser's psalm motets, *Dominus regit me* and *Ecce quam bonum* are overwhelmingly homophonic in texture. *Ecce quam bonum* is an antiphonal polychoral work that has only survived in tablature. *Domine regit me* is a psalm in only one part that uses a strict homophonic texture to highlight a natural speech rhythm of the psalm text.

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<sup>143</sup> This setting is another concrete example of Anthony Carver's assessment of Lasso's influence on Gabrieli's polychoral style particularly in the development of the homophonic texture. Anthony Carver, *Cori Spezzati*, pp. 148-9.

**Example 40.** Ludwig Daser, *Domine regit me*, mm. 1-8

Do - mi-ne re - git me, et ni-hil mi - hi de-e - rit:

Do - mi-ne re - git me, et ni-hil mi - hi de-e - rit:

Do - mi-ne re - git me, et ni-hil mi - hi de-e - rit: in lo - co pa - scu

Do - mi-ne re - git me, in lo - co pa - scu

Do - mi-ne re - git me, et ni-hil mi - hi de-e - rit: in lo - co pa - scu

Do - mi-ne re - git me, in lo - co pa - scu

5

i - bi me col - lo-ca - vit, col - lo-ca - vit.

i - bi me col - lo-ca - vit, col - lo-ca - vit.

ae i - bi me col - lo-ca - vit, col - lo-ca - vit.

ae i - be me col - lo-ca - vit, col - lo-ca - vit.

ae i - bi me col - lo-ca - vit, col - lo-ca - vit.

ae i - be me col - lo-ca - vit, col - lo-ca - vit.

The pervasive texture is broken at times as in the entries and cadences in m. 5; otherwise, the texture is maintained. Like Lasso, the six voices alternate in low and high groupings of four voices as seen in the example above. A clear musical statement is made with the declamation of the first line ending with a cadence on the final. Like Lasso's and Gabrieli's settings, this opening statement is repeated at the end of the setting as well. One example of deviance from the texture is at 'non timebo mala.' The trepid entry of the Cantus and Quintus followed by the Altus voice evokes the 'fear of evil' which is dispelled by all of the voices. The texture finds full restoration at 'quoniam tu mecum es.'

**Example 41.** Ludwig Daser, *Domine regit me*, mm. 23-27

non ti-me - bo ma - la: quo-ni - am tu me-cum es.

non ti-me - bo ma - la: quo-ni - am tu me-cum es.

non ti-me - bo ma - la: quo-ni - am tu me-cum es.

quo-ni - am tu me-cum es.

quo-ni - am tu me-cum es.

quo-ni - am tu me-cum es.

Even though Daser preceded Lasso as *Hofkapellmeister* in Munich, from the model provided by Lasso, it is certain that this motet was composed after 1577. At this time, Daser would have been employed by the Stuttgart court.

Lasso's simpler settings are discounted for their simplicity and more pedantic approach to the setting of text. But a look at the significance of *Domine, dominus noster* in the context of the Munich court chapel aids in the understanding of the composition as a sophisticated commentary on the style of reform. *Domine, Dominus noster* exemplifies post-Tridentine aesthetics of clarity in the declamation of the psalm text which has led scholars to describe the motet as an elaborated falsobordone.<sup>144</sup> Although Bergquist mentions motets in similar style (including *O decus celsi*), the connection to the Jesuit drama in the homophonic style of psalm motet had not been explored previously.

The fusion of music and dramaturgy creates an aesthetic in which the musical oration of the text not only fits within a post-Tridentine reorientation of the Bavarian court in the late 1570s, but also a humanist reconciliation of music and speech. The return to classical oration and its application to liturgical music was already palpable in the early part of the sixteenth century.<sup>145</sup> In the wake of the Counter-Reformation and the spread of Protestantism, the need for stronger Catholic rhetoric became clear. As stated by the Catholic theologian, Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621), oratory requires the preacher to 'move souls to piety' through the homiletic tradition and through Aristotelian/Ciceronian principles of the orator: *docere, delectare, and movere*.<sup>146</sup> The principles of classical oration are certainly a fruitful starting place for the interpretation of Lasso's use of rhetoric. The shift towards persuasive epideictic oratory has been observed in the writing and preaching of the late sixteenth century and has been used as a

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<sup>144</sup> Peter Bergquist, 'Introduction' to *CM*, xviii, p. xviii.

<sup>145</sup> Hyun-Ah-Kim, *The Renaissance Ethics of Music: Singing, Contemplation and Musica Humana* (London, 2015), p. 97f.

<sup>146</sup> Frederick McGinness, *Right Thinking and Sacred Oratory in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Princeton, 1995), pp. 104-6.

paradigm for understanding figurative art during this period.<sup>147</sup> The interest in the application of classical metre to vernacular verse was already seen in the example of experimentation of La Pléiade with the French language. Prominently, these principles would find use in popular vernacular psalmody. Such intersections of rhetoric, language, and reform are magnified in the discussion of Lasso's settings of German psalm paraphrases to be discussed in the next part.

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<sup>147</sup> Evonne Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque* (Berkeley, 2004), pp. 48-52.

## **PART II**

### **GERMAN PSALMS**





## Chapter 4

### Context for Lasso's German Lieder

Orlando di Lasso's output of psalm motets is substantial and unequivocally representative of a significant and long-standing tradition of psalm interpretation and rhetorical expression; however, the engagement with psalmodic expression afforded by new vernacular genres cannot be overlooked in a more comprehensive discussion of sixteenth-century psalm settings. The inclusion of Lasso's polyphonic psalm settings in the German language may seem peculiar, especially since they would appear miniscule in the shadow of the Latin psalm motet repertoire. There are also a number of other factors which have historically contributed to a negative opinion of Lasso's German works in general. These include a relatively limited number of works and a perceived inferior quality of German texts in comparison with Lasso's French chansons and Italian madrigals. In contrast to these genres that were cultivated throughout Lasso's life and career, the German works were composed only beginning relatively late in his life. These arguments render the German Lieder negligible compared to Lasso's prominence as a composer of other sacred and secular genres.<sup>148</sup> The interpretation of Lasso's Lieder is often coloured by characteristic influences that were borrowed from other secular genres as a result of his highly cosmopolitan career.<sup>149</sup> While this presents a valid perspective, it creates a tendency to

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<sup>148</sup> Martin Just, 'Lassos mehrteilige deutsche Lieder zu fünf Stimmen' in Ignace Bossuyt et al. (eds.), *Orlandus Lassus and his Time, Colloquium Proceedings: Antwerpen 24-26.08.1994* (Peer, 1995), p. 163.

<sup>149</sup> Helmuth Osthoff, *Die Niederländer und das deutsche Lied (1400-1600)* (Tutzing, 1938), pp. 142-3; Martin Just, 'Lasso's mehrteilige deutsche Lieder,' pp. 163-5.

highlight a discomfort and coming to terms with the German language and its corresponding musical genres rather than the discussion of compositional innovation and contributions.<sup>150</sup> Collectively for these reasons, Lasso's works on German texts have not been the subject of significant scholarly consideration in recent years.<sup>151</sup>

### The Sixteenth-Century Spiritual Vernacular

In the composition of vernacular songs, Lasso certainly drew broadly from a number of different musical and literary traditions. Towards the final years of his life, historiographical tradition has readily characterised Lasso as conservative, melancholic, and markedly pious.<sup>152</sup> Based on the accounts of an ailing composer combined with the output of overwhelmingly religious texts, this type of assessment is only one paradigm for Lasso's later works. Arguably, though Lasso was not necessarily forward-thinking in terms of musical style, the material used as the foundation for composition still resounded with contemporary significance extending beyond the composer's personal sentiments. A prime example is the response to the trending rise of devotional religious poetry

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<sup>150</sup> Although it is assumed that Lasso composed music in the German language before the first publication of *Lieder* in 1567, Lasso's command of the German language was not very strong when he arrived at the German court about a decade earlier. It can certainly be surmised that Lasso was much more comfortable with Italian and French than with German. Leuchtman, *Leben*, pp. 140-2.

<sup>151</sup> Martin Just, 'Lasso's mehrteilige deutsche Lieder,' Ludwig Behr, *Die deutschen Gesänge Orlando di Lassos* (Erlangen-Bruck, 1935). Lasso has been included in studies on the development of the German Lied, but there have been no other major studies devoted to Lasso's German Lieder specifically.

<sup>152</sup> Leuchtman, *Leben*, pp. 209-10. Leuchtman references accounts by François-Joseph Fétis 'Découvertes sur le célèbre musicien belge Roland de Lassus,' *Revue musicale*, 9, 5<sup>me</sup> année (1832), Henri-Florent Delmotte, *Notice biographique sur Roand de Lattre, connu sous le nom d'Orland de Lassus* (1836) and Edouard Fétis, *Les musiciens belges*, 2 vols., (1859-60).

in the second half of the sixteenth century across secular genres. By placing Lasso's work within the development of these genres, Lasso's spiritual vernacular songs echo the current influences. This adds relevant dimensions to the ultraconservative and privately devotional assessment of Lasso's late work.

Devotional poetry and the German Lied became strong expressions of religious reform as *geistliche Lieder* were popularised throughout the sixteenth century. Further examples of the spiritual vernacular can also be taken from the *madrigale spirituale* and *chansons spirituelles*. As a consequence of the spirit of Catholic Reform in Italy, interest surged in new devotional poetry in strophic forms which are musically expressed in settings of spiritual *laudi*, *canzonette*, and *madrigal* beginning around 1560 and continuing through the final three decades of the sixteenth century.<sup>153</sup> While these examples signal a new change in the nature of poetic verse, the proportion of publications with expressly religious content is miniscule compared to the publication of secular parallel genres. Moreover, settings of Italian psalmody are scant in comparison to the popularity of vernacular psalmody elsewhere in Europe.<sup>154</sup> Nonetheless, Lasso's final composition on Luigi Tansillo's cycle, *Le Lagrime di San Pietro* (1595) is considered representative of Lasso's late oeuvre. This composition fits nicely into a larger framework of sixteenth-century Catholic devotion and spiritual exercise

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<sup>153</sup> The first anthology of spiritual madrigals was published in 1563 by Giovanni dal Bene, *Musica spiritual. Libro primo di canzon et madrigal a 5v [...] raccolta già dal reverendo Giovanni dal Bene nobil veronese à utilità delle persone Christiane, e pie...*RISM 1563<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>154</sup> A remarkable example of one such Italian setting is Giovanni Croce's *Li sette sonetti penitenziali a sei voci* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1596) which was not only reprinted and disseminated within Italy, but was translated into Latin verse by Paul Kauffmann in Nuremberg (1599); and in English verse by Thomas Este and Henry Lownes in 1608 and 1611 respectively.

in addition to the confessional politics of Wilhelm V.<sup>155</sup> Together with Ulenberg's psalms and liturgical settings composed according to the Roman Rite, the Counter-Reformation paradigm is one explanation which accounts for such compositions;<sup>156</sup> however, one must also take into account Lasso's engagement with a variety of secular texts and even texts of Protestant origin which are interspersed in the collections of German Lieder. Moreover, in addition to confessional or personal considerations, the choice of text speaks to his knowledge of contemporary Italian poetry which demonstrably explored new aspects of religious verse using established classical metres. The reformed vernacular literature of sixteenth-century Italian humanist writers has long been viewed as mere religious adaptations owing to Counter-Reformation piety and the consequence of censorship. However, the rising trend of religious themes in poetry and literature points to the interaction of humanism in the transformation of classical and vernacular models for contemporary purposes. Likewise, Lasso's religious vernacular works demonstrate the intersection of older models and relevant contemporary subjects. Therefore, it is necessary to view Lasso's spiritual vernacular work in light of creative inspiration from literary trends in addition to the context of the Counter-Reformation.

As well as these new devotional themes in poetry, popular secular madrigal settings were commonly 'spiritualised' through the alteration of the original text.<sup>157</sup> This process was heavily exploited by Huguenot editors in the publication

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<sup>155</sup> Alexander Fischer, 'Per mia particolare devotione': Orlando di Lasso's *Lagrima di San Pietro* and Catholic Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Munich,' *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, cxxxii, 2 (2007), pp. 167-220.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid, p. 169.

<sup>157</sup> James Haar, 'Madrigal' in James Haar (ed.), *European Music: 1520-1640* (Woodbridge, 2006), p. 237.

of Lasso's chansons in France, illustrating a contemporary shift in Protestant trends and new market demands.<sup>158</sup> The practice of appropriation certainly had the underpinnings of moral and theological censorship; however, more relevantly, contrafacta of these works also reveal how interpretative paradigms operated to justify secular texts. Richard Freedman notes the extent to which Lasso's French chansons were changed by editors. In certain cases, secular texts by French humanist poets including Pierre de Ronsard and Joachim du Bellay were printed unchanged because the meaning of the text paralleled a Christian interpretation and could be construed in an edifying manner.<sup>159</sup> The popularity of Lasso's chansons and their spiritual contrafacta undoubtedly led to publication of these chansons in German, edited by Johann Pühler and printed in Munich in 1582.<sup>160</sup> Though this collection of contrafacta also reflects interesting changes in sixteenth-century publication in Germany, they will not be considered in this study, because they primarily represent editorial responses which are removed from the composer.

The sheer number of psalm paraphrases and devotional poetry by both German-speaking scholars and composers indicate the popularity and impact of such writings in the schismatic repercussions of sixteenth-century religious reform. The psalm paraphrase is of particular importance in the expression of a specifically German brand of humanism in an eloquent and easily digestible

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<sup>158</sup> Richard Freedman, *The Chansons of Orlando di Lasso*; "Divins accords: The Lassus Chansons and their Protestant Readers of the Late Sixteenth Century," *Orlandus Lassus and his Time*, pp. 273-94.

<sup>159</sup> In Thomas Vautrollier's *Receuil du mellange d'Orlande* (London, 1570), for example, only about half of the chansons were altered with a more explicitly 'spiritual' text. Richard Freedman, *The Chansons of Orlando di Lasso*.

<sup>160</sup> Orlando di Lasso, *Etliche und außerleßne kurtze gute geistliche und weltliche Liedlein mit 4 Stimmen so zuvor in Frantzösischer Sprach außgangen* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1582) [RISM 1852l].

interpretation of the psalms. Acknowledged musical and literary influences from Italy and Huguenot France impressed an amassed interest in scholars to critically explore the potential of the German language in relation to their well-established Italian and French counterparts. For example, this is demonstrated by the popular Lobwasser Psalter (1573) and the translation of German text ‘*nach Frantzösischer Melodey vnd reimen art,*’ since titles of such works commonly stated their borrowed influences. Though German scholars looked to foreign inspiration in the development of publishing trends, the German language itself was increasingly endorsed as a language for business, law, and literature, as well as a language of instruction (although it did not supplant Latin as the primary medium of scholarly discourse until centuries later).<sup>161</sup> The large proportion of devotional texts in Lasso’s German output in comparison with Italian and French genres suggest an acute awareness of shifting intellectual currents as well as the popularity and significance of such texts in late sixteenth-century German society.

Therefore, it is surprising to see that Lasso’s polyphonic settings of German text also extends to include Protestant verse, including: *Vatter unser im Himmelreich* [LV 295] (Martin Luther), *Ich ruff zu dir herr Jesu Christ* [LV 296] (Paul Speratus), and *Erzürn dich nit O frommer Christ* [LV 458] (Ludwig Hätzer). Although, Catholic *Kirchenlieder* assume a strong Counter-Reformation stance in the late sixteenth century, early Catholic songbooks often included Protestant settings,<sup>162</sup> especially as these often did not contain any overt rhetoric which

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<sup>161</sup> Renate Born, ‘The Evolution of Modern Standard German’ in Max Reinhardt (ed.) *Early Modern German Literature, 1350-1700* iv (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 96-9.

<sup>162</sup> As an early example, many Protestant texts find use in Leisentritt’s 1567 songbook. Furthermore, texts such as *Ich ruff zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ* are included in the 1586 *Münchener Gesangbuch*.

would contradict Catholic doctrine. In this sense, Lasso is not restricted as a merely ‘Catholic’ composer. Instead, he responds to generally popular texts regardless of confessional origin.

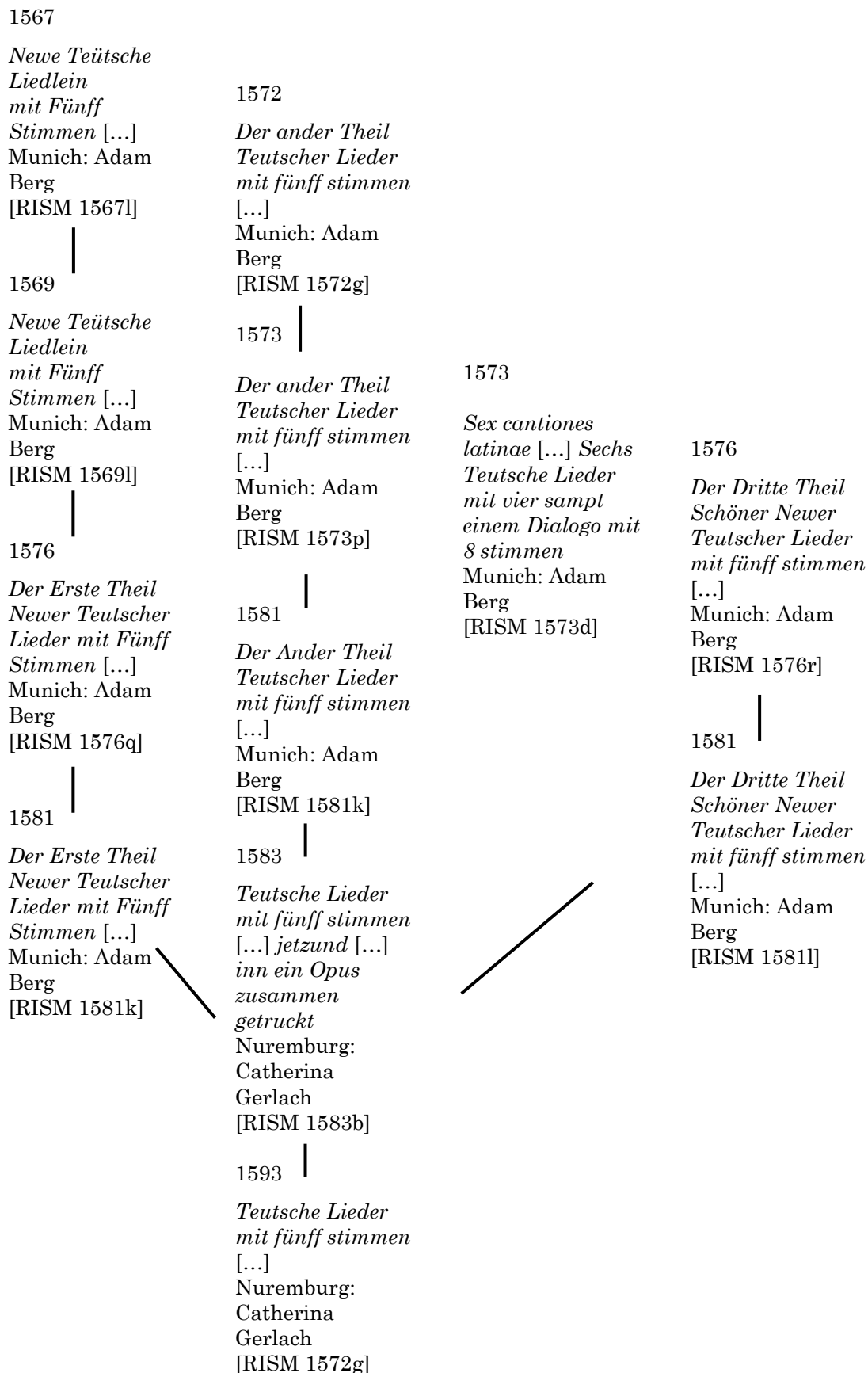
The value of such popular Lieder is maintained by the quality of the music and the more generic devotional overtones of the lyric, suitable for Protestant and Catholic audiences as shown by the aforementioned chansons. A further example of this is the publication, *Deutsche Lieder aus Neue Teutsche und etliche frantzösische Gesäng mit sech Stimmen* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1590) [RISM 1590b], given to the Nuremberg council as a New Year’s gift in 1591. Leuchtman writes that it is surprising a Protestant free imperial city would accept and honour a collection of largely spiritual songs. It is compounded by the fact that the collection was dedicated to Ernst, Bishop of Bamberg, one of the most fervent Counter-Reformation reformists of the time.<sup>163</sup> On the other hand, it is not surprising given the general popularity and commercial viability of Lasso’s German Lieder collections in Munich which were subject to reprint of new editions (**Fig. 3**).

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<sup>163</sup> Staatsarchiv Nürnberg, Bestand: Nürnberger Ratsverlässe, Nr. 1591, fol. 36 cited in Horst Leuchtman, *Leben*, p. 208.



**Figure 3.** Editions and prints of Lasso's German Lieder compositions



1583

*Neue Teutsche  
Lieder Geistlich  
und Weltlich mit  
vier stimmen [...]*

Munich: Adam  
Berg  
[RISM 1583a]

1589

*Neue Teutsche  
Lieder Geistlich  
und Weltlich mit  
vier stimmen [...]*

Nuremburg:  
Catherina  
Gerlach  
[RISM 1589e]

1588

*Teutsche Psalmen  
Geistliche  
Psalmen mit  
dreyen stimmen  
[...]*

Munich: Adam  
Berg  
[RISM 1588<sup>12</sup>]

1590

*Neue Teutsche  
vnnd etliche  
Frantösische  
Gesäng mit sechs  
stimmen [...]*

Munich: Adam  
Berg  
[RISM 1590b]

From these publications, it is clear that Gerlach's editions not only attest to the popularity of Lasso's settings in Nuremberg and its environs from 1583 onward, but might be used to exemplify the impulses of late sixteenth-century confessionalisation versus the cross-confessional reception of compositions based on implicated subjects. For example, the 1588 *Teutsche Psalmen* based on Caspar Ulenberg's Psalm paraphrase were not printed in Nuremberg; however, the 1591 New Year's gift to the city council does include two of the more expansive settings of Ulenberg Psalms. To examine these dynamics in greater detail, this dissertation will focus on Lasso's settings of Caspar Ulenberg's psalm paraphrase.

### Lasso's German Vernacular Psalms

The national idiom in the form of the German Lied was demonstrably cultivated at the Bavarian court throughout the sixteenth century, most notably with the work of Ludwig Senfl. With this established tradition, it might be speculated that Lasso felt a certain sense of obligation to write German songs for the private use of the court.<sup>164</sup> Significantly, Lasso's composition of German Lieder begins with three collections (1567, 1572, 1576) dedicated to each of Albrecht's sons.<sup>165</sup> The initial motivation for new compositions may at least be partially attributed to Duke Wilhelm V's apparent interest in the collection of German songs.<sup>166</sup> Already

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<sup>164</sup> Adolf Sandberger, 'Vorwort' to *SW*, xviii, pp. vi; Martin Just, 'Lassos mehrteilige deutsche Lieder,' p. 163.

<sup>165</sup> Horst Leuchtmann expounds on the exclusive use of German *Lieder* under Albrecht V which is alluded to in the dedicatory preface to the *Neue Teütsche Liedlein mit fünff Stimmen* (1567); in addition to evidence in Lasso's letters which would suggest that a selection of German *Lieder* was, in fact, illuminated and kept privately. Horst Leuchtmann, 'Vorwort' to *SW*, xx, pp. xxxi-ii.

<sup>166</sup> Leuchtmann, *Leben*, p. 141; Emil Bohn, 'Orlando di Lassus als Komponist weltlicher deutscher Lieder' in *Jahrbuch für Münchener Geschichte*, 1. Jahrgang (Munich 1887), p. 187f.

with the 1567 collection, scholars are quick to signal the beginning of change in an otherwise remarkably fixed tradition by the introduction of influences from other popularly wide-spread vernacular genres from France and Italy.<sup>167</sup> Lasso's 95 German works are contained in six publications originating between 1567 and 1590. These contain a wide-ranging assortment of secular and spiritual texts from a number of disparate sources. In overall relation to the madrigal and chanson, Lasso noticeably sets more sacred texts than secular texts in German. Whereas Lasso's familiarity with Italian and French literature is evident in his compositions,<sup>168</sup> Lasso's comparative knowledge of German verse is demonstrably more limited,<sup>169</sup> mainly relying on popular song collections as well as anthologies of German spiritual *Lieder*.<sup>170</sup> Still, it is notable that within the spiritual songs, the Ulenberg psalm paraphrase is the most important source of inspiration for Lasso's spiritual German *Lieder*.

The importance of German translations of the psalms stresses the increasing importance of versification not only in theological interpretations, but also as

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<sup>167</sup> Ludwig Finscher, 'Lied und madrigal,' pp. 184-5; Martin Just, 'Liedtradition und Neuerung in Lassos Fünfstimmigen Kompositionen mit deutschem Text' in Albert Clement and Eric Jas (eds.), *From Ciconia to Sweelinck: Donum Natalicium Willem Elders* (Amsterdam, 1994), pp. 269-70.

Ludwig Finscher, 'Lied,' *MGG2*. The influence of the Italian madrigal and villanella in the composition of secular German *Lieder* is explicit in the work of Lasso's pupils including Jacob Regnart, Ivo de Vento, Johannes Eccard and Leonhard Lechner.

<sup>168</sup> An excellent example of this is Lasso's demonstrated knowledge of Petrarch's sonnet, *Solo e Pensoso* and commentaries on this work which commonly reference the Bellerophon myth. Manfred Hermann Schmid, 'Scholarship and Mannerism in Orlando di Lasso's Early Madrigal 'Solo e Pensoso,' *Il Saggiatore Musicale* xviii, 1/2 (June 2011), pp. 5-36.

<sup>169</sup> Sandberger, 'Vorwort' to *SW*, xviii, pp. viii-ix. The state of research in this area has been left largely untouched since the work of Osthoff. Helmuth Osthoff, *German Part Song: From the 16th Century to the Present Day* (Cologne, 1955); *Die Niederländer und das deutsche Lied*.

<sup>170</sup> Sandberger, 'Vorwort' to *SW*, xviii, p. ix. The likely sources for Lasso's settings of spiritual songs can be found in a number of sixteenth-century songbooks including the *Regensburger Obsequiale*, Ingolstadt [RISM B/VIII 1570<sup>10</sup>], *Ritus ecclesiastici*, Dillingen [RISM B/VIII 1580<sup>02</sup>], and the *Münchener Gesangbuch* [RISM B/VIII 1586<sup>10</sup>].

linguistic development and popular cultural trend in the late sixteenth century. Given this, it is not particularly surprising that Lasso prominently draws from popular Protestant vernacular paraphrases as previously discussed.

**Table 14.** Lasso's polyphonic settings of German psalm paraphrase

<i>Der ander Theil Teutsche Lieder mit fünff stimmen</i> (Munich: Adam Berg, 1572)			
<i>Erzürn dich nit O frommer Christ</i>	Ludwig Hätzer	Ps. 37	Noli aemulari
<i>Es sind doch selig alle die</i>	Matthäus Greiter	Ps. 118	Beati immaculati
<i>Was kan uns kommen an für not</i>	Andreas Knöpken	Ps. 22	Dominus regit me
<i>Neue Teutsche Lieder Geistlich und Weltlich mit vier stimmen</i> (Munich: Adam Berg, 1583)			
<i>Auß meiner Sünden tieffe</i>	Unknown	Ps. 129	De profundis clamavi
<i>Von morgens frü</i>	Unknown	Ps. 128:6-7	

It is significant that these texts of Protestant origin gradually declined and were later replaced instead by markedly Catholic settings after the 1572 Lieder publication. Leuchtmann observes that though the first edition of Johannes Leisentrit's Catholic songbook was dedicated to the abbot of a failing abbey at Ossegg, the 1573 second edition of the songbook was dedicated to Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria.<sup>171</sup> The dedication of such Counter-Reformation songbooks stresses the importance of named secular and sacred authorities in the promotion of such songs as political currency in confessional conflicts. In the naming of the Bavarian Duke as such a figure, the demand for more distinctly Catholic spiritual Lieder may have been stimulated, especially in the continuation of post-Tridentine policies of Catholic Reform. In this context, Lasso's settings of the

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<sup>171</sup> Leuchtmann, 'Vorwort' to *SW*, xx, p. liii.

Ulenberg psalms are often interpreted in conjunction with the Counter-Reformation ethos of the Bavarian court at this time which was already demonstrated with the example of the psalm motets. Representative of some of Lasso's late works, the settings of Ulenberg's psalms are contained in the odd-numbered psalms in *Teutsche Psalmen: Geistliche Psalmen mit dreyen Stimmen* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1588) [RISM 1588<sup>12</sup>]. The collection is composed in alternation with his younger son, Rodolfo, who contributed the even-numbered settings. The *Teutsche Psalmen* contain the first 50 psalms in successive order using Ulenberg's melody as the subject. Whether or not other Lasso and his son actually intended to complete the entire Ulenberg psalm paraphrase with the addition of subsequent volumes is a subject of speculation. Leuchtmann proposes that the project was likely a commercial failure; however, the lack of existing copies does not substantiate this point.<sup>172</sup>

As a subject for polyphony, Lasso's three-voice settings mark the first-known polyphonic settings of Ulenberg's psalms. It is certainly no wonder that Lasso would have been acquainted with Ulenberg's work in light of the historical context surrounding Cologne at this time. The ecclesiastical electorate of Cologne became highly contested when in 1582, the archbishop-elect Gebhard Truchsess von Waldburg expressed an intent to convert to Calvinism. During the Cologne War, Duke Wilhelm V led an armed attack with Spanish allies in order to secure the Archbishopric of Cologne for the Bavarian Wittelsbachs by installing his brother, Ernst of Bavaria (bishop of Freising and Hildesheim) as archbishop. This Catholic crusade and the strengthening of the church in Bavaria with Anabaptist and Protestant persecution were strategies employed to put

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<sup>172</sup> Leuchtmann, 'Vorwort' to *SW*, xx, p. liii.

Bavaria in a more dominant political position.<sup>173</sup> Because of this connection between Cologne and Munich, it is not surprising that Ulenberg's works were transported to Munich from Cologne through the establishment of political, confessional, and cultural networks. The popularity of this paraphrase validates their timeliness, especially in their reinforcement of vehement Counter-Reformation rhetoric.<sup>174</sup>

The inspiration for Lasso's German psalm settings stems from Ulenberg's psalms which were set as simple tricinia as well as in polyphonic multi-part settings of complete and partial psalm texts. In addition to the *Teutsche Psalmen*, Lasso included more expansive settings of Ulenberg's psalms in the 1590 collection of six-voice German and French songs.

**Table 15.** Settings of Ulenberg psalms in the 1590 publication of secular song

*Deutsche Lieder aus Neue Teutsche und etliche frantzösische Gesäng  
mit sech Stimmen* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1590)

<i>Ich ruff zu dir mein Herr und Gott</i>	(Ps. 129)	Complete
<i>Der König wirdt seyn wolgemut</i>	(Ps. 20)	Strophes 1-3

In the study of Lasso's Lieder, Ludwig Behr maintains that Lasso's three-voice settings and six-voice settings are stylistically unrelated resulting in the consideration of only the six-voice settings since he did not consider the three-voice settings to be very 'Lied-like.'<sup>175</sup> This is a problematic assessment of the

<sup>173</sup> Maxwell, *The Court Art of Friedrich Sustris*, p. 102.

<sup>174</sup> In the Bavarian State Library holdings, multiple copies exist of *Die Psalmen Davids in allerlei teutschen Gesangreimen* (1582), *Einfältige Erklärung der 7 Buß-Psalmen* (1586), *Erhebliche und wichtige Ursachen, warumb die altgleubige Catholische Christen bey dem alten waren Christenthumb bis in ihren tod bestendiglich verharren* (1589) and *Trostbuch für die Kranken* (1590 with reprints from 1603 and 1608).

<sup>175</sup> Behr, *Die deutschen Gesänge*, p. 26.

three-voice settings which might then be reduced to simple pedagogical tricinia from this standpoint. Lasso's varied treatment of Ulenberg's material reveals distinct aesthetic conceptualisations of vernacular German psalmody which can be considered a stylistically cohesive subset of his vernacular oeuvre. The substantial impression of Ulenberg's settings by Lasso not only hearkens to an established tradition of German Lied, but signals new artistic directions in the nature and setting of vernacular verse which could be performed in a variety of contexts. The matter of scale exhibits new avenues of expression and context in the growth and development of the late sixteenth-century vernacular Lied. This would become an important genre which promoted popular religious themes in secular society catalysed by confessional politics in the age of Catholic Reform.

Caspar Ulenberg, *Die Psalmen Davids in allerlei deutsche Gesangreime gebracht* (1582)

Caspar Ulenberg (1548-1617) was a priest who was active in Cologne and its environs. He was strongly committed to the Catholic cause, especially in consideration of the precarious confessional circumstances which may, in part, have inspired the distinctly imperative tone evident in the zealous nature of his writings and translations. Ulenberg was born to Lutheran parents 24 December 1548 in Lippstadt. After studying in Soest and attending the Martinschule in Braunschweig, he matriculated at the University of Wittenberg on 25 April 1569. Citing a well-known anecdote, he was called home during his time at university to persuade a student and relative, Andreas Rodder, to return to Protestantism



after having converted to Catholicism.<sup>176</sup> No doubt this story is documented to support a couple of inferences: firstly, Ulenberg's success highlights a gift of persuasive rhetoric and secondly, foreshadows his own conversion to Catholicism not long thereafter during his time at the University of Cologne. He took up a teaching post at the *Gymnasium Laurentianum* in Cologne and was finally ordained in 1576. Becoming the parish priest in Kaiserwerth the same year, he began a substantial programme of writing beginning with the German translation of the psalms (*Die Psalmen Davids in allerlei deutsche Gesangreime gebracht*) which was published in 1582 by Gerwin Calenius. He was active around Cologne for the rest of his life, taking up post the as regent of the *Gymnasium Laurentianum* (1592-1611) and as the rector of the University of Cologne (1610-1612). He died 16 February 1617 at his parish in St Columba in Cologne and was buried in the church of the convent 'Zum Lämmchen' in the St Columba diocese.<sup>177</sup>

Ulenberg drew from his experience to create a range of practical materials designed for the promotion of Catholic doctrine and for the edification of the laity. For example, his role as vicar at the Allerheiligenhospital in Cologne (beginning in 1585 until his death) undoubtedly influenced the conception of the *Trostbuch für dies Kranken und Sterbenden* (1590). The publication of works predominantly in the vernacular exemplifies directions in Catholic Reform aimed at apologetics and literature for general public and private use. Ulenberg's lasting influence and the popularity of such materials is shown by the dissemination of his works

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<sup>176</sup> Joseph Solzbacher, *Kaspar Ulenberg: eine Priestergestalt aus der Zeit der Gegenreformation in Köln* (Münster, 1948), p. 7.

<sup>177</sup> Bibliographical information compiled from Solzbacher, *Kaspar Ulenberg*; Nikola Esser, *Rutger Edingen und Kaspar Ulenberg: Zwei Kölner Psalterübersetzer* (Bonn, 1913).

and subsequent reprints into the seventeenth and eighteenth century.<sup>178</sup> Ulenberg's notable works also include a complete translation of the Bible, a paraphrase and exposition on the penitential psalms, a survey on the life and teachings of Protestant theologians including Martin Luther, Philipp Melanchthon and others, a catechism and defense of Catholicism and published dialogues and debates with Calvinist preachers. Markedly, all of these works show a sense of Ulenberg's pragmatism in the manner that they address an array of contemporary issues.

It is, therefore, unsurprising that Ulenberg's first publication was a rhymed German paraphrase of the psalms. The motivation for a new German translation of the psalms in rhymed metrical verse stemmed from a sense of urgency to rid Christianity of inherent fallacies which inevitably came by adopting Protestant psalm versifications and hymns. The popularity of these psalm paraphrases was perceived as a serious threat, especially in their subliminal influence on the Catholic laity. The most popular and widely-used translations, such as the Lobwasser Psalter (Leipzig, 1573), were largely based on translations of the Genevan psalter, rather than scripture. Despite the prevalence of psalm adaptations in German including those by Peter Dathen (1565) and Paul Schede Melissus (1572), Ulenberg was dissatisfied with the linguistic dependence on French translations. The German text was often superimposed on the metrical verse, resulting in an unnatural and unidiomatic execution of German verse.<sup>179</sup>

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<sup>178</sup> E.g., *Die Psalmen Davids in allerlei Teutsche gesangreimen gebracht* (Cologne: Gerwinum Calenium, 1582); 2nd edition (Cologne: Arnold Quentel, 1603); *Psalter der H. Propheten Davids... Mit sampt ersetzen und verbesserte Noten ...* (Cologne: Odendall, 1694); *Psalterium Davidis: das ist: der Psalter Davids...* (Cologne: Metternich, 1701); *Der Psalter Davids* (Munich, 1703); *Der Psalter Davids* (Augsburg: s.n., 1740); *Der Psalter Davids* (Augsburg: s.n., 1756).

<sup>179</sup> Solzbacher, *Kaspar Ulenberg*, p. 15.

In addition to the German translation of the psalms into verse, Ulenberg set his psalms to 82 original melodies for all 150 psalms. It is clear that his Lutheran background and considerable familiarity with vernacular psalms and hymnody aptly prepared him for this task.<sup>180</sup> Although the melodies are newly composed, Johannes Overath has demonstrated melodic influences drawn from a number of varied sources including plainchant, folksong, Lutheran, and Calvinist melodies.<sup>181</sup> The text and music, however, are eclipsed by the ultimate purpose of the psalms which is evident in the extensive preface as well as the appended catechism of Catholic doctrine.<sup>182</sup>

In the preface to the psalm paraphrase, Ulenberg recognised the profound influence of vernacular psalms, particularly in the spread of false teaching. He further noted that it is necessary to combat these Protestant songs which had secretly infiltrated the church and had found audience with even devout Catholics.

*Also ist auch dieser zeit kein besser rat und mittel der  
Sectarien list in diesem falle zubegegnen / den daß man nach  
der alten exempel dem gemeinen volcke an stat der  
verfürischē sangbücher gotselige reine und ungefelschete  
gesenge mitteile.*<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> Esser, *Rutger Edinger und Kaspar Ulenberg*, p. 68.

<sup>181</sup> Johannes Overath, *Untersuchungen über die Melodien des Liedpsalters von Kaspar Ulenberg (Köln, 1582). Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Kirchenliedes im 16. Jahrhundert*, (Cologne, 1960).

<sup>182</sup> 'Kurtzer bericht der gantzen Christlichen Religion samt Warnung wider allerlei unser zeit Irthum beid den Catholischen und fremder lehr anhengtgen nützlich weiterer erklerung nachzufragen zu befuerderung ihrer seligkeit.'

<sup>183</sup> 'At this time, there is no better advice or means to confront sectarian subterfuge in this case, except to impart godly, pure, and true songs to the common public according to the old example, instead of the enticing songbooks.' Preface to Caspar Ulenberg, *Die Psalmen Davids in allerlei Teutsche gesangreimen bracht* (Cologne, 1582), p. cij. Translation mine.

In this, Ulenberg strongly aligns himself with the ethos of late sixteenth-century Catholic reformers. It is a successive exponent of the sentiments expressed in Johann Leisentrit's hymnbook two decades prior, and echoes the work of Rutger Edinger who published a psalm paraphrase in 1574.<sup>184</sup> Ulenberg's psalm paraphrase was dedicated to heir apparent, Johann Wilhelm, Duke of Jülich-Cleves and Berg (r. 1592-1609) upon recognising an increased state of political volatility in the duchy ruled by an ailing Duke Wilhelm.<sup>185</sup> As the Dutch Revolt in the Netherlands is mentioned explicitly, Ulenberg would ask Johann Wilhelm to consider the pressing need for such Catholic works in light of rampant destruction and suffering which he attributes to the plague of heresy. Conflict in

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<sup>184</sup> Rutger Edinger, *Der gantz Psalter Davids* (Cologne, 1574), dedicated to Abbot Godofridt von Werden of St. Pantaleon in Cologne, was written in response to counterfeit psalms and is considered the first Catholic attempt at a vernacular paraphrase. The psalms are translated in verse and rhyme, but without melodies, but were presumably recited or sung to familiar tunes. Ulenberg explicitly commends this work. On Rutger Edinger, see Nikola Esser, *Rutger Edinger und Kaspar Ulenberg*.

<sup>185</sup> Duke Wilhelm of Jülich-Cleves, Berg and Mark, Ravensberg and Ravenstein (r. 1539-1592) had Protestant (Lutheran) sympathies and was anti-Habsburg until Emperor Charles V contested the duchy of Geldern which was claimed by Wilhelm. With the defeat of the Duke of Cleves, pressure from the east was somewhat relieved, especially since the Treaty of Venlo (1543) upheld Catholicism and ended ducal Protestant reform. Cf. Hans Joachim Hillerbrand, *The Division of Christendom: Christianity in the Sixteenth Century* (Louisville, 2007), pp. 190-1.

By the 1560s, the Duke seems to have embraced the Catholic faith and its affiliated political ties: Habsburg Netherlands, in particular. Protestants were consequently expelled from the duchy and declared that Catholicism was the only acceptable religion in the *jus reformandi* (1555). It is significant that while Wilhelm overtly took measures to secure Catholicism within his territory, he was compromised and actually sought a neutral stance on confession; e.g., manifested in his own children. Wilhelm's sons were raised Catholic; however, the three eldest daughters were married to Lutheran princes of Prussia, Neuburg and Zweibrücken in the 1570s. Also, due to former religious toleration, the Reformed Church (many in the form of Dutch refugees) and Lutheranism had already amassed in the populations of Jülich-Cleves, Berg, and Mark. Cf. Jonathan Israel, *Conflicts of Empires: Spain, the Low Countries and the Struggle for World Supremacy: 1585-1713* (London, 1997), esp. Chapter 2, 'Garrisons and Empire: Spain's Strongholds in North-West Germany, 1589-1659,' pp. 23-44; Thomas Brady Jr., *German Histories in the Age of Reformations: 1400-1650* (Cambridge, 2009); Thomas Brady Jr., *Communities, Politics, and Reformation in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, 1998); Jesse Spohnholz, *The Tactics of Toleration: A Refugee Community in the Age of Religious Wars* (Lanham, 2011); Alison Deborah Anderson, *On the Verge of War: International Relations and the Jülich-Kleve Succession (1609-1614)* (Boston, 1999).

the Netherlands, together on the fringes of the War of Cologne and Protestant control of the city of Aachen in 1581 undoubtedly increased pressure on Catholicism in the northwest and more directly on the Duke of Cleves.<sup>186</sup> Despite his later Catholic agenda, the incapacitated duke could not contribute to the War of Cologne, especially provided that he could not control the bitter sentiments towards the Spanish allies and confessional struggle over towns and provinces within his own borders.<sup>187</sup> Thus, it was apparent by the 1580s that Johann Wilhelm (formerly Bishop of Münster before being recalled to court) was the best hope for stronger, more effective pro-Catholic rule.<sup>188</sup> The dedicatory preface to the Ulenberg psalm paraphrase presents the seriousness of the situation, since formalities are largely curtailed to get straight to the matter at hand. Moreover, the dedication to the heir instead of the reigning duke shows that Johann Wilhelm was already upheld as a critical figure in the future security of Catholicism.

While not explicitly stated, it is most likely that the psalms were intended for secular use in German-speaking Catholic homes, schools, and churches in a private and devotional context. Alexander Fischer posits that the Ulenberg psalms and subsequent polyphonic settings may have found use in Marian sodalities and congregations.<sup>189</sup> The first Marian Congregation in Germany was founded by Jakob Rem in Dillingen in 1574. Soon after, it was followed by the founding of Marian Congregations in major Catholic strongholds throughout the

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<sup>186</sup> Benjamin Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA, 2007), p. 222.

<sup>187</sup> Jonathan Israel, *Conflicts of Empires*, p. 28.

<sup>188</sup> These hopes would come to ruin with Johann Wilhelm's mental illness and failure to produce an heir. The problem of succession became an international dilemma as Catholic and Protestant factions supported potential heirs from Brandenburg and Neuburg.

<sup>189</sup> Fischer, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*, pp. 141-2.

rest of the decade, for example: Cologne, Fulda, Munich, Ingolstadt, Mainz, Würzburg, and Innsbruck. In the 1570s, Jesuit mission work extended into the contentious Low Countries and the Rhineland where François Coster set up a number of confraternities. Such confraternities in Douai, Bruges, and Cologne were established in connection to the universities where he had served as rector. These Marian Congregations did not only serve to promote lay piety and structured spiritual exercise as prescribed by the Jesuits but helped to solidify a Catholic front on the boundaries of confession, especially in the northwest region of the empire. Cologne, Douai, St Omer, and Trier implicitly became places of Catholic asylum for Dutch Catholic refugees in the 1570s and 1580s.<sup>190</sup> In this strategic position, Cologne became a bulwark of Catholicism. Together with Antwerp, they became a centre of Catholic publishing. The international nature of the Jesuits with the growing Marian Congregations offered new networks of communication which connected Flanders and the Rhineland as well as extending to Munich and Rome, particularly in the institutionalisation of all Marian Congregations in 1584.<sup>191</sup> The influence of Cologne in this network

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<sup>190</sup> The Marian Congregation in Cologne, however, was especially shaped by Dutch expatriates, offering both social and economic refuge for immigrants. Cf. Geert Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 83-90; Silvia Mostaccio, *Early Modern Jesuits between Obedience and Conscience during the Generalate of Claudio Acquaviva (1581-1615)* (Farnham, 2014), pp. 46-9; Charles Parker, *Faith on the Margins: Catholics and Catholicism in the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge, MA, 2008), pp. 28-31. A number of Dutch Catholic polemicists and writers worked out of Cologne towards the end of the sixteenth century. The activity of these expatriates led to the founding of the first Dutch Catholic Seminary, the *Collegium Alticollense*, by Sasbout Vosmeer in Cologne in 1602. Cf. Charles Parker, 'In partibus infidelium: Calvinism and Catholic Identity in the Dutch Republic' in Randall C. Zachman (ed.), *John Calvin and Roman Catholicism: Critique and Engagement, Then and Now* (Grand Rapids, 2008), pp. 119-44.

<sup>191</sup> Gregory XIII issued the papal bull, '*Omnipotentis Dei*' which linked all congregations to the *Collegio Romano*. Jeffrey Chipps Smith, 'Rebuilding Faith through Art: Christoph Schwarz's *Mary* Altarpiece for the Jesuit College in Munich' in Marcia Hall and Tracey Cooper (eds.), *The Sensuous in the Counter-Reformation Church* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 234.

cannot be overstated in regard to these Catholic confraternities, evidenced by François Coster and the publication of the *Libellus sodalitatis B. Mariae Virginis* (Cologne, 1576).<sup>192</sup> Taking this into consideration, it is highly conceivable that Ulenberg's psalms carried implicit connotations for use in these Marian Congregations. This is furthermore confirmed in a later edition of the psalm paraphrase (1709) in which the publisher J. Odendall remarks:

*Fast alle die so höchst-löblichen Bruderschafften und andere geistliche Versammlungen sich deren mit einem ungemeinen Eyfer bedienen und biß dato an noch bedienen.*<sup>193</sup>

Bearing in mind the continuous reprinting of Ulenberg's works into the seventeenth century, it is not implausible to conceive of an unbroken tradition of these psalms which were still in use in Marian Congregations and confraternities around Cologne if not further afield along the cultural networks afforded by Jesuit influence and these late sixteenth-century institutions.

### Music and Lyric of the Ulenberg Psalms

The literal translation method employed by Ulenberg and his achievement in working towards more organically-composed German verse exemplifies a significant humanist contribution to the development of religious German lyric whilst providing especially adequate and appropriate materials for Catholic use. Ulenberg's fervent efforts mandated a second revised edition published in 1603

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<sup>192</sup> This was printed and disseminated widely in Cologne, Würzburg, Dillingen, Ingolstadt, Münster, Pruntrut, Douai, Antwerp, Paris, Rouen, Lyons, Madrid, and Krakow in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

<sup>193</sup> 'It finds use with almost all of the highly commendable confraternities and other congregations with tremendous fervor and is in use to date.' Quoted in Wolfgang Schmitz, *Die Überlieferung deutscher Texte im kölnen Buchdruck des 15. Und 16. Jahrhunderts* (Ph.D. diss., University of Cologne, 1990), p. 32. Translation mine.

which included the canticles as well as some complete re-translations. The reprinting of the psalms even centuries later still in its original form attests to Ulenberg's linguistic accomplishment and legacy which is unsurpassed in sixteenth-century Catholic psalm paraphrases.

Characteristic of Ulenberg's paraphrase is the strophic form of verse which facilitates its sung performance. The text is composed of rhymed couplets and quatrains of four to ten lines. While the number of syllables per line and the configuration of lines varies between psalms, the consistency in the verse is shown in the iambic rhythm throughout.<sup>194</sup> The following example is Ulenberg's translation of Ps. 3 which demonstrates iambic trimeter with lines in rhymed couplets alternately finishing with masculine and feminine endings.

**Ps. 3**

*O Herr ich klag es dir  
Vnzalbar viel sind ihr  
Die mich in diesen tagen  
On füß hochschwerlich plagen  
Viel sind der bosen leut  
Die feindlich dieser zeit  
Gar vnuerschuldter sachen  
Sich wider mich auffmachen.*

This first strophe is a close paraphrase of verses 1-2: '*Ach Herr, wie sind meiner Feinde so viel und setzen sich so viele wider mich! Viele sagen von meiner Seele: Sie hat keine Hilfe bei Gott.*'<sup>195</sup> The structure of the poetry divided into quatrains reflects the thematic similarity of the individual verses which are linked in synthetic parallelism. While the translation maintains the parallelism

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<sup>194</sup> This aspect could be the reason behind Nikola Esser's evaluation of Ulenberg's translation as an embodiment of the '*natürlichen sprachgebrauch.*' Esser, *Rutger Edinger und Kaspar Ulenberg*, p. 72.

<sup>195</sup> Luther Bibel, 1545.



(thematically retaining the many and countless adversaries), it loses a climactic element demonstrated by Luther's translation which is a product of the reiteration of 'viel' in every stich until its resolution: '*Sie hat keine Hilfe bei Gott.*'<sup>196</sup> Despite this, the paraphrase captures the overall meaning of the verses. More significantly, the strict iambic rhythm of the poetic translation leaves no ambiguity as to the emphasised syllabic stresses.

Regardless of this fact, the composed melodies do not maintain the iambic rhythm of the verse; rather, the first syllable is elongated and followed by equal short, declamatory syllables (expressed in straight minims) until the end of the line. Masculine endings are characterised by a long note value and two long note values in the case of a feminine ending. The declamatory nature of the melodic settings in short and long syllables is observed by Johannes Overath to be the expression of sixteenth-century humanism, presumably in the unmistakably clear declamation of the text.<sup>197</sup> The regular rhythmic setting is demonstrated in the example provided below.

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<sup>196</sup> This is also reflected in the Vulgate translation: *Domine, quid multiplicati sunt [...]* *Multi insurgunt [...]* *multi dicunt: 'Non est salus ipsi in Deo.'*

<sup>197</sup> Johannes Overath, *Untersuchungen über die melodien*, p. 13.

**Example 42.** Caspar Ulenberg, *Der Herr erhöre deine klag* (Ps. 19) and melody

**Ps. 19**

*Der Herr erhöre deine klag  
Wenn dich am boesen tag  
Die not thut hart bedrangen  
Der nam des Gottes Jacob mild  
Sei dir zu einem schild  
Thu schirmweis dich umfängen.*



**Example 43.** Caspar Ulenberg, *Herr Gott mein hort mein stercke gut* (Ps. 27) and melody

**Ps. 27**

*Herr Gott mein hort mein stercke gut  
Ich ruff zu dir mit schwerem mut  
Ach schweige nit  
Auff meine bitt  
Den wenn du wilt mit schweigen  
Ungnedig dich erzaigen  
So wird ich gleich  
wie todte leich  
Die hin zur gruben fahren  
Nach umblauff ihrer jaren.*

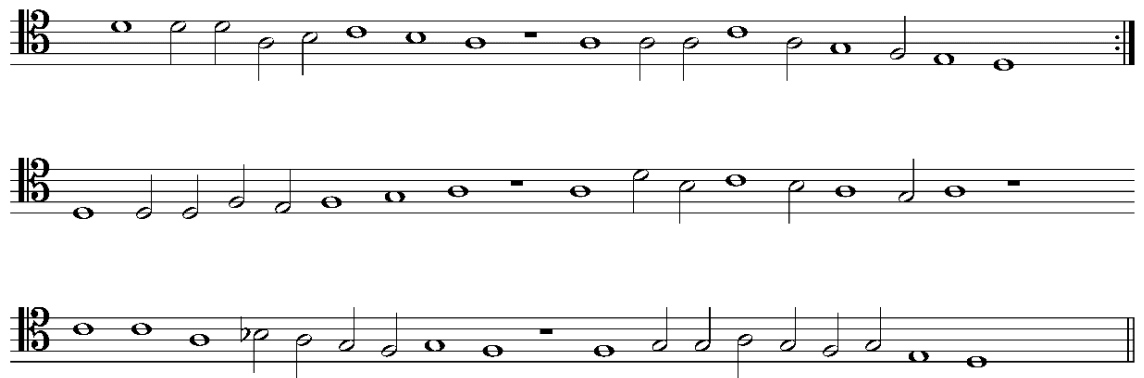


The final anomaly in the melodic rhythm of the text is a type of rhythmic syncopation produced by the expression of the poetry in a dactyl followed by trochaic rhythm to the end of the line

**Example 44.** Caspar Ulenberg, *Die welt und all ihr reichethüm* (Ps. 23) and melody

**Ps. 23**

*Die welt und all ihr reichethüm  
Ist erblich eigen Got dem Herren  
Der gantz erdboden um und um  
Und was darauff sich thut erneren  
Denn er hat ihn zü festem stand  
Auffs meer gegründet mit seiner hand  
Hat ihn im anfang zubereitet  
Und auff den wassern ausgebreitet*



As a variation in the rhythmic interpretation of the poetry, however, the melodic rhythm retains the linguistic stresses that are imposed on the original iambic metre. This attention to the accent of the language, the rhyming scheme, and the structure of the verse seen as couplets and quatrains demonstrates a linguistic consistency in the verse. This lyric is linked to the composed melodies which often express a thematic grouping in addition to shared metre. The best example of this is seen in the seven penitential psalms which are grouped together to be sung with the same melody. In this fashion, it is conceivable that Ulenberg endeavoured to create a type of bound association between lyric and melody in a way that might rival its Protestant counterparts. Because of this inextricable

association of word and melody steeped in the tradition of the cantus firmus technique in German vernacular song, Lasso unsurprisingly uses Ulenberg's largely unaltered melodies as the basis for expanded polyphony.

Considering Ulenberg's location in Cologne, his publications would have widespread influence in German-speaking Catholic areas; and as a result, it is unsurprising to find this psalm paraphrase as a basis for polyphonic settings. With their association with Marian Congregations, it would be fitting and reasonable for Lasso to publish such settings possibly intended for a growing market consisting of schools and Marian sodalities in and around Munich. This supposition is not only reinforced by Orlando and Rodolfo's involvement in these organisations,<sup>198</sup> but ducal interest and participation in the Marian Congregation in Munich as well.<sup>199</sup> The increasing elevation of Marian devotion was encouraged by the Jesuits and politically under Wilhelm V and Maximilian I. Such devotion led to the stabilisation of a more unified Catholic identity throughout the empire.<sup>200</sup> Catholic confessionalisation in Bavaria was

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<sup>198</sup> Notably recorded in Maximilian Vincenz Sattler, *Geschichte der Marianischen Congregationen in Bayern* (Munich, 1864), pp. 41-2. See David Crook, 'A Performance of Lasso's Penitential Psalms on Maundy Thursday 1580' in Bernhold Schmid (ed.), *Orlando di Lasso in der Musikgeschichte: Bericht über das Symposium der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften München, 4.-6. Juli 1994*, pp. 69-77. In the early seventeenth century, Rodolfo proved to be a very dedicated member, serving as prefect three times 1613-1620. This, no doubt, afforded a number of new connections, significations, and opportunities demonstrated by Rodolfo's dedication of the *Alphabetum Marianum triplici cantionum serie ad multifariam 2. 3. 4. Vocum harmonium [...] cum basso ad organum* (Munich: Nicolaus Heinrich, 1621) to Bishop Veit Adam of Freising. See Fischer, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*, pp. 143-4. Also, the dedication of Orlando di Lasso's *Psalmi davidis poenitentiales* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1584) to Philip Wilhelm, who as Crook points out, joined the congregation that year and became prefect of the congregation in 1585. Crook, 'A Performance of Lasso's Penitential Psalms,' p. 73.

<sup>199</sup> In 1578, Albrecht and Wilhelm joined the Marian Congregation in Munich, joined by Maximilian I in 1582. In 1584, the membership is listed at 112 students and clergymen headed by the papal legate and 26 laymen under Wilhelm V. Jeffrey Chipps Smith, 'Rebuilding Faith through Art,' p. 234.

<sup>200</sup> Georg Schwaiger, 'Maria Patrona Bavariae' in Georg Schwaiger (ed.), *Bavaria sancta, Zeugen christlichen Glaubens in Bayern. Vol. 1* (Regensburg, 1970), pp. 28-35.

consequently viewed as a key response to the advance of Calvinism, especially in the Rhine Palatinate. The publication of polyphonic settings demonstrates the Catholic response and solidifies a connection between Cologne and Munich. In addition to Ulenberg's influence as a popular preacher and writer, his personal connection and potential link to the Wittelsbach Archbishop of Cologne should not be discounted in the promotion of his popularity in Munich.<sup>201</sup>

As mentioned previously, the first known polyphonic settings of the Ulenberg psalms were composed by Orlando and Rodolfo di Lasso in the three-voice collection of *Teutsche Psalmen* published in 1588. The *Teutsche Psalmen* contain the first 50 psalms in successive order using Ulenberg's melody as the cantus firmus. Orlando di Lasso composed the odd-numbered settings, and his son composed the even-numbered settings appearing in alternation. Of the 82 melodies that Ulenberg composed in total, the composers collectively set 40 different melodies with multiple settings of *carminis genera* 2, 6, 20, 23, and 29. Overall, the settings are short and relatively uniform in length. They are generally through-composed and often, with a final repetition of the last line. Although Ulenberg's melodies are quoted precisely in most cases, they are often subject to transposition. The cantus firmus is occasionally passed through different voices within the same psalm; however, most settings isolate the cantus firmus in a single voice. Below is a table indicating the voice of the cantus firmus in each psalm. Orlando di Lasso's settings of the odd-numbered psalms are indicated in boldface.

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<sup>201</sup> The so-called Mainz Bible (1630) which was translated by Caspar Ulenberg by order of Archbishop Ferdinand of Cologne (son of Wilhelm V of Bavaria) who succeeded his uncle Ernst (r. 1583-1612).

**Table 16.** Orlando and Rodolfo di Lasso, *Teutsche Psalmen* (1588)

<u>Psalm</u>	<u>Incipit</u>	<u>C.F.</u>	<u>Transposition</u>
1	<b>Beatus vir</b> <i>Selig zu preisen</i>	<b>Tenor</b>	↑5
2	Quare fremuerunt gentes <i>Warumb empören sich</i>	Tenor	↑5
3	<b>Domine, quid multiplicati</b> <i>O Herr ich klag es dir</i>	<b>Tenor</b>	
4	Cum invocarem <i>Zu dir ruff ich</i>	Tenor	
5	<b>Verba mea auribus</b> <i>Vernimb Herr meine wort</i>	<b>Tenor</b>	
6	Domine ne in furore <i>Straff mich Herr nit</i>	Cantus	
7	<b>Domine Deus meus</b> <i>Auff dich mein lieber Herr</i>	<b>Bassus/Cantus</b>	
8	Domine Deus noster <i>Herr unser Herr allmechtig</i>	Cantus/Free	
9	<b>Confitebor tibi Domine</b> <i>Ich wil auß gantzem hertzen</i>	<b>Bassus/Tenor</b>	
10	In domino confido <i>Mein hertz und muet</i>	Free	
11	<b>Savum me fac Deus</b> <i>Hilff lieber Herr</i>	<b>Cantus/Free</b>	
12	Usquequo Domine <i>Wie lang o Herr</i>	Cantus/Bassus	
13	<b>Dixit insipiens</b> <i>Die thoren sprechen wol</i>	<b>Cantus/Tenor/Free</b>	
14	Domine qui habitabit <i>Wer wird herz wolgemut</i>	Tenor	↑4
15	<b>Conserva me, Domine</b> <i>Halt mich O Herr</i>	<b>Tenor/Cantus</b>	↑4
16	Exaudi Domine iustitiam <i>Erhör mein fromkeit trewer Herz</i>	Tenor/Cantus/Bassus	↑4
17	<b>Diligam te, Domine</b> <i>Herr der du meine stercke bist</i>	<b>Cantus</b>	↑8
18	Coeli enarrant <i>Die Himel künden auss</i>	Bassus/Tenor/Free	↑8
19	<b>Exaudiat te Dominus</b> <i>Der Herr erhöre deine klag</i>	<b>Cantus</b>	↑4
20	Domine in virtute tua <i>Der König wirt Herr</i>	Bassus/Free	
21	<b>Deus Deus meus respice</b> <i>Mein Gott mein lieber</i>	<b>Cantus</b>	↑8
22	Dominus regit me <i>Mein hirt ist Gott der Herr</i>	Tenor/Bassus/Cantus	
23	<b>Domini est terra</b> <i>Die welt und all jhr</i>	<b>Cantus</b>	↑8
24	Ad te Domine levavi <i>Zu dir O Gott allein</i>	Bassus/Free	
25	<b>Judica me, Domine</b> <i>Schaff mir doch recht</i>	<b>Cantus</b>	↑8

<u>Psalm</u>	<u>Incipit</u>	<u>C.F.</u>	<u>Transposition</u>
26	Dominus illuminatio mea <i>Gott ist mein liecht</i>	Tenor/Cantus/Free	
27	<b>Ad te, Domine clamavi</b> <b>Herr Gott mein hort</b>	<b>Cantus</b>	↑8
28	Afferte Domino <i>Ihr Kinder Gottes hoch</i>	Cantus	↑5
29	<b>Exaltabo te, Domine</b> <b>Ich wil dich Herr</b>	<b>Bassus</b>	
30	In te Domine speravi <i>Mein hertz auff dich thut</i>	Cantus/Free	
31	<b>Beati quorum</b> <b>O selig dem der trewer Gott</b>	<b>Cantus</b>	
32	Exultate iusti in Domino <i>Ihr frommen frewet euch</i>	Cantus/Bassus/Free	
33	<b>Benedicam Dominum</b> <b>Ich will Gott unauffhörlich</b>	<b>Bassus</b>	
34	Iudica Domine nocentes <i>Herr richte meine widerpart</i>	Tenor/Bassus	
35	<b>Dixit iniustus</b> <b>Es zeugen des gottlosen</b>	<b>Cantus</b>	↑8
36	Noli aemulari <i>Erzürne nicht uber die</i>	Tenor/Cantus/Bassus	
37	<b>Domine, ne in furore</b> <b>Straff mich Herr nicht</b>	<b>Cantus</b>	↑8
38	Dixi custodiam <i>Ich hab also bey mir gedacht</i>	Tenor	↓8
39	<b>Expectans expectavi</b> <b>Ich harr auff Gott</b>	<b>Cantus</b>	↑8
40	Beatus qui intelligit <i>Selig zu preisen ist der man</i>	Tenor/Free	↑4
41	<b>Quemadmodum desiderat</b> <b>Wie ein Hirsch gierlich</b>	<b>Cantus</b>	↑4
42	Iudica me Deus <i>Urtheil mich Herr</i>	Tenor/Free	
43	<b>Deus auribus nostris</b> <b>Wir haben Herr</b>	<b>Bassus</b>	
44	Eructavit cor meum <i>Mein herz herfür wil</i>	Bassus /Free	↓8
45	<b>Deus noster refugium</b> <b>Gott ist auff den wir</b>	<b>Cantus</b>	↑8
46	Omnes gentes <i>Wolauff ihr völcker</i>	Bassus	↑5
47	<b>Magnus Dominus</b> <b>Gross ist der Herr</b>	<b>Cantus</b>	↑8
48	Audite haec omnes gentes <i>Hört diess ihr völcker</i>	Tenor/Free	
49	<b>Deus Deorum Dominus</b> <b>Der starcker Gott</b>	<b>Bassus</b>	
50	Miserere mei <i>Gott sey mir gnedig</i>	Tenor/Free	



In Orlando di Lasso's settings, the cantus firmus appears in all three voices (labelled Cantus, Tenor, and Bassus), although it most predominantly occurs at the top and bottom of the three-voice texture. In the settings of Pss. 7, 9, 11, and 13, Orlando di Lasso divides the cantus firmus between two voices with the incorporation of some free material in Ps. 13. This is an ostensibly different approach than that used by Rodolfo who treats Ulenberg's material more liberally. The fact that Rodolfo di Lasso often creates free-composed settings signals differences in compositional approach to Ulenberg's psalms. Orlando di Lasso composes to emphasise the original melody, whereas Rodolfo obviously approaches the settings in a lighter manner. The most observation is the amount of detail Rodolfo puts into the free settings, complete with elaborate word painting. Numerous instances of word painting, for example, are evident in the second half of Ps. 10. The first three lines of the paraphrase do not contain anything that would immediately trigger the musical imagination:

*Mein Herz und Mut mit festem Trauen  
tut auf den Herren immer bauen  
Wie spricht ihr dann zur Seelen mein?*

The second half, however, musically paints one demonstrative word in each subsequent line:

*'Eil'* - quaver scalar melisma in Tenor and Bassus  
*'Auff deinen berg'* - ascending line in all voices  
*'[schnell] fliegen'* extended quaver melisma covering the full range of each voice.

**Example 45.** Rodolfo di Lasso, *In domino confido* (Ps. 10), mm. 12-23

12  
fleuch in der eil von hin - - - nen

13  
fleuch in der eil von hin - nen auff

14  
fleuch in der eil von hin - nen auff dei - nen

16  
Auff dei - nen Berg hin zu ent - rin - nen zu ent - rin - nen

17  
dei - nen Berg, auff dein - nen Berg hin - zu ent - rin - nen wie

18  
Berg auff dei - nen Berg hin - zu ent - rin - nen wie

20  
wie ein schnell flie - - - gends Vö - ge - lein.

21  
ein schnell flie - - - gends Vö - ge - lein.

22  
ein schnell flie - - - gends Vö - ge - lein.

Rodolfo's whimsy is demonstrated in settings such as Ps. 38 where the humour is apparent with '*zwingen meine Zungen/halten sie wohl im Zaum*' in the extended melisma in the Cantus (mm. 10-12) on the second syllable of '*halten*.' The melisma on the final syllable portrays the inability to 'hold the tongue.' A

short melisma in the Bassus echoes this idea (m. 12) before it is finally brought under control or '*im Zaum*' indicated by the cadence in m. 13. The consequence of this action is emphasised in the four-fold internal repetition of the figure, '*zu Sünden*.'

**Example 46.** Rodolfo di Lasso, *Ich hab also bei mir gedacht* (Ps. 38).

Ich hab al - so bei mir ge-dacht: Auf \_\_\_\_\_ mein Tun will \_\_\_\_\_ ich

Ich hab al - so bei mir ge-dacht: Auf mein Tun will ich ha -

Ich hab al - so bei mir ge-dacht: Auf mein Tun wil \_\_\_\_\_ ich

6

ha - ben acht und zwin-gen mein - ne Zun - - - gen, hal -

- ben acht und zwingen mei - ne Zun - gen, hal -

ha-ben acht und zwin-gen mein - ne Zun - gen,hal ten sie wohl im Zaum

11

- - - ten \_\_\_\_\_ wohl im Zaum, dass sie \_\_\_\_\_ nicht un be - zwun -

ten sie wohl im Zaum, im \_\_\_\_\_ Zaum, dass sienicht un be zwun -

hal - ten \_\_\_\_\_ sie wohl im Zaum, dass sie, dass sienicht un be - zwun -

16

gen zu Sün den, zu Sün den, zu Sün den, zu Sün den, zu Sün-den ha - be Raum.

gen zu Sün den, zu Sün den, zu Sün den, zu Sün den, ha - be Raum.

gen zu Sün den, zu Sün den, zu Sün den, zu Sün den, zu Sün den, ha - be Raum.

In contrast, Lasso engages word painting in far more subtle terms which is apparent in the very few examples he composes specifically to the meaning of the given text. The most striking example occurs in Ps. 43 at the words, '[*was unser Vater*] *alter welt*.' Lasso cannot resist the impulse to recognise an antiquated tradition of this old world appearing in the form of quasi-improvised fauxbourdon over the cantus firmus. The decorated Tenor (voiced higher than the Cantus in this excerpt) and Bassus move in descending parallel tenths while the counterpoint of the Cantus creates a sequence of parallel sixths with the Tenor.

**Example 47.** Orlando di Lasso, *Wir haben Herr, mit unsern Ohren* (Ps. 43), mm. 7-9

un - ser Va - ter al - ter welt von dir uns ha -

was un - ser Va - ter al - ter welt

was un - ser Va - ter al - ter welt von

A subtler example of word painting is a cadence which occurs in the setting of Ps. 23 deliberately in the signification of the phrase, '*zu festem stand.*' Since the cadence is usually reserved until the very end of the psalm setting, the use of an intermittent cadence in this instance has a particular significance which strongly corresponds to the underlaid text.

The above examples taken from both Rodolfo and Orlando di Lasso indicate a sense of freedom in the musical interpretation of Ulenberg's text which is also independent of one another. Whereas it is clear that Rodolfo approaches the text of the paraphrase with a lighter and more literal interpretation, Orlando di Lasso does not make the rhetorical expression of the text his primary focus. As the composition on the intact melody was an implicit fundamental concern in the expression of the text, the words are carefully consistent with the general accentuation of lyric. Lasso composes the three-voice polyphony with the structure of the verse carefully in mind. Instances of word painting were restricted in Lasso's settings; however, one of the few points which leaves room for interpretation is the structure of the lyric itself in which different focal points of the text and melody are emphasised. Because of these fundamental differences between father and son, it is difficult to refer to the entire collection as a unified work; rather, it is a compilation of two individual composers who demonstrate different compositional strategies. For this reason, Orlando di Lasso's settings will mainly be the focus of subsequent analysis considered separately from those of his son.

In addition to Lasso's *Teutsche Psalmen*, two other composers based in the archdiocese of Cologne composed polyphonic settings on Ulenberg's psalm

paraphrase: Conrad Hagius (ca. 1550-1616) and Sigerus Paul Harelbecanus (fl. 1590). *Psalmodia Davidica, Davids teutsche Psalmen mit fünf und weniger Stimmen zugericht* (Cologne: Gerwin Calenius, 1590) is Harelbecanus's only known work.<sup>202</sup> Osthoff speculates that he may have belonged to the court of Ernst, Archbishop of Cologne (to whom the work is dedicated) which was headed by Anton Gosswin.<sup>203</sup> Because the dedication and parts are fragmentary (only Altus, Tenor, and Bassus books have survived), it is difficult to draw any hard and fast conclusions about the work. Harelbecanus composes in a predominantly five-voice configuration, but also incorporates settings for three, four, and six-voices. Osthoff has determined that Harelbecanus follows Ulenberg's melodies very closely in overwhelmingly polyphonic texture, featuring extensive repetition of the text in places. He also includes a couple of settings on a cantus firmus. The inclusion of only the first 50 psalms in the collection, the flexible polyphonic texture, and the close use of Ulenberg's material certainly does not preclude the possibility that Harelbecanus may have been influenced by Orlando and Rodolfo di Lasso's settings.

On the other hand, it is clear that Conrad Hagius does not seem to have been influenced by Lasso's *Teutsche Psalmen*. Instead, Hagius's *Die Psalmen Davids nach Kaspar Ulenberg* (Düsseldorf: Albert Buyß, 1589) is a set of all 150 Psalms composed homophonically in four voices.<sup>204</sup> Ulenberg's melody appears unaltered in the Cantus and the Tenor voices. The harmony is driven by the cantus firmus

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<sup>202</sup> From the title, it can be surmised that Harelbecanus was of Flemish origin but lived in Cologne. The publication of the first 50 Psalms also states '*Erster Theil*' which indicates that subsequent volumes were likely.

<sup>203</sup> Osthoff, *Die Niederländer und das deutsche Lied*, p. 159.

<sup>204</sup> The expanded edition was published 1606 by Cornelius Sutor in Ursel (Mainz).

which is punctuated by caesuras or cadences at the end of every line without exception.

**Example 48.** Conrad Hagius, *Mein got, mein lieber trewer got* (Ps. 21), mm. 1-6



The use of the melody dictates both the structure and the harmony. In this, Lasso and Hagius are limited to a similar harmonic vocabulary. However, this is destabilised by Lasso to some degree as he actively avoids the obvious by disrupting cadences in unexpected ways and employing various *cadenze fuggite*. In this manner, Lasso is able to give a more continuous rendering of the psalm verse. Hagius on the other hand, seeks only to maintain the integrity of Ulenberg's melody and verse using the polyphony only to highlight the pre-existing material without significant individual interpretation. The use of Hagius's settings around Cologne is tangible in the 1606 reprint in choir book format, dedicated to the Archbishop of Mainz. The preface makes clear that these settings were intended for use in schools which is also substantiated by surviving copies found in former school library holdings.<sup>205</sup> The popularity of Ulenberg's psalm paraphrase is evident by its publication and dissemination. It is further manifested by inclusion of select psalms in compiled Catholic hymnbooks due to

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<sup>205</sup> Düsseldorf Universitätsbibliothek; Gaesdonck über Goch Collegium Augustinianum Bibliothek des Ehemaligen Augustiner Chorherren-Stifts; Münstereifel Bibliothek des St Michaels Gymnasiums

their exemplary contribution as devotional songs. Hagius's settings also demonstrate the appropriateness of such material for pedagogical purposes. All of these publications show the utility of Ulenberg's psalms and how they might have been marketed.

Ulenberg's psalm paraphrase was not only highly influential on its own merits but served to inspire a few composers who were not only drawn to the text and music, but the Catholic connotations in the spirit of Counter-Reformation. This coincided with the rise in demand for such devotional and pedagogical materials for use in homes, schools, confraternities, and churches.

The following chapters will explore the extent to which Orlando di Lasso acts to interpret Ulenberg's work in regard to both the text and melodic material. The relative simplicity of his compositional style reveals a systematic approach to the treatment of Ulenberg's melody and the text which places the cantus firmus as the focal point of each psalm setting. Analysis shedding light on compositional techniques and patterns provides insight into the polyphonic conceptualisation of Ulenberg's psalm paraphrase which can be extended in discussion of the larger multi-part settings contained in the 1590 publication, *Neue teutsche und etliche französische Gesänge*.



## Chapter 5

### *Teutsche Psalmen (1588)*

#### Three Voices and Questions of Genre

The considerable growth of the three-voice repertoire in the final decades of the sixteenth century is a complex and troublesome topic which has attracted at least some scholarly effort to untangle various strands of the genre in recent years.<sup>206</sup> The widely-cited definition by Ludwig Finscher specifies the use of the term for sixteenth and early seventeenth-century three-voice compositions in Protestant sacred and secular repertoire with intended use in schools, homes, and churches.<sup>207</sup> This definition is derived from the earliest publications of *tricinia* which form the foundation of the genre (Formschneider [RISM 1538<sup>9</sup>], Kugelman [RISM 1540<sup>8</sup>], Petreius [RISM 1541<sup>2</sup>], Rhau [RISM 1542<sup>8</sup>]). Though Rhau's publication is the only one that uses the term 'tricinia' explicitly in the title, these publications are largely uniform in their designated use for Protestant schools and homes (students and amateurs) and for churches with limited forces. In the late sixteenth century, there is a number of influences which expand the style and context of the three-voice repertoire: firstly, a continuation of the 'tricinia' tradition which maintains strong association with pedagogical function

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<sup>206</sup> John Lindberg, *Origins and Development of the Sixteenth-Century Tricinium* (Ph.D. diss., University of Cincinnati, 1988); Christian Leitmeir, 'Catholic music in the diocese of Augsburg c. 1600: a reconstructed tricinium anthology and its confessional implications,' *Early Music History*, xxi (2002), pp. 117-73; Nicole Schwindt, "Philonellae" - Die Anfänge der deutschen Villanella zwischen Tricinium und Napolitana,' in Michael Zywiets, Volker Honemann, and Christian Bettels (eds), *Gattungen und Formen des europäischen Liedes vom 14. Bis zum 16. Jahrhundert* (Münster, 2005), pp. 243-83; Barbara Eichner, 'Sweet singing in three voices: a musical source from a South German convent?' *Early Music* xxxix, No. 3 (2011), pp. 335-44.

<sup>207</sup> Ludwig Finscher, 'Tricinium', *MGG* 2.

and recreational music-making. This is marked by the emergence of a distinctly Catholic repertoire in the last decades of the sixteenth century, beginning with Christian Hollander's *Triciniorum [...] fasciculus* (Munich, 1573).<sup>208</sup> Secondly, a significant increase in the number of publications can be attributed to the influence of the '*canzone napolitana*' and three-voice compositions in the style of the villanella,<sup>209</sup> a popular musical form cultivated under Wilhelm V at the court in Landshut.<sup>210</sup> Nicole Schwindt convincingly argues a convergence in these forms as the three-voice 'German villanella' repertoire developed, drawing particular attention to aspects of musical style. This is qualified by the use of 'tricinia' or 'villanella' in the titles and dedications. Despite cross-influence in these genres, the explicit specificity of style removes Lasso's three-voice Ulenberg settings from this particular genre.<sup>211</sup> The influence of the villanella is not specifically relevant in this case due to the nature of the text itself (named *Teutsche Psalmen* in publication) and the treatment of Ulenberg's material *cantus prius factus*. Even so, the *Teutsche Psalmen* and consideration of the three-voice texture is necessary to place it within the spectrum of late sixteenth-century tricinia which in itself provides clues about the function of these settings.

Tentative identification of Lasso's *Teutsche Psalmen* with the connotations of the early tricinia has led scholars to presume a pedagogical intent behind its publication. Because of the long-standing Protestant association with the genre, Christian Leitmeir has previously asserted that the settings were intended for a

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<sup>208</sup> This was published posthumously by Johannes Pühler which may have been intended for use in Jesuit schools.

<sup>209</sup> This is particularly notable in the composers active at the Bavarian court in the second half of the sixteenth century.

<sup>210</sup> Schwindt, 'Philonellae,' p. 245.

<sup>211</sup> A chart showing the composers active at Landshut and their publications containing German villanelle is included in Schwindt, 'Philonellae,' pp. 280-1.

Protestant consumer base.<sup>212</sup> The strong Counter-Reformation ethos of the Ulenberg settings cast doubt on this hypothesis in the first instance; furthermore, the publication of such settings in Munich supports the Catholic-fashioning of Bavarian politics as previously discussed. Ducal printing privilege in Munich underscored a Catholic agenda which was established even in the first years of Adam Berg's print business enterprise beginning in 1564.<sup>213</sup> These initial publications included numerous ducal ordinances, instructional Catholic literature (many by court theologian, Georg Lauther), and material for use in Jesuit colleges. Among the most illuminating of these publications is a Tridentine catalogue of prohibited books, originally printed in Rome in 1564.<sup>214</sup> This demonstrates the increasing Jesuit influence in printing and censorship which was bolstered by the creation of the spiritual council established by Albrecht V in 1570. As the council presided over such matters within the duchy, these prohibitions also visibly established Bavarian fidelity to Rome in the alignment of their confessional policies.<sup>215</sup> The foundation of Munich as an authoritative Catholic centre of printing within the empire, in fact, supports a central argument for the production of a specifically Catholic type of *tricinia*. These were

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<sup>212</sup> Leitmeir, 'Catholic music in the diocese of Augsburg,' p. 149. Also cited in Eichner, 'Sweet singing in three voices,' p. 338.

<sup>213</sup> There was obviously considerable financial incentive for Berg to print explicitly Catholic literature and propaganda, especially with increased demand stimulated by the duke's confessional programme. The printing of this material did not, however, stem from Adam Berg's personal religious convictions. He was imprisoned in 1569 for taking Holy Communion under both species and for printing a Calvinist confession. Fischer, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*, p. 175. It comes as no great surprise that Berg's son-in-law Nikolaus Henricus (the Younger) superseded Berg as ducal court printer after opening his own business in 1597. Henricus, the son of the Lutheran printer, Nikolaus Henricus (the Elder), became a fervent Catholic convert and on this account gained valuable Jesuit support. Christoph Reske *Die Buchdrucker des 16. Und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet* (Wiesbaden, 2007), p. 625.

<sup>214</sup> *CATALOGVS. Der Büecher vnnd Schrifften vnser Heilige Religion vnnd Geistliche sachen belangendt welche im Landt zu Bayrn offentlich fayl zuhaben vnd zuuerkauffen erlaubt seindt* (1566)

<sup>215</sup> David Crook, 'A Sixteenth-Century Catalog of Prohibited Music,' p. 50.

published in established Catholic centres of printing in Germany under strong Jesuit influence in the late sixteenth century. The increase in the number of published secular villanelle highlights what may have been a perceived need to contrast musical frivolity with settings of a more devotional character. In this, the underlying Jesuit influence was emphasised in both education and censorship in combating both secular and heretical genres in Italy and Southern Germany.<sup>216</sup>

Lasso's *Teutsche Psalmen*, as a type of Catholic tricinia, fits well in an implicitly pedagogical context. There was a strong impetus for Catholic repertoire as a result of Jesuit-led educational reforms in Bavaria under Albrecht V and later, Wilhelm V. Jesuit presence in Bavaria had already been established by the 1550s, especially in the founding of Jesuit colleges in Bavaria: Ingolstadt (1555), Munich (1559), and Dillingen (which was taken over by the Jesuits). The Jesuit order had a very mixed relationship with the use of music in worship. Early bans were imposed on the use of non-essential music in monastic rites including the use of instruments, office polyphony, and even the prohibition of music lessons.<sup>217</sup> The orientation to music changed, especially in its utility as a pedagogical tool within the extensive programme of education. Implementation of this programme in Bavaria and the strong role of music in education is documented

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<sup>216</sup> Leitmeir, 'Catholic music in the diocese of Augsburg,' p. 145. Three-voice spiritual madrigals appear mid-century; however, the three-voice *canzonette spirituali* appear in the final decades of the sixteenth century into the seventeenth century. The wide-spread influence of this genre is suggested by the publication of one such collection: Gregor Aichinger, *Ghirlanda. Di canzonette spirituali a tre voci* (Augsburg Johannes Praetorius, 1603).

<sup>217</sup> *Constitutiones Societatis Jesu, anno 1558* (Rome, 1558), Cf. Josef Focht, 'Die Musik im Umkreis der Jesuiten-Universitaet', in Rolf Kiessling (ed.), *Die Universität Dillingen und ihre Nachfolger: Stationen und Aspekte einer Hochschule in Schwaben* (Dillingen/Donau, 1999), p. 541f.

by a school ordinance printed by Adam Berg in 1569.<sup>218</sup> In this document, the motivation behind the ordinance is to keep purity in the schools to protect the innocent youth from heretical sectarian teachings. General regulations are given for Catholic teachers and the banning of heretical books. Approved books and songbooks from ‘Catholic printers’ (including Munich and Dillingen) are promoted. Notably, Albrecht V issues very specific directives regarding the practice of music in both German and Latin Schools. While Latin church songs are encouraged, vernacular songs and psalms are permitted with the explanation that the German language expresses the same meaning as the Latin. German songs in congregational singing are particularly encouraged as a Catholic response to ‘new seductive songs and counterfeit psalms.’ Certainly, Christian Hollander’s *Triciniorum* [...] *fasciculus* (Munich, 1573) acknowledges the Protestant use of three-voice composition as a didactic tool. The utility of such collections in the framework of Jesuit educational reform in Bavaria exploits a specific demand in the market for which these types of compositions could be used and performed. Furthermore, this corresponds with a clear focus of Jesuit music practices which was formed by the development of vernacular song as a means of local mission work.<sup>219</sup> The multi-purpose function of these songs and their polyphonic adaptations encouraged an increasing number of publications seen in the aforementioned Catholic centres of printing.

As one such example, Orlando and Rodolfo di Lasso’s *Teutsche Psalmen* meet a number of criteria which would classify it as a Catholic tricinia. Without a doubt, the choice of Ulenberg’s text would have been received positively by Jesuit

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<sup>218</sup> *Schulordnung der Fürstenthumb Obern- und Nieder- Bayerlands* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1569).

<sup>219</sup> Focht, ‘Die Musik im Umkreis,’ pp. 548-9.

censors as appropriate material for educational and recreational purposes. The three-voice texture and the distribution and range of the voices indicate settings for boys with a tutor singing the bass line underneath. The preservation of the cantus firmus in most settings as well as the restraint shown in the overall lack of imitation and free polyphony highlights the melody in a clear and relatively uncomplicated manner. The *Teutsche Psalmen* employ a three-voice texture using eight different configurations of clef (g2c2c3, g2c1c3, g2c2c4, g2g2c2, g2g2c3, c1c3c4, c1c1c4, c1c1c3). The Bassus mostly functions as a true bass with flexibility in the upper voices. The upper voices sometimes appear *voci pari* with frequent crossing of parts. Despite the mixed cleffing and varying treatment of voices, the voice designations remain Cantus, Tenor, and Bassus throughout. This is characteristic of three-voice settings for schools, particularly with higher clef designations: typically, g2c2c3.<sup>220</sup>

The joint nature of the publication remains a mystery as there is no prescribed purpose or connection to the dedicatee, Abbott Gallus of Ottobeuren Abbey (r. 1584-1599). Rodolfo, the second son of Orlando di Lasso, entered service at the Bavarian court in 1585. Taking a brief position as organist at the Catholic Hohenzollern court of Eitelriedrich IV in Hechingen (1587),<sup>221</sup> he returned to Munich and was appointed court organist in 1589. Rodolfo's positions as court organist in Hechingen and Munich undoubtedly included the training of choirboys for which it seems plausible that such three-voice compositions could be used. Though little evidence exists from archival sources of Ottobeuren Abbey

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<sup>220</sup> Schwindt, 'Phillonellae,' pp. 260-1.

<sup>221</sup> Cf. Ernst Fritz Schmid, *Musik an den schwäbischen Zöllernhöfen der Renaissance: Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Südwestens* (Kassel, 1962).

concerning the musical activities there,<sup>222</sup> the training of choirboys could certainly account for the usefulness of such a collection. It is an erroneous assumption, however, that the collection was somehow connected to the Ottobeuren Academy. Leuchtmann mistakenly cites that the academy (founded by renowned humanist, Nikolaus Ellenbog) was moved to Dillingen with the foundation of the Jesuit academy there in 1564. Though the Jesuits had expansive influence through their system of education which was evident in late sixteenth-century monastic reforms, the Ottobeuren Academy was a collective effort to establish a specifically Benedictine school. The academy was moved to Elchingen near the Protestant stronghold of Ulm in 1544 where only two years later, it was suspended due to plundering after occupation by Schmalkaldic forces led by Sebastian Schertlin von Burtenbach. In spite of the fact that the Ottobeuren Academy was not directly associated with Dillingen, the projected influence of the Jesuit academy on monastic institutions cannot be overstated. Until the founding of the Benedictine university in Salzburg in 1617, Benedictine students made up the majority of the study body in Dillingen.<sup>223</sup> Ottobeuren Abbey itself was not untouched by this Jesuit influence, especially through a number of late sixteenth-century audits and attempts at reform. Abbott Gallus (1584-1599) and his successor Alexander Sauter (1600-1612) were reprimanded for their unrestrained lifestyles and incompetent management of finances for

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<sup>222</sup> There is only one known existing codex of polyphonic music stemming from the sixteenth century: Benediktinerkloster Ottobeuren: Ottobeuren, Lit. 3; cf. Johannes Hoyer, 'Frater Christian Frantz' Chorbuch von 1577 (Sign. Lit. 3) aus der Benediktinerabtei Ottobeuren,' *Neues Musikwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch* x (2001), pp. 15-70.

<sup>223</sup> Peter Rummel, 'Der Einfluss der Universität Dillingen auf die Klosterreform unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Bistümer Augsburg und Konstanz' in Rolf Kiessling (ed), *Die Universität Dillingen und ihre Nachfolger: Stationen und Aspekte einer Hochschule in Schwaben* (Dillingen/Donau, 1999), p. 332-3.

which both were eventually led to resign.<sup>224</sup> A complete dossier of Abbott Gallus's neglect of the Benedictine order, including missed observances of the monastic hours does not seem to inspire a musical dedication based on piety or even devotion. Yet, Ottobeuren Abbey's prominent standing as a free imperial abbey was certainly politically significant enough to warrant ducal visits including the recorded presence of Maximilian I in 1588 during the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.<sup>225</sup> It can only be speculated that the *Teutsche Psalmen* collection may have been dedicated to Abbott Gallus as a gift representing the good will of the Bavarian court with the provision of tricinia for the purpose of education and private entertainment.

Though contextual clues suggest that the *Teutsche Psalmen* might be considered Catholic tricinia with a didactic purpose, a number of factors confound such a classification. The three-voice texture and genres were certainly established in compositional practice by the time of the publication of the *Teutsche Psalmen* in 1588. As such, it is somewhat significant that the title of the work does not show a designation in terms of the three-voice texture, avoiding the use of the term 'tricinia.' The title: *Teutsche Psalmen geistliche Psalmen, mit dreyen Stimmen, welche nit allain lieblich zu singen, sonder auch auff aller hand Art Instrumenten zugebrauchen*, (apart from the implications of three voices) focuses more on the matter of its content. The specification of 'Teutsche Psalmen' as 'geistliche Psalmen' is a matter of some consequence. Since this signifier is not necessarily required, it can be inferred that this is an intentional addition to the title which elucidates the genre to which the work belongs. The term, 'geistliche Psalmen,'

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<sup>224</sup> As further evidence of the Jesuits behind monastic reform, notably, Alexander Sauter's successor, Gregor Reubi (1612-1628), was a graduate of the Dillingen academy.

<sup>225</sup> Recorded in an entry in StAA MüB 10.



alludes to a larger developing genre of *geistliche Lieder und Psalmen* which exists in monophonic collections of church song, but also in polyphonic expression. Lasso's polyphonic settings of these *geistliche Lieder* nearly always references the German cantus firmus Lied tradition. In this case, Lasso's setting of the cantus firmus in the *Teutsche Psalmen* as a three-voice manifestation of *geistliche Lieder*, unsurprisingly uses the cantus firmus consistently throughout. As seen in the previous section, it is significant that Rodolfo is far more motet-like in his approach. In his use of imitation, melismatic lines, and word painting, his settings are stylistically at odds with other examples of didactic tricinia which tend to be more homophonic and declamatory in character. As an experienced organist with extensive musical training, it can be assumed that Rodolfo was well aware of the compositional conventions of such didactic pieces. With this in mind, it seems more likely that the collection was not primarily composed with pedagogical aims. As spiritual songs and not tricinia, the inconsistencies in the setting of Ulenberg psalms by Orlando and Rodolfo di Lasso are less problematic; since as *geistliche Lieder*, they merely demonstrate the manner in which each composer individually and aesthetically chose to respond to Ulenberg's melody and verse. The musical characteristics discussed in subsequent sections initially displays a type of uniformity in Orlando di Lasso's compositional style. However, this consistency also highlights the inconsistency of the publication as a whole. Rodolfo di Lasso's free motet-like approach to Ulenberg's verse in contrast to his father's more restrained approach thus involves contrasting artistic commentary on the Ulenberg psalm paraphrase.

In addition to the stylistic irregularity of the *Teutsche Psalmen*, the dedication of the work raises even further cause for skepticism. The generic wording of the

preface generally discounts a personal connection to Abbott Gallus himself. However, it is also interestingly devoid of any suggestion of function or purpose. In pedagogically-oriented collections, it is nearly always explicitly stated that the intent of the music is for the education and edification of youth. Absence of these instruction is atypical enough to cast a significant shadow of doubt on its intent as a pedagogical collection. Due to some of the characteristics in cleffing and voice designations, however, a didactic exercise should not be discounted entirely. A range of clefs in different configurations lend themselves to a larger functional context which could be used for a variety of different performance possibilities.

A more explicit parallel example in the distinction between didactic and artistic three-voice textures can be seen in publications by Mattheus Le Maistre (ca. 1505-1577), a contemporary of Lasso who also had an appointment at the Munich court chapel (supposedly sometime between 1552-1557).<sup>226</sup> He later converted to Protestantism and took a position as Kapellmeister of the Dresden Kantorei in 1554. Le Maistre's work from Dresden is undoubtedly Protestant in orientation. In the three-voice publications, Le Maistre illustrates the multi-purpose potential of the genre in the setting of the court. Published five years into his appointment at Dresden, the *Catechesis numeris musicis inclusa* (Nuremberg: Berg & Neuber, 1559) [RISM L 1841] functionally demonstrates Le Maistre's role within the court in the education of choirboys using suitable musical and religious material.<sup>227</sup> The work was dedicated to five-year old Alexander, heir apparent to the Duchy of Saxony, and the entire preface

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<sup>226</sup> These works have not been factored into studies of three-voice textures shown by their omission in the listing of publications by both Leitmeir and Schwindt.

<sup>227</sup> Interestingly, he notes in the preface that the publication was composed for children and would be suitable for Alexander's use (*celsitudinis tuae aetati convenientem*).

accordingly emphasises the main themes of pious upbringing and education. The unequivocal use of these homophonic three-voice settings of moralising texts as a didactic tool fits into Finscher's categorical definition of *tricinia*. However, it is notable that the term itself does not make an appearance in this collection. It is used, rather, in reference to a later publication, *Schöne und auserlesene deudsche und lateinische Geistliche Gesenge* (Dresden: Gimel Bergen, 1577) [RISM L 1845]. Composed using pre-existing chant and chorale melodies, these three-voice songs are taken freely from different Lutheran sources, including a number of psalm paraphrases. These settings are not only distinct from the *Catechesis* in the use of an imitative polyphonic style, but in compositional intention as set out in the preface. He mentions the humble nature of the *tricinia* for young men 'who, instead of study, at thanksgiving both before and after dinner, wish to sing them with me.'<sup>228</sup> At the end of his life, Le Maistre referenced 'this golden age' in which vernacular spiritual songs found use in churches and extolled Martin Luther as a 'German Orpheus.' This is significant as Le Maistre continues to explain that the composition of these pieces has aided to lessen his personal suffering of gout. This late publication of *tricinia* was certainly detached from pedagogical settings demonstrated through imitative polyphonic texture and written explanation. Though the term is somewhat loosened from its original meaning, the *tricinia* is explored more creatively in motet-like fashion and used explicitly for recreation by the students.

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<sup>228</sup> Translated by Donald Gresch in 'Introduction' to Mattheus Le Maistre, *Catechesis numeris musicis inclusa and Schöne Auserlesene Deudsche und Lateinische Geistliche Gesenge* (Madison: A-R Editions, 1982), p. ix.

As examples, Mattheus Le Maistre's wordy prefaces to the *Catechesis* and *Schöne und auserlesene deudsche und lateinische Geistliche Gesenge* help to clarify some practical aspects of the late sixteenth-century tricinia. As with the villanella, the spiritual three-voice repertoire was largely designated for young singers. Le Maistre consistently emphasises the humility of the three-voice texture as unlearned and unsophisticated, but still chose to utilize it as a personal means of expression. He includes the use of psalm paraphrase and elevates them as a 'gift of angels, a heavenly state, and a spiritual unguent.' Using this definition of the three-voice texture, Orlando and Rodolfo di Lasso's *Teutsche Psalmen* might be considered late sixteenth-century tricinia. The collection is akin to Le Maistre's *Schöne und auserlesene deudsche und lateinische Geistliche Gesenge* inasmuch as it is also intended for young singers yet loosened from an exclusively or even primarily pedagogical context. The lack of purpose in the preface to the *Teutsche Psalmen* points to a freer compositional approach to tricinia. The variation in style makes use of polyphonic textures that might be considered less suitable for didactic purposes. Free expression and a wider range of compositional possibilities would certainly serve recreational functions, especially as music commonly played or sung before and after dinner. At Ottobeuren Abbey, for example, such recreational music would be welcome in performance with choir boys.

It is probable that Lasso's *Teutsche Psalmen* were not exclusively considered a didactic collection as previously assumed. Though the term, 'tricinia,' appears to be a valid descriptor of Lasso's *Teutsche Psalmen*, Le Maistre's example shows that the pedagogical context is not always the primary intent. Of course, some musical characteristics such as the cleffing and voice designations show this as

one possibility; however, the unquestionably artistic treatment of Ulenberg's verse has a wider-ranging performance potential which would also have appealed to amateur musicians as well as educational institutions. In larger consideration of the late sixteenth-century tricinia, this flexibility creates a sub-genre of the repertoire which increased in popularity and demand in the late sixteenth-century.

### Lasso's Treatment of the Ulenberg Psalm Paraphrase

The interpretative and artistic potential psalm paraphrases was facilitated by the development of sixteenth-century vernacular *Dichtkunst* and scholarly interest in the development of German poetics and language. With increasing interest in the standardisation of language and the continued influence of the *studia humanitatis*, the early modern period traditionally marks a return to rhetorics and poetics.<sup>229</sup> Already beginning at the end of the fifteenth century, scholars drew from classical examples of verse and metre in order to theorise contemporary rules for poetics in the vernacular.<sup>230</sup> A theory of poetics was later cemented in Martin Opitz's *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* (1624). In this book, German poetry found grounding and legitimacy in classical tradition, but was further developed in humanist scholarship. In this effort, Opitz attempted to refine the German language as one not only equal to Latin, but to other European

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<sup>229</sup> Hans-Gert Roloff, 'German Literature of the Middle Period: Working with the Sources' in Max Reinhardt (ed.), *Early Modern German Literature: 1350-1700* (Rochester, 2007), p. 33.

<sup>230</sup> E.g. Jakob Wimpfeling, *De arte metrificandi* (1484); Konrad Celtis, *Ars versificandi et carminum*; Heinrich Bebel, *Ars versificandi* (1506); Ulrich von Hutten, *De arte versificatoria* (1511); Johannes Murmellius, *Versificatorie artis rudimenta* (1511); Eobanus Hessus, *Scribendorum versuum ratio* (1526); Jacobus Micyllus, *De re metrica* (1539); Johannes Claius, *Grammatica germanicae linguae* (1578).

languages.<sup>231</sup> The influence of the sixteenth-century German Lied might be considered central to this discourse even from the introduction:

*Die Poetery/ist anfanges nichts anders gewesen al eine verborgene Theologie/vnd vnterricht von Göttlichen sachen Dann weil die erste vnd rawe Welt gröber vnd ungeschlachter war / als das sie hette die lehren von weißheit vnd himmlischen dingen recht fassen vnd verstehen können / so haben weise Männer / was sie zue erbawung der Gottesfurcht / gutter sitten vnd wandels erfunden / in reime vnd fabeln / welche sonderlich der gemeine pöfel zue hören geneiget ist / verstecken vnd verbergen müssen. Denn das man jederzeit bey allen Völckern vor gewiß geglaubet habe / es sey ein einiger vnd ewiger Gott / von dem alle dinge erschaffen worden vnd erhalten warden [...]*<sup>232</sup>

The definition of poetics is liberally applied using examples of this tradition taken from classical antiquity and in the works of authors Hesiod, Homer, and Plato. However, in this all-encompassing seventeenth-century definition of German poetry, its most characteristic features include its intrinsic rhetorical qualities and its utility as a medium of interpretation (especially in the conveyance of religious truths). The lyric of sixteenth-century psalm paraphrase strongly demonstrates both of these qualities. Though the rhetoric of confessionality is

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<sup>231</sup> Joachim Dyck, *Ticht-Kunst: Deutsche Barockpoetik und rhetorische Tradition* (Tübingen, 1991), p. 14. The unrefined associations with the German language are well-noted. A humorous quip by Charles V is recorded as him saying: 'I speak Spanish to God, Italian to women, French to men, and German to my horse.' Thomas Brady Jr., *German Histories*, p. 153.

<sup>232</sup> 'Poetry is initially nothing more than a hidden theology and the study of the divine. Then because the first and rough world was coarser and more barbaric than they could understand and correctly comprehend the teaching of wisdom and heavenly things. So wise men invented good customs and a way of life for the edification of godly fear. These must be hidden in rhymes and fables that are especially suitable for the general public to hear. Because it was always certainly known by all people that there is one eternal God by whom all things were made and are sustained.' Martin Opitz, *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* (Brieg: Augustin Gründer, 1624). Translation mine.

readily seen, the extent of the paraphrase as an essentially interpretative medium invites closer study.

Sixteenth-century vernacular paraphrases interpreted sources in such a manner as was suited to address perceived needs of the general laity. This was certainly demonstrated to be the case with Ulenberg's translation of the psalms which, framed with Counter-Reformation rhetoric, sought to reclaim the Lied from popular heretical songs. In addition to new translations, psalm paraphrases often reworked and appropriated popular pre-existing translations with the substitution of a new text and the borrowing of corresponding musical material. This practice made existing material accessible and practical for a new audience but required the translator to re-interpret the material in consideration of the principles of poetics and rhetoric. This was accomplished to suit the needs of the sixteenth-century reader and later, in consideration of commercial demand due to the burgeoning printing industry. In the polyphonic setting of psalm paraphrase, composers also play a role in the interpretation of the text. More explicitly, this means that they must assume the task of reinterpreting the paraphrase. In addition to rules of composition, the composer must also keep the same principles of rhetoric and poetics in mind.

In the study of Lasso's German works, this raises the fundamental question about the setting of psalm paraphrases and the extent to which Lasso can be seen as an interpreter of the pre-existing lyric. With the growing consciousness of German poetics and versification, especially toward the end of the sixteenth century, Lasso's treatment of the text itself will be examined in this chapter. In the orality of sixteenth-century lyric, the link between music and text was intertwined so that the line between 'lesen' and 'singen' was often blurred in

communicative performance.<sup>233</sup> In light of the different considerations the composer would have had between the reading of the text itself and the treatment of the melody, these elements will be considered in the following discussion of Lasso's setting of the psalm paraphrase.

The only text provided in the *Teutsche Psalmen* is the first strophe of each psalm. In most of Orlando di Lasso's settings, the singing of further strophes from memory would be a strong possibility given the cantus firmus and uniformity of verse metre and rhyme. Comparatively, Rodolfo di Lasso's settings are more palpably unsuitable for the singing of other verses. This is evidenced by the abandonment of the cantus firmus and in the extensive word painting which would not fit the meaning of other strophes.<sup>234</sup> The examples of word painting demonstrate one of the most obvious way in which composers could respond to the text; however, the strophic nature of the lyric could be a significant reason why Orlando di Lasso does not employ an extensive amount of word painting in this collection. Therefore, it makes sense that he highlights the structure of the verse through his use of cadences.

In his treatise, *Antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (1555), Nicola Vicentino writes extensively concerning the importance of the cadence and stresses the fact that composers must be mindful in their treatment of cadences in relation to the text. Sixteenth-century treatises often equate musical and

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<sup>233</sup> Titles of printed works reflect this in the prescription, 'zulesen vnd zusingen' indicating that they were also read aloud as verse as a private devotional exercise. Steven Souders, 'Music in Early Modern Germany' in Max Reinhart (ed.) *Early Modern German Literature: 1350-1700* (Rochester, 2007), p. 668.

<sup>234</sup> Word painting in strophic settings itself does not necessarily preclude the performance of non-corresponding strophes as is shown to be the case through the seventeenth century.



literary syntax likening the function of the cadence to the punctuation of a sentence.<sup>235</sup> Vicentino specifically speaks to a practice of evading cadences with an example commonly used by keyboardists, i.e. indicating a cadence, but not completing it. On this he writes:

This is the method of pretending to conclude and yet not concluding, and it is acceptable in the middle of compositions as long as the cadences are appropriate to the words or to another idea.<sup>236</sup>

In the composition of the *Teutsche Psalmen*, Lasso uses the practice of evading cadences at the end of most lines of verse since the completion of a cadence in all voices is generally reserved to signal the end of the strophe. The evasion of cadences in its various types and the formation of non-cadences in the form of harmonic caesuras signal the end of the poetic line which musically corresponds to link other lines of verse with the same types of endings. Generally, an incomplete cadence where the Bassus (and sometimes also the Tenor) disappears from the texture signals the strongest degree of musical close. Since these types of cadences generally end on the Modal Final (or a tone of secondary importance), this suggests a true harmonic close; albeit one which is eluded by the voice-leading. Cadences that are evaded in one or more voices strongly imply the continuation of the phrase with the subsequent line of text. Finally, harmonic medial caesuras (where the end of the line collects) give definition in the structure of the text without indicating a musical close. A typical example of

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<sup>235</sup> Pietro Aron, *Trattato della natura et cognitione di tutti gli tuoni di canto figurato*, (Venice, 1525), Ch. VIII.

<sup>236</sup> Nicola Vicentino, *Ancient music adapted to modern practice* trans. Maria Rika Maniates (New Haven, 1996), p. 162.

different types of close found corresponding to the ends of the poetic lines is seen in Ps. 45. The cadence plan can be outlined as follows:<sup>237</sup>

**Table 17.** Cadential structure of Orlando di Lasso, *Gott ist auff den wir immer hoffen* (Ps. 45)

A <i>Gott ist auff den wir immer hoffen/</i>	Evaded (Bassus)	(F) diminished
B <i>Ist unser trost und stercke gut/</i>	No cadence	Bb
B <i>Der uns mit macht ausshelfen thut/</i>	No cadence	D
A <i>Wenn grosse not uns hat betroffen/</i>	Incomplete 2v (CT)	F diminished
C <i>Drumb fürcht wir uns für keinem ding/</i>	Incomplete 1v (C)	C undiminished
C <i>Wenn auch die welt schon untergieng/</i>	Incomplete 1v (C)	F undiminished
A <i>Und fielen berg ins meer mit hauffen.</i>	<b>Complete</b>	<b>F diminished</b>

In this example, all of the A-lines conclude with what Vicentino classifies as a diminished type of cadence which uses rhythmic diminution in the cadential formula in one or more voices. Lasso's compositional approach to the formulation of this cadence in all three instances is functionally the same. The movement of the Bassus is (or implies) C-F. The Tenor has crossed the Cantus in assuming the cantizans formula.

**Example 49.** Orlando di Lasso, *Gott ist auff den wir immer hoffen* (Ps. 45) cadences

<sup>237</sup> Terminology for the types of cadences has been borrowed from *Du Chemin Lost Voices Project* (2014).

Not only is the correlation between lines with the same rhyme ending emphasised by the type of cadence and harmony, but in the outline (**Table 16**), one can see Lasso's literal reading of the psalm in the outlining of the first quatrain as a continuous musical unit. This is seen in the initial evasion of the cadence in the Bassus in which there is also an overlap in the text. This intention of continuing the musical flow is evident given the incomplete cadences which later characterise the division of the lines. The quatrain is further stabilised by the harmonically weak enveloped B-lines which further highlight the harmonic return to F in an incomplete cadence. The C-lines are melodically linked in a type of sequence; however, they also display the same incomplete cadential treatment in which the Tenor and Bassus drop from the texture. The final line of the strophe is punctuated with a complete cadence.

**Example 50.** Orlando di Lasso, *Gott ist auff den wir immer hoffen* (Ps. 45)

Gott ist, auff den wir im-mer hof-fen, ist un-ser

Gott ist, auff den wir im-mer hof-fen, ist un-ser

Gott ist, auff den wir im-mer hof-fen, ist un-ser Trost

6



Trost und Stercke gut, der uns mit Macht aus helfen tut, wenn gro - ße Not uns

Trost und Stercke gut, der uns mit Macht aus - helfen tut, wenn gro - ße Not, wenn gro - ße Not

und Stercke gut, der uns mit Macht aus helfen tut, wenn gro - ße Not, wenn gro - ße

11



— hat be - trof - fen, drum fürcht wir uns für kei - nem Ding, wenn

uns hat be trof - fen, drum fürcht wir uns für kei nem Ding, wenn auch die

Not uns hat be - trof - fen, drum fürcht wir uns für kei nem Ding, wenn auch die

16



auch die Welt schon un - ter - ging und fie - len Berg ins Meer mit Hau - fen.

Welt schon un - ter - ging und fie - len Berg ins Meer mit Hau - fen.

Welt schon un - ter - ging und fie - len Berg ins Meer mit Hau - fen.

The extent to which Lasso demonstrates such a systematic and deliberate implementation of the cadences shows his fundamental concern with the text and the reading of its structure. While Lasso illustrates the relationship between corresponding lines of the verse, he further interprets the literal reading and flow

of the text by manipulating the musical structure. In this example, it is clear that Lasso has read the first quatrain as a continuous flow of verse.

*Gott ist auff den wir immer hoffen/  
Ist unser trost und stercke gut/  
Der uns mit macht auss Helfen thut/  
Wenn grosse not uns hat betroffen/*

*Drumb fürcht wir uns für keinem ding/  
Wenn auch die welt schon untergieng  
Und fielen berg ins meer mit hauffen.*

The following tercet also reads together musically as a continuous grouping of poetic lines. This is not only shown by the weak sequential incomplete cadences but is linked to the last line by the rhythmic quaver diminution of the parallel pre-imitation in the Tenor and Bassus. This does not occur elsewhere in this setting as lines of verse are usually connected with a space of a minim. The rhythmic joining of these lines demonstrates an acute attention to the details of the verse's syntax, underscoring the link in the text created by the conjunction, 'und.' Ulenberg's original melodic setting generally separates each line of verse with a rest unless they are explicitly conjoined. Due to the separation of each line of Ps. 45, it can be surmised that the interpretation of the strophe into groupings of lines (couplets, tercets, quatrains) is reinforced by the musical flow regulated by cadences. This is Lasso's own engagement and interpretation of the psalm paraphrase.

This observation is further substantiated by other examples from the *Teutsche Psalmen* which demonstrate the nuanced interpretation of the verse structure. A similar example can be found in Ps. 27. Though it incorporates a different

rhyming scheme and structure, the same compositional principles seen in Ps. 45 are utilised.

**Table 18.** Cadential structure of Orlando di Lasso, *Herr Gott mein hort mein stercke gut* (Ps. 27)

A <i>Herr Gott mein hort mein stercke gut/</i>	Evaded (Bassus)	(D) diminished
A <i>ich ruff zu dir mit schwerem mut/</i>	Incomplete 2v (CT)	A diminished
B <i>ach schweige nit/</i>	Caesura	D
B <i>auff meine bit/</i>	Caesura	A
C <i>denn wenn du wilt mit schweigen/</i>	Incomplete 1v (C)	A undiminished
C <i>ungnedig dich erzaigen/</i>	Incomplete 2v (CT)	A undiminished
D <i>so wird ich gleich/</i>	Caesura	Bb
D <i>wie todte leich/</i>	Incomplete 2v (CT)	F undiminished
E <i>die hin zur gruben fahren/</i>	Incomplete 2v (CT)	D diminished
<b>E <i>nach umblauff ihrer jahren.</i></b>	<b>Complete</b>	<b>D diminished</b>

Clear harmonic indicators as well as type of the cadence serve to bind couplets together. Lasso clearly avoids the cadence on the Modal Final until the final couplet. This is conceivably one reason why Lasso purposefully avoids even an incomplete cadence after the first line which would have finished on D. Moreover, functioning almost as a conjunction in the musical syntax, the evaded cadence in the movement of the Bassus invites the listener to connect the next musical phrase. Consequently, this effect creates a stronger sense of continuity in the performance of the rhymed couplet: ‘*Herr Gott mein hort mein stercke gut/ich ruff zu dir mit schwerem mut.*’ While the shorter four-syllable couplets (B and D) are harmonically paired (separated by the space of a fifth), an incomplete cadence is reserved only for the final line of the penultimate couplet (‘*wie todte leich*’). This cadence indicates a harmonically-significant point in the transition of the tonal centre of the final couplet to the Modal Final on D.

**Example 51.** Orlando di Lasso, *Herr Gott mein hort mein stercke gut*  
(Ps. 27), mm. 1-19

Herr Gott, mein Hort, mein Ster - cke gut, ich ruf zu dir mit

Herr Gott, mein Hort, mein Ster cke gut, ich ruf zu dir mit schwe - rem

Herr Gott, mein Hort, mein Ster - cke gut, ich ruf zu dir mit schwe - rem

6

schwe - rem Mut, ach schwei - ge nit auf mei - ne Bitt, denn

Mut, ach schwei - ge nit auf mei - ne Bitt, denn

Mut, ach schwei - ge nit auf mei - ne Bitt, denn

10

wenn du wilt mit Schwei - gen un - gnä - dig dich er zei - gen sowerd ich

wenn du wilt mit Schwei - gen ungnä dig, un gnä dig dich er - zei gen, sowerd ich bald

wenn du wilt mit Schwei - gen ungnä dig dich er - zei - gen, sowerd ich bald

14

bald den To - ten gleich, die hin zur Gru - ben fah -

den To - ten gleich, die hin\_\_\_\_\_ zur Gru-ben fah -

den To - ten gleich, die hin zur Gru - ben fah - ren

17

ren nach Ab - lauf ih - rer Jah - ren, die hin zur

ren, nach Ab-lauf ih - rer Jah - ren, die hin\_\_\_\_\_ zur

nach Ab - lauf ih - rer Jah - ren, die hin zur

20

Gru - ben fah - ren nach Ab - lauf ih - rer Jah - ren.

Gru-ben fah - ren nach Ab-lauf ih - rer Jah - ren.

Gru - ben fah - ren nach Ab - lauf\_\_\_\_\_ ih - rer Jah - ren.

The absence of the cadence in four-syllable lines creates anticipation which extends to the next cadential point. In this, Lasso pays particularly close attention to the finer points of syntax within the verse. The syllabic scheme of the strophe suggests a quatrain as well as the coordinating conjunction, ‘*denn*’ in



the first instance, and the relative pronoun, ‘*die*’ in the second four-syllable couplet.

A *Herr Gott mein hort mein stercke gut*  
A *ich ruff zu dir mit schwerem mut*

B *ach schweige nit*  
B *auff meine bit*  
C **denn** *wenn du wilt mit schweigen*  
C *ungnedig dich erzaigen*

D *so wird ich gleich*  
D *wie todte leich*  
E **die** *hin zur gruben fahren*  
E *nach umblauff ihrer jahren.*

Although the couplet, ‘*so wird ich gleich/wie todte leich*’ ends with an incomplete cadence, the absence of strong indicative tonal resolution (hitherto D primary and A secondary cadence point), suggests the subsequent line must follow. This is confirmed in the tonal resolution on the final. The allusion was initially in the incomplete cadence at the penultimate line before its realisation at the end of the strophe.

While there are certainly exceptions, the pattern of compositional approach suggests that Lasso’s interpretation of the text under the strict parameters of the cantus firmus lies strongly in the flow of the verse as read by the composer. Complete cadences are always used to signal the end of the strophe; however, they are also employed in other special cases as a form of emphatic musical punctuation normally after a line or couplet. Examples of this use of the complete cadence include:

Ps. 9 ‘*Ich wil auß gantzem hertzen mein/dir Herr preis her bereiten*’  
Ps. 21 ‘*Ich heule fast für schwere pein*’  
Ps. 29 ‘*Ich wil dich Herr geburlich loben*’  
Ps. 33 ‘*Ich wil Got unauffhörlich preisen*’  
Ps. 39 ‘*Ich harr auf Got mit gantzer gir/da angst hat uberhand genommen*’

While this list of examples is not exhaustive, it is significant that the first-person declamatory statement is marked with a complete cadence in every case without exception.

Finally, in addition to the structural divisions of the Lied, exceptional cadences beyond those that were presented in this section are used to add a deeper sense of meaning to the text. One example of this is the incomplete cadence on the word ‘*schweigen*’ in Ps. 27 in which both the Tenor and Bassus are dropped from the texture. Since this is the only instance of such an incomplete cadence in this setting, it ostensibly pertains to the word ‘*schweigen*’ which is produced by a sudden and unexpected reduction of texture.

**Example 52.** Orlando di Lasso, *Herr Gott mein hort mein stercke gut* (Ps. 27), mm. 10-11

The image shows a musical score for three voices (Soprano, Alto, and Bass) in 13/8 time. The lyrics are: 'wenn du wilt mit schwei - gen/ un - wenn du wilt mit schwei - gen/ un-gne-dig wenn du wilt mit schwei - gen/ un-gne-dig'. The third staff has a circled measure with a fermata, indicating an incomplete cadence on the word 'schweigen'.

Another example of a special case was previously mentioned in Ps. 23 where a complete cadence was used in connection to the words, ‘*festem stand.*’ This example can be considered exceptional since it has been shown that complete cadences are generally avoided or reserved for punctuating declamatory lines.

**Example 53.** Orlando di Lasso, *Die Welt und all ihr Reichtum* (Ps. 23), mm. 15-17

A more elaborate example of text expression and structure occurs in Ps. 17 with the setting of the first quatrain. In line with the compositional approach outlined above, the quatrain is conceived as a musical group which is especially evident in the enveloped lines of verse in which text overlap precludes any type of cadence or caesura.

**Table 19.** Cadential structure of Orlando di Lasso, *Herr, der du meine stercke bist* (Ps. 17)

A	<i>Herr der du meine stercke bist/</i>	Incomplete 2v (CT)	F diminished
A	<i>so lang in mir das leben ist/</i>	No cadence	Text overlap
B	<i>soltu mir lieb von hertzen sein/</i>	No cadence	Text overlap
B	<i>Gott ist furwar der felse mein/</i>	Incomplete 2v (CT)	G double
C	<i>Mein krafft/ mein hilff/ mein herre mild</i>	Caesura	C
D	<i>Mein macht drauff ich wil immer hoffen/</i>	Incomplete 2v (CT)	F

The extended double cadence marking the end of this quatrain is remarkable in the collection, even though the cadence is incomplete with the absence of the Bassus as per standard procedure. Additionally, the cadence is harmonically remote from the tonal centre (F) and is further destabilised by the chromatic voice-leading in the Bassus in cadential preparation. Amidst the harmonic and

chromatic tension, the double cadence provides a contradistinctive stability to ‘*felse mein.*’ This point of tension is resolved in the next couplet in which the Mode is restored in relation to the word ‘*hoffen.*’

**Example 54.** Orlando di Lasso, *Herr der du meine stercke bist* (Ps. 17)

Herr, der du mei - ne Ster - cke bist, so - lang in

Herr, der du mei - ne Ster - cke \_\_\_\_\_ bist, so - lang in mir das

Herr, der du mei - ne Ster - cke bist, so lang, so-lang

5

mir das Le - ben ist, sol - tu mir lieb von Her - zen sein,

Le - ben ist, sol - tu mir lieb von Her - - zen sein,

in mir das Le - ben ist, sol - tu mir lieb von Her - zen

9

Gott ist für - wahr der Fel - sen \_\_\_\_\_ mein, mein

Gott ist für - wahr \_\_\_\_\_ der Fel - - sen mein,

sein, Gott ist für - wahr der Fel - sen mein mein

13

Kraft, mein Hilf, mein Her-re mild, meinmacht, drauf ich will

mein Kraft, mein Hilf, mein Her-re mild, mein Macht, drauf ich will im -

— Kraft, mein Hilf, mein Her-re mild, mein Macht, drauf ich will im mer-hof-fen, will

17

im-mer hof - fen, meinsHeils ein Horn, mein Schirm und

mer hof - fen meins Heils ein Horn, mein Schirm und Schild, mein Schirm und

im-mer hof - fen, meins Heils, ein Horn, mein Schirm und Schild, mein Schirm und

21

Schild, mein Schutz, wenn Not mich hat be - trof -

Schild, mein Schutz, wenn Not mich hat be trof -

Schild, mein Schutz wenn Not mein Schutz, wenn Not mich hat be - trof - fen,

24

fen, mein Schutz, wenn Not mich hat be trof - fen.

fen, mein Schutz, wenn Not mich hat be trof - fen, mich hat be trof - fen.

mein Schutz, wenn Not mich hat be trof - fen, mich hat be trof - fen.

In this setting, the intricacies of the extended cadence enrich the meaning of the verse, especially in the perceptibly anomalous treatment of '*felse mein*.' This anomaly is only made evident through the examination of Lasso's compositional patterns and therefore, it would be highly unlikely to have been perceived by the sixteenth-century listener. Nevertheless, it exemplifies a subtle creativity which attests to Lasso's interpretation of the text despite the constraints of cantus firmus writing.

Although individual lines are marked by cadences, the composed polyphony is generally continuous through the strophe. However, the internal links between poetic lines are nuanced by cadential points, their manipulation, or their absence. This creates a sense of literal reading which is not afforded by Ulenberg's melodies. It is clear that Lasso read the verse interpreted them independently beyond their melodic confines. Lasso's affected reading of the psalm does not only reflect the rhymed couplets of the verse and the rhythm and metre of the German language but takes into account finer points of syntax and organisation of the strophe. Here, Lasso considers the formal structure of the poetry in addition to the meaning of the words. The structure is pronounced in the polyphonic settings through its cadential indications which imply the close or continuation of the poetry and can be seen in close evaluation of the music and the text.

#### Interpretation of the Cantus Firmus

A distinguishing feature of Orlando di Lasso's settings of Ulenberg's *Teutsche Psalmen* is the unadulterated use of Ulenberg's melodies as the foundation. Though Lasso alters the rhythm and rarely substitutes freely-composed material, the essence of the melody is retained and is instantly recognisable in

all settings. Due to Lasso's consistency, it is obvious that a primary compositional concern is the preservation of the melody itself. This emphasises the rhetoric of the bound association of words together with the music, popularly demonstrated by the hymnody of the Lutheran and Reformed traditions. In this manner, Ulenberg's psalm paraphrase accompanied by original melodies reinforced a confession-specific alternation which was designed to replace Protestant songs and their implicit teachings.<sup>238</sup> There are three distinct ways in which the generative quality of the melody is seen in Lasso's polyphonic settings: (1) in the composition of the freely-derived material (2) in the systematic use of preimitative gestures and (3) in the use of compositional techniques which are impressions of the melodic contour.

Lasso freely composes melodic lines in Pss. 11 and 13 to substitute for the cantus firmus in select places. This type of free treatment of Ulenberg's melody is exceptional within the collection and reveals a number of details concerning compositional procedure. It is notable that the fragments of melody are quoted in the upper voice of the texture, making its departure from the original melody readily noticeable. The way in which the free material is integrated into the settings of Pss. 11 and 13 differ considerably which also reveals a difference in the compositional intention. In Ps. 11, Lasso substitutes the melody with a similar line that mimics a cantus firmus. The melody is mainly used in Ps. 13, but the cantus firmus is abandoned in favour of free polyphonic texture in a few places. The setting begins unexpectedly without a cantus firmus in which the

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<sup>238</sup> Overath has demonstrated the nature of Ulenberg's melodies and their influences from plainchant, folksong, and Genevan traditions; however, it should be noted that although some material is derived from these sources, he does not borrow entire melodies. Johannes Overath: *Untersuchungen über die Melodien*.

ascending third, the inversion of Ulenberg's melody, is used as the point of imitation.

**Example 55.** Caspar Ulenberg, *Die Toren sprechen wohl* (Ps. 13)

The musical score for Example 55 is presented in six staves, each with a 13/8 time signature. The notation is as follows:

- Staff 1:** A single melodic line starting with a half note, followed by eighth notes, and ending with a half note.
- Staff 2:** A single melodic line starting with a half note, followed by eighth notes, and ending with a half note.
- Staff 3:** A single melodic line starting with a half note, followed by eighth notes, and ending with a half note.
- Staff 4:** A single melodic line starting with a half note, followed by eighth notes, and ending with a half note.
- Staff 5:** A single melodic line starting with a half note, followed by eighth notes, and ending with a half note.
- Staff 6:** A single melodic line starting with a half note, followed by eighth notes, and ending with a half note.

The score illustrates the use of an ascending third as a point of imitation, with the melody and its inversion being played simultaneously on different staves.



**Example 56.** Orlando di Lasso, *Die Toren sprechen wohl* (Ps. 13)

Die To - ren spre - - - chen wohl ohn Scher -

Die To - ren spre - chen wohl ohn Scher -

Die To - ren spre - chen wohl ohn Scher - zen

5

zen heim - lich in ih - rem bö - sen Her - zen: Im

zen heim - lich in ih - rem bö - sen Her - zen: Im Him -

heim - lich, heim - lich in ih - rem bö - sen Her -

9

Him - mel ist kein Gott. Sie sind ver - derbt an al - len Or -

mel ist kein Gott. Sie sind ver - derbt an al - len Or -

zen: Im Him - mel ist kein gott. Sie sind ver - derbt an al - len Or -

13

ten, sind gar zu ei-nem Greu-el wor - den in

ten, sind gar zu ei-nem Greu-el wor - den in

ten, sind gar zu ei-nem Greu-el wor - den in

17

den in ih-rer Mis - se - tat, in

ih - rer Mis - se - tat, in ih - rer Mis - se -

ih - rer Mis - se - tat, in ih - rer Mis - se tat, in

21

ih - rer Mis - se - tat, in ih-rer Mis - se - tat.

tat, in ih - rer Mis - se - tat.

ih - rer Mis - se - tat, in ih - rer Mis - se - tat.

In the above example where the cantus firmus used, it is clear that Lasso only deviates from it in a few designated places. ‘*Die thoren sprechen wol on schertzen*’ (mm. 1-4); ‘*verderbt an allen*’ [...] (mm. 11-12); ‘*greuel worden*’ (mm. 15-17). It is significant that Lasso begins the setting with an inversion of the melody which sets the speech of the fools (‘*thoren*’) upside-down as a type of musical joke. The very distinct nature of this inversion perhaps hints toward a more figurative manifestation of foolishness edging toward classical models of satire.<sup>239</sup> This is notably the only setting of the word ‘*thor*’ or ‘*thorheit*’ in the Ulenberg paraphrases set by Lasso. This illustrative beginning is expounded by the use of evocative antipathetic language which is signalled by musical deviation: ‘*verderbt*’ (‘morally corrupt’) with added emphasis on ‘*allen örten*’ through rhythmic diminution. The cantus firmus is reinstated at ‘*örten*’ which adds emphasis to the ‘corruption’ of the melody specifically at these words. This type of word-directed deviation of the cantus firmus occurs at ‘*greuel worden*’ (‘have become an abomination’). In m. 15, the Tenor and Bassus descend in parallel motion mimicking the contour of the cantus firmus but suggesting a fall or demise. The cantus firmus itself is disrupted on the second syllable of ‘*greuel*’ (‘abomination’) which follows with an extended melisma on ‘*worden*.’ This particular example is striking in that Lasso does not directly respond to the keyword itself, but musically demonstrates ‘the becoming’ of the abomination through the development of the melodic line away from the cantus firmus. Lasso returns to the cantus firmus for the final line of the strophe, ‘*in jhrer missethat*,’ which is finally repeated in the Tenor. Although the word, ‘*missethat*’

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<sup>239</sup> Rooted in platonic dualism, inversions are often depictions of foolishness which also resonated with humanist writers and artists; e.g. Erasmus’s exploration of the paradox of roles, values, and morals (*Praise of Folly*, first printed in 1511).

(‘misdeeds’), might be considered in the list of negative words in this strophe, in order for the afore-emphasised words to bear demonstrative clout, it is necessary for Lasso to return to a strong statement of the cantus firmus at the end. This is a rare setting which employs the use of word painting only through a strategic departure of the cantus firmus. In each of the three examples, Lasso’s compositional strategy is adapted to depict the text in different ways: (1) through the use of musical metaphor or a more allegorical depiction (*‘thoren’*) (2) literal, static interpretation centred on the keyword itself (*‘verderbt’*) (3) implied, unfolding interpretation which is actively performed (*‘greuel worden’*). The otherwise strict use of the cantus firmus is the relative point which provides the logic for the deviation and the respective interpretations. Through this, Lasso is able to create a subtle narrative centering on the sounding and manipulation of the cantus firmus.

In contrast to this setting, Ps. 11 does not immediately reveal a reason for the free melody, nor can the departure from the melody be attributed to words or phrases in the text. The only line which uses the cantus firmus is *‘Es ist hin all auffrichtigkeit,’* (mm. 7-9). This shows that the construction of the free melody is done with an awareness of the cantus firmus, especially since the cantus line is composed quasi-cantus firmus. This means that the part is composed primarily with declamatory semi-breve and minim note-values in a style mimicking Ulenberg’s melody. Upon closer inspection, it becomes obvious that Lasso derives this free melody from Ulenberg’s original. This is seen firstly at the end of poetic lines where the tonal endings are mainly retained.

**Example 57.** Caspar Ulenberg, *Hilf, lieber Herr die heilig Frommen* (Ps. 11)

**Example 58.** Orlando di Lasso, *Hilf, lieber Herr die heilig Frommen* (Ps. 11)

Hilf, lie-ber Herr, die hei - lig from - men ha-ben so

Hilf, lie - ber Herr, die hei-lig From - men ha - ben so gänz-lich,

Hilf, lie - ber Herr, die hei - lig From - men ha - ben so, ha-

5

gänz - lich ab - ge - nom - men, es ist hin all Auf - rich -

ha ben so gänz - lich ab - ge nom - men, es ist hin all Auf - rich -

ben so gänzlich ab - ge nom men, es ist hin, es ist hin all Auf rich - tig -

- tig-keit, daß auch schier un - ter Men-schen - kin - den kein

- tig-keit, daß auch schier un - ter Men - schen - kin - den kein

keit, daß auch schier un-ter Men schen\_\_ kin - den kein Treu,

Treu und Glaub mehr ist zu fin - den in die-ser

Treu, kein Treu und Glaub mehr ist zu fin - den in die - ser fähr - lich bö

kein Treu und Glaub mehr ist zu fin den in die ser fähr lich bö - sen Zeit, in

fähr-lich bö - sen Zeit, in die-ser fähr-lich bö-sen Zeit.

- sen Zeit, in die - ser fähr-lich bö - sen Zeit.

die - ser fähr-lich bö - sen Zeit, in die - ser fähr-lich bö-sen Zeit.

Lasso's composed melody in the first and second lines (mm. 1-6) are developed from the original by inverting the first line from a rising tetrachord into a descending one and maintaining the general contour of the second line. The heightened effect Lasso creates is due to the reconfiguration of the melody centering around a tetrachord on G, instead of F in Ulenberg's melody. The

melody is transformed is closely related so that it alludes to the original cantus firmus without quoting it. This allusion is confirmed by the statement of the cantus firmus in the next two lines. By this point, the basis of the setting on Ulenberg's melody has been made explicit and Lasso departs from the cantus firmus again for the final two lines (mm. 13-18). While Ulenberg's melody unfolds over the range of an octave, Lasso chooses to constrict the melodic movement in similar fashion around the space of a tetrachord on A until the final note. While the melodic setting of these final lines is not as closely derived from Ulenberg's melody, Lasso establishes the melodic association and finishes the setting referencing his own free melody. This setting demonstrates another level of composition in which Lasso considers melodic association in addition to the harmonic outline of the poetic structure.

**Table 20.** Melodic and cadential structure of Orlando di Lasso, *Hilf, lieber Herr die heilig Frommen* (Ps. 11)

Melodic structure

A	<i>Hilff lieber Herr die heilig frommen</i>	Free
A	<i>Haben so gäntzlich abgenommen</i>	Free
B	<i>Es ist hin all auffrichtigkeit</i>	cantus firmus (minor variation)
C	<i>Das auch schir unter menschen kinden</i>	cantus firmus (minor variation)
C	<i>Kein treu und glaub mehr ist zu finden</i>	Free
B	<i>In dieser fehrlich bösen zeit.</i>	Free

Harmonic structure

A	<i>Hilff lieber Herr die heilig frommen</i>	Incomplete 2v (CT)	G diminished
A	<b><i>Haben so gäntzlich abgenommen</i></b>	<b>Complete</b>	<b>G undiminished</b>
B	<i>Es ist hin all auffrichtigkeit</i>	Incomplete 2v (CT)	D undiminished
C	<i>Das auch schir unter menschen kinden</i>	Evaded (Bassus)	(Bb) diminished
C	<i>Kein treu und glaub mehr ist zu finden</i>	No Cadence	D
B	<b><i>In dieser fehrlich bösen zeit.</i></b>	<b>Complete</b>	<b>G diminished</b>

The harmony supports the poetic structure in the strong demarcation of the first rhymed couplet centered on G with a rare complete cadence on the second line.

In conjunction with the nature of the melody, the harmonic centre shifts to D in the following quatrain in which the weak endings in the evaded cadence and the non-cadence gives musical continuity to the enclosed rhyme scheme. In addition to this, the melodic structure of freely composed lines and cantus firmus quotation reveal the pairing of lines and a division of the melodic structure into equal thirds. The incorporation of derived material with the quotation of the melody and the systematic use of harmonic indicators to outline poetic structure demonstrates one of the most sophisticated settings in this collection.

With Orlando di Lasso's otherwise strict use of the cantus firmus, it is initially puzzling that this setting is so exceptional. However, the understanding of the position of this setting within the collection provides a logical explanation. In Ulenberg's Psalms, the melody (*carmina genus 2*) is used for Pss. 2, 10, 11, 65, 80, and 134 which means that the melody appears a total of three times in the *Teutsche Psalmen*. Briefly considering the even-numbered settings by Rodolfo di Lasso, in Ps. 2 at the first appearance of this melody appears in the collection, the cantus firmus is clearly stated in the Tenor with a repetition of the first line.



**Example 59.** Rodolfo di Lasso, *Warum empören sich die Heiden* (Ps. 2), mm. 1-8

War - um em - pö - ren sich die Hei - den, war - um em  
 War - um em - pö ren sich die Hei - den, war  
 War - um em -  
 5  
 pö - ren sich die Hei - den  
 um em pö - ren sich die Hei - den und wü - ten so von  
 pö - ren sich die Hei - den, die Hei - den, und wü - ten

The clarity of the first appearance of the melody is very much in contrast to Ps. 10 whereupon the statement of the cantus firmus in the Bassus, and the melody is completely abandoned. In contrast to his father's setting of the melody in Ps. 11, he does not make use of Ulenberg's melodic material to evoke the cantus firmus. Rather, he uses free counterpoint to incorporate elements of word painting. The contrast between the strict treatment of Ps. 2 and the freer treatment of the melody in Pss. 10 and 11 seems to convey at least some sense of collaboration in planning the publication. The intelligibility of the melody in the first instance seems to allow for its elaboration later in the collection. Orlando di Lasso must have been fully aware that his setting of Ps. 11 would be the third

appearance of the same melody, immediately following Rodolfo's second setting. This is the only instance in the collection where the same melody appears in consecutive psalms. For this reason, it is understandable that both Rodolfo and Orlando take a freer approach to the melody once it had already been presented (Ps. 2). For Rodolfo in Ps. 10, freedom from melodic constraint takes the form of creative response to the text. Given the placement of this Ps. 11 in the collection, it is interesting that despite freedom from the cantus firmus, Orlando chooses to emulate rather than fully depart from the melody. In this highly technical manner, even an anomalous setting is consistent in both style and melodic content with the other settings in the *Teutsche Psalmen*.

Finally, there are a couple of compositional procedures in which Lasso emphasises the primacy of the cantus firmus. In addition to the harmonic and cadential punctuation of the poetic lines, Lasso employs a standard of preimitation which is readily seen in every setting. At the opening of poetic lines, this gesture is implemented through a staggered, three-voice polyphonic texture in various configurations which is commonly presented at the opening of a given psalm with the initial point of imitation in roughly half of the settings (Pss. 1, 7, 9, 13, 15, 17, 23, 25, 29, 37, 43, 45, 49). It also appears as a two-voice grouping in which one or both voices imitate the cantus firmus (often occurring in the spacing of a third). Psalm 1 shows the extensive use of preimitative gestures used to define the melody at every poetic line. He explicitly makes use of the three-voice preimitation which is significantly scaled back in the other settings. The only exception is the paired imitation at 'noch sitz' (mm. 16-17).

**Example 60.** Orlando di Lasso, *Selig zu preisen ist der Mann* (Ps. 1)

Se - lig zu pre - sen ist der Mann, se - lig zu

Se - lig zu

Se - lig zu prei - sen ist der Mann, ist

5

prei - sen ist der Mann, der sich ent - hält von den Gott - lo -

prei - sen ist der Mann, der sich ent -

der Mann, der sich ent - hält von den Gott

9

sen, von den Gott - lo - sen und wan - delt nicht im Rat der

hält von den Gott - lo - sen und wan - delt nicht im Rat der

lo - sen und wan - delt nicht im Rat der Bö - sen, tritt

13

Bö sen, tritt auch nicht auf der Sün - der Bahn, noch

Bö - sen tritt auch nicht auf der Sün - der Bahn,

auch nicht auf der Sün - der Bahn, noch

17

sitzt bei gif - - - tig bö - sen Rot - -

noch sitzt bei gif - tig bö - sen Rot - ten,

sitzt, noch sitzt bei gif - tig bö - sen Rot - ten, da man gar

21

ten, da man gar schimpf - lich weiß, da man gar schimpf-lich

da man gar schimpf-lich weiß zu spot - ten, da

schimpf - lich weiß zu spot - ten, zu spot - ten, da man gar

25

weiß zu spot - - - ten.

man gar schimpf - lich weiß zu spot - ten, zu spot - ten.

schimpf-lich weiß zu spot - - - ten.

Much of the cantus firmus is precisely imitated. But the melodic contour still mirrors the general outline provided by the original melody where the imitation is more derivative. For example, the Cantus in mm. 1-3 and mm. 21-22 mimics the contour of the melodic line outlining the span of a fifth from the original melody. Contrapuntally, a further counter-melody is emphasised in the Cantus and Bassus with a rising sixth after the first four notes of the subject. This

appears three times. In the repetition of the final line, the intervallic relationship in the counterpoint is repeated (Tenor and Bassus); however, the further accentuation of this line in the Cantus demonstrates how the original line has been developed and even heightened at the end of the psalm. As in the voice-pairing in mm. 16-17, this example also shows how Lasso uses a pairing of voices against the cantus firmus.

A further example of voice pairing and compositional technique highlighting melodic contour occurs in Ps. 47; particularly in mm. 4-9 (in the setting of the second and third lines of text. Neither the rhyming structure of the strophe AAB CCB, nor the meaning of the text necessitates a musical link between these lines. Rather, Lasso responds here to the melodic contour of the descending and ascending fourth using paired voices, offset rhythm, and a chain of suspension. In the first instance (mm. 4-6), the cantus firmus in the Cantus and the Bassus (the first three notes of the descending line in parallel tenths) are paired in equal minims while the Tenor part adds syncopation and delayed movement resulting in harmonic tension. In mirrored rise of the cantus firmus, the voice pairing has been changed, resulting in a paired Tenor and Bassus at parallel thirds evoking the iambic metre of the verse.

**Example 61.** Orlando di Lasso, *Groß ist der Herr im heil'gen Thron* (Ps. 47), mm. 1-9

Groß ist der Herr im heil - gen Thron, wird treff - lich

Groß ist der Herr im heil' - gen Thron, wird treff - lich hoch

Groß ist der Herr im heil - gen Thron, wird treff - lich

5

hoch mit sü - ßem Ton in un - sers Got - tes Stadt ge - prie - sen.

mit sü - ßem Ton in un - sers Got - tes Stadt ge prie - sen

hoch mit sü - ßem Ton in un - sers Got - tes Stadt ge prie - sen

Further examples of melodically-related lines linked by voice pairing and offset rhythm in descending and ascending diatonic lines can be found in Pss. 27 and 45.<sup>240</sup> On one hand, disassociation from the text may indicate a kind of compositional shortcut. In the second half of the example above where the ascending cantus firmus arches and descends again to c, the counterpoint is conspicuously similar to that of the same descending degrees in m. 5. Lasso, moreover, frequently designates the same counterpoint where Ulenberg's melodies repeat. Whereas Lasso's approach to the setting of verse can be

<sup>240</sup> Ps. 27: ll. 5 and 7a ('denn wenn du wilt mit schweigen'; 'so wird ich gleich') same pairing of voices (Tenor and Bassus in parallel thirds), creating a mirrored harmonic sequence. Ps. 45: ll. 3a and 4a ('der uns mit macht'; 'wenn grosse not') outlining descending and ascending tetrachord on C.

characterised as systematic, his response to the melody is expected and increasingly predictable across the collection. Such devices are not only convenient, but they help to ensure consistency across an expansive set. Lasso, furthermore, demonstrates differing degrees of sophistication, adding variations which display his technical mastery of an outwardly simple technique. Not only is this seen in the syncopated sequence in Ps. 47, but also in a simple imitative passage and repeat of the final line of the strophe. In contrast to other psalms, although the melody of the cantus firmus is repeated, Lasso chooses to vary the relationship in voices. The preimitation in the Tenor and Bassus voices is initially spaced in thirds (followed by crossing of voices with the Tenor singing above the Cantus in parallel thirds over an extended g-pedal in the Bassus). At the repeat after the evaded cadence, the Tenor and Bassus are spaced in descending parallel tenths. The Tenor is at the same pitch as the cantus firmus and the entry of the actual cantus firmus is in parallel thirds with the Tenor. The effect of the counterpoint is audibly similar. However, it is subtly significant that the cantus firmus remains at the top of the texture on the final repeat.

**Example 62.** Orlando di Lasso, *Groß ist der Herr im heil'gen Thron* (Ps. 47), mm. 14-20

herr - lich nach der Ge - bühr er - wie -

herr - lich nach der Ge - bühr er - wie -

herr - lich nach der Ge - bühr er - wie -

4

sen, herr - lich nach der Ge - bühr er - wie - sen.

sen, herr - lich nach der Ge bühr er - wie - sen.

sen, herr - lich nach der Ge - bühr er - wie - sen.

Variety in preimitative gestures and compositional techniques which work effectively in rising and descending diatonic lines are certainly not difficult to implement. However, this aspect of Lasso's composition is interesting in its more basic manifestations (including wholesale repeats). Through the analysis of the *Teutsche Psalmen*, one can appreciate the nuance of voice pairing with and under the cantus firmus. In settings such as Ps. 47, these pairings showed the potential to shift midway whilst retaining essential characteristics in terms of harmony, rhythm, and texture despite change in voicing. Lasso's compositional mastery in the three-voice texture of the *Teutsche Psalmen* is captured both in the consistency of his compositions in the set, but also in the variety of his ostensibly



uniform technique. The composition *cantus prius factus* not only shows Lasso's self-imposed compositional parameters regarding the primacy of the melody and demonstrates the circumstances where he is willing to deviate from this norm. These situations include the consideration of duplicate settings of the same melody, particularly with regard to the position within the collection and instances in which the melody is deliberately manipulated in order to express the meaning of specific points of text. While the regular use of preimitation to set the beginnings of poetic lines places emphasis on the melody in conjunction with the structure of the strophe, cases which illustrate the treatment of melodic contour are significant in showing that Lasso's focus in these examples is shifted away from text and verse so that the melodic material becomes the primary focus. With the through-composed nature of the polyphony on the cantus firmus, the widespread use of imitation throughout the settings is limited; however, through related contours in melodic lines, Lasso is able to highlight different phrases and show musical relationships through melodic manipulation of the cantus firmus.

## Chapter 6

### Lasso's Expanded Settings of Ulenberg's Psalms (6vv)

#### Lied or Lied-Motet?

As with Orlando di Lasso's *Teutsche Psalmen*, the six-voice settings of Ulenberg's melodies contained in the 1590 collection of *Lieder* are not necessarily straightforward in terms of terminology and stylistic classification. It was discussed in **Chapter 4** that Ludwig Behr did not examine the three-voice settings in his study of Lasso's German *Lieder* due to the fact that he did not consider them particularly 'Lied-like' in nature.<sup>241</sup> In the same way, Lasso's multi-strophe six-voice settings of psalms are often thought to transcend the genre of conventional *Lieder*, even to the extent that they have been primarily defined by the characteristics of other secular genres.<sup>242</sup> Though these generalised notions are not evidenced in great detail, they have created underlying assumptions in secondary literature which have not been formally challenged by more thorough study of the repertoire. Taking into account the most prominent features of the two polyphonic psalm settings in this collection: *Ich ruff zu dir mein Herr und Gott* (Ps. 129) and *Der König wirdt seyn wolgemut* (Ps. 20), the problem of genre and classification should be discussed. As with the three-voice settings, a more complete understanding of the psalms is afforded by establishing where these

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<sup>241</sup> Behr, *Die deutschen Gesänge*, pp. 26-7.

<sup>242</sup> Of Lasso's *Neue teutsche und etliche französische Gesänge* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1590) [RISM 1590b], Blume even writes, 'One can no longer speak of song-like melody in these later [German] arrangements; "madrigal-like" would be a more fitting description.' Friedrich Blume, 'The Age of Confessionalism' Theodore Hoelty-Nickel (trans.) in Friedrich Blume (ed.), *Protestant Church Music: A History* (London, 1975), p. 151.

six-voice psalms fall into the spectrum of late sixteenth-century Lied. Polyphonic sacred songs became increasingly varied in genre and texture, ranging from the simple tricinia to more elaborate settings as Lasso demonstrates in these settings.

Subcategories created in these emergent genres and compositional styles are fraught with difficulty in German-language secondary literature. Still, these subcategories serve as a starting point for the expanded discourse of polyphonic vernacular psalmody. Permutations of the terminology include the interchangeable use of 'Lied' and 'song' (in Anglophone literature); 'Psalm-lied' (*Psalmlied*), 'German psalm-motet' (*Psalmmotette*), and 'Lied/song/hymn-motet' (*Liedmotette*) which are also often employed as synonymous terms. Moreover, the use of this terminology is conflicted, because it is not clearly defined in the first place and is not applied consistently. The coinage of a term emerging from one area of scholarship carries with it a number of connotations and transmitted assumptions. The term '*Psalmlied*,' for instance, finds its origin in the repertoire created by the use of the Genevan Psalter in the Calvinist tradition. The growth of a new repertoire of polyphonic vernacular psalm settings called '*Psalmlieder*' emerged due to the popularity of these metrical psalms.<sup>243</sup> It has been suggested, however, that there is a fundamental difference between Calvinist and Lutheran psalm paraphrases which needs to be reflected in the terminology as '*Liedpsalmen*' and '*Psalmlieder*' respectively.<sup>244</sup> But, because the *Psalmlied* has

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<sup>243</sup> The *MGG* article on the '*Psalmlied*' evades clear definition but begins with the significance of psalmody in Calvin's theology and its core use as paraphrase sung to a number of composed or adapted melodies. Ludwig Finscher, 'Psalm,' *MGG*2.

<sup>244</sup> This distinction is mainly suggested by scholars of the Lutheran music tradition. Markus Jenny, *Luthers geistliche Lieder und Kirchengesänge: Vollständige Neuedition in Ergänzung zu Band 35 der Weimarer Ausgabe*, Archiv zur Weimarer Ausgabe der Werke

already found general acceptance as sung metrical psalm paraphrase, the differentiation between Lutheran and Calvinist traditions through terminological conflict causes unnecessary confusion and renders the term even more ambiguous. It is additionally problematic that English literature does not usually engage with these types of terminological discrepancies since they are either avoided through the use of more general terms (e.g. polyphonic German psalm settings) or used indiscriminately. In both cases, the use of terminology proves frustratingly inadequate. The avoidance of the term ‘Lied’ at all in reference to sixteenth-century German vernacular repertoire causes a disassociation of genre marking the end of one tradition (i.e. early sixteenth-century *Tenorlied*) and the rise of another instead of continuous development as a result of new stylistic impulses.<sup>245</sup>

Referencing the wide-spread influence of Calvinist metrical psalmody, the term, ‘psalmlied’ in Anglophone scholarship can be used to describe monophonic and polyphonic settings of specifically German psalm versification. As with the sub-genre of psalm motets, the term ‘psalmlieder’ generally describes a sub-class of Lied as defined by the text which can be further categorised under the broader

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Martin Luthers iv (Cologne, 1985), p. 13. Markus Jenny, *Luther, Zwingli, Calvin in ihren Liedern* (Zürich, 1983), p. 310-2.

<sup>245</sup> Even recent Anglophone literature does not sufficiently discuss the ‘*geistliches Lied*’ as a late-sixteenth century genre not specifically bound by confession. Bergquist tries to indicate the break in tradition whilst attempting to show the continuity in ‘national character:’

[The] polyphonic cantus-firmus Lied [stylistically]...was also a dead end [...] only through abandoning its distinctly German traits was it able to thrive as a secular genre [...] The sacred Lied, however, gained new life and vigor in the Lutheran church, and in this friendly environment it retained its national character while also becoming the foundation for a rich new repertory [...]

Peter Bergquist, ‘Germany and Central Europe, i: 1520-1600’ in James Haar (ed.) *European Music, 1520-1640* (Woodbridge, 2006), p. 330.

heading of *geistliche Lieder*. These Lieder were eventually broadened into more expansive musical settings which recall the free artistic impulses of the motet genre. The Lied motet is similarly characterised as a fluid genre with boundless diversity in the use of compositional techniques. Thus, as far as the classification of the Lied motet is concerned, Blume writes:

With the Lied motet at the center, the many printed works range from the Cationale, on the one side, to the contrapuntal cantus-firmus motet based on a chorale, on the other. These works are often hard to define because the categories as such lack definite shapes and boundaries.<sup>246</sup>

The polyphonic treatment of the Catholic hymn certainly encouraged the expanded composition of German spiritual Lieder, manifesting in diverging styles ranging from homophonic *Cantionalsätze* (beginning with Lucas Osiander, *Fünfftzig Geistische Lieder und Psalmen*, Nuremberg, 1586) [RISM O 142] to more complex polyphonic settings, typified by contrapuntal writing and imitative counterpoint.<sup>247</sup> Blume, furthermore, deems Lasso's compositions from the 1590 Lieder collection the pinnacle of the Lied motet genre due to the sophisticated use of rhetorical figures and musical imagery.<sup>248</sup> Not only does this solidify the implied stylistic criteria of motet composition, but it also theoretically connects Lasso's Lieder settings to a larger repertoire of Lied motets. For this reason, it is worth examining the German Lied motet for characteristics of compositional style as a point of comparison to Lasso's expanded settings of vernacular psalm paraphrase.

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<sup>246</sup> Friedrich Blume, 'The Age of Confessionalism,' p. 162.

<sup>247</sup> Norbert Böker-Heil, et al., 'Lied' in Stanley Sadie (ed.) *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 2001), p. 662.

<sup>248</sup> Friedrich Blume, 'The Age of Confessionalism,' p. 151.

The seminal figure in the ‘Lied motet’ repertoire is Thomas Stoltzer (ca. 1480-1526) who was employed by the Hungarian court of Louis II (r. 1506-1526). But it was Louis II’s queen, Mary of Hungary, who proved an enthusiastic and active patroness of music and cultural activities at court.<sup>249</sup> Mary of Hungary not only recommended Stoltzer to the *magister capellae* position, but also directly commissioned him for settings of specific texts including four of Luther’s psalms (composed between 1524-6).<sup>250</sup> Mary of Hungary was known to show an Erasmian tolerance in religious matters and was even sympathetic toward Protestantism. Her confessor, Johann Henckel was an acquaintance of Erasmus and corresponded directly with him.<sup>251</sup> Seen as a potential supporter, Luther sent her a message of comfort upon the death of her husband in 1526 which included a commentary on four psalms of comfort (*Auslegung der vier Trostpsalmen*) including Pss. 37, 62, 94, and 109.<sup>252</sup> With Mary’s connection to Protestant reformers, it is unsurprising that she also requested musical settings for select psalm translations. Thomas Stoltzer is most well-known for these compositions on psalm texts. The settings of German psalms for five and six voices were composed according to Luther’s first translation of the psalter in 1524.

**Table 21.** Thomas Stoltzer’s settings of Luther’s German psalms

<u>Ps.</u>	<u>Incipit</u>	<u>Parts</u>	<u>Voices</u>
12	<i>Hilf, Herr, die Heiligen haben abgenommen</i>	6 parts	6
13	<i>Herr, wie lang willst du mein so gar vergessen</i>	5 parts	5
37	<i>Erzürne dich nicht</i>	7 parts	6
86	<i>Herr, neige deine Ohren</i>	6 parts	6

<sup>249</sup> Glenda Thompson, ‘Mary of Hungary and Music Patronage,’ *The Sixteenth Century Journal* xv, 4 (Winter, 1984), pp. 401-18.

<sup>250</sup> Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht, *Thomas Stoltzer, Leben und Schaffen* (Kassel, 1964), pp. 26-8.

<sup>251</sup> In 1530, Holy Roman Emperor Charles V appointed his sister, Mary of Hungary to the governorship of a confessionally-embroiled Netherlands.

<sup>252</sup> Erasmus also later sent condolences with a treatise on the Christian widow (*De vidua christiana*) in 1529.

The setting of Ps. 37, *Erzürne dich nicht*, is considered one of the most important examples of the genre<sup>253</sup> owing to the fact that Stoltzer explicitly writes that he has set this particular psalm in a motet-like manner.<sup>254</sup>

The lengthy text of the psalm is set in its entirety and divided in seven parts. The imitative polyphony is freely derived and through-composed and is not based on a psalm tone or an existing cantus firmus. It is set for six voices (Discantus, Altus, Sexta Vox, Tenor, Vagans, and Bassus), featuring various voice groupings especially in the three-voice reductions of parts two and three (contrasting high voices and low voices respectively). As the grand culmination of the psalm, the last part is set for seven voices, with the addition of a Discantus part.

**Table 22.** Thomas Stoltzer, structure of *Erzürne dich nicht* (1526)

Part	Incipit	Voices
I	<i>Erzürne dich nicht über die Bösen</i>	6
II	<i>Halt dem Herrn still und laß ihn mit dir machen</i>	6
III	<i>Der Gottlose dräut dem Gerechten</i>	3 (DAV)
IV	<i>Der Herr kennt die Tage der Frommen</i>	3 (STB)
V	<i>Ich bin jung gewesen und hab' noch nie gesehen</i>	6
VI	<i>Der Gottlose sieht auf den Gerechten</i>	6
VII	<i>Bewahre die Frömmigkeit und schau was aufrichtig ist</i>	7

<sup>253</sup> Hans Albrecht, 'Preface' to Thomas Stoltzer, *Ausgewählte Werke, Teil I* Edited by Hans Albrecht, *Das Erbe deutscher Musik* xxii (Frankfurt: Peters, 1942).

<sup>254</sup> Letter from Thomas Stoltzer to Albrecht of Brandenburg:

'...so hat mein allergnädigste fraw mir den psalm *Noli Emulari* durch Luthern verteuscht zu Componieren auffgelegt, der dann, uber das er lang, auch sunst, dieweill vorhin khainer, das ich wust, der massen auff mottetisch gesetzt ist (,) mich eben fast bemueht hat.' (23 February 1526).

Cited in the Preface to Thomas Stoltzer, *Psalm 37: Erzürne dich nicht. Das Chorwerk*. Edited by Friedrich Blume (Wolfenbüttel, 1930).

The setting also prominently features different voice groupings within each part. For example, part three is scored for three voices; however, it is prominently composed in alternating canonic two-voice textures as shown in the example below.

**Table 23.** Thomas Stoltzer, structure of *Erzürne dich nicht* (1526)  
Dritte Teil, *Der Gottloser dräuet dem Gerechten* (Discantus, Altus, Vagrans)

Verse	Translation	Voices
<i>Der Gottloser dräuet dem Gerechten und beißet seine Zähne zusammen über ihn.</i>	The wicked plotteth against the just, and gnasheth upon him with his teeth.	2vv Discantus Altus
<i>Aber der Herr lacht sein, denn er sieht, daß sein Tag kommt.</i>	The Lord shall laugh at him: for he seeth that his day is coming.	
<i>Die Gottlosen ziehen das Schwert aus und spannen ihren Bogen,</i>	The wicked have drawn out the sword, and have bent their bow,	2vv Altus Vagrans
<i>daß sie fällen den Elenden und Armen und schlachten</i>	to cast down the poor and needy, and to slay	2vv Discantus Vagrans
<i>die so aufrichtig gehen im Wege.</i>	such as be of upright conversation.	3vv
<i>Aber ihr Schwert wird in ihr Herz gehn,</i>	Their sword shall enter into their own heart,	2vv Altus Vagrans
<i>und ihr Bogen wird zerbrechen.</i>	and their bows shall be broken.	2vv Discantus Altus
<i>Es ist besser das Wenige des Gerechten, denn das große Gut vieler Gottlosen.</i>	A little that a righteous man hath is better than the riches of many wicked.	3vv
<i>Denn das Arm der Gottlosen wird zerbrechen; aber der Herr erhält die Gerechten.</i>	For the arms of the wicked shall be broken: but the Lord upholdeth the righteous.	



Rather than emphasise the verse structure of the psalm with the alternation of voice pairings, Stoltzer uses this scoring to highlight a contrast between the wicked (2vv) and the righteous (3vv). A passing allusion is made at the first mention of those of ‘upright conversation.’ Together with the two-fold repetition of the words ‘*die so aufrichtig gehen im Wege*,’ (‘the upright who walk in the way’) it may seem that this interpretation is only a structural convention to signify the end of a section of text. This is a reasonable assumption since this juncture effectively marks the midpoint of the text for this part; however, under such circumstance, one would also expect a cadential point (which is markedly absent).

**Example 63.** Thomas Stoltzer, *Erzürne dich nicht*, Dritter Teil, mm. 36-53

die so auf - rich - tig ge - hen im We - ge.

die so auf - rich - tig ge - hen im We - ge. A - ber ihr Schwert wird

die so auf - rich - tig ge - hen im We - ge. A - ber ihr Schwert

Und ihr Bo - gen wird zer - bre - chen.

in ihr Herz gehn, und ihr Bo - gen wird zer - bre -

wird in ihr Herz gehn, Es

Es ist bes - ser das We - ni - ge das Ge - rech - ten,

chen. Es ist be - ser das We - ni - ge des Ge - rech - ten,

ist bes - ser das We - ni - ge des Ge - rech - ten,

Through the illustration of the wicked associated with the two-part texture, a maxim is reached concerning the righteous. This is the definitive point in which all three voices join together, signaling a change from imitative writing to a more declamatory style. In this part, Stoltzer strongly links together the theme of the psalm prose with vocal texture in addition to showcasing the two-part canonic writing. The technical mastery is impressive; however, Stoltzer adds another dimension to the text through the plentiful use of rhetorical devices. For example in mm. 20-36 (**Ex. 64**), the madrigalistic gestures colourfully depict many aspects of the text. The short melismatic figure at '*Schwert*' illustrates the 'sword' being drawn from its sheath (in minims) followed by a quick and even draw of the bow ('*spannen*'). The similar falling melodic line (outlining f'-b'-c'-f') strongly indicates that the slaying of the 'upright' is essentially the same fate which would have betid the fallen 'poor and needy' ('*Elenden und Armen.*') In addition to the vivid word painting, such motivic references and associations can be found throughout the psalm.

**Example 64.** Thomas Stoltzer, *Erzürne dich nicht*, Dritter Teil, mm. 20-36

Die Gott - lo - sen zie - hendas Schwert aus und span - nen

7 DieGott - lo - sen zie - hen das Schwert aus und span - nen ih-ren

dass sie fal - len den E - len - den und Ar - men,

ih - ren Bo - gen, und

13 Bo - gen, dass sie fal - len den E - len - den und Ar - men,

die so auf - rich-tig ge - hen im We - ge,

schlach - ten die so auf - rich-tig ge - hen im We - ge,

und schlach - ten die so auf - rich-tig ge - hen im We - ge,

From Stoltzer's setting of Ps. 37, it can be surmised that the four German psalm motets are large-scale works which not only show pronounced detail in counterpoint and vocal scoring, but they also demonstrate a marked sophistication in the use of motives and in the musical depiction of the text. Understanding the intricacy of such techniques, Stoltzer was able to achieve a motet-like setting of Luther's German translation which was not only of personal significance to him, but would have been greatly valued by his patron, Mary of Hungary. In terms of genre, there is no ambiguity since Stoltzer's *Lieder* are written in a four-voice texture and based on a cantus firmus from which the

counterpoint is derived. The Lied motet is precisely as Stoltzer describes: it is a motet which uses the text of the Lied. Lasso's settings of Ulenberg's psalms in the 1590 Lieder collection are also set for six voices (Discantus 1, Discantus 2, Altus, Tenor 1, Tenor 2, and Bassus).

**Table 24.** Orlando di Lasso, *Deutsche Lieder aus Neue Teutsche und etliche frantzösische Geäng mit sechs Stimmen* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1590), Ulenberg Psalms, 6vv

Ps.	Incipit	Strophes
129	<i>Ich ruff zu dir mein Herr und Gott</i>	5
	II. <i>Wann du, Herr woltest sehen an</i>	
	III. <i>Ich harr auff Gott mit festem muth</i>	
	IV. <i>Mein Hoffnung steht auf Gott allein</i>	
	V. <i>Dann bey dem Herren jeder frist</i>	
20	<i>Der König wirdt seyn wolgemut</i>	3
	II. <i>Du hast ihm geben</i>	
	III. <i>Dann eh er's hat begert</i>	

Although, these settings are relatively comparable in scope to the German psalm motets, Lasso's psalms differ from Stoltzer's settings in a number of obvious ways. Even at a glance, the following characteristics are easily recognised. Firstly, Lasso is strictly bound to the use of a cantus firmus. Using Ulenberg's melodies, this not only restricts possibilities for word painting, but the counterpoint also. The settings are largely homogenous in terms of texture. They are composed syllabically without significant use of the imitative writing commonly used in motet composition. The metrical versification of the paraphrase in contrast to a prosaic translation contributes a definite verse structure, but its adoption by Lasso also shows the amplification of the pre-existing material. This is in stark contrast to the free interpretative treatment of the text characteristic of Stoltzer's psalm-motets. The constraints including the

pre-existing melody as the cantus firmus in the Tenor, vocal textures, and the use of imitative gestures more strongly evokes the style of Ludwig Senfl's Lieder than a Latin psalm motet. Consequently, the assumption that Lasso's six-voice settings of the Ulenberg psalter can be considered German psalm motets in the tradition of Stoltzer based on solely on their scale is erroneous considering the nature of the text and stylistic features.

The classification of Lasso's settings of German psalms as polyphonic psalm Lieder is only as descriptive as the Latin psalm motets create a sub-genre of motets based on the source of the text. However, in the treatment of Lieder, Lasso's settings of the Ulenberg psalms arguably demonstrate a unified genre inasmuch as they share the same source text, stylistic treatment, and prospective functions. Taking this into consideration, it is reasonable to compare the six-voice settings against the three-voice settings to test this hypothesis concerning the genre of Lasso's Ulenberg settings. This will not only show that Lasso takes a similar approach in the setting of the verse structure but demonstrate how Lasso has expanded the three-voice settings in scale and interpretation whilst retaining defining characteristics of the sixteenth-century *geistliches Lied*.

Unlike the vague and enigmatic dedication of the *Teutsche Psalmen* to an obscure abbot whose connection to Lasso is unclear, his late collection of six-voice songs is dedicated to Prince-Bishop Ernst of Bamberg (r. 1583-1591) whose close connection to the Bavarian court is no mystery at all. Following the resignation of his predecessor, Martin von Eyb (r. 1580-1583), Ernst von Mengersdorf was put forth as a young candidate who could potentially bring about reform in Bamberg according to post-Tridentine standards.<sup>255</sup> He was a nephew of Prince-Bishop Veit II of Würzburg and had studied under the Jesuits at the *gymnasium* in Würzburg and later, in Ingolstadt and Louvain.<sup>256</sup> As Prince-Bishop, he began an ambitious programme which entailed clerical reform and phasing out the Lutheran nobility in his service by replacing them with devout Catholics.<sup>257</sup> In addition to this, he founded a diocesan seminary (*Collegium Ernestinum*)<sup>258</sup> which amongst other subjects cultivated the study of music.<sup>259</sup> As secular authorities, the Prince-Bishops of Bamberg were also avid patrons of the arts. This is seen particularly in the city and court treasury records of the Prince-

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<sup>255</sup> In 1575, Nicolaus Elgard, the assistant of the Papal Nuncio, Kaspar Gropper insisted to the cathedral chapter that a Jesuit school should be founded in Bamberg; however, economic problems still stemming from the Second Margrave War (1552-1555) resulted in a lack of available financing. Furthermore, the critical monetary support of Protestant imperial knights would be lost and a sizable Lutheran populace would strongly object to the Jesuit presence in Bamberg. Richard Ninness, *Between Opposition and Collaboration: Nobles, Bishops, and the German Reformations in the Prince-Bishopric of Bamberg, 1555-1619* (Leiden, 2011), pp. 78-80; William Bradford Smith, *Reformation and the German Territorial State: Upper Franconia, 1300-1630* (Rochester, 2008), pp. 99-100.

<sup>256</sup> William Bradford Smith, *Reformation and the German Territorial State*, p. 115.

<sup>257</sup> Richard J. Ninness, *Between Opposition and Collaboration*, p. 85.

<sup>258</sup> R. Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal*, pp. 121-22.

<sup>259</sup> Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller, *Untersuchungen zu Musikpflege und Musikunterricht an den deutschen lateinschulen vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis um 1600* (Regensburg, 1969), p. 347; William Bradford Smith, *Reformation and the German Territorial State*, pp. 115-6.

Bishopric which documents the acceptance and remuneration of literature, artwork, and music.<sup>260</sup> The cultural prestige of the court was enhanced by negotiations with neighbouring courts, including the aforementioned relationship with the Munich Court. Though the Prince-Bishop was on friendly terms with Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria, at the same time, he was also wary of increasing political influence exerted by the Wittelsbachs in the empire.<sup>261</sup> There was frequent contact between the Prince-Bishopric of Bamberg (under Ernst von Mengersdorf) and the Bavarian Duke not only in generous gifts of wine, but also in matters of cultural exchange.<sup>262</sup> Ernst von Mengersdorf's personal interest in music and connection to the Bavarian court is demonstrated in a short-term loan arrangement of a Munich court musician, Philenus Cornazanus, to teach at the newly-established seminary in Bamberg. Through this evidence, a definite musical connection and exchange can be established between the two institutions.

A personal relationship between the Prince-Bishop and the composer, Orlando di Lasso is echoed in the private tone of the 1590 dedication of German and French songs. This dedication coincides with a visit by Lasso to Bamberg on 17-23 July

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<sup>260</sup> 'III. Gelehrten- und Künstler-Belohnung im 16ten und 17ten Jahrhundert' in E.C. Hagen, *Archiv für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde des Ober-Main-Kreises*, Bd. 2/Heft 1 (Bayreuth, 1834), pp. 73-4.

<sup>261</sup> As friendly as the Prince-Bishop was with Wilhelm V, he was also aware of the increasing political pressure by the Wittelsbachs as seen in the Archbishopric of Cologne. When in 1591, Wilhelm tried to secure the election to the provost position in the cathedral chapter of Bamberg for one of his sons, Ernst von Mengersdorf commented that 'such a heavy bird coming into the nest could not be quickly gotten rid of.' StAB, B 86, no. 19, fol. 222 quoted and trans. by Richard Ninness, *Between Opposition and Collaboration*, p. 92.

<sup>262</sup> Currently, this dedication is still a mystery. Records shows that Lasso dedicated a 'Missalebuch' (likely a book of masses) and also presented the cathedral chapter with a copy. It is possible that this is a previously-composed and published book of masses in which the dedication has been changed. Dieter J. Weiss (ed.), *Das Exemte Bistum Bamberg: Die Bischofsreihe von 1522 bis 1693*, Helmut Flachenecker (ed.), *Germania Sacra* 3, (Berlin, 2000), p. 235.

1590 where he stayed at the *Gasthaus zum wilden Mann* at the Prince-Bishop's expense (17fl. 19pf.).<sup>263</sup> There is also further evidence which indicates personal correspondence between Lasso and the Prince-Bishop as well as another dedication of a '*großes Missalbuch*' previously in 1589.<sup>264</sup> This private relationship illuminates the dedication where generic phrases are often used to describe a patron's love of music (*Nachdem nit allein mir, sondar fast männlichen bewust, was liebs und guts E.F.G. zu der löblichen kunst der Musik haben [...]*). It is the case that Lasso knows the extent of the Prince-Bishop's patronage and musical taste. This is evident in the specificity with which Lasso addresses the patron in his sponsorship of a number of youth who sing in church and provide music at the Prince-Bishop's table. It is conceivable that these young persons would have been students at the seminary and that such personal initiative in securing a competent music teacher for the school from the Munich court chapel and the benefaction of its students supports a genuine love of music which is being acknowledged by the composer. Lasso also writes that these songs may well be the last that he would compose in the German language; in this respect, it is a noteworthy publication with an equally notable dedicatee of particular personal regard.

The Lieder in the 1590 publication were obviously intended for recreational and private use as mealtime entertainment and for the edification of the students at the seminary and the Prince-Bishop. As previously mentioned, settings of popular spiritual Lieder included in popular late sixteenth-century anthologies

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<sup>263</sup> E.C. Hagen, *Archiv für Geschichte*, pp. 69-79.

<sup>264</sup> Johann Looshorn, *Die Geschichte des Bisthums Bamberg*, Bd. 5. (1998), p. 202. Secondary sources indicate a high probability that rich archival (and possibly musical) material illuminating Lasso's relationship with Bamberg might be found. This information concerning Lasso has not been identified in the literature to date.



could also provide appropriate music for use in churches and schools. The popularity and multifunctional use of such Lieder made them especially appropriate as gifts. As discussed in Chapter 4, the Lieder from this publication<sup>265</sup> were also dedicated to the City Council of Nuremberg in 1590 as a New Year's gift for which Lasso received a payment of 10 fl. It is significant that in addition to this, they were sent as gifts on two other occasions: to the largely Protestant free imperial city of Nördlingen and the Stuttgart Court under the Lutheran orientation of Ludwig III 'the Pious' of Württemberg (r. 1568-1593).<sup>266</sup> The New Year's gift to the mayor and city council of Nördlingen was brokered through a lawyer, Dr Sebastian Rettinger, and is preserved in records of the council minutes together with a letter written by Lasso dated 5 January 1591.<sup>267</sup> It is unclear if Lasso actually received payment for these compositions. However, in the same council minutes, there is indication that they were sent to the Cantor with the directive that they should be performed. Although there is no further information provided in these documents concerning payment or use, there is reason to believe that Lasso had close connections to the musical activities in the city as is also alluded to briefly in his letter.<sup>268</sup> Finally, Lasso sent the Lieder to the Stuttgart court and received payment of 12 fl. Lasso had formerly been in

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<sup>265</sup> Specified in a council decree as '[...] *dieselben dem herren Bischof zu Bamberg dedicirt*'. StAN, Nürnberger Ratsverlässe, Nr. 1591, fol. 36 cited in Leuchtman, *Leben*, p. 208.

<sup>266</sup> Leuchtman, *Leben*, pp. 207-8.

<sup>267</sup> Leuchtman, *Briefe*, items 56 and 57. These were sent together with two six-voice motets, an eight-voice motet, and '*neue getruckhte Teütsche Cantilenae*' Stadtarchiv Nördlingen, Missive 1591, fol. 211 cited in Wolfgang Boetticher, *Aus Orlando di Lassos Wirkungskreis*, pp. 5f.

<sup>268</sup> Leuchtman mentions the personal tone of the letter to Sebastian Rettinger, whom he indeed addresses '*Sonnders Lieber Herr vnnd gueter Freunt*' which shows that Rettinger was likely much more than a mere acquaintance of Lasso. Leuchtman, *Briefe*, item 56. Furthermore, the letter to the mayor and city council indicates that Lasso has first-hand experience regarding the music in Nördlingen. '*Demnach Ich nit allein bericht, sonnder selbs die erfarung, das E :F: E: W: einen besondern lust, lieb, vnnd Zuenäigung Zur Music [...]*,' item 57.

contact with the court, even stopping here en route to the Low Countries in 1564. He personally presented Duke Christoph of Württemberg (r. 1550-1568) with a number of pieces for which he received 23 fl.<sup>269</sup>

It is certainly interesting that, probably by a matter of coincidence, these spiritual Lieder were dedicated to three different Protestant establishments and that they were accepted seemingly without reservation. Leuchtmann remarks that it is surprising a Protestant free imperial city such as Nuremberg would accept such songs, especially ones which had been dedicated to a zealous figure of the Counter-Reformation in the person of Prince-Bishop Ernst of Bamberg.<sup>270</sup> Seen through the lens of late sixteenth-century confessionalisation, this seems entirely counter-intuitive given the perceived importance of the Ulenberg psalms contained in the collection. But this is explained by the fact that the prominence afforded to the psalms has been largely overestimated. In Lasso's 1590 publication, the Ulenberg psalms are framed by a number of spiritual (or moralising) Lieder. As an exception, *Ein Körbelmacher* stands out in the collection. This is not only because of its text (authored by Hans Sachs), but also due to its villanella-like homophony and emphasis on text declamation to the point of dramatic effect. Notably, this setting includes distinct madrigalistic features which explicitly enliven the meaning of the text, lacking the reserve

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<sup>269</sup> There are several records of such gifts to the Stuttgart Court and payments made to Lasso accordingly. Leuchtmann, *Leben*, p. 136, fn. 163.

There are other musical connections between Munich and Stuttgart. Along with Daser, Hoyoul and Lechner were employed at the Bavarian court before their employment at the Württemberg court. The music contained in the court chapel manuscripts in Stuttgart indicate the high regard and performance of Lasso's music. Finally, the correspondence with or about the Württemberg court and its musicians evidences Lasso's familiarity. Andrew McCredie, 'Orlando di Lasso's Munich Circle and the Württembergische Hofkapelle at Stuttgart' in Bernhold Schmid (ed.), *Orlando di Lasso in der Musikgeschichte: Bericht über das Symposium der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften München 4.-6. Juli 1994* (Munich, 1996).

<sup>270</sup> Leuchtmann, *Leben*, p. 208.

which is more characteristic in Lasso's setting of spiritual Lieder. Although, *Ich ruff zu dir mein Herr und Gott* could be considered the longest setting by the number of strophes, the length of the strophes (and those of *Der König wirdt seyn wolgemut*) are by no means exceptional compared to other settings in the collection as shown in the following table.

**Table 25.** Orlando di Lasso, *Neue Teutsche und etliche frantzösische Gesäng mit sechs Stimmen* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1590), 6vv

Incipit	Cleffing	Bars
<i>Ein guten Raht wil geben ich</i>	c1c1c3c4c4F4	44
II. <i>In Glück und frewd</i>		40
<i>Ich ruff zu dir, mein Herr und Gott</i>	c1c1c3c4c4F4	30
II. <i>Wann du, Herr</i>		31
III. <i>Ich harr auff Gott</i>		29
IV. <i>Mein Hoffnung steht</i>		32
V. <i>Dann bey dem Herren</i>		31
<i>Auß härtem weh</i>	c1c1c3c4c4F4	43
<i>O Mensch gedenck</i>	c1c1c3c4c4F4	47
II. <i>Dort aber wirdt</i>		56
<i>Maria vol Genad</i>	c1c1c3c4c4F4	28
II. <i>Der Herr, der ist mit dir</i>		30
III. <i>Du bist gebenedeyt</i>		34
IV. <i>Gebenedyt auch ist dein frucht</i>		32
<i>In vil Trübsal und versuchung</i>	g2g2c2c3c3F3	71
II. <i>Derhalben dann nichts</i>		63
<i>Ein Körbelmacher</i>	c1c1c3c4c4F4	52
<i>Der König wirdt seyn wolgemut</i>	g2g2c2c3c3F3	25
II. <i>Du hast ihm geben</i>		30
<i>unbeschwerdt</i>		
III. <i>Dann eh ehre hat begert</i>		31
<i>Von Gott wil ich nit lassen</i>	g2g2c2c3c3F3	26
II. <i>Wann sich der menschen hulde</i>		26
III. <i>Auff jhn wil ich vertrauwen</i>		27

Most of the Lieder are comprised of multiple strophes. However, in some cases (e.g. *In viel Trübsal und versuchung*), the setting is notably expanded in length through the repetition of portions of text. This results in a more elaborate style than the succinct cantus firmus settings of the Ulenberg psalms. For this reason, based on length and scope, there is no particular reason to believe that musically, the psalm settings were very exceptional within the collection, unless the use of Ulenberg's material was somehow intended to be distinctive. However, the acceptance of such songs by Protestant authorities consigns the inclusion of the Ulenberg's psalms to a matter of popular taste as can be further illustrated by the source of the material. Taking these things into account, it is most probable that the sixteenth-century music connoisseur would not have considered the Ulenberg settings as the focal point of the publication.

The dedication to the Prince-Bishop of Bamberg together with some of the pieces contained (including the Ulenberg psalms and *Maria vol Genad*) have also led to the underlying assumption that the collection was composed in the spirit of Catholic Reform and devotional piety which would indeed cause one to be more surprised at the gift of such Lieder to Protestant authorities. A closer look at the selection of Lieder as a whole clearly shows that this, however, is probably not the case. Though the source of most of these compositions is still unknown, the text and melodies of popular songs taken from anthologies is obvious. As with former publications, Lasso is not only limited to Catholic songbooks, but again shows a willingness to include 'Protestant' material as demonstrated by the inclusion of *Von Gott wil ich nit lassen* (EKG, 283). The text was first provided 1563 by the Lutheran poet, Ludwig Helmbold (1532-1598) in response to the

plague in Erfurt and was originally sung to a pre-existing popular tune.<sup>271</sup> It was included in a Lutheran collection of daily songs to be sung for use in the home with the publication of Joachim Magdeburg, *Christliche und Tröstliche Tischgesenge, mit Vier Stimmen, damit man vor und nach Tisch, den lieben Gott anrufen, und für seine väterliche güte, ehren, loben und dancken mag [...]* (Erfurt: Georg Bawman, 1572) [RISM B/VIII 1572<sup>07</sup>].

**Example 65.** Joachim Magdeburg, ‘Donnerstag zu Mittag,’ *Von Gott wil ich nicht lassen, Christliche und Tröstlichegesenge [...]*, Cantus

Von Gott wil ich nicht las - sen/ denn er lest nicht von mir/ führt  
mich auff rech - ter Stras - sen/ da ich sonst ir - ret sehr/  
reicht mir sei - ne Hand/ den ab - end als den mor - gen/ thut  
er mich wol ver - sor - gen sey wo ich woll im land.

Lasso’s pupil, Johannes Eccard (1553-1611) composed a *Cantionale sacrum* using this melody around 1571 and is commonly thought to have been the first to set the text to this melody.<sup>272</sup> It is noteworthy that although Lasso composes a setting on such a well-known text with Lutheran association; yet, unlike the treatment of Catholic Lieder, the tune is strikingly absent and there is no cantus firmus. It

<sup>271</sup> The tune is first found as ‘Une jeune fillette’ in *Recueil de plusieurs chansons divisé en trois parties* (Lyons, 1557). The date is based on a date given in *Das alte thüringische Lied. Von Gott will ich nicht lassen* (Arnstadt: Johann Christoph Olearius, 1719). Wilhelm Thilo, *Ludwig Helmbold nach Leben und Dichten* (Berlin, 1851), pp. 60-5.

<sup>272</sup> Johannes Eccard began his career at the Lutheran court of Weimar. He briefly apprenticed in Munich with Lasso around 1571-1573. Eccard had an acquaintance with Helmbold whom he had met as he was living in Mühlhausen after his time at the Bavarian court. Michael Zyweitz, ‘Eccard, Johannes,’ *MGG2*.

appears that the material may be loosely derived from another source, but if this is the case, it is not identified. The six-voice setting is divided into three parts and begins as a statement in a declamatory quasi-homophony (**Ex. 66**). Following this, Lasso freely uses a free polyphonic style with elaborate repetitions of text, varied texture in the voices, and decorated text painting. An example of this is at the end of the first part with a searching melismatic figure on ‘*sey wo ich wöll*’ (**Ex. 67**).

**Example 66.** Orlando di Lasso, *Von Gott wil ich nit lassen*, mm. 1-5

The image shows the first five measures of a six-voice setting by Orlando di Lasso. The music is written on six staves, each with a different clef: Soprano (treble), Alto (treble), Tenor 1 (treble), Tenor 2 (treble), Bass 1 (bass), and Bass 2 (bass). The key signature has one sharp (F#), and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are printed below each staff, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across measures. The text is: 'Von Gott wil ich nit lassen, dann er lest nit von mir, führt mich durch al-le stras sen'.

Example 67. Orlando di Lasso, *Von Gott wil ich nit lassen*, mm. 21-27

wo ich wöll, sey wo ich wöll, sey wo ich wöll, sey wo ich wöll im Land, sey wo ich wöll, sey wo ich wöll im Land, sey wo ich wöll im Land, sey wo ich wöll im Land.

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sey wo ich wöll im Land, sey wo ich wöll im Land. wo ich wöll im Land, sey wo ich wöll im Land. ich wöll im Land, sey wo ich wöll im Land. wöll im Land, sey wo ich wöll im Land. ich wöll im land, sey wo ich wöll im Land, sey wo ich wöll im Land. im Land, sey wo ich wöll im Land.

In comparison to another well-known sixteenth-century Lied, *Auß härtem Weh*, a contrafactum on the popular folksong (*Auß härtem Weh klagt sich ein Held*), the cantus firmus features prominently in the Tenor with a setting that is stylistically much more akin to the Ulenberg psalms.<sup>273</sup> It is very possible that Lasso makes stylistic distinctions with confessional traditions in mind. He consciously retains a connection to older and conservative traditions of Lied with the setting of Catholic spiritual Lieder and, on the other hand, acknowledges the general popularity of Protestant texts with a correspondingly freer treatment of the text and melody. This free approach was demonstrated previously by Thomas Stoltzer's German psalm motets as well as in Lasso's general detachment from Protestant melodies in earlier publications.<sup>274</sup> The inclusion of both traditionally Protestant and Catholic songs in the same collection seemed neither to offend the Catholic Prince-Bishop nor the Protestant city councils. The obvious reason for this is that the apparent Counter-Reformation intent behind the publication has been retroactively constructed. The performance of Catholic Lieder by Protestants in the form of Marian hymns or Ulenberg psalms exposes fallacies in the assumed notions of strict confessional boundaries in the performance of late sixteenth-century spiritual Lieder.

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<sup>273</sup> *Auß härtem weh klag menschlichs gschlecht* is contained in many Catholic anthologies as an Advent hymn beginning with the *Veheschen Gesangbüchlein* (Leipzig: Nickel Wolrab, 1537) [RISM B/VIII, 1537<sup>06</sup>]; however, the folktune itself must have been already exceedingly well-known. This is demonstrated, for example, by a broadsheet printed in already dated around 1510 which provides a small glimpse into the melody's popular circulation. *Lied in dem Ton Aus hartem weh klagt sich ein Held* (Munich, Johann Schobser, 1500/1512, 1510?) Munich, BSB, Einbl. III, 37. Frieder Schanze, 'Inkunabeln oder Postinkunabeln? Zur Problematik der 'Inkunabelgrenze' am Beispiel von 5 Druckern und 111 Einblattdrucken' in Volker Honemann (ed.), *Einblattdrucke des 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen, 2000), p. 85 (Item 59).

<sup>274</sup> *Vatter unser im Himelreich* and *Ich ruff zu dir herr Jesu Christ* from the first publication of German songs, *Neue Teutsche Liedlein mit Fünff Stimmen* (Munich: Adam Berg 1567) [RISM 1567], immediately springs to mind.



The general reception of Protestant music, though viewed as an encroaching heretical threat, was generally accepted to the annoyance of Catholic authorities, particularly in the second half of the sixteenth century. This shows the fluidity and cross-influence of denominational cultures in spite of ideas of exaggerated ideological divisions imposed on musical repertoire. From the German Lieder presented in *Neue Teutsche und etliche frantzösische Gesäng mit sechs Stimmen* (1590), Lasso responds to texts and melodies which are largely drawn from a range of popular anthologies. Fundamentally, these do not support the picture of Lasso as an exclusively ‘Catholic’ composer, nor does the inclusion of the Ulenberg psalms suggest an essentially Catholic publication. In late sixteenth-century politics of confession, there is an attempt to establish and stabilise such boundaries not least through a more active campaign of music and culture. In spite of this, once lyric and music entered the general public domain, they were received as increasingly subjective expressions of piety which were acceptable for generic devotional purposes.<sup>275</sup> Therefore, the inclusion of such songs in anthologies and their cross-confessional use was a threat in theoretical terms but common in practice. This did not constitute any real problem so long as points of theology were not openly contradicted.<sup>276</sup>

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<sup>275</sup> The term ‘*Erlebnisdictung*’ has been anachronistically applied to such sixteenth-century religious verse by Friedrich Spitta, “*Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott.*” *Die Lieder Luthers in ihrer Bedeutung für das evangelische Kirchenlied* (Göttingen, 1905), pp. 29f.

<sup>276</sup> Inka Bach and Kelmüt Galle, *Deutsche Psalmendichtung vom 16. zum 20. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1989), p. 110.

### Six-Voice Compositional Approach to Ulenberg's Psalms

The continued influence of Ulenberg's psalm paraphrase on Lasso is evident with the inclusion of the settings, *Ich ruff zu dir mein Herr und Gott* (Ps. 129) and *Der König wirdt seyn wolgemut* (Ps. 20) in *Neue Teutsche und etliche frantzösische Gesäng mit sechs Stimmen* (1590) after already publishing the *Teutsche Psalmen* together with his son, Rodolfo in 1588. The popularity of Ulenberg's paraphrase is tangible by their inclusion in a number of explicitly Catholic anthologies.<sup>277</sup> Lasso's reliance on popular song collections as the basis for German songs, sacred and secular, is generally well-known.<sup>278</sup> Though it is clear that Lasso's *Teutsche Psalmen* were undoubtedly based on Ulenberg's psalter, it is significant that *Ich ruff zu dir mein Herr und Gott* does not use the prescribed melody for this psalm, but rather the tune for Ps. 4 (Ulenberg's *Carminis genus* 4). This psalm, *Zu dir rieff ich in böser zeit* (Cum invocarem) thematically corresponds closely with Ps. 129 (De profundis clamavi) which may have inspired this substitution. Generally, the use of this melody in the setting of other psalms in the anthology may indicate the general popularity of the melody itself. This detail, however, also reveals that Lasso's source is not Ulenberg's 1582 Psalter, but rather the 1586 Münchner Gesangbuch<sup>279</sup> based on the correlation of Lasso's cantus firmus to this melodic

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<sup>277</sup> *Ich ruff zu dir mein Herr und Gott* (Ps. 129), for example, is included in the *Gesang und Psalmenbuch* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1586) [RISM B/VIII 1586<sup>10</sup>], *Catholisch Gesangbüchlein* (Innsbruck: Hans Paur, 1588) [RISM B/VIII 1588<sup>05</sup>], *Ein schönes Christlichs unnd Catholischs Gesangbüchlein* (Dillingen: Johann Mayer, 1589).

<sup>278</sup> Lasso, SW 20, p. xv.

<sup>279</sup> *Gesang und Psalmenbuch. Auff die fürnembste Fest durchs gantze Jar, inn der Kirchen, auch bey Processionen, Creutzgäng, Kirch und Wahlfarten nützlich zugebrauchen. Auß den alten approbirten Authorn der Christlichen Kirchen zu gutem in dise Ordnung gebracht. Jedem Lobgesang unnd Psalmen ist sein gewöhnliche Melodey mit vleiß zugeordnet worden.* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1586). [RISM B/VIII, 1586<sup>10</sup>].

substitution.<sup>280</sup> The preface to the *Münchner Gesangbuch* states that there was already a pressing demand for a revised songbook with notated melodies.<sup>281</sup> The importance of the song book is specified, not only in the words of the preface, but also in the promotion of pilgrimages to shrines in Bavaria including Deggendorf, Bettbrunn, Andechs, Altötting, and Neukirchen beim Heiligen Blut. The pilgrimages were especially revived and encouraged under the Bavarian Wittelsbachs as previously discussed.<sup>282</sup> The geographical stretch of these pilgrimage sites often came into confrontation with political borders. It is therefore clear that such a publication was printed to reinforce local spiritual practices and to act as a bulwark on the Catholic front. Many songbooks reinforce these ideas and stress the importance of preserving Catholicism.

In the three-voice settings of the Ulenberg psalms, only the first strophe is set to music. Theoretically, other strophes could be sung to the same music; however, the purpose of a multi-strophe setting would be to provide music specifically to fit the words of the different strophes. The structure of the psalm versification is similar to the three-voice settings in the use of limited imitative gestures to mark lines of text which demonstrates how Lasso primarily responds to the verse structure. Lasso does not deviate from the cantus firmus in these settings and thus, achieves overwhelming consistency in the length of the verse indicates a sense of homogeneity in his compositional strategy.

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<sup>280</sup> 'Auß härtem weh' might also potentially have been inspired by its inclusion in the 1586 *Münchner Gesangbuch* (fol. 3); especially considering that it receives the same cantus firmus treatment as the Ulenberg psalms as previously mentioned.

<sup>281</sup> A revised version of *Schöne, alte, Catholische Gesang und Ruff, auff die fürnemste Fest des Jars* (Tegernsee, 1577) was printed with permission from Quirin II, Abbot of Tegernsee.

<sup>282</sup> As previously discussed in Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints*, pp. 67-73.

**Example 68.** Orlando di Lasso, *Ich ruff zu dir mein Herr und Gott*, Erster Teil, mm. 1-10

Ich ruff zu dir, mein

Herr und Gott, aus tieffer ab - grund mei - ner not, er - hö re

mein Herr und Gott, aus tief - fer ab - grund mei - ner

Gott, aus tief - fer ab grund mei - ner not, er - hö re

Herr und Gott, aus tief - fer ab - grund mei - ner not,

dir, mein Herr und Gott, aus tief - fer ab - grund mei - ner not, er

Herr und Gott, aus tief - fer ab grund mei - ner not, er - hö re

And primarily in structural terms, one can see an obviously similar approach in the setting of this text compared to the three-voice psalm examples. Here, the function of the cadence is also the same as exemplified in the discussion of the tricinia with the punctuation, evasion, and manipulation of the cadence. As seen in **Ex. 68**, a cadence is noticeably avoided; however, it is still audible through the part-writing of the other voices. While this usually occurs in the reduction of voices in the texture, this is modified in the second couplet of the strophe in the cadence by the addition of voices in the entry of the Bassus. (This is indicated in mm. 7 and 10 in **Ex. 68**). Through the audible cadences, one is led to hear the demarcation of the individual lines of verse as otherwise dictated by the cantus firmus. However, while the 'hearing of the cadence' encourages the division of the text, the audible cadence only signifies the most basic division of the verse structure while the overlapping text and the changes in texture support a continuation of the verse. This basic structure is subverted by a more

sophisticated interlocking relationship of lyric and music which is indicated by the correlation of cadences which reinforce the structure of the verse.

**Example 26.** Cadential structure of Orlando di Lasso, *Ich ruff zu dir mein Herr und Gott*<sup>283</sup>

A	<i>Ich ruff zu dir mein Herr und Gott/</i>	D-G
A	<i>aus tieffer abgrund meiner not/</i>	F-G
B	<i>erhöre durch die Guete dein/</i>	D-G
B	<i>mein stimm und flehen schwerer peyn/</i>	D-G <b>A-D</b>
C	<i>lass dein gehöre mercken fein/</i>	A-D
C	<i>auff das geschrey der Klage mein.</i>	D-G <b>D-G C-G</b>

The planning of the verse agrees with the Modal identity of the melody (Mode 2) through cadential and harmonic indications. Also, the end of the lines are marked by illusory sounding cadences which are able to direct the listener through the structure of the verse despite overlapping lines of text through the polyphonic texture. Although the structural parameters of the setting are obvious enough, Lasso also uses these cadential figures in the structure to highlight the meaning of the text. For example, the cadences marking ‘*schwerer peyn*,’ (‘heavy pain’) in the first strophe functionally redirects the tonal centre of the strophe away from the Modal Final for the first time in the setting. Moreover, it elucidates the words and highlights the heaviness of pain as the revealed crux and an added focal point of this strophe which is reinforced by the first true cadence of the verse on D.

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<sup>283</sup> The example indicates illusory sounding cadences as well as true cadences (marked in bold).

**Example 69.** Orlando di Lasso, *Ich ruff zu dir mein Herr und Gott*, Erster Teil, mm. 16-19

fle - hen schwe - rer peyn, lass dein

fle - hen mein stimm und fle - hen schwe - rer peyn,

schwe - rer peyn, und fle - hen schwe - rer peyn,

mein stimm und fle - hen schwe - rer peyn,

mein stimm und fle - hen schwe - rer peyn,

schwe - rer peyn, schwe - rer peyn, schwe - rer peyn,

A similar gesture is made at the end of the next line '*lass dein gehöre mercken fein*' ('let your hearing notice well') to connect the verse and show the continued relationship in the rhyming scheme. However, the first cadential gesture marks the end of the line of the cantus firmus in the Tenor, but ultimately ends in an illusory cadence (**Ex. 70**). Finally, the last line of the strophe is punctuated as the end of the verse with three successive cadences and the repetition of the last line of text.

**Example 70.** Orlando di Lasso, *Ich ruff zu dir mein Herr und Gott*, Erster Teil, mm. 20-23

dein ge-hö - re mer - cken fein, mer - cken, fein auff  
ge hö - re laß dein ge hö - re mer - cken fein  
hö - re mer - cken fein, laß dein ge hö - re mer - cken fein  
laß dein ge hö - re mer - cken fein  
dein ge - hö - re laß dein ge -hö - re mer - cken fein  
hö - re mer - cken fein, mer - cken fein auff

The treatment of individual stanzas is similar in length in keeping with the through-composed cantus firmus with no significant repetitions of the text. The other four stanzas show the same compositional strategies in terms of the text setting with each line of text ending with a sounding cadence. In the planning of these cadences, each stanza differs slightly from the previous one. An interesting point in the structure is the third stanza which marks the midpoint of the Lied. The cadence at the end of the second line shifts to F-B<sup>b</sup> and unlike the previous stanzas, it concludes with an extended pedal on G: '*ist meines hertzens zuversicht*' ('is my heart's confidence').



**Table 26.** Cadential structure of Orlando di Lasso, *Ich ruff zu dir mein Herr und Gott*

[Der Erste Theil]				
<i>Ich ruff zu dir mein Herr und Gott/</i>	D-G			
<i>aus tieffer abgrund meiner not/</i>	F-G			
<i>erhöre durch die Guete dein/</i>	D-G			
<i>mein stimm und flehen schwerer peyn/</i>	D-G	A-D		
<i>lass dein gehöre mercken fein/</i>	A-D			
<i>auff das geschrey der Klage mein.</i>	D-G	D-G	C-G	
[Der Ander Theil]				
<i>Wann du, Herr woltest sehen an/</i>	D-G			
<i>waß böß von menschen wirdt gethan/</i>	F-G			
<i>wer möcht bestehn mein höchste zier/</i>	D-G	C-G		
<i>dann zwar versönung ist bey dir/</i>	A-Bb			
<i>Darumb auff erden jedermann/</i>	A-D			
<i>Dich freylich soll vor Augen han.</i>	A-D	D-G	C-G	
[Der Dritte Theil]				
<i>Ich harr auff Gott mit festem muth/</i>	D-G			
<i>Mein Seel auf ihm vertrauen thut/</i>	F-Bb			
<i>Mein wartung ist der trewe Herr/</i>	D-G	G-D		
<i>umb sein Gesetz heylsamer lehr/</i>	D-G			
<i>Sein werdes wort das fehlet nit/</i>	A-D			
<i>Ist meines hertzens zuversicht.</i>	D-G (G Pedal Point)			
[Der Vierdte Theil]				
<i>Mein Hoffnung steht auf Gott allein/</i>	D-G			
<i>Deß harret zwar die Seele mein/</i>	F-Bb			
<i>Früzeitlich vor der morgenwacht/</i>	D-G	D-G		
<i>Auch durch den tag biß in die nacht/</i>				
<i>Soll Israel beständiglich/</i>	D-G			
<i>Auff disen Gott verlassen sich.</i>	D-G			
[Der Fünffte Theil]				
<i>Dann bey dem Herren jeder frist/</i>	D-G			
<i>Barmhertzigkeit zu finden ist/</i>	F-Bb			
<i>Sein gnad hat weder maß noch zil/</i>	D-G			
<i>Es ist bey ihm Erlösung vil/</i>	A-D			
<i>Er wird Israel immerdar/</i>	A-D			
<i>Von aller Sünd erlösen gar.</i>	A-Bb	D-G	D-G	C-G

A significant anomaly in the structure of cadences occurs in the fourth stanza at the fourth line. After the strong cadences on ‘*morgenwacht*’ (‘morning watch’), the cadence of the next line is suppressed, marking the long vigil of the soul, ‘*deß*

*harret zwar die Seele mein* ('that which my soul awaits'), throughout the course of the day. Due to the regularity of the cadence pattern, Lasso manipulates the listener's expectation which is the reason why such word play is obvious.

**Example 71.** Orlando di Lasso, *Ich ruff zu dir mein Herr und Gott*, Vierter Teil, mm. 10-22

Frü-zeitlich vor der mor gen - wacht, auch

Frü - zeitlich vor der mor - gen wacht, auch

har-ret zwar die See - le mein. Frü - zeit lich vor der mor - gen -

Frü -zeitlich vor der mor -genwacht Frü - zeit-lich vor der mor - gen -

die See-le mein. Frü - zeit lich vor der mor - den

See-le mein. Frü - zeitlich vor der mor - gen wacht. Frü/zeit-lich vor der mor - gen -

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durch den tag biss in die nacht, auch durch den tag biss in die nacht.

durch den tag biss in die nacht, auch durch den tag biss in die

wacht, auch durch den tag biss in die nacht auch durch den tag biss in die

wacht, auch durch den tag biss in die nacht

wacht auch durch den tag biss in die nacht, biss in die nacht

wacht auch durch den tag bis in die

The musical score consists of six staves, each with a vocal part and German lyrics. The lyrics are: "soll Is - ra - el be - stän digk lich", "nacht soll Is - ra - el", "soll Is - ra - el", "nacht soll Is-ra-el soll Is-ra-el be stän-digk-lich, soll Is - ra - el", "soll Is - ra - el be stän digk lich", and "soll Is - ra - el soll Is - ra - el be stän-digk". The music is written in a style typical of the 16th century, with a key signature of one flat and a time signature of 15/8.

In addition to the cadence structure, likewise, the appearance of harmonic structures within the composition can buttress the proportion and form of the composition by indicating the interrelation of various parts of the text. This technique of harmonic structuring was evident in the psalm motets discussed in previously in Chapter 2. The increased tendency towards homophonic textures in secular genres is conducive to the idea of structure through such harmonic relationships within the composition. For example, Lasso's setting of Ps. 20, *Der König wirdt sein wolgemut*, demonstrates the same fundamental compositional strategies that were employed in *Ich ruff zu dir mein Herr und Gott* in the previous examples. The beginning of *Der König wirdt sein wolgemut* features a type of quasi-symmetrical harmonic structuring in the first and second lines of text which centers on F. This harmonic structure is influenced by the initial scalar motive introduced in the Tenor cantus firmus (m. 3) which appears descending and ascending. In quick harmonic rhythm, the first and second lines use a mirrored parallel structure.

**Example 72.** Orlando di Lasso, *Der König wirdt seyn wolgemut*, Erster Teil, mm. 1-9

F B $\flat$  F C G D B $\flat$  C B $\flat$  F G C F C D

C B $\flat$  C D C B $\flat$  F D A C F

Like a palindrome, Lasso moves the harmony from F to C and back to F through a mirrored harmonic progression. The main skeleton of this progression found in mm. 1-5 following the Cantus 2 ending is outlined in the following figure.

**Figure 4.** Orlando di Lasso, *Der König wirdt seyn wolgemut*, Erster Teil, mm. 1-5, harmonic progression

F - C - G - B<sup>b</sup> - C - B<sup>b</sup> - G - C - F

Echoing the same characteristic scalar motive, the second line of text also utilises neighbouring harmonic movement (especially generated in the Bassus) in a mirrored pattern which extends halfway into m. 7 where the imitation gives way to free polyphony and a cadence to end the couplet [C - F].

**Figure 5.** Orlando di Lasso, *Der König wirdt seyn wolgemut*, Erster Teil, mm. 5-7, harmonic progression

F - C - D - C - B<sup>b</sup> - C - D - C - F

This harmonic scheme has already been demonstrated in Lasso's motets but serves similar functions in the context of the Lied in the linking of related melodic material (i.e. generated from the cantus firmus). The mirrored use of harmonic progression also shows how Lasso is able to join the lines of text together as a rhymed couplet. The harmony is used to form a cohesive musical unit which ends in a sounding cadence. The example also shows Lasso's use of structure which serves a dual purpose. Firstly, he uses it to expand the harmonic space and thereby, establishes the sonic vocabulary of the composition. Secondly, Lasso is able to establish harmonic balance and proportion based on symmetrical principles.

Lasso is explicitly known for innovations in the Lied genre, especially in the incorporation of techniques commonly used in the composition of the chanson and the madrigal. It has been observed that Lasso integrates ‘more stylistic and formal variety than his works in other genres.’<sup>284</sup> In spite of this bold assessment, Lasso has established a distinct style of composition with definite parameters within a subgenre of Catholic spiritual Lieder. In the study of Lasso’s settings of Ulenberg’s psalm paraphrases, this raised the fundamental question about the treatment of the verse and the composer’s interpretation of the existing lyric, encompassing both musical and textual aspects. Lasso’s multi-strophe settings of the Ulenberg psalms constitute Lieder in a very conventional sense unlike Thomas Stoltzer’s Lied motets. On one hand, there is no deviation from the cantus firmus; the derivation of imitative counterpoint subsequently stems from this melody. Furthermore, the plan of cadences reflects the structure of the verses in a relatively conservative style, using only principal and quasi-principal cadences to the given Mode. In the interpretation of the psalm paraphrase, Lasso is relatively subtle and works within the confines of these prescribed limits. The method of setting the psalm texts for six voices parallels the setting of the Ulenberg psalms in the three-voice texture. Undoubtedly, Lasso’s German psalm settings belong to the same genre of *geistliche Lieder* based on the distinctive compositional style and subject matter.

A primary line of inquiry was the cadence planning and harmonic structure in relation to the form of the text. The systematic treatment of cadences which

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<sup>284</sup> Howard Mayer Brown and Louise Stein, *Music in the Renaissance* (Upper Saddle River, 1999), p. 308. Ludwig Finscher estimates the beginning of the decline for the *Tenorlied* with Orlando di Lasso Lieder publications. Finscher, ‘Lied and Madrigal,’ p. 184.

included the technical discrepancy between true cadences and the sounding effect of illusory cadences in the six-voice texture pertained to the continuity of the verse and the literal and interpretative reading of the psalm. In this systematic scheme of structure, the evasion of cadence in the part-writing is done very deliberately; however, in a larger setting, the most fundamental level of interpretation comes by the perception of the individual lines of verse marked by the audibility of the cadence. The interpretation of Lasso as a ‘reader’ of the psalm verse is palpable in the flow of the text and in the conscious internal relationship between cadential points connecting the lines of verse. Finally, such cadential structure was also demonstrated to emphasise the meaning of different points of text which are central to the Lasso’s understanding of the strophe.

Through the structure, Lasso is able to exact more from the texture in terms of meaning and subtlety within the given restrictions. In this, Lasso creates a reading of the psalm which is, on one hand, ostensibly straight-forward especially through the use of the sounding cadence; but on the other hand, the subtler strategies demand a more nuanced hearing of the psalm, demonstrating Lasso’s compositional skill in the reworking of the psalm paraphrase. Again, the personal interpretation of the Ulenberg paraphrase can be found in the structure and manipulation of cadences.

The act of sixteenth-century psalm translation itself was a form of humanist scholarship which combined rhetoric, versification, critical reflection, and the interpretation of sources with confessional underpinnings. Despite the widespread popularity and use of these publications, the vernacular paraphrase was mostly an educational pursuit to fill the spiritual needs of the general public through edifying verse and music. In addition to the versification of the psalm

text, Lasso and other composers of polyphonic settings add a further layer of interpretation through the musical setting. The growth of vernacular spiritual Lieder is documented in the growth of the demand in their printing and dissemination. Such translations and their polyphonic settings critically reflected developments in late sixteenth-century German language and music. The early modern *Kunstlyrik* intricately bound together verse and melody that could be spoken or sung in a variety of contexts.

The conservative polyphonic treatment of the *geistliche Lieder* was necessary to keep the confessional undertones of the Lied intact. The intent in the composition of such Lieder were two-fold. First, it was necessary to keep the already popular text and melody recognisable and complete. Conceivably, this was because of the popularity of the original Lied as composed by Ulenberg (and others) and the utility of the polyphonic songs that reinforced this confessional identity. Though the latter point of confessional orientation was certainly at the heart of the original psalm paraphrases, this issue is defused in the secular context as seen in Lasso's settings of Ulenberg's psalms in the 1590 collection of Lieder and other such polyphonic settings by extension. It is nonetheless interesting that Lasso's treatment of Catholic paraphrases strongly differs from the polyphonic composition on Protestant verse as demonstrated in Lasso's setting of *Von Gott wil ich nit lassen*. It could be that Lasso is acknowledging the divergence in Protestant and Catholic traditions and that Lasso treats the Catholic settings with restraint in contrast to the freer expression of the Protestant setting. It is still somehow fitting that the last phrase of *Von Gott wil ich nit lassen* concludes with '*er schafft wies ihm gefelt*' ('he creates as it pleases him'); consequently, it appears that this is truly the case.



**Example 73.** Orlando di Lasso, *Von Gott wil ich nit lassen*, Dritter Theil, mm.  
19-27

er schafft's wies ihm ge-felt, er schafft's, wies

er schafft's, er schafft's, wies ihm ge-felt

er schafft's, wies ihm ge-felt er schafft's

schaft's, wies ihm ge-felt, er schafft's, wies ihm

er schafft's, er schafft's, wies ihm ge-felt,

er schafft's, wies ihm ge-felt, er schafft's,

23

ihm ge - felt, er schaffts, wies ihm ge - felt. \_\_\_\_\_

er schaffts, \_\_\_\_\_ wies ihm ge - felt.

\_\_\_\_\_ wies ihm ge - felt, er schaffts, wies ihm ge - felt.

ge - felt, er schaffts, \_\_\_\_\_ wies ihm \_\_\_\_\_ ge - felt, wies ihm ge - felt.

er schaffts, wies ihm ge - felt. \_\_\_\_\_

wies ihm ge - felt, er schaffts, wies ihm ge - felt.

In the late sixteenth century, Lasso stands at a juncture in the development of different traditions. As he is experimenting with unrestricted expression of the Protestant influence, he is also conversely solidifying the compositional style of the Catholic Lied. Although Lasso's three-voice *Teutsche Psalmen* might be considered simple and the larger settings equally modest and conservative, Lasso has refined the style of the Catholic Lied to an artform with the use of sophisticated formal devices and subtle expression of the text. Finally, the style of the Catholic Lied is characteristic of the larger development of the German *Tenorlied*. The importance of the cantus firmus reveals an outgrowth of a sixteenth-century German Lied tradition that extends back to Senfl, Isaac, and even Josquin.<sup>285</sup> In terms of the intersections of tradition and cultural disruption, though Lasso's Lieder generally fall last in the ranks of significant genres, these spiritual Lieder are informative in terms of evaluating the effects of confessionalisation across German-speaking Europe. The distinct sounds of the Counter-Reformation were cultivated to reverse the infiltration of Protestant influence throughout the empire; however, in the end, it also created new opportunities for late sixteenth-century composers to respond to the influences on both sides. Still, the evidence would suggest that such hard confessional lines could easily be transcended by late sixteenth-century composers, not least through the setting of the vernacular psalms.

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<sup>285</sup> Norbert Böker-Heil, Harald Heckmann, and Ilse Kindermann (eds.), *Das deutsche Tenorlied. Mehrstimmige Lieder in deutschen Quellen 1450-1580*. *Catalogus Musicus IX-XI*, 3 vols. (Kassel, 1979-86); Martin Just, 'Liedtradition und Neuerung,' pp. 269-306; esp. pp. 270-3.



## Chapter 7

### Conclusion

#### Broadening the Framework for Lasso's Psalms

The selection of the motet and the Lied genres from Lasso's works was not fully calculated from the outset of the research. The concept began with the main criterion which consisted of musical settings of complete psalm texts and their polyphonic treatment. Over a period of time, the dissertation evolved into a study of major influences in the career and context of Orlando di Lasso that impacted his compositional output equally across various genres. This raised many questions about the nature of these genres in addition to how these pieces are placed in a broader context of their time. Lasso is perhaps the most important composer of his generation, because he is considered to represent the pinnacle of sixteenth-century musical traditions. The Foucauldian definition of tradition can be applied to conceptualise the development of genre and Lasso's role therein.

Take the notion of tradition: it is intended to give a special temporal status to a group of phenomena that are both successive and identical (or at least similar); it makes it possible to rethink the dispersion of history in the form of the same; it allows a reduction of the difference proper to every beginning, in order to pursue without discontinuity the endless search for the origin; tradition enables us to isolate the new against a background of permanence, and to transfer its merit to originality, to genius, to the decisions proper to the individuals.<sup>286</sup>

Such musical traditions are perpetuated by a number of broad claims in both the genres of motet and Lied which intimated the sixteenth-century musical lineage

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<sup>286</sup> Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (New York, 1972), p. 23.

from Josquin, Senfl, and Lasso. Such lineages from the ‘Old Master’ to the ‘Prince of Music’ have been long recognised. For example, in the *Continuation du Mellange d’Orlande de Lassus* (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1584) [RISM 1584f] the following sonnet is included by the French poet, Jean Ménérier:

*Le bon père Josquin de la Musique informe  
Ebaucha le premier le dur & rude corps;  
Le grave doux Willaert secondant ses efforts  
Cét oeuvre commence plus doctement reforme:  
L’inventif Cyprian, pour se render conforme  
Au travail de ces deux qui seuls estoyent alors,  
L’enrichit d’ornemens par ses nouveaux accords,  
Donnant a cétte piece une notable forme:  
Orlande a ce labeur avec eux s’estant joinct  
A poli puis apres l’ouvrage de tout point,  
De sorte qu’apres luy, n’y faut plus la main mettre.  
Josquin aura la Palme ayant esté premier:  
Willaert le Myrte aura, Cyprian le Laurier:  
Orlande emportera les trois comme le maistre.*

Good father Josquin was first to sketch out  
From shapeless Music the hard and crude form;  
Grave, soft Willaert, supporting his efforts,  
Reformed with great skill this work thus begun.  
Inventive Cipriano, to conform  
To what both these once matchless men had done,  
Embellished it richly by his new chords,  
Giving notable form to this great task.  
Orlando, having joined in this labour,  
Then polished their whole work so thoroughly  
That, after him, not one thing should be touched.  
Having been first, Josquin will have the palm;  
Willaert the myrtle, Cipriano the laurel;  
Master Orlando wins all three prizes.<sup>287</sup>

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<sup>287</sup> Kate van Orden, ‘Josquin des Prez, Renaissance Historiography, and Cultures of Print’ in Jane Fulcher (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the New Cultural History of Music* (Oxford, 2011), p. 371.

The inclusion of this poem in the compiled publication describes the composers in the context of the French chanson. However, the constructed heritage can also be established across genres as Lasso constitutes the last great master of classical polyphony with the waning of the Renaissance and the gradual transition to the early Baroque around the turn of the century. It is telling that in the efforts of both Catholic and Protestant confessional polemic, the starting point for doctrinal exposition was most commonly the Book of Psalms. It is clear that from the time of Josquin, the growing importance of psalmody maintained a prevailing influence in extended polyphonic compositions. The broad concept of this dissertation explores the development of such psalm settings in late sixteenth-century genres through the crowning work of Orlando di Lasso.

The beginnings and the scope of the musical tradition has been defined by scholars and even contemporary sixteenth-century writers. Referring back to Foucault, it is arguable that a late sixteenth-century notion of ‘permanence’ is paradoxical in the discussion of tradition. Characterised by the disruption of the ecclesiastical order, confessional and political warfare, the comparison of both psalm motets and Lieder repertoires demonstrates a musical response to dynamic shifts and rapid changes in society. Furthermore, these events must be studied against a pervasive backdrop of humanism and the exploration of human and divine experience within the Book of Psalms. It is precisely the lack of permanence with the incursions of musical innovation that marks Lasso at the end of a great tradition of classical polyphony. Both contentious yet universal, the psalms themselves engendered and tempered the seismic ideological shifts in the late sixteenth century.

## Dynastic Narrative of the Bavarian Wittelsbachs

Related to the idea of tradition is the symbolic use of confession in a dynastic tradition of courtly representation. It is obvious that Lasso's works for most of his career are tied to the Bavarian court and his patrons, the dukes of Bavaria. In their political, confessional, and artistic aspirations, the Bavarian Wittelsbachs were gradually forming a dynastic identity. This identity and the representation of the family would comprise a 'collective memory' through which a historical narrative could be formed, reinforced, and preserved through dynastic imperatives in art, confession, diplomacy, marriages, alliances, and funerary rites.<sup>288</sup> The anti-Machiavellian notion of the 'Catholic Prince' formulated by Adam Contzen and others<sup>289</sup> models Christian statecraft and justifies the stance of militant Catholic authoritarianism progressively under the Bavarian dukes into the seventeenth century. The political theory itself was not only central to the dynastic narrative of the Wittelsbachs, but integral to the rhetoric and support of the Counter-Reformation by secular institutions.<sup>290</sup> Thus fittingly, the motto of Albrecht V was '*Si Deus nobiscum, quis contra nos?*' Furthermore, the continuation of the dynastic vision through the tradition of the Catholic faith was transmitted in the adoption of this motto from his father, Wilhelm IV. It was used also by his younger brother, Ludwig X, who served as co-regent until his death in 1545.<sup>291</sup> Undoubtedly, the psalm motet, *Jubilare Deo*

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<sup>288</sup> Liesbeth Gevers and Mirella Marini, 'Introduction: Aristocracy, Dynasty and Identity in Early Modern Europe, 1520-1700' in Liesbeth Gevers and Mirella Marini (eds.), *Dynastic Identity in Early Modern Europe: Rulers, Aristocrats and the Formation of Identities* (London, 2016), p. 16.

<sup>289</sup> Giovanni Botero, *Ragion di stato* (Venice: Giovanni Battista Ciotti, 1598); Justus Lipsius *Politicorum sive civilis doctrinae libri sex* (Leiden: Francis Rapheleng, 1589)

<sup>290</sup> Robert Bireley, *The Counter-Reformation Prince: Anti-Machiavellianism or Catholic Statecraft in Early Modern Europe* (Chapel Hill, 1990), p. 217.

<sup>291</sup> The motto was not only inscribed on portraiture and with the coat of arms, but also stamped on the duchy coinage along with the representation of the Madonna and child

*omnis terra* [LV 247] sets this motto using a cantus firmus technique in the Tenor voice. Undoubtedly, the jubilant psalm may have been used for a number of celebratory occasions as it pays homage to the sovereignty of Duke Albrecht V with the repeating cantus firmus. An earlier example of the programmatic use of the motto is contained in Hans Sachs, *Ein Newes lied der gantz handelder Türkischen Belagerung der Stat Wienn* (Nuremberg: Jobst Gutknecht, 1529) which sensationally recounts the Ottoman Siege of Vienna in 1529. The motto follows the Lied under the imperial coat of arms as a commentary on the resistance as explicated in the final strophe:

*Seyt frysch yhr Christen all geleych  
Thüt ritterlichen Streysten  
So gibt euch Gott das hymelreych  
Zu ewern letzen zeyten  
In diser zeyt frid güt vnnd her  
So yhr streytt in seym namen  
Wider ds ungläubige heer  
Das wunsch ich euch allsamen.*

Clearly, the political threat is overshadowed by the anti-heathen crusade whose siege on Christendom in Western Europe. This had ongoing significance that found resurgence in the mass printing of anti-Turkish songs in the 1560s, no doubt inspired by Turkish campaigns.<sup>292</sup> As part of the agenda at the Imperial Diet of Augsburg in 1566, matters of Catholic reform and Protestantism within the empire were address. In addition to this, support was rallied for the continued military defense of the empire against the Ottoman Turks on the Habsburg front,

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which continued to appear on ducats through the eighteenth century. Arthur Friedberg and Ira Friedberg, *Gold Coins of the World: From Ancient Times to the Present* (Williston, 2009), pp. 268-70.

<sup>292</sup> Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*, p. 204. The year 1565 marks the Siege of Malta which was eventually abandoned by the Turks after major losses.



especially where renewed future onslaughts were strongly speculated.<sup>293</sup> The motto itself strongly characterises the Bavarian Wittelsbachs in their militant stance which was strengthened with the Catholic Reforms implemented by Albrecht V by 1565. These things together promoted the preservation of Christian society, public order, and the resistance of heresy. Although the specific context for the psalm motet, *Jubilare Deo* is yet unknown, the origin and melody of the cantus firmus would be a valuable clue.<sup>294</sup> Still, through such pieces and references, Lasso is able to give a musical representation of the Bavarian court; not least in the Catholic transformation of court culture during the mid sixteenth century.

A further example of this transformative representation was seen in the homophonic psalm motets composed and retained in the court chapel manuscripts in the 1570s. Of the psalm motets, it is notable that these are the only psalm motets that have the distinction of being included in the court chapel manuscripts (in addition to Lasso's first psalm motet, *Domine, non est exaltatum cor meum* [LV 50] and the *Psalmi poenitentiales*). The importance of the psalm motets in the 1570s supports the rebranding of the court chapel in the post-Tridentine spirit of reform. The prevalence of this style in psalmody is clearly an outward display of the court's confessional orientation which endorsed its Roman allegiance. It also dually functioned as a progressive model of Catholic Reform in the sixteenth-century age of confessionalism.

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<sup>293</sup> Robert Kann, *A History of the Habsburg Empire, 1526-1918* (Berkeley, 1974), pp. 34-44; Hans Hillerbrand, *The Division of Christendom: Christianity in the Sixteenth Century* (Louisville, 2007), pp. 171-4.

<sup>294</sup> Haar, 'Lasso as Historicist,' p. 275. Interestingly, Haar points out the popularity of such cantus firmus motets at the Habsburg court. The composition of a psalm motet in this exceptional manner may also have an Imperial connection as an occasion for its composition.

A different example of dynastic *repraesentatio* can be seen in the exclusivity of the *Psalmi poenitentialis*. In the mid-1550s, Duke Albrecht V would begin an initiative to build a *Kunstammer* and *Antiquarium* for which he amassed artifacts, art, antiquities, and curiosities.<sup>295</sup> After the War of the Landshut Succession (1503-5), the Wittelsbachs managed to unify the Bavarian territories; however, with the appointment of the younger brother, Ludwig X as co-regent to the heir apparent, Wilhelm IV, the consolidation of the duchy under a single ruler was only first fully realised with the succession of Albrecht V in 1550. Thus, the outward representation was necessary to legitimise the claim to the duchy, his authority to rule, and maximising the grandeur of the court through artistic patronage. These elements were essential in the fashioning of the ‘Renaissance Prince’ and in order to compete with the courts of Europe in a display of power and prestige. The cultivation of an illustrious musical tradition at the Bavarian court from the time of Wilhelm IV signified the importance of courtly representation in the arts which was manifestly expanded under Albrecht V. It was in the 1560s and 1570s that Lasso enjoyed the pinnacle of his career. At the height of the Munich court chapel, 57 musicians were employed around 1568.<sup>296</sup>

The *Kunstammer* firstly helped to consolidate and legitimise ducal authority in Bavaria and the duke’s far-reaching influence in the attainment of local and exotic objects. It was the court humanist, Samuel Quicquelberg, who was responsible for the organisation of the collection as recorded in the *Inscriptiones*

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<sup>295</sup> Maxwell, *The Court Art of Friedrich Sustris*, pp. 3-4.

<sup>296</sup> Wolfgang Boetticher, *Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeit 1532-1594* (Kassel, 1958), pp. 169-70. James Haar, ‘Munich at the Time of Orlande de Lassus’ in Iain Fenlon (ed.), *The Renaissance: From the 1470s to the End of the 16th Century* (Houndmills, 1989), p. 248.

*vel tituli theatre amplissimi* (1565).<sup>297</sup> It is apparent that Quickelberg had substantial influence in the collection of the objects; and that Albrecht V invested heavily in these luxury items. In the addition to this endeavour, he undertook expensive building projects to the vexation of his councillors.<sup>298</sup> Such liberty in finance to accomplish the rhetorics of princely display were regarded as a necessity, especially in the creation of a dynastic legacy. The *Libro architetonico* (ca. 1464) by the Florentine architect and sculptor, Antonio di Pietro Averlino Filarete (1400-1469) demonstrates such an appeal to these sensibilities:

Let us now leave these magnificent cities erected in the past as well as the present; they are very marvellous, large, and built at great expenditure of time and money. I do not say that this one can be built without great expense. Some buildings that are to be constructed cannot be produced without great expense, but magnanimous and great princes and republics as well, should not hold back from building great and beautiful buildings because of the expense. No country was ever impoverished, nor did anyone ever die because of the construction of buildings [...] In this respect I can only encourage everyone who has ever been concerned about the expense of building, particularly those who can afford it, such as nobles and governments; still they do not spend. In the end when a large building is completed there is neither more nor less money in the country, but the building does remain in the country or city together with its reputation and honour.<sup>299</sup>

In relation to Albrecht V's *Kunstammer*, it is unsurprising that the expense of sumptuous manuscripts containing music exclusively composed for the duke's personal collection was undertaken in the 1560s. Lasso's *Psalmi poenitentiales* was a momentous undertaking in the scope of the music. Set in individual verses,

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<sup>297</sup> Liselotte Schütz, *Hans Mielichs Illustrationen zu den Busspsalmen des Orlando di Lasso* (Bamberg, 1966), p. 11.

<sup>298</sup> Katharina Kaliardos, *The Munich Kunstammer: Art, Nature, and the Representation of Knowledge in Courtly Contexts* (Tübingen, 2013), pp. 41-3.

<sup>299</sup> Antonio Filarete, *Treatise on Architecture*, edited by John Spencer (New Haven, 1965), p. 106.

the music was accompanied by vividly extravagant illuminations by the court painter, Hans Mielich (1516-1573). Contained in four volumes under Munich, BSB, Mus. Ms. A, two of these volumes contain commentary by Quickelberg who seemingly coordinated the entire project. The *Psalmi poenitentiales* is the most prized of Albrecht's musical collectables which was preceded by an illuminated manuscript of motets by Cipriano de Rore (Munich, BSB, Mus. Ms. B).<sup>300</sup> The *Prophetiae sibyllarum* and *Lectiones ex Hiob* were also likely copied between 1558 and 1560.<sup>301</sup> Certainly, it is clear that Albrecht took great pleasure in these private pieces. Above all, the setting of the penitential psalms was the most treasured.<sup>302</sup> The psalms as well as other private music was shared at the duke's discretion with other distinguished personages; the most notable of these is Charles IX (r. 1560-1574), King of France. Upon praise of Lasso's music in a letter dated 10 May 1571, Albrecht sent a copy of the *Prophetiae sibyllarum* motet cycle to Charles IX.<sup>303</sup> It is also an oft-recounted legend that the *Psalmi poenitentiales* were composed and performed for Charles to ease his conscience after the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre (24 August 1572). Though the date of composition precludes this as a possibility, the esteem and favour of Charles IX was unquestionably evident. Lasso was granted printing privileges in 1571, a pension, and ultimately, an offer of employment at the French court in 1574. The restricted performance of the penitential psalms furthermore represents a private sphere of knowing that was privy to the Bavarian court. This private

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<sup>300</sup> This manuscript is also accompanied by a commentary volume by Quickelberg, *declaration picturamum imaginum*, dated 1564. Cf. Jessie Ann Owens, 'An illuminated manuscript of motets by Cipriano de Rore.'

<sup>301</sup> The *Prophetiae sibyllarum* and the *Lectiones ex Hiob* are in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Hs. Mus. 18, 744.

<sup>302</sup> The psalms were first printed after the death of Albrecht V in *Psalmi davidis poenitentiales* [...] (Munich: Adam Berg, 1584) [RISM 1584e].

<sup>303</sup> Wolfgang Boetticher, *Aus Orlando di Lassos Wirkungskreis*, p. 29.

aspect of court culture would eventually shift towards a culture of extravagant presentation with the accession of Wilhelm V. This is evident in the recorded performance of the *Psalmi poenitentiales* on Maundy Thursday of Holy Week in 1580. The psalms were publicly performed in the Jesuit school with the support of Marian congregations in Munich, Ingolstadt, and Dillingen. The solemn observance was led by Duke Wilhelm, Duchess Renata, and the rest of the court to produce a devotion-inspiring form of ‘public spectacle.’

What Samuel Quickelberg had described as *musica reservata* in the late 1560s now functioned as an instrument of public display and persuasion for an increasingly self-conscious and self-confident Catholic State of Bavaria.<sup>304</sup>

In addition to demonstrable changes in court culture is a perceptible shift in Lasso’s compositional impulses from the 1570s onwards. This is possibly due to the strained relationship that is presumed between Lasso and his patron, Albrecht V. New stimuli for compositions changed to suit the taste and demands of his successor, Wilhelm.<sup>305</sup> It is significant that the last work that Lasso dedicated to Albrecht was the collection of five-voice motets, *Sacrae cantiones* (Berg & Neuber, 1562) [RISM 1562a]; moreover, that the first publication dedicated to Wilhelm is Lasso’s first collection of German Lieder, *Neue Teütsche Liedlein mit Fünff Stimmen* [...] (Munich: Adam Berg, 1567) [RISM 1567l]. The increasingly specific style of the psalm motets also supports the outward representation of the duke and the Bavarian court as unwavering champions of Catholic Reform. With the growth of the vernacular Lied and the development of

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<sup>304</sup> David Crook, ‘A Performance of Lasso’s Penitential Psalms,’ p. 72.

<sup>305</sup> Leuchtmann, *Leben*, pp. 131-3; Furthermore, it is well-documented in their correspondence that Lasso enjoyed a genuine and informal friendship with his future patron.

a distinctly Catholic repertoire beginning in the mid-1560s, it is interesting that Lasso begins the composition of Lieder later in his career. Nevertheless, the growth of the vernacular led to greater demand for publication which coincided with the demand for new vernacular compositions at court. In both the psalm motets and in the German Lied, the composition of music for the Bavarian dukes uttered both private and public conviction of confessionalisation which further reinforced the dynastic identity of the Bavarian Wittelsbachs in the course of the sixteenth century.

### The Expression of the Late Sixteenth Century

In a discussion of language and music in medieval music, Margaret Bent has effectively summarised the musical expression of the text in three main approaches.<sup>306</sup> The first approach is demonstrated by Joachim Burmeister (1564-1629) in the analysis and systematic categorisation of expressive rhetorical devices which characterise a shift towards a concept of *musica poetica* at the beginning of the seventeenth century.<sup>307</sup> The second approach concerns the large-scale musical structure which can be likened to the structures of classical oration. Finally, there is general discourse about musical rhetoric and how music underpins and enhances a given text. In the musical examples of this dissertation, the variety of compositional techniques heightening the expression

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<sup>306</sup> Margaret Bent, 'Grammar and Rhetoric in Late Medieval Polyphony' in Mary Carruthers (ed.), *Rhetoric Beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 60-1.

<sup>307</sup> Burmeister certainly places the expressive *ornamenta* as the focal point of effective oration. His theoretical framework is thoroughly exemplified in practice by his analytical application of these expressive devices to Lasso's motet, *In me transierunt*. Dietrich Bartel, *Musica Poetica*, pp. 94-9. Claude Palisca, *Music and Ideas in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Urbana, 2006), pp. 203f.

of the psalm text in the illustration of the words and response to the prose structure were self-evident. Lasso's ability to bring the text of the music to life is unquestionable as was already recognised in his treatment of the madrigal and the chanson. Lasso's lasting brilliance as a composer of psalms is seen in the sophistication of his compositional techniques. He experiments with the psalm text in a variety of ways, but the reference to the tradition of polyphonic psalm settings is never lost. Lasso also garnered a reputation for the expressiveness of his musical settings. It is well known that in the commentary to the *Psalmi poenitentiales*, Samuel Quickelberg wrote about the vivid depictions which characterise Lasso's psalm settings.

Lasso expressed these psalms so appropriately in accommodating, according to necessity, thought and words with lamenting and plaintive tones, in expressing the force of the individual affections, and in placing the object almost alive before the eyes, that one is at a loss to say whether the sweetness of the affections enhanced the lamenting tones more greatly, or whether the lamenting tones brought greater ornament to the sweetness of the affections. This genre of music they call *musica reservata*. In it, whether in other songs, which are virtually innumerable, or in these, Orlando has wonderfully demonstrated to posterity the outstanding quality of his genius.<sup>308</sup>

The affectation of the text in relation to Modal representation has already been firmly established by the work of Bernhard Meier.<sup>309</sup> Whereas, older studies have also laid a foundation for the patterns of detailed text expression in figurative musical gestures.<sup>310</sup> Rather than to explore Lasso's unquestionable ability to

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<sup>308</sup> Samuel Quickelberg, Munich, BSB, Mus. Ms. A I-E, fols. iiiiv-vr (1560) trans. Peter Bergquist in 'Preface' to *Seven Penitential Psalms and Laudate Dominum de caelis* (Madison: A-R Editions, Inc., 1990), p. ix.

<sup>309</sup> Bernhard Meier, *The Modes of Classical Polyphony*.

<sup>310</sup> Lucie Balmer, *Orlando di Lassos Motetten: Eine stilgeschichtliche Studie* (Bern, 1938); Horst Leuchtman, *Die musikalischen Wortausdeutungen in den Moteetten des Magnum Opus Musicum von Orlando di Lasso* (Baden-Baden, 1972).

express the text in such figurative gestures, it is productive to discuss the aesthetic of the penitential psalms through classical impulses. As an example of his early motet style, figurative musical gestures occur in the *Psalmi poenitentiales*, but the word painting is conspicuously unremarkable.<sup>311</sup> Though Lasso's reputation and compositional technique in other genres (even later psalm motets) certainly validates Quickelberg's adulation, it is somewhat perplexing that such description is made regarding this psalm cycle. Unfortunately, it seems that the key to understanding this description is in the problematic and oft-debated term, '*musica reservata*.' A sufficient, all-encompassing definition of *musica reservata* has long evaded scholars mainly due to its limited use in sources and vague explanations of the term. The first known occurrence of the term is in a work by Josquin's student, Adrian Petit Coclico (ca. 1500-1563), *Compendium musices* (Nuremberg: Berg & Neuber, 1552) in which he speaks about the revival of *musica reservata*: '*Musicam illam, quam vulgo reservata iactitant, rursus in lucem revocare?*'<sup>312</sup> The term is again used in the title of *Musica reservata. Consolationes piae ex psalmis Davidicis* (Nuremberg: Berg & Neuber, 1552) which appears to define the musical expression of the text with techniques modelled after Josquin. The importance of *musica reservata* lies in its appearance between 1552 and 1625; because of this, the term hints at a practice and aesthetic that is idiomatic to the late sixteenth century.<sup>313</sup>

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<sup>311</sup> Of course, this is not to say that there are no rhetorical figures in the music; however, it seems that at the suggestion of Quickelberg, scholars have been quick to agree. Maria Rika Maniates, *Mannerism in Italian Music and Culture, 1530-1630* (Manchester, 1979), p. 170f.

<sup>312</sup> This is discussed in conjunction with application of ancient theory as Marcus Crevel, '*Adrianus Petit Coclico: Leben und Beziehungen eines nach Deutschland emigrierten Josquinschülers*' (The Hague, 1940), pp. 243-4.

<sup>313</sup> Albert Dunning, '*Musica reservata*,' *MGG2*. Definition and sources are clearly listed. The bibliography also lists the discussion of *musica reservata* and its definition; of particular note are Bernhard Meier, 'The Musica Reservata of Adrianus Petit Coclico and



In conjunction with the *Psalmi poenitentiales*, one possible definition of the abstruse *musica reservata* is the performance of music for a learned and restricted audience.<sup>314</sup> Although the extreme chromaticism of Lasso's *Prophetiae sibyllarum* is one example of music for connoisseurs and cognoscenti, in many ways, the *Psalmi poenitentiales* is equally mystical and esoteric. The first qualifier is the highly affective nature of the text which is palpable in the lamentation of the words of the penitential psalms themselves. This application is also possibly relevant to Coclico's titled, *Musica reservata* in connection to the setting of the psalms. In the study of the 'sublime,' the humanist inclination toward classical sources elevates the text of the psalms as an ultimate expression of affect and devotion which is first defined by Cassius Longinus.<sup>315</sup> Early modern preoccupation with the ancient treatise is evident. Numerous editions of the Greek text appear in the 1550s and subsequent translation into Latin attest to the popularity of the treatise and its influence in the late sixteenth-century theoretical summation of rhetoric.<sup>316</sup> In both Aristotelian and Augustinian rhetorical principles, the stirring of emotion is instrumental to persuasion; however, the aim of thought and word to Longinus is the attainment of *hypsos*:

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its Relationship to Josquin,' *Musica Disciplina* x (1956), pp. 67-105 and Edward Lowinsky, *Secret Chromatic Art in the Netherlands Motet* (New York, 1967). Maniates, *Mannerism in Italian Music* is not listed in the bibliography. This is an important discussion of *musica reservata*, especially in the more general definition of a mannerist style.

<sup>314</sup> Maniates provides the example of Coclico, *Musica Reservata. Consolatione piae ex psalmis Davidicis* and also Vincenzo Ruffo, *Opera nuova* (Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1556) [RISM R 3081] which are composed 'con dotta arte et reservato ordine;' Edward Lowinsky, *Secret Chromantic Art*, p. 94.

<sup>315</sup> The initial discussion of sublimity accounting for the setting of psalm texts in the early psalm motet tradition is found in Wolfgang Fuhrmann, 'Josquin and the Sublime' in Albert Clement and Eric Jas (eds.), *Proceedings of the International Josquin Symposium at Roosevelt Academy, Middelburg, 12-15 July 2009* (Turnhout, 2011).

<sup>316</sup> *Dionysii Longini Rhetoris Praestantissimi liber de Grandi orationis genere*, Domenico Pizimentio Vibonensi interprete (Naples: Johannes Maria Scotus, 1566); *Dionysii Longini De Sublimi dicendi genere liber a Petro Pagano latinitate donatus* (Venice: Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1572).

elevation and transcendence. This momentous setting of the *Psalmi poenitentiales* is an expression of *hypsos* as described by the term, *musica reservata* which addresses the expression of the text. As Longinus writes concerning the production of *hypsos*:

Grandeur [*hypsos/ta hyperphua*] produces ecstasy [*ekstasis*] rather than persuasion in the hearer; and the combination of wonder [*thaumasion*] and astonishment [*ekplêxis*] always proves superior to the merely persuasive and pleasant [*tou pros charin*: ‘that directed towards charm/pleasure’]. This because persuasion is on the whole something we can control, whereas amazement [*ekplêxis*] and wonder [*thaumasion*] exert invincible power [*dynamis*] and force and get the better of every hearer.<sup>317</sup>

The *dynamis* which is already inherent in the expression of the psalms is a measure of this oratory sublime whose poetic goal was ‘*la meraviglia*’ (awe) in conjunction with the above-mentioned ideas of ‘amazement’ and ‘wonder’. The striving towards *la meraviglia* is demonstrated in the writing of late sixteenth-century poets including Francesco Patrizi (1529-1597), Torquato Tasso (1544-1595), and Giambattista Marino (1569-1625). Maniates ties this idea of ‘*meraviglia*’ together with the rare, experimental, and the increasingly dramatic conveyance of emotion as basic tenets of late sixteenth-century *maniera*.<sup>318</sup> The interpretation of the sublime is expressed through the simplicity of language,<sup>319</sup> which is shared by Augustinian dialectic on the psalms. Thus, Lasso’s expression of the penitential psalms explicitly in the language of the eight modes (*modis musicis redditi*) constitutes in itself the complete gamut of expression and

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<sup>317</sup> Longinus, *On the Sublime*, Book I.4; cited in Robert Doran, *The Theory of the Sublime from Longinus to Kant* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 40-1.

<sup>318</sup> Maniates, *Mannerism in Italian Music*, p. 466f includes a discussion of *meraviglia* as a novelty in theatrical context (particularly in the Early Baroque drama).

<sup>319</sup> Timothy Costelloe ‘The Sublime: A Short Introduction to a Long History’ in Timothy Costelloe (ed.), *The Sublime: From Antiquity to the Present* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 4-5.

experience. The ecstasy and the influence of the psalms in the ‘lamenting tones,’ ‘ornaments,’ and ‘the sweetness of the affections’ (referring back to Quickelberg’s commentary), undoubtedly was designed to move the soul to remorse and to transcendence through divine absolution. Thus, it is reasonable to think that the expression of the text in *musica reservata* does not necessarily apply to the detail of the text painting, but rather to a larger rhetorical intent of *hypsos* through the experience of hearing the penitential psalms.<sup>320</sup>

Finally, the definition of *musica reservata* necessarily encompasses the visualisation of rhetoric, ‘*rem quasi actam ante oculos ponendo*’ which is a direct reference to Aristotle and Quintilian.<sup>321</sup> Longinus also uses the term ‘*phantasia*’ to explain the visualisation of rhetoric in which the orator sees an image and vividly places it before the listener.<sup>322</sup> However, this not only opens the discussion to the expression of *verba* (words) to *res* (objects), but to even greater concepts about the signification of knowledge. An Augustinian definition of ‘*res*’ is explained in *De dialectica* as knowledge which is sensed or hidden which can be illuminated by the ‘*verba*’ as the communication of this knowledge.<sup>323</sup> Through the effective communication of knowledge, the meaning of the text and the programmatic intent of the cycle is illuminated and placed before the eyes of the listener. It is thus, no wonder that such music was reserved for a very select

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<sup>320</sup> This is akin to the interpretation of Lasso’s spiritual madrigal cycle, *Lagrime di San Pietro*, which is also modally ordered. Fisher, ‘Per mia particolare devotione,’ pp. 167-220.

<sup>321</sup> Blake McDowell Wilson, ‘*Ut oratoria musica* in the Writings of Renaissance Music Theorists’ in Thomas Mathiesen and Benito Rivera (eds.), *Festa Musicologica: Essays in Honor of George J. Buelow* (Stuyvesant, 1995), p. 352.

<sup>322</sup> Anne Sheppard, ‘Imagination’ in Pierre Destrée and Penelope Murray (eds.), *A Companion to Ancient Aesthetics* (Chicester, 2015), p. 354.

<sup>323</sup> Christopher Kirwan, ‘Augustine’s Philosophy of Language’ in Eleonore Stump and Norman Kretzmann (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Augustine* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 197-9.

audience who was privileged to know and experience the secrets of the penitential psalms.

The discussion of the *Psalmi poenitentiales* is framed here by the definition of *musica reservata* through the perspective of Albrecht's propensity for collecting the valuable, rare, and wonderful in the Munich *Kunstammer*. Through broad rhetorical and epistemological ideas that were popular in the late sixteenth century, the experiential value of the psalms is better understood. More than a representative example of Lasso's work, the *Psalm poenitentiales* is a collector's item and a piece of visual art. It is musical oration of unparalleled scale and magnificence, encompassing literal and implied meanings. In the discussion of the psalms and *musica reservata*, from the limited understanding of its definition from very few sources, it seems that further investigation into the study of classical rhetoric could yield added insights to the interpretation of the psalms in the mannerist style and late sixteenth-century aesthetic.

#### Next Steps in Research

This dissertation aimed to show the development of polyphonic psalmody in the late sixteenth century through the work of Orlando di Lasso, building on the body of Lasso scholarship in the context of the post-Tridentine Bavarian court. Though many references have been cited in the course of this dissertation, I am particularly indebted to two works which inspired the direction of this research. The first is David Crook's monograph on Lasso's Imitation Magnificats in which similar questions of context were posed in relation to another genre of Lasso's works. In Crook's summation:

We see with what relish Lasso embraced his diverse inheritance and with what skill he sustained it. [...] With respect and confidence Lasso granted the past its voice and at the same time found his own within the ‘densely overpopulated world’ of sixteenth-century music.<sup>324</sup>

Though Crook refers to the composition of the Magnificat, it is a fitting statement for Lasso as a composer of psalms. Lasso acknowledges the tradition of psalm motet composition and brings it to maturity with artistic and hermeneutic development. The psalm motets demonstrate above all Lasso’s compositional sophistication and experimentation within a sacred paradigm.

The second major influence on this project is Christian Leitmeir’s comprehensive study of Jacobus de Kerle and the line of questioning in the placement of de Kerle’s work in the context of the late-Renaissance. This entails the characteristics of ‘Catholic’ composition and confessional representation in the relationship to secular and sacred functions.<sup>325</sup> Despite the unsuitability for liturgical use, the psalm is nonetheless treated with a measure of due reverence and reserve which is always somehow conscious of the tradition of psalmody in earlier polyphonic settings and more specifically, its role in the liturgy. In the complete psalm motets, Lasso is only as experimental as the next step in sacred trends, the psalm motets and polyphonic vernacular paraphrases are not overtly chromatic, nor are they often used to freely explore the gamut of rhetorical figures and musical expression. The late sixteenth-century psalm motet was a reactionary genre which was strongly influenced by the tradition of psalm motet and the commentary on liturgical situations. The treatment of the sacred psalm

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<sup>324</sup> Crook, *Orlando di Lasso’s Imitation Magnificats*, p. 209.

<sup>325</sup> Christian Leitmeir, *Jacobus de Kerle (1531/32-1591): Komponieren im Spannungsfeld von Kirche und Kunst* (Turnhout, 2009).

texts are themselves, in a sense, a barometer in the changing climate of post-Tridentine reform which largely directed the style and development of the genre through the sixteenth century. In contrast to the flexibility in the setting of the psalm text which is evident in the early tradition of the psalm motets in the first half of the sixteenth century, the psalm motet became a measured response to other popular forms of psalmody including recitation, falsobordone, and vernacular paraphrase. Although this flexibility was perhaps constricted, the reference and implication of various genres are demonstrated to carry strong connotations and are highly meaningful in their representation. Moreover, the publication of music testifies to the growth in popularity and increasingly diverse frameworks for the performance of polyphonic psalm settings in private, devotional settings as well as public and political contexts in the late sixteenth century. In this, the influences of humanism and the Counter-Reformation were more deeply imbedded into the fabric of Lasso's career and compositions. The rise of the vernacular psalm alone signals the overwhelming changes in sixteenth-century society. They are a harbinger of dramatic seventeenth-century developments in the sacred polyphonic vernacular, especially in the early-Baroque expansion of chorales, motets, and cantatas.

Undoubtedly, in the course of research, there are still a great number of questions that must go unanswered due to the limited scope of this dissertation. Although attempts were made to hint at performance contexts for the pieces examined, it must be conceded that more evidence is needed to substantiate these speculations. However, the continued investigation of obscure or re-discovered sources is already yielding traces of information towards the formulation of a broader picture of the sixteenth-century motet. Likewise, the merit of this

dissertation lies in the transparent demonstration of how various psalm settings demonstrate the diversity of genre within the context of Lasso's world in the late sixteenth century. Nonetheless, there are numerous possibilities to expand on Lasso's other works and the works of other composers to see if these findings can be applied even more generally.

A portion of this study was directed towards the retrospective tradition of the psalm motet in order to establish a point of reference for Lasso's works. From here, the consideration of both peripheral and successive practices of polyphonic psalm settings was glossed over in many cases, but certainly deserve to be discussed more comprehensively to situate Lasso into a larger musical context. This would not only help to untangle the strands of influence among Lasso and his contemporaries, but also support further study of Lasso's reception and influence on the succeeding generation of composers.

In the study of Orlando di Lasso's psalm settings, there is a constant struggle in managing the depth and scope of materials and sources. It is truly daunting to consider that this is just a small sample of works in relation to the entire repertoire of sixteenth-century psalm settings. The total number of complete psalms composed by Lasso comprises only about one-fifth of the 185 motets that are based on complete and partial psalm texts. While Lasso's approach to the complete psalm texts has been investigated here, the relationship of these motets to the psalm verses that correspond more directly to liturgical material should be investigated more fully to understand how the compositional approach and the motet context may or may not differ.

It was crucial to consider not only the Latin psalm motet, but also the vernacular paraphrases to see a more fully developed picture of sixteenth-century psalm genres. The end of the sixteenth century signalled a shift in the trajectory of music composition into the seventeenth century and early Baroque period. Echoing David Crook's assessment of this 'densely overpopulated world,' the sixteenth century is saturated with numerous potential sources of inspiration: literary renditions, paraphrases, liturgical, paraliturgical, devotional contexts, and various possible occasions for such polyphonic musical settings. It is, therefore, no question that the psalms were highly popularised and increasingly so throughout the sixteenth century, especially as an expression of praise and piety, personal devotion, and public declaration of confessional stance. There remains vast potential to discover more about the wider context of psalmody in early modern culture. Further investigation is required into the meaning, function, and use of psalmody in Latin and vernacular genres. The continuation of such scholarship should involve detailed investigation of individual examples. As the collective study of such settings is enriched, we might be able to further categorise and interpret the development of these genres in respect to various sixteenth-century musical and cultural traditions.



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