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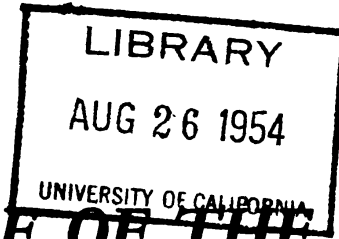
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THE PAPERS OF THE
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CARL F. PRICE

Editor *America*

IV



**THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE
OLD FRENCH PSALTER**

Begun by CLÉMENT MAROT in 1532

An Address before the Hymn Society at its
Decennial Celebration at Union Theological
Seminary, New York, November 12, 1932

by

PROFESSOR WALDO SELDEN PRATT, L.H.D., Mus. D.
Hartford Seminary Foundation

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The Significance of the Old French Psalter

Begun by CLÉMENT MAROT in 1532

My appearing before you to-night is in a sense accidental. It so happens that this tenth-year celebration of our Hymn Society coincides with the four-hundredth anniversary of an event which made such a society both possible and even inevitable. And it so happens that this far-off event and its many implications have long seemed to me of peculiar interest. The special field of this society is naturally the present picture or drama of hymnody as it lies close before us. But in every picture and drama the near foreground gains in depth and meaning as we also regard the backgrounds that lie behind. It is one of these almost forgotten backgrounds that is our topic to-night.

Happily, the subject is not unfamiliar here. Within but a few months you have had an address upon it from one who could speak out of a special intimacy with it.¹ But it spreads before us somewhat like a great forest. It has many aspects and wide expansions, with diverse paths that wind through it. So it will do no harm if to-night we try another entrance and pursue another course.

Toward the end of the year 1532—four hundred years ago—a popular and gifted poet attached to the royal court at Paris set himself to a project unlike any he had tried before, a project which he did not live to finish and one the results of which he did not at all foresee. What he then began and wrought upon for some ten years had sundry partial publications, and at length, being completed by another hand, reached its full and final form in 1562—just three hundred and seventy years ago.

The poet was Clément Marot, a bright star in the galaxy of

¹ By the Rev. M. J. Brun, assistant pastor of L'Église du Saint Esprit, New York City, on May 28, 1932.

wits and geniuses then clustered about the ambitious and energetic Francis I. The book that finally emerged was the complete metrical Psalter in French, richly supplied with tunes—a book that at once for Huguenots and later for hosts of others took rank in reverence as second only to the Bible itself. One third of this book came from Marot's own pen, while upon the whole lay the golden light of his fervor and inspiration.³

I

My main object to-night is to dwell on what this Psalter is within itself. But we can hardly avoid making first a sketch-plan of the situation into which it was born, together with some mention of the enormous range of its ultimate influence.

There was hardly a year in the amazing sixteenth century that might not well be commemorated now. It was packed with momentous events and movements—social, political, artistic, intellectual, religious. The rise of Protestantism was but one among a dozen convulsions that marked the transition from mediæval to modern times.

We cannot survey the whole scene. But we need to recall that the Protestantism of Western Europe started and continued notably separate from that of Central Europe. Its focus was long in Switzerland, where alone it was safe from hostile antipathy and violence. Its first leader was the ardent Zwingli, to whom succeeded in 1534 the still more powerful Calvin. Under the latter there gradually came into being the large circle of churches called Reformed or Calvinistic in distinction from those called Lutheran.

The story of the French Huguenots is at once romantic and

³Two curious, and very dissimilar, observations may be added as to these dates 1532 and 1562:

First, regarding 1532. In that year there was in Paris also a young theological student named John Calvin—not yet a declared Protestant, as Marot certainly was not. During that year he may have preached his first sermon. He surely then published his first book. It was still four years before he and Marot were to meet in Italy, and ten years before they were to work hand in hand at Geneva over the growing Psalter.

And, regarding 1562. The completed Psalter was then issued by the royal printers under license from the king, who just then was Charles IX, a mere boy of twelve, so that the license actually came from his mother as regent, that same Catherine de' Medici who, after playing fast and loose with the Huguenots for ten years, became the instigator of the infamous Massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572.

tragic. Long before they acquired their party name various scattered inquirers and dreamers were searching after a new faith and a new life. As they became united under Calvin's lead, their number and prestige steadily increased, so that they won some toleration and even power, though never for long or in full. Even when their ranks were counted by hundreds of thousands and included many noble and masterful names, they remained always a minority in the nation. Just before 1600 Henry IV, who had fought with them during a long period of civil war, signed the famous Edict that granted large freedom to the new religion. But this Edict was often disregarded, and in 1685 Louis XIV took the fatal step of revoking it. So, after one hundred and fifty years of activity and growth, the Huguenot population then had to choose between flight, recantation or death. Perhaps as many as 400,000 of the choicest spirits in France fled to other countries.

My chief reason for recalling these points is to emphasize the size and quality of the original public for which the French Psalter was designed and by which, through five generations before the Expulsion, it was held precious. The magnitude of this French circulation is otherwise attested. While still incomplete, nearly a hundred issues of parts of the Psalter are recorded. In the one year 1562 the completed work came out in about twenty-five editions in different cities. And before the Expulsion there were two hundred and fifty more. We can only guess how many copies these nearly four hundred printings imply. Whatever the total number, its meaning grows when we reflect that in those days only the few could use books at all. While some had the Psalter in their hands, many more held it simply in their heads and hearts.

Quite aside from this imposing French usage, much more is to be said. The contagion of Geneva spread far and wide. To the north it crept down the Rhine till it struck deep root in Holland, where presently Calvinism became the state or national religion. To the east it pushed steadily into many parts of Germany, where even lately its adherents were counted by millions. Across the Channel, about the time when Marot died, a valet at the court of England imitated his example by putting sundry psalms into English verse, thus taking the first steps toward the English Psalter. During the bloody reign of Mary (1553-58)

hosts of English Protestants took refuge at Frankfort or Geneva. At their return under Elizabeth they brought back new convictions and new practices, which helped to shape the then plastic Anglican Church and took control of the virile Church of Scotland. Thus to the west Geneva laid its hand on early Presbyterianism and Puritanism.

The point for us here is that everywhere the French Psalter flew like a flag at the head of aggressive Calvinism. In Holland Datheen's full translation, with all the tunes, became the official manual of the Dutch Reformed Church. In Germany Lobwasser's translation, again with the tunes, entered upon a popularity that ran strong for two centuries or more. In England, also, translations were promptly made, but were overshadowed by the English Psalter. But in this latter, as in the first Scottish Psalter, almost thirty per cent of the tunes were borrowed from the French, while in the later Psalter of Ainsworth—the one brought to Plymouth by the Pilgrims—one-half of the tunes were French.

But even this is not all. This French book of praise was in demand and use much beyond the three countries already named. The list of translations in full is almost unbelievable—into two dialects of Old French, into Swiss and Italian, into Danish, into Spanish and Portuguese, into Polish, Bohemian and Hungarian, even into Persian, Malay and two other tongues in the Far East, besides into Latin and Hebrew. Verily thus both verse and music may be said to have early gone to the ends of the earth.

Here in the early settlement of America every single band of pioneers, except the Spaniards in the south and the Jesuits in Canada, brought in print or in memory the whole of the French Psalter or parts of it. Indeed, even prior to St. Augustine (commonly called the first permanent settlement in America), a transient French colony in South Carolina sang Marot's Psalms so lustily that the Indians caught them up and kept them sounding long after the remnants of the colony were wiped out.³

In view of all this, my first point is that the significance of the French Psalter lies largely in the extraordinary range of its use and influence.

³ See Charles W. Baird's *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America*, i. 68.

II

Everyone knows that until after 1700 the substance of song in all the great circle of Reformed Churches was almost exclusively psalmody. Upon this and out of it was evolved the later hymnody that we know to-day. The French Psalter broke the first path into this unknown domain of song, its practice being adopted in full for French, Dutch and many German singers and followed in part by Scottish and English singers as well. Traces of its direct impress lingered in England and America as late as about 1800.⁴ And, in the wonderful expansion of English hymn-writing in recent times, one of the notable features has been an instinctive return to many of the models and methods that were first set forth by French psalmodists in the sixteenth century. Verily, then, it was a sturdy and prolific seedling that Marot was moved to plant in 1532!

We turn back now to Marot, the creator of this remarkable historic sequence, whose career was more full of incident and color than we can here record.

His family was Norman, but he was born in 1495 or '97 at Cahors (sixty miles north of Toulouse).⁵ His father, both a man of affairs and a poet, was long attached to the train of the famous Anne of Brittany, who was twice queen of France, and then to that of the king who succeeded in 1515, Francis I. The boy was naturally trained to be a courtier, then almost the only career open to a man of letters. He had discipline in various languages, in the rudiments of law, in the amenities and accomplishments of high society, and, incidentally, in some military service. His shining gift for poetry was early manifest and found incessant exercise. When he came of age, Francis had the wit to put him under the patronage of his sister, Marguerite of Alençon, who became his staunch and lifelong friend. But he was also much at Paris, a favorite with the whole court circle and at least a witness of its

⁴ Of course, many or all of the old psalms and tunes are in constant use now in French and Dutch Protestant churches everywhere. In a small circle of Dutch Reformed congregations in Michigan I believe that the revised edition of Datheen's translation is still the manual of praise.

⁵ The family is traced back to the neighborhood of Caen under forms like Mares, Marais, Des Mares, Desmarets, etc. The spelling Marot was adopted by Clément's father. In America the derivation is shown by various well-known holders of the names Marot, Marais and Demarest. Two or three suppose themselves directly descended from Clément Marot through his son Michael, probably born in 1527. See Douen.

varied play of frivolity and intrigue. In this way he became an experienced man of the world.

But to have won and held his place implies a personality many-sided and strong. He was certainly keen and alert, vivacious and companionable, spirited and even audacious, but withal increasingly thoughtful within himself. His poetic writing was profuse and constant, ranging from light skits and pieces of occasion to veiled allegories and sharp satires on men and things, as well as long works of imagination and of sustained argument or polemic. His sympathies ran vigorously with all that made for progress—in knowledge, in culture, in justice, in liberty. He lost patience over the folly and moral laxness of the court and over the greed and tyranny of the Church. The clerical party came to fear and hate him for his daring sarcasm and his exposure of hypocrisy. I forget how often they schemed to silence him or put him in prison. But he always came back in a sort of triumph, until at last the Sorbonne branded him a heretic and forced him to flee for his life to Geneva. Even there his liberty-loving spirit soon set him adrift again. He betook himself to Italy and died suddenly at Turin in 1544, less than fifty years old—as some think, the victim of poison.

His turning from witty and diverting lyrics and from paraphrases of Greek and Latin odes and dithyrambs was not a mere freak or vagary. He had studied the New Testament before it was translated into French. Through all his mature writing, however light and impulsive, can be traced an evident groping after something deeper and more true. The goal toward which he was working is shown by his famous retort when accused of heresy,

I am no Lutheran or Zwinglian, much less an Anabaptist or Papist. I never was, nor am, nor will be, anything but as Christian, I pass my days, God willing, in the service of His Son, Jesus Christ.⁶

In the annals of French lyric poetry Marot is sometimes counted as the natural successor of the erratic Villon, a half-century earlier. But his genius had a quality of reverence that

⁶In this quotation I take the liberty of combining Marot's two versions. At first he wrote only "Anabaptist," later only "Papist." His evident intention was to disengage himself from all sects and parties, while declaring himself essentially Christian.

Villon never knew. He came at a time when the poetry of the Bible was just beginning to dawn upon the apprehension of the few. In 1532 he took up Hebrew that he might make the vision of the Eternal and Almighty in the psalms the inspiration and solace of the many.⁷

One would like to see a special study of the peculiar influence on Marot's development of three noble and gifted women who saw the potencies within him. These were Anne of Brittany (1476-1514), who watched him in his youth, Marguerite of Alençon (1492-1549), who for twenty-five years was his patroness and protector in his maturity, and Renée, Duchess of Ferrara (1510-74?), at whose court he first met Calvin and to whom he was probably going when struck down at Turin, this last being the only one of the three who openly espoused the new faith. These ladies, all of royal blood, lived in an age of extraordinary violence, luxury and profligacy. Yet, in the midst of it all, they stood out conspicuous for intellectual force, for broad and progressive sympathies, for some degree of moral and spiritual earnestness. Together they supplied both restraint and incitation as the impetuous Marot was evolving from the status of a mere court poet into that of the psalmist of the rising Reformed Church.

In all, Marot wrought out forty-nine psalms in meter, besides versions of the Ten Commandments and the Nunc Dimittis. He began with the first of the Penitentials (Psalm vi), which he appended to a letter to Marguerite. At first he published nothing, but circulated his new poems among friends at court. Thus arose a most curious situation. These psalms at once sprang into favor with the king and the whole gay circle about him (all professed Catholics, though not all paragons of virtue), actually driving out the ditties that had been the fashion. The melodies used were doubtless adapted or invented by Marot, who was expert in music. But at the same time these new songs crept outside and were caught up by humble groups of Protestants as songs of worship. Thus it was that, without Marot's connivance, thirteen of them came into print at Strassburg in 1539. It was not till 1542 that he himself published his first thirty psalms, carefully revised and bearing the royal license or *privilège*. It

⁷At least seven editions of Marot's *Œuvres* are listed in Saintsbury's article upon him in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

was this book which, though explicitly endorsed by Francis I as king and Charles V as emperor, aroused the wrath of the Sorbonne and finally put its author under sentence of death. Marot escaped to Geneva and there, with Calvin's approval, completed nineteen more psalms, the whole list appearing in 1543 as the official basis of a complete Psalter for the Reformed Churches.

But Marot's speedy death forced Calvin to find a new translator. He wisely turned to Théodore de Bèze (or Beza), twenty years younger than Marot, but a trained poet and theologian. Though Beza was no such genius as Marot, he excelled him in scholarship. He had a difficult task to supply the hundred psalms still lacking. But he deserves more honor than has always been accorded him for the fidelity and loyalty with which he completed the work in harmony with the spirit and method of the founder.

In sketching these facts you will see that I am suggesting my second point as to the significance of the French Psalter. This lies in the exceptional quality of its poetic text. No other official psalter matches it in variety, verve or sheer virtuosity. The English Psalter is tame and rude beside it. Even the Scottish, which aimed to follow it in part, is not its equal. Some of its renderings are open to question and sundry verbal expressions have needed alteration. But the massive warmth and dignity of the whole remain a marvel. I have not the skill nor is this the place to go into details.

But I must refer rapidly to certain features in the versification. Some of these are in contrast with early English usage, and all of them bear directly on the music.

All early Protestant verse was derived from popular models of song. The usual rhythm was iambic, the lines grouped into uniform stanzas by means of rhyme. The French Psalter is peculiar in its proportion of trochaic rhythms—over fourteen per cent—and its fondness for feminine endings everywhere.⁸

⁸ In both French and English usage masculine and feminine rhymes are usually contrasted within the couplets, the one closing with a single accent, the other with a double accent (really on the penult, but made double by the melodic close of the line). Examples are

(Iambic) The King of love my Shepherd is,
Whose goodness faileth *never*,

(Trochaic) Glorious things of thee are *spoken*,
Zion, city of our God.

In English popular manuals neither of these found place until fully two hundred years later.

At first in all countries long stanzas were the rule, with correspondingly long melodies. In England and Scotland, the eight-line stanza was at first the favorite. But there the lazy seventeenth century lapsed into the so-called "short" stanza of four lines, while at the same time French and Dutch singers were ranging freely over every length from four lines to twelve.

Still more striking are the contrasts in stanza-plan or "meter." Early English verse centered almost wholly on Common Meter Double, with some variants.⁹ But the French book has no less than one hundred and ten meters, each requiring its own type of tune. This richness of form, no doubt, traces back to Provençal or Troubadour originals. English official usage turned its back for long on all such devices as unpractical. Yet English poesy was not at all unable to match the French models, as was brilliantly shown by the Psalter of Philip Sidney and his sister, based upon Marot and Beza and completed by about 1590 (though not put in print till 1823). It remained for Charles Wesley in the eighteenth century and various poets of the early nineteenth to restore to English hymnody some of its lost features of metrical liberty, variety and vitality.

III

We come now to the tunes. These were the wings that bore the verses fast and far. While the text appealed only to those who knew French and was not readily translatable, the melodies could pass instantly anywhere. By their tunes all early psalms and hymns were not only spread abroad, but stamped upon the heart for generations. By their tunes ye shall *know* them!

The sixteenth century for music was a time of profound transformation. Its texture and method were being readjusted

⁹The syllable-plan for Common Meter is 8686 (the old "ballad meter"), for Long Meter 8888, for Short Meter 6686 (all these being often doubled to make eight lines) and for the so-called Hallelujah Meter 6666 4444. All were iambic. When French psalms were taken into English or Scottish usage the text and music were regularly modified in meter so as to avoid the feminine endings. A few French forms in ten-syllable lines were, however, accepted. Stanzas with such lines have been notably prominent in nineteenth century writing.

to secure effects and values that were novel. Historians do not always note how quickly Protestant song boldly leaped to that which scholastic artists reached more slowly and timidly. The first German hymn-book came out in 1524, the first French in 1539, the first effective English in 1551 (though not in England). In the tunes of all, interwoven with lingering traces of old ways, ran a sure sense of new ideas of rhythm and form, of melodic figure and balance, of tonality and harmony, that bring them close to our modern feeling. The key to it all was the discovery that in the song and dance of common people lay valid and vital artistic principles. Just these principles Protestantism was prompt to utilize.

In France, as elsewhere, the gathering of accepted melodies was gradual. What was used by Marot at first is not clear. In 1539 Calvin put in 29 tunes, of which only 11 became permanent. Half of the 25 added in 1542-3 were later dropped. More stable additions in the next twenty years brought the total to 125—a figure that is impressive in comparison with the 25 original in the English Psalter and the 50 or so in the Scottish.

We can do little here with the vexed question as to who adapted or composed these tunes. In 1541 two musicians came from Paris to Geneva, Guillaume Franc to open a singing school and Louis Bourgeois on invitation from the City Council. In 1545 Franc moved to Lausanne. Bourgeois remained until 1557, in close association with Calvin. Both men were busy over psalm-tunes. But Franc's work seems to have had little effect outside of Lausanne. So on the whole it is easier to call Bourgeois the probable designer of the style as a whole, the style to which the unknown final editor plainly sought to conform. By this word "style" I would not imply that the tunes are mechanically alike—which is far from true. But I mean that various details indicate a strong unifying purpose and plan. As a style, it stands apart from the German style on the one hand and from the English on the other.

Behind this French style, as with the others, lay a background of both Plain-song and Folk-song. Many melodies were doubtless borrowed or imitated, but some were freshly composed. All seem to have gone through some sort of editorial shaping. The style is not so much a creation as a genetic development. Its

prompt success implies a skillful fitting to the public of its day—a public certainly much more expert in unaccompanied song than is common now.

The great authority Douen (1878) divides the tunes into 52 modal, 35 imperfect minor and 38 major. Assuming that the minors can be assimilated to our present minor, this makes the ratio between antique and modern scales about 5:7. A few of his assignments seem to me open to debate. But everywhere we run up against the baffling problem of how far the practice of *musica ficta* is to be reckoned with. In most early music-printing no accidentals are marked. Yet we are practically sure that singers used tones not expressly given. This process of instinctive modification tended always toward the major and minor modes as we now have them, toward modern harmonic drifts and toward more or less modulation. As to the tendency in general there is little doubt. But particular cases can be wrangled over all night.

It is easy to see that these 125 tunes, with over 860 lines and about 7200 notes, present a critical problem of some magnitude. Of course, technical analysis cannot get at their full flavor. But study and comparison bring to light much that casual reading overlooks. Most of the detail is not at all suited to an address like this. But let me give but a single example.

Luther's *Ein' feste Burg* opens with a peculiar melodic device of three reiterated tones. In the French tunes this same device occurs over sixty times, though never built into Luther's phrase. It is commoner in modal or minor tunes, but in several of the majors the effect is notably fine. In the English tunes there are only eight cases and in the Scottish only eleven. In the French it is most telling when opening the second section of the tune and preceded by an octave leap.

Observing points like this leads, among other things, to what seems to be the most salient characteristic of these French melodies. This inheres in the metric pattern of the phrases or lines, that is, their framing out of long and short tones. With almost no exception, the lines are never made up of tones of equal value. Rather is there a constant and studied interplay of longs and shorts, amounting in all to nearly a hundred different patterns. Here is where we feel the vital heritage of folk-songs and

dances, with their elasticity, dash and spirit. This is the more impressive because so different from the English tradition as we know it. Just this it was that was derided by opponents at the start, but just that which a later taste finds choice. It was not only a fruit of the vivacious Gallic spirit. It was also so handled as to give utterance to the exuberant elevation of the ancient praise-book of Israel.

This metric feature is more than a rescript of popular song. It has been moulded into a system at once consistent and flexible. Fifteen to twenty patterns are the most frequent, fitted to every number of syllables from five to thirteen. It is astonishing how few of these patterns are found in current hymnals. About sixty or seventy years ago English tune-writing began to recover a little of the wealth of sixteenth century meters and patterns, as evidenced, for example, in Monk's "Abide with me" and Smart's setting of "Hark, hark my soul," which are in French form throughout.¹⁰ We may hope that the twentieth century will go still further.

Associated with this matter of line-pattern there are two effects that seem unusual to us.

One is the occasional mingling within the phrase of duple and triple feet. Most of these hybrid phrases are not only very singable, but effective, though rare in modern tunes. It is amusing to note the efforts of certain editors to recast these phrases so to fit into some rigid formula that they think more normal.

More curious is the use to some extent of syncopated or upset accents in forming cadences. There are over forty cases of this effect, two-thirds of them with double syncopation. The device serves to emphasize the final note, and often suggests modulation. The noble tune "Toulon" in our modern hymnals, which, like "Old Hundredth," comes straight from the French Psalter, appears now as a four-line tune. Originally it had five lines, but the middle one was dropped because of its syncopated ending.

¹⁰ The first really skillful tune-writer in America was Lowell Mason, who had made diligent study of European models as far as then accessible. He was sensitive to this feature of line-pattern and experimented with many forms. It is curious that his rather favorite pattern (as shown, for example, in his "Rockingham") is identical with that found altogether about a hundred times in the French Psalter. Whether or not this striking innovation upon traditional English usage was based on a knowledge of its French source I do not know.

I wish that I could make due reference to the great dexterity with which different line-patterns are combined in the same stanza. A single pattern is never used for all the lines. Indeed, the style restricts itself to only two patterns in but seventeen cases. In eleven cases each line has a different pattern. The extent of variety in at least a hundred melodies can hardly be matched, I think, in modern hymnals.

In the manuals originally used the tunes are given in melody only, intended for tenor voices. But most of the melodies imply a harmonic basis, as shown by the formation of the phrases. This is made sure by the fact that in Germany, France and England harmonized versions appeared in print almost at once, and multiplied as time went on. In France the well-known Goudimel was one of the first in the field, his version being often republished. Not long after, the foremost organist in Holland, Jan Sweelinck, wrought out a full set of more elaborate treatments, in a way prefiguring the chorale works of Bach a century later. These are but two examples of the way in which professional musicians sought to disclose the harmonic substance behind the melodic profile or outline.

We may safely imagine, also, that among large groups of singers more or less improved part-singing developed spontaneously as in secular song. This is what we suspect as we read of 4000 people singing in the streets of Augsburg in 1551 or of 6000 around St. Paul's Cross in London in 1560, or of the Leyden congregation gathered to say farewell to the Pilgrims in 1620, and in many other cases. Early hymnody and psalmody was not simply melodic, but potentially and actually harmonic as well. This justifies us in various experiments in our own way to-day.

My own study has led me to feel that there is real beauty and worth in many of these old melodies; so much so that one wonders that more is not known of them among us to-day. Those in modal scales appeal to us less than the others, and the minors often raise problems of reading and treatment. But the majors tell their story at once. Only extended illustration and discussion would make clear just what is in my mind. I shall content myself with but a few simple examples on the piano. But I hope that these, meagre and imperfect though they be, will serve to

emphasize my third and final point—that the French Psalter is peculiarly significant for its rich and varied store of music.

My total argument, then, is that this Psalter of four hundred years ago has significance for us to-day for three reasons—first, because of its wide-extended influence in the age when a new faith and zeal were flaming fires; second, because of its fresh and virile transcriptions of the poetry of the Hebrew psalmists; and third, because of the noble and appealing vesture of melody that it gave to this poetry. For all these reasons, it seems fully worthy of the honor which our Hymn Society has done it in giving it place on the program of this Anniversary Celebration.

In preparing this address free use has been made of many books and articles, especially

Douen's masterly *Clément Marot et le Psautier Huguenot*, 2 vols, 1878

Bovet's shorter *Histoire du Psautier des Églises Réformées*, 1872

Livingston's monograph on *The Scottish Psalter*, 1864

Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*, 1892, 2nd ed. 1907

supplemented by an independent study of French, Dutch, English and Scottish Psalters in search of technical details in both verse and music to which not much attention has usually been paid.

Though differing much in scope and purpose, this address runs parallel at many points with three elaborate papers by the late Dr. Louis F. Benson in the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, 1909.

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W. S. P.

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