

LUDWIG SENFL'S PSALM MOTETS AND THEIR INFLUENCE, USE, AND MUSICAL
VALUE IN POLITICS AND RELIGIOUS REFORMATION

A THESIS IN
Musicology

Presented to the Faculty of the University
of Missouri-Kansas City in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree

MASTER OF MUSIC

by
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B.M.E., Southwest Baptist University, 2020

Kansas City, Missouri
2023

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ABSTRACT

Within a culture of rapidly shifting religious ideas, music of the German-speaking lands began to slip into obscurity in the sixteenth century. It took the work of a few key players in an often dangerous climate of reformation to transform music from archaism to successful high art. Ludwig Senfl (c. 1486-1543) was one of those players, and as Kapellmeister for Wilhelm IV in Munich, he achieved such musical success that the sounds emanating from his chapel choir became what Martin Luther would describe as the best music in all of Germany. Senfl accomplished this through his expansive oeuvre, connections to the highest nobility and the most famous reformers, skill in text setting and florid polyphonic writing, and most of all his contribution to the crystallization of new genres, namely the psalm motet.

The psalm motet grew out of Josquin Desprez's (1450-1521) "experiments" at setting complete psalm texts as Latin motets at the turn of the sixteenth century. The psalm motet, at the pen of Josquin, was a subgenre, not widely-enough known by composer, printer, or patron to be considered a stand-alone. However, Senfl chose to set several full psalms and several psalm verses as motets, often for major religious or political events such as the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, noble weddings, or personal favors and gifts. His eleven full psalm motets

all followed a general sectional formula and musical language, creating an observable continuity across the pieces.

This thesis explores how Senfl's career alludes to new ideas of his religious loyalty, punctuated by his psalm motets, personal and business connections, his whereabouts, and other details of his life. I analyze his psalm motets in their divided contexts of Catholic and Protestant reception, revealing how this unique genre, amidst the largest Christian schism of history, forms a bridge between the two warring sides. Lastly, I investigate Senfl's influence in both later successors at the Munich Hofkapelle and equally leading composers across the English Channel through the lens of psalm motets' place in politics and musical development. The genre, through Senfl's pen, achieved remarkably quick formation in just a few decades and became a symbol of religious reformation.

APPROVAL PAGE

The faculty listed below, appointed by the Dean of the University of Missouri-Kansas City Conservatory, have examined a thesis titled “Ludwig Senfl’s Psalm Motets and Their Influence, Use, and Musical Value in Politics and Religious Reformation,” presented by Brittany Grace Roberts, candidate for the Master of Music degree, and certify that in their opinion it is worthy of acceptance.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Several people and institutions have made this project possible, and I would be remiss without thanking each and every one of them.

Above all, I thank Dr. Alison DeSimone for her unwavering enthusiasm, expertise, support, and exceedingly detailed critiques of this project and my work at UMKC at large. Because of the considerable amount of time she spent in drastically improving my writing and research skills, I consider myself well on my way to expertise in my field with a new eagerness to advise my own future thesis-writing students as effectively as she.

Dr. Virginia Blanton likewise has been invaluable in introducing me to the world of digital humanities, paleography, codicology, and chant transmission, some skills of which are demonstrated in this thesis. Her outside-of-the-box thinking and vigor towards medieval and early modern subjects have given me the momentum to branch out from my field and consider early music in a far broader context. For her support and enthusiasm, I am eternally grateful.

Thanks is due also to Dr. Jane Sylvester, to whom I am indebted for her continuous optimism, interest, and assistance in my growing teaching skills and in my professional career plans. Her feedback on my teaching, writing, researching, and presenting have resulted in my increasing confidence in the classroom and behind the keyboard. I thank her also for stretching her research area to be a member of my thesis committee.

Gratefully, I acknowledge the support of the UMKC Women's Council and the UMKC School of Graduate Studies for their financial support of this research. Their paired assistance allowed me to spend twenty-eight days in Munich and surrounding cities in the summer of 2022, in which time spent in the archives was invaluable both in the development of these arguments and my growing experience working with historical, primary documents.

As such, I am truly indebted to Dr. Raymond Dittrich, head of the Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek of Regensburg, Germany. His and his staff's generous and enthusiastic kindness in helping me work through the Pernner Codex and other rare manuscripts and prints is the highlight of my abroad research, without which I could not have accomplished this project. I hope to return someday to study the BZB's holdings more thoroughly. Similarly, I thank the librarians at the Bavarian State Library for their assistance and incredible speed in retrieving library materials for me. Their help was crucial in the development of this thesis.

I thank my parents, James and Catherine, for their unwavering support throughout my entire education. Finally, "thank you," to my husband Noel, for his undying love and assistance through my graduate studies, never once complaining about my odd hours of research. I could not have completed this work without his tremendous support.

DEDICATION

for James R. Tarrant III, DMA.

“All good roads lead back to St. Benno.”

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW:

ESTABLISHING LUDWIG SENFL'S PSALM MOTETS AMIDST RELIGIOUS DIVIDES

I am not ashamed to confess publicly that next to theology there is no art which is the equal of music, for she alone, after theology, can do what otherwise only theology can accomplish, namely, quiet and cheer up the soul of man, which is clear evidence that the devil, the originator of depressing worries and troubled thoughts, flees from the voice of music just as he flees from the words of theology. For this very reason the prophets cultivated no art so much as music in that they attached their theology not to geometry, nor to arithmetic, nor to astronomy, but to music, speaking the truth through psalms and hymns. But how poorly am I now praising music, attempting, as I do, to paint, yet perhaps only disfiguring, on so small a leaf as this a matter so great?¹

The words of Martin Luther penned to Swiss composer Ludwig Senfl (c. 1486-1543) in 1530 express how early modern thinkers considered music: it was a means of high art, of moving the mind toward something, and had power to even change a person's nature. This is an idea that grew from Greek thought, where "[t]he ethical quality of music and its formidable effect on the psyche is based on the Pythagorean concept of a symbolical and metaphysical relationship in the harmony of the universe, music and the human soul."² No doubt even an illiterate congregation member in the sixteenth century also must have felt the impetus of music as the complex polyphony of composers such as Josquin Desprez (1450-1521), Adrian Willaert (c. 1490-1562), and Nicolas Gombert (1490-1556) floated throughout the church, drawing the mind to God. Sacred music was the supreme tool of worship.

However, not all shared Luther's high opinion of music, charging contemporary sacred music as often ungodly and raucous in an age of Humanism where even the church

¹ Walter E. Buszin, "Luther on Music," *The Musical Quarterly* 32, no. 1 (January 1946): 84.

² Hyun-Ah Kim, "Erasmus on Sacred Music," *Reformation & Renaissance Review: Journal of the Society for Reformation Studies* 8, no. 3 (December 2006): 282.

was growing tolerant of less conservative practices and ideas. One such critic was Desiderius Erasmus (c. 1466-1536), a humanist and theologian who was extremely interested in the ancient importance of rhetoric and in turn, focused his ideas into articulating proper Christian life.³ Erasmus, in a biblical commentary, sharply contrasted Luther's heartfelt sentiment of music, as his writing illustrates by saying

We have introduced an artificial and theatrical music into the church, a bawling and agitation of various voices, such as I believe had never been heard in the theatres of the Greeks and Romans. Horns, trumpets, pipes vie and sound along constantly with the voices. Amorous and lascivious melodies are heard such as elsewhere accompany only the dances of courtesans and clowns. The people run into the churches as if they were theatres, for the sake of the sensuous charm of the ear.⁴

It was not unheard of to have numerous instruments joining—doubling perhaps, the polyphonic choirs during church. In his mention of Greek and Roman theaters, Erasmus perhaps alluded to an idea of theatricality in the sacred music, even an overly emotional style only fit for extremely secular circumstances, namely situations involving courtesans and other unsavory characters. Erasmus held that certain texts and styles of music were inherently immoral and called for a renewal of ancient church worship customs; that is, *modulate recitatio* or “modulated recitation,” in which the congregation sang with the priest.⁵ Church, for Erasmus, had grown into endless singing and simply not enough of scriptural reading and teaching.⁶ Both Erasmus and Luther agreed on congregational singing as a necessity of meaningful worship.

³ Greta Grace Kroeker, “Erasmus the Theologian,” *Church History and Religious Culture* 96, no. 4 (2016): 502.

⁴ Joseph Herl, *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism: Choir, Congregation, and Three Centuries of Conflict* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 109-110.

⁵ Kim, “Erasmus on Sacred Music,” 288.

⁶ Kim, “Erasmus on Sacred Music,” 288.

From the onset, the Reformation was a time of dramatic shifts in church society for the German-speaking lands, seeping outward to influence the rest of Europe. The dichotomy between Luther's theology of justification through faith and humanists' consistent argument of humanity as ultimately good transformed the way sacred music was written and received in the German provinces. As such, there were strong opinions of music and what was acceptable for church and what was not; thus music was tied inextricably from the Reformation, which was bound to the politics of the day as the Catholic church had roots in every European court of the day. Situated in the center of the German Reformation was Ludwig Senfl, who had taken a position at the Munich Hofkapelle, a place of extremely visible musical influence and public view. Senfl, while staying confidently Catholic on the outside, harbored sympathies towards the Lutheran reformation, as correspondence between Martin Luther and Senfl attest.⁷ Senfl was a smart and calculated businessman, as his affluent marriage, editorial work influencing reception of Franco-Flemish music in the German provinces, and systematic avoidance of religious persecution attest.

His musical output was vast and varied. His motets, mass settings, German Lieder and odes, and even occasional madrigals were attractive to publishers and music consumers, especially those consumers at the Munich Hofkapelle. While scholars regularly focus on his secular music, this thesis suggests a larger stage for his sacred music, as connections to various Reformation leaders and political powers begin to appear through careful evaluation. Forming a subset of Senfl's motets are his polyphonic psalm settings, which, though few, are the most politically and religiously significant compositions of his entire oeuvre, effectively

⁷ Rebecca Wagner Oettinger, "Ludwig Senfl and the Judas Trope: Composition and Religious Toleration at the Bavarian Court," *Early Music History* 20 (2001): 213.

allowing him to simultaneously write on the cutting edge of music and fit his music into both protestant and Catholic sides. Senfl's psalm motets were a small yet formative genre in his musical output, affecting not only Lutheran and Catholic musical tastes and preferences in the German-speaking lands, but also the future of the motet in its relation to both later composers in the German region as well as those of England and beyond. They occurred in critical moments of Senfl's life, from Lutheran correspondence, important print documents, and religious events. Through his at least eleven full psalm settings, Senfl was able to weave a personal exegesis of the scripture, and effectively inserting the genre into widespread practice across German-speaking lands and even across the English Channel. This, thus, is the crux of the thesis: to identify the importance of Senfl's psalm motets to his own personal confession rippling outward to the dissemination and the reception by everyday consumers as well as those as powerful and influential as Charles V. This suggests new implications and research paths that correlate to other composers, both Senfl's contemporaries and those much later.

Senfl, following his teacher Heinrich Isaac (c. 1450-1517), was one of the first if not the most visible and influential composer in the German provinces to bring the psalm motet into popular use in the area, and he was followed nearly immediately by other German composers setting as much as the entire psalter at once. Josquin seems to have been one of the first and few composers to develop the genre, though currently research on his few psalm motets remains focused primarily on the attribution of his motets.⁸ Indeed, Leeman Perkins asserts that a great portion of Josquin scholarship currently is focused on removing works from Josquin's attributed repertoire, many of which are found in German manuscripts—a

⁸ Leeman L Perkins, "Josquin's *Qui Habitat* and the Psalm Motets," *The Journal of Musicology* 26, no. 4 (2009): 517.

testament to the Renaissance German composers' love and admiration of Josquin's music, or at least, publishers' acumen in understanding that Josquin's music would sell rapidly and consistently.⁹ Due to the hub of printing in Nuremberg, the German-speaking lands were fascinated by the sounds of Josquin. By the mid-sixteenth century, numerous print sources were popping up everywhere alleging authorship of various motets to Josquin, though many of these claims are entirely untrue—leaving the most probable scenario that printers knew Josquin's music would sell in the German provinces, so the more printed, the more money could be made.¹⁰

Senfl contributed heavily to the mass influx of Josquinian polyphony in the German-speaking lands as he was working for a time in music publishing at the center of German printing. The *Liber selectarum cantionum* is a huge, impressively decorated volume of music published in Augsburg in 1520, the very first book of motets published north of the Alps, and arguably one of the first and most influential instances of early publication of some of Josquin's most monumental works, including his much praised and long-lived psalm motet *Miserere mei, Deus*.¹¹ Most curious is Senfl's role in this anthology as editor and possible proofreader. He carefully selected and edited the pieces in a similar care that editors today would approach the music (including inserting six of his own pieces), and his edition proves to be often more accurate than other early print sources published closer to the Franco-Flemish region.¹² Some other psalm motets occur in the *Liber selectarum cantionum*,

⁹ Perkins, "Josquin's *Qui Habitat* and the *Psalm Motets*," 524.

¹⁰ Stephanie P. Schlager, "The *Liber Selectarum Cantionum* and the 'German Josquin Renaissance,'" *The Journal of Musicology* 19, no. 4 (2002): 565.

¹¹ Schlager, "The *Liber Selectarum Cantionum* and the 'German Josquin Renaissance,'" 567.

¹² Schlager, "The *Liber Selectarum Cantionum* and the 'German Josquin Renaissance,'" 597.

including two by Senfl himself: *Usquequo, Domine*; and *Beati omnes qui timent dominum*, not to mention four other miscellaneous compositions by Senfl. These were two of Senfl's very earliest psalm settings, no doubt influenced by those of Josquin. As the first book of motets published in the German region, and no less a book to be used primarily as a presentation copy to a ruler at Salzburg, Senfl's inclusion of so much of his own music places him in a prominent role, even before his employment at the Munich court began. He surely was not unaware of this as he was at the beginning of his successful career as composer and court musician. This book is an important checkpoint in evaluating Senfl's role in political culture through the inclusion of his psalm motets, showing that even as Senfl was acting as something of a freelance composer, this genre was vital to his very earliest career moments.

Two of the most affluent publishers in Nuremberg, Hieronymus Formschneider and Johannes Petreius, were responsible for over three hundred motets just from 1537 to 1539 alone.¹³ Some of the composers published in both anthologies and treatises around this time include Senfl, Isaac, Josquin, Jacob Obrecht, Johannes Ghiselin, Johannes Ockeghem, Alexander Agricola, Antoine Brumel, Pierre de la Rue, and still others.¹⁴ This evidence alone frames a hub of internationalism and cosmopolitanism in music, where foreign composers were being successfully published; therefore German composers and musicians had relatively easy access to this music. They used characteristics they saw and heard in foreign music in their own compositions, especially those of the Franco-Flemish school, to which publications like *Liber selectarum cantionum* allude.

¹³ Cristle Collins Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 84.

¹⁴ Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 103.

History and Context of the Reformation in the German-Speaking Lands

As ships passing in the night were Josquin, Luther, and Senfl. Josquin died in 1521, the very year Luther was put on trial for his faith at the Diet of Worms, where Senfl would have been and likely met the religious reformer.¹⁵ It was just nine years later when Senfl's psalm setting *Ecce quam bonum*, whose text extols unity between brethren, launched the Imperial Diet of 1530 where Luther's *Confession* would be discussed.¹⁶ Luther primarily fought against ecclesiastical hubris within the Catholic church, including condemning the selling of indulgences to get oneself or one's friends out of Purgatory, and established that man is inherently sinful and can only be saved through faith in Jesus, certainly not through purchasing indulgences. In lecture notes Luther wrote on Psalm 31 as he was a professor of Bible at the University of Wittenburg between 1513 and 1515, he says "Let us hear, then, what the line of argument is here. No one is blessed except the one whose iniquities are forgiven. Therefore the corollary is: No one is without iniquity, no one is not a child of wrath, and so he needs to have his sins forgiven. But this happens only through Christ."¹⁷ This is an early example of just the beginning of Luther's understanding of his eventual hallmark of justification through faith alone, yet it grasps the core impetus of the theology.¹⁸ In terms of indulgences, Luther believed they created "weak Christians," while he strove for the Reform which would produce pious and zealous believers.¹⁹

¹⁵ Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 103.

¹⁶ Diane Temme, "Orlando di Lasso's Psalm Settings: An Examination of Genre in Late Sixteenth-Century Psalm Motets and German Lieder," (PhD Diss., Bangor University, 2019), 53.

¹⁷ David M. Whitford, "Erasmus Openeth the Way Before Luther: Revisiting Humanism's Influence on 'The Ninety-Five Theses' and the Early Luther," *Church History and Religious Culture* 96, no. 4 (2016): 522.

¹⁸ Whitford, "Erasmus Openeth the Way Before Luther," 523.

¹⁹ Whitford, "Erasmus Openeth the Way Before Luther," 524.

It was Erasmus' writings that led Luther to these conclusions, as in 1517 he convinced Luther "...that the very foundation of the practice of penance and...the sale of indulgences had no scriptural warrant at all."²⁰ However, while the two agreed even partially on some aspects of church corruption, in this case the sale of indulgences, history remembers them as beacons of opposition, pegging humanism against the protestant Reformation. The main tenet of Erasmus' humanism was the classical importance of oratory, stemming from Petrarch and Augustine, and boiling down the essence of his idea of "good theology" being that which communicated eloquently and persuasively the great truths that were necessary to understand for practical life, or religious life.²¹ Therefore, knowledge of scripture and knowledge of truth, used toward the end of drawing other people to "good" leads ultimately to piety.²² Tradition was vital to Erasmus, as truth stands the test of time, so too religious tradition (if it is good and true) stands the test of time.²³ He believed Christians ought to simply live a pious, Christlike life in order to be saved from damnation, in contrast to Luther's theology: salvation occurs only through personal belief in God; no salvation can come from works alone.

For Erasmus, the basis of music, like theology, was rhetoric and as such music has a chief end to persuade the listener and move the listener's emotion.²⁴ The importance of rhetoric in music is clear in the Renaissance as humanism boomed and dozens of publishing houses pumped out musical theory treatises that strove to explain details of music's

²⁰ Whitford, "Erasmus Openeth the Way Before Luther," 538.

²¹ John W. O'Malley, "Erasmus and Luther, Continuity and Discontinuity as Key to Their Conflict," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 5, no. 2 (1974): 50.

²² O'Malley, "Erasmus and Luther, Continuity and Discontinuity as Key to Their Conflict," 51.

²³ O'Malley, "Erasmus and Luther, Continuity and Discontinuity as Key to Their Conflict," 51.

²⁴ Kim, "Erasmus on Sacred Music," 279.

“grammar.”²⁵ Nuremberg was the “nexus” of print culture in Europe during the early sixteenth century, with more than sixty printers and booksellers operating in the city.²⁶ Theoretical treatises as well as music sprung up here, including Johannes Cochlaeus’ *De musica* (1511) and *Tetrachordum musices* (1537), and a vast number of musical anthologies, especially after the birth of the *Kirchenordnung* in 1533 which facilitated an intersection between Lutheran, Catholic, and Imperial opinions in music.²⁷

Humanists agreed music had a sort of morality within it, even to the smallest detail such as a choice of mode, following Plato’s ideas.²⁸ Plato thought Dorian and Phrygian were the most dignified, and it follows that Dorian was the most used mode amongst Humanist composers in the Renaissance.²⁹ Erasmus condemned popular secular songs of the time in light of this morality, saying “...a lot of people, especially in Flanders, earn a living from [lewd secular songs]; if the law were more vigilant, the authors of these lullabies would be flogged by the hangmen and made to sing dirges, not dirty ditties.”³⁰ Indeed, there was a huge market for chansons, Lieder, and madrigals at the time. Madrigals especially were characterized by sometimes excessive sexual innuendo.

Luther agreed that the contemporary vocal music could be dangerous, and in the forward to his book of songs, he wrote: “[t]hese, further, are set for four voices for no other

²⁵ Kim, “Erasmus on Sacred Music,” 280.

²⁶ Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 82.

²⁷ Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 82-83.

²⁸ Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 285.

²⁹ Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 285.

³⁰ *Complete Works of Erasmus*, vol. 69, 426 (ed. Johannes Clericus Lugduni Batavorum [Leiden, 1703-1706]) quoted in Hyun-Ah Kim, “Erasmus on Sacred Music,” 286.

reason than that I wished that the young...might have something to rid them of their love ditties and wonton songs and might, instead of these, learn wholesome things...”³¹ Luther certainly did not think music needed to be abolished, and in the same forward, wrote “...I am not of the opinion that all the arts shall be crushed to earth and perish through the Gospel, as some bigoted persons pretend, but would willingly see them all, and especially music, servants of him who gave and created them.”³²

Sacred music was vitally important for use in Church services, both in Catholic and Reformed services. Much more were psalms vital to the personal Christian life from the earliest Medieval years throughout the sixteenth century and beyond. In terms of the way music was used in the service, Luther seemed to be most concerned with the content of the music rather than the style. He said that

The daily masses shall by all means be discontinued, for the Word is the only important thing and not the masses....The songs in the Sunday masses and Vespers may remain, for they are quite good and drawn from scripture, although one may decrease or increase their number...[The pastor and preacher should] select for each morning a psalm, a good responsory or antiphon with a collect; likewise in the evening to be read and sung publicly after the lesson and explanation. But the antiphons, responsories, and collects, the legends of the saints and of the cross, should be laid to rest for awhile until they are cleansed, for there is an awful lot of filth in them.³³

³¹ Johann Walther, *Wittembergisch geistlich Gesandbuch von 1524*, ed. Otto Kade (Publikationen älterer praktischer und theoretischer Musikwerke 7 [Berlin 1878]), preceding p. 1 of score. Translation by Oliver Strunk in *Source Readings in Music History*, Leo Treitler, ed., vol. 3 *The Renaissance*, Gary Tomlinson, ed. (New York: Norton, 1998) 83-84.

³² Johann Walther, *Wittembergisch geistlich Gesandbuch von 1524*, 84.

³³ Martin Luther, *Von ordenung gottis diensts ynn der gemeyne* (1523), quoted in Joseph Herl, *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism*, Appendix 2, 194-195.

Consequently, scripture alone was the undeniably perfect and most suitable text for composers to set to music for use in true worship. Of the book of Psalms in the Old Testament specifically, Luther writes that

Since it proclaims and sings of the Messiah, the Book of Psalms is for such hearts a sweet, comforting, and lovely song; this is the case even when one speaks or recites the mere words and does not employ the aid of music. Nevertheless, music and notes, which are wonderful gifts and creations of God, do help gain a better understanding of the text, especially when sung by a congregation and when sung earnestly.³⁴

Here, Luther seems to describe some basic word painting as used to declaim the text more clearly. This was a compositional technique Senfl utilized well, especially in his motets, and as the editors of the *New Senfl Edition* attest, Senfl was "...a musician at the forefront of text-based sonic effects, compositional innovations and their rhythmic realization...as one who understood the application of these techniques in the spirit of a musical pastor, adroitly harnessing the poetic structure of psalms, exegesis, or intertextual relationships in the design of the work."³⁵ Senfl, as a highly skilled text-setter in such a conspicuous position as the Munich Hofkapelle, would have been an obvious choice among Luther's favorite musicians, and subsequently, a source of theological propaganda, whether knowingly or not. This theological "propaganda," appears in flashes within psalm motets, whether by word painting and other contrapuntal techniques, their use as quasi- "peace offerings" between Catholics and Protestants, and icons of political power and piety. Such examples as these appear in subsequent chapters of this thesis through the common thread of Senfl and the Munich Hofkapelle.

³⁴ Buszin, "Luther on Music," 92.

³⁵ Scott Lee Edwards, Stefan Gasch, and Sonja Tröster, eds., *New Senfl Edition*, vol. 3, *Ludwig Senfl: Motets for Five Voices* (Vienna: Hollitzer, 2022), 4:XI.

Literature Review

A foray into the literature surrounding Senfl in detail and German Renaissance music reveals both a penchant for German secular music as well as reducing German sacred music of this time to a copy or mirror of Franco-Flemish practices. Broadening from a study on the single genre of the psalm motet, the discussion of German music of the Renaissance occupies little space in comparison to a preponderance of scholarship centering on Franco-Flemish and Italian Renaissance products. A slight uptick in the discourse is occurring even now, headed by a few scholars in Europe who are working toward a fully edited, accurate modern edition of Senfl's music, the last volume currently awaiting publication.³⁶ Stefan Gasch and Sonja Tröster, among a very few others, are the foremost writers, both having written Senfl's *Oxford Music Online* article. They have created an authoritative collection of his works, the *New Senfl Edition*, which is a thoroughly useful source both for performance and score study, and it includes musical as well as codicological commentary.³⁷

Senfl is quickly becoming the most currently widely studied German composer in the Renaissance, already with a well-developed *catalogue raisonné*, probably due to his proximity to his teacher Isaac, the German Renaissance composer most familiar to musicologists today. Though the circle of Senfl scholars is small, it seems to be widening, especially as questions of his place in the Reformation itself arise. The aim of this thesis is to invoke fresh methodologies through the analysis of a single sacred genre in Senfl's output to determine his crucial place in the course of the Reformation: more than a "behind the scenes"

³⁶ Scott Lee Edwards, Stefan Gasch, and Sonja Tröster, eds., *New Senfl Edition*, vols. 1-3 (Vienna: Hollitzer, 2021-2022).

³⁷ Stefan Gasch, Sonja Tröster, and Birgit Lodes, *Ludwig Senfl (c. 1490–1543): a Catalogue Raisonné of the Works and Sources* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019).

composer; rather, Senfl was involved in nearly every key event of the Reformation. I add to the body of knowledge by approaching his music from non-musical avenues, leaning heavily into codicology, political and cultural history, and biblical studies, using his music to support these extra-musical arguments.

The broadest collection of articles on Senfl's music is the *Senfl Studien*, a three-volume collection of German and English articles covering nearly all aspects of Senfl's life and music and their political and social contexts.³⁸ This seems to be the most complete, central location for Senfl scholarship across German and English writers. Most closely tied to this thesis is Wolfgang Fuhrmann's "Die Suche nach musikalischer und religiöser Identität in Ludwig Senfls Psalmmotetten," where he discusses Senfl's psalm motets in relation to Josquin (and even in resistance to Josquin's motets), and how they could have been a more private testament of his faith rather than public.³⁹ His final statement leaves a gap in scholarship where this thesis seeks to fill: "[t]he question of whether Senfl entrusted [his religious] beliefs to his settings of the psalms and how these might have been composed in the religiously turbulent time of the Reformation must ultimately remain open."⁴⁰ This idea alone is the springboard from which this thesis comes: surely there is missed evidence supporting Senfl's personal confession, whether he was Catholic or Lutheran. In a world where the church was so innately tied to politics, society, and even European culture at its

³⁸ Stefan Gasch, Birgit Lodes, and Sonja Tröster, eds. *Senfl Studien*, vols. 1-3 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2012-2019).

³⁹ Wolfgang Fuhrmann, "Die Suche nach musikalischer und religiöser Identität in Ludwig Senfls Psalmmotetten," in *Senfl Studien* vol. 1, eds. Stefan Gasch, Birgit Lodes, and Sonja Tröster (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2009) 309-341.

⁴⁰ Fuhrmann, "Die Suche nach musikalischer und religiöser Identität in Ludwig Senfls Psalmmotetten," 341, my translation.

very core, it seems unlikely that Senfl had no convictions. Drawing conclusions from extra-musical resources in conjunction to his psalm motets, especially leaning into purely historical research apart from musicological journals and scholarship, I believe, is the key to unlocking Senfl's religious identity. Because the scope of purely musical research seems to be lacking in recognizing Senfl's place in a politically charged world, especially in terms of his sacred music, it is time to branch out to new disciplines to find new ways to connect the dots of his story. This, therefore, will give a novel understanding to Senfl as a careerist, businessman, and ally to both sides of Christian schism, allowing him to be more than just a court composer and altist.

Ludwig Senfl: Scholarship on Life and Works

Scholars now hesitate to add to Senfl's biography as Martin Bente holds the long-understood title of authority on Senfl's life and works in general. Though a dated work, his *Neue Wege der Quellen-Kritik und die Biographie Ludwig Senfls* establishes Senfl's music as being remembered as important due to humanistic music theory, the reformatory renewal of Latin schools, and the Lutheran cultivation and tradition of music establishing Senfl as an important composer through the seventeenth century.⁴¹ In this book, Bente argues that Senfl was primarily a master of the motet.⁴² Bente further discusses the reception of Senfl's music, even into the end of the seventeenth century.⁴³

Andreas Lidner's "Non moriar sed vivam: Luther, Senfl und die Reformation des Hochstifts Naumburg-Weitz," discusses some of the surroundings of Senfl's 1530s motets,

⁴¹ Martin Bente, *Neue Wege der Quellenkritik und die Biographie Ludwig Senfls: Ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte des Reformationszeitalters* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1968) 9.

⁴² Bente, *Neue Wege der Quellenkritik und die Biographie Ludwig Senfls*, 9.

⁴³ Bente, *Neue Wege der Quellenkritik und die Biographie Ludwig Senfls*.

and includes some primary source material of Luther's own high opinion of Senfl's music.⁴⁴ With this source, it is possible to establish a connection between the Lutheran movement and Senfl's composing: it would have been highly improbable that knowledge of and correspondence with Luther would have no effect on Senfl's music. This further confirms the idea that German music of the sixteenth century was influenced heavily by Lutheran ideas.

The scholarship of purely musical and theoretical aspects of Senfl's music seems to be growing at a promising rate. The front runner to this is the *New Senfl Edition* by Scott Lee Edwards, Tröster, and Gasch. There are already three volumes completed, and one is forthcoming. In the *New Senfl Edition*, the editors present a clean, carefully edited edition of each of Senfl's motets, organized by volume into 4-part motets, 5-part motets, and 6- and 8-part motets and canons. This extensive project provides commentary on Senfl's biography, compositional style, and codicological details crucial to the understanding of Senfl as an extremely important composer during his lifetime and after. The editors also detail similarities and differences between him, Josquin, Gombert, Spanish composers, and others, effectively showing Senfl as a unique composer, while conservatively imitating some of Josquin's careful flair.⁴⁵ The *New Senfl Edition* "...produce[s] a philologically reliable edition in several modules, according to uniform editorial guidelines and based on the current state of research, with a comprehensive description of sources, transparency in the creation of the musical text, flexibility in use, and extensive contextual information."⁴⁶ This front-running

⁴⁴ Andreas Lindner, "Non Moriar Sed Vivam: Luther, Senfl Und Die Reformation Des Hochstifts Naumburg-Weitz," *Jahrbuch Für Liturgik Und Hymnologie* 36 (January 1, 1996): 213.

⁴⁵ Edwards, Gasch, Tröster, *New Senfl Edition*, vol. 1, *Ludwig Senfl: Motets for 4 Voices (A-I)* (Vienna: Hollitzer, 2021) preface xi-xii.

⁴⁶ Edwards, Gasch, and Tröster, eds., *New Senfl Edition*, vols. 1-3.

project is also accessible online, providing an authoritative and convenient point of departure for performers and scholars alike.⁴⁷

Other smaller projects involve analyses of some of Senfl's pieces, such as David Burn's research from 2013, which considers Senfl's music independent of its stylistic context.⁴⁸ Here, Burn examines fragments of Senfl's motets, and even mentions a contemporary of Senfl, Leonhard Paminger (1495-1567), as sharing some similarity in the use of canon in 4-voice motets.⁴⁹ This mention may lead to more similarities and traits of German music—possibly metrical and rhythmic over melodic and harmonic. Within an article mentioned earlier, Burn writes more on Paminger, taking a case-study approach in discussing some issues with chant in sixteenth-century polyphony. Burn uses Paminger's antiphon *Da pacem* in which he compares an original set chant to its transformation in a polyphonic setting, in which he considers Paminger's work "unusually lavish."⁵⁰ A discussion of Paminger's psalm motet output is critical as he, a Lutheran, set the entire psalter to polyphony, a feat even Senfl had not achieved. A brief study of Paminger's psalter will illuminate the publicly influential place Senfl's psalm settings held in the German provinces at the time.

A consideration might be made to examine some work of the more well-known Heinrich Isaac and his music. As Senfl's teacher and heralded follower of the Josquinian

⁴⁷ Edwards, Gasch, and Tröster, eds., *New Senfl Edition*, vols. 1-3.

⁴⁸ David J. Burn, "Reconstructing Senfl's Fragmentary Motets," *Wiener Forum Für Ältere Musikgeschichte*, Senfl-Studien. II (2013): 525–6.

⁴⁹ Burn, "Reconstructing Senfl's Fragmentary Motets," 529.

⁵⁰ David J. Burn, "Analyzing Sixteenth-Century Chant-Based Polyphony: Some Methodological Observations, and a Case-Study from Leonhard Paminger," *Einstimmig – Mehrstimmig* (2012): 156.

style, as well as a first among German psalm motet writers, Isaac is a prominent influence on Senfl's output and early career. A small revival in the early 2010s of Isaac's music emerged as scholars grew more and more interested in his output. David Burn's writing is a useful source, with his and his co-authors Blake Wilson's and Giovanni Zanovello's "Absorbing Heinrich Isaac," in which they work to return Isaac into the canon as well as into general discussion of Renaissance music.⁵¹ Oddly enough, and certainly a point glossed over by many writers of Renaissance music overviews, there exists today more works by Isaac than any of his contemporaries.⁵² This evidence points to the greater print culture in the German-speaking lands than France or Italy, due to the advent of the printing press here. The authors cannot define why Isaac and other German composers are somewhat lacking in current research, but they look forward to a great enlightenment of Renaissance music through the lens of studying Isaac's music, since there is so much of it and so little work has been done.⁵³

As Isaac is considered, at least by these authors, more of a Flemish Josquinian composer, it is certainly worth noting that music from the German-speaking lands from the Renaissance would have had a distinct Franco-Flemish slant to the style and composition. Senfl, his work involving him directly with printing (*Liber selectarum cantionum*) while associated strongly with Isaac, would have been more than aware of the importance of printing. Judging from Isaac's massive output in tandem with the numerous publications of Josquin's works, Germans were keenly aware of the importance of print culture, which as a research area is a popular topic of study and a key factor in this thesis. Numerous sources are

⁵¹ David J. Burn, Blake Wilson, and Giovanni Zanovello, "Absorbing Heinrich Isaac," *The Journal of Musicology* 28, no. 1 (2011): 1–8.

⁵²Burn, Wilson, and Zanovello, "Absorbing Heinrich Isaac," 4.

⁵³Burn, Wilson, and Zanovello, "Absorbing Heinrich Isaac," 8.

being published currently regarding all aspects of print culture in Europe and elsewhere. One such book, *Early Printed Music and Material Culture in Central and Western Europe* focuses on print culture largely, but it spends time in the workings of printers like Georg Rhau, who published much of Senfl's works alongside other masters like Isaac and Josquin, which helps to place Senfl onto the stage of preeminent composers in the German-speaking lands.⁵⁴ Other topics include psalm motet printings throughout Europe, especially in Lutheran circles.⁵⁵

The Psalm Motet

The polyphonic psalm motet was a relatively new genre for Senfl to discover, but it exploded in popularity in the sixteenth century. A detailed appraisal of Orlando di Lasso's (1532-1594) psalm settings can be found in Diane S. Temme's dissertation on late sixteenth-century psalm motets and German Lieder.⁵⁶ Of special importance to this thesis is her research on the development of the genre and its uses in German church settings, especially her discussion of three volumes of psalm motets printed by Petreius in Nuremberg which include works by Josquin and Senfl, as well as a discussion of Senfl's compositional style exhibited in his psalm motets.⁵⁷ Temme attributes the advent of the psalm motet in the Bavarian court to Senfl himself, as the earliest manuscript with psalm motets there is dated to the same time Senfl arrived.⁵⁸ She briefly discusses Senfl's successors before Lasso in

⁵⁴ Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl and Grantley McDonald, eds, *Early Printed Music and Material Culture in Central and Western Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2021).

⁵⁵ Lindmayr-Brandl and McDonald, eds, *Early Printed Music and Material Culture in Central and Western Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2021).

⁵⁶ Temme, "Orlando di Lasso's Psalm Settings: An Examination of Genre in Late Sixteenth-Century Psalm Motets and German Lieder," 53.

⁵⁷ Temme, "Orlando di Lasso's Psalm Settings," 47-48.

⁵⁸ Temme, "Orlando di Lasso's Psalm Settings," 48.

Munich.⁵⁹ Temme also provides necessary background on the new Roman Rite that had been implemented later after Senfl's tenure at the Munich Hofkapelle, which may hint at why use of his music dwindled slightly at the court chapel after he died.⁶⁰

Another dissertation focuses on two psalm motets occurring during the English reformation echoes sentiments of psalm motets in the German reformation—massive instability and use of music as propaganda is effectively worked into the writing of psalm motets.⁶¹ Janet McCumber carefully suggests that William Byrd (c. 1540-1623) may have been influenced by the psalm settings of both Josquin and Orlando di Lasso, but she avoids mentioning Senfl.⁶² This suggests comparison work ought to be done between Senfl's and Byrd's motets, as Senfl was one of the first to begin writing psalm motets after Josquin. Megan Eagen Jones' dissertation works through psalm motets in the sixteenth century specifically in Augsburg. Though she only briefly mentions Senfl, her work contributes to a deeper understanding of the worth and importance of these psalm motets to the general population of the sixteenth century, slightly after Senfl's working years.⁶³

Broader Context

There is only a small bibliography of books concerning German Renaissance. *Music in the German Renaissance: Sources, Styles and Contexts* (edited by John Kmetz in 1994)

⁵⁹ Temme, "Orlando di Lasso's Psalm Settings," 61-77.

⁶⁰ Temme, "Orlando di Lasso's Psalm Settings," 136-140.

⁶¹ Janet M McCumber, "'I Wil Poure Out the Wordes of Sorrowe': Politics in the Protestant and Catholic Settings of Psalms 51 and 79 During the English Reformation" (Dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2017) 140.

⁶² McCumber, "I Wyl Poure Out the Wordes of Sorrowe," 140.

⁶³ Megan Eagen Jones, "The Articulation of Cultural Identity Through Psalm Motets, Augsburg 1540-1585" (Dissertation, Megan Eagen Jones, Dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2016).

skirts the subject of a purely German style and focuses on case studies. Kmetz states, “...almost all our comprehensive studies of German secular music of the Renaissance have already celebrated their sixty-fifth birthdays. Yet none of these studies can be retired, since there are no new ones to take their place.”⁶⁴ Even now, almost thirty years later, it is still difficult to find books dedicated to German Renaissance music.

Two chapters in Kmetz’s book that are particularly useful are “Heinrich Glarean’s Books” by Iain Fenlon and “The Motet Text of Philippe de Vitry in German Humanist Manuscripts of the Fifteenth Century” by Andrew Wathey. As Glarean (1488-1563) used Senfl’s music in his treatises, a greater context of the theorist’s books is necessary for understanding Senfl’s place in the repertory. Fenlon gives a brief view into the books Glarean owned, as well as provides context on printers in the 1510s and their scope and reach. Assessing book collections of music theorists, especially that of a Catholic Humanist, offer suggestions about what music theorists in the German-speaking lands considered important to own in the pursuit of a higher level of thinking about music, and could offer indirect insight into why he considered Senfl’s music crucial to his work.⁶⁵

Andrew Wathey traces the flow of Philippe de Vitry’s (1291-1361) music into German manuscripts by way of humanism following after Petrarch.⁶⁶ In his article, Wathey establishes that in the fifteenth century, German students were traveling in droves to Italy for their schooling, and it was in this way the ecclesiastical Councils of Constance and Basle that

⁶⁴ John Kmetz, ed., *Music in the German Renaissance: Sources, Styles and Contexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) preface xiii.

⁶⁵ Iain Fenlon, “Heinrich Glarean’s Books,” in *Music in the German Renaissance*, ed. John Kmetz, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) 74-105.

⁶⁶ Andrew Wathey, “The Motet Text of Philippe de Vitry in German Humanist Manuscripts of the Fifteenth Century,” in *Music in the German Renaissance*, ed. John Kmetz, 195-201.

Petrarchan humanism passed north of the alps, “informing German tastes” in music and other areas of life, such as education.⁶⁷ Likewise, de Vitry’s motet poetry found its way to the German-speaking lands, though Wathey explains that this had little effect on actual German music composition in the fifteenth century; rather, it affected how Germans thought about music and poetry.⁶⁸ In any case, it is clear outside practices and humanist ideas were brought to German lands; how German composers used them is another matter entirely.

A few broader studies, such as Rebecca Wagner Oettinger’s *Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation* (2016), provide cultural and historical context, discussing how music was used to disseminate Lutheran ideas into a largely illiterate populous.⁶⁹ In this way, German music, perhaps more than music of other regions at this time, held a far greater significance as a means of spreading ideas. Within this argument Senfl’s psalm motets fit neatly, as they were sometimes written to theologically and politically charged recipients on both sides.

This notion too alludes to the massive business of printing, affecting both music and non-music media. Oettinger provides details on almost 200 Lieder from the time and explains the importance of song during the Reformation. As Senfl and others wrote odes and Lieder, this is an important source in identifying the reception of such propaganda through music. Another angle is Birgit Lodes’ “Die Rezeption von Ludwig Senfls Nisi Dominus-Kompositionen im Kontext der Psalmauslegungen Martin Luthers,” where she expounds on

⁶⁷ Wathey, “The Motet Text of Philippe de Vitry in German Humanist Manuscripts of the Fifteenth Century,” 196-197.

⁶⁸ Wathey, “The Motet Text of Philippe de Vitry in German Humanist Manuscripts of the Fifteenth Century,” 201.

⁶⁹ Rebecca Wagner Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation. St Andrews Studies in Reformation History* (London: Routledge, 2016).

Senfl's work in relation to Luther,⁷⁰ again, establishing the influence of Lutheran ideas on Catholic musicians (and vice versa) and consequently pinning down how Senfl's psalm motets fit within the narrative of sacred music as both political and religious propaganda in public and private contexts.

Andrew Fisher published a book in 2013 discussing "soundscapes" in Bavaria during the time of the Counter-Reformation, which, while addressing later events, may be useful in determining the next steps German sacred music would take.⁷¹ As it is so clear in Baroque German music what is "German" and what is not, steps backward in time can trace hints of unique characteristics that led to the extremely obvious "German style" in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Other work useful for sketching the civic context is Joachim Kremer's book chapter titled "Change and Continuity in the Reformation Period: Church Music in North German Towns, 1500-1600" (2012), which addresses music education, chronological details on German churches adopting new Lutheran practices, typical musical repertory after the Reformation, and other topics.⁷²

Chiara Bertoglio approaches music in the Reformation across Europe specifically from Protestant perspectives, including music from the Church of England and both evangelical churches of Martin Luther and Jean Calvin.⁷³ However, in chapter 4 of

⁷⁰ Birgit Lodes, "Die Rezeption von Ludwig Senfls Nisi Dominus-Kompositionen im Kontext der Psalmauslegungen Martin Luthers," in *Musik und Reformation: Politisierung, Medialisierung, Missionierung*, ed. C. Wiesenfeldt and S. Menzel (Paderborn, 2019), 41–94.

⁷¹ Alexander J. Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda: The Soundscapes of Counter-Reformation Bavaria. New Cultural History of Music Series* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

⁷² Joachim Kremer, "Change and Continuity in the Reformation Period: Church Music in North German Towns, 1500-1600," in *Institutions and Patronage in Renaissance Music*, ed. Thomas Schmidt-Beste (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

⁷³ Chiara Bertoglio, *Reforming Music: Music and the Religious Reformations of the Sixteenth Century* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017).

Bertoglio's book, she briefly touches on some interesting distinctions of German pre-Reformation music, such as mixing Latin and German in Christian singing as well as other scenarios of vernacular, congregational singing *specifically* prior to the Reformation, arguing that history has glossed over this idiosyncrasy in order to present German congregational singing in Luther's time as extremely novel.⁷⁴ This idea is echoed by Joseph Herl's *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism* (2008) (as he presents how worship services were conducted, arguing specifically that congregational singing in the German-speaking lands occurred even before the Reformation.⁷⁵ This book provides commentary on Luther's thoughts and discussion of church music. The range of scholarship on the Reformation is extraordinarily detailed and vast across disciplines, overlapping subject areas like history, politics, theology, and musicology. However, it is most prudent for this project to focus on research specifically from the perspective of how music functioned in the church and outside, and especially how it was used as propaganda, as Oettinger's and Bertoglio's works do.

Senfl's music was referenced extensively in his lifetime. In *Reading Renaissance Music Theory: Hearing with the Eyes* (2000), Cristle Collins Judd analyzes several topics including treatises published in the sixteenth century.⁷⁶ Several of the treatises she introduces were first published in Nuremberg, which is helpful in establishing the role of printing in the German-speaking lands. One author of such a treatise is Sebald Heyden (1499-1561), pupil of the same teacher who taught Heinrich Glarean, another author who quoted Senfl's music. Heyden was a reformer with Calvinist tendencies, while Glarean was a sincere Catholic

⁷⁴ Bertoglio, *Reforming Music: Music and the Religious Reformations of the Sixteenth Century*, 112.

⁷⁵ Herl, *Worship Wars*, Preface 1.

⁷⁶ Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*.

humanist, but both shared a common upbringing within the German Latin school and later university, which by their differing religious and philosophical viewpoints drastically affected their writings on music.⁷⁷ Assessing where Senfl's music was used, especially in writings across the religious divide, illuminates the reach of his influence.

Directly influencing many aspects of psalm motet writing in Germany is the rippling impact of the Reformation, about which there is no disparity of scholarship. Overlap of study over the Reformation crosses historical, musicological, and theological publications. This topic has captivated writers ever since, as it is the single most influential event in church history. One such pertinent article by Gerald Strauss uses a religious standpoint to investigate what life was like under the courts of Dukes Wilhelm IV and Ludwig X, digging into how certain Lutheran beliefs could destroy a person, even to banishment or death.⁷⁸ Strauss gives detailed accounts of people, cities, and bishoprics of importance; while not mentioning Senfl specifically, this article provides some key political context.⁷⁹

Chapter Overviews

Each subsequent chapter of this thesis seeks to reveal aspects and reaches of Senfl's psalm motet, from historical, geographical, musical, and religious approaches. Chapter two examines how Senfl's career at the Munich Hofkapelle from 1523 to his death set him at the height of German musical advancement and the center of religious and political drama and change. The mystery surrounding Senfl's religious views is hardly ignored by scholars today,

⁷⁷ Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 89.

⁷⁸ Gerald Strauss, "The Religious Policies of Dukes Wilhelm and Ludwig of Bavaria in the First Decade of the Protestant Era," *Church History* 28, no. 4 (December 1959) 350-373.

⁷⁹ Strauss, "The Religious Policies of Dukes Wilhelm and Ludwig of Bavaria in the First Decade of the Protestant Era," 350-373.

but this chapter will illuminate how his psalm motets specifically allowed him to cross between with little to no repercussion from either side of the religious divide; indeed, his psalm settings were highly respected by extremely influential people, including Luther on the Protestant side, and Glarean on the Catholic. This chapter deals only briefly with biographical elements of Senfl's life that are more pertinent to his story, as the work of Martin Bente has already become the standard biography on Senfl.⁸⁰ Senfl was a savvy and smart magnate even in his personal life, as a view into his beneficial marriage shows. The skills he acquired in maintaining a successful life and career assisted in his ability to bridge religious ideologies, especially difficult in Germany during the Reformation, as can be observed by the way his contemporary Protestant sympathizers were harshly punished by the Catholic authorities.⁸¹ Through his successful career as court musician growing the Munich Hofkapelle choir and musical forces, popularly published works, and even references in both Protestant and Catholic musical treatises, Senfl quickly became a nearly "untouchable" composer seemingly incapable of criticism by religious pedants.

Chapter three moves from discussing on a broader scale the pertinent differences between the Lutheran and Catholic musical and theological roles, to establishing the psalm motet's short history and how it fit neatly into both religions' musical molds, to laying four of Senfl's motets (*Beati omnes* [i]; *Usquequo, Domine*; *Ecce quam bonum*; and *Deus in adiutorium* [i]) under a case study approach to identify elements of his unique style and how he uses the music to exegete the scriptural text. Each of these motets, in different ways, allows a deeper understanding of Senfl's compositional style, the similarities and differences

⁸⁰ Bente, *Neue Wege der Quellenkritik und die Biographie Ludwig Senfls*.

⁸¹ McDonald, Grantley, "The Life and Trials of Lutheran Musicians at the Courts of Wilhelm IV and Ludwig X of Bavaria," in *Senfl Studien* vol. 2, ed. Stefan Gasch and Sonja Tröster, 23-42.

to previous psalm motet composers (namely Josquin), and the cultural and historical importance of Senfl's psalm motets. These three motets show how Senfl could exegete scripture, taking on the role of theologian. Most importantly, these four psalm motets illustrate Senfl's unique compositional voice by illuminating techniques he tends to employ across his motets, and how they fit in both Protestant and Catholic contexts.

Senfl's psalm motets reached beyond the reception by his patron and the listeners at the Munich Hofkapelle, as chapter four investigates. Indeed, his motets established the standard for other German composers to set the entire psalter. Here, the disparity between the meager, if any, criticism Senfl faced with the vastly strong criticism his successor Lasso experienced is addressed with a consideration to the Jesuits' newfound power in the Munich court. This also proposes an answer to the dwindling performance of Senfl's music shortly after his life, an answer found in the liturgical change of Rite with the onslaught of the Council of Trent. While the psalm motet continues to thrive in the German lands with Senfl's successors and contemporaries (namely Lasso and Pamingier), this chapter follows the motet across the English Channel to the pen of William Byrd, and it draws parallels to the similar religious upheaval happening at the hands of Henry VIII. As Senfl, Lasso, and Byrd all dealt heavily with various religious criticism and censure due to their extreme visibility in the highest of political court chapels, the psalm motet remains a common unifying thread to each story, establishing each composer as attractive to both Protestant and Catholic listeners, and allowing each to write some of the most formative psalm motets of their respective geographical regions.

CHAPTER 2

CHAMELEON COMPOSING: SENFL'S PSALM MOTETS AS A METHOD OF CROSS- CONFESSIONAL DIPLOMACY

Exert yourself now, and swiftly apply your mind to writing songs, so that every one [sic] might love music and venerate its sweetness under your bidding. For you, if you will, have the power to unlock what is shut through the sounds of your disciplined music; you will be praised eloquently as the glory of our land. Do not conceal your works, and do not lay them aside in a dark corner, in the dumb shadows, but let your songs fly out in every part through the mouths of all musicians.¹

This poignant excerpt from Wolfgang Seidl (d. 1562), a Benedictine theologian and preacher under Wilhelm IV, to Ludwig Senfl, strongly urged the composer to make his loyalties to the Catholic church clear and public.² Throughout his life, Senfl hovered between Catholic and Lutheran public support. Some scholars describe his ambiguity as simply a case of “Nicodemism,” in reference to the pharisee Nicodemus who, in the Gospel of John, visited Jesus under the cloak of darkness to avoid trouble from the other pharisees who wanted Jesus dead. Grantley McDonald considers this the only reasonable explanation for Senfl’s seeming religious ambiguity;³ and certainly it seems to be, on the surface, the simplest explanation for Senfl’s personal beliefs.

Seidl’s words from his personal letter to Senfl, “[f]or you, if you will, have the power to unlock what is shut through the sounds of your disciplined music,” imply that Senfl knew he could become possibly the most eminent composer in the German-speaking lands

¹ D-Mbs Clm 18695, fol. 184v-185v, transcript in Kroyer, *Senfls Werke, erster Teil*, p. CIV, quoted in Grantley McDonald, “The Metrical *Harmoniae* of Wolfgang Gräfinger and Ludwig Senfl,” in *Senfl Studien*, vol. 1, edited by Stefan Gasch, Birgit Lodes, and Sonja Tröster (Tutzing: Verlegt Bei Hans Schneider, 2012), 92-93.

² McDonald, “The Metrical *Harmoniae*,” 92-93.

³ Grantley McDonald, “The Life and Trials of Lutheran Musicians at the Courts of Wilhelm IV and Ludwig X of Bavaria,” in *Senfl Studien* vol. 2, edited by Stefan Gasch, Birgit Lodes, and Sonja Tröster (Tutzing: Verlegt Bei Hans Schneider, 2013), 23.

(certainly not hindered by his affluent post in the Munich court) but chose not to. While musicologists know he corresponded with Luther, they have perhaps ignored the possibility that Senfl simply did not wish Luther killed. After all, Senfl's apparent "disciplined music" shows a certain restraint he employed even in his compositional style, let alone more interpersonal aspects of his life and career.

Other characteristics about Senfl and his music reveal his seeming distaste for too much publicity. During his lifetime, he achieved a relatively peaceful and uneventful life during the height of the Reformation, yet the most popular discourse seems to be the discussion of his veiled religious stance. As a prolific composer in the Bavarian spotlight, publishing an incredible amount of works in various genres, and composing in the extremely highly sought-after Franco-Flemish style, there must be some reason he slipped out of view enough to avoid certain repercussions due to his known amicable correspondence with Luther, Duke Albrecht, and others who shared Lutheran sympathies.

In light of current scholarship arguing between Senfl's ultimate Catholic piety as opposed to his Nicodemist Lutheran sympathies, I argue for a third, new possibility. Senfl's popularity and respect from both Catholic and Lutheran personalities as a composer, his unpunished documented friendliness with "banned" Lutherans as influential as Duke Albrecht of Prussia and Martin Luther himself, his work within the printing and publishing network, and his growth of the psalm motet as a new and widespread genre appealing to both sides of the confessional divide, all point to Senfl's donning multiple confessional identities in order to gather information on the happenings of both sides of the confessional divide. In short, I argue that Senfl acted as a cross-confessional informant or diplomat.

Setting up Senfl's Life: Nearing Munich

Senfl was particularly careful about what positions he accepted, whom he married, people with whom he worked, and places he visited. In childhood, he was involved as a student with Heinrich Isaac at least by 1497, when Senfl was around 11 years old. Emperor Maximilian appointed Isaac court composer in Vienna on April 3, 1497, and Isaac took several choirboys—including Senfl—with him to his new post.⁴ Scholars agree Senfl seems to have studied at the university of Vienna around 1504, though his name does not appear in official records. He stayed alongside Isaac until the elder composer's death in 1517 and ended up taking over his responsibilities fully by 1518 as the court composer for Emperor Maximilian. It was at the Diet of Augsburg of 1518 where Senfl was noted to have been responsible for all music for "...all festive services and ceremonies in which the imperial orchestra participated."⁵ Already, Senfl was proving himself a capable court composer and organizer, just months after assuming Isaac's role. Attendees of this Reichstag were humanists, dignitaries, and religious figures, including Ulrich von Hutten and Martin Luther as guests in Konrad Peutinger's house.⁶ It was a huge, months-long event full of the most important political and religious figures—fittingly taking place at one of the most socially central cities in the German speaking lands, even in Europe as a whole. Clemens Sender, an eyewitness, recorded the following:

“Auf Johannis baptiste” rode in the Emperor; as well as three cardinals and many kings, princes, ambassadors, and all electors—in forty years no other occasion had so many princes and lords appearing and being together.⁷

⁴ Martin Bente, *Neue Wege der Quellenkritik und die Biographie Ludwig Senfls: Ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte des Reformationszeitalters* (Wiesbaden, Germany: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1968) 271.

⁵ Bente, *Neue Wege der Quellenkritik*, 287.

⁶ Bente, *Neue Wege der Quellenkritik*, 288.

⁷ Bente, *Neue Wege der Quellenkritik*, 288, my translation.

A *Te deum*, likely Senfl's, was sung at the Reichstag, with "singen, pfeiffen, trumethen, zingen und orglen,"⁸ suggesting a loud, festive entrance for the political rulers, in line with the historical use of the *Te Deum* as both the conclusion of Matins on Sundays and feast days as well as accompanying "...processions, elections, military commemorations, and prestigious entrances of rulers."⁹

The 1518 Diet of Augsburg began months after Luther nailed his 95 theses to the door of the castle church in Wittenberg, and peaked October 12-14, 1518, when Luther, after numerous letters and summons and writings, was bidden for a hearing before Tommaso de Vio, Cardinal Cajetan, papal legate of the German Empire, whose original role in the Reichstag was simply to rally the German estates in support of Emperor Maximilian's plans for a new crusade against Turkish advances.¹⁰ Cajetan's new mission to effectively suppress Luther and his new theology and writings critical of the Catholic church overtook the months-long Reichstag, but seemed to go nowhere, as Luther appealed directly to Pope Leo X and slipped away days after, his appeal posted overnight on the doors of the Augsburg church on October 31.¹¹

Bente suggests Luther and Senfl met personally, at this very Reichstag, as evening banquets included music and singing, especially those Peutingen was involved in, as host to

⁸ Bente, *Neue Wege der Quellenkritik*, 288.

⁹ Scott Lee Edwards, Stefan Gasch, and Sonja Tröster, eds., *New Senfl Edition*, vol. 3, *Ludwig Senfl: Motets for Five Voices* (Vienna: Hollitzer, 2022), 368.

¹⁰ Jared Wicks, "Roman Reactions to Luther: The First Years (1518)," *The Catholic Historical Review* 69, no. 4 (1983): 534.

¹¹ Wicks, "Roman Reactions to Luther," 554-555.

Luther.¹² Luther may have had first contact with Senfl's music at such dinners as this. However, Senfl left with Maximilian's court around October 13 to go back to Vienna, where Maximilian died the following January.¹³ Thus, Senfl may not have been physically present at the dramatic October 12-13 case against Luther, depending on the exact hour of the full court's departure. When the Vienna Hofkapelle disbanded shortly after Maximilian's death, by September 12, 1520, all singers and members of the musical court had lost their jobs and income, with the option to become priests to be able to receive benefices that were associated with the priesthood.¹⁴ Senfl, like the other newly unemployed musicians, should have continued collecting a benefice after the Emperor's death, but as it happens, Senfl received no payment. This suggests Senfl may have already had some other sort of income, and, at this point, Senfl was in Augsburg again, finishing the *Liber selectarum cantionum*, which Siegmund Grimm and Marx Wirsung published in Augsburg in 1520, with an afterword by the same Konrad Peutinger who had hosted Luther.

Between 1520 and 1523, Senfl was without imperial occupation, though maintained a living by working at least with the Grimm and Wirsung publishing house, if not with other commercial ventures. He composed many secular works during his time between court appointments—indeed, very few sacred or liturgical works exist comparatively to secular works from this period.¹⁵ If Senfl was as liturgically zealous as has been suggested, whether Protestant or Catholic, it would seem odd that his independent compositions would largely be

¹² Bente, *Neue Wege der Quellenkritik*, 289.

¹³ Bente, *Neue Wege der Quellenkritik*, 289.

¹⁴ Bente, *Neue Wege der Quellenkritik*, 294.

¹⁵ Bente, *Neue Wege der Quellenkritik*, 306.

secular. Likely, Senfl was still actively seeking a specific role however, as judging from Senfl's own words later in 1530 show he had refused to take any court job during this time because he had remained hopeful that he would be offered a position again in the Imperial court under Charles V.¹⁶ As such, he may have had other offers from less prestigious courts. Regardless of which courts, Senfl stayed in the visibility of the Imperial family closely, composing music for the wedding of Ludwig II to Maria of Austria (sister of Charles V) in 1521, and in 1522 the wedding of Duke Wilhelm IV to Maria Jacobäa of Baden.¹⁷

By 1523, Senfl needed a composing appointment. Wilhelm IV of Bavaria had attempted to hire Senfl and tried several times to convince him to take the job at Munich, but since Senfl had his eye on Charles V and the Habsburgs specifically, he waited to accept.¹⁸ Perhaps Senfl wanted to work for Charles V not only because he was the most powerful and wealthy man in all of Europe, but perhaps because as a Spaniard, he enjoyed the more traditional genres and musical styles, in which Senfl tended to work. For example, he wrote one isorhythmic motet, a technique long out of style in central Europe by the sixteenth century. Similarly, in 1530 when Charles made a visit to Munich, Senfl wrote his *Missa Dominicalis L'homme armé*, possibly with Charles V portrayed as the "armed man," an idea other composers would later adopt, such as Spaniard Cristóbal de Morales about ten years later. Eventually however, when Senfl realized Charles V had no interest in employing him, he agreed to work for Wilhelm IV.

¹⁶ Bente, *Neue Wege der Quellenkritik*, 306.

¹⁷ Bente, *Neue Wege der Quellenkritik*, 304.

¹⁸ Bente, *Neue Wege der Quellenkritik*, 308.

Senfl was an attractive composer to Wilhelm IV possibly because his compositional style emulated Josquin's style, an exceedingly popular name in the world of music and publishing at the time, especially in the German-speaking lands. Senfl must have impressed many at the 1518 Diet of Augsburg, where his music fell on the most powerful ears in Europe. Additionally, Senfl's output and musical personality echo Josquin's in several ways. Both wrote *L'homme armé* masses and psalm motets, both employed sometimes excessively pervasive imitation, especially favoring paired imitation, and both were popular and well-published during their lifetimes, though Senfl's repertory did not reach the geographical distances Josquin's did. A particularly charming instance of musical similarity exists by way of a signature—the Sistine Chapel Josquin signature is a familiar anecdote, but Josquin and Senfl, as known thus far, are the only two composers in the Renaissance to write their own names into songs as acrostics.¹⁹ Josquin's *Illibata dei virgo* and Senfl's *Lust hab ich ghabt zur Musica* both declare the composers' respective names, an exceedingly uncommon musical trait in an age where names of patrons were the typical acrostics.²⁰

Senfl's work for Wilhelm IV, though not as affluent as the sought-after position for Charles V, proved to be an extremely lucrative career for him. During his tenure at Munich, he managed to take the Hofkapelle from a shamble to a space that produced what Luther would later call the best music in all of Germany.²¹ When Senfl arrived at court, there were only six singers at his disposal; however, a record dating seven years past his death lists

¹⁹ William Elders, "Did Josquin Use a Musical 'Signature'?" *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziegechiedenis (KVNMM)* 62, nos. 1/2 (2012): 29.

²⁰ Elders, "Did Josquin Use a Musical 'Signature'?", 29-30.

²¹ Kevin Chi-Sing Leong, "The Hymn Settings of Ludwig Senfl's *Liber Vesparum Festorum Solennium*" (dissertation, Boston University, 2008), 21.

twenty-four choirboys, ten male singers, and six instrumentalists, only growing again with successor Orlando di Lasso, who apparently had as many as 51 singers.²² Curiously, Senfl's job was somewhat mobile. McDonald suggests that similarly to Isaac under Maximilian's employment, Senfl took various leaves such as one to Passau in 1527. This mobile job would have allowed Senfl relative ease in moving about the German lands, making connections and gathering information, even exchanging music.

The concept of exchange was vital across courts, and Senfl's role as court composer at Munich was little exception. Senfl spent some time in Passau, a city that contended with the Ottoman threat on one side, and Lutheranism and the Anabaptist movement on the other. Leonhard Paminger, a Catholic-turned-Lutheran composer based mostly out of Passau, worked as a secretary at the Augustinian priory of St. Nikola. This priory operated under the jurisdiction of the dukes of Bavaria; as such, information and correspondence moved between the priory and the Munich court, some of which concerned both Senfl and the Wilhelm IV's court organist Johannes Schächinger.²³ The Munich Hofkapelle was involved in several other smaller organizations around Bavaria, and Paminger's records indicate a level of constant exchange of people, instruments, musical materials, and more.²⁴

On February 22, 1526, Wilhelm IV summoned Senfl and the organist back to Munich from their stay in Passau.²⁵ This suggests that Senfl was not required to spend every moment in Wilhelm's palace to complete his musical duties. From here, Senfl returned just months

²² Leong, "The Hymn Settings of Ludwig Senfl's *Liber Vesparum Festorum Solennium*," 52.

²³ Grantley McDonald, "Meet Mrs. Senfl," in *Senfl Studien* vol. 3, edited by Stefan Gasch, Birgit Lodes, and Sonja Tröster (Wien: Hollitzer, 2018), 19.

²⁴ McDonald, "Meet Mrs. Senfl," 19.

²⁵ McDonald, "Meet Mrs. Senfl," 20.

later to St. Nikola in Passau specifically to marry the daughter of Ambros Neunburger, who not only was active in the community as a collector of tolls, a property speculator, and a frequent member of the city council, but he also managed a widespread shipping operation.²⁶ Senfl was involved in several business transactions as representative for his wife, who remains unnamed, and so gained both insight into business operations as well as possibly information on the goings-on in Passau. Having connections to a family of toll-collectors, perhaps Senfl was privy to information on who was coming and going from the city.

Senfl's first wife died some time after 1533, but he later married Maria Halbhirn of Augsburg, whose family origins are relatively unknown. McDonald suggests some various "Halbhirs" associated with the Bavarian court and Innsbruck, and he writes that Senfl "...wished to remarry into a family that was at least as well connected and presumably no less prosperous than the Neunburgers, and one with close ties to the court—a marriage fitting for a prominent musician in the employment of the Bavarian dukes."²⁷ Senfl's two marriages attest to his probable ongoing concern to remain adjacent to the merchant class who were "in the know" of the everyday activities around Bavaria, even those of Lutherans such as Paminger.

Informants and Cross-Confessional Diplomacy in the Sixteenth Century

As Senfl worked and lived in the courts of the most influential and powerful political figures in Europe, finding himself in some of the key moments of the Protestant Reformation history and, no doubt, political history, he would have been no stranger to the practices of early diplomacy. Their notion of diplomacy is extremely unlike that of more modern times,

²⁶ McDonald, "Meet Mrs. Senfl," 20.

²⁷ McDonald, "Meet Mrs. Senfl," 20.

and scholars have investigated it among the courts of the Habsburgs and others around the Mediterranean, as well as within Italy and England. Diego Pirillo identifies instances among Italian religious refugees, especially in the mercantile class, namely printers.²⁸ He says that Italian Protestant refugees both gathered and circulated information regarding international affairs due to their proximity and friendliness with the Italian merchant class, often sending their intelligence back to England.²⁹ This was vital to the spread of information as Pirillo discusses that formal, official diplomatic channels were not yet in place, though the Tudors needed to stay well aware of Reformation Italy's activities as they sought to defend the Protestant movement on the mainland.³⁰

As such, the Reformation itself spurred on the need for intelligence across religious boundaries, both through more politically acceptable "diplomacy" and more secretive spying, especially effective as legitimate foreign ambassadorial practices were just beginning to codify. Venice was tied commercially to the German provinces, especially through printing houses, as evidenced by Luther's writings disseminating into the city as early as 1520.³¹ There is documented evidence of information-passing between England and Italy, in one instance through the letters of Guido Giannetti and Pietro Bizzarri, both informants working for the English crown. Bizzarri worked in the German lands gathering information there as

²⁸ Diego Pirillo, "Espionage and Theology in the Anglo-Venetian Renaissance," *Mediterranean Studies* 25, no. 1 (2017): 56.

²⁹ Pirillo, "Espionage and Theology in the Anglo-Venetian Renaissance," 56.

³⁰ Pirillo, "Espionage and Theology in the Anglo-Venetian Renaissance," 56

³¹ Pirillo, "Espionage and Theology in the Anglo-Venetian Renaissance," 57.

well, even spending time in Wittemberg in the 1540s, establishing a connection to Philip Melanchthon, an influential Lutheran reformer.³²

The merchant class was one of the best for espionage, as the act of moving goods, services, and people from one place to another naturally facilitated the collection and transmission of information.³³ John Fudge describes that “because politics could affect so many facets of trade, especially finance, marked conditions, and transportation, merchants had every reason to keep well apprised. News travelled relatively quickly in these circles.”³⁴ As a network of Italian intelligence traders has been identified, there is little reason to assume this very thing was not happening in the German-speaking lands, as they also had strong connections to the Habsburgs and were more personally rooted in religious reform. Printers were hugely instrumental to the diplomatic network, as during this time, there were no standards for official diplomacy between countries.

“Chicanery in the production and dissemination of literature was not new or confined to disguising book consignments,” Fudge asserts in reference to Lutheran writings being published secretly without the correct name or address of the printer and then smuggled to other countries.³⁵ The German-speaking lands seem to have been an easier place for printers to publish freely than areas farther north, such as Antwerp, which by 1525 required all books to correctly identify author, provenance, and printer, as opposed to printers choosing to use a

³² Pirillo, “Espionage and Theology in the Anglo-Venetian Renaissance,” 59.

³³ John Fudge, *Commerce and Print in the Early Reformation* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2007), 175.

³⁴ Fudge, *Commerce and Print in the Early Reformation*, 175.

³⁵ Fudge, *Commerce and Print in the Early Reformation*, 150.

false address and author to achieve greater anonymity and safety.³⁶ Less censorship and policing existed in the German provinces, where regulations were more regionally defined by town.³⁷ The tight policing in the Netherlands caused several printers to hide or even flee to Hamburg, where they were in less danger.³⁸

Senfl himself had experience in the publishing world, as his central role as editor and selector for the *Liber selectarum cantionum* shows. Notably, during the 1518 Diet of Augsburg, Senfl met both Luther and Peutingen, and later while Senfl was in between court chapel tenancies, he finished his major editorial project, the *Liber selectarum cantionum*, whose epilogue, as aforementioned, Peutingen himself penned. Peutingen's personal investment in the *Liber selectarum cantionum* involved a connection to the imperial court, as he was responsible for numerous literary projects and printing experiments for Maximilian I, so many in fact that he was able to shift the nexus of Imperial printing from Regensburg to Augsburg.³⁹ Augsburg was eventually overtaken as a center for printing in general by Nuremberg. Senfl had a long-standing relationship with scribe Lukas Wagenrieder, with whom he had sung in Maximilian's court, and with whom he had remained friends. Wagenrieder was always heavily involved with the printing class, as he worked as a scribe most of his life before becoming canon at the Munich Frauenkirche in 1543.

³⁶ Fudge, *Commerce and Print in the Early Reformation*, 150.

³⁷ Fudge, *Commerce and Print in the Early Reformation*, 151.

³⁸ Fudge, *Commerce and Print in the Early Reformation*, 151.

³⁹ Elisabeth Giselbrecht, and L. Elizabeth Upper, "Glittering Woodcuts and Moveable Music: Decoding the Elaborate Printing Techniques, Purpose, and Patronage of the *Liber Selectarum Cantionum*," in *Senfl Studien* vol. 1, ed. Stefan Gasch, Birgit Lodes, and Sonja Tröster (Tutzing: Verlegt Bei Hans Schneider, 2013), 49.

The impressive swiftness of spreading information across Europe via the network of informants can be found in one particularly useful instance. The merchant-class Fugger family of Augsburg enjoyed a hugely influential reach across Europe. The family arrived in Augsburg in the early fourteenth century, and soon became exceedingly wealthy, working in trading textiles, metals (including dominating the copper market across Europe), precious stones, spices, and other goods from Asia to Africa, even providing credits to the Habsburg emperors, popes, and other families who would pay the Fuggers back to enjoy rights to resources on their own lands.⁴⁰

These Fuggers, so-called “Medici of the North,” were intensely loyal to the Habsburg dynasty, even ensuring Charles V was elected Holy Roman Emperor after the death of Maximilian by funding those who had voting power, financing weddings between powerful European courts and diplomatic embassies, and collecting indulgences.⁴¹ They hosted Charles V whenever he visited Augsburg in some of the most sumptuous quarters found in Europe, likely during both Diets of Augsburg, especially as they were key political moments during the sixteenth century. Their mercantile fingers stretched the breadth and width of Europe, and “[a]nyone working for Fugger “the Rich” was at the nodal point of a deeply contested but thriving moneymaking universe, which achieved unparalleled political control.”⁴² Senfl was connected to the Fuggers as he wrote a psalm motet and a parody mass of the same motet for

⁴⁰ Ulinka Rublack, Maria Hayward, and Jenny Tiramani, *The First Book of Fashion: The Book of Clothes of Mattheus and Veit Konrad Schwarz of Augsburg* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), 6.

⁴¹ Rublack, Hayward, and Tiramani, *The First Book of Fashion*, 6.

⁴² Rublack, Hayward, and Tiramani, *The First Book of Fashion*, 6.

the wedding of Anton Fugger in 1527.⁴³ The family was exceedingly Catholic as well, as “...[p]ersonal loyalty to the Fuggers was vital for its most important employees, who were made to feel part of an extraordinarily hierarchical, patriarchal, and tightly monitored family firm, and they loyally adhered to its Catholicism and support of the Habsburg dynasty.”⁴⁴ It is no surprise that the Fuggers also employed their own information agents. Barely two weeks after, knowledge of the Turkish victory over the Hungarian army at Mohács on August 29, 1526, was spread to Antwerp by one of the Fuggers’ own spies.⁴⁵ The Ottomans won the battle, and this moment was particularly instrumental as the defeat severely weakened Hungary and eventually led to Habsburg rule.

One of the most impressive aspects of the Fugger family is their collection of musical manuscripts and prints, forming an expansive library that Ferdinand III eventually bought and moved to Vienna in 1656. Among this library are seven manuscripts produced by Petrus Alamire, a composer, scribe, producer, and, as recent research has uncovered, a spy. Zoe Saunders discusses how one of the masses based on an Agnus Dei canon is connected specifically to Wilhelm IV.⁴⁶ The mass in question in the Alamire manuscript is *Missa Du bon du cueur*; this mass occurs in other manuscripts, two connected to Wilhelm IV: one for practical use in his court, one that was possibly a gift from some member of the Habsburg-

⁴³ Birgit Lodes, “Hör-Horizonte in Augsburg: Senfls *Missa Super Nisi Dominus* als Christologische Psalmexegese zur Zeit des Frühkonfessionellen Pluralismus,” in *Senfl Studien* vol. 3, ed. Stefan Gasch, Birgit Lodes, and Sonja Tröster (Wien: Hollister, 2018), 235.

⁴⁴ Rublack, Hayward, and Tiramani, *The First Book of Fashion*, 7.

⁴⁵ Fudge, *Commerce and Print in the Early Reformation*, 175.

⁴⁶ Zoe Saunders, “Hidden Meaning in Agnus Dei Canons: Two Cases from the Alamire Manuscripts,” *Early Music* 44, no. 4 (2016): 593.

Burgundian court, which appears to have not circulated into practical use, and the third copied in the Toledo Cathedral in 1543.⁴⁷

Saunders describes both the mass and the Mouton chanson on which it was based as a parallel to Wilhelm IV's blasé treatment of Lutheran "heretics," which later transformed into a zeal against them, beginning in 1527 after the Peasant Rebellion of 1524-5.⁴⁸ She suggests the text refers to Job, a biblical character and patron saint of musicians in the Low Countries, and his renewed commitment to God and a righteous life, and parallels this idea to Wilhelm's renewed fervor against Lutherans and loyalty to the Catholic faith and, ultimately, Charles V. The question arises: how would Charles know the details of Wilhelm's personal loyalties if he was not physically there? How could Wilhelm have hoped to police the Lutheran outbreak unless he was informed of specific instances? There must have been ears to the ground to pass this sort of information up the political ladder.

In reviewing Senfl's biographical timeline, two scenes stand out considering the Alamire manuscripts and Wilhelm's change of heart to heavily address Protestant leanings within his duchy. Senfl's years of unemployment between 1520-1523 correspond to the tense relationship between Charles and Wilhelm, when Wilhelm was somewhat lenient on Protestantism, to the obvious disapproval of the papacy. It was during these years Senfl wished to work directly for Charles V, without success. When he eventually married in 1527, the year he returned to Munich from Passau, Wilhelm finally "...took consistent and harsh

⁴⁷ Saunders, "Hidden Meaning in Agnus Dei Canons," 602.

⁴⁸ Saunders, "Hidden Meaning in Agnus Dei Canons," 602.

action against the Protestants,” following territorial battles between the Habsburg dynasty and Bavarian peasants.⁴⁹

It is not out of the question to imagine that Senfl may have carried information about the Peasant’s Rebellion. He was unemployed by a court yet working closely with the mercantile class in Augsburg in 1520 and carried information about Wilhelm’s controversial religious policing back to Charles V. He may have even used the physical distance while he was in Passau to pass information safely to the Holy Roman Emperor. While there are no letters or writings from Senfl specifically discussing this possibility, his connections to various Habsburg court members, important merchants, and generally “being in the right place at the right time” suggest a life more carefully planned than mere coincidence. Even in Senfl’s letters, there is noticeable variation in hand from piece to piece, possibly suggesting Senfl wrote via a proxy.⁵⁰ It is possible that Senfl purposely altered his own handwriting to further anonymize himself when he needed to.

Another instance of handwriting changes occurs in the work of Lukas Wagenrieder, friend and copyist for Senfl, and scribe for other composers and printers as well. David Fallows’ work on manuscripts of Wagenrieder, Alamire, and Bernhart Rem is enlightening in the subject of correct attribution for each of the scribes. In terms of Wagenrieder, Fallows notes that there is a distinct difference in style of hand between Wagenrieder’s letters and his professional copyist work.⁵¹ A contemporary, Minervius, comments on Wagenrieder’s copy

⁴⁹ Saunders, “Hidden Meaning in Agnus Dei Canons,” 603.

⁵⁰ Scott Lee Edwards, “Beyond ‘Hopeless Fortune’: Ludwig Senfl’s Consolation for Maria Jacobäa of Baden,” in *Senfl Studien* vol. 3, edited by Stefan Gasch, Birgit Lodes, and Sonja Tröster (Wien: Hollitzer, 2018), 128.

⁵¹ David Fallows, “Rem, Alamire, and Wagenrieder,” in *Senfl Studien* vol. 3, edited by Stefan Gasch, Birgit Lodes, and Sonja Tröster (Wien: Hollitzer, 2018), 124.

work as that with an “elegantissima manu” or “elegant hand,” starkly contrasted to his everyday penmanship in his letters.⁵² Scribes naturally would be educated enough in penmanship to change the styles of their hands as needed, whether by the patron’s or editor’s request or otherwise. Notably, Wagenrieder worked on Hans Ott’s *Novum et insigne opus musicum I* published by Formschneider in 1537 and dedicated to Ferdinand I, Charles’ brother and successor. This volume includes five of Senfl’s psalm motets, including his *Nisi Dominus, De profundis (a5), Beati omnes, Ecce quam bonum, Deus in adjutorium*, as well as several motets by Josquin, Paminger, and others.

Though Senfl’s possible espionage or more politically safe diplomatic career remains unproven, there are numerous documented instances of other musicians and scribes employed as informants and double agents, especially later in the sixteenth century during the Council of Trent years. “[T]he lines between court gossip and espionage easily blurred” as musicians often held extremely close quarters with important political figures, so were automatically privy to the figures’ private dealings.⁵³ Alfonso Ferrabosco I (1543-1588), a well-researched composer, was one such musician and informant working between England and mainland Europe. He was known during his life to be a mole, as one papal nuncio, Anselmo Dandino, positioned in Paris, described Ferrabosco as “a most evil-spirited, evil-minded man, and very knowing, and excellently informed of the affairs of those countries...the Queen of England makes much use of him as a spy and comploter, in which character he might now be employed, so that if one had him in one’s power, one might learn many things.”⁵⁴

⁵² Fallows, “Rem, Alamire, and Wagenrieder,” 124.

⁵³ Craig Monson, “The Composer as ‘Spy’: The Ferraboscis, Gabriele Paleotti, and the Inquisition,” *Music & Letters* 84 no. 1, (Feb 2003), 2.

⁵⁴ Monson, “The Composer as ‘Spy,’” 2.

Even while Ferrabosco was feeding information to England, Dandino placed his own informants near Ferrabosco, and began to glean information from those informants to send back to papal Secretary of State and the General of the Roman Inquisition, in hopes of sending Catholic officials after Ferrabosco to arrest him on counts of heresy.⁵⁵ The nuncio's plan worked, and Ferrabosco stood trial in Rome in 1578 for numerous dramatic tales including possibly plotting to assassinate Don John of Austria, though this story likely was fabricated by Dandino.⁵⁶ Ferrabosco was sentenced to three years in prison, but due to a letter from another English spy, Robert Woodward, Ferrabosco was nearly immediately let out of prison and subsequently traveling to Bologna.⁵⁷

One particular way musicians were involved in information spread is through cryptology. This was a method used for numerous occasions, and the Habsburgs were no strangers to it. The riddle culture in the Renaissance was popular as it applied to music, and this is obvious through the dozens of canons, riddle canons, acrostics, and other musical puns. There was a number of manuals for how music could be woven into secret messages, such as papal cipher secretary Matteo Argenti's late sixteenth-century manual where he designed a musical code system where nine pitches could be arranged in eight ways which allowed for seventy-two possible symbols.⁵⁸ The head of the Spanish army in the 1560s even devised a system where he could use letters and pitches in certain rhythmic values to denote geography

⁵⁵ Monson, "The Composer as 'Spy'," 2.

⁵⁶ Monson, "The Composer as 'Spy'," 2.

⁵⁷ Monson, "The Composer as 'Spy'," 3.

⁵⁸ Katelijne Schiltz, *Music and Riddle Culture in the Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 347.

and dignitaries.⁵⁹ Well-known composer Tielman Susato wrote a light chanson for Charles V, and inside it he hid the exact date and time of Charles' triumphal entry into the city of Brussels, a moment related to Charles' conquest of the Ottoman Empire.⁶⁰

This idea of musical cryptology was not reserved for just the Spanish and Italian writers. In 1586, Parisian Blaise de Vigenère wrote that "even music can disguise itself as a code; by making use of the lines and the distance between the letters, with breves, semibreves and black notes, depending on where they are located; with them one can make several alphabets as one wishes."⁶¹ Johannes Ockeghem, Josquin, Alamire, and many other composers and scribes created musical riddles of various kinds.⁶² Senfl himself wrote canons and even inserted his name into an acrostic. As such, he was aware of musical codes and was capable of inserting extra-musical meaning into compositions.

Along with cryptology came the importance of symbology. The symbol of the cross was always central to Christianity, but it became the emblem of the Lutheran cause during the Reformation and as Luther stated in his defense at Heidelberg in April 1518, the cross was central to salvation itself.⁶³ Numerous cross-shaped motet riddles appear around this time, likely a trend started by Senfl himself, who wrote at least three of these cross-shaped

⁵⁹ Schiltz, *Music and Riddle Culture*, 347.

⁶⁰ Schiltz, *Music and Riddle Culture* 351-353.

⁶¹ *Traicté des chiffres, ou secrètes manières d'escrire*, (Paris, 1586), quoted in Schiltz, *Music and Riddle Culture*, 347.

⁶² Schiltz, *Music and Riddle Culture*, 345.

⁶³ Schiltz, *Music and Riddle Culture*, 304.

riddles.⁶⁴ Senfl incorporated psalm text “Misericordia et Veritas obviaverunt sibi, Iustitia et Pax osculatae sunt” from Psalm 85 into two of his “cross” motets.

By far the most alluring riddle Senfl wrote was his chessboard canon published solely in the *Liber selectarum cantionum*. This motet, the *Salve sancta parens*, seems to be the only riddle canon composed in this particular chessboard design. Its “answer” has been attempted several times beginning in 1829 through the present day with no ascertained solution.⁶⁵ As it is placed at the end of the *Liber*, it involves texts taken from select motets throughout the publication, thus it is “...is not an arbitrary selected appendix to the collection, but...[is]...and integrative element of the whole book.”⁶⁶ Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl associates this riddle with German magical thinking and celestial music, with which the publisher Grimm had been known to associate, and she describes the actual music as a truly “boring” sound.⁶⁷ Other riddle-solvers suggest this is simply a humanistic ode, arguing they sometimes attempted to liven up the piece by inserting the rhythm of classical verse.⁶⁸

The dedicatee of the book was Cardinal Matthäus Lang, the Archbishop of Salzburg and a chief minister to Charles V in later years. As the *Liber* was the only book of music published by Grimm and Wirsung, it is curious the political atmosphere at the time of publication in 1520 Augsburg. Perhaps *Ave maris stella* carried a hidden meaning meant for

⁶⁴ Schiltz, *Music and Riddle Culture*, 305.

⁶⁵ Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, “Magic Music in a Magic Square: Politics and Occultism in Ludwig Senfl’s Riddle Canon *Salve sancta parens*,” *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 60, no. 1/2 (2010): 29.

⁶⁶ Lindmayr-Brandl, “Magic Music in a Magic Square,” 30.

⁶⁷ Lindmayr-Brandl, “Magic Music in a Magic Square,” 41.

⁶⁸ Lindmayr-Brandl, “Magic Music in a Magic Square,” 31.

Lang regarding the state of Charles V's ascension to the throne, the Fuggers' special involvement in it, details about the fresh and quickly expanding Reformation, or any number of other possibilities. Regardless of the true meaning of this riddle, the numerous riddle canons Senfl composed certainly prove his intellectual prowess of manipulating and encoding music—whether that be for nefarious purposes or not.

There are other confirmed cases of informants working in the German-speaking lands as the divide between Catholic and Protestant grew wider, such as the instance of the Fuggers' personal agents relaying the Hungarian battle's update in 1526. But, it was highly dangerous for anyone to even allude to Lutheran ideologies in the middle of the Reformation, especially around Munich; even Luther himself was aware of this.⁶⁹ It was the Mandate of March 1522 penned by Leonhard von Eck, under the direction of both Wilhelm and Ludwig X, that most expressly condemned the disputation, protection, and even defense of Luther's theology because it showed ultimately a total rejection of the Catholic church.⁷⁰ A possible means of patrol could have been a network of informants who could get close to possible perpetrators.

Any number of instances of punishment for those sympathetic to the Lutheran cause exist: people were fined, imprisoned, banished, branded on the face, burned at the stake, and more. One such instance involved the governor of Tutzing, Bernhard Tichtel, whose son-in-law Bartholomä Schrenk was connected in some way to Senfl.⁷¹ Tichtel resigned from the Munich city council in 1522 because he was friendly to the Lutheran plight and one evening

⁶⁹ McDonald, "The Life and Trials," 23.

⁷⁰ McDonald, "The Life and Trials," 27.

⁷¹ McDonald, "The Life and Trials," 34-35.

spoke against the dukes' religious policies, overheard by Ingolstadt professor Franz Burckhardt.⁷² The professor accused Tichtel of being a Lutheran himself, to which Tichtel asserted he simply wished innocent people were not beheaded.⁷³ Tichtel was later branded on the face and fined a thousand florins.⁷⁴ Another episode more closely related to Senfl is that of Erhard Gugler, a trumpet player and composer within the Munich court who began openly defending Luther, though seems to have attempted to remain inconspicuous; he was imprisoned and later banished from Bavaria for life.⁷⁵

Senfl's own successor at the Munich Hofkapelle, Ludwig Daser, faced the Inquisitor and, when found to have Lutheran beliefs, was fired some twenty years after Senfl's death. He moved on to Stuttgart, and was succeeded by none other than Orlando di Lasso. Bente suggests Senfl likewise faced the same grilling Daser later did, due to his song *Ich hab mich redlich g'halten anderthalbe stunde*, as a possible response.⁷⁶ If Senfl was questioned for his beliefs, it would seem likely that a Lutheran in his position, as Daser was later, would be fired or worse. Instead, Senfl was left alone to continue his upward journey into regional musical fame. Either Wilhelm was extremely lenient in his time (which seems unlikely in considering the dangerous atmosphere in Munich at the time), or Senfl was a professing Catholic, or he was essentially both Catholic and Lutheran, or neither. A completely undiscussed possibility is that Senfl was simply ideologically agnostic, though this seems to be unlikely due to his

⁷² McDonald, "The Life and Trials," 34-35.

⁷³ McDonald, "The Life and Trials," 34-35.

⁷⁴ McDonald, "The Life and Trials," 34-35.

⁷⁵ McDonald, "The Life and Trials," 34-35.

⁷⁶ Bente, *Neue Wege der Quellenkritik*, 324.

notable exegeses of scripture in his psalm motets. Since public performances of piety are not necessarily testimonies of personal belief, it is more effective to observe how Senfl so skillfully and aptly set the psalms to music in his motets, rather than relying on his outward displays of loyalty to the church to make conclusions of his true faith.

It is illogical to suppose that Senfl would have been unaware of instances of confessional policing happening around him for those who spoke well of the Lutheran cause, so his general safety as a coincidence is suspicious. In light of this, it is unlikely that Senfl, with his known correspondence with Luther himself, as well as other highly visible Lutheran personalities, could have publicly carried on Lutheran sympathies without punishment. Even through the years of the Council of Trent, religious and political powers deeply felt the dangers of changing faith practices, understanding how it "...inevitably undermines the social order, threatening first the authority of the church and then that of the state."⁷⁷ This understanding illuminates why the patricians who sympathized with and even converted to Protestantism hid their views "...under a veil of religious simulation."⁷⁸ Total distrust between the religious sides, exemplified by the informational cutoff of the Protestant north, leaves an absence of resident ambassadors that was ultimately filled by, essentially, spies.⁷⁹ Information feeding worked because the spies consistently upheld "confessional chameleonism," a term Pirillo coined, allowing fluidity between the hostile sides, inhabiting "...multiple identities simultaneously, using their adaptable and hybrid selves to traverse

⁷⁷ McDonald, "The Life and Trials," 34-35.

⁷⁸ Pirillo, "Espionage and Theology in the Anglo-Venetian Renaissance," 57.

⁷⁹ Pirillo, "Espionage and Theology in the Anglo-Venetian Renaissance," 57.

religious borders and to allow exchanges even between states that could not officially communicate.”⁸⁰

The Psalm Motet as a Confessionally Malleable Genre

How did music help establish Senfl as one of these informants whose underground role necessitated a sort of neutrality, at least on the surface? As debates continue over Senfl’s true religious beliefs, it is prudent to reconsider the role Nicodemism might have played in his life. The psalm motet would have been the perfect genre for a composer to utilize as he might have “inhabited multiple identities simultaneously.”⁸¹ Senfl composed or published his psalm motets at unique moments in his life. Deciphering where and theorizing why they were written suggests possible answers to the question of Senfl’s theological loyalties. For many of these motets, Augsburg is a common link. As a city of extreme religious tension in the 1520s, it provides an alluring backdrop for Senfl’s “Augsburg” motets.

The psalm motet was a genre that appealed to both Protestant and Catholic sides of the divide; Senfl used it to grow into an intensely non-controversial spotlight during his tenure at the Munich Hofkapelle and to become an attractive composer to both Lutheran and Catholic audiences. There are eleven surviving complete psalm motets and an additional three-part (expanding to six-part) canon on Psalm 115 (Vulgate), *Laudate Dominum, omnes gentes*. Table 2.1 shows Senfl’s psalm motets, notable manuscripts or prints they first appeared in, and dates of publication. Senfl wrote eleven motets of complete psalm settings, and several other motets setting verses or incomplete psalm texts, including the infamous *Non morir, sed vivam* which set verses from Psalm 118 for Luther personally.

⁸⁰ Pirillo, “Espionage and Theology in the Anglo-Venetian Renaissance,” 68.

⁸¹ Pirillo, “Espionage and Theology in the Anglo-Venetian Renaissance,” 68.

Table 2.1 Complete Psalm Motets⁸²

Motet	Notable or Early Prints and MSS	Psalm (Vulgate)	Date	Remarks
<i>Beati omnes</i> (i)	<i>Liber Selectarum Cantionum</i>	127	Published 1520 (written possibly as early as 1518)	Possibly composed for the wedding of Margrave Casimir of Brandenburg and Susanna of Bavaria during the 1518 Diet of Augsburg
<i>Beati omnes</i> (ii)	<i>Novum et insigne opus musicum</i>	127	1537	Hans Ott, publisher. Possibly for Senfl's own second wedding ⁸³
<i>De profundis</i> (ii), 5v	D-Mbs Mus.ms. 10 [no. 7]: <i>Motettor[um] Liber Secu[n]dus,</i>	129	1520-1529	Misattributed in some MSS to Josquin; referenced in a letter from Senfl to Duke Albrecht and sent to the duke
<i>Deus in adiutorium</i> [i]	D-Mbs Mus.ms. 10 [no. 7]: <i>Motettor[um] Liber Secu[n]dus,</i> <i>Psalmorum Selectorum Tomus Primus</i>	69 (sets all verses except vs 1, which is included as a superscript, and set in a separate motet)	1520-1529 1538	Book for use in Wilhelm's court (copied from Wagenrieder's original between 1530-40), motet sent to Duke Albrecht with <i>De profundis</i> (ii) in 1535, sometimes attributed to Nicolas Champion. Cited in Glarean's <i>Dodekachordon</i>
<i>Ecce quam bonum</i>	D-Mbs Mus.ms. 10 [no. 7]: <i>Motettor[um] Liber Secu[n]dus,</i>	132 and Lesser Doxology	1520-1529	Sung at the 1530 Diet of Augsburg
<i>Laudate Dominum</i> , 3-6v	<i>Collection Psalmorum selectorum, tomus 2</i>	116	1539	Canon, published in Nuremberg by Johann Petreius
<i>Miserere mei, Deus</i> , 5v	D-Mbs Mus.ms. 10 [no. 7]: <i>Motettor[um] Liber Secu[n]dus,</i>	50	1520-1529	Uses Josquin's ostinato-cantus firmus technique
<i>Nisi Dominus</i> , 4/5v		126	Originally written 1527	Composed for the Fugger family (Anton Fugger's wedding), and later a parody mass on the 4v motet

⁸² Adapted from Wolfgang Fuhrmann's appendix in his "Die Suche nach musikalischer und religiöser Identität in Ludwig Senfls Psalmmotetten," in *Senfl Studien* vol. 1, ed. Stefan Gasch, Birgit Lodes, and Sonja Tröster (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2012) 342-343.

⁸³ Wolfgang Fuhrmann suggests this psalm setting was a self-critical re-write of the first *Beati omnes* of 1520 specifically comparing the opening motives, even meant to be a motet for his own wedding to Maria Halbhirn, or possibly a demand of a Nuremberg client. See Wolfgang Fuhrmann, "Die Suche nach musicalischer und religiöser Identität in Ludwig Senfls Psalmmotetten," 325.

	<i>Tabulatur auff die Laudten etli</i>		1533 (Formschneider)	<i>Tablulatur</i> is a print including this psalm, some of Senfl's secular works, and one of Alamire's pieces
<i>Omnes gentes</i> , 5v	D-Dl Mus. 1/D/3, no. 12	46	1525-1549	Survives in ten sources, from complete books to poorly surviving fragments
<i>Quare fremuerunt gentes</i>	D-Z 73, [no. I.21]: "Collection 140 Motets" (no title on source)	2	1525-1549	Least complete "full" psalm motet: omits middle six verses of the psalm
<i>Usquequo Domine</i>	<i>Liber selectarum cantionum</i>	12	1520	

Augsburg itself was a center of both quickly developing enterprise and intensely felt religious drama. Senfl's first psalm motet *Usquequo Domine*, in *Liber Selectarum Cantionum*, was published 1520 in Augsburg while Senfl was between court positions, as mentioned earlier. The volume, of high importance codicologically due to its place as first published book of motets north of the Alps, brings Senfl, as editor, close to the printers Wirsung and Grimm. Grimm was a physician-turned-printer, and he was Catholic. In 1526, he was arrested for printing papers by theologian Johann Eck (the hand behind the 1522 Mandate).⁸⁴

Senfl's *Nisi Dominus* and his subsequent parody mass based on the motet have been studied extensively by Birgit Lodes, who says his mass is likely the very first parody mass based on a psalm motet.⁸⁵ This motet was transmitted in the original four-voice setting, later five-voice setting, instrumental intabulations, and finally, the impressive parody mass. The *Nisi Dominus* pair, as Lodes asserts, was written specifically for Anton Fugger's marriage in

⁸⁴ Michele Zelinsky Hanson, *Religious Identity in an Early Reformation Community: Augsburg, 1517 to 1555*, vol. 45, *Studies in Central European Histories* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 50.

⁸⁵ Lodes, "Hör-Horizonte in Augsburg," 235.

March 1527, the year after Senfl's own first wedding. Some twenty-eight singers were summoned in for the performance at the high mass in Augsburg on March 4—this wedding was a huge celebration fit for nobles, grander than expected even for a family as affluent as the Fuggers.⁸⁶ Indeed, the Fugger family accountant Matthäus Schwarz recorded the proceedings, as one of the most memorable and significant events in his life.⁸⁷ One might wonder why Senfl would have been the lucky composer to showcase an original piece at a marriage ceremony such as this, much less a full parody mass, as an exegetical counterpart for Luther's writings for an extremely Catholic family. His religious ambiguity must have been known.

Senfl wrote his motet and mass at a time when Luther's exegetical psalm writings were circulating heavily especially around Augsburg, and Lodes suggests a Lutheran reading into Senfl's work, arguing Senfl was even studying Luther's Psalm 127 exegesis as the basis of his motet.⁸⁸ This is an interesting notion, as the Fugger family intensely resisted Lutheran ideas, specifically remaining "Old Believers." However, Augsburg remained somewhat in-between Catholicism and Lutheranism at least in the 1520s, with psalm exegeses popping up from both Luther and the Fuggers' humanist preacher Othmar Luscinius displaying a city backdrop where psalm motets and psalm masses could be heard non-denominationally as a statement for a common Christian church.⁸⁹ In this way, Senfl's *Nisi Dominus* set is situated both in the nucleus of the mercantile class, and also central to a "plural" confession.

⁸⁶ Lodes, "Hör-Horizonte in Augsburg," 241.

⁸⁷ Rublack, Hayward, and Tiramani, *The First Book of Fashion*, 7.

⁸⁸ Lodes, "Hör-Horizonte in Augsburg," 243.

⁸⁹ Lodes, "Hör-Horizonte in Augsburg," 260.

Augsburg was a city where, conceivably, one could believe anything. At least, one could give an impression of believing anything. As evident in the cases of Grimm's arrest and the Fuggers' strong Catholicism, Augsburg was a conglomeration of extreme and sometime violent religious loyalties. Still in considering Luther's preface to Georg Rhau's *Symphoniae jucundae* of 1538 which includes Senfl's *Nisi Dominus*, it is certainly more than likely Senfl was keenly aware of Luther's psalm exegeses.

Senfl maintained personal correspondence with Luther beginning in 1530. As such, the psalm motets often could be viewed as a clear indication that Senfl's religious beliefs leaned distinctly Lutheran, especially as his *Non morir sed vivam* was composed specifically for Luther, after the reformer asked him in a letter describing his deep depression and seeming wish for death to write a polyphonic setting of one of his favorite songs, *Ich lieg und schlafe ganz im Frieden*.⁹⁰ This letter was dated October 4, 1530, just four months after Charles V made his visit to Munich. Ten days after Charles' initial visit, Senfl attended the 1530 Diet of Augsburg, among which proceedings concerned, naturally, the state of Christianity. It is no surprise that Senfl's motet *Ecce quam bonum*, sung at the 1530 Diet of Augsburg calls, assumedly, for both sides of Christianity to dwell in brotherly unity.⁹¹ The text was a popular song in Lutheran church repertoire but was completely forbidden in Catholic services.⁹²

⁹⁰ Walter E. Buszin, "Luther on Music," *The Musical Quarterly* 32, no. 1 (1946): 84.

⁹¹ Rebecca Wagner Oettinger, "Ludwig Senfl and the Judas Trope: Composition and Religious Toleration at the Bavarian Court," *Early Music History* 20 (2001): 217.

⁹² Wagner Oettinger, "Ludwig Senfl and the Judas Trope," 217.

It was at this Reichstag that Senfl seems to have struck up written correspondence with Luther, though Senfl's side of the communication does not survive.⁹³ Wagner Oettinger argues that “[h]ad Senfl remained a good Catholic, he never would have placed his soul in jeopardy by maintaining contact with a notorious heretic, nor would he have exchanged gifts with one.”⁹⁴ However, in light of the atmosphere of “merciless punishment” the 1522 Mandate had incurred, Senfl, in such a position of visibility, could hardly have concealed the chest of books Luther gifted him well enough to avoid punishment.⁹⁵ In striking up correspondence with Luther following the Diet of Augsburg, he was clearly unstressed about the prospect of repercussion to his actions, and this could be due to his “diplomatic immunity” as an informant between Catholic and Protestant lines.

Four years earlier, in 1526, Senfl began corresponding with Duke Albrecht of Prussia. This association lasted several years, dotted with letters between the Duke and Wagenrieder, who was at Munich by this time working as a scribe. Charles V essentially “banned” Albrecht in the 1530s, but Albrecht continued to cultivate Protestantism into Denmark and Sweden. This presumably would have made any communication with the Protestant Duke extremely suspicious to the Catholic church. However, into the 1530s, Senfl seems to have worked with Albrecht to exchange some singers as well as music, including his *De profundis clamavi*. In fact, *De profundis clamavi* is transmitted in some manuscripts misattributed to Josquin—a testament to Senfl's compositional similarity to the earlier composer.⁹⁶

⁹³ Wagner Oettinger, “Ludwig Senfl and the Judas Trope,” 213.

⁹⁴ Wagner Oettinger, “Ludwig Senfl and the Judas Trope,” 216.

⁹⁵ McDonald, “The Life and Trials,” 27, and Wagner Oettinger, “The Judas Trope,” 215.

⁹⁶ Stefan Gasch, Sonja Tröster, Birgit Lodes, and Centre d'études supérieures de la Renaissance. *Ludwig Senfl (c. 1490-1543): A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works and Sources* (Turnhout Belgium: Brepols, 2019), 315.

Josquin appears to be one of the first, if not the originator of the psalm motet genre. His penitential psalm setting *Miserere mei, Deus* appears in several manuscripts and prints, and it seems to be his most loved psalm setting. Senfl wrote one as well, and Wagenrieder seems to be the scribe for the manuscript in which this motet appears, the *Motettor[um] Liber Secu[n]dus* from between 1520-29. Senfl's version is free from *cantus firmus* compositional practice, though he employs a repeating ostinato in the tenor similar to Josquin's technique which seems to act as a quasi-cantus firmus.⁹⁷ It might have been this similar style that allowed Senfl's music to reach incredible popularity among German listeners and printers.

As such, Senfl was cited in several prominent theoretical treatises during his lifetime. Several of these treatises that popped up around the German-speaking lands included music by some of the great composers of the day, often including Senfl. One author of such a treatise is Sebald Heyden, pupil of the same teacher who taught Heinrich Glarean. Heyden was a reformer with Calvinist tendencies, while Glarean was a sincere Catholic humanist, but both shared a common upbringing within the German Latin school and later university, but their vastly differing religious and philosophical viewpoints drastically affected their writing on music.⁹⁸ Heyden chose music for his treatises that he meant to be used in Latin schools, such as the one he grew up in, and as such this music worked to fulfill Christian teaching of music theory and notation.⁹⁹ He took Catholic polyphony and changed the text to be more Christological than Marian; yet he would only choose music, often from masses, that he

⁹⁷ Scott Lee Edwards, Stefan Gasch, and Sonja Tröster, eds., *New Senfl Edition*, vol. 3, *Ludwig Senfl: Motets for Five Voices*, 311.

⁹⁸ Cristle Collins Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 89.

⁹⁹ Collins Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 82-116.

considered to be of exceptional quality, including such composers as Josquin, Ockeghem, Isaac, and Senfl.¹⁰⁰

Senfl was highly respected as a composer by both Lutheran and Catholic theorists who used the same composers for different purposes. In fact, in Heinrich Glarean's *Dodecachordon*, Senfl's psalm motet *Deus in adiutorium meum* is one of the examples illustrating the Lydian mode.¹⁰¹ Another example of Senfl's influence on theorists is through his first major publication project. It was the *Liber selectarum cantionum* that provided Zarlino's primary knowledge of motet repertoire from Josquin through Senfl.¹⁰² Judd considers this folio choirbook to be an adequate "companion" to Glarean's *Dodecachordon*; it was a beautiful and elegant model for Zarlino.¹⁰³ Heyden's treatises point to a trend in German publishing at this time, where larger anthologies of motets would first include Josquin, then Isaac or Senfl, then other German composers.¹⁰⁴ Other German theory treatises, like Glarean's *Dodecachordon* shed light on what Germans would have considered "good" music. Clearly, Josquin was the epitome.

The atmosphere in Munich seems to be generally supportive of Senfl's output. The Hofkapelle's deep appreciation for Senfl and older music in general lasted long after his death.¹⁰⁵ Until Christmas Eve in 1581, just before Tridentine reform reshaped the entirety of

¹⁰⁰ Collins Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 91 and table 4.1.

¹⁰¹ Collins Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 134, table 5.1b.

¹⁰² Collins Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 232-233.

¹⁰³ Collins Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 233.

¹⁰⁴ Collins Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 102.

¹⁰⁵ Leong, "The Hymn Settings of Ludwig Senfl's *Liber Vesparum Festorum Solennium*," footnote 119.

the Munich liturgy from Freising Rite to the Old Roman Rite, the Hofkapelle appears to have continued celebrating Vespers with Senfl's music from the *Liber festorum solennium*, a collection of his hymns written nearly sixty years prior.¹⁰⁶ The court's favor of Senfl even after his death hints at where his true religious loyalties lay—likely political rather than confessional.

Conclusion

Senfl's career from modest beginnings as a choir boy in Maximilian's court to editor of a major document to court composer for Wilhelm IV allowed him to remain both in the spotlight of musical Bavaria and the center of both political and religious affairs. His connections spanned the gamut of confessional characters, from wealthy merchant giants to Lutheran figures such as Duke Albrecht and Martin Luther, and of course, Catholic rulers as powerful as Charles V. Senfl's life was carefully orchestrated, as evidenced in his marriage into the Neunburger family in charge of tolls and expansive shipping, his work in the printing network, even his long-resisted acceptance of Wilhelm IV's job offer. The psalm motets commanded a powerful popularity as both sides of the confessional divide searched for agreement: it was scripture alone that both sides could not help but accept. Senfl's psalm motets, as direct settings of scripture though perhaps heard theologically differently, were beloved by Lutherans and Catholics. This shared devotion to the psalms appears tangibly in the multiple exegeses that popped up through the 1520s from both sides, probably much to the chagrin of the opposite side.

As such, Senfl's work allowed him to be highly respected as a musical authority among Germans until his death. The inscription on his gravestone exemplifies this as it was

¹⁰⁶ Leong, "The Hymn Settings of Ludwig Senfl's *Liber Vesparum Festorum Solennium*," 70.

carved in Latin, a language which was then only used for people highly respected, esteemed, and celebrated.¹⁰⁷ That inscription “...praises him as the descendant of ancient goddesses and muses and extols his special connection to humanism.”¹⁰⁸ Even here, evidence of a public eye viewing him as connected intimately with Catholicism and humanism for all time is evident. He seems to have been “safe” from religious persecution, an exceedingly rare adjective in a world where printing the “wrong” theological writing would send one, at the very least, to prison. In considering Senfl’s audiences, patrons, business connections, attendances at the Diets of Ausburg, his first marriage, publications of psalm motets, and any number of other instances and peculiarities of Senfl’s life, it seems only reasonable to presume he was none other than informant playing to both sides.

The notion of “confessional chameleonism” neatly explains how Senfl was able to place himself in the good graces of Catholics as fervent as Charles V and Protestants as important as Martin Luther. I have attempted to connect the dots between Senfl, known informant employers, and informants themselves to identify a new extra-musicological layer to the question of his religious identity. As scholarship grows outside of the field of musicology about cross-confessional diplomacy and more cases of espionage are rediscovered, it seems only a matter of time before a document, letter, mention, or record appears in an archive somewhere to fully prove Senfl’s possibly duplicitous hidden career.

¹⁰⁷ Leong, “The Hymn Settings of Ludwig Senfl’s *Liber Vesparum Fistorum Solennium*,” 35.

¹⁰⁸ Stefan Gasch, ed., “Biography,” n.d., accessed 5 November 2022, <https://senflonline-eng.com/biography/>.

CHAPTER 3

SENFL'S PSALM MOTETS' PLACE IN ART, PRACTICE, AND RELIGIOUS DÉTENTE IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY BAVARIA

Wherefore, it becomes me candidly to confess, that I know not whether or not mine is, to a certainty, the true meaning of the Psalms, though I nevertheless hold no doubt, that what I have delivered is truth....And indeed there is no book in the whole Bible in which I have been so much exercised as in the Psalms: till at last I came to this opinion, that no man's interpretation, provided it be a godly one, should be rejected, unless he that rejects it submit himself to the same law of retaliation. One man may fall short in many things, and another in more. I may see many things which Augustine did not see. And I am persuaded that others will see many things which I do not see now.¹

These words hail from Martin Luther's dedication in one of his Psalms commentaries to the Elector of Saxony on March 27, 1519. The dedication indicates both his high esteem of the Biblical book and alludes to several other exegeses beginning to fill the printing presses. The Psalms could act as a sort of little Bible, wherefore "[e]very Christian who would abound in prayer and piety ought, in all reason, to make the Psalter his manual," Luther explained, "[f]or indeed the truth is, that everything that a pious heart can desire to ask in prayer, it finds here psalms and words to match so aptly and sweetly..."²

Musicians also noticed the psalm as a source for creative religious musical "commentary," beginning with Josquin Desprez's psalm settings earlier in the Renaissance. The term "motet" associated with a psalm text has connotations and must be distinguished from other psalm settings, such as metrical psalms used by the Calvinists. Motets, in contrast

¹ Martin Luther and John Nicholas Lenker, *The Precious and Sacred Writings of Martin Luther, the Hero of the Reformation, the Greatest of the Teuton Church Fathers, and the Father of Protestant Church Literature* (Minneapolis, MN: Lutherans in all Lands Co., 1904), 22.

² Luther and Lenker, *The Precious and Sacred Writings of Martin Luther*, 14.

to metrical psalms, usually come in two parts, are almost always through-composed,³ and “...[employ] all the compositional techniques of the most ambitious polyphonic writing.”⁴ Edward Nowacki notes that psalm motets do not antedate the year 1500 except for a solitary, anonymous setting of Psalm 120 in Trent 89.⁵ He points out that psalm motets are specifically different from an earlier technique, the *falso bordone* psalm, which is simply a harmonization of a psalm text.⁶ True, or full, psalm motets—those that set an entire psalm—must also be distinguished from partial psalm text settings, where only a verse or two may be set, like in Josquin’s *Domine ne in furore* from Psalm 37, or Senfl’s *Non moriar, sed vivam*. Psalm motets seem to vary in their intended use and were not all written to be sung at a particular office hour. Some psalms were considered appropriate for Vespers, while others were better used on generic festive occasions or during Mass.⁷

Senfl’s penchant for the psalms betrays an emerging humanist mindset. Indeed, Nowacki asserts that both the growing popularity of psalms and subsequently psalm motets in the sixteenth century can reveal a parallel to “...intangible intellectual trends such as humanism.”⁸ Perhaps this is because the psalms as a biblical text are so personal, as so many by King David were utterly private prayers, meditations, and lamentations, and show how in the Renaissance religion in general was growing less congregational and more individual.

³ That is, no text or music repeats in the course of the piece, or if the text repeats it employs new music for each verse.

⁴ Edward Nowacki, “The Latin Psalm Motet 1500-1535,” in *Renaissance-Studien: Helmuth Osthoff zum 80. Geburtstag* (Tutzing: Verlegt Bei Hans Schneider, 1979), 182.

⁵ Nowacki, “The Latin Psalm Motet 1500-1535,” 182.

⁶ Nowacki “The Latin Psalm Motet 1500-1535,” 182.

⁷ Nowacki “The Latin Psalm Motet 1500-1535,” 182.

⁸ Nowacki “The Latin Psalm Motet 1500-1535,” 184.

This is exactly what Luther seemed to believe in his writings on salvation by personal faith alone. In this way, the growing obsession with the psalms by Lutheran and Protestant thinkers and musicians is in no way surprising.

The genre was a new phenomenon of the sixteenth century, maturing within just decades alongside the Reformation narrative, an example of musical development caused by extra-musical influences. That is, as the surge of psalm commentaries were being written and published and the focus of religion was turning toward one's personal salvation, the psalm motet grew as a stand-alone, distinctive genre. Senfl's eleven full psalm motets, along with his other partial psalm motets, allowed him to be on the cutting edge of musical culture in the German-speaking lands. Where the motet as a generic Catholic genre developed from the Middle Ages through the Renaissance over hundreds of years, the psalm motet moved from a sub-genre and experiment to one of the most popular genres in just about fifty years. The Book of Psalms had existed for hundreds of years but the act of setting them musically in a distinct motet style was oddly late in comparison to other Renaissance genres.

Senfl's psalm motets were among the first in the German provinces and, aside from allowing the Josquin-fad of voice-leading to flourish there, were significant religiously and culturally in a way more dramatic than Josquin's. Because Senfl's motets were relatable to both Lutherans and Catholics, he used these pieces as a bridge between the two worlds, effectively adding his own unique musical exegesis to the mix of non-musical Psalm commentaries published across the German-speaking lands. As the psalms lend themselves to the motet's typically through-composed structure, they allow virtually total freedom for the composer, a freedom that Senfl used to create unique motets with characters of their own. Senfl's psalm motets' position in sixteenth-century Bavarian religious art, thought, and

culture reveal a unique détente between the schism of Catholic and growing Protestant religions in their maturing as a genre, their continuance of the current Franco-Flemish polyphonic style set by Josquin, their proximity to contemporary exegeses of the biblical Psalms, and their easy transfer between Lutheran and Catholic communities.

A Genre Matures

The bones of a psalm motet are twofold: text and counterpoint. Establishing an understanding of the text as historical Hebrew poetry is a necessary step to a comprehensive appraisal on both psalm motets and other Renaissance psalm settings not classified as motets. Originally, the psalms were meant to be set to music, clear at a brief glance of scripture. Often, the beginning of a psalm will have a directive such as “for the choir director,” or a note of the tune on which the text would be best sung. Scholars seem to disagree whether Hebrew poetry has any sort of rhythm, as Classical Greek poetry had.⁹ However, it proves difficult to assign even common patterns of “rhythm” to Hebrew poetry, as it falls somewhere between the strict common meters of Greek poetry like pentameter or hexameter but is not quite as free as Greek prose.¹⁰

How can a composer set text rhythmically if the text itself has no inherent rhythm? What a reader can usually count on is textual or vocabularic rhythm, not rhyming of sounds but of meaning or ideas. One aspect of Hebrew poetry involves parisosis, or a type of parallelism, as biblical scholars prefer to call it. One specific type of parisosis is chiasmic parallelism, where the poet might “bookend” the climactic sentence or phrase, creating a

⁹ Michael Wade Martin, “Does Ancient Hebrew Poetry Have Meter?” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 140, no. 3 (2021): 505.

¹⁰ Martin, “Does Ancient Hebrew Poetry Have Meter?” 505.

mirror in the text.¹¹ Another parallelism is paramoeosis, or the parallelism of specific sounds, and this type has several subtypes as well. One found in the Psalms and elsewhere is homoeoteleuton, where there is “[s]imilarity of cadence, the same syllables being placed at the end of each clause...”¹² Michael Wade Martin relays these and other poetic devices as sorts of phenomena among poetry, and illustrates an even more niche device where within homoeoteleuton the writer will make final syllables all unstressed, a type of “rhyme” usually overlooked in Western literature.¹³ Hebrew writers concern themselves with “colon-initial assonance,” or a rhyme scheme of phrase-beginning words and sounds, a type occurring numerous times in the Psalms, as in chapter 9 verse 5:

בִּי־עֲשִׂיתָ מִשְׁפָּטִי וְדִינִי
 יִשְׁבֹּתָ לְכִסֵּא שׁוֹפֵט צְדָקָה

For you have maintained my just cause;
 you have sat on the throne giving righteous judgment.
 (Ps 9:5)

Figure 3.1, Example of Colon-initial Assonance, from Martin, p. 513

Dozens of other poetic devices exist in ancient Hebrew poetry, most all of them showcased in the book of Psalms. There is a “...great diversity of rhythmic patterns [that] point not to a single pattern or two that govern Hebrew poetic composition as a rule, but rather patterns that are...*commonly used*.”¹⁴ Therefore, it is difficult to determine meter as there are no generalities in Hebrew poetry, but several patterns of its behavioral tendencies.

¹¹ Martin, “Does Ancient Hebrew Poetry Have Meter?” 506.

¹² Quinillian, as quoted in Martin, “Does Ancient Hebrew Poetry Have Meter?” 510.

¹³ Martin, “Does Ancient Hebrew Poetry Have Meter?” 512.

¹⁴ Martin, “Does Ancient Hebrew Poetry Have Meter?” 525.

These patterns "...by the Greeks' and Romans' own accounts, are neither regular in rhythm nor written in conformity to desired beat patterns."¹⁵ One must thus assume that as irregular a language Hebrew is (to Greek and Roman writers), likely some of the intricacies of its poetic device were lost in translation in the Latin Vulgate and lost again when translated into German. Nevertheless, because of certain repetitions and mirroring concepts and ideas, psalms especially lend themselves to being set to a genre of music that was less interested in a theoretical form, and more focused on the florid melody-based structure that most sacred motets of the Renaissance would utilize, especially since word painting is certainly easily observable across Europe's broad polyphonic practice. As such, it comes as no surprise that a through-composed structure is the most common form psalm motets take, though many were split into multiple "pars" or parts. When the texts' natural rhythms are fluid and not restricted to a particular meter, the composer is allowed more freedom in setting it melodically, focusing instead on the meaning of the text rather than the syllable mechanics.

While most of these motets were in Latin, vernacular psalm settings were growing in popularity along with the flourishing protestant denomination. Thomas Stoltzer (ca. 1480-1526), at work at the Hungarian court, composed polyphonic psalms for Mary of Hungary, who tended to be somewhat tolerant, even friendly toward the reformers'.¹⁶ Stoltzer wrote four psalm motets in German, using Luther's translations of 1524, Psalms 11, 12, 36, and 85.¹⁷ It seems his setting of Psalm 36 is the closest to a formal "motet" of the four, set for six voices in free polyphony and not based on a cantus firmus or existing psalm tone.¹⁸ Senfl and

¹⁵ Martin, "Does Ancient Hebrew Poetry Have Meter?" 525.

¹⁶ Temme, "Orlando di Lasso's Psalm Settings," 267.

¹⁷ I use Vulgate numbers for clarity here.

¹⁸ Temme, "Orlando di Lasso's Psalm Settings," 268.

Stolzter share a psalm text selection, the *Usquequo, Domine* (Psalm 12), with Senfl's appearing in the so-called Pernner Codex copied in the early 1520s possibly for the Augsburg court (later moved to Regensburg), and also in a manuscript from 1520 in Munich.¹⁹

Stolzter died at M6h6acs, the same battle in which Mary of Hungary's husband was killed, and the very same for which one of the Fugger family informants rushed details of the battle back to Augsburg. Martin Luther sent the widow condolences after hearing the news, including with his letter four commentaries on Psalms 36, 61, 93, and 108, further indicating the depth of value psalms had across Europe.²⁰ Perhaps had Stolzter enjoyed more than a scant two years with Luther's translations, he might have completed more German psalm motets in the same mature, quasi-Franco-Flemish style.

As Senfl was obviously fluent in both reading and writing in German and Latin, it is likely he was working out of the Vulgate Bible, since some of his motets appear before Luther's German translation—not to mention he likely would not have wished to be accused of being Lutheran if he worked from a translation. The Latin translation of the Bible numbered the Psalms differently than a modern-day Bible (e.g., Vulgate Psalm 118 is today's Psalm 119), and it also often considered the first verse or even the performance rubric as the title, so sometimes the first verse in the Vulgate is actually the second verse of the Psalm.²¹ The question seems not to be what language he chose, but what content of the Psalms he found most engaging in which to compose.

¹⁹ Scott Lee Edwards, Stefan Gasch, and Sonja Tr6ster, eds., *New Senfl Edition*, vol. 2, *Ludwig Senfl: Motets for Four Voices* (Vienna: Hollitzer, 2022), 220.

²⁰ Temme, "Orlando di Lasso's Psalm Settings," 267.

²¹ Nowacki, "The Latin Psalm Motet 1500-1535," 160.

The Psalms made an excellent text choice for composers to set if they wished to avoid pushback on either schismatic side; that is, all Christians could agree on the divine quality of the scriptures. Senfl's eleven full psalm text choices do not appear to betray too deep of a premeditated selection; however, several of them show a nod to popular texts of the time, and they all seem to connect to the more formative moments of his life. Though each of his eleven motets have a character of their own, Senfl blends text and counterpoint into a unique compositional voice not unlike other polyphonic practice across Europe, and certainly not unlike the style of Josquin.

Implications of the Counterpoint

Within Senfl's psalm motets is counterpoint that clearly matured. These pieces occur at every point throughout his career, so a tendency toward more careful text setting is observable following the chronology of his motets. Senfl tended to favor the alto voice, likely because he was an altist himself. He wrote several of his psalm motets as a sort of exegetical commentary, as I will. While writing in the Franco-Flemish style that dominated Europe, Senfl paid excessively close attention to the text itself.

Probably his earliest psalm motet was his *Beati omnes* of 1520, though it was likely composed as early as 1518 for the wedding of Margrave Casimir of Brandenburg and Susanna of Bavaria during the Diet of Augsburg.²² He set this text again in 1537, which Wolfgang Fuhrmann supposes was for Senfl's own second marriage.²³ This text works well as a central wedding theme as its text upholds righteous living and working, and extols the

²² See Chapter 2 of this thesis, page 22.

²³ Wolfgang Fuhrmann, "Die Suche nach musikalischer und religiöser Identität in Ludwig Senfls Psalmmotetten," in *Senfl Studien* vol. 1, ed. Stefan Gasch, Birgit Lodes, and Sonja Tröster (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2012), 325.

value of children and raising them in a godly manner. This pair of motets is certainly curious as it bookends Senfl's height of career—the first as he begins to move from Maximilian's employ to Wilhelm a few years later, and the second setting just six years before his death. Perhaps his return to this piece was as simple as writing a motet as a gift to his new bride. The first setting appears in the Augsburg publication *Liber selectarum cantionum*. This text was a popular choice for many composers—Cristóbal de Morales composed a setting which appeared in some of Hans Ott's German prints alongside dozens of Senfl's German *Lieder*. Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina also set *Beati omnes* among his other psalm motets.

Senfl's *Beati omnes* (i) is for four voices, based on a cantus firmus on the seventh psalm tone and it is split into two parts, the first concerning marriage and the second beginning the verses on raising children. Senfl's part writing here is rather unextraordinary, though he betrays his own voice part in moments where the cantus sometimes enjoys a bit more freedom, especially evident in the final cadential melisma.²⁴ Throughout the first part of the motet, Senfl consistently pairs voices together, such as the opening point of imitation where the discantus and the cantus firmus tenor work together, and the cantus and bassus duet with each other. Senfl stays well in the bounds of conservative counterpoint: all his melodic leaps are thirds, fourths, fifths, or octaves, never difficult for the singer to anticipate, and usually followed by a smaller leap or step in the opposite direction for balance. He creates the

²⁴ I am using the *New Senfl Edition* in all my analyses as these are the authoritative modern editions of Senfl's motets.

most interest with contrary scalar motion towards the ends of phrases, as in the word “Dominum” illustrated in figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2 Opening two lines of Senfl's *Beati omnes (i)*, from *NSE Vol. 1*, p 24

The exegesis²⁵ in Senfl's first psalm motet is far more elementary than his more mature motets, though moments of the piece, subtle as they are, seem to hint at his consideration of the text. He seems to think more about the interaction of the voices as characters than in the melodic motion illustrating the words. In the second part of the motet, he allows the bassus to begin the point of imitation, as if reflecting the head of the household, the husband and father, is the authority. The bassus carries the weight of the remainder of the motet, introducing the quicker motion right away in the third measure and before any other part does. Senfl mirrors this with the second point of imitation by beginning it with the

²⁵ I use the term somewhat loosely. In this chapter, I refer to Senfl's personal theology portrayed in the writing, most often achieved through word painting.

discantus at “incircuitu mensae tuae,” perhaps illustrating the wife and mother as the balance to the male authority. In this second part, Senfl never allows both outside voices to have rapid moving passages at the same time, though the outer two, the “parents,” can interact more with the inner parts, the “children.” Instead, the two voices allow each to speak in their turn. As the cantus ends the motet in an elaborate cadence, the discantus almost dies away, sustaining a d5, while the bassus again has the final say—“pacem super Israel.”

Usquequo, Domine was close in year to the first *Beati omnes*, also published in the *Liber Selectarum Cantionum* and included in the Pernner Codex, one of the most complete collections of Senfl’s music in existence. The *New Senfl Online* editors use the *Liber* as the authoritative source, as the Pernner Codex in Regensburg has some copying errors, such as a section of contratenor notes written a step too high in measure 21.²⁶ Initially, (at first glance and first listen), this motet is more active than the *Beati omnes* that preceded it. Again, this psalm motet is in two parts, but this one is not based on a cantus firmus or existing psalm tone. Thus, Senfl seems to enjoy more freedom here, continuing to employ standard compositional techniques like paired imitation throughout, again allowing the cantus to move quicker and more freely than the other voice parts. In addition, the cantus uses a remarkably wide range, from a low C3 to a G4, alluding to either Senfl’s own vocal range, or masterful singers at his disposal.

Senfl leans into word painting in *Usquequo, Domine*, easily done as the psalm text itself allows for creativity with its inherent emotion. In the first part of the psalm, the writer (King David, in this case) implores the Lord to remember him in his grief. The psalmist employs colon-initial assonance, the rhyming of phrase-beginning ideas four times in the first

²⁶ Edwards, Gasch, and Tröster, eds., *New Senfl Edition*, vol. 2, *Ludwig Senfl: Motets for Four Voices*, 220.

section. “Usquequo,” or “how long?” is asked of the Lord, illustrating a feeling of stagnancy the psalmist must have had. Senfl imitates this feeling in his setting, with the word “usquequo” always on longer durations than other words in the phrases, further demonstrating this idea of stagnancy. “Domine” gets florid melismas, but “oblivisceris,” or “you will forget,” mixes syllables around the voices and around the tactus, incurring a muddy blend of consonants instead of clarity. The psalmist still has hope in his despondency, and Senfl allows “dolorem” to have rising melismas, contrary to what might have been a more obvious denotation of despair with falling scales. The voices are equal in this motet, all sharing motivic ideas, paralleling the psalmist’s internal dialogue as extremely private instead of a more congregational text. In this way, he uses paired imitation far less than the *Beati omnes*, largely to unify the voices. He still pairs voices, but in smaller contexts, such as cadential points, and less in melodic content and more in presence of two voices amidst absence of the other two.

In the *Secunda pars*, the psalmist looks forward to the Lord returning his favor and thus the text changes, still using parallelism of the phrase “I will sing to the Lord.” Senfl thus changes the character of the motet, adding more structural resting points in the section with the repetition of the quasi-homophonic “cantabo” throughout. This moment of caesura reminds the listener of the “usquequo” rhythms—Senfl is able to reiterate the stagnancy of the previous “how long” moment in the new, much more joyful stagnancy of “I will sing” in the second part. Again, the cantus seems to take precedence over the other voices as it is the first to decide to sing in m. 170. Finally, in the ending cadence, the cantus splits to include both the fifth and the raised third of the chord.

167

ta-ri tu - o, in sa - lu - ta - ri - tu - o. Can - ta - - bo Do - - - - - ri tu - - o. Can - ta - - bo Do - - - in sa - lu - ta - ri tu - o. Can - ta - - bo Do - - - ta - ri tu - o, in sa - lu - ta - ri tu - o. Can - ta - - bo,

174

- - mi - no, can - ta - bo Do - - - - - mi - no, - - - - - mi - no, can - ta - - bo Do - - - - - mi - - - - - mi - no, can - ta - - bo Do - - - - - mi - can - ta - - - - - bo Do - - - - - mi -

181

can - ta - - bo Do - - - - - mi - no, can - ta - - - - - no, can - ta - - bo Do - - - - - mi - no, can - ta - - - - - no, can - ta - - bo Do - - - - - mi - no, can - no, can - ta - - bo Do - - - - - mi - no, can - ta - - -

188

bo Do - - - - - mi - no, qui bo - na tri - - bu - bo Do - - - - - mi - no, qui bo - na tri - - bu - it ta - - - - bo Do - - - - - mi - no, qui bo - na tri - - bu - it mi - bo Do - - - - - mi - no, qui bo - - - - na tri - - - - bu -

Figure 3.3, *Usquequo Domine*, in *New Senfl Edition*, vol. 2

As Senfl uses the cantus to begin the “cantabo” moments in m. 170, “Domine” in m. 182 and m. 188, an interesting possibility to consider is that he could be inserting himself into the psalm as cantus. This could betray an autobiographical reading of the text—while this appears in publications beginning in 1520, perhaps Senfl wrote it before then, during the time Maximilian had died and the Hofkapelle was dissolving. Senfl had been searching for new, promising employment but had not found any and subsequently ended up in Augsburg working on the *Liber selectarum cantionum*. He might have felt the way David felt—isolated from the Lord’s good graces but remaining determined to sing as he waited for the right employment. In considering text painting and counterpoint, Senfl’s *Usquequo, Domine* is far more emotionally and contrapuntally rich than his first *Beati omnes*, displaying a growth in compositional confidence he had between 1518 and 1520, likely spurred by the need to be impressive to attract new employers and his more in-depth knowledge and proximity to motets of other masters, like Josquin’s, that he was able to edit and include in the *Liber*.

An important volume containing *Ecce quam bonum; Miserere mei, Deus; De profundis* (ii); and *Deus in adiutorium* is the *Motettor[um] Liber Secu[n]dus*. This manuscript was likely copied by Senfl's old friend Lukas Wagenrieder who had sung alto with him in the

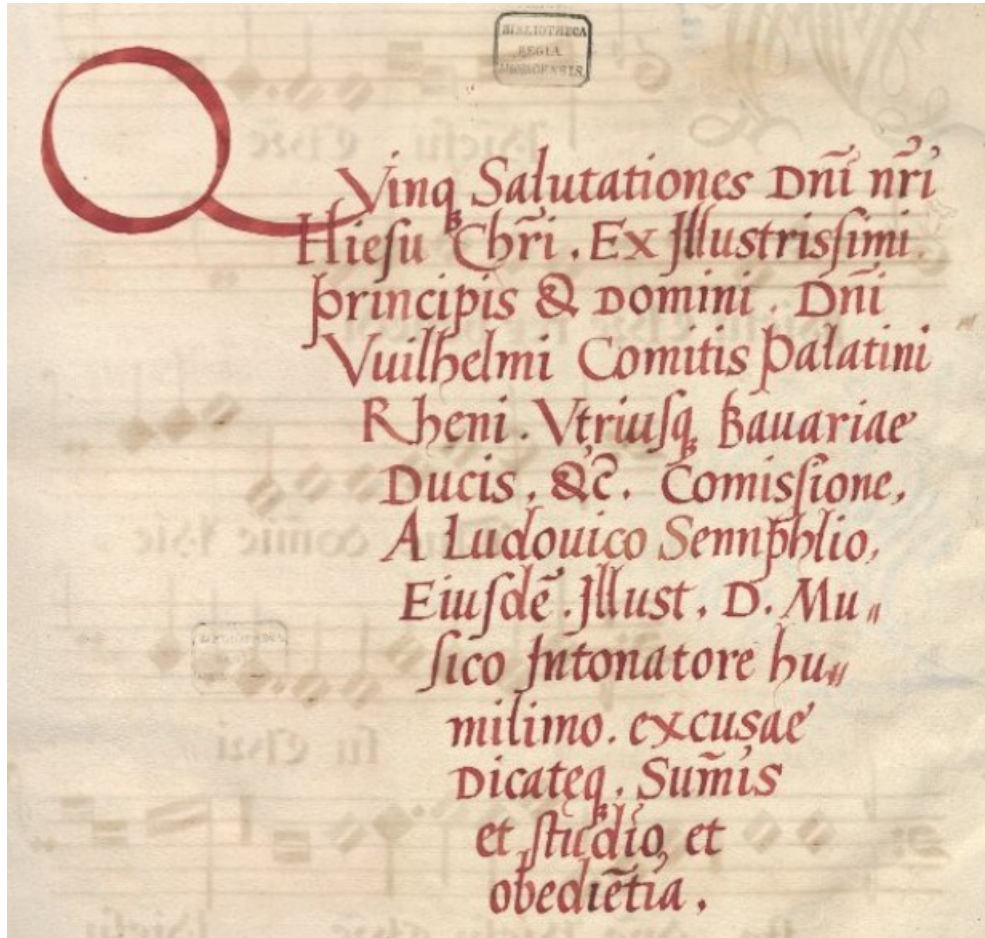


Figure 3.4, Mus.ms. 10 Digitized by BSB, folio 1r

court of Maximilian I, but later found his way in the publishing world.²⁷ Recent scholarship has discussed the likelihood that dozens of manuscripts once thought to be Wagenrieder's hand were actually done by several scribes, possibly including Senfl himself, so the final

²⁷ This is somewhat conjectural. RISM lists Wagenrieder as copyist with [conjectural] as an adjective, and the Bavarian State Library does not list his name at all. David Fallows has done some investigating of other manuscripts originally attributed to Wagenrieder.

word on who the copyist of this book was is ultimately uncertain.²⁸ According to the red-inked inscription, Senfl commissioned this publication for Duke Wilhelm, and indeed the manuscript seems to have remained in Munich. The inscription naturally describes Senfl as a humble musician working fully in the obedience of the duke, obsequious adjectives not uncommon in manuscripts and prints of the time.

Whoever the main scribe was, whether he be Wagenrieder or not, someone else inscribed the index on f. 215r. The BSB²⁹ notes that this is an original index, though added by

Registru Motetor		
1	Salutationes Ihesu chri . L: S.	1.
2	Miserere mei deus . L: Senfl.	21.
3	Circa Jesse . L: S.	48.
4	Qui pphetice . L. S.	53.
5	Deprofundis clamaui . L. S.	68.
6	Do Ihesus an dem Creutze hieg. L. S.	81.
7	Deus i adiutoriu . L. S.	101.
8	Ecce q̄ bonu . L. S.	109.
9	Liber generatiois .	127.
10	In principio .	145.
11	Miserere mei de	158.
* 12	Qui habitat .	182.
13	Illec est dies . Lud: S.	197.
* 14	Virgo prudentissima . " "	177.

Figure 3.5, Mus.ms. 10 Digitized by BSB, folio 215r

²⁸ David Fallows, “Rem, Alamire, and Wagenrieder,” in *Senfl Studien* vol. 3, edited by Stefan Gasch, Birgit Lodes, and Sonja Tröster (Wien: Hollitzer, 2018), 115-125.

²⁹ BSB is abbreviation for Bavarian State Library.

an “anderer Hand.”³⁰ It seems curious, however, that one scribe would write Senfl’s initials in six to seven different ways, depending on how similar one considers the initials on motets 5 and 6. The scribe is knowledgeable in his fonts, as he is using some form of Textualis with the exception of Fraktur on motet 6. Perhaps because this is the only German entry, it would have been appropriate to use Fraktur, a new hand of the time, developed by Maximilian I and used, at the time, as a purely luxury font.³¹ The scribe’s hand is slightly shaky in his Fraktur title, as if he was unaccustomed to this type of writing. The whole title slants downward just a bit more than the other titles. If this is the same scribe, disregarding the final *Virga prudentissima* in an entirely different hand, ink, and pen, creativity must have been on his mind as he wrote so many different L’s and S’s for Senfl’s name. He may have considered this an appropriate decoration if this was meant specifically for Wilhelm IV’s court, corresponding to the notion of luxury with using Fraktur in the single German title. There is certainly no dispute that this hand is not the same as that which penned the introduction in red ink.

There is also some trouble in dating this manuscript. The editors of *New Senfl Edition* place it between 1530-1540, corresponding to the note by Johann Mathesius in his 1566 document that mentioned Senfl composed *Ecce quam bonum* for the Diet of Augsburg in 1530.³² However, the BSB dates it between 1520-1529, which would imply that Senfl would

³⁰ See note on the Mus.ms.10 entry at BSB.

³¹ Albert Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books: From the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 170.

³² Edwards, Gasch, and Tröster, eds., *New Senfl Edition*, vol. 1, *Ludwig Senfl: Motets for Four Voices*, 210.

have had to write the motet *before* 1530 for it to be included in this manuscript.³³ Regardless if the motet was written *for* the Diet or was just selected to be sung there, it was a religiously and politically charged text for Senfl to set, as it urges the listeners to brotherly unity, as Psalm 132 advises. Was Senfl pointing at religious unity, political unity, or another matter entirely?

Though the intended message of this motet may never be fully confirmed, the piece displays a certain studiousness on Senfl's part. Here, he has a clear knowledge of Josquin's psalm motet-writing techniques in his use of the phrase "ecce quam bonum et quam iucundum habitare fratres in unum" as a refrain, a structure Josquin used in his *Miserere mei, Deus*.³⁴ This phrase repeats three times following the initial iteration and closes the piece after Senfl's inclusion of the doxology. *Ecce quam bonum* is based in part on Psalm Tone VIII as the cantus firmus, though this pattern does not permeate the entirety of the composition. Wolfgang Fuhmann has illustrated numerous similarities between Senfl's psalm motets and Josquin's, especially noting his *Ecce quam bonum* shares similarities to several Josquin-isms, namely his motivistic parallel of "descendam" to that which occurs in *Absalon, fili mi*, which Fuhmann notes as such a strong similarity that Senfl must have accepted the motet as Josquin's, not Pierre de la Rue's, authorship that is hotly contested even today.³⁵

³³ *14 Sacred Songs* – BSB Mus.ms. 10, *Moettor[um] Liber Secu[n]dus*, digitized by the Bavarian State Library at <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00079111?page=,1>.

³⁴ Edwards, Gasch, and Tröster, eds., *New Senfl Edition*, vol. 1, *Ludwig Senfl: Motets for Four Voices*, 206.

³⁵ Fuhmann, "Die Suche nach musikalischer und religiöser Identität in Ludwig Senfls Psalmmotetten," 328.

Senfl is extremely motivic in *Ecce quam bonum*. Dotted rhythms are one of his favorite motives across his writing, and this motet is no exception. Though his melodic content is simple, reminiscent of the ease in *Beati omnes (i)*, he obscures the meter in some places, clearly defines the rhythm in others, and includes elegant word painting. The clearest example of word painting describes the anointing oil running down the recipient's head, in mm. 24-61. Again, the cantus opens this point of imitation.

This particular passage shows Senfl's skill in numerous ways. Mm. 42-52 showcases a number of subtle compositional techniques to paint the text extremely clearly. Senfl's use of short sequences through first paired imitation, then the addition of the other two voices, in a descending melodic pattern perfectly illustrate the psalm's text of ointment flowing down: the meter is obscured by something of a hemiola, as a liquid would flow unhindered by regular meter. The cadence of "descendit" is likewise painted as a staggered finish between the voices, as if the ointment slowly stopped flowing and trickled away. "Barbam" (beard) is consequently punctuated by clear dotted, almost forceful rhythms, enigmatic of a masculine character, and certainly contrasting the gentler flow of the previous texts' rhythm.

49

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

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

- - - - - dit in bar - bam, _____ in bar - bam, _____

- - - - - dit in bar - bam, _____ in

56

in bar - bam, _____ bar - - bam Aa - - ron,

bam, _____ in bar - bam, _____ bar - - bam Aa - - ron,

in bar - bam, _____ bar - bam Aa - - - - ron,

bar - bam, _____ bar - - bam Aa - - ron,

Figure 3.6, *Ecce quam bonum*, from *New Senfl Edition Vol. 1*

Senfl sets “descendit” many more times throughout his motet, always with descending steps or leaps in the melodies. He tricks the listener in m. 121 with a sudden upward octave leap, previewing the next phrase that discusses Mount Zion. He treats the doxology contrapuntally differently than the rest of the motet, mirroring its difference textually and liturgically from the psalm itself. Here, mm. 204-283 are in a triple meter, naturally alluding to the trinity. His imitation is paired, his melismas longer, especially on the text “saeculorum. Amen.” in typical word-painting fashion. He ends the motet with the “unity” refrain, and perhaps a missed opportunity occurs for the final cadence to end not on a unison, but a fully filled-in triad. He does, however, allow the discantus and cantus a string of parallel thirds to close the final cadence, illustrating unity in perhaps a less obvious way.

Another motet found in the *Motettor[um] Liber Secu[n]dus*, the *Deus in adiutorium* [i], has a curious dissemination story, finding homes in the hands of both Lutheran and Catholic characters. Not only did it find its way to England, but it was sent to Duke Albrecht and was cited in Glarean's *Dodecachordon* as an example of Lydian mode. The motet sets the complete Psalm 69, except for the first verse that works as a superscription to the psalm. The text is short but poignant, just four verses in total. Here, King David, again the psalmist, implores of God immediate help and salvation from his enemies. As usual, Senfl splits this motet into two parts, the first for verses 2-4, and the second for verses 5-6, a neat separation as the tone of the text shifts to hopeful rejoicing in verse 5. Again, he shows the authority of the cantus with the widest range reserved for this voice—in some cases, the cantus acts as a proxy for the bassus, holding the lowest pitches, as in the opening of the second part, and stealing the bassus's phrase in its low octave before the latter gets a chance to sing it during the penultimate phrase toward the closing cadence. Finally, the cantus is allowed the third of the final triad while all other voices rest on the root.

Senfl enjoyed borrowing short melodic ideas from psalm tones, evident in his recycling the opening of the third part in his *Miserere mei, Deus* with the repeated pitches and immediate rhythm all beginning with the tenor voice into the opening melody in *Deus, in adiutorium meum*, both phrases similar to recitation formulas in some of the psalm tones. Senfl mixes moments of paired imitation, stretto, homophony, extremely wide leaps, carefully placed rests and rhythms throughout the motet both to add interest but also to magnify the text musically. Especially in *Deus, in adiutorium*, but noticeable in his other motets, he only uses dotted rhythms in very particular instances, such as the point of imitation beginning in m. 36 with the bassus on the phrase “et erubescit,” or “and blush,” referring to

the psalmist's enemies turning away in shame from their tormenting him. The motive returns in a mirrored melodic contour with "erubescetes" later in m. 56.

The most stunning moment in the motet and a clear instance of exegesis is Senfl's use of near total homophony to close the first part on "euge," or "it is well," illustrated in Figure 6. This is a stark contrast to his chiseled imitation of earlier, then imploring the Lord for help, but in about eleven measures finding some inner peace to end the first part of the motet. Here, the discantus, in almost an angelic aura, cycles upward in descending thirds before falling back down by thirds again to cadence. The other three voices move exactly together, slightly behind the discantus, though the bassus is one syllable late, hesitant to agree to the hopeful sentiment. Consequently, the bassus is the first to move into the final cadence—it took the bassus less time to succumb to hopefulness than did the other voices. Thus, the first half of the motet ends on what would have been called the dominant chord, if Senfl had composed this piece 200 years later.

opposition to his dotted rhythms depicting shame of the psalmist's enemies. The cantus expounds on this with its upward scales, only followed slightly later by the tenor's smaller scalar passages. Senfl continues close imitation for each textual phrase, often allowing the voices to enter within two beats of each other, as if the general atmosphere of celebration makes the voices too excited to wait their turns. He uses rhythm strategically at the end of the motet, manufacturing an artificial ritardando by slightly changing the rhythm in the cantus as it closes the cadence.

In these examples, it is clear how skilled Senfl was in polyphonic writing, especially evident in the publications he appears in and his careful text setting. It was this high quality that Catholic and Protestant music consumers could not deny, regardless of creed, evident in Senfl's range of publications. Perhaps the almost unnatural obsession with Josquin fueled the acceptance of any polyphony like his. Setting the most popular biblical texts of the day in the style of the most popular composer, however dead and French he was, certainly did not hinder Senfl's published success in the German-speaking lands.

Exegeses, Commentaries, and Publications on the Psalms in Sixteenth Century Bavaria

In the second volume of *Novum et insigne opus musicum*, published in 1538, printer Hans Ott wrote in the preface a sentiment that seems to echo the feeling most everyone had of the Book of Psalms in the sixteenth century:

In the earlier of the books [the first volume], we put forth Psalm 51 [*Miserere mei Deus*]. I beg whether anyone can listen so carelessly as not to be moved in his whole spirit and whole intellect towards contemplating the message of the Prophet more carefully, since the melodies conform to the feelings of one who is burdened by the magnitude of his sins and [since] the very deliberate repetition by which [the sinner] begs for mercy, does not permit the soul either to reflect idly or to fail to be moved toward hope of assurance. Thus in this book we place first a song in commemoration of the kindness exhibited by Christ. If something more should be desired in verse, nevertheless what a painter could depict so graphically the visage of Christ subjected

to the punishment of death as JOSQUIN³⁶ portrayed when he so appropriately repeated this part of the little line, ‘verbera tanta pati’.³⁷

The Psalms had a firm hold on Christian theologians throughout the Reformation on both sides of the divide, and from Ott’s preface above, it seems reasonable to assume even non-clergy members of the Christian faith grasped the importance of the rich theology found in the single book. This surge of psalm commentaries, exegeses, motets, tracts, and general thought about psalms reveals a turning of the theology from something external to something extremely personal. In this way, humanism affected aspects of Europe’s worldview, down to something as private as one’s faith and salvation.

The reformers were the most vocal about their attitudes toward the psalms. Luther saw the book as something of a “little Bible,” a highly practical manual for Christian prayer and holy living. The general study of Psalms grew popular right around the 1510s, at the cusp of the Protestant Reformation, no doubt influenced by Luther’s heavily spotlighted publications. A huge number of commentaries popped up across the German speaking lands, France, England, and beyond, including those by Lutherans Alexander Alesius (1500-1565) and Johannes Bugenhagen (1485-1558); Catholics Robert Bellarmine’s (1542-1621) commentary in 1611, Desiderius Erasmus’s writings (1466-1536), and Othmar Luscinius’s (1478-1537) of the 1520s; and Anglican John Boys’s (1571-1625) companion to the Psalms; and even some by theologians whose particular Christian persuasion remained ambiguous, like Samuel Bird’s (d. 1604) in 1598. These are just a few of the dozens of examples: the overwhelming

³⁶ Ott tended to capitalize Josquin’s name in his publications.

³⁷ Translation by Stephanie Schlagel, in Stephanie Schlagel, “A Credible (Mis)Attribution to Josquin in Hans Ott’s “*Novum et insigne opus musicum*”: Contemporary Perceptions, Modern Conceptions, and the Case of *Veni sancta Spiritus*,” *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 56, no. 2 (2006), 117.

number of psalm commentaries during the hundred years surrounding the Reformation cannot be overstated—even with the theological schism, the writers were grasping for common threads, which could be easily found in the book of Psalms.

Examples of the personal nature of these prayers abound across the book. As King David was the primary author, the book acts like a diary of his life's successes and failures in verse. The Vulgate Psalm 51, *Miserere mei Deus* was a favorite of composers, and is Josquin's most known psalm motet. The psalm is one of the seven penitential psalms, in which the author begs forgiveness for his sins. Here, David repeats "Have mercy on me, O God, according to your loving-kindness," in different ways (thematic mirroring). This psalm exhibits the repentant conversation a believer often needs to pray to ask forgiveness for one's sins.

Ironically, though the Protestants strove for differences, similarities existed between the new movements and medieval monastic customs, most obviously the practice and interest in singing the Psalms. As the offices were only practiced by monastic communities, the purpose of these services was to sing or chant through the entire 150 psalms in a week, though the laity also knew and likely sang the psalms. The Calvinists, following Jean Calvin (1509-1564), found importance in ritual, namely in singing all the psalms. In 1542, Calvin crafted the Geneva Psalter, a hymnal in French containing all 150 psalms set to relatively simple meters and melodies for use by laypeople.³⁸ As mentioned earlier, this is a clear example of psalms being set to music but not always as a motet. As such, the texts were applicable to each Christian denomination, but the musical genre was only used by some.

³⁸ Carlos M. N. Eire, *Reformations: The Early Modern World, 1450-1650* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 316.

Earlier, in 1536, Calvin wrote his own commentary on the Psalms, joining the theological printing movement so many other writers had established.³⁹ *Soli deo gloria* was the motto of the Calvinists, and their worship practices and lifelong commitments testify to it, as they worked to detach themselves from the pomp and frill of the Catholic church. “Ironically, Calvinists ended up worshiping in a way similar to that of the medieval monks they so despised, singing the Psalter on a regular basis as a community,” Carlos Eire asserts, describing the importance of the Psalms to the polarized sides of Christianity.⁴⁰ The Geneva Psalter was later translated into numerous languages, remaining a vital part of Calvinism for centuries.

On the Catholic, “old Christian” side, Othmar Luscinius, the family priest of the Augsburg Fugger family and something of an acquaintance of Erasmus,⁴¹ forayed into psalm commentaries as well. His work on the psalms was published in 1524-25, at the same time as Erasmus’s on Psalms 2, 3, and 4, and Luther’s first edition of the Psalter.⁴² Luscinius and Luther, though separated by obvious disagreement on church reform, agreed that the psalms are largely Christocentric, and that they illustrate man’s salvation.⁴³ This is in line with Ott’s sentiment from his forward mentioned earlier from the *Novum et insigne opus musicum* of 1537. Luscinius’s views on man’s need for a personal relationship with God are evident and

³⁹ Eire, *Reformations: The Early Modern World*, 316.

⁴⁰ Eire, *Reformations: The Early Modern World*, 316.

⁴¹ Susan E. Harvey, “Ottmar Nachtigall and His German Psalter in the Context of the Early Reformation” (master’s thesis, University of St. Andrews, 1991), 8. Luscinius and Erasmus resided at the same house in the late 1520s in Freiburg and were friendly at the time according to a letter from Erasmus to Anton Fugger, though disagreements seemed to crop up over general house-mate situations, to which Erasmus resolved to harbor a distaste for Luscinius for years, though the feeling was apparently not mutual.

⁴² Harvey, “Ottmar Nachtigall,” 21.

⁴³ Harvey, “Ottmar Nachtigall,” 50.

relatively similar to Luther's. In this way, Catholics and Lutherans could agree on a theological aspect found within Psalms.

Sometimes this agreement carried accusation. Susan Harvey discusses scholarship surrounding Luscinius's possible crypto-Lutheran leanings, though asserts that in the end he must have remained a Catholic who was "...an Erasmian scholar and a Catholic priest with some evangelical convictions, who for a short period was clearly interested in certain elements of Luther's work, all of which characteristics would make him susceptible to attack from more traditionally oriented colleagues."⁴⁴ This modifier along with his later interest in music theory rings oddly familiar in considering my previous discussion of Senfl's own theological tendencies. Luscinius and Senfl probably were at least aware of each other, as Senfl's composition for the Fugger family in the 1520s would have corresponded to Luscinius' employment there, and additionally in 1532 when Wilhelm IV invited Luscinius to the Liebfrauenkirche in Munich as dean, but he apparently refused.⁴⁵ From this Catholic example, even agreements on theology caused strife as both sides were ready to point the finger in accusation.

Favored by All: Psalms as Common Ground for the Common Man

It is vital to this argument to establish the existence of at least one of Senfl's psalm motets in Lutheran and Catholic contexts. Senfl's psalm motets, along with his Lieder, more generic motets, and masses were printed or copied in manuscripts in almost every major publishing house in the German-speaking lands, but curiously not a single piece by him to

⁴⁴ Harvey, "Ottmar Nachtigall," 67.

⁴⁵ Harvey, "Ottmar Nachtigall," 9.

date is found in a non-German source.⁴⁶ Thus, the goal is not to find non-German publishing houses that produced Senfl's music, but already-existing anthologies that were purchased and relocated to purely Catholic communities outside of the German provinces.

Much of his music was printed in Nuremberg, out of houses like Petreius's and Hans Ott's. One such publication is Ott's *Novum et insigne opus musicum* of 1537, in which Senfl's psalms *Nisi Dominus*, *De profundis clamavi*, *Beati omnes (ii)*, and *Ecce quam bonum* appear alongside several motets attributed to Josquin (though some were recently disproven) including Josquin's *Ave Maria* and Senfl's motet of the same text. This print was put forth around the time the city had turned strongly Protestant, even banning polyphony outright.⁴⁷ Ott wrote in his dedicatory letter that he was printing it to "...preserve the liberal art of music, which people unworthily and foolishly overlook."⁴⁸ Polyphony in and of itself was a polarizing concept as the Council of Trent would later advocate for less florid and more syllabic text setting for the more comprehensive understanding of the text. No doubt continuing to make money on his polyphonic prints was his primary concern as Ott pushed back against the ban, praising Josquin's music above all others and printing some of the best motets in the German-speaking lands of the day. The Josquin-fad was still alive and well for printers and consumers, so chocking up their work to keeping alive "historical" music for the

⁴⁶ John Kmetz, quoted in Charles Aaron James, "Transforming the Motet: Sigmund Salminger and the Adaptation and Reuse of Franco-Flemish Polyphony in Reformation Augsburg by Charles Aaron James" (PhD diss., University of Rochester, Eastman School of Music, Rochester, 2016), 2, footnote 4. See also John Kmetz, "250 Years of German Music Printing (ca. 1500- 1750): The Case for a Closed Market," in *NiveauNitscheNimbus: Die Anfänge des Musikdrucks nördlich der Alpen*, ed. Birgit Lodes (Tutzing: Schneider, 2011), 167-84.

⁴⁷ Schlagel, "A Credible (mis)Attribution to Josquin in Hans Ott's "Novum et insigne opus musicum,"" 102.

⁴⁸ Schlagel, "A Credible (mis)Attribution to Josquin in Hans Ott's "Novum et insigne opus musicum,"" 102.

sake of it being “good” music, could have been a way for printers to avoid backlash of printing Catholic music in a clearly protestant city.

Kerry McCarthy identified another unusual place to find Senfl’s *Deus, in adiutorium*. In an Elizabethan portrait from the 1560s, there is a Josquin motet painted into songbooks in two of four children’s hands, and upon further investigation, McCarthy found one of the songbooks in the painting to be Johannes Petreius’s *Tomus primus psalmodum selectorum*, one of two volumes of psalm settings published in the late 1530s in Nuremberg.⁴⁹ She says this was an “irreproachably Protestant book,” as Nuremberg was a Lutheran city and Petreius published church documents and many psalm motet volumes.⁵⁰ The painter must have had close access to the book, as the notes are extremely accurate save for a few errors made by someone who seemed not to have been able to read music.⁵¹ However, in the painting, the other songbook seems to be nonsense music, oddly meant to be another bass part, completely wrong to match the Josquin motet, as it only has one bass part.⁵² Certainly at least one of the songbooks found its way to England, but since the second book in the painting is not related to *Tonus primus*, it remains unknown whether the painter had simply the bass part as a prop or had somehow access to the whole set, which likely would have been in the possession of the family that commissioned the painting in the first place.

Regardless of its completeness or lack thereof, Senfl’s music, at least *Deus, in adiutorium* did make it to England, probably to primarily Protestant circles judging from the

⁴⁹ Kerry McCarthy, “Josquin in England: An Unexpected Sighting,” *Early Music* 43, no. 3 (2015): 450.

⁵⁰ McCarthy, “Josquin in England,” 450.

⁵¹ McCarthy, “Josquin in England,” 451.

⁵² McCarthy, “Josquin in England,” 452.

ruling monarch at the time of this painting. This motet seems to be regarded highly by Protestants, as Senfl sent it to Duke Albrecht of Prussia. The two corresponded for years, from 1526-1540, through which Senfl sent Albrecht both Lieder and motets.⁵³ Martin Bente records some letters between Senfl and Albrecht, and one from 1535 from Senfl mentions sending *Deus, in adiutorium meum* and *De profundis*, another psalm motet to the duke in hopes of his liking the motets.⁵⁴ He (and Albrecht in response) refers to himself as the “Schweitzer,” or Swiss, as other letter-writers seem also to do.⁵⁵ Albrecht appears to have enjoyed the motets, though his letter is somewhat distant in tone.

This motet seemed equally respected by Catholic audiences, as its prominence in Glarean’s *Dodecachordon* shows. Lydian mode was apparently an uncommon mode for composers to work in, as singers tended to substitute Ionian by flattening the *fa*. Indeed, flats are suggested in the *New Senfl Edition* in numerous places,⁵⁶ though do not appear in the original manuscript. Glarean writes:

[Lydian] is not used in our time by singers, who turn all its songs into the Ionian by substituting *fa* for *mi* on the *b* key. This custom has prevailed so much that now one rarely finds a pure Lydian in which *fa* has not been introduced somewhere, in a conspiracy as it were, formed against it and with its banishment decided on openly. Yet I would not deny that this change can sometimes be made appropriately, and sometimes through urgent necessity.⁵⁷

⁵³ Rebecca Wagner Oettinger, “Ludwig Senfl and the Judas Trope: Composition and Religious Toleration at the Bavarian Court,” *Early Music History* 20 (2001): 216.

⁵⁴ Martin Bente, *Neue Wege der Quellenkritik und die Biographie Ludwig Senfls: Ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte des Reformationszeitalters* (Wiesbaden, Germany: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1968), 329-330.

⁵⁵ Bente, *Neue Wege der Quellenkritik*, 330.

⁵⁶ Edwards, Gasch, and Tröster, eds., *New Senfl Edition*, vol. 1, *Ludwig Senfl: Motets for Four Voices*, 64.

⁵⁷ Heinricus Glareanus, *Dodecachordon*, 166.

Indeed, Lydian seems difficult even in Senfl's *Deus, in adiutorium* as the B-natural seems to want to draw both the listener and Senfl's pen to C-Ionian, especially in the cadence at the end of the first part. In a musical culture cultivating for centuries a nearly always flattened B (considering *musica ficta*), the singers may have felt awkward singing B-natural in places that seemed more appropriate for a flat, as in mm. 8-10 in *Deus, in adiutorium*. Perhaps Senfl was, in some small way, foreshadowing the eventual move music would take to a tonal rather than modal system in his drifting towards a dominant C-Ionian relationship to F-Lydian. Either way, Glarean used Senfl's motet as a flagship example of what Lydian mode should have been.

Martin Luther, similarly to other theologians of his day, had always been fond of the Book of Psalms, and in October of 1512, once he had received his doctorate, he began his preaching career by offering a lecture series on the book, which he had learned to recite and memorize in his early monastic years.⁵⁸ At these lectures, his students were provided with a specific Latin edition of each text with wide spaces between the lines, presumably for notetaking, texts which Luther himself had copied for the attendees.⁵⁹ This early lecture series allowed Luther to begin to wrestle with his newfound theological ideas, namely that man's inner resistance to God was the most difficult hurdle in a Christian's life to overcome.⁶⁰

Between the Psalms lecture series and his work on Romans in 1515, Luther crystallized his writings from his own inner ponderings to much more outward criticisms of

⁵⁸ Brian T. German, *Psalms of the Faithful: Luther's Early Reading of the Psalter in Canonical Context* (Ashland: Lexham Press, 2017), chap. 1, sec. 2, EBSCOhost.

⁵⁹ Andrew Pettigree, *Brand Luther: 1517, Printing, and the Making of the Reformation* (New York: Penguin Press, 2015), 48.

⁶⁰ Pettigree, *Brand Luther*, 49.

the “...princes of the church who abused their trust with an extravagant and godless lifestyle.”⁶¹ Luther would return to the Psalms at a critical time in his life when he was isolated at the Wartburg castle in the 1520s, this time writing more introspective reflections on the book.⁶² It is no wonder that Senfl chose a psalm text to set for Luther personally, mimicking the personal nature of the Psalms in general, around the time of another critical moment of his life—the 1530 Diet of Augsburg. Senfl’s *Non moriar, sed vivam* used a cantus firmus based on the Psalm Tone VIII, curiously like Luther’s own original polyphonic setting of the psalm verse.⁶³

During this time, Luther suffered severe depression while he resided mostly alone. In 1530, roughly near the Augsburg Reichstag, Luther resided in Coburg, as close to Augsburg as was safe. He wrote to Senfl, describing his wish for death, saying:

I hope that the end of my life is near, for the world hates me and does not care to tolerate me any longer; on the other hand, I have had my fill of this world and despise it. Therefore, may my good and faithful Shepherd take my soul out of this world.⁶⁴

In response, though the letter itself is not extant, Senfl sent along his *Non moriar* setting, whose text, Psalm 117:17 which formed the entirety of the motet, implores the reader to hope, saying, “I will not die but live, and begin to declare the works of the Lord.”⁶⁵ Somehow, Senfl had knowledge of the tract Luther published during his time in Coburg on Psalm 117.

⁶¹ Pettigree, *Brand Luther*, 49.

⁶² Pettigree, *Brand Luther*, 138.

⁶³ Edwards, Gasch, and Tröster, eds., *New Senfl Edition*, vol. 2, *Ludwig Senfl: Motets for Four Voices*, 184-185.

⁶⁴ Walter E. Buzsin and Martin Luther, “Luther on Music,” *The Musical Quarterly* 32, no. 1 (1946): 84.

⁶⁵ Luther’s German translation: “*Ich werde nicht sterben, sondern leben, und des HERRN Werke verkündigen.*”

This was Luther's so-called "own beloved psalm," and even today reformed theologians consider verse 17 to be Luther's motto.⁶⁶

As Senfl was likely aware of Luther's tract on this Psalm, Luther's musical setting of the Psalm (their melodies are similar), and his love for the single verse, the idea that Senfl knew without being asked to set this verse for Luther betrays more than a mere acquaintance with the reformer. Senfl attempts, with this setting, to minister to Luther in his own way. Luther mentions in his letter knowing Senfl would be in receipt of his correspondence under great danger. "My love for music leads me also to hope that my letter will not endanger you in any way," Luther says, "for who, even in Turkey, would find fault with anyone who loves music and praises the artist?"⁶⁷ Even in the relative safety of his position at the Hofkapelle, Senfl was always danger-adjacent and always in the public's eye.

One nearly forgotten instance of Senfl's music in a Catholic context is the purchase of the *Liber selectarum cantionum* (Grimm and Wirsung) of 1520 by one Spaniard Ferdinand Columbus, son of Christopher Columbus. Ferdinand Columbus collected books, including thousands of polyphonic anthologies that were printed all over Europe. His intention was for the Cathedral Chapter of Seville to take over his collection, though vandals rampaged the library at some point so only a portion of his original 15,370 books remain.⁶⁸ A skilled

⁶⁶ Stephen Nichols, "242. Luther on Psalm 118," Ligonier Ministries, last modified October 19, 2022, <https://www.ligonier.org/podcasts/5-minutes-in-church-history-with-stephen-nichols/242-luther-on-psalm-118>.

⁶⁷ Buzsin and Luther, "Luther on Music," 84. Could Senfl have been residing in Turkey at the time? No mention seems to be made in any scholarship of this possibility, whether in Martin Bente's authoritative biography or elsewhere. It remains an alluring possibility, nonetheless. Luther may have been simply referring to general danger in Turkey and not even the Ottomans could find fault with music lovers, regardless of their location.

⁶⁸ Catherine Weeks Chapman, "Printed Collections of Polyphonic Music Owned by Ferdinand Columbus," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 21, no. 1 (Spring 1968): 35.

cartographer and expert in colonial affairs, Columbus spent most of his time to curating his impressive library; thankfully, his records were detailed and systematic.⁶⁹ He acquired the *Liber selectarum cantionum* around 1530 in his third voyage to Italy and Northern Europe between 1529-1531, when he also purchased several Petrucci prints. This purchase establishes Senfl's *Deus in adiutorium meum*, *Beati omnes (i)* and *Usquequo Domine* in Seville from 1531. The current whereabouts of this particular copy is unknown, as RISM identifies none of the twenty-one known prints as residing in Spain now, but this one could either have been destroyed with the vandalism of the library or moved to another country, perhaps England. Regardless, the most important publication of Senfl's life which included some of his psalm settings was in Spain in the high Renaissance, in the heart of the Catholic Habsburg empire.

Conclusion

The future of the psalm motet in the German-speaking lands is traceable within the future of the Munich Hofkapelle. Before he was dismissed for loudly displaying Lutheran sympathies, Senfl's successor Ludwig Daser wrote four psalm motets while he was in the duke's employ. None of them textually correspond to Senfl's selections, and he seems to slightly deviate from Senfl's somewhat longer, nearly always two-part settings.⁷⁰ However, in general Daser seems to attempt to represent himself as one of the Franco-Flemish giants.⁷¹ A later successor to Senfl, Orlando di Lasso also took up the mantle of psalm motet writer, and set a total of forty complete psalms, only duplicating three. Most of his motets were published

⁶⁹ Chapman, "Printed Collections of Polyphonic Music Owned by Ferdinand Columbus," 36.

⁷⁰ Diane S. Temme, "Orlando di Lasso's Psalm Settings: An Examination of Genre in Late Sixteenth-Century Psalm Motets and German Lieder" (PhD diss., Bangor University, 2019), 62.

⁷¹ Temme, "Orlando di Lasso's Psalm Settings," 66.

only posthumously, but it would seem *Domine, non est exaltatum cor meum* was the very first to publish in 1556, followed in 1559 by seven others and many after that year. Naturally, the psalm motet was not limited to mainland Europe, and found its way to England with great rigor.

Orlando di Lasso, among his impressive oeuvre, wrote two German vernacular psalm settings, 128 and 19, differing from Stoltzter's in his use of cantus firmus, though somewhat less imitative than typical motets of this time.⁷² Diane Temme argues that Lasso's German psalm settings are closer to Senfl's German Lieder than more conventional psalm motets, and so classifies them instead as polyphonic psalm Lieder.⁷³ This may betray the Protestants' desire for more congregationally accessible music as time went on, so it seems natural that Latin, more "catholic" settings would be more complicated. As Nuremberg banned polyphony around 1537, the shift toward simple, vernacular settings of biblical texts for Protestant use was not surprising. In the next chapter, I examine deeper the future of the psalm motet, especially as it relates to Lasso. What Senfl achieved in roughly twenty years (not including continuous posthumous publications) Lasso and even William Byrd continued in their own unique way, though close parallels to Senfl's life and music are not beyond the scope of reasonable consideration.

Though not an exhaustive analysis of each of Senfl's eleven full psalm motets, the four discussed here show both his care towards the psalm texts and his uniquely personal composing voice within his motets, especially in his preferential treatment of the cantus reflecting his own voice type, and his particular use of dotted rhythms as text painting. He

⁷² Temme, "Orlando di Lasso's Psalm Settings," 273.

⁷³ Temme, "Orlando di Lasso's Psalm Settings," 274.

was visible to and respected by both Protestant and Catholic listeners, largely due to his popular psalm motets that were relatable to both denominations. The Psalms as ancient Hebrew poetry made the perfect text for composers to set to the standard motet form—it would not have been necessary for composers to know the specific Hebrew poetic devices to set the text adequately, as there was little meter existing in the original language. The through-composed nature of both the psalm and the Latin sacred motet melded together for Protestant and Catholic audiences to write and enjoy. As such, Senfl's psalm motets, though all in Latin, appealed to everyone regardless of creed, as the psalms were inherently personal and intimate prayers, and Protestant and Catholic believers could agree on the importance of scripture. Publishers were keenly aware of this growing genre phenomenon, and so more and more volumes of these motets appeared, allowing the genre to flourish in the German-speaking lands and then elsewhere, and allowing Senfl's name to spread more widely than had he not successfully composed in the rapidly maturing genre.

CHAPTER 4

THE INFLUENCE AND LEGACY OF SENFL'S PSALM MOTETS ON ORLANDO DI LASSO AND WILLIAM BYRD: TWO CASE STUDIES OF THE PENITENTIAL PSALMS

...Our dear fathers and prophets did not desire without reason that music be always used in churches. Hence we have so many songs and psalms.... However, when man's natural musical ability is whetted and polished to the extent that it becomes an art, then do we note with great surprise the great and perfect wisdom of God in music, which is, after all, His product and His gift; we marvel when we hear music in which one voice sings a simple melody, while three, four, or five other voices play and trip lustily around the voice that sings its simple melody and adorn this simple melody wonderfully with artistic musical effects, this reminding us of a heavenly dance, where all meet in a spirit of friendliness, caress and embrace.... A person who gives this some thought and yet does not regard it [music] as a marvelous creation of God, must be a clodhopper indeed and does not deserve to be called a human being; he should be permitted to hear nothing but the braying of asses and the grunting of hogs.¹

Martin Luther was by no means a subtle man, to which his often-colorful language and emotional tone of his writings attest. Here, in his foreword to Georg Rhau's 1538 publication *Symphoniae jucundae atque adeo breves*, he relays to the highest degree the artfulness church polyphony had achieved. He was likely considering the works of Josquin, Jean Mouton, Pierre de la Rue, Senfl, and others who were included in Rhau's collection, discussing the virtues of psalms and calling music non-appreciators "clodhoppers." This foreword seems also to be a backhanded attack on Jean Calvin, who tended to consider music inappropriate for worship in most capacities, except for strictly regulated metrical psalms.

Curiously, although Rhau was Luther's primary publisher in Wittenberg, this particular book included an anonymous Marian motet as well as mass excerpts by Heinrich Isaac, which illustrates the fluid economy of confessional musical consumption in which he was publishing. That Luther would write a foreword to a collection that included Catholic

¹ Walter E. Buszin, "Luther on Music," *The Musical Quarterly* 32, no. 1 (1946): 83.

music alongside gospel-texted pieces further shows how the boundaries between the schism continued to blur. Rhau began publishing polyphony in 1538, and in just eight years put forth twenty different volumes, which led him to hold the title even today of most eminent polyphony publisher in the German-speaking lands in the first half of the sixteenth century.² Scholars tend to agree, especially Moritz Kelber, that Rhau generally pointed his polyphonic prints toward Protestant audiences, especially schools and churches, calling his endeavors “overtly evangelical.”³ Rhau seemed to gain courageous impetus the longer he printed polyphony—until 1542, his title pages showed only musical instruments, but past 1542, he incorporated the five key Reformers’ emblems (i.e., Luther’s rose or Melancthon’s elevated snake), and later even actual portraiture of the Reformers, further professing who he supported theologically.⁴

However, his first 1538 publication, *Symphoniae jucundae*, includes Catholic music, such as an anonymous *Ave maria*; Senfl’s *Pulchra Sion filia pro mortali*, a Vespers chant text; excerpts from mass settings by Isaac, and other such examples. These are naturally mixed in with clearly Protestant works, like the *Collegerunt pontifices* Rhau attributed to Senfl, likely an incorrect attribution. This implies Rhau was, at this point, still marketing his music for use in both Catholic and Protestant spheres, which Kelber further supports by noting that one of Rhau’s 1544 prints was likely used in an Augsburg monastery, with the portraits of the Reformers on the Tenor book completely blacked out due to the readers’

² Moritz Kelber, “Power and Ambition: Georg Rhau’s Strategies for Music Publishing,” in *Early Printed Music and Material Culture in Central and Western Europe*, ed. Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl and Grantley McDonald (London: Routledge, 2021), 113

³ Kelber, “Power and Ambition,” 115. Kelber references Royston Gustavson here as well, who shares the same opinion.

⁴ Kelber, “Power and Ambition,” 115-116.

obvious disturbance at the sight of the “heretics.”⁵ Truly, Rhau’s prefaces like Luther’s in the *Symphonie jucundae* often were written by Reformers, and they exemplify Rhau’s work with Luther’s circle to “...establish a theology of music that was not merely Protestant, *but was strictly Lutheran*.”⁶ By the 1540s, just twenty years after Luther posted his ninety-five theses, Protestantism had formed into clear, definable denominations. These definable denominations therefore allowed music printers to market specific types of music to each denomination, or both, whether for personal religious convictions or simply for commercial gain, which seems the more likely option. Furthermore, because of this, musical styles and genres slowly grew to lean either Protestant or Catholic, which seems in part due to publishers’ marketing strategies.

At this point in the Reformation, there was a desire on the part of German Christians to “re-reform” the Catholic church into a conservative, still-Catholic unit that differed fundamentally from Lutheranism, Zwinglianism, and Calvinism.⁷ Though Lutheran at his core, Rhau published conservative polyphony that would appeal to these sorts of believers. “The pleasing harmonies and unpretentious imitative partwriting that typify Rhau’s collections...reflect an older cosmopolitan and Catholic artistic style that had traversed European territorial borders around the turn of the sixteenth century.”⁸ Indeed, he preferred composers of the previous generation, especially Josquin, Obrecht, Mouton, and others who

⁵ Kelber, “Power and Ambition,” 118-119.

⁶ Michael J. Raley, “Traversing Borders—Defining Boundaries: Cosmopolitan Harmonies and Confessional Theology in Georg Rhau’s Liturgical Publications,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 43, no. 4 (2012): 1085. My emphasis.

⁷ Raley, “Traversing Borders,” 1080.

⁸ Raley, “Traversing Borders,” 1084.

wrote in the older Franco-Flemish style, even when other countries had nearly abandoned it. Thus, "...his collections reflect both the musical cross-cultural fertilization and the shared religious heritage and hopes of reforming Catholicism that characterized the early Reformation era."⁹

Contextualizing the German print culture of the mid-sixteenth-century adds an important perspective to Senfl's musical legacy. That Senfl was included in Rhau's type of "bi-confessional" publications, as in this 1538 Rhau example, attests not only to his authority in Munich and across the German-speaking lands, but also to his conservative style that was still highly respected that region. Senfl's compositional success under Wilhelm IV, in a small way, mirrored the spread of Reformation ideas across Europe. It was his psalm motets, matching the outgrowth of psalm commentaries by all Christian sides, that laid the groundwork for later composers dealing with religious tension to find commercial success across schism and personal edification through the psalm motet genre, which the works of Orlando di Lasso and William Byrd help to illustrate. Di Lasso, a successor of Senfl's at Munich, set several psalms polyphonically, even through Tridentine Reform years. As he was aware of Senfl's music before him in the chapel, no doubt he knew Senfl's psalm motets and must have taken inspiration from them. Diane Temme notes that Lasso would have been familiar with psalm motets in general as Josquin's Psalm 118 setting was there among others at Munich.¹⁰

⁹ Raley, "Traversing Borders," 1084.

¹⁰ Diane S. Temme, "An Examination of Genre in Late Sixteenth-Century Psalm Motets and German Lieder" (dissertation, Bangor University, 2017), 48.

By 1520, Luther's theology had reached England; Tyndale's English New Testament was initially banned but was published in Worms around 1526. In 1535, King Henry VIII dissolved England's ties to the Catholic church entirely. With this spread of ideas came the spread of the psalm motet as an elegant, cross-confessional polyphonic genre, such as the psalm settings of William Byrd that appear as early as the 1560s. "...[T]he most peculiar aspect of the English Reformation...is represented by the weight of the English rulers' influence on confessional allegiances; moreover, the personal attitude of the English Kings and Queens to music often proved to be crucial for the destiny of English music."¹¹ While musicians and publishers held most sway of music consumption in the German-speaking lands with sovereign rulers on the "consumption" side, English monarchs as musicians themselves, namely Henry VIII, took control over the musicians' outputs for a particular, often political or theological purpose. As Calvinism and other extremely conservative movements sidelined music in the service, Anglicanism centralized it. Perhaps Rome saw this as dangerous, so as Tridentine reforms intensely shifted contrapuntal regulation in sacred music, music became much more central to the continental church's liturgical unity.

Furthermore, the conservativeness of those in Anglican authority to make church music combine "...royal solemnity with Evangelical sobriety...pomp with simplicity and...splendour with pastoral concerns..." create in English music a similarity with "Catholic experiments" of the sixteenth century.¹² Following the Act of Supremacy in 1534, Henry VIII's confiscation of monastic property destroyed sources of church polyphony, and

¹¹ Chiara Bertoglio, *Reforming Music: Music and the Religious Reformations of the Sixteenth Century* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), 333, EBSCOHost.

¹² Bertoglio, *Reforming Music*, 335.

presaged how the next monarch, Edward VI, would emphasize worship music as simple, syllabic settings of English for congregational participation and understanding.¹³ The strictly regulated homophonic works of Thomas Tallis (c. 1505-1585) portray this solemn simplicity well. Mary I's coronation in 1553 caused the shift back to Catholicism and polyphony, and with it the reprint of Catholic music.¹⁴ Five years later, Elizabeth I returned England to Anglicanism, which held sway until her death in 1603 and beyond.

Through these various reformations, psalms were popular, evidenced by continued commentary or motet publications, taken directly from Josquin's work and elevated through Senfl's pen. Because of Senfl's visibility in the German-speaking lands and his effectiveness in bringing the Munich Hofkapelle to international renown, he became, whether consciously or not or purely coincidentally, a model for later composers in similar political and religious contexts. He set the precedent for psalm motets as political, personal, and theological statements and purposes. From the beginning of his career, Senfl was respected well in Munich. Similarly to the commercial musical market Georg Rhau experienced slightly later, there was "...an artistic climate at the Hofkapelle that valued the performance of older {i.e., Senfl's} music."¹⁵ Perhaps Senfl himself cultivated this attitude among others around him, since he wrote conservatively, modelling his works after those of Isaac and Josquin in genre and general aspect, though adding his own altist personality especially in the *cantus* or alto voice. As Senfl had already been popularly published before Rhau turned to polyphony, Rhau

¹³ Bertoglio, *Reforming Music*, 337.

¹⁴ Bertoglio, *Reforming Music*, 343.

¹⁵ Kevin Chi-Sing Leong, "The Hymn Settings of Ludwig Senfl's *Liber Vesparum Festorum Solennium*, D-MBS Mus. MS. 52" (dissertation, Boston University College of Fine Arts, 2008), 70 n119.

likely would have already been aware of the trending “older” music that the Hofkapelle was promoting.

Senfl’s treatment of the psalm motet in the German-speaking lands allowed it to mature to a respectable genre of high-Renaissance polyphony. As his psalm motets traverse his entire career, they mirror his developing compositional voice as he relied on Josquin’s precedent but achieved a subtle independence from Josquin’s specific contrapuntal voicing. He became a primary link between Josquin’s early examples in the genre and the now-famous polyphonic psalm settings by Orlando di Lasso and William Byrd of the later sixteenth century. Two instances of these composers’ use of the seven Penitential Psalms will illuminate different ways composers approached the psalm motet after Senfl, mirroring in some ways musically the way Senfl composed, yet forging ahead in the application of the motets themselves.

By navigating the cross-confessional boundaries between Lutheranism and Catholicism, Senfl’s career also mirrors Lasso’s career amid Tridentine Reforms and Byrd’s career between Catholic and Anglican monarchs, specifically through tracing the path of the psalm motet. Each of these composers wrote them; Senfl was the first to bring them to light after Josquin began the genre. Situated in vital moments of the Lutheran reformation, he used this genre as a personal addition to the theology shifts of the day. Similarly, Lasso and Byrd, as navigators through seas of reform, used them to appeal to all types of Christian audiences. Thus, Senfl set the precedent: as his entire career was shaped by his experience *amidst* the Reformation, the psalm motet grew *because of* the Reformation.

Psalm Settings in the German-Speaking Lands

Understanding the state of the psalm motet across the German-speaking lands during

the sixteenth century allows for a clearer picture of what the musical trends were and who valued them. Orlando di Lasso, spending much of his career in Munich, set several psalms to polyphony, though scholars debate their liturgical purpose—whether they were written for use in Vespers or not. Crook maintains convincingly through a codicological analysis that Lasso differentiated between psalms for use in services (which were sung monophonically or chordally) and psalms he set polyphonically.¹⁶ It appears many of Senfl's psalm motets likewise had been composed for specific events that were non-liturgical, like his *Nisi Dominus* for the Fugger wedding, or the partial *Non moriar sed vivam* for personal ministry to Martin Luther. As Senfl was the first composer to bring widespread success to the psalm motet, he also established, either intentionally or not, that the polyphonic psalm could and would be used non-liturgically.

Other German composers set psalms polyphonically. Leonhard Paminger (1495-1567), known to Senfl as the secretary at the St. Nikola priory in Passau, and was only published posthumously, though some manuscripts exist from before his death. Of particular interest is the 1580 print *Quartus Tomus Ecclesiasticarum Cantionum*, fourth volume in its series, published by Nikolaus Knorr in Nuremberg. This book includes Paminger's polyphonic settings for almost all 150 psalms for four, five, and six voices, followed by a few scriptural text settings. Paminger was learned enough to be able to employ several different techniques in both his psalm motets and other pieces, including the then-archaic strict *cantus firmus* technique of using the original melody in long notes in one voice, copied almost verbatim from the original. His style in general is rather restrained and straightforward in his partwriting, and this is especially notable in his Psalm 25 setting, *At te, Domine, levavi*, where

¹⁶ David Crook, *Orlando di Lasso's Imitation Magnificats for Counter-Reformation Munich* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 54.

he employs some brief points of imitation, but tends to converge all voices together frequently. As Senfl travelled somewhat often to Passau, and Paminger's secretarial records back to Munich mention him personally, perhaps he was familiar with Senfl's psalm motets, especially since several of them were written for public occasions.

Arnold von Bruck (ca. 1500-1554) was another composer at work in the German-speaking lands, specifically in the Viennese court. He was relatively well known in his time, as his music was published, like Senfl's, under several major publishing houses like Georg Rhau's. He wrote two psalm motets, the *Laudate dominum omnes gentes* and the *Miserere mei, Deus*, two texts also set by Senfl. *Laudate dominum, omnes gentes* survives in a manuscript copy held in Regensburg, the D-Rp B. 220-222, with an ambiguous "mid-16th century" date. This manuscript includes works by Josquin and Paminger among others, but Senfl is absent. Bruck's *Miserere mei, Deus* finds itself in two manuscripts, D-Z MS 73 (B) and D-Rp B. 214 (211-215), both of which include several works by Senfl and other prominent composers. However, conflicting opinions exist as to the attribution of the *Miserere mei, Deus*. Both manuscripts' Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music entries use his name, while their sister entries in Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, attribute this motet to Claudin de Sermisy (1490-1562) and no other. Due to this lack of clear attribution, it is sufficient to say Bruck was a less significant contributor to the psalm motet genre.

Some other composers adjacent to Senfl's generation set some psalms in German somewhat similarly to the Latin motet, though largely lacking the trademark free polyphony. Johannes Reusch's (1525-1582) seminal work was *Zehen deudscher Psalm Davids* of 1551, an early example of German language psalm settings. Johannes Heugel (ca.1510-1585) set

sixteen psalm motets and an impressive 156 German psalms, indicating obviously a personal preference to the German versions. Thomas Stoltzter (ca. 1480-1526) likewise did some work for the German version of the genre, as he himself called his Psalm 37 *Erzürne dich nicht* a piece in the manner of a motet.¹⁷ Lasso too set some German psalms, in the 1590 *Deutsche Lieder aus Neue Teutsche und etliche frantzösische Geäng mit sechs Stimmen*, published in Munich by Adam Berg. Temme points out the obvious differences between Lasso's German psalms and Stoltzter's: Lasso's are syllabic whereas Stoltzter's employ much freer imitation, leading Temme to conclude that Lasso's are more appropriately classified as polyphonic psalm Lieder, similar in musical content to Senfl's German Lieder.¹⁸

Clearly, the psalm motet was not a genre promulgated extensively by other composers besides him in the German-speaking lands—Senfl was the most eminent composer of the genre during the first half of the sixteenth century. An argument could be made for Paminger's dozens of psalm motets, but considering his lack of publisher support during his lifetime, it seems more reasonable he simply liked the genre as personal devotional edification. Perhaps they were published posthumously in part due to the vogue of psalm-related content published everywhere in Europe by this time. Regardless, without Senfl's work in the genre, it would not have been something fashionable and current enough for Lasso and others to take on during the Council of Trent years. Because Senfl wrote his psalm motets in the old polyphonic style well-loved in Europe, they could stand the test of time through the remainder of the Renaissance.

¹⁷ Temme, "An Examination of Genre," 268.

¹⁸ Temme, "An Examination of Genre," 274.

A Deceased Senfl Lives on through his Music: Tridentine Reform and Orlando di Lasso

There is little to say about the 1540s; Senfl was in poor health, and upon his death in 1543, there was little fanfare.¹⁹ A few less successful Kapellmeisters followed him, like Belgian Mattheus le Maistre (1505-1577) and German Ludwig Daser (1525-1589) who had both converted to Lutheranism. Daser gained his musical training under Senfl's tutelage but left Munich after having been found to be Lutheran by the Inquisitor.²⁰ He set a few German psalms, though not to the artistic extent Senfl employed in his Latin psalm motets. Temme suggests Daser played a part in copying some of the older psalm motets, including some of Senfl's, in a manuscript of 1552 for use in the Munich court, and in this way Daser helped to continue the legacy in the Munich court of Senfl's psalms.²¹ Orlando di Lasso, at twenty-four years old, came to the court in 1556 as a tenor under the rule of Duke Albrecht V (r. 1550-1579), the successor to Wilhelm IV. Later, when he became Kapellmeister in 1567, Lasso brought widespread renown across Europe to a court that had only known fame in the German-speaking lands.

Lasso's music at the court chapel was excellent to even a musician's standards.

Munich Hofkapelle singer Massimo Troiano wrote in his *Dialoghi* of 1569 that

[Lassus's] great skill, with all the consistency and ingenuity of his art, enable him to lead the singing by setting a tempo so exact and well judged, that just as the sound of the trumpet inspires warriors to take courage, so the expert singers took strength and vigour from his direction, letting their voices flow with liveliness, sweetness and sonority...and such expert singers [were they], that in all the space of a mass Messer Orlando had given them they did not deviate more than three commas above or below

¹⁹ Martin Bente, *Neue Wege der Quellenkritik und die Biographie Ludwig Senfls: ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte des Reformationsezeitalters* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf, 1968), 346.

²⁰ Temme, "An Examination of Genre," 61-2. Temme also mentions Rebecca Wagner Oettinger's corroboration on this point of Daser's dismissal.

²¹ Temme, "An Examination of Genre," 63.

the note. Furthermore...the sound from these controlled voices was so well united that the best ears could not distinguish one from another.²²

David Crook recommends a cautionary reading of Troiano, because, as a non-German speaking singer, he might have recounted some specifics of the liturgy incorrectly and wrote specifically to shed good light on the chapel.²³ Though perhaps the musical sounds that Lasso's choir produced were excellent, Lasso was not highly favored by all, as Troiano would have readers believe. With the accession of Wilhelm V to power in Munich in 1579, new reform occurred. A precocious young Roman Jesuit, Dr. Walram Tumler, was appointed to assist in the change to Roman rite, and in 1581 found the state of the court chapel's services and proceedings to be shockingly bad in nearly every way a chapel could be bad.²⁴ The priests were apparently illiterate and only knew one way to celebrate the Mass, and

[They are accustomed to] omitting prayers of the Office which they regard as repugnance, or provoke laughter of those present, as they are utterly devoid of reverence for the Duke because of their clumsiness.²⁵

The singers were worse, because they

...omit the commemorations, neglecting the Marian antiphons in order to shorten Vespers....they rush through the Psalms. They violently push the priest at the altar and his acolytes, pushing one who is too slow and forcing him to hurry....Each one of them draws [the Responsories] out with noisy and inappropriate timbres for so long that one could sing the reading or gospel of the mass in its entirety.²⁶

²² Leong, "The Hymn Settings of Ludwig Senfl's *Liber Vesparum Festorum Solennium*, D-MBS Mus. MS. 52," 62.

²³ Crook, "Orlando Di Lasso's Imitation Magnificats for Counter-Reformation Munich," 34.

²⁴ Crook, "Orlando Di Lasso's Imitation Magnificats for Counter-Reformation Munich," 35.

²⁵ Franz Körndle, "Jesuitischer Einfluss oder Propaganda? Walram Tumler als Caeremoniarum Moderator am Münchner Hof um 1581," in *Musik und Reformation: Politisierung, Medialisierung, Missionierung*, ed. Christiane Wiesenfeldt and Stefan Menzel (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2020), 97. My translation of Körndle's Latin-to-German translation.

²⁶ Tumler's assessment, taken from Körndle, "Jesuitischer Einfluss oder Propaganda?" 97-98. Körndle translated the Latin to German, I translated Körndle to English.

As Franz Körndle establishes in his reasoning of all this, the chapel declined during Albrecht V's reign following Wilhelm IV. Lasso's motet *Super flumina Babylonis a5*, first published in 1567, is a humorous setting of part of Psalm 137 so backwardly and joltingly written as to suggest a mockery of inexperienced singers—perhaps singers he encountered at the Munich Hofkapelle? As the Council of Trent began cracking down on inappropriate music being printed, this motet was prohibited among several others by Lasso as it “...reduced Holy Scripture to a series of nonsense syllables,” as Crook writes,²⁷ though his elegant four-voice setting of the same psalm was allowable because the mood was still reverent. Unsurprisingly, his settings of the seven Penitential Psalms were entirely permissible.²⁸ This laissez-faire attitude from Lasso in some of his sacred music and much of his secular is reminiscent of Luther's warning cited at the beginning this chapter—those who see music not as a miracle from God, deserve to hear nothing more than various animal noises. In a moment of irony, the Counter-Reformation Catholic zealots shared a similar view of music to the Lutherans they hated.

Due to the new liturgical reforms taking place at Munich and elsewhere, Senfl's Vespers music seems to have fallen out of style in Munich, as his liturgical music was for the Rite of Freising, but not for the new reforms. After Christmas Eve, 1581, the first Roman Use Vespers was not sung again regularly.²⁹ Though the list of prohibited music is extensive, Senfl's music in the chapel seems to have been forgotten by then, as Lasso's works formed the majority of the discussion. Since Senfl's sacred music was neither irreverent nor

²⁷ David Crook, “A Sixteenth-Century Catalog of Prohibited Music,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 62, no. 1 (2009): 34.

²⁸ Crook, “A Sixteenth-Century Catalog,” 58.

²⁹ Körndle, “Jesuitischer Einfluss oder Propaganda?” 70.

ridiculous, and since reform had changed the Rite from Freising to Roman, there seems to be no malicious reason for the lack of continued performance.

Wilhelm V was fully impressed with all the new vestments, banners, chalices, and other such church fixtures as they were presented that first day of the Roman rite, but Lasso and his singers seemed to be somewhat against the reform as it was reported that

[i]ndeed 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.³⁰

What could Lasso and his singers have been so angry about? It seems somewhat unlikely that the basic change of rite had angered them so much. Perhaps he was righteously angry that his married singers faced some pushback to their choices of personal lives. Crook affirms that the Bavarian court was, at its core, a secular institution; therefore, celibacy and writing only sacred music was not a requirement for the singers.³¹ Körndle suggests Lasso and his musicians were irritated at Tumler's over-zealousness and clear lack of understanding of how a princely court worked, as opposed to a purely sacred or even monastic context.³² However, Lasso responded to the changes enough to provide new Marian antiphons and other works corresponding to the new rite. Andrew Fisher suggests Lasso's frustration stems from

³⁰ Crook, "A Sixteenth-Century Catalog of Prohibited Music," 36. This was Crook's translation of a report made by a Wilhelm Fusban between 1655-1662, as something of a remembrance of what had happened years prior in the 1580s. Crook again warns a cautious reading of this likely biased account.

³¹ Crook, "A Sixteenth-Century Catalog of Prohibited Music," 37.

³² Körndle, "Jesuitischer Einfluss oder Propaganda?" 99.

the new requests to rework all of the liturgical music for the Hofkapelle, which was already quite superior with extensive music by himself, Isaac, and of course Senfl.³³

Regardless of the importance of Lasso's personal qualms, it is difficult to gain a full understanding of the liturgical music used in the Hofkapelle because no chant books from the entire sixteenth century are extant, save for some non-musical breviaries and missals, and miscellaneous polyphonic codices.³⁴ This at least offers insight into the texts alone, but leaves musical details of the rite unfortunately blank. The reforms were slow to become permanent; church records of the Frauenkirche, Munich's central church at the time, indicate that the Roman Use was not fully adopted until somewhere between 1605-12, more than twenty years after the first Christmas Eve Roman service occurred.³⁵

Through Tridentine change requiring an overhaul of the music sung at Mass and other service, Lasso continued to write and publish extensively. Prior to the reform, he set several psalm motets, and these were highly respected, as demonstrated in the manuscripts and prints that were produced. One of the most spectacularly adorned manuscripts is Lasso's Codex of Penitential Psalms for Albrecht V, created sometime between 1559 and 1570. Each folio is detailed in dozens of illuminations by Hans Mielich of Munich, offering what appears to be visual commentary on the psalms to pair with Lasso's musical "commentary." This manuscript was no secret to simply those in Albrecht's court. Massimo Troiano mentioned this elaborate manuscript in his reports on the liturgical practices in the Munich court that he

³³ Alexander J. Fisher, "'Per mia particolare devotione': Orlando di Lasso's *Lagrima di San Pietro* and Catholic Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Munich," *Journal of the Royal Music Association*, 132, no. 2 (2007): 183.

³⁴ Crook, "Orlando Di Lasso's Imitation Magnificats," 33.

³⁵ Crook, "Orlando Di Lasso's Imitation Magnificats," 37.

wrote for Italy, saying the images were so beautifully done, the figures in them appeared to wish to sing.³⁶ Folio 172v shows a stunning example of one of the most often-set psalms, the *Miserere mei, Deus*.

³⁶ Matthias Müller, “Musik als Epitaph für den rechtgläubigen Fürsten. Hans Mielichs Prachthandschriften der Bußpsalmenvertonungen Orlando di Lassos für Herzog Albrecht V. Von Bayern im Dienst von Fürstenlob, fürstlicher Memoria und katholischem Bekenntnis,” in *Musik und Reformation: Politisierung, Medialisierung, Missionierung*, ed. Christiane Wiesenfeldt and Stefan Menzel (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2020), 147.



Figure 4.1 BSB-Hss Mus.ms. A 1 (1), Septem Psalmi Poenitentiales, folio. 172v, courtesy of Bavarian State Library



Figure 4.2, BSB-Hss Mus.ms. A I (1), *Septem Psalmi Poenitentiales*, folio 4v, courtesy of Bavarian State Library



Figure 4.3, BSB-Hss Mus.ms. A I (1), Septem Psalmi Poenitentiales, folio 4v, detail, courtesy of Bavarian State Library

This manuscript attests to the continued high regard for psalm motets in Munich. As Senfl set psalms for various politically important occasions, like weddings or for the Diets of Augsburg, Lasso continued this “tradition,” as it were, by setting the seven Penitential Psalms for the duke personally. Aside from the music itself, this manuscript betrays a certain political atmosphere naturally surrounding the Munich court. On folio 4v, there is an image of what appears to be the ducal court, and high above the numerous and highly detailed figures, there is a small detail of a coat of arms and what, though difficult to make out, appears to be some brief musical notation, under which bears the date 1565 (see Fig 4.3). This detail is the focal point of the image, as all perspectives are drawn directly toward this image. If this tiny example is indeed music, the fact that it is placed in the center of the page next to the heraldic

symbol testifies to the high regard Albrecht V must have had for music in his court—at the very least, Mielich and Lasso certainly viewed it highly. Throughout the manuscript, illuminations of coats of arms joining Bavaria and the Habsburgs, even including dozens of coats of arms of Bavarian towns and monasteries all together, shows a deliberate push toward some sort of political unity, under the umbrella of Counter-Reformation Catholicism and *sola scriptura* in the form of these seven psalms.

Matthias Müller, in his study of this manuscript, suggests a reading of it as purely denominational propaganda.³⁷ The manuscript was conceived for the wedding of the duke's son, Wilhelm V, in 1568—a similar purpose to Senfl's impressive *Nisi Dominus*. Müller writes that the statement of the images besides the music—which includes Biblical and otherwise religious images, anything from the Genesis account to the portrayal of penitent Saint Sebastian, calls for the reading of the manuscript toward the understanding of Albrecht V's leadership of the country and his subjects as protection against the heresies of Protestantism, amid an alliance with the Habsburgs from Albrecht's marriage to a Habsburg lady.³⁸ The manuscript was not meant for regular use, as its heavy ornamentation and lack of dirt and wear show. A non-practical music book as elaborate as this implies the owner wanted to portray himself in a certain light: in this case, pious, powerful, and most importantly, wealthy.

Albrecht's conditions for the commissioning of this work included that Lasso's Penitential Psalm settings were banned from publication until after the death of the duke.³⁹

³⁷ Müller, "Musik als Epitaph für den rechthgläubigen Fürsten," 147.

³⁸ Müller, "Musik als Epitaph für den rechthgläubigen Fürsten," 165.

³⁹ Müller, "Musik als Epitaph für den rechthgläubigen Fürsten," 147.

This suggests two ideas. First, as these seven psalm settings were not released to public print until after the duke had died, these motets would remain in the memory of the eventual public consumer as inherently tied to both the ducal power and a symbol of Bavaria's Catholic piety. Second, it suggests that Albrecht V had some notion of the importance of these particular psalms, an importance spanning hundreds of years of Catholic liturgical practice, and moreover an importance of the psalm motet as a genre that could represent the whole of the duchy in music itself. If the Hofkapelle was not already the primary source for the highest quality psalm motets in the German speaking lands, it would seem odd that Albrecht would choose this genre and these texts for such an outstanding undertaking, the arguably most heavily decorated manuscript in the Munich Hofkapelle's history. By matter of induction, someone had to initiate the psalm motet into this state of worth and value. As the successors to Senfl were largely ineffective until Lasso, the character that fit the role of bringing the genre to this excessively prestigious caliber must be Senfl himself.

Lasso was the only composer to ever have been granted a universal printing privilege, one that "...protect[ed] the past, present and future works of an author in perpetuity," likely granted simply because of his widespread fame.⁴⁰ He was knowledgeable and consequently well-enough-known to have effectively taken Senfl's initial work in the genre and allow the practice of it to spread across Europe, to England, and even across time itself to future composing generations. It may never be fully solidified whether Lasso actually used Senfl's physical psalm motets as musical exemplar, but it remains that knowledge of Senfl's psalms

⁴⁰ Grantley McDonald and Stephen Rose, "Privileges for Printed Music in the Holy Roman Empire During the Sixteenth Century," in *Early Printed Music and Material Culture in Central and Western Europe*, eds. Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl and Grantley McDonald (London: Routledge, 2021), 211.

existed in the minds of the Bavarian court long enough for Albrecht V to have this monumental work created, and likewise for the genre to take off internationally.

As I have established possible answers to the question of Senfl's confessional ambiguity earlier in this thesis, it is captivating to consider the ways in which Byrd and Lasso worked through similar confessional conflicts, finding ways to maintain safety through intense religious strife and argument. Lasso, as aforementioned, worked through the Council of Trent years. Neither was he a stranger to musical diplomacy. Barbara Eichner writes on a heavily decorated manuscript of some of his Masses, motets, and Magnificat settings that was used in Regensburg through "...the sweet harmonies of Lassus's motets and Masses...to suspend religious dissension."⁴¹ In this case, the manuscript was created by Benedictine monk Ambrosius Mayrhofer (1530-1583) and given to the Regensburg city council in 1567 to mitigate the tension between the newly Protestant city and its local Catholic monastery.⁴² Another manuscript by the same Mayrhofer to Abbot Jakob Köplin in Augsburg the year before seems to reflect the same purpose.

Unsurprisingly, most of the motets included in these manuscripts are psalm motets, both full and partial settings, which further illustrates how psalms were passed in the friendliest and most diplomatic way between Catholic and Protestant communities—in this case, specifically to keep the peace. Mayrhofer was not interested in inciting more disputes; rather he sought to simply live in peace with the other side of Christianity, and no better scripture was there for this purpose than the Book of Psalms. In the Augsburg manuscript, Mayrhofer's dedication to Köplin extols the benefits of psalm singing, both in plainchant and

⁴¹ Barbara Eichner, "Musical Diplomacy in a Divided City: The Lassus-Mayrhofer Manuscripts," *Early Music* 48, no. 1 (June 2020): 67.

⁴² Eichner, "Musical Diplomacy in a Divided City," 55-74.

polyphony, saying that "...devout prayers in the Divine Office are so far from being hampered by a variety of voices, as many argue, but rather embellished..."⁴³ Later, Mayrhofer continues with

...let us enter the gates of the Lord, as in the exhortation of the psalmist David, with praise: I say, let us enter his courts with hymns, and give glory to him: let our lips utter a hymn, and with hymns let us bless the Lord: let us sing psalms with the spirit, and let us sing psalms with our mind.⁴⁴

There seems to be no indication that Lasso himself was involved personally in this exchange; rather, it seems as though his music simply carried a cachet of prestige because he was the chapel master of one of the most powerful institutions in Bavaria, both religiously and politically. From the example of Lasso's psalm motets for Duke Albrecht V and other psalms around the same time specifically for diplomacy in Regensburg, it is easy to see how important the psalm as a text and as a musical genre was to the people of the German-speaking lands. Across the Channel, the genre found its way to the most central court in England—that of the monarchy itself through the pen of the most prolific musician in England's Renaissance.

William Byrd's Psalm Settings in a New Reformation

William Byrd has been known always as a staunch Catholic, even in the Protestant reign of various English monarchs. He shares parallels with Senfl's life as those around him were imprisoned or worse, for harboring the "wrong" theological sympathies. However, unlike Senfl, he did not always escape punishment. In November, 1585, he apparently refused to attend Protestant services and was subsequently placed under house arrest and fined⁴⁵

⁴³ Eichner, "Musical Diplomacy in a Divided City," 69.

⁴⁴ Eichner, "Musical Diplomacy in a Divided City," 69.

⁴⁵ David Mateer, "William Byrd's Middlesex Recusancy," *Music & Letters* 78 no. 1 (1997): 1.

regularly for not attending the Anglican church.⁴⁶ He was involved in a plot to free the imprisoned Mary, Queen of Scots, and his house was one of the targeted places to be searched in suspicion of treason against Queen Elizabeth in the so-called Babington plot.⁴⁷ Evidently, Byrd harbored some guilt associated with the failed freedom attempt, and thus his Middlesex composition period lasted some years after Mary's death, in which time he set the seven Penitential Psalms (1588).⁴⁸ His compositions from this time are "...characterized by a gloom and despondency not wholly attributable to his merely technical interest in the expressive text-setting of his Continental contemporaries."⁴⁹

Byrd wrote both Latin psalm motets, metrical psalms, and psalm anthems. Arguably, his English psalm anthems are identical in aspect and scope to Continental psalm motets except for the language difference, as they all share similar polyphonic counterpoint. In 1575, he was involved in the first book of Latin motets published in England, the *Cantiones sacrae*, dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. This is reminiscent of Senfl's work with the *Liber selectarum cantionum*, the first book of motets published in the German-speaking lands in 1520. Kerman notes that this volume was intended to "...show the world that England, the England of Queen Elizabeth, has composers comparable to the best in the world (some of whom are named—Lassus, Gombert, Clemens, Ferrabosco).⁵⁰ Kerman identifies a hand involved in the

⁴⁶ Jeremy L. Smith, "'Unlawful Song': Byrd, the Babington Plot and the Paget Choir," *Early Music* 38, no. 4, (2010): 497.

⁴⁷ Smith, "'Unlawful Song'," 497.

⁴⁸ Smith, "'Unlawful Song'," 497.

⁴⁹ Mateer, "William Byrd's Middlesex Recusancy," 1.

⁵⁰ Joseph Kerman, "William Byrd: Catholic and Careerist," *Sacred Music* 135 no. 3 (2008): 14.

production of this book, one Alfonso Ferrabosco, a close friend of Byrd's, the very same Italian Ferrabosco who worked as a spy for Queen Elizabeth.⁵¹ Evidently, Byrd borrowed music from Ferrabosco like other musicians of the day.⁵²

As Byrd spent some time with Catholic religious refugees at the Society of Jesus in Rome, he returned shortly after to establish himself as a respectable and formidable composer in the eyes of the English Queen.⁵³ Back in England, Byrd essentially lived a double life, hiding recusant Latin texts in his compositions, writing outwardly Protestant settings for the Anglican service, paying his fines for refusing to attend Protestant church, and associating with known undercover smuggling operation that sought to provide safety to Jesuits that came over from mainland Europe.⁵⁴ One of his psalm settings, Psalm 78, was written in part as a response to the martyrdom of Jesuit Father Edmund Campion in 1581.⁵⁵

Firsthand accounts exist of Jesuit meetings in England, such as one that took place July 15-23, 1586, at Hurleyford Manor, the home of Richard Bold. One attendee recounted that Bold was

...also a skilled musician, and had an organ and other musical instruments, and choristers, male and female, members of his household. During those days it was just as if we were celebrating an uninterrupted octave⁵⁶ of some great feast. Mr. Byrd, the very famous English musician and organist, was among the company.⁵⁷

⁵¹ Kerman, "William Byrd: Catholic and Careerist," 14. See also Chapter 2 of this thesis.

⁵² Kerman, "William Byrd: Catholic and Careerist," 14.

⁵³ Kerman, "William Byrd: Catholic and Careerist," 14.

⁵⁴ Kerman, "William Byrd: Catholic and Careerist," 15.

⁵⁵ Kerman, "William Byrd: Catholic and Careerist," 15.

⁵⁶ That is, the eight days included in a feast day observance period, treated with as much celebration as the feast day itself.

⁵⁷ Jane Flynn, "English Jesuit Missionaries, Music Education, and the Musical Participation of Women in Devotional Life in Recusant Households from ca. 1580 to ca. 1630," in *Beyond Boundaries: Rethinking Music Circulation in Early Modern England*, eds. L. P. Austern, C. Bailey, and A.E. Winkler (Bloomington:

Two points of interest stand out in this account. Firstly, as Jane Flynn notes carefully, women were involved in this house-choir and other such scenarios. Second, Byrd was physically in attendance in 1586 at one of these recusant meetings, possibly facilitated perhaps in part by the underground operation bringing Jesuits over the English Channel. A speculation it remains, yet one that is not out of the question. After all, Byrd chose to keep himself near to the Catholic underground, even in dangerous times. Living and working and presenting himself as England's foremost composer of the Renaissance, Byrd used the seven penitential psalms as personal edification, for reasons not least of which including his inner torment following Mary, Queen of Scots' execution. Jeremy Smith has suggested that while Byrd was at his compositional prime during Mary's imprisonment, he sometimes portrayed her as the Biblical Susanna in his music.⁵⁸ This technique itself links Byrd specifically to Lasso, as Byrd's effort to free Mary impressed on Lasso the motivation to write the same sort of music—a "Byrdian technique."⁵⁹ Lasso, in fact, was partially involved with Mary's plight, as Wilhelm V of Bavaria and Lasso's employer, married to Mary's aunt, offered personally to send an army of 5,000 German soldiers to England to free her.⁶⁰

The Psalms had their part to play here as well—in the 1589 *Songs of sundrie natures*, Byrd's Psalm 37, *Lord in thy wrath correct me not*, Byrd changed the sex of the psalmist to female in the penitential section of the psalm, portraying Mary herself.⁶¹ Smith suggests that

Indiana University Press, 2017), 35. Flynn details women's involvement in the Society of Jesus's mission in England during this time, adding some context.

⁵⁸ Jeremy L. Smith, "Lassus, Ferrabosco the Elder, Byrd, and the Identification of Mary Queen of Scots as Biblical Susanna," *The Musical Times* 156 (2015): 6.

⁵⁹ Smith, "Lassus, Ferrabosco the Elder, Byrd," 6.

⁶⁰ Smith, "Lassus, Ferrabosco the Elder, Byrd," 7.

⁶¹ Smith, "Lassus, Ferrabosco the Elder, Byrd," 12.

Lasso's setting of Psalm 85's fourteenth verse was a reaction to Mary's execution, and had "...learned a special technique of finding texts for motets from his famous English colleague and coreligionist, Byrd."⁶² Here, the two composers were connected through their mutual support of the imprisoned Mary, and thus the connection between Senfl's Munich court to Byrd appears, although somewhat implicitly. The psalm motet continues to be the common thread.

Vulgate Psalms 129 and 50 From Three Composers: Common Threads and Creativities

Lasso and Byrd were arguably the most preeminent composers in their respective countries in the second half of the sixteenth century, and they chose to set psalm texts for the most important political, personal, and religious reasons. Because of Senfl's chronological and spatial connection to Lasso, and Lasso's highly political connection to and Catholic bond with Byrd, this begs the question: how might Lasso and Byrd have been influenced musically by Senfl's works? Consequently, how might they have differed, and more specifically, how might they have moved beyond Senfl's set precedent? Lasso obviously was involved in the performance of Senfl's music until 1581 in the Munich chapel, and one can imagine him rummaging through the music as he transitioned the court's music to Roman Use in those years. He would have had firsthand experience with Senfl's music. Byrd, however, was far more removed from Senfl's direct influence. While Byrd knew Lasso's music, he probably did not know Senfl's, as the latter composer stayed relatively local within the German-speaking lands, and his music was not printed anywhere else. Because of this, observing Byrd's psalm settings is useful in constructing the musical trajectory of the psalm motet after Senfl had finished with it and it had filtered across years and borders, with the understanding

⁶² Smith, "Lassus, Ferrabosco the Elder, Byrd," 16.

that similarities between Byrd and Senfl are far fewer and slightly more anecdotal, though similarities between Byrd and Lasso are likely more grounded.

A reminder of Senfl’s key traits in his psalm motets might lay an appropriate foundation for attempting to answer these questions. Firstly, Senfl favored the *cantus* vocal line as he himself was an altist. Secondly, he set his full psalms usually in two *pars*. Thirdly, he used pervasive imitation and word painting to exegete the text musically, often pictorially to a degree but never excessively. He tended to use dotted rhythms for added expressive effect. Finally, he appreciated paired imitation and the use of thirds and sixths, though this trait is not exclusive to Senfl himself as Josquin, Isaac, Mouton, and any number of other composers slightly before him tended to use the same traits. Additionally, a unique trait that appears among his works from time to time is a cadential pattern in which he outlines a descending triad pattern and an ascending open fifth or octave on a single voice. This is the final cadence pattern both in the *prima pars* of his psalm motet *De profundis clamavi* (ii), and the final cadence of his *Virgo, tu sola*, a non-psalm motet, used in several of the voices. Figures 5 and 6, respectively, illustrate this cadential pattern.

The image shows a musical score for five voices, numbered 102 in the top left corner. The lyrics are: "ma me - - - a in Do - mi - no." The score is written in a single system with five staves. The top staff is a vocal line with a treble clef and a common time signature. The second staff is a vocal line with a treble clef and a common time signature. The third staff is a vocal line with a treble clef and a common time signature. The fourth staff is a vocal line with a treble clef and a common time signature. The fifth staff is a bass line with a bass clef and a common time signature. The lyrics are written below the staves, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across multiple notes. The music features a descending triad pattern and an ascending open fifth or octave on a single voice, as described in the text.

Figure 4.9 *De profundis clamavi* (ii), from *New Senfl Edition*, volume 3, page 35

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Do - mi - num Je - sum Chri - stum, Je - sum Chri - stum.

stum, Je - sum Chri - stum, Je - sum Chri - stum, Je - sum Chri - stum.

Chri - - stum.

sum Chri - stum, Je - sum Chri - stum, Je - sum Chri - stum, Je - sum Chri - stum.

Figure 4.510 *Virgo, Dei genetrix*, from *New Senfl Edition*, volume 1, page 117

As both Lasso and Byrd set *De profundis* in their Penitential Psalm cycles, this motet is a point of departure for tracing the psalm motet’s history, in a case study approach. This is certainly not a helpful comparison in determining each composer’s *general* style, as this was a from a short period of Byrd’s life specifically in reaction to Mary Queen of Scots’ execution, and just one example from Lasso’s overall abundant oeuvre. In discussing the works of Lasso in general, Diane Temme aptly remarks that the “...breadth of compositional innovation equates to a niggling sense of unpredictability in Lasso’s treatment of a given text....The consistent irregularities resulting from innovative variability prove troublesome in an attempt to theorise a general Lasso-style.”⁶³ These inconsistencies naturally add to Lasso’s widespread appeal—there was something for everyone in his music. No such remarks have been made regarding Senfl’s psalm motets or even his oeuvre at large since Senfl’s sacred style tends to be somewhat homogenous. This then is the first hurdle in identifying an influence on Lasso’s psalm motets. His music simply tends to be extremely varied.

⁶³ Diane Temme, “Harmonic Structures as Compositional Technique in Orlando di Lasso’s Psalm Settings,” *Revue belge de Musicologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap* 72 (2018): 111.

The text of *De profundis* is Psalm 129 in the Vulgate, is somber, crying to the Lord “out of the depths” for Him to hear the psalmist’s prayers and supplications. The psalmist declares his waiting for the Lord, calling also for Israel to hope in the redemption of the Lord. This could be read in a number of ways—it could suit a remarkably personal context, as the use of first person shows. The final two verses call for Israel to hope in the Lord, and through this language, this psalm can work in a political atmosphere. Byrd used this psalm both as personal devotion and a message to his Catholic listeners to wait for redemption while their land seems to be overrun by the Anglicans. Senfl had sent this motet to Duke Albrecht of Prussia in 1535, a known Lutheran at the time, risking polarity in Munich with this gift.

While their harmonic language differs, all three composers lean heavily into the pictorial language of the psalm. Senfl’s motet utilizes no *cantus firmus*, so he had no creative limitations. The opening motif is perhaps the clearest point of word painting, with the tenor voice followed shortly after by the bassus, in an ascending scale on the words “de profundis,” or “from the depths.” The result, as each voice’s staggered entrance flowers into broad scales and lengthy melismas on the next word, “clamavi” (“I cried”), then even longer on “Domine,” is a stunningly beautiful example of deliberate word painting. While melismas might obscure the text slightly, there is no mistake the singers are rising up “from the depths.” The independence of each line continues, in a meandering way, until Senfl obscures the tactus, going back and forth rhythmically in his voice pairings in the words “in vocem deprecationis” (“in the voice of supplication”), and then committing more fully to pairing at “si iniquitates,” (“if iniquities”). Senfl’s opening scalar pattern is tipped upside down in the beginning of the *secunda pars*, as the tenor, followed by bassus, descends stepwise, rather than ascends, on the text “A custodia matutina” (“From the morning watch”), in an ironic

shift. If the morning occurs, the sun should rise, not set as his melody would have us believe. Senfl plays with the irony a bit more as he implores Israel to hope in the Lord with a descending sequence of thirds, echoed in all voices. Throughout, the florid polyphony is king, though with the word “redemptio,” Senfl adds brief homophony, as the whole of Israel is meant to be redeemed corporately here. The final cadence resolves optimistically as the bassus, the last voice to rest, remembers its upward scale.

In *De profundis*, Senfl is balanced and symmetrical, using upward and downward motion specifically to add a layer of interest to the text. His harmonies are never jarring, and though he often employs large octave leaps, he is careful to resolve them smoothly. Lasso’s motet is very different from Senfl’s, in individual voicing, its form, and counterpoint. The motet is split not into two parts, but ten, with the *Gloria patri* added as the ninth and tenth parts. Lasso wrote idiomatically, as it were, for his choir. Judging from this piece, he had weaker treble singers than his tenors and bassists, who seemed to be slightly more acrobatic in their abilities. Often, the vocal lines individually are slowly moving with much smaller ranges than in Senfl’s motet. The text is set almost exclusively syllabically, often quite long-held notes, with few leaps over a fourth. Often, the tenor either begins each section, either a nod to the traditionally important tenor, or perhaps implying that he, as a tenor himself, felt a more confident singer to help the others enter singing correctly.

If Albrecht’s chapel had sunk in musical quality since Senfl’s leadership, it is portrayed well in this motet by the much more approachable counterpoint than Senfl’s. Perhaps he had Senfl’s other *De profundis* (i) in mind, a motet that set just the first verse of the psalm, in a simple, *cantus firmus* style composition for use in Vespers.⁶⁴ Another

⁶⁴ Scott Lee Edwards, Stefan Gasch, and Sonja Tröster, eds., *New Senfl Edition*, vol. 1, *Ludwig Senfl: Motets for Four Voices* (Vienna: Hollitzer, 2022), 194. The editors of the *New Senfl Edition* make no mention of

explanation for the simpler quasi-homophony found in this and Lasso's other Penitential Psalms might be the foreshadowing or tension toward tonality—and in this way, as Senfl was a pioneer of the psalm motet as a genre, Lasso is on the cutting edge of harmonic thinking because he seems to be thinking more vertically, shown within his psalm motets.⁶⁵ Indeed, the majority of the aural interest of this motet is not through florid melismas, but through the relationship between pitches of different voices sounding at the same time, for relatively long periods of time.

Lasso is still aware of word painting, like Senfl was, though his is subtle. The opening, “De profundis” text is set, amid static chords, with descending octave leaps for the bassus and altus, and a descending triad for the discantus. When the psalmist calls for the Lord to hear his voice (“Domine, exaudi vocem”), the discantus ascends an octave and falls back down stepwise: the psalmist’s voice is higher than the other lines, clearly audible. Lasso employs some duetting between voices, though not to the extent of Josquin and those of the previous generation. In the trio, section four, the altus and the bassus are almost entirely rhythmically unified, with an intriguing extended melisma on “legem” (“law”), the longest melisma in the section. Though a small example, here Lasso is elevating the notion of the law for his listeners—that Albrecht was in control, and so was Catholicism—in this very brief moment of ironic freedom in the outer voices.

the similarity of Lasso's motet but do consider the canonic counterpoint in Senfl's *De profundis* (i), taking note of the long note values.

⁶⁵ Temme, “Harmonic Structures as Compositional Technique in Orlando di Lasso's Psalm Settings,” 112. Diane Temme, in her discussion of the harmonic structure of Lasso's *Gloria Patri* settings at the end of each Penitential Psalm, alludes to this, noting that more and more toward the end of the sixteenth century, the bassus acts like a bassline ought in tonal music, often holding the lowest note of the triad. She recommends that the debate on the growth toward vertical harmonies and tonality is tricky to handle, given the early seventeenth century's difficulties.

Byrd must have had the Anglican audience in mind as he set his Penitential Psalms in English. A highly popular composer in his time, he was published extensively across England. *Even From the Depth* appeared in print first in 1588 in England in *Psalmes, Sonets and Songs of Sadnes and Pietie* along with numerous other songs and the rest of the Penitential Psalms. At just two minutes, Byrd's Psalm 129 is the shortest of the three examined here, setting just the first two verses of the psalm, whose metrical version was by Thomas Sternhold (d. 1549). The primary mode of word painting Byrd chooses, like the previous examples, is through intervallic motion. "Even from the depth," the opening words, spans an octave, descending by two leaps. Byrd balances this with gentle ascension propelling the text toward "Lord." The cadences in this psalm are frequent, especially noticeable after the word "cry." Byrd spends the most time on "help my misery," giving the longest, or arguably only real, melisma to "misery." Each voice seems to enter surreptitiously throughout the piece, giving a sense of humility for each, echoing Byrd's personal feelings towards Catholicism and Mary's execution just a year before. Byrd's partwriting is almost a synthesis of Senfl's and Lasso's styles—it is slightly more active than Lasso's, but less independent than Senfl's. In this way, this singular example shows the state of polyphony in England was perhaps still rooted in the previous generation's taste for polyphony, but a gradual tendency toward the simpler homophony that the Anglicans so praised.

Through each of these examples of the *De profundis*, or Psalm 129, the composers showcase their individual voices. Senfl shows his adeptness at florid imitation, very much entrenched in the Franco-Flemish style. Lasso goes beyond this to a slightly more simplified texture, but more vertically conscious style. Byrd seems to be somewhere in between, clearly English and not Continental, in his still-horizontal plane that fully upholds the old English

penchant towards sweet thirds and sixths, almost always occurring. *De profundis* is an example of these three composers following individual composing voices but sharing a similar atmosphere.

Though not an exhaustive study by any means, analyzing another shared psalm text allows some musical similarities to emerge more readily than in the *De profundis*. While scholars, composers, and theologians alike gravitate toward the *Miserere mei, Deus*, Psalm 50, as such it is an excellent example to draw comparisons between Senfl, Lasso, and Byrd, in considering possible musical similarities and also contextual similarities. Psalm 50 was hugely renowned across Europe, stemming from the meditations on the psalms by Girolamo Savonarola (1452-1498), a predecessor to the Protestant Reformation who was tortured and executed for his call for ecclesiastical reform. His writings spread rapidly across Europe and were published widely; indeed, by 1500 they were printed across Italy and throughout the north to Augsburg and even Antwerp, including Martin Luther's publication of Savonarola's writings in 1523 in Wittemberg.⁶⁶

The meditation on Psalm 50 continued in popularity through the entirety of the sixteenth century, printed in various languages including the largest selection of at least twenty-one English prints.⁶⁷ Savonarola's dramatic death coupled with his vivid, emotional glosses of the scripture were intensely alluring for composers to set—Psalm 50, one of the most personal psalm texts, quickly became one of the most widely set psalm in the Renaissance, beginning with Josquin's motet. Byrd set the very beginning of Savonarola's gloss of Psalm 50, the *Infelix ego*, written in the 1570s but published in 1591, for a Catholic

⁶⁶ Patrick Macey, *Bonfire Songs: Savonarola's Musical Legacy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 154.

⁶⁷ Macey, *Bonfire Songs*, 154.

audience during their persecution in England.⁶⁸ As such, Savonarola's commentary found its uses, like the psalms themselves, among both sides of the religious dissonance.

Because of this, the *Miserere mei, Deus* set by Senfl, Lasso, and Byrd provides a ripple effect of musical and cultural influences to discern. Through their counterpoint, use of the third and minor second intervals, and their strategic uses of scalar material, resemblances between each composer's setting appear. The beginning of the story of this motet lies in Senfl's "explicit references" to Josquin's motet on the same text.⁶⁹ Both set the entire psalm, both use a quasi-*cantus firmus* as a structural motif in the tenor, and Senfl quotes Josquin's rhythmic imitation at the start of the *tertia pars*.⁷⁰ Senfl's motet clearly owes its inspiration to Josquin's, and the string of musical inspiration likewise extends towards Lasso and Byrd. Josquin's is somber and lacks the more complicated, florid melismas and twisting polyphony of his other motets, in a penitential attitude appropriate for the text. The text of Psalm 50 is long, lending itself toward a more syllabic setting, in turn allowing the composers to use melismas for specifically expressive effect.

Senfl's motet, dating from the 1520s, appears in the *Motettor[um] Liber Secu[n]dus*, a manuscript copied by Lukas Wagenrieder that includes only works by Senfl and Josquin, specifically both their *Miserere mei, Deus* settings. As in his other psalm settings, he avoids homophonic motion, instead preferring widely staggered entrances and extremely independent lines, though naturally sharing melodic content between each voice. The setting is mostly syllabic, except for a few well-placed melismas on words that carry higher

⁶⁸ Macey, *Bonfire Songs*, 166.

⁶⁹ Edwards, Gasch, and Tröster, eds., *New Senfl Edition* vol. 3, 311.

⁷⁰ Edwards, Gasch, and Tröster, eds., *New Senfl Edition* vol. 3, 311.

importance, such as “Deus” and an occasional “meam,” or “occulta.” Unsurprisingly for Senfl, he betrays his favor of the cantus by often allowing it the first entrance of a point of imitation. Again, Senfl obscures most cadences by running through them instead of allowing for spaces of rest. Contributing to this atmosphere of one tremendously long penitential thought on the part of the psalmist is Senfl’s use of long chains of sequences, as it were, chasing after one another. One of these moments occurs beginning in measure 76, with the words “...et vincas.” Here, Senfl also uses the melodic third frequently to achieve a natural sound to the falling motif.

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... et vin - cas cum iu - di - ca - ris, _____

... et vin - cas cum iu - di - ca -

te fe - ci ut iu - sti - fi - ce - ris in ser - mo - ni - bus tu - is et vin - cas cum

ci ut iu - sti - fi - ce - ris in ser - mo - ni - bus tu - is et vin - cas cum iu - di -

79

_____ et vin - cas cum iu - di - ca - ris, cum iu - di - ca - - -

ris, et vin - cas, et vin - cas cum iu - di - ca - ris, cum iu - di - ca - - -

iu - di - ca - ris, et vin - cas, et vin - cas cum iu - di - ca - ris,

ca - ris, et vin - cas cum iu - di - ca - ris, cum iu - di - ca -

Figure 4.6 "Miserere mei, Deus," mm. 75-84, sequence, NSE 3, p. 72

A moment of somewhat odd counterpoint occurs beginning in 187 where Senfl creates an echo effect, almost foreshadowing the later work of those in St. Mark's cathedral in Italy. The text reads in quick repetition "averte faciem tuam," in the outer four voices from octaves directly to open fifths, while the tenor hesitantly repeats the opening "miserere mei, Deus" motif. The effect is extraordinary: the psalmist is desperate for the Lord to turn his face away from the psalmist's sins, repeating it in a sudden, forthright way, before settling back into a humble inquiry for mercy, an inquiry so skillfully woven into the quasi-polychoral texture that it goes almost entirely unnoticed to the listener of the motet. This happens another time, slightly earlier in the motet, under the text "Auditui meo dabis gaudium," as effectively as the "Averte" section.

187

ta. A - ver - te, a - ver - te, a - ver - te fa - ci - em tu - -
 ta. A - ver - te, a - ver - te, a - ver - te, a - ver - te fa - ci - em tu - -
 mi - se - re - re me - i, De -
 A - ver - te, a - ver - te, a - ver - te, a - ver - te fa - ci - em tu - -
 A - ver - te, a - ver - te, a - ver - te, a - ver - te fa - ci - em tu - -

193

- - - am
 am
 us,
 am a
 am a

Figure 11 "Miserere mei, Deus," p 78-9, nse3

Throughout the entire motet, Senfl, while staying within the bounds of typical polyphonic writing, mixes several textural sounds, in turn creating a sense of regulated conflict within the music. This of course parallels the psalmist, who alternates between verses of humble self-deprecation and praise of the Lord in his utterly righteous holiness. While achieving this, he manages to set the text relatively syllabically for clarity, especially paring down the voices to duets when necessary for text declamation.

Senfl's motet shows skill and variety in its counterpoint, and as it appears definitively in one Munich manuscript copied by Wagenrieder, was a staple of the Munich Hofkapelle, and perhaps stayed in practice for years.⁷¹ One could consider further that Lasso, having still performed Senfl's music in the court until 1581, might have known of this motet. Certainly, Lasso could not avoid the "Josquin Renaissance" taking place in the German-speaking lands of the sixteenth century. James Haar recalls two of Lasso's Magnificats based on Josquin motets, and he notes several manuscripts at the Hofkapelle included Josquin's works.⁷² However, Lasso was writing in the new, more fashionable Italian style, so understandably tended to avoid the freer polyphony from that older generation.⁷³ Lasso's "fashionable" style, his attention toward the vertical sonorities, is evident in his *Miserere mei, Deus*. He sets the psalm, like Senfl and Josquin, primarily syllabically, but far more statically than the two previous writers.

The most noticeable tendency in Lasso's *Miserere mei, Deus*, is the sonic atmosphere of chord progressions that often lean heavily on the use of a minor second to propel the tension of the harmonic motion. Lasso achieves this hierarchy of intervals primarily through the tenor voice, as illustrated in its play around the pitch A, exploring Bb and G# in crucial

⁷¹ Stefan Gasch, Sonja Tröster, and Birgit Lodes, eds., *Ludwig Senfl (c. 1490-1543): A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works and Sources*, vol. 1, *Catalogue of the Works* (Turhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2020), 347-348. The editors of the *New Senfl Edition* list just this manuscript, D-MBS *Mus.Ms.10* as the single source, though the editors of the *Catalogue Raisonné* suggest a few others that may transmit this motet, though not definitive.

⁷² James Haar, "Josquin as Interpreted by a Mid-Sixteenth-Century German Musician," in *The Science and Art of Renaissance Music*, ed. Paul Corneilson (Princeton: Princeton University Press) 195, n. 1.

⁷³ Haar, "Josquin as Interpreted," 176.

moments of the phrase.

The image shows a musical score for five voices, numbered 10 at the top. The staves are arranged vertically. The lyrics are: -us, se- cun-dum ma- gnam mi- se- ri- cor- di- am tu- - am. The score features various musical notations including notes, rests, and bar lines. The lyrics are distributed across the staves: the top staff has "-us, se- cun-dum ma- gnam mi- se- ri- cor- di- am tu- - am.", the second staff has "- us, se- cun-dum ma- gnam mi- se- ri- cor- di- am tu- - am.", the third staff has "se- cun-dum ma- gnam mi- se- ri- cor- - di- am tu- am.", the fourth staff has "- se- cun-dum ma- gnam mi- se- ri- cor- di- am, mi- se- ri- cor- di- am tu- am.", and the bottom staff has "se- cun-dum ma- gnam mi- se- ri- cor- di- am tu- - am."

Figure 4.8 Mm. 7-13 of Lasso's "Miserere mei, Deus," indicating his special use of the minor second in the Tenor

Throughout the motet, Lasso showcases his forward-looking counterpoint, moving each voice mostly by step and utilizing sometimes surprising chords, giving the listener a brief flash of a Gesualdoism in some moments, as in the setting of the text “miserationum tuarum,” (“of your compassion”). This is a stunning moment of word painting, where Lasso depicts the sometimes-shocking nature of the Lord’s compassion on the penitential sinner—when the psalmist begs for mercy after a terrible sin, he hopes for compassion but expects punishment, and here Lasso describes musically how surprised the speaker is of the compassion shown to him. Again, the use of a half step propels this very notion, especially effective in the *tenor* and *discantus* as they move from measure 6 to 7.

Discantus
[2] Et se- cun- dum mul- ti- tu- di- nem mi- se-

Altus
[2] Et se- cun- dum mul- ti- tu- di- nem mi- se-

Tenor
[2] Et se- cun- dum mul- ti- tu- di- nem mi- se-

Quinta Vox
[2] Et se- cun- dum mul- ti- tu- di- nem mi- se- ra-

Bassus
[2] Et se- cun- dum mul- ti- tu- di- nem mi- se-

-ra- ti- o- num tu- a- rum, de- - le

-ra- ti- o- num tu- a- rum, de- - le

-ra- ti- o- num tu- a- rum, de- - le

-ti- o- num tu- a- rum, de- - le

-ra- ti- o- num tu- a- rum, de- - le

Figure 4.9 Mm. 1-8 of the second part of "Miserere mei, Deus," illustrating Lasso's modern harmonic motions

Overall, Lasso's motet shows a much more modern approach than Senfl's more classic, Franco-Flemish style. Lasso is moving the musical language of the German-speaking lands away from the archaic styles that they had so loved, trying to bring the Munich Hofkapelle up to the same new, "cutting-edge" sounds Italy was already enjoying. Lasso is still conservative, however, relying still on word painting more subtly than in his madrigals. It would appear he is less concerned with following after Senfl's tradition—indeed, he seems to

avoid traipsing across Senfl's musical language and legacy—and more concerned with leaving the past and moving forward in a new way.

A question thus arises in considering Byrd: was he more influenced by Lasso's "modern" setting or Senfl's more conservative approach? Moreover, was he influenced by either of these composers' pieces at all? Patrick Macey suggests Byrd was aware of Lasso's setting of Savonarola's meditation *Infelix ego*, as Lasso's motet was among the library of Lord Lumley, a Byrd supporter and dedicatee in Byrd's *Cantiones Sacrae II* of 1591, a print that also included Byrd's *Miserere mei, Deus* motet.⁷⁴ Furthermore, Byrd's *Infelix ego* shadows some of Lasso's harmonic language in his back-and-forth play between modal centers.⁷⁵ But was Byrd aware of Lasso's *Miserere mei, Deus*? Another manuscript in which Byrd's *Miserere mei, Deus* is transmitted is in the Dow Partbooks of 1580 copied by Richard Dow in Oxford. In this manuscript are 127 pieces including three by Lasso, though none of his are the *Miserere mei, Deus* (but one of Lasso's works included is a Susanna chanson).⁷⁶ However, Lasso's status as the most widely published composer of the Renaissance both supports and tears down the question of Byrd's knowing his motet. It is entirely possible he did use Lasso's as some kind of inspiration, and entirely possible that in the influx of Lasso pieces in England, Byrd managed to avoid ever seeing Lasso's *Miserere mei, Deus*. Because of this, it is far safer to conclude that while evidence does not firmly solidify Byrd's *Miserere mei, Deus* as having inspiration from Lasso's motet of the same type, Byrd must have gained inspiration from Lasso's partwriting in other aspects because he had access to Lasso's music.

⁷⁴ Macey, *Bonfire Songs*, 290.

⁷⁵ Macey, *Bonfire Songs*, 294-95.

⁷⁶ "GB-Och Mus. 988 (Dow Partbooks),) DIAMM, accessed February 12, 2023. <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/2357/#/>

If Lasso was the most widely published composer on the Continent, and Byrd was looking to be as commercially productive as Lasso, he might have borrowed some of Lasso's musical language to attempt to make his music as attractive to publishers as Lasso's was both outside, and to some respect, inside, England.

As already established in this thesis, Senfl's music was never published outside of the German-speaking lands in his lifetime, so Byrd and Senfl never appear in the same English print in the sixteenth century. Therefore, Senfl's musical influence on Byrd is more difficult to pin down, as no concrete evidence has yet appeared. However, Byrd and Senfl share one strikingly similar moment in their choice to set the first appearance of the word "Deus," in their motets on Psalm 50, which presents a more convincing musical possibility that Byrd's motet was more similar to Senfl's than it is to Lasso's, and that Byrd somehow knew of Senfl's motet. Both Senfl's and Byrd's, in their respective modes, use a descending scale spanning a fifth followed by an octave leap and then a resolution to a cadence. The only difference between the two, aside from modal choice, is the handling of the cadential motion, where Byrd resolves a suspension in the voice in question while Senfl extends the melody slightly longer.

Musical score for the opening of Byrd's "Miserere mei, Deus" for five voices: Superius, Medius, Contratenor, Tenor, and Bassus. The score shows the vocal lines with lyrics "Mi - se - re - re me - i De - -".

Continuation of the musical score for five voices, starting at measure 5. The lyrics continue with "- us, mi - se - re - re me - i De - -" and "- us, De - -".

Figure 4.10 Opening of Byrd's "Miserere mei, Deus," illustrating the scalar passage in mm. 3-5.

7
 i, De - - - - - us, me - i, De - - - - - us, De - - - - -
 mi - se - re - re me - i, De - us, De - - - - -
 Mi - se - re - re me - i, De - us, mi - se -
 me - i, De - us, mi - se - re - re me - i, De -

Figure 4.11 Senfl's use of the "Deus" scalar passage in the top voice, mm. 7-9

Senfl uses fragments of this melodic motive throughout the motet, often incorporating octave leaps and smaller scalar motion independently from each other. Curiously, both Byrd and Senfl use the motive again later in the motet, on different words, but in a semi-inverted retrograde. Byrd uses this melody just once more on “meam,” in the contratenor. He leaps down a fifth, then up the octave, then falls by a fifth-wide scale in slightly different rhythm than the first time. Senfl does the exact same change on the word “asperges” in the *secunda pars*. Senfl hints at the motive at the close of the motet, but it lacks the placement of the octave leap for it to be considered in this comparison. The presence of an altered version of it nevertheless provides a sense of closure in Senfl’s *Miserere mei, Deus*.

This is a curious similarity between the two motets. In that both Senfl and Byrd use this motive on a beginning “Deus,” and again with identical alteration later (save for Byrd’s dotted rhythm) is simply too exact to be perfectly coincidental. This alone suggests the possibility that Byrd must have known Senfl’s motet. Considering the connection Byrd had with Lasso in their mutual support of Mary, Byrd certainly could have known of Senfl’s motet. Indeed, the similarities between the two *Miserere* settings are there, but the “smoking gun,” as it were, remains to be seen.

By examining these two texts and their iterations by three composers, it is clear how the psalm motet was not a concrete genre musically, in that there was room for composers’ personal creativity, which specifically allowed it to be used for a vast variety of purposes. Senfl’s role was to take Josquin’s “experimental” psalm motet genre and establish it into a category of its own. The inspiration musically lies more between Senfl and Lasso, since the latter had documented contact with Senfl’s music. Unfortunately at this time, extant evidence does not prove that Byrd had studied Senfl’s music or was aware of his fame in the German-speaking lands, since Senfl was not published during the sixteenth century outside of the German-speaking lands. However, because of the existence of at least one copy of Petreius’s 1538 *Tomus Primus Psalmorum Selectorum* in England by the 1560s,⁷⁷ the possibility remains that Byrd may indeed have known of Senfl’s work. The identical melodic motif that occurs in the same place in both Senfl’s *Miserere mei, Deus* and Byrd’s is too exact to convince the listener of total coincidence.

⁷⁷ For details on this unlikely discovery, see Kerry McCarthy, “Josquin in England: An Unexpected Sighting,” *Early Music* 43, no. 3 (2015): 449-454.

Conclusion

The psalm motet in the hands of Josquin may have been simply a good, pious text for a competent composer to set. In the hands of Senfl, it served purposes from wedding pieces to personal ministry to Vespers music to simply stunningly mature examples of a newly crafted genre that fit perfectly into the context of religious splintering in the German-speaking lands. In Lasso's and Byrd's hands, the psalm motet was a means of personal edification, musical diplomacy, and tokens of political prestige. Through the sixteenth century, this genre became an entirely unique one—not necessarily musically unique, but situationally and contextually unique.

While broad history surveys skate past Catholic music of the sixteenth-century German-speaking lands, favoring the starkly contrasting Calvinist and Lutheran styles, a vibrant repertory remains a key to unlocking a wide swath of musical development that is vital for comprehensively understanding the development of music as it begins to bridge the gap between high Renaissance polyphony and the progressive music of very early Baroque composers. Senfl was alive at a turning point for the German-speaking lands, politically, religiously, and musically. It was his pen that primarily brought the Munich Hofkapelle to the center of conversation in German music at large, both through his numerous secular Lieder as well as his monumental sacred works. A path can be traced from Josquin to Isaac to Senfl to Lasso and beyond, and in this way, Senfl's work fits neatly into a gap of time where under religious stress he was still able to elevate genres to national acclaim.

Senfl had the ear of some of the most influential figures in history. He wrote for Martin Luther, for Duke Albrecht of Prussia, for Charles V, for Duke Wilhelm IV, and others. He was involved in some of the most important printing enterprises of his century,

demonstrated by his connection to Wagenrieder, his work on the first book of motets north of the Alps, and his appearance in publications by leading printers of the day from Formschneider to Petreius to Rhau. He was immune to pressures from Protestant and Catholic sides, remaining ambiguous in his own personal creed. His work in the psalm motet, since it is coupled with his highly successful career and original and skillful partwriting, gave the genre the acceleration it needed to reach lasting audiences throughout geographical space and chronological time. The psalms found themselves significant for innumerable people during the Reformation, as Catholics and Protestants could all agree that praising God was the core to a Christian confession and life. Senfl lived out his personal motto through his prayerful psalm motets, a motto immortalized along with his visage on a metal medallion. Senfl thought of the psalms highly enough to bind himself to them in this way of eternal visual memory, declaring to the viewer for the rest of time no better psalm verse for a singer and composer than “Psallam Deo meo quamdiu fuero.”⁷⁸



Figure 4.14 Senfl's Medallion, courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.

⁷⁸ From Vulgate Psalm 145:2, I will sing to my God for as long as I am (my translation).

EPILOGUE

In terms of Senfl's place in history, scholars today are reassessing his oeuvre and making promising strides in illuminating his central role in the development of German music history. As the work continues towards completing a highly researched and scholarly edition of his entire repertoire, his music likewise becomes available for modern consumers, both for research and active performance purposes. Because of this edition and because of his newfound spotlight in the twenty-first century, the German-speaking lands are moving toward a more central role in the discussion of European Western music—a role they always had, but were never recognized, as composers in France and Italy overshadowed them. Considering the ripple-effects I have suggested from Senfl's work in the psalm motet and German sacred music at large, Europe in the sixteenth century becomes smaller as connections between composers appear more and more frequently. In a world of covert diplomacy where even a masterfully crafted musical canon can subtly display the time and day of an emperor's entrance to a city, the possibilities for the uses of music, especially the psalm motet, broadens significantly.

Questions remain that require further contemplation that may never be concretely answered. For instance, how might other composers have viewed these clearly politically meaningful compositions? Would they have understood the depths of meaning each one carried? Was this special use of the psalm motet restricted to composers only in exceptionally high and visible employments? Were publishers conscious of what these motets meant situationally? A greater depth of comprehension is needed for the psalm motet's function in multiple contexts, especially in Italy and Spain in their unwavering Catholic history. Likewise, how do psalm motets achieve political and religious goals later in history, into the Baroque and later eras, both personally and publicly? As the study of print culture expands,

the dissemination of psalm motets should be analyzed much further, to discern the recipients of these motets and what the music and text might have meant to the listener.

Furthermore, this case study of the Swiss Senfl working in Munich begs the understanding of other and later composers' personal dealings with faith and how their own confession or lack thereof corresponded to their choices of genres to set or even how, like Senfl, they added their own personal musical commentary on biblical texts they chose to set. The Renaissance and even Baroque composer need no longer lurk behind the scenes. He many now stop "conceal[ing] [his] works...lay[ing] them aside in a dark corner, in the dumb shadows," as Wolfgang Seidl's words to Senfl suggest, through work done by musicologists now to uncover new, previously veiled narratives of the composer as a whole person in conjunction with the church, politics, court, social and cultural implications, and relationships. This thesis sheds light on Senfl as more than an ambiguous provider of music in Munich; rather, a vital character in the story of the Reformation and development of German musical style.

The next step in scholarship is to investigate beyond Senfl's experience to understand how strongly music was tied to politics and religion, much more intimately than it is today. From the medieval years to modern eras, religion and politics form the core of the human experience within a society; only recently has religion and faith declined in perceived importance in the western world. This thesis' suggestions toward a deeper comprehension of Senfl's place is far from the end of scholarship on his music, but it is perhaps the end of the beginning of recognizing just how vital musicians were to the development of European culture, art, music, politics, and even religious thought, from their intimate positions in prestigious courts, to their happenstance personal regard for particular kinds of music.

APPENDIX

Timeline of Pertinent Events

c. 1486	Senfl is born in Basle or Zurich
c. 1498	Senfl joins Maximilian I's court as choir boy under Heinrich Isaac
c. 1504-1507	Senfl likely attend University of Vienna, then returns after to the imperial chapel as altist and copyist
1512	Senfl's first manuscript and print appearances of Lieder and motets occurs; this year also sees him likely taking over Isaac's duties at court
1513-1515	Martin Luther is professor of Bible at University of Wittenburg, begins his first lecture series on the Book of Psalms
March 26, 1517	Isaac dies in Florence, Italy. Unofficially, Senfl fully assumes Isaac's former role in Maximilian's court
October 31, 1517	Luther posts his Ninety-Five Theses on the door of All Saint's Church in Wittenberg
1518	Senfl attends Diet of Augsburg and composes all the music for the meeting, meets Luther and Peutingen. At this Diet, Luther stands trial before Cardinal Cajetan Senfl's <i>Beati omnes</i> written for wedding of Margrave Casimir of Brandenburg and Susanna of Bavaria
January, 1519	Maximilian dies, Senfl returns to Augsburg to seek employment by Charles V
1520	Senfl is without imperial employment, and works as editor with Sigmund Grimm and Marx Wirsung on <i>Liber selectarum cantionum</i> , dedicates it to Cardinal Matthäus Lang Wilhelm IV of Bavaria begins to set up his own court music
1521	Diet of Worms condemns Luther as heretic, Luther is excommunicated, Senfl is in attendance
January 9, 1522	Adrian VI became pope
March 1522	Mandate of 1522 penned by Leonhard von Eck
1522	Senfl presents music for wedding of Duke Wilhelm IV of Bavaria and Maria Jacobäa von Baden
1523	Senfl accepts employment under Wilhelm IV as "Komponist"

1524-1525	German Peasants' War
1525	Antwerp requires all books to <i>correctly</i> identify author, provenance, printer
August 29, 1526	Battle at Mohács (news spread to Antwerp by Fugger spies)
1526	Sigmund Grimm arrested for printing Catholic papers in Augsburg
1526	Senfl and Duke Albrecht of Prussia begin correspondence, exchange of music and singers between courts
	William Tyndale's English New Testament published in Worms
1527	Senfl marries daughter of Passau tax collector Ambros Neunburger
	Senfl writes <i>Nisi Dominus</i> (psalm motet and parody mass) for Anton Fugger's wedding
	Wilhelm IV begins to punish Lutheran sympathizers in Bavaria
1529	Siege of Vienna (Ottoman)
	Senfl buys a house in Munich, adjacent to Simon Minervius' garden
1530	Diet of Augsburg: Senfl is in attendance, and presents <i>Ecce quam bonum</i>
	Senfl begins correspondence (at the latest) with Luther (Luther at Coburg)
	Senfl writes a <i>L'homme armé</i> mass, likely for Charles V's entry to Munich
1532	Orlando di Lasso is born in Mons, Belgium
1534	Henry VIII breaks with the Catholic Church, declares himself head of the new Anglican Church: "Act of Supremacy"
1535	Senfl marries second wife, Maria Halbhirn
	Senfl sends two psalm motets to Albrecht of Prussia
1536	Henry VIII issues "Dissolution of the Monasteries"
1537	Ludwig and Maria Senfl have a daughter

	Hans Ott's <i>Novum et insigne opus musicum I</i> published (includes five of Senfl's psalm motets) [second volume published a year later]
	Nuremberg bans polyphony
1538	Georg Rhau begins publishing polyphony in Wittenberg
c. 1540	William Byrd is born in England
1542	Jean Calvin compiles Geneva Psalter
1543	Senfl dies in Munich
	Lukas Wagenrieder named canon at Munich Frauenkirche
	Alfonso Ferrabosco I (spy) born
1550	Albrecht V succeeds father Wilhelm IV in Munich
1553	Mary I crowned (Catholic)
1556	Orlando di Lasso arrives in Munich as tenor
1558	Elizabeth I crowned (Anglican)
c. 1559	Lasso's Codex of Penitential Psalms commissioned
1560s	Elizabethan portrait showing page from <i>Tomus primus psalmorum selectorum</i>
1567	Lasso takes over Munich court as Kapellmeister
1575	Byrd involved in first book of Latin motets published in England
1578	Alfonso Ferrabosco I stands trial in Rome
1579	Wilhelm V ascends to power in Munich, succeeding Albrecht V
December 24, 1581	Tridentine Reform changes Munich liturgical practice to Roman Use, Senfl's music no longer performed regularly at Munich
November, 1585	William Byrd placed in house arrest and fined for refusing to attend Protestant services
February 8, 1587	Mary, Queen of Scots is executed (Catholic)
1588	Byrd's Penitential Psalms
1603	Queen Elizabeth I dies

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VITA

Brittany Roberts grew up in rural southwest Missouri and holds a Bachelor of Music Education with the performer's certificate in piano from Southwest Baptist University (2020), where she was alto section leader for and sang in the SBU Chorale all semesters. Her love for early music comes from singing Josquinian polyphony in a small vocal ensemble at SBU as well as the rigorous music history survey taught there by Dr. Terri Wehmeyer. Brittany was named a Presser Scholar her junior year and later graduated *summa cum laude*. At UMKC, Brittany has served as a Musicology Graduate Teaching Assistant, where she has enjoyed expanding her collegiate teaching skills. She received two grants from the UMKC Women's Council and the UMKC School of Graduate Studies that allowed her to research for this thesis in Munich for four weeks and sparked a love of world travel.

Brittany's work in both academic and community musicology continues. In the Kansas City community, she writes program notes for the Northland Symphony Orchestra and hopes to continue writing for the group after graduation. She was recently selected to present her research from the second chapter of her master's thesis at the annual Med-Ren conference in 2023 at Munich. Her interdisciplinary interests, honed by the supervision of Dr. Virginia Blanton and the teamwork of colleague Jeffrey Leafblad, both in the English department at UMKC, include paleography, Spanish chant manuscripts, and digital humanities, which she plans to transform into a dissertation topic as she begins her PhD in Musicology at Princeton University in the fall of 2023.