GEORGIUS MACROPEDIUS

Quæ referas nostris grate spectanda theatris
Argumenta sacræ suscipis historie.
Idem animi numerosque potes cecinisse Georgi
Strinxisse in numeros carminis inque notas. B₅

Georgius Macropedius, engraving by Philips Galle, in Benito Arias Montano, *Virorum doctorum de disciplinis bene merentium effigies XLIII* (Antwerpen: [n.pub.], 1572)

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The Latin Playwright Georgius Macropedius
(1487–1558) in European Contexts

Edited by

Jan Bloemendal

BREPOLS

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MACROPEDIUS AND MUSIC: GEORGIUS MACROPEDIUS AS A COMPOSER OF SONGS FOR THE THEATRE AND OTHER SCHOOL PERFORMANCES

Louis Peter Grijp*

The theatrical works of Macropedius contain a striking amount of singing. Does that mean that Macropedius had a special affinity with music? Was he musical? What role did music actually play in his life? Did he teach music at the Latin schools where he worked?

Let's begin with the last question, although it is not as easy to answer as one might think. It is not clear to what extent music was taught at the Latin schools in Liège and Utrecht where Macropedius taught. Music is not mentioned in the curricula that have been preserved from those schools during Macropedius's time. The students devoted their time primarily to Latin and Greek: grammar, prosody, writing letters and poems, logic and rhetoric, debate and declamation, and classical literature. In addition, there were naturally also religion classes. In the detailed curriculum that has survived from the Utrecht Sint Hieronymusschool (St Jerome School) of 1565 (about eight years after Macropedius had left it),¹ the lesson plans are listed for every hour of each of the eight classes in the school, but music is not mentioned.

And yet Macropedius put his name to a school textbook of sacred songs: *Hymni & sequentiae*, which must have been published in 1552 in 's-Hertogenbosch. No

* Translation by Ruth van Baak Griffioen.

¹ Macropedius worked from about 1530 until 1557 at the St Jerome School. The curriculum of 1565 is summarized in Henk Giebels and Frans Slits, *Georgius Macropedius (1487–1558): Leven en werken van een Brabantse humanist* (Tilburg: Stichting Zuidelijk Historisch Contact, 2005), pp. 133–36.

copy is known to have survived,² so it is difficult to say what Macropedius's contribution was. This was most likely a school edition of a previously published hymn book. In the numerous other school texts that Macropedius wrote — about grammar, logic, the art of letter writing, etc. — we find almost nothing about music. His book about metrics (*Prosoedia*, 1550) contains a few notes of music, to show the students how to imagine the long and short syllables of the verse metres. In Macropedius's textbook about the ecclesiastical calendar (*Kalendarium chiometricum*, 1541) we finally find an observation about music lessons. Macropedius introduces a simple counting method, which he lays out in simple verses. Whoever wants to know more, he says, must consult what 'very learned men' have written. 'Precisely because these books by those men do exist, I have decided to leave out what I dictated to my students twelve years ago about measure and melody in church music.'³ This passage tells us that Macropedius taught music twelve years before 1541, in other words, in 1529. At that time he was still active in Liège. But in a curriculum preserved from the St Jerome School in Liège in 1536, music lessons are still not mentioned.⁴

From other Latin schools we know for certain that music was taught. At the successful Latin school in Zwolle, for example, the students had to go to church at 6 AM, 7 AM, and 9 AM to sing Mass.⁵ In Utrecht the education at the chapter schools consisted of Latin, that is, grammar and a bit of logic, and also music. These are the three subjects consistently mentioned in the case of other late medieval schools.⁶ The singing and music lessons were necessary so that the boys could sing along during the various worship services. The St Jerome School, however, organized along humanist lines, offered an alternative: here the emphasis was on

² The last mention of this book is by Jean Noël Paquot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire littéraire des dix-sept provinces des Pays-Bas* . . . , vol. XII (Leuven: Imprimerie Academique, 1768), p. 209. Among the works of Macropedius Paquot lists *Hymni & Sequentiae, quibus . . . Dominicis & Festi Diebus utimur, brevibus . . . Scholiis illustrati. Sylvae-Ducis 1552. 4°*. See also Giebels and Slits, *Georgius Macropedius*, p. 178.

³ Giebels and Slits, *Georgius Macropedius*, p. 165. That Macropedius considered adding something about music to this calendar and calculation book can likely be explained by the double meaning of the subject of 'musica': not only practical (church) music but also the theoretical subject of proportions, demonstrated with string lengths.

⁴ According to Joannes Sturm in 1536, excerpted in Giebels and Slits, *Georgius Macropedius*, p. 86.

⁵ <<http://www2.historischcentrumoverijssel.nl/zwolle/zw/geschz11.htm>> [accessed 11 March 2009].

⁶ W. H. J. Dekker, 'Georgius Macropedius (1468–1558) en de muziek' (unpublished master's thesis, Utrecht University, 1970), pp. 15–17.

classical Latin, and Greek was also offered. This aim was heartily supported by city authorities. An edict even stated that boys of twelve who wanted to further their study of Latin had to go to the St Jerome School; the Cathedral Chapter School, on the other hand, was henceforth to concentrate on church music lessons. Intelligent boys whose voices had broken could obtain a grant from the chapter to finish their education at the St Jerome School.⁷

Music in the Modern Devotion

Music thus played a subordinate role in humanist schools such as the St Jerome School. This came about also because music was viewed with diffidence by the Brothers of the Common Life, that is, the Modern Devotion movement, to which Macropedius belonged. These men had deep reservations against the magnificent polyphony that so blossomed in the Netherlands just at this point in the sunset years of the late Middle Ages. The masses and motets of Josquin, Obrecht, Pierre de la Rue, and all the other world-famous composers of the Low Countries served, in the eyes of the followers of the Modern Devotion, only the outer pomp and circumstance of the Church. As far as they were concerned, what really mattered — that the words of the devotion of the faithful should be expressed — got lost in the virtuosic counterpoint of the time. The voices entered one after another, more often than not in canon, and then tumbled all over each other, so that practically nothing of the words could even be understood. Within the Modern Devotion communities, in both the cloisters as well as the brotherhoods, they strove for music that was easily understood, and which moreover would not distract from the message because of its musical virtuosity. When they sang in harmony, they did so in the simplest possible way, 'note against note', with the text occurring simultaneously in the various voices, so that the text remained perfectly understandable. This did require some musical training; at the very least the singers had to be able to read musical notation. But that level of musical ability was nothing compared to what a member of a polyphonic church choir had to be able to do.⁸

⁷ Dekker, 'Georgius Macropedius en de muziek', p. 13. For education in Latin, see also Jan Bloemendal, *Spiegel van het dagelijks leven? Latijnse school en toneel in de noordelijke Nederlanden in de zestiende en de zeventiende eeuw*, Zeven Provinciën Reeks, 22 (Hilversum: Verloren, 2003) pp. 9–29.

⁸ On music in the Modern Devotion, see Ulrike Hascher-Burger, 'Muziek in de Moderne Devotie', in *Een muziekgeschiedenis der Nederlanden*, ed. by Louis Peter Grijp (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2001), pp. 70–74; Hascher-Burger, *Singen für die Seligkeit: Studien*

Theatre Performances at the St Jerome School

Macropedius's Modern Devotion background would most likely have strengthened his humanistic outlook on music. The goal of music for him would not have been primarily to embellish liturgy but rather to contribute to an upbringing within classical culture. In that case too the text took pride of place, while music might better be kept as simple as possible. Various genres offered opportunities to advance this goal, such as theatre pieces on classical models and annual songs. In addition, these two genres could include not only classical but also religious themes.

Indeed Macropedius in his theatrical works called for a great deal of music, choruses, and songs: about sixty musical numbers within eleven plays. This makes them reminiscent in a way of the musicals that are nowadays performed in schools. Once per year all the stops are pulled out to make such a performance a success. This would also have been the case with Macropedius's 'comedies', as they were called. In principle there was a theatrical performance at the end of each semester. Traces of this are found here and there in the city accounts. So for instance in 1526 or 1527 the 'clerks of St Jerome' gave a 'suverlick batement' (religious play) on the feast day of Mary Magdalene 'opte plaets' (on the square in front of the Utrecht city hall). The city council paid them six pounds as a treat for the performers.⁹

Ten years later in 1537, and thus during the time that Macropedius served as rector, the students of the St Jerome School played a 'comedy and play' on Saint Lambert's Day; the city council paid 'twelve quarts of wine'¹⁰ to a certain Jan Spruyt, probably a barkeep. In 1548, innkeeper Ryck Verhorst gave eight 'municipal tankards'¹¹ of wine at the city council's expense to the 'Rector of the St Jerome School and the masters who performed the play'. The rector must have been Macropedius, who fulfilled that function at that time.

Performances from later times are also documented in the city accounts. The annual occasions must have continued throughout the entire sixteenth century. The poet Joost van den Vondel remembered that when he was ten years old (which was around 1597) he saw a performance by the students of the St Jerome School in Utrecht. In front of the city hall a podium was constructed with a drawbridge

zu einer Liedersammlung der Devotio moderna: Zwolle, Historisch Centrum Overijssel, coll. Emma-nuëlshuizen, cat. VI: Mit Edition und Faksimile (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

⁹ Giebels and Slits, *Georgius Macropedius*, p. 104.

¹⁰ A 'quart' was about 1 litre.

¹¹ A 'stadskan' or municipal tankard is a container from which honoured personages were served wine at festive occasions; it is also a measure of quantity.

attached to it. Goliath and his army had to march over this, until David's slingshot hit him, so that the giant 'crashed down so hard the stage cracked'.¹²

The performances were evidently quite spectacular, and the drinking money that was paid out indicates that they were valued from the higher-ups. This was all good for the school's image, the rector would have realized. But that was not his primary purpose. For Macropedius it was mostly about the students sharpening their memories and developing their vocabularies and fluency, he writes in the prologue to his play *Andrisca*. They learned to present themselves. But they could also learn moral lessons from the play. All things considered, giving plays was highly beneficial for the pupils' education.¹³

Music in the Plays

For Macropedius the choruses were important for the structure of the play and for the rhythm of the performance. Each of his plays (and also those of many of his colleagues) was divided into five acts, and the choruses served to separate the acts one from another.¹⁴ The action stopped for a moment, and the choir could sing something contemplative about what had just happened, often a moral lesson to be drawn or a general nugget of wisdom. Macropedius used the chorus this way already in one of his first plays, *Rebelles* (1535). This comedy, Macropedius's liveliest, is about the fate of two naughty boys, or 'rebels'. The central problem is discipline. The boys' mothers have spoiled them, sending them to school on the condition that they not receive any corporal punishment. This was evidently a topic under discussion at the time. Macropedius, as an experienced teacher at a strict school, was of the opinion that in an extreme case one had to be able to deliver a drubbing. Without that, chaos would ensue. And that is exactly what happens in *Rebelles*.

In the first act, the mothers present their sons to Master Aristippus (whose name means more or less 'the best horse in the stable') and demand that there not be any hitting. And the end of the act, the choir of schoolboys¹⁵ sings that a soft-

¹² Foreword from Vondel, *Salomoneus*, cited in Giebels and Slits, *Georgius Macropedius*, p. 106: 'nederplofte, dat de stellaedje kraeckte'.

¹³ More about the goals of the Latin school play can be found in Bloemendal, *Spiegel van het dagelijks leven?*, pp. 64–68.

¹⁴ By no means, however, do all humanist plays contain choruses.

¹⁵ 'Chorus ex Aristippicae Scholae auditoribus' (The Choir of the Students of the School of Aristippus).

hearted upbringing will eventually work against the mother (the first stanzas of the choruses are printed with music in Appendix 1, pp. 74–76 below).¹⁶ This chorus reacts to what has occurred and points in general terms to the calamity to come. After the chorus, the action continues. The boys secretly play a game during class and come to blows. This puts them in the position to be soundly thwacked by the master. The chorus rounds off the act with the thought that a teacher must not be afraid to dole out blows if the situation calls for it.

And so it goes. In the third act the indignant mothers haul their little dears out of school and give them money to go into business. Everyone but the mothers understands that this will come to nothing, and the choir sings that women are disastrous beings — evidently Macropedius had a lot to experience with angry mothers. Then everything really does go wrong. The friends quickly burn through their money at bars and brothels, and when the money's gone they rob a farmer. The choir sings about the ruin to which money can so easily lead. Meanwhile we've arrived at the fifth and final act. The rebels have been arrested and sentenced to the gallows. But then Master Aristippus shows up as the angel of deliverance: he makes use of his *privilegium fori*, meaning that students who've gone bad must be judged by the school rector instead of the usual judge. So all's well that ends well, and everyone understands the necessity of corporal punishment for problem students.

The play does not end with a chorus, but rather with a spoken epilogue. That means that the chorus does not function so much as the conclusion of an act but as an intermezzo, literally as an *entr'acte*. It does, however, often look back at the preceding act. The chorus puts into words the moral lessons that Macropedius's students could pick out of the comedy: 1) spare the rod and spoil the child, 2) hitting is a necessary evil, 3) women are stupid, and 4) money leads to ruin. All of this is naturally easier to remember once you've sung it and, moreover, sung from memory.

What must the performance of these choruses have been like? They were, in any case, sung. How large the choir was we do not know. Elsewhere in the neoclassical theatre literature the figure of four singers is stated, but we don't know whether Macropedius followed that rule. In seventeenth-century Dutch theatre the usual number of singers in a choir was just two. In principle at the St Jerome School the choir would have consisted of boys. In the biblical play *Lazarus mendicus*, however,

¹⁶ All the monophonic theatre-music of *Hecastus* is published in Rochus von Liliencron, 'Die Chorgesänge des lateinisch-deutschen Schuldramas im XVI. Jahrhundert', *Vierteljahrschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 6 (1890), 309–87, and in the excellent but unpublished master's thesis by Dekker, 'Georgius Macropedius en de muziek'.

a choir of both boys and girls is called for. It is conceivable that for the performance, male students were dressed as girls.

In the complete edition of Macropedius's theatrical works, the *Omnes fabulae comicae* published by Harmannus Borculous in Utrecht (1552–53), music notation accompanies almost every chorus.¹⁷ The melodies are notated monophonically. That does not necessarily imply that they were performed that way; more likely they would have been accompanied by instruments such as the lute, bass viol, harpsichord, or organ, but there is no concrete evidence for this. It is also possible that there were sung vocal accompaniments. Occasionally in the edition of the *Omnes fabulae comicae* something of a two-voiced practice appears. *Lazarus mendicus* for instance includes two refrains that are to be sung by angels, and they are notated in two voices. In *Iosephus* the entire first chorus is printed in two voices, for soprano and tenor.

These are not random additions, as can be seen from an earlier, separate edition of *Lazarus mendicus* by J. Turnhout in 's-Hertogenbosch (1545). In this edition most of the choruses and other songs are set to two voices, either the whole or just the refrain. To most of the melodies a simple vocal bass has been applied in the same rhythm as the upper voice (see Appendix 2, pp. 76–82 below). The bass does not in any way detract from the intelligibility of the text. The impression given is that *Lazarus mendicus* was always performed with two voices, and probably the other plays as well, but that the idea with the *Omnes fabulae comicae* was to present the music as uniformly as possible; in this case, monophonically. Perhaps the budget was tight or the printer Borculous possessed limited possibilities. He used block printing, in which all notes and stems are carved by hand from a single block of wood. This system was used primarily in books containing far more text than music, such as music treatises. In actual books of music it was customary to print from single types, one for every note. Editions of Macropedius's theatrical works fall in the category of books with more text than music. Borculous's music woodcuts sometimes look a bit clumsy, but then, he was also one of the first people to print music in the northern Netherlands.¹⁸ Apart from *Lazarus mendicus*, earlier

¹⁷ About this publication, see Frans Slits, 'Rätsel um *Omnes Georgii Macropedii Fabulae Comicae*', in *Ad Litteras: Latin Studies in Honour of J. Brouwers*, ed. by Arpad P. Orbán and Marc G. M. van der Poel (Nijmegen: Nijmegen University Press, 2001), pp. 409–19.

¹⁸ As far as we know, Borculous began music printing in 1539, when he printed Macropedius's annual song 'Ode de extremo Christi iudicio'. Around the same time in Antwerp, the leading city of the Dutch book trade, true books of music appeared in which first the staff lines were printed and then the notes, a process which produces a cleaner result than block printing does. Examples include the *Devoot ende Profiteelyck Boecxken* (*Devout and Helpful Book*, 1539) and the

(separate) editions of Macropedius's theatre plays were published without music notation. It is possible that the inexperience of Dutch printers with music printing played a role here.

So despite Borculous's monophonic presentation it is possible that the choruses from other plays by Macropedius were sung in two parts, just as those from *Lazarus mendicus* were, although there is no evidence for this, at least not for the performances in Utrecht. We do find a polyphonic chorus in the Cologne edition of Macropedius's *Andrisca* (1539).¹⁹ The chorus is set to four voices, the first section note-against-note, the second section more polyphonic, with voices that imitate each other and thus interweave. That does not align with the principles of the humanists and the Modern Devotion. Macropedius is likely not to have had a hand in that edition, and indeed in the *Omnes* edition a different melody is printed altogether. Evidently new music was composed for a performance in a place with a richer singing tradition than the Utrecht St Jerome School. Macropedius's plays were in any case performed all over Europe: he was the leading Latin playwright of his time.

It is striking that not all the music in Borculous's edition is notated for high voices, as one might expect for a boy choir. The first two choruses of *Rebelles*, for example, are notated in alto clef (with the C-clef on the middle line), and the third chorus with the C-clef on the top line, which corresponds to the baritone clef (F-clef on the middle line). In *Lazarus mendicus*, the angels sing in soprano clef, but Lazarus sings in the baritone clef. In the two-voiced version of *Lazarus mendicus* the second voice is usually notated in baritone clef. In the *Omnes* edition the bass clef is often used in the other plays. We don't have to take the notated pitches literally, but if Macropedius had been working only with boy sopranos and altos he would definitely have used higher clefs. The plays were in fact performed mostly by boys from the highest classes,²⁰ whose voices would have in many cases already broken. In addition, that effect is less strong than one might think. The voices of twenty-first-century boys have long since broken by age eighteen, but in earlier times the voice change occurred markedly later than nowadays, owing, one gathers, to different nutritional levels and general health standards. Even some of Macropedius's older students would still have been able to sing quite well with their high boy's voices.

Souterliedekens (Psalm Songs, 1540). The so-called Kamper Liedboek (Songbook from Kampen), also dated to about 1540, includes polyphonic music.

¹⁹ This composition is published in Von Liliencron, 'Die Chorgesänge', pp. 369–70.

²⁰ Bloemendal, *Spiegel van het dagelijks leven?*, p. 68.

Figure 1. Song of the wine-drinkers from *Lazarus mendicus*, *Fabulae omnes*, Utrecht (Borculous), 1553.

It has been suggested that dancing accompanied the choruses. Von Liliencron in his seminal article of 1890 about music in the neo-Latin school drama names several plays in which there is express mention of dance. Already in the *Ludus Dianae* by Conrad Celtis (1501) the choruses of nymphs and Bacchae dance to music, which is reproduced in the edition. Sometimes the choruses are followed by a 'proportio', that is, a version in triple metre which is then danced.²¹ In Macropedius an instance of this can be found in *Lazarus mendicus*, when the roving minstrel Molobrus sings along with his servant a chorus at the end of the second act. The stage direction 'Puer trepidians, vel ad numeros saltans' is added here: 'The boy dances, or jumps to the rhythm of the music'.²² This dance thus functions as part of the action, as the music in this particular play does also (see below). There are likely other instances of choruses in other plays by Macropedius which could

²¹ Von Liliencron, 'Die Chorgesänge', pp. 344–45.

²² This occurs only in the edition's-Hertogenbosch 1545 (see Appendix 2, p. 77 below).

be accompanied by dance in service to the action, but this would not have been a general rule.

Macropedius as a Composer

Where did Macropedius get the melodies? It is generally assumed that Macropedius himself composed the music for the choruses in his plays.²³ That is probably true, although strictly speaking there is little evidence for it. The only information we have consists of two distichs under the 1572 portrait of Georgius Macropedius:

Quae referas nostris grate spectanda theatri
Argumenta sacrae suscipis historiae.
Idem animi numerosque potes cecinisse Georgi
Strinxisse in numeros carminis inque notas.²⁴

[The subjects you bring to our theatres for us to enjoy watching
You take from the holy histories.
And in the same spirit, Georgius, you can sing verses
And fit them into the metres (*numeros*) of both the poetry (*carminis*) and of
the musical notes (*notas*).]

We could interpret those last words to mean that Macropedius wrote the music for his verses. Moreover, everything points in that direction. To begin with, the melodies are simple, as Macropedius himself says on the title page of the *Omnes fabulae*.²⁵ They're simple enough to have been thought up by an amateur composer. They're also all rather uniform. The first four choruses from *Rebelles*, for example, have very comparable melodies, especially similar in rhythm. That is also because Macropedius — we're now going on the assumption that he was the composer — wanted to express the metre of the verses in the rhythm of the music. The texts of all four choruses are written in iambic dimeters, that is, each line of verse consists of two iambs twice. Given that each iamb consists of one short and one long

²³ This is most explicit in Dekker, 'Georgius Macropedius en de muziek', p. 9.

²⁴ *Virorum doctorum de disciplinis benemerentium effigies XLIII a Phil. Galleo* (Antwerp, 1572), Eff. B 5, cited after Dekker, 'Georgius Macropedius en de muziek', p. 1. See also the frontispiece of this volume.

²⁵ 'Adiectae sunt Choris post singulos Actus notulae quaedam musicae, quo simplici tenore quisque possit citra laborem versiculos modulari' (To the choruses after each act musical notes are added; to such simple melodies one can sing the verses without difficulty). Title page from the *Omnes fabulae comicae* (Utrecht, 1552).

syllable, the rhythm of such a verse would in principle be a series of eight notes, alternating short and long. The first verse of the chorus at the end of the first act can serve as an example: 'Ma-trum per in-dul-gen-ti-am'. The boldface syllables are long — they form the second, long syllable of each iamb — and receive a long note in the music. Because the remaining lines of verse have the same metre, this could very well get rather dull. But in the second verse Macropedius permits a variation. In 'Gna-to-rum/et²⁶ in-so-len-ti-am', the syllable -len- should be set to a long note and -ti- to a short one, but Macropedius switches the two. A similar metric reversal (a sort of hemiola) occurs frequently in the dance music of the time. In this way Macropedius introduces crucial variety to his iambic dimeters, the metre he also used for the remaining choruses of *Rebelles*.

But this alone does not completely avert uniformity, we notice if we sing through the choruses of *Rebelles*. The melodic figure of a stepwise falling fifth, for instance, is used in the second and fourth line of the stanzas of the first chorus, but also in three of the four lines of the second chorus and in the last line of the fourth chorus. At other moments in the *Rebelles* choruses this falling figure is worked out in a slightly different manner. In other words, the four chorus melodies resemble each other not only rhythmically but also melodically. In addition, Macropedius's modal choices are also uniform: almost all his melodies are in the Dorian mode, which was in fact the most commonly used mode in the popular music of his time.

All this uniformity does not exactly point in the direction of a very creative compositional talent, and that applies also to the variety — or rather, lack of variety — among the melodies in the rest of Macropedius's work. The rector reused his own melodies too, more than once. The four melodies of the choruses from *Rebelles*, for example, recur in a number of other plays. In *Aluta* (1535), which comes from about the same time as *Rebelles*, at least three chorus melodies are taken over from *Rebelles*. They are sung by a choir of housewives from Bunschoten, a fishing village in which Macropedius liked to set his comedies. In *Petriscus* (1536) all the melodies come from *Rebelles* and *Aluta*. The third and fourth choruses from *Asotus* (1537) are sung to the melodies of the third and fourth choruses of *Rebelles*.

Not only did Macropedius reuse melodies from one play to another, he also did so within one and the same play. In *Bassarus* (1540), for example, all the choruses are set to the same melody, and the same is true in *Adamus* and *Hypomone seu patientia*. In *Hecastus* the first and second choruses use the same material, and the

²⁶ The syllables '-rum' and 'et' are elided and sung to one note.

third and fourth share as well. In *Lazarus mendicus* the first three choruses and the first song of Lazarus make use of the same melodic material (see Appendix 2, pp. 76–79 below). None of this indicates a rich musical imagination. But it could also be that Macropedius's time was often extremely limited — he himself said that he had to write some of these plays in a few days, alongside his usual teaching duties²⁷ — because in other plays there is in fact varied music for all the choruses.

Examples and Traditions

Where did Macropedius get the idea to put choruses between the acts? As a Hellenist he of course knew of the choruses in the Greek tragedies that Erasmus translated. But those choruses had complex lyric forms and moreover they were extremely difficult to comprehend. The humanists also admired the Roman Seneca, who too wrote choruses in between the acts of his dramas. Those certainly were also a source of inspiration for Macropedius, for Seneca likewise was fond of having his choruses dispense general wisdom. But Seneca's choruses are stichic (that is, composed of lines of the same metrical form throughout) and do not lend themselves to singing.

Macropedius did not have to solve this problem himself. Other humanists had preceded him, such as Johannes Reuchlin, who created the first Latin school drama with his *Scaenica progymnasmata* (*Elementary Exercises in Theatrical Form*), also known as *Henno*. *Henno* was performed with much success in 1497 in Heidelberg. The edition that appeared the following year, complete with music, was reprinted often. Macropedius named Reuchlin as the inspiration for his own theatre pieces. Reuchlin wrote choruses between the five acts of *Henno*, set to simple monophonic melodies, just as Macropedius later did in *Rebelles* and his other plays.

Striking differences remain, however. As mentioned, Macropedius's choruses are metrical, and thus based on the length of the syllables. They do not rhyme. These two characteristics correspond to the poetry of the ancients. Reuchlin's choruses, by contrast, do rhyme, and in addition his verses more resemble accent verses rather than metrical ones based on syllable length. We find rhyming accent

verses in songs in Germanic languages such as Dutch and German, but also in popular Latin religious songs such as hymns, as well as in medieval Latin student songs. Macropedius, on the other hand, wrote in classical metres and also used the possibilities for variation that these metres offer. For instance, we often see in his work that one long syllable is exchanged for two short ones. In the second chorus of *Rebelles*, for example (see Appendix 1, p. 75 below), in measure 5 a long syllable is split into two short ones ('-fi-ci-'). In the first line of the same piece there is a double variation, where the first quarter note is split into two eighths: the first (short) syllable of the iamb is made long, and then split into two short syllables ('Sa-pi-').

Macropedius would thus have gotten the idea of sung choruses from Reuchlin, including their simple character, but his technical realization is more closely based on ancient poetry than those of his predecessor. Musical settings of similar ancient or neoclassic verses had already been tried. In the 1490s the German humanist Conrad Celtis had his student Petrus Tritonius set Horatian odes to music. Celtis had his students sing Tritonius's four-part homophonic settings (that is, settings in which all the voices move at the same time) at the end of their lessons on Horace. In 1507 these were published under the title *Melopoiae*. Tritonius had set the long and short syllables strictly to long and short notes, even more consistently than Macropedius would later do in his choruses. Other composers such as the famous Ludwig Senfl made new arrangements or wrote new compositions according to the same principles. Celtis also wrote a successful play, *Ludus Dianae* (1501), with choruses set to music in the same style as those of the *Melopoiae*.

Although Macropedius does not name Celtis it is clear that his chorus songs were inspired by the humanist tradition of the Horatian odes. The realization that one did not have to be a great composer to set such odes probably strengthened his resolve to compose the music for his choruses himself, just as Celtis also probably wrote the (multivoiced) music for his *Ludus Dianae* himself.²⁸

The Latin authors were moreover not the only ones who organized the structure of their plays with music; this was a well-known phenomenon in all of

²⁸ For the Horatian odes, see *New Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn, ed. by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), 'Humanism', xi, 817–21 (esp. pp. 819–20); 'Ode (ii)', xviii, 330; 'Tritonius, Petrus', xxv, 749–50; 'Celtis, Conradus Protucius', v, 349–50. A modern edition of the *Ludus Dianae* is found in Conradus Celtis Protucius, *Ludi scaenici* (*Ludus Dianae – Rhapsodia*), ed. by Felicitas Pindter, Bibliotheca scriptorum medii recentisque aevorum, saecula xv–xvi, 9 (Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1945). A facsimile of the edition of 1501 can be found in the Wolfenbütteler Digital Library: <<http://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?dir=inkunabeln/69-2-quod-12>> [accessed 24 March 2009].

²⁷ See e.g. the 'Ad lectorem' ('To the reader') that accompanies *Aluta*: 'Si haec videatur plerisque in locis hiulca aut minus elaborata, non mireris, candide lector, quod in diebus quattuor urgente tempestate prorsus (ita ut est) absoluta sit, nihilo tamen minus exsecuto munere scholastico' (If this play gives the impression in a number of places of being rather jerky or unfinished, that should not surprise you, dear reader. I had namely to put it in its present form in four straight days, and that without neglecting my teaching duties at all).

Renaissance theatre. Italian and French playwrights wrote choruses too. In the Netherlands, Dirck Volckertszoon Coornhert applied choruses to his plays *Israel* (1575) and *De blinde van Jericho* (*The Blind Man of Jericho*, 1582), calling them *Chorus*. One can surmise that Coornhert borrowed this practice from the neoclassicist tradition.²⁹ The choruses of important playwrights such as P. C. Hooft (1581–1647) and Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679) were probably suggested by the humanist tradition, too, or partly suggested by it, since they of course also knew the French tragedies with their choruses. In Vondel's case we know that he saw a school drama in Utrecht, and in Hooft's case we can imagine that as a Latin school student he participated in the performance of humanist dramas. In any case, as far as music is concerned, early modern theatre appears to be indebted to the neoclassic tradition.

Other Theatre Songs

So far we have looked mostly at choruses, but sometimes Macropedius put additional music in his plays: songs that are woven into the action. In a later version of *Rebelles*, for example, he added a scene in which the mothers, at a feast, toast the schoolmaster as the saviour of their offspring. The converts sing a song for the occasion, in which God's goodness is praised and the lessons to be learned from the play are summed up once again.³⁰

Lazarus mendicus contains a variety of solo songs. At the end of the first act, the mortally ill beggar Lazarus raises a song of lament when he is persecuted by his opposite, a rich miser. Two fellow beggars sing the refrain. The whole song together is called a chorus in the editions of the play, undoubtedly because the song closes the act. In the third act, Lazarus sings a similar lament, also with a refrain of beggars, but now it is not labelled 'chorus' but rather 'Lazarus's Hymn', and indeed it is not placed at the end of the act. In the fourth act, an angel sings a song as he comes to the dying Lazarus, and a little later Lazarus himself sings a 'Chorus seu

²⁹ Lia van Gemert, *Tussen de bedrijven door? De functie van de rei in Nederlandstalig toneel 1556–1625* (Deventer: Sub Rosa, 1990), p. 49.

³⁰ The song is in the form of a Sapphic hymn; about this, see Giebels and Slits, *Georgius Macropedius*, pp. 198–99. See also Georgius Macropedius, *Rebelles und Aluta*, ed. by Johannes Bolte, *Lateinische Litteraturdenkmäler des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts*, 13 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1897 [= 1983]), p. xvi; and Thomas W. Best, *Macropedius*, Twayne's World Authors Series, 218 (New York: Twayne, 1972), p. 52.

hymnus Lazari morientis' (Chorus or Hymn of the Dying Lazarus). Two angels sing the refrain to this hymn. The song functions as a chorus because it closes the fourth act, but it is at the same time the high point of the drama. In the 's-Hertogenbosch edition the solo passages of the abovementioned songs are given monophonically, but the refrains are in two voices. Also remarkable are two other songs sung by the rich miser and his brothers. These are not named choruses but rather drinking songs: 'Cantio compotantium cerevisiam' (Song of the Beer Drinkers) and 'Cantio comporantium vina' (Song of the Wine Drinkers). They occur in the middle of the fourth act. We can conclude that in *Lazarus mendicus* the songs serve not so much to separate the acts with moments of reflection but rather constantly form a component of the action, which in some cases also happens to separate the acts of the play.³¹

Annual Songs

Macropedius expressed his compositional talents in one more genre: the annual songs or *cantilenae scholasticae*. Each year the students of the St Jerome School sang a school song on the eve of St Martin's Day (11 November). This can be seen in the Utrecht city accounts. So for instance on St Martin's Eve 1519, six pounds were given to the students of St Jerome's 'die hoer cantileen songhen op te plaets' (who sang their cantilena on the square [in front of the city hall]). Also in 1523 the 'klerken' (clerks) of St Jerome's received the same amount for the singing of their cantilena.³²

The rector, who traditionally wrote the text, usually chose a religious subject, such as the Last Judgment, the Memento Mori, or the Birth of Christ. But once he also wrote a eulogy to the city of Utrecht (c. 1543). In no fewer than seventy-eight stanzas, the song sings the praises of the Vredenburg Castle, the Old Canal, the churches, and a series of both churchly figures and the local populace.³³

³¹ About this, see Georgius Macropedius, *Lazarus mendicus*, ed. by Bert Bussers, 2 vols (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Pretoria, 1992), pp. 430–36.

³² Jens Jensen Dodt van Flensburg, *Archief voor kerkelijke en wereldsche geschiedenissen, inzonderheid van Utrecht*, vol. III (Utrecht: N. van der Monde, 1843), pp. 207 and 210.

³³ An overview of Macropedius's cantilenas can be found in Giebels and Slits, *Georgius Macropedius*, pp. 289–309. See also Frans Slits, 'Georgius Macropedius als dichter: Schoolzangen', in *De Utrechtse Parnas: Utrechtse Neolatijnse dichters uit de zestiende en zeventiende eeuw*, ed. by Jan Bloemendal (Amersfoort: Florivallis, 2003), pp. 12–43; an illustrated edition is Georgius

Utrecht was not the only city in the Netherlands where annual school songs were written and performed. The oldest reports come from Alkmaar and Schiedam (1517). Annual songs were also sung in Amersfoort, Arnhem, 's-Hertogenbosch, and Wesel. In Amsterdam they were performed on Christmas Eve, and several of these poems have been preserved.³⁴

Musically Macropedius's cantilenas had markedly more going on than his choruses and songs for the theatre. A melody such as the 'Ode de extremo Christi iudicio peccatori formidando' (Song of the Last Judgment of Christ, that the Sinner Must Fear, 1539) is appreciably longer than the average play chorus and especially more varied in its overall melodic shape and in particular in its rhythm, which, with its syncopated cadences, is reminiscent of the style of polyphonic music (see Appendix 3, p. 83 below). Singing the melody takes about a minute and a half, and since the complete song consists of twenty-five stanzas, the performance in front of the city hall in the November chill must have lasted something like forty minutes!

One gets the impression that Macropedius allowed more time for the melodies of his school songs than for the composition of his theatrical music. Annual school songs were in fact ambitious poetic works that gave the students one way or another a lot to chew on: unusual verse lengths, unfamiliar vocabulary, mythological references. This probably all translated to a somewhat higher level of musical ambition. Originally, in 1539 and 1540, the cantilenas were published monophonically, again by Harmannus Borculous, but those of 1551 and 1552 appeared with a second, baritone voice, comparable in style to the theatre music of *Lazarus mendicus*.

Conclusion

In this paper we have examined Macropedius as the presumed composer of the music in his plays, both comedies as well as serious religious plays. Choral music

Macropedius, *Ode aan Utrecht*, ed. by Frans Slits (Amersfoort: Florivallis, 2008). The music of four of the cantilenas is published in Dekker, 'Georgius Macropedius en de muziek', pp. 76–81. For the rest, see Alfred M. M. Dekker, 'Three Unknown "Cantilena Martiana" by Georgius Macropedius: A Contribution to the Study of the Utrecht Carmina Scholastica', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 23 (1974), 188–227, and A. Dekker, 'Die Cantilena des Macropedius: Ein Nachtrag', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 30 (1980), 239–41.

³⁴ Chris L. Heesakkers and Wilhelmina G. Kamerbeek, *Carmina scholastica Amstelodamensia: A Selection of Sixteenth-Century School Songs from Amsterdam* (Leiden: Brill, 1984), p. xi.

played an important role in the separation of the play into five acts and provided an opportunity for moral reflection on the subject matter presented. Macropedius kept the music extremely simple. The frequent reuse of melodies suggests that he often lacked either the time or the inspiration to compose afresh. This simplicity of composition is also true of the solo songs that he placed in some of his plays. In his annual school songs, however, Macropedius seems to have given his compositional skills a bit more of a workout. Most of Macropedius's compositions have come down to us as monophonic melodies, and in the cases in which we do have a second voice, it is constructed very simply. Macropedius was a true humanist, in musical matters as well, and so also a true follower of the Modern Devotion: the intelligibility of the text was primary. Simplicity was best, because musical virtuosity could only detract attention from the text. In a musical climate such as that, Macropedius could permit himself to present his own compositions, despite his modest musical abilities.

All in all, music appears to have been for the rector not an end in itself, but a functional phenomenon. Assuming that he himself wrote the melodies for his song texts, he must still have enjoyed it, possessed some talent for it, and taken some pride in having something of his own ready to offer when the occasion demanded it.

Appendices

Acknowledgements

In all the musical transcriptions I have quartered the note values; a breve (double whole note), in other words, is given as a half note, etc. Clefs and barlines are adapted to modern usage.

The music of *Rebelles* is edited following the original in the Utrecht University Library. I have interpreted the *signa congruentiae* as repeat signs, as is usual in monophonic music from that time.

The monophonic music from *Lazarus mendicus* is edited after photocopies of the 's-Hertogenbosch edition of 1545, included in Bussers, 'Lazarus mendicus Georgii Macropedii'. Transcriptions by W. Dekker can also be found there.

The annual song of 1539 is edited from a photo in Giebels and Slits, *Georgius Macropedius*, p. 292. See also the transcription in Dekker, 'Georgius Macropedius en de muziek', p. 76.

Appendix 1

Music from Rebelles following the edition Omnes fabulae comicae (publ. Utrecht, 1552–53).

Rebelles I, 5. Chorus. Iambici dimetri acatalectici

Ma - trum per in - dul - gen - ti - am, Gna - to - rum/et
In - dul - gence on a mo - ther's part Makes chil - dren

in - so - len - ti - am, Fur - ta/at - que par - ri - ci - di -
in - so - lent at heart. Then theft and e - ven mur - der's

a Per - sae - pe con - se - qui so - lent. Per lent.
oft The con - se - quence of be - ing soft. The soft.

Rebelles II, 3. Chorus. Iambici dimetri

Sa - pi - en - tis est sen - ten - ti - a: Dif - fi - ci - le
A - ny - one with brains is one who says It's hard to get

per - ver - sos su - is Fo - re cor - ri - gen - dos mo - ri -
rogues to change their ways Or to make them heed so - ci - e - ty's

bus, stul - tos quo - que/in - nu - me - ra - bi - les, stul - les.
rules There's al - ways e - ver so ma - ny fools. There's fools.

Rebelles III, 5. Chorus. Iambici dimetri ut superiores

Nihil est pro - fec - to sae - vi - us Nihil im - pu -
There's real - ly no - thing quite so sad And no more

den - ti - us, ni - hil Ma - gis/im - pro - bum mu - li - e - re ma -
shame - ful cir - cum - stance No case that's worse than a wo - man gone

la, Si/oc - ca - si - o - nem nac - ta sit, si/oc sit.
bad If she just ev - er gets the chance. If chance.

Rebelles IV, 10. Chorus. Iambici dimetri ut superiores.

Ut om - ni - bus sic ma - xi - me Iu - ve - ni - bus
Of all the things this is the worst That tempt a young

au - rum/est om - ni - um Ler - na ma - lo - rum, quo - se -
man, for mo - ney a thirst A swamp of e - vil pulls them

mel, In vi - ci - a prae - ci - pi - tes ru - unt, In unt.
down, And head - long they rush in - to vice, and drown. And drown.

Rebelles V, 14. Hymnus sapphicus

Lau - di - bus lar - gam ce - le - bre - mus er - ga
Let us give praise and ce - le - bra - tion, be - cause

Nos de - i nos - tri bo - ni - ta - tem, ab om - ni
God has in His great good - ness to us sin - ners

Qui re - luc - tan - tes ra - pu - it pe - ri - clo mor - tis a - cer - bae.
Saved us all from death And the dan - ger of a most bit - ter end - ing.

1) half note (i.e. brevis) in original 2) quarter note (i.e. semibrevis) in original

Appendix 2

Music from Lazarus mendicus (edn 's-Hertogenbosch, 1545).

Lazarus mendicus I, 8. Chorus. Versu glyconico tetrastropho. ex psalmo 85.

Lazarus

Au - rem quae - so tu - am mi - hi In - cli - na do - mi - nans De - us,
Lend your ear to my cry, O God In - cline your ear to me, Lord God.

Ex - au - di que pre - ces me - as Cum sim pau - per in - ops quo - que.
Hear, God, my sup - pli - ca - ti - on, For I am poor, and weak be - sides.

Repetitio Typhi & Bronchi ad singulos quaternarios

Pre - ces vo - ta - que pau - perum Ex - au - di do - mi - nans De - us.
Hear our prayer and our vows, O God, Of the poor, lis - ten to our prayer.

Pre - ces vo - ta - que pau - perum Ex - au - di do - mi - nans De - us.
Hear our prayer and our vows, O God, Of the poor, lis - ten to our prayer.

Lazarus mendicus, II, 4. Chorus. Per Molobrum, puerum, & mendicos. Ex. capite. 2. Ecclesiastae.

Puer trepidians, vel ad numeros saltans.

Stru - xi mag - ni - fi - cas do - mos, Plan - ta - vi quo - que vi - ne - as, A - moe - nis et in
I have built love - ly pa - la - ces And I have plant - ed vine - yards too. Pleas - ant gar - dens, that

Molobrus

Stru - xi mag - ni - fi - cas do - mos, Plan - ta - vi quo - que vi - ne - as, A - moe - nis et in
I have built love - ly pa - la - ces And I have plant - ed vine - yardstoo. Pleas - ant gar - dens, that

hor - tu - lis Di - ver - so ge - ne - re / ar - bo - res Ser - vi fruc - ti - fe - ras mi - hi, et
I have made Con - tain all kinds of flow' - ring trees, And so that they may bear me fruit,

hor - tu - lis Di - ver - so ge - ne - re / ar - bo - res Ser - vi fruc - ti - fe - ras mi - hi, et
I have made Con - tain all kinds of flow' - ring trees, And so that they may bear me fruit,

Pi - sci - nas sa - ta quae / ir - ri - gent Pro - du - xi sca - tu - ri - gi - ne.
Pools of wa - ter that ir - ri - gate Pro - du - cing bub - bling wa - ter - ways.

Pi - sci - nas sa - ta quae / ir - ri - gent Pro - du - xi sca - tu - ri - gi - ne.
Pools of wa - ter that ir - ri - gate Pro - du - cing bub - bling wa - ter - ways.

Repetitio Mendicorum

15 Typhlus

In - ter stul - ta / et in - a - ni - a Haec sunt ma - xi - ma va - ni - tas.
Of all stu - pid and fool - ish things This is the great - est fol - ly of all.

Bronchus

In - ter stul - ta / et in - a - ni - a Haec sunt ma - xi - ma va - ni - tas.
Of all stu - pid and fool - ish things This is the great - est fol - ly of all.

Lazarus mendicus III, 4. Hymnus Lazari, cum mendicis.
Ex psalmo.13. Usquoque domine oblivisceris me in finem &c. Iambico dimetro tetrastropho.

Lazarus genibus flexis.

Quo - us que/e - ris me - i/im - me - mor Mi -
How long, O Lord, How long will you for - get me

ser - ri - mi, do - mi - ne De - us? Quo - us - que vul - tum/a -
in my mi - se - ry, O Lord God? How long, how long will

ma - bi - lem A - me re - flec - tes ob - se - cro.
you a - veri Your coun - te - nance a - way from me?

Repetitio Typhli & Bronchi à longestrantium ad singulos versus.

In A - bra - hae si - nu qui - es so -
In A - bra - ham's bo - som we find our

In A - bra - hae si - nu qui - es so -
In A - bra - ham's bo - som we find our

la - bi - tur nos La - za - re.
con - so - la - tion, La - za - rus.

la - bi - tur nos La - za - re.
con - so - la - tion, La - za - rus.

Lazarus mendicus III, 5. Chorus puerorum & puellarum. Carmine Glyconio.

Nil tan - dem ca - ro nos - tra/e - rit Quam/ex - tinc - tus so - ci - i ci - nis.
Of our bo - dies then no - thing will re - main Naught but a - shes, ex - tin - guish - ed

Nil tan - dem ca - ro nos - tra/e - rit Quam/ex - tinc - tus so - ci - i ci - nis.
Of our bo - dies then no - thing will re - main Naught but a - shes, ex - tin - guish - ed

In - star mol - lis et a - ë - ris Sol - ve - tur quo - que spi - ri - tus.
So shall e - ven the spir - it As a soft, gen - tle breeze have fled.

In - star mol - lis et a - ë - ris Sol - ve - tur quo - que spi - ri - tus.
So shall e - ven the spir - it As a soft, gen - tle breeze have fled.

Lazarus mendicus IV, 3. Cantio compotantium cerevisiam. Iambico dimetro

Conviva

Cir - cum - fe - ra - tur can - tha - rus can - tha - rus can - tha - rus
O let the jug of beer go round Jug of beer, jug of beer,

can - tha - rus can - tha - rus Ex hau - ri - en - dus sin - gu - lis.
Jug of beer, jug of beer, It's bot - tles up for e - very - one!

Dum bibit quispiam

Ad - mo - tus o - ri can - tha - rus can - tha - rus can - tha - rus
O bring the jug up to your lips, Jug of beer, jug of beer,

(continued on next page)

9 can - tha - rus can - tha - rus Ex - hau - ri - en - dus fun - di - tus.
Jug of beer, jug of beer, Let's drink un - til we drink it dry.

12 Qui ebit Ex - haus - tus hic est can - tha - rus can - tha - rus can - tha - rus
O I can see the bot - tom now, Jug of beer, jug of beer,

15 can - tha - rus can - tha - rus Et por - ri - ge - tur pro - xi - mo.
Jug of beer, jug of beer, And now I pass it on to you.

Lazarus mendicus IV, 5. Cantio comparantium vna. Iambico dimetra.

Bibiturus [Laemargus]
8 Pro - pi - no cy - a - tum pro - xi - mo Ex - hau - ri - en - dum
O here's a drink to your health, my friend I'll drink my glass un -

3 se - du - lo Pro - pi - no cy - a - tum pro - xi - mo pro - pi - no.
til it's dry. O here's a drink to your health, my friend, so say cheers.

6 Fratres
8 Ap - po - nit o - ri blan - du - lum Ex - hau - ri - en - dum po - cu - lum fa - ler - ni.
He brings the wine up to his lips And drinks it all un - til the ve - ry last drips.

(continued on next page)

10 [Laemargus]
8 Vi - de - te fun - dum/in po - cu - lo, Quod e - bi - bi iam
O see the bot - tom of my cup From which I've drunk the

13 se - du - lo, Vi - de - te fun - dum/in po - cu - lo, vi - de - te.
fi - nal drop. Come see the bot - tom of my glass, come see it.

16 Fratres
8 Re - ple - te vi - no blan - du - lum huic por - ri - gen - dum po - cu - lum pro - pin - quo.
Come let's re-fill the glass with wine, And pass the glass a - round to the next man in line.

Lazarus mendicus, IV, 8. Praecinet unus angelorum. Esaiac. 57.

1 Ius - tus per - it, nec quis - pi - am Qui cu - ret est,
The just man dies, but there is none who no - ti - ces.

4 Au - fer - tur hinc ne - mo - que qui con - si - de - ret. Au -
A way he's ta - ken; no - one who con - si - ders it. From

8 fer - tur im - pi - o gre - gi vi - ven - ti - um,
sin - ful li - ving com - pa - ny he's borne a - way,

11 In pa - ce/at - ta - men e - rit se - pul - tu - ra/ip - si - us.
But in peace he shall be bur - ied in the earth to rest.

Lazarus mendicus IV, 8. Chorus seu hymnus Lazari morientis. Ex psalmo.31. In te domine speravi.

Lazarus morti vicinus

Cum ti-bi fi-dam do-mi-na-tor u-ni Or-bis, haud qua-quam pu-de-fi-am/in
On-ly in you Lord, Have I put all my trust Lord of the world, I nev-er shall be

6
ae-vum, Haec me/ab ae-rum-na tu-a/in ae-qui-ta-te E-ri-pe tan-dem.
a-shamed. Treat me just-ly and do de-liv-er me from This sore af-flic-tion.

Repetitio angelorum cum duabus vocibus

Ad si-nus blan-dos A-bra-hae vo-ca-ris La-za-re fi-de.
To the gra-cious bos-om of A-bra-ham, O La-za-rus, you are now cal-led.

11
Ad si-nus blan-dos A-bra-hae vo-ca-ris La-za-re fi-de.
To the gra-cious bos-om of A-bra-ham, O La-za-rus, you are now cal-led.

Praecinet unus angelorum

Al-tis-si-mum po-su-is-ti/in hoc Ti-bi Re-fu-gi-um La-za-re. Nul-To God Al-migh-ty you now have fled To find your re-fuge, O La-za-rus. No

20
lum ti-bi/ad-ve-ni-et ma-lum. Nec pla-ga tu-o ha-bi-ta-cu-lo.
e-vil shall o-ver-take you now Nor a-ny plague ev-er en-ter your house.

Repetitio angelorum cum duabus vocibus

In A-bra-hae si-nu ma-lis Pul-sus qui-es-ces La-za-re.
In A-b'ram's bos-om you'll find rest When e-vil's ba-nished, La-za-rus.

24
In A-bra-hae si-nu ma-lis Pul-sus qui-es-ces La-za-re.
In A-b'ram's bos-om you'll find rest When e-vil's ba-nished, La-za-rus.

Appendix 3

Annual song 'Ode de extremo Christi' (edn Cantilena pro schola Hieronymiana, de extremo Cristi iudicio, Utrecht 1539).

Cantilena pro schola Hieronymiana, de extremo Christi iudicio, 1539.

Ode monocolos tetrastrophos Asclepiadea, de extremo Christi iudicio peccatori formidando.

Hor-ren-dam iu-ve-nes Iu-di-ci-i di-di
O let us sing a song A-bout that Day of Judg-ment, that

4
em Can-te-mus pa-vi-di, quot-quot ad-huc
day We sing it, trem-bl-ing For we are all

7
su-mus Vir-tu-tis va-cu-i, quot-quot
not yet vir-tu-ous as we ought, And we

10
ad-huc sce-lus Foe-dat mor-ti-fe-rum
are all de-filed by sin so fa-tal-ly,

13
nec ti-mor ar-gu-it.
Nor be-tray fear of it.

16
Nunc per-pen-de pu-er quam e-rit hec vox lae-ta
Con-si-der, how young men, Blest shall be that voice say-ing,

19
Ve-ni-te, Ne men-tem te-ne-ram ma-la
O come to me Lest ill times break your spi-rit so

22
fran-gant. Et quam du-ra e-rit haec dis-tric-ti
ten-der And think how ter-ri-ble 1) To hear that day

25
Iu-di-cis, I-te, i-te, Pros-pe-ra
from the Judge, Be-gone, Be-gone! Lest good pros-

28
ne/ner-vent pa-vi-tan-dem.
per-i-ty weak-en your soul.

1) according to the original a half note (longa)