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Singing Luther's *Ein feste Burg* in the early Dutch Revolt

Introduction: Luther, Calvin, and the Power of Music

It is common knowledge that song has many times calmed rages, and that it has often worked great wonders on the affections of bodies or minds.

Plato, *Republic*<sup>1</sup>

The ancient musical philosophies of Plato and Aristotle had spread via St. Augustine into the theological realm of the early Reformation.<sup>2</sup> By the 1520s, Martin Luther and his followers had embarked on a musical venture to spread evangelical ideals and to attack its foes. Luther's first hymn, *Ein neues Lied*, lamented the burning of two monks in Brussels who preached his new movement.<sup>3</sup> However, Rebecca Oettinger emphasizes that no song gained the fame and power as Luther's battle hymn *Ein feste Burg*.<sup>4</sup> The hymn, minimally inspired by Psalm 46, remains an icon of modern Lutheranism associated with the English title *A Mighty Fortress*. As the tune's fame has persisted in many modern languages, it is worthwhile to consider its popularity outside of the sixteenth-century Germanophone world.<sup>5</sup> To respond plainly, yes, *Ein feste Burg*'s melody was indeed utilized in non-German sixteenth century songbooks. This analysis considers the melody's usage in the mid-to-late sixteenth century Dutch language. *Ein*

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<sup>1</sup> Rebecca Wagner Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation* (Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2021.), 37.

<sup>2</sup>H. P. Clive, "The Calvinist Attitude to Music, and its Literary Aspects and Sources." *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 19, no. 1 (1957): 80. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20673881>.

<sup>3</sup> Martin Luther, *Eyn Enchiridion oder Handbüchlein* (Erfurt, 1524), 37.

<sup>4</sup> Oettinger, *Music as propaganda in the German Reformation*, 47.

<sup>5</sup> I identify "Germanophone" as languages and dialects, mainly in the High German vernacular, which would become modern German post-1800. Although the distinction between Netherlandish and German languages were less observable in the sixteenth century, I am analyzing Dutch as a separate Germanic language.

*feste Burg*'s appearance in Dutch Revolt-era songbooks not only transcends a language barrier, but it highlights the relationship between contrafacture, confession, and Luther's legacy.

I argue that *Ein feste Burg*, which is defined by specific lyrics and a melody, maintained a constant message of resilience through the early Dutch Revolt. As will be discussed, I do not believe the presence of Luther's melody suggests cross-confessional theological adherence.<sup>6</sup> Calvinists' seeming embrace of *Ein feste Burg* is rather evidence of Luther's cross-confessional celebrity. Through the decades-long confessionalization debate, distinguished historians have contested the paradigm's subjects, approach, and general utility.<sup>7</sup> Heinz Schilling identified confessionalization as the basis of early modern state building and social development. For Gerald Strauss and Gerhard Oestreich, confessionalization was specifically utilized to preserve order and social discipline, respectively. Philip Gorski highlights Oestreich's emphasis on collective discipline, especially in the Calvinist Low Countries. Yet other historians, notably Ute Lotz-Heumann, are less comfortable with confessionalization's setting strict boundaries. By focusing on microhistorical and social methods, Lotz-Heumann argues against Schilling's seemingly top-down approach. In this case there were many confessionalizations based on individual adherence.<sup>8</sup> Regarding this debate, *Ein feste Burg*'s presence in non-Lutheran texts should not be used to dismantle confessionalization. Rather, its presence represents the power of celebrity and popular culture which was not restrained by language nor confession.

Through the musical archive *Nederlandse Liederbank*, I have selected five songbooks collectively containing ten songs set to the *Ein feste Burg* melody. Spanning the late 1560s to the early 1580s, this selection visualizes how the *Ein feste Burg* melody interacted with different

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<sup>6</sup> For a non-Reformation audience, although Calvinists may have been using Luther's work, that does not mean they embraced Lutheran theology.

<sup>7</sup> Confessionalization is the process by which early modern European states and churches collaborated to institutionalize religious identities, enforce social discipline, and shape emerging state structures through confessional allegiance.

<sup>8</sup> C. Scott Dixon, *Contesting the Reformation*, (Wiley-Blackwell, Chichester, 2012). 171-173.

lyrics and contemporary events. This analysis generally requires scholarly inference when little is known about an author, or printer's, life and political views.

Oettinger points out that contrafacture, the substitution of different lyrics to a constant melody, dates to the Middle Ages. It was not uncommon for songwriters to create new sacred music with secular melodies; Luther's messages were indeed spread with the help of trendy and simple tunes.<sup>9</sup> Oettinger argues that although melodies could be paired with different lyrics, a melody's original text continuously influenced these new lyrics. Nuremberg's Hans Sachs—made fictionally famous by Richard Wagner and quoted in *Die Meistersinger* as calling Luther the “Nightingale of Wittenberg”—preferred to “correct” existing Catholic melodies instead of totally replacing them.<sup>10</sup> Sachs seems to have shared a common opinion among other Protestant songwriters; the unclear melodic sources within the Genevan Psalter seems to support Sachs's opinion.<sup>11</sup> Oettinger observes that sixteenth century contrafact was highly political and propagandistic in nature. As an example, Luther's popular hymn *Erhalt uns Herr* described the papacy and Ottomans as equal threats to Christendom. The papacy was often attacked by metaphor in various *Judaslieden*: contrafact which compared the papal “antichrist” to Judas's betrayal. As an example of contrafacture, new anti-Papal lyrics were set to older, sometimes medieval melodies found within *Judaslieden*. Oettinger presented these two examples due to their change in political context. Contrafact, she argues, was not the only way music could be understood differently. *Erhalt uns Herr* and many *Judaslieden* maintained their original lyrics and melodies, yet seemed to have developed different political interpretations and uses as the century progressed—this was simply the result of differences in public reception.<sup>12</sup> In this case,

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<sup>9</sup> Oettinger, *Music as propaganda in the German Reformation*, 92-94.

<sup>10</sup> Oettinger, *Music as propaganda in the German Reformation*, 103.

<sup>11</sup> W. Stanford Reid. “The Battle Hymns of the Lord Calvinist Psalmody of the Sixteenth Century.” *Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies* 2 (1971): 41. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3003691>

<sup>12</sup> Oettinger, *Music as propaganda in the German Reformation*, 101.

since original lyrics and melodies obtained new interpretations, it cannot be defined as contrafacture. Although my investigation focuses on a fairly constant melody with new lyrics, therefore defined as contrafacture, this observation plays a significant role considering my inferences on political chronology. There is relatively little a songwriter can change about a psalm before distorting it into a hymn; Luther's original *Ein feste Burg* is loosely based on Psalm 46, but has enough modifications to deem it a hymn.<sup>13</sup> In the case of Reformed psalmody, lyrical alterations were minimal.

Beyond the spread of contrafact and musical propaganda, Luther's German Reformation was supported by an ever-growing printing culture in imperial cities, along with popular support from nobles opposed to the Habsburgs.<sup>14</sup> Andrew Pettegree credits German printing culture and powerful allies as fundamental towards Luther's success. Above all, Luther had become a German celebrity. His ability to both unify Evangelicals and divide communities was a testament to his cultural influence. This cultural influence is clearly observable through *Ein feste Burg's* lasting strength. As the melody is currently associated with Luther through many modern languages, so too was it correspondent with Luther in the sixteenth century. Christopher Boyd Brown highlighted this observation through *Ein feste Burg's* usage as a supplement to preaching Psalm 46 in the early Reformation.<sup>15</sup> The melody was not included in Luther's initial 1524 publications, but was printed by Kunegund Herrgott in Nuremberg sometime in the later decade; Luther's disciples grew evermore concerned about popularizing the movement through music.<sup>16</sup>

Although my analysis begins in the late 1560s, Luther had greatly influenced the Low Countries in the early sixteenth century. Jonathan Israel illustrates the quick spread of Lutheran

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<sup>13</sup> Inge Mager, "Martin Luthers Lied „Ein Feste Burg Ist Unser Gott“ Und Psalm 46." *Jahrbuch Für Liturgik Und Hymnologie* 30 (1986): 91. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24200778>.

<sup>14</sup> Andrew Pettegree, *Brand Luther* (Penguin Press, New York, 2015), 254.

<sup>15</sup> Christopher Boyd Brown. *Singing the Gospel : Lutheran Hymns and the Success of the Reformation*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005. 101.

<sup>16</sup> Brown. *Singing the Gospel*, 8.

printed material through a 1519 letter from Erasmus to Cardinal Wolsey: Luther's Gospel, translated into Netherlandish vernaculars, were flowing out of Antwerp and Emden at alarming rates. With such a quantity of illegal Scripture, Charles V launched an inquisition and public book burnings throughout his dominions.<sup>17</sup> Lutheran printing was dominated by urban places with maritime connections; thus Netherlandish and Hanseatic printers produced some fifty editions of Luther's works in Dutch between 1520 and 1540; eighty-five by 1546.<sup>18</sup> In 1521, a papal envoy reported that Luther's essays were even being printed in Spanish via Antwerp.<sup>19</sup> Herman Selderhuis argues that Luther's literary success in the Low Countries was supplemented by the local tendency to vocally perform Luther's works in *rederijkerspelen*—or plays.<sup>20</sup> These plays were widely performed until 1560, yet their later performances—in the Calvinist period—emphasized Luther's rhetoric instead of theology. These plays were generally based on Luther's literature instead of pure Scripture or songs. However, Luther's influence on aural delivery in the Dutch Reformation had clearly persisted.

Luther's movement may have entered the Low Countries in force, but was successfully suppressed by the Habsburg inquisition.<sup>21</sup> As the Netherlandish provinces were in union with Charles V, the Emperor had every legal right to preserve Catholicism in his personal domains, unlike the sovereign principalities within the Empire. By the time Philip inherited the Low Countries, Lutheranism no longer had a significant presence in the region; it was to be overtaken by a different movement conceived up the Rhine. The Low Countries indeed experienced a significant surge in Anabaptism through the Radical Reformation, but Calvinism's presence has

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<sup>17</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 79.

<sup>18</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 81.; Selderhuis, "Martin Luther in the Netherlands", 146.

<sup>19</sup> Herman J. Selderhuis, "Martin Luther in the Netherlands," *Reformation & Renaissance Review* 21, no. 2 (2019): 144.

<sup>20</sup> Selderhuis, "Martin Luther in the Netherlands", 145.

<sup>21</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Revolt*, 83.

lasted into modernity.<sup>22</sup> Calvinists, or the Reformed, were the natural recipients of most Dutch songbooks in the later sixteenth century. As my historical subjects were writing for a primarily Reformed audience, it is necessary to understand the Calvinist interpretation of sacred music in tandem with Luther's legacy.

John Calvin released his first "Genevan" Psalter in 1539—due to his exile it was actually published in Strasbourg. Calvin's first psalter was incomplete; between 1539 and 1562 the Genevan Psalter went through five editions. The French lyrics were translated and set to music by the poet Clément Marot and Calvin's successor Théodore de Bèze. The 1551 and 1562 editions attributed the composers Louis Bourgeois, Claude Goudimel and a Maistre Pierre, yet the identities of earlier composers are unconfirmed. Many of these melodies, as was the case with German contrafacture, were originally secular tunes. By the 1562 edition all 150 psalms had been paired with 126 melodies—meaning 24 psalms and a variety of other Scripture required reused melodies.<sup>23</sup>

The relationship between messaging and Reformed music originated with Calvin's views on singing. Calvin's 1542 Genevan service book discussed the significance of sung prayer, "And in truth, we know by experience, that singing has great strength and vigor to move and inflame the hearts of men to invoke and praise God with a more vehement and ardent zeal".<sup>24</sup> Calvin also emphasized the power of melody in his preface to the 1543 edition of the Genevan Psalter. He defended both the usefulness and potential problems with creativity in sacred music. Specifically, he described how melodic power can invade one's heart, and why lyrics should be limited to

Psalms:

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<sup>22</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Revolt*, Ch. 5, 74-105; Hsia, R. Po-Chia, and Van Nierop, Henk, eds. *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). 7.

<sup>23</sup> G. R. Woodward "The Genevan Psalter of 1562; Set in Four-Part Harmony by Claude Goudimel, in 1565." *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 44 (1917): 167–92. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/765771>.

<sup>24</sup> W. Stanford Reid, *The Battle Hymns of the Lord Calvinist Psalmody of the Sixteenth Century* (Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, Vol. 2, 1971), 39.

It is to be remembered always that this singing should not be light or frivolous, but that it ought to have weight and majesty, . . . Now, what Augustine says is true, namely that no one can sing anything worthy of God which he has not received from him. Therefore, even after we have carefully searched everywhere, we shall not find better or more appropriate songs to this end than the Psalms of David, inspired by the Holy Spirit. And for this reason, when we sing them, we are assured that God puts the words in our mouth, as if he himself were singing through us to exalt his glory .<sup>25</sup>

Calvin's discussion gave Reformed songwriters both guidelines and limits. For a songbook to be acceptable in liturgy its lyrics were limited to the Psalms and their melodies; although piercing, melodies should not overwhelm the sung Word. The Calvinists of Geneva accepted the Bourgeois-Goudimel-Pierre melodies in the later editions of Calvin's psalter; these melodies also found their way to Dutch translations of the Genevan Psalter.<sup>26</sup> Yet as songwriters chose to divert from the Genevan melodies, as was the case with the *Ein feste Burg* melody, we are left pondering what specific value Luther's famed melody had among these Dutch songwriters. *Ein feste Burg* appears unique, at least among the first two Dutch psalters I have chosen to analyze. According to Howard Slenk, Jan Utenhove's lyrics were highly influenced by Marot yet individualized, whereas Peter Datheen was open about his Genevan connections—and desire to closely translate the Genevan Psalter—via Heidelberg.<sup>27</sup> The *Nederlandse Liederenbank* recognizes 56 songs published between 1566 and 1600 as attributing Luther as a lyricist.<sup>28</sup> The *Ein feste Burg* melody is recorded 22 times between 1540 and 1600 by the database.<sup>29</sup> As was the case in the German Reformation, I believe the *Ein feste Burg*

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<sup>25</sup> Clément Marot et Théodor de Bèze, *Les Pseaumes / mis en rime françoise par Clement Marot et Theodore de Beze ; avec le chant de l'Eglise de Lausanne* (Jean Rivery, Geneva, 1565) 15-17. [Les Pseaumes mis en rime françoise par Clement Marot et Theodore de Beze](#)

<sup>26</sup> Jan Utenhove, *De Psalmen Davidids* (London, 1566).; Peter Datheen, *De Psalmen Davids ende ander Lofsanghen* (Emden, 1574).

<sup>27</sup> Howard Slenk. "Jan Utenhove's Psalms in the Low Countries." *Nederlands Archief Voor Kerkgeschiedenis / Dutch Review of Church History* 49, no. 2 (1969): 155–68. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24006024>.

<sup>28</sup> [Nederlandse Liederenbank](#) Luther as an author

<sup>29</sup> [Dutch Song Database](#) *Ein feste Burg* as a melody

melody—also based on the political nature of the Dutch Revolt era—maintained a continuous message of resilience and resistance. Following the norms of contrafacture, the melody’s lyrical pairings relied both on the songwriter and printer’s political values, along with *Ein feste Burg*’s original message. As was the case in Germany, *Ein feste Burg*’s propagandistic power indeed persevered in the Low Countries.

### *Ein feste Burg* before the organized Revolt

I have separated the recorded Dutch usages of the *Ein feste Burg* melody into two categories: before and after the “organized Revolt”. My defining the Revolt as organized and disorganized is primarily concerned with public support from the nobility.<sup>30</sup> Between 1566 and 1576 opposition to Philip was dominated by the *geuzen*; an underground military sponsored by discontented nobles. Separating my analysis into these two periods is necessary to understand an author’s audience. Plainly speaking, Calvinist material published before 1576 faced dangerous consequences. Readers were engaging with the songbooks in secret from both Habsburg authorities and the Army of Flanders. Although the Dutch Republic would not declare independence until 1581, the post-1576 political environment permitted for more public displays of Calvinism in rebel territory. Historians have attributed different events to the Revolt’s actual beginning, including the *Beeldenstorm* of 1566 and the first *geuzen* armies of 1568.<sup>31</sup> My transition from disorganized to organized Revolt does not include a specific date, rather the time between two events. These are the 1576 Pacification of Ghent, when the Dutch nobility—both

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<sup>30</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 179-184.

<sup>31</sup> The 1566 *Beeldenstorm* was a month-long series of iconoclastic riots throughout the Low Countries. The unrest convinced Philip’s government to raise the mercenary-based Army of Flanders. Initially designed to combat heresy and unrest, the Army of Flanders eventually faced rebel armies in 1568.

Calvinist and Catholic—declared their opposition to the Spanish Army of Flanders, and the 1579 Union of Utrecht.<sup>32</sup> These events represent the Revolt’s transition from an unorganized uprising, led by *geuzen*, to its eventual legitimate backing by provincial governments. In this section I aim to discuss the sentiments behind the *Ein feste Burg* melody before this transition. In this case, the melody speaks to those in exile or forced underground. *Ein feste Burg* provided individual strength for its singer in times of trouble, unlike the Genevan focus on communal refuge. W. Stanford Reid believed that the Huguenots’ embrace of the Genevan Psalter, especially their tendency to sing both in public and in battle, was based on the Reformed sense of communal identity.<sup>33</sup> In the Low Countries, psalm singing became a form of communal protest and eventual rebellion, which Reid argued was first visualized through the 1564 execution of Christopher Fabricius in Antwerp.<sup>34</sup>

Before we investigate my selected songbooks, I must note two aspects of my analysis. First, I am primarily focusing on a song’s opening stanza. Analyzing authors’ language throughout their songs’ entirety is worthy of greater study, yet for this analysis’s sake the first stanza is most important, as it acts as the audience’s hook. I have included full translations of most songs in an appendix; additional discussion of the sources will focus on their overarching themes.<sup>35</sup> In the psalter’s case, the Dutch translations from French may or may not be significantly different. The psalm’s first stanza previews the song’s theme, as is the case with

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<sup>32</sup> Union of Utrecht: Following dissatisfaction with their Calvinist partners, Catholic provinces in the Southern Netherlands signed the Union of Arras with Philip, which shifted their allegiance back to the Habsburgs. The remaining Calvinist provinces vowed to continue on with the struggle through the Union of Utrecht; this was the official political entity of the “Dutch Republic” until 1648. The Union did not declare independence from Philip until 1581. F.E. Beemon, *We Have no Such Word: The Concept of Sovereignty and the Rise of the Dutch States General, 1578-1587*, (Contributions to the History of Concepts, Vol. 3, No. 2, 2007), 181-204; H.G. Koenigsberger, *The Organization of Revolutionary Parties in France and the Netherlands during the Sixteenth Century*, (The Journal of Modern History, Vol. 27, No. 4, 1955), 335-351.

<sup>33</sup> Reid, *The Battle Hymns of the Lord Calvinist Psalmody of the Sixteenth Century*, 43.

<sup>34</sup> Reid, *The Battle Hymns of the Lord Calvinist Psalmody of the Sixteenth Century*, 48-49.

Fabricius was charged with heresy for preaching Calvinist work. His execution was disrupted by a Reformed mob singing from the Genevan Psalter.

<sup>35</sup> I will provide the full translation’s page number in a footnote.

most other sacred music. I have therefore chosen to mainly analyze prologues and first stanzas. My second note considers the relationship between author and printer. Some of the lyrics paired with *Ein feste Burg*'s melody, such as those by Utenhove and Joris, were published posthumously. While I cite these authors when discussing their texts, the decision to pair their lyrics with *Ein feste Burg* might have fallen to a separate bookseller. Printers and booksellers had immense autonomy to interact with text. Whose decision was it to pair lyrics to a specific melody? In many cases we cannot know. Although I generally interact and provide primary agency to a text's author, it is necessary to keep in mind a printer's authority over the songbook they physically made.

The first Dutch-language psalter to be successfully distributed was Willem van Zuylen van Nyevelt's *Souterliedekens*, printed in Antwerp by Symon Cock in 1540.<sup>36</sup> Howard Slenk argues that the *Souterliedekens* was inherently Lutheran due to its prologue's sentiments and closeness to the 1526 Dutch-language Luther Bible.<sup>37</sup> In a comparison of *Souterliedekens* and Calvin's second Psalter, Van Zuylen van Nyevelt was not influenced by Genevan theology nor music.<sup>38</sup> This is mainly due to his timeframe, as his work was finished as De Bèze and Marot were just starting.

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<sup>36</sup> Willem van Zuylen van Nyevelt, *Souter Liedekens Ghemaect ter eeren Gods, op alle die Psalmen van David [...]: tot stichtinghe, ende een gheestelijcke vermakinghe van allen Chrissten [sic] menschen*. (Symon Cock, Antwerp, 1540) <https://www.liederenbank.nl/bronpresentatie.php?zoek=1000047&lan=en>

<sup>37</sup> Slenk, *Jan Utenhove's Psalms in the Low Countries*, 156. (See third section)

<sup>38</sup> Van Zuylen van Nyevelt, *Souterliedekens*, Dye Prologhe. 1. [https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/zuyl004sout02\\_01/zuyl004sout02\\_01\\_0001.php](https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/zuyl004sout02_01/zuyl004sout02_01_0001.php) ; Charles Garside Jr., *Calvin's Preface to the Psalter, A Re-Appraisal* (The Musical Quarterly Vol. 37, No. 4, 1951) 570-571

Van Zuylen van Nyevelt embraced individual creativity in his hymns and psalms, which differentiated his songbook from earlier editions of the Genevan Psalter.<sup>39</sup> The *Ein feste Burg* melody was paired only once with Psalm 77. Its first several lines read:

Pay attention to my law, my people.  
This tune is for change, not for jests.

One hears my people after my law. My words are already in your ears and I will set parables with my voice: And the works of God confirm what we confess, and have heard what our fathers told their children about His way, which were not forgotten, and they have told us of God's praise, and of His wonderful power.<sup>40</sup>

#### Psalm 77 Genevan Bible Verse 1

My voice came to God, when I cried: my voice came to God; and he heard me.<sup>41</sup>

Van Zuylen van Nyevelt wrote a stanza for each line of Psalm 77; the presented selection represents the first line. Returning to the prologue of *Souterliedekens*, Van Zuylen van Nyevelt

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<sup>39</sup>Dye Prologhe: Want men dan daghelijcx (God betert) siet, ende hoort, dat den eerwaerdigen naem Gods, in lichtuerdige, ydele liedekens, so dicmael biden menighen ontheylicht ende misbruyct wort, so zijn dese souter liedekens met groten arbeyt ende neersticheyt vergadert, om dit quaet te verhoeden (so vele alst mogelijk zijn sal) ende die ionghe iuecht een oorsake te gheuen om in die plaetse van sotte vleeschelike liedekens, wat goets te moghen singhen, daer God doer gheert, ende si doer ghesticht mogen worden. Ghemerct dan, dat Daudid die Godlike Propheet, so rijcken materie, in sinen souter, hier toe achterghelaten heeft, so zijn hier (so ghi sien moecht) op elcke psalmen, sonderlinge wisen van wereltlike liedekens gheapliceert, ende op noten ghestelt, op dat de ghehe die de musike niet en verstaen, die selue wisen mogen leeren, vanden ghenen diese verstaen. Die woorden vanden text zijn so na geuolcht, ende daer in gheuoecht, als men opt alder naeste (om tghedicht der rimen wil) heeft moghen bi brengen. / Daer om so salmen dese liedekens wt der herten met grooter aendacht singhen, ende passen dat die ooren meer na den gheest der woorden dan na de stemme, ende tgheluyt des monts luysteren, so als .i. Corin. xiiiij. staet Ick sal ooc singhen metten gheest, ende sal ooc singhen metten sin. Hier wt merct ghi wel, datmense met als ander lichtuerdige ghemeyn liedekens, maer met grooter deuocien ende een opgeheuen herte tot God behoort te singhen. Als si so ghesonghen worden, sullense vrucht doen, ende sonderlinghe stichten, also wel den toehoorders, als den sangers selue.

<sup>40</sup> Van Zuylen van Nyevelt, *Psalm 77 Attendite popule meus legem meam. Na die wise Die wissel drijft die en is gheen narre*. Fol. L5r-L7v. Aenhoort mijn vollick na mijn wet. Mijn woerden al in v ooren set Parabolen sal ic met mijn mont Op doen: en Gods wercken maken condit Wat wi bekent, en hebben gehoort Ons vaders dat vertelden voort Haer kinder v weggen Niet waren versweghe Sij hebbent ons vertelt Gods lof, en wonderlijke cracht vermelt.

<sup>41</sup> Although I am using a modern edition of the Geneva Bible for comparison, contemporary Bibles from the mid-sixteenth century varied. Until the Synod of Dordrecht made an official translation in the seventeenth century (the *Statenvertaling*), many Dutch Protestants used Jacob van Liesvelt's *Liesveltbijbel*, which was a 1526 translation of Luther's German Bible. The entire Bible was translated in its entirety by 1542.;

The *Liederbank* provides a sung rendition of the first verse:

<https://www.liederbank.nl/sound.php?recordid=13629&lan=en>

encouraged his audience to embrace creativity. This is observable through all of his psalms, which rather resemble Luther's individual hymns loosely based on psalms. Van Zuylen van Nyevelt's songbook is unique due to its predating the Calvinist movement in the Low Countries. His interpretation of Christian music in the prologue and paired lyrics with the *Ein feste Burg* melody are a rare example of early Reformation music in the Dutch language.

Following *Souterliedekens*, the next Dutch-language psalter to be printed in the Low Countries was Lucas de Heere's *Psalmen Davids Na d'Ebreusche waerheyt* in 1565.<sup>42</sup> As mentioned in the full title, De Heere's psalter was directly influenced by De Bèze-Marot's translations in the Genevan Psalter. However, Slenk states that De Heere's psalter failed to gain a sufficient following due to the same reason Netherlandish psalter competition halted for twenty-five years: the domination of Jan Utenhove's popularity. Beginning in 1551, Jan Utenhove wrote a Dutch-language edition of Calvin's Genevan Psalter, which was printed in London by Nycolas van den Berghe.<sup>43</sup> Although difficult to obtain, Utenhove's psalters quickly became popular among hidden Reformed congregations. Howard Slenk points out that Utenhove's earlier editions were circulated through the Low Countries by the mid-1550s. An example of the psalter's desirability is presented through a letter by the Antwerp Reformed pastor Gaspar van der Heyden to a book seller in Emden.<sup>44</sup> Between 1551 and his death in 1566, Jan Utenhove produced twelve editions to his psalter; printing moved to Emden during the reign

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<sup>42</sup> Lucas de Heere, *Psalmen Davids Na d'Ebreusche waerheyt, en d'alderbeste exemplairen, oft translatien, Liedekins-wijs in dichte ghestelt: op de voysen en mate van Clement Marots Psalmen* (Ghileyn Manilis, Ghent, 1565) <https://www.liederenbank.nl/bronpresentatie.php?zoek=1000138&lan=en>

<sup>43</sup> Jan Utenhove, *Psalmen* (Nycolas van den Berghe, London, 1552) <https://www.liederenbank.nl/bronpresentatie.php?zoek=1000326&lan=en>

<sup>44</sup> Slenk, *Jan Utenhove's Psalms in the Low Countries*, 158.

Ick verkope ook zomtyts een psalmboek van myn Heer Utenhove, en solde ook wel meer vercopen waert datze zo diere niet en waren, want daar zynder zomtyts, die wel een dosyn teffens nemen zouden, mochten zy ze om 3 dalers hebben, om ook wat an te winnen. Zommige broeders willen maar 2 stuiv voor't stuk geven, en rekenen metten bladeren, datze te diere vercocht wort, daarom en wordenze niet getrocken. Geschreven uit Antwerpen desen 17 December 1555 by my Gaspar van der Heyden.

of Mary Tudor, but returned to London after the accession of Elizabeth.<sup>45</sup> De Heere appeared to have never used *Ein feste Burg*, whereas the melody is present in Utenhove's final posthumous edition from 1566.

By the time secret delegations of Reformed ministers claimed to assemble in Wesel—sometime between 1568 and 1571—to organize a centralized church in the Low Countries, the delegates would have had three primary Dutch-language psalters to choose from. These were Lucas de Heere's *Psalmen Davids Na d'Ebreusche waerheyt*, Jan Utenhove's posthumous 1566 edition *De Psalmen Davidids*, and Peter Datheen's 1566 *De Psalmen Davids*.<sup>46</sup> The council ultimately chose Datheen's psalter due to his authority as an exiled minister—out of Heidelberg—and his supposed participation at Wesel.<sup>47</sup> Jesse Spohnholz agrees that Datheen and a few others met in Wesel in 1568, yet they likely overdramatized the convent's authority and attendance; Datheen seemed to have used a fictionalized account of the meeting for his personal gain.<sup>48</sup> All three works were advertised as Dutch translations of De Bèze-Marot's Genevan Psalter lyrics. De Heere, Utenhove, and Datheen also embraced Bourgeois, Goudimel and Maitre Pierre's melodies for the majority of their psalms. However, Utenhove's *De Psalmen Davidids* was arguably the most popular psalter among the Dutch Reformed audience at the time. His lyrics and melodic pairings were embraced into popular *Geuzenliederen* and were distributed more than others throughout the 1560s.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Slenk, *Jan Utenhove's Psalms in the Low Countries*, 156-157.

<sup>46</sup> Jan Utenhove, *De Psalmen Davidids*, in *Nederlandscher sangs-ryme, door Jan Uutenhove van Ghentt. Wartoe [sic] toegedaen syn de gesangen Marie, Zacharie, Simeonis, mit t'samen den tien geboden ende gebede des Heeren, mit noch anderen. Item, is hier noch voor iegheliken Psalme gesett syn inholdt: ende aent einde een voeghlick ghebedt daroppe: Altmael to nutte der gemeynthe Christi* (Ian Daye, London, 1566).; Peter Datheen, *De Psalmen Davids, Ende Ander Lofsanghen, Wt Den Francoyschen dichte in Nederlandschen ouerghesett, Doer Petrvn Dathenvm. Metgaeders den Christelicken Catechismo, Ceremonien ende Ghebeden* (Michiel Chiraet, Heidelberg, 1566). <https://www.liederenbank.nl/bronpresentatie.php?zoek=1000240&lan=en>  
<https://www.liederenbank.nl/bronpresentatie.php?zoek=1000114&lan=en>

<sup>47</sup> Slenk, *Jan Utenhove's Psalms in the Low Countries*, 157.

<sup>48</sup> Jesse Spohnholz, *The Convent of Wesel, an Event that Never was and the Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge University Press, 2017), 70.

<sup>49</sup> Slenk, *Jan Utenhove's Psalms in the Low Countries*, 162.

What was also unique about Utenhove's final psalter was its embrace of Luther's famous melody. Luther's *Ein Feste Burg* melody was paired twice with the lyrics to Psalms 66 and 95.<sup>50</sup> Slenk points to Utenhove's borrowing of melodies from the Lutheran psalter *Een Hantboecxken*, such as in Psalm 128.<sup>51</sup> He also describes a resident of Ghent, Marcus van Vaernewijck, who noted in 1566 that Calvinist congregations were singing Luther's melodies in the streets.<sup>52</sup> Utenhove's audience was widespread, but his usage and audience's embrace of Luther's melody does not provide sufficient evidence of cross-confessional adherence. Utenhove's audience was Calvinist and likely recognized themselves as such.<sup>53</sup> This, I believe, is evidence of Luther's posthumous celebrity instead of cross-confessional blurring. *De Psalmen Davidids* mentions neither Calvin nor Luther, but the prologue's author Godfridus Wingius clearly stated its audience as the people of Flanders and Ghent who are oppressed by the "tyrannie des Romischen Antichristi", a sentiment also found in German-Lutheran rhetoric.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Utenhove, *De Psalmen Davidids*, Psalm 66 *Iubilate Deo omnes*.

<https://www.liederenbank.nl/liedpresentatie.php?zoek=14776&lan=en>; Utenhove, *De Psalmen Davidids*, Psalm 95 *Venite exultemus*. <https://www.liederenbank.nl/liedpresentatie.php?zoek=14805&lan=en>

<sup>51</sup> Een Hantboecxken inhoudende den heelen Psalter des H. propheete Daudid. Eensamelijck den Catechismus, met noch veel schoon Hymnen oft Lofsanghen, ende Gheestelycke Liedekens in twee deelen by een geuuecht [sic] ende al tsamen in een fijn wel gheschickte ordinantie Liedekenswijze gestelt. Wt den Hoochduytschen Bonschen Sanckboeck in Nederlantscher spraken seer ghetrouwelijck ouergeset. Tot dienst ende gheestelijcker recreatie allen vromen Christenen twelck noyt in Druck geweest en is. [Z6r:] Dat ander deel der Christelijcke Liederen. Lofsanghen, Ghebeden, ende Danckliederen die Godt den Heere tot lof, prijs ende eere ghesonghen worden, ordentlijck in alle Christelijcke Ghemeynten: Vergadert wt veel Sanckboecken, allen Christenen tot dienst ende profijt ouergeset wt den hoochduytschen in nederduytsche tale ende dicht, (Hans de Braeker, Frankfurt 1565); Psalm 128, 170. [Psalm. CXXVIII. Beati omnes qui timent Dominum.. Een hantboecxken inhoudende den heelen Psalter des H. propheete Daudid - DBNL](#)

<sup>52</sup> Slenk, *Jan Utenhove's Psalms in the Low Countries*, 162.; Marcus van Vaernewijck: "Dees psalmzanghen bevielen de lieden vander nieuwer religie zoowel, dat zij die met hoopen van ij of iij hondert, werden zijghende tsavonts up diveersche straten ende steghen vande stadt, want men wartse alle avonde sijghende met sommighe liedekens van Luther." Slenk, *Jan Utenhove's Psalms in the Low Countries*, 162.

<sup>53</sup> Christine Kooi, "Calvinism in the Early Modern Netherlands and the Dutch Atlantic World." Chapter. In *John Calvin in Context*, edited by R. Ward Holder, 401–8. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

<sup>54</sup> Utenhove, *De Psalmen Davidids*, DEM Christliken leser gheluck ende heyl. [https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/uten003psal01\\_01/uten003psal01\\_01\\_0002.php](https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/uten003psal01_01/uten003psal01_01_0002.php)

Beginning with Jan Utenhove's popular *De Psalmen Davidids* of 1566, the lyrics to Psalm 66 *Iubilate Deo omnes* follow a fairly similar translation of De Bèze's Genevan psalm.

The first two lines of each psalm are translated quite similarly.

#### De Bèze

O everyone praise the Lord,  
Sing the song of his fame:  
Sing so loud that everything resonates,  
Of the praise of his name.  
Say, how terrible you are, Lord, in everything you do:  
Your detesters, in your invincibility, flatter you for peace.<sup>55</sup>

#### Utenhove

Praise to God Your earthly realm  
Desires to sing gloriously to your Name  
And to offer you honor, after all.  
Say to God with a prayer:  
How terrifying are your works,  
Your loving subjects shall be obedient  
To your power's will.<sup>56</sup>

### Psalm 66: Genevan Psalter

Rejoice in God, all ye inhabitants of the earth.  
Sing forth the glory of his Name: make his praise glorious. Say unto God, how Terrible  
art thou in thy works! Through the greatness of thy power shall thine enemies be  
in subjection unto thee.

When Utenhove translated De Bèze-Marot's actual psalms, he chose not to deviate too greatly in word choice. However, his decision to choose a different melody may be explained by the difference between Utenhove and De Bèze's prelude to Psalm 66. De Bèze's description of the Psalm provides readers with a spiritual message before singing.

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<sup>55</sup> Theodor de Bèze, *Les Pseaumes / mis en rime francoise par Clement Marot et Theodore de Beze ; avec le chant de l'Eglise de Lausanne* (Jean Rivery, Geneva, 1565) 192. Appendix 41.

[https://publications.cedarville.edu/bhg/sing\\_to\\_the\\_lord/genevan\\_psalter/228/](https://publications.cedarville.edu/bhg/sing_to_the_lord/genevan_psalter/228/); R sus louëz Dieu tout le monde, Chantez le los de son renom; Chantez si haut que tout redon de De la louan ge do son Nom.

<sup>56</sup> Utenhove, *De Psalmen Davidids*, Psalm 66, fol. 105r. [Iubilate Deo omnes. Psal.lxvi. . Psalmen Davidis. Jan Utenhove - DBNL](#). Appendix 39.

This Psalm is an account of the goodness of God which he once made his people feel; and then as if having examined him by various afflictions, he relieved and helped him, with protest of not being ungrateful; and at the end the Prophet calls God a witness to his integrity.<sup>57</sup>

Utenhove's prelude provides a different narrative, which in conjunction with his preface to the entire Psalter, conveys a message. "David brings the Hebrew people, speaking and exalting themselves of deliverance, from the long-lasting reign of Babylon."<sup>58</sup> As a devout Calvinist, Utenhove's situation would have been much different than De Bèze's. Utenhove was forced to work in exile and speaks of the need for the deliverance of Flanders in his psalter's preface. Utenhove has identified Psalm 66 as a message about deliverance; Luther's original lyrics to *Ein feste Burg* carries a naturally resilient message. With a strong inquisition, to be a Calvinist in the Low Countries required resilience, which was supported by messages of hope and deliverance. Utenhove's usage of Babylon is arguably a metaphor for "tyrannie des Romanische" or Spain itself.

Utenhove's other *Ein feste Burg* setting is found in Psalm 95. Utenhove's Psalm translation and description differs from De Bèze. Beginning with the first stanza:

#### De Bèze

O, let us rejoice in the Lord,  
And let us sing aloud the honor  
Of our salvation and defense.<sup>59</sup>

#### Utenhove

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<sup>57</sup> Ce Pseaume est un recit de la bonté de Dieu qu'il a fait iadis sentir à son peuple; & puis comme l'ayant examiné par diuerses afflictions, il l'a soulagé & secouru, avec protestation de n'estre point ingrat; & aust le Prophete en la fin appelle Dieu testmoin de son integrité.

<sup>58</sup> Daudt brengt hieren dat Hebreische volck sprekende, ende sich verhueghende ouer der verlossinghe wt der langdueringher gheuangenisse van Babylonien.

<sup>59</sup> Us, es gayos-nous au Seigneur, Et chantons hautement l'honneur de Nostre salut & defense. Hastos-nous de nous presenter Deuant sa face, & de chanter Le los de sa magnificence. 332-333. Appendix 43.

[https://publications.cedarville.edu/bhg/sing\\_to\\_the\\_lord/genevan\\_psalter/332/](https://publications.cedarville.edu/bhg/sing_to_the_lord/genevan_psalter/332/)

Come let us pray to the Lord, and of the rock of our heavenly life, let us give thanks before him, and exalt ourselves with praise: For the Lord is a great God, great to you, a great king, he is known in need, greater than all Gods.<sup>60</sup>

### Psalm 95 Genevan Bible

Come, let us rejoice unto the Lord: let us sing aloud unto the rock of our salvation. Let us come before his face with praise: let us sing loud unto him with Psalms. For the Lord is a great God, and a great King above all gods.

The reader is also presented with different Psalm descriptions. This is notable as De Bèze and Utenhove seem to have interpreted the Psalm's focus on God versus his followers. Marot warns about losing faith, whereas Utenhove points to God's ultimate and true power.

### De Bèze

Here all the faithful are exhorted to protest the zeal they pay homage to God, serving him worshipfully and without fiction; then to stick to his word, not rebelling against him like their fathers.<sup>61</sup>

### Utenhove

He exhorts people with apt words to praise God, preaching His eternal power and the wisdom that He has created everything [out of nothing]: also His mercy and goodness, because He independently directs the saints. It is written by that example of the ancients who in the deserts were considered impious and ungodly.<sup>62</sup>

Why did Jan Utenhove pair these Psalms to Luther's *Ein feste Burg* melody? His actual rationale remains unknown, but his pairings and translations may provide us evidence. In both Psalms 66 and 95, Marot's text reminds readers to thank God for His glory. Marot's Psalms are a place of

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<sup>60</sup> Komt laett ons vro den Heer syn, End der rotss onses heyls ieuchen Laet ons voor hem dancksegghen fyn, End ons met lofsangk verhueghen: Want die Heer ghewis Een recht groot Godt is, Uoor een Koningk groot Is hy bekend in noodt Ia grooter dan alle goden. Fol. 156v-157r. Appendix 42.

[https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/uten003psal01\\_01/uten003psal01\\_01\\_0100.php#uten003psal01\\_0095](https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/uten003psal01_01/uten003psal01_01_0100.php#uten003psal01_0095)

<sup>61</sup> Ici tous fideles sont exhortez de protester le zele qu'ils ont de faire homage à Dieu, le servant & adoraspurement & sans fiction; puis de s'assuiettir à sa parole, ne luy estans point rebelles come leurs peres.

<sup>62</sup> Hy vermaent dat volck met treflicken spruecken Godt te prysen predicket syne oneyndelicke moghentheyt ende wysheyt nademale hy alles gheschapen heeft wt niete: oock syne barmhertigheyt ende goedicheyt, daer mit hy insunderheyt de godsalighen regiert. Item erschrecket door dat exempel der ouden die inder woestyni verghinghen van godloosheyt ende ongheloouigheyt.

reflection and thanksgiving. This would make sense regarding the Reformed status of Geneva. Marot's audience, and himself, were not facing the risks and everyday dangers experienced by fellow Calvinists in the Low Countries. Utenhove's psalters, being written in exile and distributed illegally, were naturally geared towards a different audience. Unlike Marot, Utenhove's text calls for a sense of urgency. The reader is reminded of their perilous and unjust situation in the preface of *De Psalmen Davidids*. We are reminded that through God we are delivered from Babylon, and with our thanks God is our rock. Utenhove died before the Beeldenstorm and launch of the Dutch Revolt, yet these two psalms, paired with *Ein feste Burg*, emphasize resilience over refuge.

Utenhove's *De Psalmen Davidids* provided a Reformed view before the *Beeldenstorm*. His psalter would be overtaken by Datheen's later editions in the 1570s—backed by Datheen's concocted claims of authority through Wesel. Datheen's 1574 *De Psalmen Davids ende ander Lofsanghen* was unique due to its Reformed status and simultaneous embrace of Luther.<sup>63</sup> This is significant due to a Reformed authority embracing Luther for this rhetoric and aesthetic, not necessarily his theology. Luther was not to be adhered to, but his work was arguably useful, as we will eventually see with Datheen. Datheen's Psalm 46 is recognized in the *Liederenbank* as being set to *Ein feste Burg*. Through comparing Datheen's melody to Marot's, it is quite clear they share the same setting. This brings us back to Luther; not only are *Ein feste Burg*'s lyrics based on a source, the melody borrows from the Gregorian Dorian chant.<sup>64</sup> Genevan 46, which both Marot and Datheen share, is also set to a more simple and traditional Dorian chant. There is

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<sup>63</sup> Peter Datheen, *De Psalmen Davids ende ander Lofsanghen. Wt den Fransoyschen ouergeset, Door Petrum Dathenum. Daer by gheuoecht den Duytsche Text, met de Ghebden Marlo. Met noch sommige Ghesanghen diemen ghemeynlick in de Ghe-meynte te Embden gebruyckt. Midtsgaders een schoone Kalendier Historiael, met de Jaermerckten van diueersche plaetsen. Ende vele geschiedenissen tot desen Jare 1574. toe. Wederom ouersien en gecorrigeert.* (Sybout Aysma, Emden, 1574).

<https://www.liederenbank.nl/bronpresentatie.php?zoek=1000158&lan=en>

<sup>64</sup> Wichmann von Meding. "Ein Feste Burg Ist Unser Gott: Martin Luthers Christliche Auslegung Des Psalms 46." *Zeitschrift Für Theologie Und Kirche* 90, no. 1 (1993): 33. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23585316>.

no evidence that Marot or one of the Psalter's composers chose the Dorian chant due to Luther's pairing it with "Psalm 46". However, Datheen was clearly keen to follow Luther's introductory language instead of closely translating Marot. He not only begins with the direct translation "Een vaste Borch is onse Godt / Eene goede Weyr ende Wapen", but his psalter credits Luther as a reference.<sup>65</sup> Even more surprisingly, Datheen included two pages of non-psalm Luther hymns at the beginning of his psalter.<sup>66</sup> Datheen specifically described the lyrics as hymns in order to separate them from the remainder of the psalter. Yet when Luther is mentioned or utilized in *De Psalmen Davids ende ander Lofsanghen*, even when celebrated, his work is separated. His hymns are clearly divided from the Reformed psalter, other than Psalm 46. Peter Datheen makes it clear that his work does not adhere to Luther's theology. As a leading Reformed theologian, he is rather telling his audience that Luther's music can appropriately be embraced outside of liturgy.

1574 would have been significant for Datheen as his psalter was declared official liturgical material by the first Synod of Dordrecht, meaning his work would be distributed throughout Holland's legal Reformed churches.<sup>67</sup> Luther's original *Ein feste Burg*, although an independent hymn in reality, was based on the first stanza of Psalm 46. As seen through the first two lines, Datheen did not seem to have directly borrowed Luther's lyrics, nor did he strictly translate Marot.

### Datheen

<sup>65</sup> Datheen, *De Psalmen Davids ende ander Lofsanghen*. Den XLVI. Psalm. Deus noster refugium & virtus. Martinus Luther. <https://www.liederenbank.nl/liedpresentatie.php?zoek=25549&lan=en>

<sup>66</sup> Datheen, *De Psalmen Davids ende ander Lofsanghen*. Volgen sommige Liederen Martini Lutheri, 39-40. [https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN771766661&PHYSID=PHYS\\_0039&DMDID=DM\\_DLOG\\_0011](https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN771766661&PHYSID=PHYS_0039&DMDID=DM_DLOG_0011)

<sup>67</sup> ACTS and Decisions of the Provincial Synod of the Churches of Holland and Zeeland held in Dordrecht beginning on the 16th June and ending on the 28th June 1574. <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5de7d2935321a1256af46e93/t/5fc6e4c28f079636156a6917/1606870210675/Acta+of+the+Provincial+Synod+of+Dordrecht+-+1574.pdf>

Als ons die noot over valt crachtich, Ons Borch end' Heyl is Godt almachtich, Sulcx bevinden wy inden noot, End' hebben in hem troost seer groot, Dies breezen wy in gheenen dinghe, Hi waert dat die Werelt berginghe, End' die Berghen hen wierpen snel, Ent midden der Zee diep end' zel.<sup>68</sup>

When that need strikes us powerfully  
Our castle and salvation is almighty God  
Such is what we find in this need  
And have great comfort in him

### Marot

Es qu'aduer si té nous offense, Dieu nous est appuy & defense: Au besoin l'avons esprouvé, Et grand secours en luy trouvé, Dont plus n'avrons crainte ne doute, Et deust trembler la terre toute, Et les montagnes abysmer au milieu de la haute mer.<sup>69</sup>

If you offend us, God is our support and defense: In need we have tested him, And in him we find great help: From which we will no longer have fear or doubt, And the whole earth will tremble, And the mountains will abyss In the midst of the high seas.

### Luther

Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott, ein' gute Wehr und waffen. Er hilft uns frei aus aller Not, die uns jetzt hat betroffen. Der alt böse Feind, mit Ernst er's jetzt meint, groß Macht und viel List, sein grausam Rüstung ist, auf Erd ist nicht seinesgleichen.

A strong fortress is our God, a good defense and weapon; He helps us freely out of all distress, that now has us befallen. The old evil enemy, now with seriousness thinks, great power and much cunning, his cruel armor is unrivaled on Earth.

### Psalm 46 Genevan Bible

God is our hope and strength, and help in troubles, ready to be found. Therefore will not we fear, though the earth be moved, and though the mountains fall into the midst of the sea.

Datheen's usage of Marot's paired melody and his close translation of Luther's first line suggests that the original lyrics were valued among the Dutch Reformed. I believe Datheen

<sup>68</sup> Datheen, *De Psalmen Davids ende ander Lofsanghen*, Psalm 46 *Deus noster refugium & virtus*, 189. Appendix 44.

[https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN771766661&PHYSID=PHYS\\_0189&DMDID=DM\\_DLOG\\_0012](https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN771766661&PHYSID=PHYS_0189&DMDID=DM_DLOG_0012)

<sup>69</sup> Marot, *Les Pseaumes / mis en rime francoise par Clement Marot et Theodore de Beze ; avec le chant de l'Eglise de Lausanne*, 138-139. Appendix 45.

[https://publications.cedarville.edu/bhg/sing\\_to\\_the\\_lord/genevan\\_psalter/174/#zoom=z](https://publications.cedarville.edu/bhg/sing_to_the_lord/genevan_psalter/174/#zoom=z)

recognized the similarities between *Ein feste Burg* and Marot's Psalm 46. Assuming Datheen recognized the Dorian connection, Luther's melody had arguably established itself as an anthem for Protestant defensiveness, as Oettinger highlights in Germany. Calvin's resilient community, which Datheen—as a devout Calvinist—was a part of, valued *Ein feste Burg* enough to add it to their psalter's repertoire. Its inclusion within a Reformed psalter also gave Luther's words a place in Calvinist liturgy. It is of course unknown whether Calvin—who died in 1564—would have considered the text to have usurped the Psalm, yet some of his Netherlandish descendants clearly considered it worthy. Datheen interacted with visiting Lutherans while at Heidelberg, and according to Gijsbert Siertsema, valued strong language to accompany melody.<sup>70</sup> Accompanying his version of Psalm 46, Datheen provided an introduction and final prayer.

Through holy singing, this psalm helps you face adversity, since God is your savior. God is our refuge. God is present to strengthen and help us against the great adversities that befall us.<sup>71</sup>

O God, the only hope is the strength of those who hope in you. Assure us of your goodness. Destroy the counsels and enemies which are wicked. Also may we borrow peace and joy from the Lord. For we will sing and honor you for the rest of our lives. We confess to only you, our Creator and Almighty maker, of our sins. Through your Son Jesus Christ. Amen.<sup>72</sup>

Marot's Psalm description was fairly simple.

Here, the righteous sing of their confidence and security during peril, since God is their guardian.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Gijsbert Siertsema, "Psalm Translations in the Low Countries, 1539–1600, and Their European Context." In *From Revolt to Riches: Culture and History of the Low Countries, 1500–1700*, edited by Theo Hermans and Reinier Salverda, 42-43. UCL Press, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1n2tvhw.9>.

<sup>71</sup> Argumet Die Godtsalige singen eibetorgen met desen Psalms boe kerck dat haer gelooue je in aller tegenspoer dewijle dat God haer behosder is. Deus noster refugium. Godt is onsetoebucht elide Sterckte cen bulpe inden grooten nooden die ons gheract bekoben. 189.

<sup>72</sup> O Godt, de eenighe toebinighe ende sterkte van de ghene die in u hopen. Versekert ons in uwe goedhept. Ende verstroyt soo de raden ende aenstagheden van de boose. Dat oop moghen in vrede ende ghorstheydt des Ghersts lenen. Om u te zienen ende eeren alle den tijt van onsen ietten. U bekennde boos onsen eenighe Beshmer ende Lalichmaker. Door uwen Sone Jesum Christum. Amen. 189.

<sup>73</sup> Les bons chantent ici quelle fiance & seureté ils ont en tous perils, ayans Dieu pour leur garde.

What sentiment did Psalm 46 contain for a Dutch audience which might not have been shared by Francophone Calvinists? Psalm 46 inherently describes God as a source of support. Yet Datheen's choice to further Marot's description and to intensify it, both through the description and prayer, suggest that the writers valued the psalm differently. Datheen's borrowing of Luther's opening words provide us with a glimpse into the Reformed embrace of *Ein feste Burg*.

Eight years after Utenhove, Luther's melodic presence still found its way into Reformed liturgy. A significant observation is that only Luther's *Ein feste Burg* is present in Datheen's liturgical work. Datheen's separate Luther hymns are not musically notated, but a reading of their lyrics provides us with a lens into a Reformed view of Luther's legacy.

*Here are some songs by Martin Luther*<sup>74</sup>

### Come Holy Spirit

Come holy Spirit, Lord God / Glory with your good grace / to your faithful heart / must you sin / your love distant in him / O Lord through your light glow / Though you have embraced your faith / That people from all the world's tongues / That is how you Lord whose praise be sung, Alleluya Alleluya.<sup>75</sup>

### The Hymn *Christ who art Light and Day*

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<sup>74</sup> Volgen sommige Lieden Martini Lutheri. 39. [Digitalisierte Sammlungen der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Werkansicht: De Psalmen Davids || ende ander lofsanghen. || Wt den Fransoyschen ouergheset. || Door Petrum Dathenum. || Item hier is by gevoecht op die cant de Duytsche Text. || met de Ghebeden Marlo. Met noch sommige Ghe=||sanghen/ diemen ghemeynlick in de Ghe=||meynte te Embden gebruyckt. || Midtsgaders een schoone Kalendier Historiae/ met de || Jaermerckten van diueersche plaetsen. Ende vele || geschiedenissen tot desen Jare 1574. toe. || Wederom ouersien en gecorrigeert. || \(Catechismus oft On=||derwijsinghe in de Christelicke || Leere/ midtsgaders de Ceremo=||nien ende Ghebeden. ||\) \(PPN771766661 - PHYS\\_0189 - Übersicht mit Inhaltsverzeichnis\)](#)

<sup>75</sup> Veni Sancte Spiritus: Kom hillige Geist Heere Godt / Erfulle met dynen genade goet / Oyner Geloouigen Herte / moet un sin / Oyne bernende liefde entfeng in hem / O Heere door dynes lichtet glantz / Tho dem gelouen berfaminelt hebst / Dat volck wt aller Werelt tongen / Dat zo dy Heere tho lof gesongen, Alleluya Alleluya.

Christ is our shelter and light / The Lord ends the night when His fatherly light shines / Teach us the truth of the world / We pray for God's strength / Protect us Lord this night / Protect us Lord from all dangers / God Father of Mercy / Defend us in our sleep Lord Christ / Let us not be harmed by the enemy's trick / May the Flesh be disciplined / So we may be together / Though our eyes fall asleep / Let us keep our hearts awake / Lord protect Christendom / Your help is always available to us / Help us Lord God in every way / Through the blood of the holy five Wounds / Remember the Lord at this time / Where the body lies in fear / The soul has been redeemed / The Holy Ghost, Jesus, comforts us / Praise God the Father / honor and value / Through the wisdom of the Son / And the Holy Spirit's goodness / From now until eternity.<sup>76</sup>

#### Another after the Sermon

They praise and honor with great value / For goodness' sake / God Father / Son and the Holy Spirit / Who will fill you with grace / What he has started in us / In honor of his Majesty / That holy word his Name / The sun comes out / His will on earth / Recorded as in Heaven's Throne / That neither daily bread nor sustenance became ours / Forgive our trespasses / We will do the same to those who trespass against us / Let us not indulge in temptation / Save us from evil / Amen.<sup>77</sup>

#### Another

O let God be praised / By the generations of the Cross / always found filled / Although he was despised / You have forgiven all sin / So that we must change / Pity us / O Jesus.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> De hymnus / Christe qui lux es & Dies: Christe die du bist dach ende licht / Dost dy is Here verboige nicht Du Vaderlicke lichtes glantz / Leert ons de wech der waerheyt gantz / Wy bidden dyne Godtlicke cracht / Behaedt on Heer in deser nacht / Bewaert ons Heer voor allen leydt / Godt Vader der Barmherticheydt / Verdigst de sware slaep Heer Christ / Dat ons niet schade des Vyants list / Dat Vleisch in tuchten reyne zy / So zijn wy memgher soighen uip / Soo onse ooghen slapen in / Laet onse herten waken du / Beschermt Heere de Christenheyt / Dyn hulp altijd iy ons berepdt / Helpt ons Heere Godt wt aller noot / Door dyne heylige vijf Wonden root / Oijedenkt Heere der swaren tijt / Daer med' dat lijf gebangen ligt / De Siele die ghy hebt verlost / Die gheest Heere Jesu oynen troost / Godt vader zij lof / eer ende prijs / Daertoe oock synen Sone wys / Des Heyjlighen Gheestes goedicheyt / Dan nu aen tot in eewicheyt.

<sup>77</sup> Een ander na de Predicacie: Sy lof ende eer met hooghen prijs / Om deser goetheyt willen / Godt Vader / Soon ende heylige Geest / Die will' met ghenaden vervullen / Wat hy in ons aengevangen hat / Ter eeren syner Maiestat / Dat heylicke werde zijn Name / Son hycke toecome / syn wil op erd / Gheschie als in s'Hemels Throone / Dat daechlicke broodt noch Hud ons werd / Wil onse schuldt verschoonen / Als wy ooc onsen Schuldenaren doer / Laet ons niet in versoeekinghestaen / Lost ons vanden boosen / Amen.

<sup>78</sup> Een ander: O laat Godes onschuldich / Het stamme des Cruyces geslaches / Altijt ghevonden vuldich / Hoewel ghy werder verachtet / Alle Sonde hebt ghy ghedraghen / Dus moesten wy vertsaghen / Erbarme dy onser / O Jesu.

### Prayer for the Sermon

Come Holy Spirit / Fill hearts with your faithfulness / kindle in them your Godly love / which has been corrupted by wicked tongues / the entire population / all people of the World are united through faith / Alleluya / Alleluya.<sup>79</sup>

The placing of these lyrics in a sanctioned liturgical songbook is again remarkable.

Non-psalms were not to be sung within the Reformed liturgy, yet Datheen and his authorities in Holland deemed these messages appropriate to be placed next to liturgical material. The Luther hymns, unlike psalms, do not provide Scriptural notes. This makes it unlikely that Datheen considered the works canticles, which like psalms, were Biblical. Without additional information or Scripture, I believe these hymns visualize Datheen's appreciation of Luther's legacy. Even the prologue's rhetoric mimics Luther. It describes the "godless" work of the Papacy, and accuses it of false messaging.<sup>80</sup> These written attacks on Catholicism were again reminiscent of Luther's propagandistic contrafact of the earlier century.<sup>81</sup>

Whereas Utenhove was writing in exile, Datheen's 1574 edition was published as most provinces were in open revolt against the Habsburgs. Before the 1579 Union of Utrecht, Holland still had a significant Catholic population—if not a majority. The States of Holland did not declare Calvinism as a state doctrine until 1583, yet a second Synod of Dordrecht updated its policy in 1578.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Ghebedt voor de Predicacie: Coemt heylighe Gheest / vervult de Herten dyner Gheloouighen / ende ontsteect in hen dat Over dyner Godtlicker liefde / die ghy door menichsuldicheyt der tonghen / de menschen de gantscher Werelt versammet hebt in eeniehey gheloofs / Alleluya / Alleluya.

<sup>80</sup> Datheen, *De Psalmen Davids*, 31.

[https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN771766661&PHYSID=PHYS\\_0031&DMDID=DM\\_DLOG\\_0006](https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN771766661&PHYSID=PHYS_0031&DMDID=DM_DLOG_0006) ; Ofte eenigher Godtloosen werck (als in het Pausdom gheschtedt is) maer de heylighe David beestste ghesproken.

<sup>81</sup> Oettinger, *Music as propaganda in the German Reformation*, 92-94.

<sup>82</sup> Ecclesiastical Ordinances Drafted by Order of the States of Holland, 1583.

<https://dutchrevolt.leiden.edu/english/sources/Pages/1583StvH.aspx> ; Select Acts from the Synod of Dordrecht, 3-18 June 1578 <https://dutchrevolt.leiden.edu/english/sources/Pages/15780603.aspx>

Politics in 1574 Holland—when the first Synod of Dordrecht adopted Datheen’s *De Psalmen Davids* of the same year’s edition—were dominated by the ongoing Siege of Leiden, which began the previous year. In a September 1574 letter to William of Orange, Johan van der Does, Heer van Noordwijk, warned the Stadtholder over the lack of enthusiasm among the defenders of Leiden.

To His Excellence the Prince

This letter serves to warn your Excellence of the great faithlessness of certain among the magistrates here. Wishing to turn this wretched hardship to their own advantage, they daily attempt to incite the poor and hungry common people to sedition, contrary to the oath they swore to your Excellence and the States, on the basis of empty and false promises contained in letters from the enemy. I am not reporting hearsay for I myself have been a witness on more than one occasion in the presence of the captains and masters of the town... He [a Catholic captain] discoursed at length about the wretched condition of this town and then about the fine promises made by the enemy, praying them to bear these in mind so that they prudently deliberate and reach a decision, following their conscience and wisdom, which would be most expedient for the town, according to the oath which they had all taken before to the town and His Majesty.<sup>83</sup>

Before the 1579 Peace of Arras, the Dutch Revolt contained large elements of Catholic support, mainly due to the 1568 execution of Count Lamoral van Egmont.<sup>84</sup> Van der Does’s rhetoric contains a sense of mistrust between the Catholic and Calvinist leadership of Leiden, which was still religiously diverse between the two faiths. Representing a Calvinist viewpoint of the situation, Van der Does’s message to the Stadtholder also provided themes found in Datheen’s lyrics.

After which, being asked, I replied that it seemed very strange, indeed scarcely credible, that we who, according to the writer of the letter had so abominably offended against God and the King as to be unworthy of any pardon, should now

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<sup>83</sup> Defeatism in Leiden during the Siege: Johan van der Does warns William of Orange, 7 September 1574, Paragraphs 1-2. <https://dutchrevolt.leiden.edu/english/sources/Pages/15740907.aspx>

<sup>84</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 156.

be even wooed and offered a pardon so generous that no one would be excluded, although we were not seeking any such. Indeed had we not rejected it out of hand by our great obstinacy, notwithstanding promises of greater freedoms and privileges, then we had ever enjoyed before? In all this one thing displeased me greatly, that is that they contradict what they themselves have said. In each of their previous pardons, they have expressly stated that this was the very last and that we could not expect another pardon. Yet notwithstanding this, they have attached so many letters of pardon to those which have lapsed, and still they continue to pardon us daily; indeed, they will generously grant us another twenty-five pardons, if they once notice that we are inclined to accept them as such. It is clear that the pardon is only a deceitful lure, a piece of glib villainy to trap us in the net. I do not therefore believe that we can follow such a course, without being publicly reviled as perjurers and traitors to our country. We should never again be able to raise our head without a sense of shame.<sup>85</sup>

Only a month after Van der Does penned his letter, a river flotilla of Geuzen militia relieved the besieged city, forcing the Spaniards to retreat. Van der Does's letter presented rebel morale after eleven months of siege. He highlighted, along with Datheen, Calvinist resilience, hope and mistrust of the enemy. Van der Does reasoned that the Spanish army was itself in a weak state since it continuously offered generous protections if the city surrendered. He specifically identified the city's "papists" as a source of hopelessness. Yet Leiden's deliverance provided the early Revolt with a necessary boost of morale. These sentiments provide contemporary and collective political emotion in 1574. Datheen's embrace of Luther's text and potential melodic influence seem to speak on this sentiment. It is reasonable to believe that Datheen purposefully included Luther in his 1574 provincial psalter due to Holland's military situation.

Peter Datheen's *De Psalmen Davids* 1574 edition would have been finished and published throughout the course of the year-long siege. If Valdez's campaign against Leiden—and Alba's against Alkmaar—succeeded, Holland's revolt certainly would have been suppressed. As a Calvinist in Holland, 1574 would have been a year of great anxiety; Datheen's

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<sup>85</sup> Defeatism in Leiden during the Siege: Johan van der Does warns William of Orange, 7 September 1574, Paragraph 4.

psalter sought to provide relief to the Reformed soul. Datheen's audience, along with those adhering to the Synod of Dordrecht, required both refuge and a means to remain resilient. I believe this explains Datheen's decision to include Luther in his songbook. Luther's independent hymns provide its audience both refuge in God but also a reason to fight on. Especially in *Christ who art Light and Day*, Datheen's translation of Luther implores readers to remain disciplined and communal, and not to trust in the enemy. That enemy, based on Datheen's preface and Van der Does's letter, either represents Spain or Catholics as a whole. Yet Datheen's *De Psalmen Davids* of 1574 was his first edition to include notation paired with *Ein feste Burg*'s lyrics within the liturgical psalter. This meant the text was sanctioned by Holland's theological authorities.. Psalm 46 compels us to rely on God for defense; his aggressive messaging seems to have embraced German battle-singing over Marot's interpretation of refuge.<sup>86</sup>

Jan Utenhove and Peter Datheen both faced the dangers of inquisition and besiegement, respectively. Utenhove's Psalms 66 and 95 provide hope for the exiled and suppressed; two problems which personally affected the author. As Utenhove's psalms spoke to an underground audience, Datheen's Psalm 46 was a loud message to carry on the struggle. Both songwriters' decision to divert from Marot's melodies represent the difference between the Reformed movement in the Low Countries and in Geneva. Utenhove and Datheen have enhanced these psalms with *Ein feste Burg* to highlight a sense of urgency. Paired with the authors' own lyrics, *Ein feste Burg* was clearly chosen as a distinguished melody. In the case of these two famous psalters, Utenhove and Datheen considered Luther's anthem to carry an independent meaning which warranted a deviation from the Genevan melodies. Even among the Reformed, Luther's work was recognized as a source of resilience, whether or not it was included in liturgy. In the

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<sup>86</sup> Oettinger, *Music as propaganda in the German Reformation*, 47.

case of these two prominent examples, *Ein feste Burg* transcended confessional boundaries to provide support for the Calvinist soul.

### *Ein feste Burg in the organized Revolt*

Utenhove and Datheen's psalters utilized *Ein feste Burg* to convey a message of resilience. Utenhove spoke from exile, whereas Datheen sang to the besieged. In this section I aim to analyze prominent songbooks printed around the formation of the Union of Utrecht and Act of Abjuration. As these events transformed the Revolt's legitimacy and political reality, so too did songwriters alter their messaging through contrafacture. Although *Ein feste Burg* continued to emphasize resilience, its audience was no longer exiled nor underground. The new status of the Dutch Revolt can be visualized through the usage of the melody.

The *Ein feste Burg* melody was embraced by two prominent writers of *Geuzenliederen* during the early Revolt. Joris Wybo and Willem van Haecht in 1582 and 1583, respectively, each published a songbook containing the melody multiple times. As will be discussed in his work, Wybo was a devout Calvinist. On the other hand, Van Haecht was unique for his embrace of the Confession of Augsburg, meaning he either identified as Lutheran or at the time was writing for a Lutheran audience. These songbooks were published not long after the 1581 Act of Abjuration—when the Union of Utrecht formally declared its divorce from Philip II's sovereignty. The early 1580s presented the rebels with a new cause, independence, but the military situation was tense. Spanish struggles in the 1570s were reversed by the campaigns of Alessandro Farnese, who embraced religious tolerance as a tool to quell the Revolt. Thus, Wybo and Van Haecht would have finished their songbooks in a time of political unity among the

rebellion along with military setbacks. *Geuzenliederen*—sung propaganda or shanties—were popular means to boost rebel morale. Compared to the sacred music of Utenhove and Datheen, Wybo and Van Haecht provide a view of Luther’s melody in a different setting.

Wybo’s hymnal *Gheestelijcke Liedekens*, which is targeted towards the “Ghereformeerder Gheymerten,” used the *Ein feste Burg* melody twice.<sup>87</sup> This work was published posthumously, as Wybo died exiled in London in 1578. Although the lyrics are certainly Wybo’s, *Gheestelijcke Liedekens*’ printer, Jasper Troyens, likely added the melodies at his Antwerp print shop. Nonetheless, *Ein feste Burg* was first paired with Wybo’s song *Rejoice in this New Year*.<sup>88</sup>

Consisting of five stanzas, the first reads:

Rejoice now in this new year  
 Ye Christians all together  
 Exalt yourselves in God all together  
 And praise with fitting  
 For a child is certainly  
 Born to us  
 In the prophesied time  
 By the beautiful Virgin.<sup>89</sup>

Wybo’s other hymn *Leave thoughts and fantasy behind* is also sung to Luther’s melody.

Leave thoughts and fantasy behind  
 My soul wants to delight you  
 Let go of all melancholy  
 Put aside all pressure  
 Rejoice in God  
 For he is your destiny  
 And only your beautiful inheritance with you

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<sup>87</sup> Wybo, *Gheestelijcke Liedekens / ghemaect (ende oock sommige by een vergaedert) tot stichtinge aller Christghelooouighen. Door M. Ioris Wybo alias Syluanus voormaels Dienaer der Ghereformeerder Ghemeynten Christi, binnen Antwerpen, ende daer naer inde Nederduytsche Kercke tot Londen. Hier achter is oock by gheuoecht des voorseyden M. Joris Laetste Predicatie seer profijtlijck tot leeringhe ende vertroostinghe/ ende wederlegginghe van versheyden dwalinghen. Met een corte beschrijvinghe syner sieckten ende afscheydens vvt deser VVerelt: Ende sommige Epitaphien tot syner ghedachtenisse ghemaect.*

<sup>88</sup> Verblijft nu in dit nieuwe Jaer

<sup>89</sup> Verblijft nv in dit nieuwe Jaer / Ghy Christen al te samen / Verheucht v in Gode allegaer / En iechet met betamen / Want een kint ghewis / Ons gheboren is / In den bestemden tijt ydoone / Van eener Maghet schoone. Fol. 10v. Appendix 46.

[https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/wybo002ghee01\\_01/wybo002ghee01\\_01\\_0010.php#wybo002ghee01\\_0010](https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/wybo002ghee01_01/wybo002ghee01_01_0010.php#wybo002ghee01_0010)

Full of compassion.<sup>90</sup>

The beginning of Wybo's "Een Vaste Borch" hymns present a far more joyous attitude compared to the earlier psalters. Wybo did not include a prologue to his hymn but Troyons provided a brief description of the hymnal's goal.

Behind this is also the last Sermon, by the judgment of M. Joris, which is very useful for instruction and support / and the refutation of various errors. With a detailed description of his opinions and his farewell from the world: And some epitaphs for his memory.<sup>91</sup>

Troyons's decision to print a joyous work makes sense due to its publication in 1582. On top of the Act of Abjuration the previous year, 1582 marked a year of celebration in Antwerp due to the entry of François de Valois, duc d'Anjou. The French Prince, son of King Henry II and Catherine de' Medici, was invited to Antwerp to claim the vacant crown of Flanders. His February entry was marked by grandiose celebrations. Whether or not François' entry inspired Troyons, his choice to pair Wybo's words to Luther's melody represent a sense of celebration. Wybo's *Geuzenliederen* were aimed towards a Reformed audience, who in Antwerp could celebrate both Habsburg secession and potential Valois ascension. Wybo or Troyons's interpretation of the *Ein feste Burg* melody shares Utenhove and Datheen's hopeful messaging, but is less concerned about defensiveness or resilience. Instead, it is a call for celebration.

Willem van Haecht's *Psalmen Davids* was initially published in 1579, the year of the Union of Utrecht, but also the setback from the Union of Arras. The version analyzed was

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<sup>90</sup>Vliet wech ghepeyns ende fantasie / Mijn siele wil v verblijden / Laet varen alle melancolije / Stelt alle druck besijden / Verheucht v in Godt / Want hy is v Lot / En alleen v schoon erfdeel mede / Vol van bermhertichede. Appendix 47.

[https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/wybo002ghee01\\_01/wybo002ghee01\\_01\\_0021.php#wybo002ghee01\\_0021](https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/wybo002ghee01_01/wybo002ghee01_01_0021.php#wybo002ghee01_0021)

<sup>91</sup> Hier achter is oock by ghevoecht des voorseyden M. Joris laetste Predicatie seer profytelyck tot leeringhe ende vertroostinghe / ende wederlegghinge van verscheyde dwalinghen. Met een corte beschrijvinghe syner sieckten ende afscheydens wt deser Werelt: Ende sommighe Epitaphien tot syner ghedachtenisse ghemaect.

printed as a newer edition in 1583. Van Haecht's *Psalmen Davids* was not a liturgical psalter as it included many other hymns and was openly targeted towards those adhering to the Confession of Augsburg.<sup>92</sup> Van Haecht or his Antwerp printer Arnout s'Coninx paired the *Ein feste Burg* melody with three psalms. These included Psalm 46, Luther's original inspiration for the melody.<sup>93</sup>

God is our strength and great refuge: A help in many miseries,  
That afflict us. Therefore we ought to Know no fear,  
Of the beautiful world's Demise (it's outcome)  
When that too drowned And darkened in the sea  
The mountains to the end.<sup>94</sup>

He also explains the Psalm with a quick overview.

It is a consolation among the more Christian churches that God fights against the Devil and all His enemies, and seeks to destroy the Godless, and so people should not doubt nor worry about it, but they should let God proceed with it.<sup>95</sup>

Psalm 48 follows the same format, beginning with the first stanza and explained with a short preface.

Great is the Lord, and highly praised  
In his holy throne  
In the city of God, (see and come)

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<sup>92</sup> Van Haecht, *De CL. Psalmen Davids, in dichte ghestelt Door Willem van Haecht. Hier sijn by ghevoecht de Compositien opde Psalmen, ende de Christelijcke Liedekens. Alle, soo die de Christelijcke Ghemeynte binnen Antwerpen (der Confessien van Ausborch togedaen [sic] sijnde) sijn gebruyckende*; By Priuilegie des Hertochs is gegunt Aernout s'Coninx, alleen te moghen Drucken de Psalmen Davids in dichte gestelt, so di bijder Gemeeynten van de Confessie van Ausborch binnen Antwerpen ghebruyct worden, ende is verboden allen anderen, de selue na te Drucken binnen den tijdt van vier Iaren, ingaende den xxij. Mey, Anno. M.D.LXXXII. Op de Pene verclaert in-de Orignale Priuilegie, daer af ghegheuen den x. Iulij. Anno M.D.LXXXII.

<sup>93</sup> Van Haecht, *De CL. psalmen Davids in Nederduytschen dichte overgheset, oock die daer sijn van de oude compositie : Mits-gaders de lof-sanghen ende gheestelijcke liedekens*, (Nicolaes Leye, Amsterdam 1616) [De CL. psalmen Davids in Nederduytschen dichte overgheset, oock die daer ... - Google Books](#)

<sup>94</sup> Van Haecht, *Psalm 46*, God is ons sterct' end' toevlucht groot: / Een Hulp' in veel ellenden, / Die ons raecten. Daerom wy noot / Geenderley vrees' en kenden, / Oft de werelt' al-schoon / Ondergonc (t'haren loon) / Wanneer dat ooc verdronc / End' inde Zee versonc / T'geberchte totten enden. 131. Appendix 48.

<sup>95</sup> Van Haecht, *Psalm 46*, Is der Christelijker kercken eenen troost, datse Gode teghen den Duyuel ende alle haer vianden beschudden, ende de Godloose te niete doen wil, ooc soo en soudemen daer aen niet twijfelen noch hem daerom becommenen, maer men soudet Godt al laten maken. 131.

On beautiful Mount Zion.  
 This mountain is like a herb,  
 And like a beautiful sprout,  
 That comforts him the whole country  
 Look on the north side, Let the king stand idol.<sup>96</sup>

It is a comfort that God will chastise the ungodly and the wicked who practice false doctrine, and will inadvertently destroy them, but that He will deliver the pious.<sup>97</sup>

Finally, outside of Van Haecht's psalms, Martin Luther's original lyrics to *Ein feste Burg* are translated. Although not listed within the psalter, it is recorded as Psalm 46. It does not include an explanatory preface.

A strong fortress is our God.  
 A good repellent and weapon  
 He helps us free from all trouble,  
 Who now comes to catch us,  
 The old evil enemy  
 With seriousness he now means:  
 Great power and much cunning  
 His coarse ruling is:  
 On earth there is none like him.<sup>98</sup>

Luther: Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott, / ein' gute Wehr und waffen; / er hilft uns frei aus aller Not, / die uns jetzt hat betroffen. / Der alt' böse Feind, / mit Ernst er's jetzt meint, / groß Macht und viel List / sein' grausam' Rüstung ist, / auf Erd' ist nicht seinsgleichen.

A strong fortress is our God, a good defense and weapon; He helps us freely out of all distress, that now has us befallen. The old evil foe, gravely now intends, great might and much cunning is his dreadful armor on Earth is not his equal.

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<sup>96</sup> Van Haecht, *Psalmen Davids*, Psalm 48. Groot is de Heer', end' hooch beromt / In zijnen heyl'gen throone, / Inde stadt Godts, (besiet en comt) / Op den berch Sion schoone./ Desen berch is als cruyt, / End' als een schoone spruyt, / Dies hem getroost t'gans lant / Siet aenden nortschen cant / Leet s'coninx stat idoone. 135. Appendix 49.

<sup>97</sup> Van Haecht, *Psalmen Davids*, Psalm 48 Preface. Is een vertroostinghe dat Godt de Godloose, ende voornemelijke die met valsche leere omgaen, castijden, die onuersiens te niete doen, maer dat hy de vrome verlossen sal. 135.

<sup>98</sup> Van Haecht, *Psalmen Davids*, Psalm 46 (Luther). 18. Appendix 50.

[https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/haec001psal01\\_01/haec001psal01\\_01\\_0172.php#haec001psal01\\_0159](https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/haec001psal01_01/haec001psal01_01_0172.php#haec001psal01_0159)

A recurring theme in both Van Haecht's Psalms 46 and 48 is the threat of abandonment. Although Van Haecht's later work was directed towards a Lutheran audience, his earlier works and *Geuzenliederen* identify him as a supporter of the Revolt. I believe Van Haecht's hidden purpose in his 1579 songbook is to admonish the Union of Arras and to advocate the Union of Utrecht. Through his direct inclusion of Luther's *Ein feste Burg*, Van Haecht is calling for Dutch Lutherans to remain faithful to the [Calvinist dominated] revolt, and for a potential Reformed audience to focus on the true, Catholic, enemy. Readers are warned in his version of Psalm 46 by the image of the great flood. His Psalm 48 warns readers not to fall astray from true doctrine, as God will administer consequences. By 1579 the Catholic provinces within the Pacification of Ghent grew disoriented with their fellow Calvinist rebels and made peace with Philip; such an event would be reprehensible by Van Haecht's standards.

There may be another indirect message conveyed by Van Haecht. Jonathan Israel observes that a massive campaign of anti-Lutheranism, or "Martinism"—derogatively employed by Calvinists—swept through the Dutch Republic in the 1580s and 1590s. The 1584 assassination of William the Silent accelerated Calvinist hostility towards Catholics; Lutherans were increasingly considered a fifth column and had their worshiping rights revoked throughout the later century. Although William's assassination is considered the turning point, Israel highlights Lutheran-Calvinist tension in the 1570s. Dutch-speaking Lutherans from Antwerp fled to Hamburg in the late 1560s and stiffly persecuted Calvinists through the 1570s. This created a sense of frustration and betrayal among Dutch Calvinists; many began to mistrust Lutheran communities within the Provinces due to their shared emigration from Antwerp.<sup>99</sup> Although Van Haecht's *Psalmen Davids* predate the assassination, Israel's observations suggest an attempt to spur Lutheran resilience or even present a united front between the two confessions. Van

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<sup>99</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 374-75.

Haecht's audience is unknown, yet its exclusion of hostile language towards Calvinists and focus on Catholics might suggest the latter.

Between Wybo and Van Haecht, Luther's *Ein Feste Burg* represents both a means of celebration and a warning. Yet both share a sense of collective identity; Wybo's lyrics continue to embrace the Reformed emphasis on refuge whereas Van Haecht urges readers to remain defensive through God. As in Utenhove and Datheen's psalters, Wybo and Van Haecht have chosen Luther's melody for a specific reason. The melody has highlighted a specific sentiment that each songwriter sought to display. Wybo encouraged his audience to celebrate through God, whereas Van Haecht continued to urge caution and resilience among his readers.

Moving beyond Reformed liturgical and at-home music—along with Van Haecht's Lutheran example—*Ein feste Burg* found its way into Dutch Anabaptist material. This was in the posthumous case of David Joris. He was mainly active before 1540 and long dead before the Dutch Revolt. Joris's *Een Geestelijck Lied-Boexcken* was published sometime between 1576 and 1583 at an unknown location, something which was not uncommon among Anabaptist underground printing. As the printer and their location is unknown, the bookmaker's view on the Revolt and their contemporary politics is not known. However, the songs' release in the late 1570s or early 1580s is still significant to understanding the Anabaptist value of Luther's melody in this period. I have chosen to place Joris's work within the organized Revolt due to its time of printing. With no information on the printer or location, it is reasonable to assume the printer took great liberties in interpreting, or practically reinventing, Joris's work. The 1576-83 edition of *Een Geestelijck Lied-Boexcken* also had an unclear audience. David Joris's music was well-known, meaning this edition may not have been targeted towards Anabaptists alone.<sup>100</sup> For

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<sup>100</sup> Gary Waite describes Joris's last years exiled in Basel in Chapter 10 of *David Joris and Dutch Anabaptism, 1524-1543*. Joris appears to have been well received by Basel's diverse religious community, along with its significant Dutch-speaking exiled population. He was however posthumously deemed a heretic when the city

my analysis, I have assumed that the work's audience was not confined to a single confession, and rather spoke to the rebel crowd as a whole—Anabaptism was, in a sense, associated with rebelliousness. “Joris’s” interpretation of Luther’s melody provides a unique angle to the song’s usage in the early Revolt, one that is not biased by Luther nor Calvin’s musical theology. “Joris” paired the *Ein feste Burg* melody with two hymns. The first stanzas are as follows.

### The Lord is King in Israel

The Lord is King in Israel,  
 Therefore we rejoice with great joy:  
 He comes to us with diligence quickly,  
 To deliver forever:  
 Those who are now here in trouble,  
 And in misfortune,  
 From this World square:  
 They were still certainly rejoiced,  
 In God the Father of the Ancients,  
 When the Lord will hold that Judgment.<sup>101</sup>

### My Ears have heard from Above

My ears have heard from above,  
 My eyes have seen from afar in the forest,  
 That innocence (understand that Word)  
 In those sheep Christ quickly observed:  
 Only sincere:  
 Without mischief they are simple,  
 As doves without fine wrinkles,  
 Our shame or any hypocritical Spirit,

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embraced orthodox Calvinism in the later century. In Chapter 6, Waite explores Joris’s Anabaptist followers who were mainly spread through the northern Netherlands. Joris’s followers, compared to Menno Simons’s, consisted of a generally wealthier and more urban crowd. This urban footing gave Joris more access to printers and an intellectual audience.

<sup>101</sup>Joris, *Een Geestelijck Lied-Boecxken*, Die Heer is Coninck in Israel. Die Heer is Coninck in Israel, / Des verblyden wy van herten seere: / Hy komt ons bald' op mit vlijt seer snel, / Te verlossen immermeere: / Die nu hier sijn in druck, / Und' in ongeluck, / Van deser Werlt pleyn: / Sy werden noch verblijdt certeyn, / In Godt den Vader den Olden, / Als der Heer dat Oordeel sal holden. Fol. 59r-fol. 62r. Appendix 51.

[https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/jori001gees01\\_01/jori001gees01\\_01\\_0020.php](https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/jori001gees01_01/jori001gees01_01_0020.php)

As Adam and Eve were first, read<sup>102</sup>

Both examples from Joris—the second hymn is presented in its entirety—urged their audience not to neglect Providence and that a lack of trust is a lack of faith. The printer attributed the hymns to 1535 and 1536, respectively, otherwise providing little information other than a short preface credited to Joris.<sup>103</sup> My analysis relies on the printer’s decision to release these hymns when they did. Joris’s sentiments are similar to those expressed by Van Haecht, albeit written decades earlier. This leaves us with questions: why did this anonymous printer choose to utilize Joris’s text with Luther’s melody? Who was their target audience? Searching through the *Liederenbank* and the Dutch National Library, previous prints of this work cannot be found. Since it excludes notation, we are reliant on the anonymous printer for musical settings to Joris’s text. To make an inference based on this analysis, the author likely understood *Ein feste Burg*’s cross-confessional popularity due to contrafacture. Whether or not these works target the Reformed or other sects, they still maintain a constant melody and message. They warn us against doubt, and warn us that a lack of trust equates to a lack of Christian faith.

### Concluding Thoughts

Rebecca Oettinger’s observations on evangelical messaging through contrafacture are not confined to the Germanophone archive. Relating German contrafacture to Calvinist musical theory may present itself as contradictory. Calvin gave his followers strict guidelines for

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<sup>102</sup> Joris, *Een Geestelijck Lied-Boecxken*, Myn ooren hebben van boven ghehoort, / Mijn ooghen hebben van verren int wout, / Die onnooselheyt (verstaet dat Woort) / In die Schapen Christi snellijck beschout: / Die al huylende komen slecht, / Enckel oprecht: / Sonder schalckheyt sy simpel sijn, / Als Duyfkens sonder rimpel fijn, / Onse schaemt of eenich gheveynsden Gheest, / Als Adam unde Eva eerst waren, leest. Fol. 71r. Appendix 53. [https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/jori001gees01\\_01/jori001gees01\\_01\\_0026.php](https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/jori001gees01_01/jori001gees01_01_0026.php)

<sup>103</sup> Inhoudende veel schoone sinrijcke Christlijcke Liedekens: Oock troostlijcke Nieuwe-Jaren, Claech unde Lof-Sanghen, ter Eeren Godes: Alle Oprechte Godt-meenende Liefhebberen der Waerheyt Christi, Olden unde Jonghen, seer dienstlijck

composing sacred music, whereas Luther's tradition permitted far more creativity. Yet Calvin's descendents, both in Geneva and the Low Countries, experimented and utilized various melodies. My focus on the *Ein feste Burg*, as a small example of Dutch contrafacture, highlighted Luther's posthumous influence in the Calvinist provinces. Unlike Geneva, Luther's presence in Dutch songbooks, whether or not liturgical, is a testament to his cross-confessional popularity.

Dutch lyrical pairings to *Ein feste Burg* related to Oettinger's theory in two ways. In Utenhove and Datheen's psalters, Luther's melody replaced the original Genevan melodies and was paired with various psalms. In this case, the melody itself carried meaning which reflected the songwriter's perspective or message to an audience. Returning to Hans Sachs's preference for improving existing sacred music, Utenhove and Datheen clearly believed Luther's sacred melody was superior in conveying specific psalms' messages. *Ein feste Burg*'s original German message was one of resistance and defense.<sup>104</sup> Therefore, through Luther's influence and the melody's fame, *Ein feste Burg* contained the power to communicate its holistic message along with differing lyrics.

Secondly, as *Ein feste Burg* maintained a central message with various lyrics, the song's original, unchanged language was interpreted differently depending on the contemporary situation. As was the case with Luther's *Erhalt uns Herr* and various versions of *Judasliedern*, some of Luther's lyrics experienced minimal change.<sup>105</sup> This leads us to ask, what power or message did a direct connection to Luther contain? Datheen and Van Haecht both provided translations of Luther's song with minimal differences. Yet both writers were subject to different situations. Both Datheen's Psalm 46 and Van Haecht's "Een Vaste Borch" call for its readers to

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<sup>104</sup> Oettinger, *Music as propaganda in the German Reformation*, 47.

<sup>105</sup> Oettinger, *Music as propaganda in the German Reformation*, 101.

remain resilient, yet Datheen emphasizes hope whereas Van Haecht warns against losing urgency. Although *Ein feste Burg* maintained its central message, it presented the ability to be interpreted differently. This is why I believe Luther's anthem to be so powerful. Its presence and strength among the Dutch-speaking and largely Reformed crowd provides a clear image of contrafacture's usage outside of Germanophone Evangelicalism. The Dutch Revolt was not concerned nor adhered to Luther's theology, yet his musical legacy through the *Ein feste Burg* anthem persevered beyond confessional and linguistic boundaries by the power of celebrity and popular culture.

Appendix

Utenhove: Psalm 66

Praise to God Your earthly realm  
Desires to sing gloriously to your Name  
And to offer you honor, after all.  
Say to God with a prayer:  
How terrifying are your works,  
Your loving subjects shall be obedient  
To your power's will

The earth will be on all sides,  
They worship and venerate,  
And sing praises aloud,  
And honor your name with song  
Coming here in droves,

Behold God's works,  
And how wonderful  
His counsels are  
Over the children of men.

He has more in mind  
To declare the hour to his praise  
So that they went through  
The flood, and rejoiced in him.  
He rules by force  
Forever, like a hero:  
He looks upon the heathens,  
That rebel against him,  
And shall not exalt them.

O ye people, praise our God,  
And proclaim him with shouts of praise:  
With haste he makes so much yet,  
That the voice of his praise may resound.  
He has indeed stiffened us,  
Conserving our body,  
He has not permitted  
That through sorrow  
Our feet should stumble.

As you test us, o Lord,  
Like silver, not without damage,  
And breaks us in the snare, and beats us more,  
And chains our loins:  
As a last resort

That would guide us.

If we must be cleansed  
In fire and water,  
You will give us refreshment.

Then I will go in boldly  
In your house with sacrificial fire,  
And my vows henceforth  
Are paid at once,  
Those who have  
Set my lips free,  
And that my mouth's  
Promise has been fulfilled,  
I was in dire need.

I will sacrifice that cow  
Offering burnt fat with prayer,  
With the fresh scent of fragrance,  
Oxen and goats therewith,  
Come now  
So much there is  
With his fearful face,  
That I say freely,  
What God has done for my soul.

I called out to him fine  
Also with my own mouth,  
And he is clean without delusion  
Exalted by my tongue:  
As I had seen  
Evil in my heart,  
Or any deceit,  
The Lord should not  
Have treated me so favorably.

But now the Lord has heard me,  
Out of fatherly grace,  
I will come to you undisturbed,  
To stand on my voice of prayer.  
Praise be to God alone.  
He who sees this,  
Not considered unclean,  
Has not withheld my prayer,  
Nor His goodness from me.

De Bèze: Psalm 66

O everyone praise the Lord,  
 Sing the song of his fame:  
 Sing so loud that everything resonates,  
 Of the praise of his name.  
 Say, how terrible you are, Lord, in everything you do:  
 Your detesters, in your invincibility, flatter you for peace.

May your glorious majesty  
 Be adored throughout the universe,  
 May your precious praise  
 Be sung in songs and verses,  
 Come, see in your courage  
 The deeds of God, see if he is  
 Great and terrible in his works  
 Towards humans when he pleases.

He dried up the proud sea,  
 And ever since, through him  
 His people crossed the river on dry land  
 And rejoiced.  
 His lordship is eternal,  
 His eye extends to the Gentiles:  
 Whoever rebels against him  
 Will always be among the smallest.

Peoples, each of you strive  
 To give praise to the Lord:  
 Make sure that in all the world we hear  
 Nothing but his glory and honor.  
 It is he who guards our life  
 So often we take the plunge,  
 It is he who, despite all desire,  
 Keeps our feet from slipping.

For you have put us to the test,  
 You have, I say, examined us  
 And like silver that is tested  
 By fire you have refined us.  
 You brought us in and joined us  
 To the ranks of our enemies,  
 You made our loins restrain  
 With the bonds in which you placed us.

We rode on our heads  
 As on a camel's back,  
 We have, like beasts,  
 Passed through fire and water.  
 Then you have graciously refreshed us  
 To the fullest: wherefore I desire

In your house before your face  
To sacrifice my eyes.

Even my eyes, which I confess  
My eyes have addressed to you,  
Which in the time of my distress  
I have uttered with my mouth.  
Many a beautiful and fat beast  
I want to consume on your altar,  
Rams, oxen, and cows I prepare  
To make smoke before you.

All who fear God and his power  
Come and listen to him in this place,  
Recounting with joy  
The good things I have received from my God.  
When my mouth prayed,  
He heard me every time,  
So that my tongue had reason  
To praise Him aloud.

If at something evil,  
My heart had looked,  
My God would have kept his ear closed  
To what I had asked.  
But I can say for certain,  
That the Lord heard me,  
And to better listen to my words,  
Gentle and attentive, he surrendered.

Praised be my gracious God,  
Who willingly listened to me,  
And from me, though miserable,  
Has not withdrawn his kindness.

Utenhove: Psalm 95

Come let us pray to the Lord,  
and of the rock of our heavenly life,  
let us give thanks before him,  
and exalt ourselves with praise:  
For the Lord is a great God,  
great to you,  
a great king,  
he is known in need,  
greater than all Gods.

In whose hand are the depths of the earth,  
And the mountains peak high,  
Whose lake is finely made by him

And his hands' work is the dry land.  
 Now right away,  
 Let us go,  
 To finely worship him,  
 And bend our knees,  
 For the Lord our creator.

For he is our God and Lord,  
 And we are the people of his pastures,  
 And his hand tenders the flock,  
 Which he can certainly guide,  
 If you hear his voice,  
 Be hardened  
 Your hearts, but:  
 As it happened in Meribah  
 On the day of testing in the wilderness.

Where your fathers requested me.  
 Tasted and saw my works.  
 I have had forty years free,  
 A displeasure to this generation.  
 So I said there,  
 These people are still going astray:  
 They do not know the way,  
 That is why I have finely sworn,  
 They will not come to my rest.

De Beze: Psalm 95

O, let us rejoice in the Lord,  
 And let us sing aloud the honor  
 Of our salvation and defense.

For he is the great and glorious God,  
 Great King above all gods,  
 Who holds the earth in his hand,  
 Even to the deepest place:  
 And from the top to the bottom  
 Holds the height of the mountains in a claw.

The sea belongs to him alone,  
 for he made it and sustains it,  
 and the earth is his creation.  
 So let us fall, let us bow down  
 Before the Lord on our knees,  
 We poor humans of his making.

He is our almighty God,  
 We, his people whom he shepherds,  
 Like flocks of his guidance.

Having thus heard his voice today,  
 Keep your heart, while hardening,  
 From becoming rageful.

As at Meribah in the deserts,  
 And Massah, your wicked fathers,  
 Declares the Lord, did to me of old:  
 Or they tempted me at length,  
 And often tested me  
 By my works that they saw there.

For forty years, in fact,  
 This race of people has caused me  
 Ten thousand troubles: of which I said,  
 Here is truly a foolish people,  
 And who have not thought at all  
 To know the way of their God.

And therefore, being in my spirits  
 Full of righteous fury,  
 I swore for sure,  
 If ever these wicked people here,  
 Then let them stand thus,  
 And enter my rest.

Datheen: Psalm 46

When that need strikes us powerfully  
 Our castle and salvation is almighty God  
 Such is what we find in this need  
 And have great comfort in him

We fear nothing of this  
 Even if the World were to perish  
 And the mountains were quickly thrown  
 Deep into the midst of the sea.

Even if the water of the seas were deep  
 It raged together and overflowed  
 They were brought to nothing by his power  
 Mountains and rocks.

Yet the streams shall be pure  
 But many a clear fountain  
 Making the clean city joyous  
 Where God dwells forever and ever.

In their midst dwells God, praised  
 And may eternal time be theirs.  
 Do not move henceforth

For the Lord will always be with you.

Many people have been against us  
 Moved by Kingdoms  
 From their fame it seemed  
 The earth and heaven perished with one.

In such storms and waves  
 Is the Lord of hosts with us  
 Jacob's God is our castle  
 Against violence and nuisance.

Come, all who want to see and perceive  
 The great wonders of our God  
 Which he does here on Earth  
 In great wisdom he finely poured.

He has spread far and wide across the globe  
 Silencing the cruel Wars  
 Lances and bows has he in the Country  
 Destroyed, and the wagons burned.

Be quiet (he says) but ride mindfully  
 My greater strength is very powerful  
 I hold that God in the highest esteem  
 Above all people's race.

Most high is the God of Hosts  
 Is with us in storms and waves  
 Jacob's God is our castle  
 Against violence and nuisance.

Marot: Psalm 46

If you offend us,  
 God is our support and defense:  
 In need we have tested him,  
 And in him we find great help:  
 From which we will no longer have fear or doubt,  
 And the whole earth will tremble,  
 And the mountains will abyss  
 In the midst of the high seas.

Even the deep waters  
 Would roar, foam, swell their waves,  
 And by their superb power  
 Move rocks and mountains.  
 In times of such proud turmoil  
 The streams of our river  
 Resurrected the great city,

Holy place of the Deity.

It is certain that in his midst  
 God makes his eternal dwelling:  
 Nothing can shake it,  
 For God will give his prompt help.  
 Troops of people rushed towards us:  
 Kingdoms were formed against us,  
 The whole area split with the noise of voices,  
 And beneath them the earth melted.

But for us, in these harsh alarms,  
 Here is the great God of arms:  
 The God of Jacob is strong  
 For us against all effort.  
 Come, contemplate within yourselves  
 The Lord's supreme acts,  
 And see these earthly places,  
 How he has cleansed them.

He has extinguished cruel war  
 Throughout and to the ends of the earth:  
 He has broken spears, shattered bows,  
 And burned chariots with fire.  
 Cease, he said, and have knowledge  
 of my high power:  
 I am God, I have exaltation  
 Over every earth and nation.

In conclusion, the God of arms  
 Is in all our alarms:  
 The God of Jacob is strong  
 For us against all effort.

Wybo: Rejoice in this New Year

Rejoice now in this new year  
 Ye Christians all together  
 Exalt yourselves in God all together  
 And praise with fitting  
 For a child is certainly  
 Born to us  
 In the prophesied time  
 By the beautiful Virgin.

That child is called Jesus Christ  
 Born of Mary  
 The Son of God highly renowned  
 Chosen of his Father  
 Who on the King's throne

Like David's Son  
 Will reign over Jacob's home  
 And always dominate.

No end will take his kingdom  
 It is clearly written  
 Praise his name with great sound.

For before that must tremble  
 That lives in Heaven  
 And hovers on Earth  
 Yea also under the Earth  
 Unto our salvation.

For us he died [the death]  
 His precious blood praised  
 He shed out great love  
 That we might be  
 Freed from sins  
 And spoken forgiveness  
 With his Heavenly Father  
 As his brothers together.

He alone is our salvation  
 The way, truth, and life  
 To us from the Father in eternity  
 Offered and given  
 Let us then be glad  
 And rejoice finely  
 In Christ Jesus our Lord  
 Born a tender Child.

Wybo: Leave thoughts and fantasy behind

Leave thoughts and fantasy behind  
 My soul wants to delight you  
 Let go of all melancholy  
 Put aside all pressure  
 Rejoice in God  
 For he is your destiny  
 And only your beautiful inheritance with you  
 Full of compassion.

O Soul, be well taken care of  
 And do not grieve any longer  
 Trust in God the Lord good  
 For his mercy will endure  
 Unto eternity  
 As the Scripture says  
 On all those who bear him fruit

Why then will you suffer.

In death's hour God has helped you  
 Already to various times  
 When death had surrounded you  
 And very nearly devoured  
 Your God still lives  
 Who loves you very much  
 In Christ his dear Son  
 For his pure merits.

Pay the Lord all your vows  
 And be found thankful  
 Sing him a song with joyful sound  
 Would you like to express his goodness  
 Do not forget, O soul  
 That has happened to you  
 All by God's pure grace  
 That frees you from harm.

O God to you be Praise, glory and honor  
 For all your benefits  
 You alone are my God and Lord  
 Who can advise me well  
 And help me in need  
 Yea also in death  
 You have never forsaken me o Lord  
 Forgive all who hate me.

Van Haecht: Psalm 46

God is our strength and great refuge:  
 A help in many miseries,  
 That afflict us. Therefore we ought  
 Know no fear,  
 Of the beautiful world's  
 Demise (it's outcome)  
 When that too drowned  
 And darkened in the sea  
 The mountains to the end.

When all beautiful also raged there  
 The sea with greater powers,  
 And rolled to great burden,  
 So that of greater powers  
 And by her tempest  
 The mountains least and most  
 Therein fell, see:  
 That for them and remained not,  
 But all therein languish. Selah.

Yet so remains pleasant and fine  
 God's city with its fountains,  
 Where the most high dwell,  
 Holy, not to be diminished.  
 God is there in it,  
 Therefore he will truly  
 Remain well at all times:  
 God help the bold with diligence,  
 To them he will host.

The heathens who must all  
 Fail, of equals  
 Must very soon fall  
 All the kingdoms:  
 The whole earth perishes  
 If he lets him hear  
 The Lord of Sabaoth  
 Is with us: Jacob's God  
 Show me his help. Selah.

Come hither to behold the work of the Lord,  
 Who on the Earth has caused such disturbance  
 With heart's daring.  
 Who wants to hear the Wars  
 In all the World is silent,  
 Breaking bows as he pleases  
 Slashes spears into bushes,  
 Wagons with which he  
 Burns after being ornated.

Be very still, and confess  
 That I am exalted to God:  
 I will presently honor,  
 For all who live there  
 Among the heathen race,  
 And on earth, with power,  
 The Lord of Sabaoth is  
 With us: The God of Jacob will surely  
 give comfort.

Van Haecht: Psalm 48

Great is the Lord, and highly praised  
 In his holy throne  
 In the city of God, (see and come)  
 On beautiful Mount Zion.  
 This mountain is like a herb,  
 And like a beautiful sprout,  
 That comforts him the whole country

Look on the north side  
Let the king stand idol.

In their palaces God is known,  
That he may be the mighty help.  
For behold, excellent Kings  
Are attentively assembled.  
And together we  
Passed by. They were immediately  
Quite surprised there:  
They are dismayed,  
And are thrown powerless.

When tremors strike them,  
Fear as one who wants to give birth.  
You certainly break ships in the sea,  
By the East winds' trouble.  
As we have heard, so we have seen  
Know the City where thou art  
O Lord of hosts,  
The City of our God:  
God keepeth in his keeping.

We await your goodness Lord,  
In your Temple City.  
God, as great is your Name  
So is your Glory.  
To the end Praiseworthy  
From the world obtained:  
Your right Hand indeed  
(As it appears in public)  
Is full of righteousness.

Let mount Zion rejoice,  
The daughters there born  
Of Judah are glad yet,  
And joyful (without sorrow)  
For thy judgments' sake.  
Make you, without dispute,  
Always round Zion,  
And encompass with diligence.

Van Haecht: Psalm 46 (Luther)

A strong fortress is our God.  
A good repellent and weapon  
He helps us free from all trouble,  
Who now comes to catch us,  
The old evil enemy  
With seriousness he now means:

Great power and much cunning  
 His coarse ruling is:  
 On earth there is none like him.

With our power it is not done,  
 We are very nearly lost.  
 The right Man fights for us,  
 Whom God has even chosen.  
 Do you ask who he is,  
 His name was Jesus Christ,  
 The Lord of Sabaoth,  
 There is no other God,  
 He must hold the field.

Or the world full of devils where:  
 We would be devoured,  
 So we fear not a hair,  
 God's help we shall find.  
 The Prince of this World,  
 How sour he may be,  
 He does not harm us,  
 For he is judged, see,  
 A word can strike him down.

They will leave God's word standing,  
 And keep no thanks,  
 He is with us on the path,  
 With his Spirit full of faithfulness.  
 If they take our bodies,  
 Good, honor, child and wife,  
 Let it go there,  
 They have no gain,  
 The kingdom must remain ours.

Praise, honor and bless the highest spirit,  
 The Father of Graces,  
 Who out of love has given  
 His Son for our harm,  
 With the Holy Spirit,  
 From sins he most absolves,  
 To the rich he turns us,  
 Teaches the way to life,  
 Who helps us cheerfully. Amen.

“Joris”: The Lord is King in Israel

The Lord is King in Israel,  
 Therefore we rejoice with great joy:  
 He comes to us with diligence quickly,  
 To deliver forever:  
 Those who are now here in trouble,

And in misfortune,  
 From this World square:  
 They were still certainly rejoiced,  
 In God the Father of the Ancients,  
 When the Lord will hold that Judgment.

You Poor Men of this World,  
 Do not become fainthearted:  
 You were not yet rich in power, very great,  
 You shall devour those Serpents:  
 Your eyes shall still see,  
 Those congealed Godless stories,  
 Who are here with Babel,  
 On the Earth trampled as dung:  
 As there will be no times,  
 Then you shall rejoice with joy.

The poor and miserable verse,  
 Who are forsaken of man's help,  
 Shall rejoice in the Lord, understand,  
 Although they now seem to be too proud.  
 When the tyrants' clamour,  
 A sin will have,  
 And when all is done,  
 With mockers, who will soon perish,  
 As destroyed are those who torment the poor,  
 Who now watch to strike them down.

Who here now hears sowing with tears,  
 Will may with joy unladen:  
 They go away weeping, understand that Word,  
 Yet they bear Noble Sorrows,  
 And return with joy,  
 In more sincere virtue,  
 They bring without haste,  
 Their Sheaves full, pure and clear,  
 Eternally enough to eat,  
 Then all suffering is forgotten.

You poor little Hope of Israel's fleet  
 That transience of this Earth:  
 Our Kingdom is not of this World,  
 Hold that which is to come in values,  
 That is prepared for little,  
 But this for many steadfast:  
 A very small Joy,  
 That comforts that eternal death:  
 Would keep this in your heart,  
 Trust firmly in God without looking back.

Those who have promised Christ will remain standing,

Do not die in faith:  
 For one you will receive Ten, Yes a hundred,  
 Therefore that Eternal life:  
 Even if it is lost at last,  
 It happens for the best,  
 The number must be fulfilled:  
 Therefore it is certain, you will endure suffering,  
 Without any murmuring,  
 Sorrow will soon turn into joy.

Prince, if that distraction is very quick,  
 The holy People came to an end,  
 So this will happen quickly,  
 That God's Saints here in pressure lived,  
 Will receive that Kingdom,  
 And possess it eternally:  
 Victorious without speed,  
 The violence will serve her indeed:  
 That is the end of these speeches,  
 Would you Christians cheerfully awaken.

“Joris”: My ears have heard from above

My ears have heard from above,  
 My eyes have seen from afar in the forest,  
 That innocence (understand that Word)  
 In those sheep Christ quickly observed:  
 Only sincere:  
 Without mischief they are simple,  
 As doves without fine wrinkles,  
 Our shame or any hypocritical Spirit,  
 As Adam and Eve were first, read.

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### Primary Material

Clément Marot et Théodor de Bèze, *Les Pseaumes / mis en rime francoise par Clement Marot et Theodore de Beze ; avec le chant de l'Eglise de Lausanne* (Jean Rivery, Geneva, 1565). [Les Pseaumes mis en rime françoise par Clement Marot et Theodore de Beze](#)

David Joris, *Een Geestelijck Liedt-Boecxken: Inholdende veel schoone sinrijcke Christlijcke Liedekens: Oock troostlijcke Nieuwe-Jaren/ Claech vnde Lof-Sanghen/ ter Eeren Godes: Alle Oprechte Godt-meenende Liefhebberen der Waerheyt Christi/ Olden vnde Jonghen, seer dienstlijck: Deur D.J.* (anonymous, unknown location, 1576-1582). [Dutch Song Database](#)

Defeatism in Leiden during the Siege: Johan van der Does warns William of Orange, 7 September 1574, Paragraphs 1-2.

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Joris Wybo, *Gheestelijcke Liedekens / ghemaect (ende oock sommige by een vergaedert) tot stichtinge aller Christgheloouighen. Door M. Ioris Wybo alias Syluanus voormaels Dienaer der Ghereformeerder Ghemeynten Christi, binnen Antwerpen, ende daer naer inde Nederduytsche Kercke tot Londen. Hier achter is oock by gheuoecht des voorseyden M. Joris Laetste Predicatie*

*seer profijtelyck tot leeringhe ende vertroostinghe/ ende wederlegginghe van verscheyden dwalinghen. Met een corte beschrijvinghe syner siekten ende afscheydens vvt deser VVerelt: Ende sommige Epitaphien tot syner ghedachtenisse ghemaect.* (Jasper Troyen, Antwerp, 1582). [Dutch Song Database](#)

Jan Utenhove, *De Psalmen Davidids, in Nederlandischer sangs-ryme, door Jan Utenhove van Ghentt. Wartoe [sic] toegedaen syn de gesangen Marie, Zacharie, Simeonis, mit t'samen den tien geboden ende gebede des Heeren, mit noch anderen. Item, is hier noch voor iegeliken Psalme gesett syn inhoudt: ende aent einde een voeghlick ghebedt daroppe: Altemael to nutte der gemeynte Christi* (Ian Daye, London, 1566).; Peter Datheen, *De Psalmen Davids, Ende Ander Lofsanghen, Wt Den Francoyschen dichte in Nederlandschen ouerghesett, Doer Petrvn Dathenvm. Metgaeders den Christelicken Catechismo, Ceremonien ende Ghebeden* (Michiel Chiraet, Heidelberg, 1566).

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Lucas de Heere, *Psalmen Davids Na d'Ebreeusche waerheyt, en d'alderbeste exemplairen, oft translaticien, Liedekins-wijs in dichte ghestelt: op de voysen en mate van Clement Marots Psalmen* (Ghileyn Manilis, Ghent, 1565)

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Peter Datheen, *De Psalmen Davids ende ander Lofsanghen. Wt den Fransoyschen ouergeset, Door Petrum Dathenum. Daer by gheuoecht den Duytsche Text, met de Ghebeden Marlo. Met noch sommige Ghesanghen diemen ghemeynlick in de Ghe-meynte te Embden gebruyckt. Midtsgaders een schoone Kalendier Historiael, met de Jaermerckten van diueersche plaetsen. Ende vele geschiedenissen tot desen Jare 1574. toe. Wederom ouersien en gecorrigeert.* (Sybout Aysma, Emden, 1574). <https://www.liederenbank.nl/bronpresentatie.php?zoek=1000158&lan=en>

Willem van Haecht, *De CL. Psalmen Davids, in dichte ghestelt Door Willem van Haecht. Hier sijn by ghevoecht de Compositien opde Psalmen, ende de Christelijcke Liedekens. Alle, soo die de Christelijcke Ghemeynte binnen Antwerpen (der Confessien van Ausborch toegedaen [sic] sijnde) sijn gebruyckende ; By Priuilegie des Hertochs is gegunt Aernout s'Coninx, alleen te moghen Drucken de Psalmen Davids in dichte gestelt, so di bijder Gemeynten van de Confessie van Ausborch binnen Antwerpen ghebruyct worden, ende is verboden allen anderen, de selue na te Drucken binnen den tijdt van vier Iaren, ingaende den xxij. Mey, Anno. M.D.LXXXII. Op de Pene verclaert in-de Originele Priuilegie, daer af ghegheuen den x. Iulij. Anno M.D.LXXXII.* (Arnout s'Coninx, Antwerp, 1579). [Dutch Song Database](#)

Willem van Zuylen van Nyevelt, *Souter Liedekens Ghemaect ter eeren Gods, op alle die Psalmen van David [...]: tot stichtinghe, ende een gheestelijcke vermakinghe van allen Christen [sic] menschen.* (Symon Cock, Antwerp, 1540)

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