Spring 2020

Music and Communal Division during the French Wars of Religion

Cameron G. Wade
Bucknell University, cgw007@bucknell.edu

Music and Communal Division during the French Wars of Religion

By

Cameron G. Wade

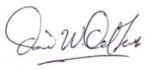
A Proposal Submitted to the Honors Council

For Honors in History

April 1st, 2020

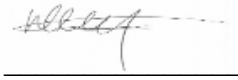
Approved by:

Adviser:



David Del Testa

Second Reader:



Hélène Martin

Acknowledgements

This project is deeply indebted to David Del Testa, Hélène Martin, Ann Tlusty, James Goodale, and Nancy Frazier for their dedicated advice, feedback, and support from many angles. This thesis would not have been possible without them and I will forever be grateful for their help. I would also like to thank the archivists of the Archives Départementales du Rhône and the Archives Nationales de Pierrefitte-sur-Seine.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Abstract

This Senior Honors Thesis explores the social and cultural impact of confessional musical composition and performance on the French Wars of Religion. Because Huguenots and Catholics identified with and were widely identifiable by their respective musical styles, cultural divisions between each confession were emphasized by differences in music. This capacity of sacred and confessionally-influenced secular music to highlight and reinforce societal divides is evidenced by the interconfessional violence that accompanied the public performance of sacred music in cities as well as the pressures imposed on composers to create music which clearly aligned with their respective confessions. As the wars increased in intensity before their conclusion, the French monarchy used religious music to expedite the consolidation of France's national identity around the Catholic Church. This transition of the social role of music toward unification and consolidation reached a climax during the reign of Louis XIV, who closely controlled the composition and performance of music in order to ensure it remained a unifying and stabilizing cultural institution.

Introduction

Although this thesis aims to answer questions which are firmly within the realm of sociocultural history, this project was initially derived from an article titled *Why Obama-Trump swing voters like heavy metal* from *The Economist* magazine.[1] It began by claiming that "one reason America has become so polarized is that its two big parties are increasingly seen to represent tribes as well as policies" and later noted that Donald Trump's 2016 election performance was 22 percentage points higher in areas where country music tickets out-sold those of hip-hop. It prompted the question: is this reliable identification of two competing tribes based on musical preference a phenomenon unique to America today?

My sustained exposure to the French language and culture and lifelong experience with Renaissance choral music pointed me toward exploring this question within the context of the French Wars of Religion, which lasted from 1562 to 1598. This dark time in French history has clearly proven to me that societal divisions distinguished by musical preferences are a new American phenomenon and that in the early modern era, music in France even intensified the bitter hatreds between Catholics and Huguenots that characterized the wars for decades.

The French Wars of Religion are a useful environment for the study of social divisions exacerbated by different musical preferences, genres, and styles for interrelated reasons. For more than three decades, millions of Huguenots and Catholics lived in the same crowded cities despite sustained mutual animosity. They were primarily distinguished by their different

[1] "Why Obama-Trump Swing Voters like Heavy Metal," *The Economist*, 2019.

theological practices, although the gravity of this difference as perceived by the people of sixteenth-century France is difficult to fully comprehend to the 21st century reader. The Wars of Religion were fueled and sustained by an intense fear of God and the eternal damnation that inevitably resulted from displeasing or disobeying Him. To the sixteenth-century French, following misguided theological doctrine certainly qualified as grounds for an afterlife of ceaseless mortal suffering. The certainty of each confession that it was correctly carrying out God's will while the rival dispersed dangerous, morally corrupt messages throughout France made compromise and middle ground unattainable between Catholics and Huguenots. Divisions deepened between neighbors and friends of different faiths to the extent that two separate communities could be traced around each confession. Ensuring one's salvation was of unrivaled importance during life on Earth to the 16th century French and disagreements over how to achieve it promoted the development of two distinctly different confessional communities with correspondingly different cultural practices.

Within each of these communities, religious music assumed an elevated status as an expression of faith of paramount importance to each confession. Huguenots and Catholics alike took great pride in their religious musical genres and styles, which became clearly identifiable as Catholic or Calvinist to contemporary listeners. Each confession believed that its most esteemed theological and cultural elements were embodied within its own musical tradition, while the evil music of the rival confession conversely reflected elements that seemingly confirmed convictions of the rival's sinful theology. Each confession's musical style was a widely understood expression of its respective confessional identity, and the differences between these styles publicly emphasized social divisions for all of France to hear.

This thesis will explore why and how religious music was so aggravating, threatening, and important to each confessional community during the French Wars of Religion. The first chapter will analyze this semantic impact of music to urban citizens within this context of two confessional communities that were pitted directly. An important reason for this particularly powerful and threatening capability of musical performance in crowded public places was its ability to "claim" these physical areas as well as soundscapes. In cities evenly divided between Protestants and Catholics, the knowledge that the other camp controlled these public spatial arenas in their local environments created a dire threat of God's wrath not only to their Earthly communities, but to their chances of salvation in the afterlife because of the deeply ingrained French cultural principle of collective guilt. Because of this threat and the cultural power a confession acquired with these acts of claiming and purifying spaces, song in the public sphere was a source, catalyst, and platform for retributive purifying violence.

The second chapter will explore how these changes impacted the creation of music and how religious pressures from each confession imposed strict barriers on the creative process, especially for Protestant composers, and encouraged the composition of music suited solely for the needs of the composer's respective confessional community. In addition to this examination of the impact of the war on traditionally composed religious "art music," it also interprets simply composed, cheaply printed popular songs encouraging violence against the rival religious camp as derivative of the widely understood cultural power of music to claim and purify spaces. Just as these physical spaces and soundscapes could be claimed and purified through song, the song melodies themselves could be similarly claimed and purified by placing new texts denouncing a confession over its most sacred tunes.

The third chapter explores how the French monarchy, facing criticism and threats for its initially moderate stance toward Protestants from increasingly powerful Catholic extremists, repurposed a Catholic mass text used traditionally during coronation ceremonies to form a new musical ceremony in celebration of the grandeur and power of the King and his close relationship to God. Initially repurposed during the reign of Henri III (r. 1574-1589), the hymn was especially useful to a newly converted Catholic King Henri IV (r. 1589-1610) in emphasizing his genuine confessional transition as he consolidated France in the final years of the war. The novel ability to call this festival at will in every French city simultaneously without his physical presence there helped Henri IV consolidate France under a single Catholic national identity quickly and effectively. This newfound religious consolidation prepared France for conditions favorable to absolutism under Louis XIV.

The Wars of Religion were marked not just by two different confessions, but by two competing subcultures and communities with conflicting norms and traditions. Because each community resided within the same physical spaces in France, the importance of religious music to the populace was heightened because each confession's musical style was a widely understood distinguishing marker of these two competing communities as well as an auditory platform for the expression of pride, resolve, strength, and control of public areas whose domination may have otherwise been ambiguous in diverse cities. It is because the wars were between two subcultures which clearly identified with and were identifiable by their musical styles that violent reactions to religious music in public settings and a strong emphasis during the wars to create music which neatly aligned with the interests of each confessional community were so prominent throughout the conflict. This, paired with the success the monarchy enjoyed

consolidating France around a Catholic national identity using nationwide musical ceremonies that I feel music played a role of possibly unique importance on the daily lives of those who suffered through this conflict as well as on the greater trajectory of the war.

Methodology

Because this project explores how music incited episodes of crowd violence in early modern France, several challenges to its research portion immediately made themselves apparent. Historical research projects on any subject from this time period must grapple with the realities of time on paper primary source documents. This obstacle was further amplified by the events on which this project has focused. Urban mob violence in France during the Wars of Religion was chaotic and left behind a limited and unreliable archival evidence. The primary sources which do remain often display a clear Catholic or Huguenot bias derived from a particularly divided moment in French history. Perhaps the greatest obstacle to research on this topic is the temporary nature of music performance. It is likely that many public performances of provocative Huguenot psalms or Catholic popular tunes condoning religious violence were from memory or cheaply printed sheets of music on fragile paper and are now lost to history.

These obstacles were clearly apparent while I conducted archival research at the Archives Nationales Pierrefitte-sur-Seine in Paris and the Archives Départementales du Rhône in Lyon in search of musical compositions and judicial records documenting episodes of urban violence. In addition to the rarity of these sources and difficulty gaining access to them, my time in the archives was limited by a nationwide strike which severely limited access to public transportation. The archival portion of the research process did not yield substantial new source data on the music or the urban violence of the Wars of Religion, although several fruitful conversations with the archivists at the Archives départementales du Rhône did point me toward

a deeper exploration of musical consolidation around a Catholic French identity as the wars concluded. Fortunately, primary evidence and the accounts of this violence which do remain have been diligently unearthed by cultural historians and musicologists, to whom this project is indebted. The rarity of relevant primary sources from this period as well as the barriers to accessing them are such that this project has sought to explore new social patterns that exist between the significant bodies of research that have already been assembled by leading historians of this era and subject. Like many early modern French histories, this thesis has been shaped by the guiding contextual sociocultural theories and archival research of Barbara Diefendorf and Natalie Zemon Davis. Diefendorf's *The St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre: a brief history with documents,* has been a particularly rich source of primary data, especially her informed translation of the *Song on the Massacre of Wassy.* This project also draws upon the research of musicologists Kate Van Ordan, Jessica Herdman, Amy Graves-Monroe, Frank Dobbins, Paul-André Gaillard, Richard Freedman, Isabelle His, and Gustave Reese for their research on the music and composers of this era. Van Ordan and Herdman's research on cheaply printed popular songs during the Wars of Religion have proven to be particularly valuable, as these songs contained messages which have been crucial in developing the core arguments of this thesis, yet are exceedingly rare documents because of the inexpensive and ephemeral nature of their production, an unfortunate reality which each musicologist readily admits.[1]

The fundamental goal of this project is to contextualize the musicological research of Van Ordan, Herdman and Graves-Monroe on the structure and semantics of sacred and religiously-motivated popular music within the established body of research on the divided

[1] Kate van Orden, "Street Songs and Cheap Print During the French Wars of Religion," *New Faculty Lecture Series, University of California Berkeley* (1998); Jessica Herdman, "Songs Danced in Anger: Music and Violent Emotions in Late Sixteenth-Century Lyon," *French History* 32, no. 2 (May 25, 2018): 151–181.

society and culture of France during the Wars of Religion. In particular the analysis and recontextualization of these interdisciplinary bodies of primary information has yielded insights on how violent reactions to Catholic and Huguenot music were exacerbated by the widely held French social norms of collective guilt and the obligation to purify social pollution through violence and ceremony.

Historiography

This thesis is guided by established arguments on French sociocultural patterns developed by Natalie Zemon Davis and Barbara Diefendorf. Davis' research on early modern France is characterized by a particular focus on the impact of social and cultural forces on the lives of ordinary urban people.[1] This is most clearly present in her canonical *Society and Culture in Early Modern France,* which on account of its thorough archival research and compelling arguments on shifts and norms in daily urban French life continues to be regularly cited and highly praised by early modern historians. Included in this collection is an essay titled *The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth-Century France* which has proven to be particularly compelling to the aims of this project. In response to a precedent of historians reducing the rationale behind religious riot to that of basic socioeconomic pressures or irrational hatreds, Davis noted that the religious riots of Catholics and Protestants against the rival confession's community followed established and prescribed patterns of violence with purposeful symbolic meanings behind each act.[2] In imitation of the violent execution ceremonies approved by the monarchy and an effort to follow the fiery, violence-inducing sermons by leaders of each confession, common people carried out violence against the enemy confession in imitation and support of these powerful institutions with a sense that these symbolic actions were a just and necessary staple of society in the face of heresy. Davis' research on violence in particular has

[1] Natalie Zemon Davis, "Writing 'The Rites of Violence' and Afterward*," *Past & Present* 214, no. suppl_7 (January 2, 2012): 8–29.

[2] Ibid.

since been built on by historians such as Denis Crouzet, David Nirenberg, and Barbara Diefendorf.[3]

Diefendorf's arguments are heavily influenced by Davis' research and methods but are primarily focused on religious violence in Paris, whereas Davis analyzed a wider variety of aspects of French sociocultural life while drawing most of her primary archival research from Lyon. Of utmost importance to this project is Diefendorf's argument that ordinary Catholic Parisian citizen's hatred toward Huguenots was a driving force of the escalation of French religious violence throughout the Wars of Religion. This idea is built on Diefendorf's emphasis on the deep extent of each Church's fear of divine wrath brought about by collective guilt. This is most clearly articulated in *Beneath the Cross : Catholics and Huguenots in sixteenth-century Paris*.[4] This firmly embedded concept of collective behavior in French society fueled widespread fears that Catholic corruption or the sins of heretics could bring down God's wrath on an entire community even if the majority acted in a way that was pleasing to God. The capacity of this fear of social pollution through the presence or toleration of corrupt religious practices in a community is a critical pillar of this thesis.

This research on the sociocultural dynamic of French communities during the latter half of the 16th century is used as the theoretical context for that of musicologists who focus on the music of France during this era. This thesis builds primarily on the work of Kate Van Ordan, whose research on early modern music in France has resulted in writings such as *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France* and *Street Songs and Cheap Print During the French Wars of Religion.* Each text examines the role that sacred and popular music played

---

[3] Ibid.

[4] Barbara B. Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991). 37.

prompting bouts of urban violence as confessional divides deepened.[5] Van Ordan's research features rich analysis of the theory and structure of the music itself and the semantic impact of these features to contemporary listeners, however each of these works examines early modern French music in a broader context without substantial depth into the social and cultural processes by which these songs drove crowds into frenzied violence. Ethnomusicologist Jessica Herdman's *Songs danced in anger: music and violent emotions in late sixteenth-century Lyon* draws heavily from Van Ordan's research with an even greater degree of focus on the capacity of music to harness and mobilize violent emotions in urban contexts. Although her research focuses primarily on popular songs with simple melodies, these songs often contained hateful confessional sentiments which could be used to corral crowds into bursts of violence.[6] This project aims to contextualize these semantic elements of French sacred and confessionally-based popular song with theories exploring the social and cultural mechanics of symbolic crowd violence, social pollution, and collective guilt first propagated by Barbara Diefendorf and Natalie Zemon Davis.

This argument is also informed by soundscape histories, which have been explored in the context of the Wars of Religion by Amy C. Graves-Monroe in her essay *Soundscapes of the Wars of Religion* and more recently in the context of Louis XIV's court by Nicholas Hammond in his book *The Powers of Sound and Song in Early Modern Paris.* In exploring French soundscapes, Graves-Monroe focuses on a variety of types of sound in addition to other sensory elements such as sights and smells. This project will examine the role of soundscapes during the

---

[5] Kate van Orden, "Street Songs and Cheap Print During the French Wars of Religion," *New Faculty Lecture Series, University of California Berkley* (1998); Kate Van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

[6] Jessica Herdman, "Songs Danced in Anger: Music and Violent Emotions in Late Sixteenth-Century Lyon," *French History* 32, no. 2 (May 25, 2018): 151–181.

French Wars of Religion with a narrowed focus on music and the capacity of sacred songs to claim and control these soundscapes. In French communities which felt deeply threatened by the existence of a rival confession, the control of these soundscapes was a clear expression of cultural power and presence, while a failure to control them with song was an even clearer expression of an established heretical presence in the community, for which they were liable to be punished by God on Earth and in the afterlife through the principle of collective guilt.

Chapter 1: Violence and Music during the Wars of Religion

The Wassy Massacre.[1]

"Thus spoke the Lord: I am your God,

Who brought you out of Egypt's land.

One God alone shall you revere

And so fulfill my command."[2]

-Wassy congregation. December 18th, 1561.[3]

---

[1] Frans Hogenberg, *Massacre de Vassy*, Print, 1562.

[2] John Calvin, ed., *The Genevan Psalter*, n.d.

[3] Stuart Carroll, *Martyrs and Murderers: The Guise Family and the Making of Europe* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011). 10.

Upon entering the barn that housed the Huguenot congregation of Wassy in 1561, in what is today the Haute Marne Department, Catholic Bishop of Châlons Jérôme Bourgeois (Unknown-1572) was greeted by an unpleasant sensory overload: In stark contrast to his opulent cathedral, he saw a ceiling filled with gaping holes.[4] In lieu of barriers which distinguished the clerical elite from the masses, he saw no pews to segregate social classes. Apart from a makeshift pulpit, he saw no evidence of social hierarchy at all.[5]

Still more shocking was the roar of the psalm sung by the entire congregation upon his arrival. Unsettled by the participation of the laity in the singing and shocked by the Protestant Pastor Jean Gravelle's bold request that he 'speak not in his capacity as a bishop, but as a human being, Bishop Jérôme found himself in the unthinkable position of defending his episcopal authority to peasants.[6] His response was countered with a grave reply: Pastor Gravelle claimed that he had repeatedly "exposed his life to danger in the name of Jesus Christ and that… he was ready to seal with his own blood the doctrine that he preached."[7]

Less than four months later, Bishop Jérôme's superior, Duke François de Lorraine, of the radically Catholic Guise family, encountered the same congregation while traveling with his army to Paris. Upon hearing the characteristic Protestant psalm-singing of the Wassy's congregation while on a voyage to Paris, he angrily ordered his troops to confront the five hundred Wassy Protestants and force them to silence their heretical music.[8] The Huguenots refused to stop singing and were promptly massacred by the Duke of Guise's soldiers. Fifty were

[4] Ibid. 10.
[5] Ibid. 10.
[6] Ibid. 11.
[7] Ibid. 11.
[8] Jacques-auguste De Thou, *Histoire Universelle. Depuis 1543 Jusqu'en 1607.*, vol. 3, n.d.

killed,[9] and hundreds were wounded.[10] The Duke of Guise continued his march to Paris and entered the city with fanfare as a hero.[11]

How could psalm-singing, which had for centuries been a unifying force among Christian communities, be so provocative and offensive to Catholics that violence of this magnitude was considered to be a justified response? Such violent reactions to sacred music were not limited to Wassy. Throughout the second half of the sixteenth century, sacred song was a catalyzing and exacerbating factor in major episodes of urban and military violence between Huguenots and Catholics. Publicly sung Huguenot psalms drove Parisian Catholic crowds to violent frenzies.[12] Catholic armies rallied massive crowds determined to kill heretics by roaming the countryside singing hymns and antiphons.[13] Songs were even composed by Catholics to celebrate and commemorate famous acts of violence against the enemies of the true Church, including this *Song on the Massacre of Wassy,* which was composed shortly after the massacre:

Honor be to God and to the king our Lord,
Who protects us from the wrath of malicious Huguenots.
They want to kill us, but a day will come
When they will be made to die laughing

We have a good lord in this country of France,
And a prince of great honor; valiant and humane.
He is the duke of Guise, who, by his great mercy,
Defended the Holy Mother Church at Vassy.

Sunday, March first, Huguenots came from all around
to gather in a barn for preaching and feasting

---

[9] Death toll claims vary from low 20s to as many as 100

[10] Carroll, *Martyrs and Murderers*. 18.

[11] Barbara B. Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991). 62.

[12] Janine Garrisson, *Les Protestants Au XVIe Siècle*, Nouvelles études historiques (Paris: Fayard, 1988). 273.

[13] Kate Van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005). 125.

On meat and fat lard, like so many rats,
Though it was a time for Lenten fasting.

And when the good prince of Guise went to hear a Mas,
And the priest his vestments was donning,
The Huguenots, ignoble toads, rang the bells for worship,
PReventing God's service in the Holy Mother Church.

And so Monsieur de Guise said to his gentlemen:
Go over there and tell them to have patience,
Give us a moment's peace, so to render God
Grace, honor, and reverence.

But the cursed Huguenots did something else instead
And replied that they did not have to stop;
They struck and molested these noble persons;
With cannons and sticks they attacked them basely.

Monsieur de Guise went over there in haste,
And on those wicked ones took vengeance;
He killed most of their party, and his troops
By their conquests did something great.[14]

The vicious sentiments applauded in this song and the violence that surrounding music during the Wars of Religion were derived not only from the conflict between the confessions, but because of social and cultural norms which enabled music to become a potent and provocative cultural identifier and weapon. This chapter will explore the relationship between music and confessional violence in France before, during and between the French Wars of Religion. Informed analysis of this phenomenon requires a contextual awareness of the development of the Huguenot Church in France, the critical role music played in this development, and the steadily

[14] Antoine Jean Victor Leroux de Lincy, *Recueil de Chants Historiques Français Depuis Le XIIe Jusqu'au XVIIIe Siècle.*, trans. Barbara B. Diefendorf (Paris, 1841). 2:269-72.

intensifying religious hatreds between Huguenots and Catholics which boiled over shortly after the Wassy Massacre in the form of the first of eight civil wars which would rage for 36 years.

Although misnomered as Lutherans by Catholics until the early 1560s, the Huguenots owed their roots to Jean Calvin's (1509-1564) Reformed Church in Geneva. Forced to flee France in 1534 after the Affair of the Placards, during which reformers provoked heightened royal persecution after posting criticisms of the Catholic mass in many public areas and even the Kings' bedroom door, Calvin fled to Basel, where he began drafting the first edition of his *Institutes of the Christian Religion (1536).*[15] The *Institutes* revolved around Calvin's radical concept of predestination, which boldly asserted that God was aware from the first day of creation who would be saved and who would be damned for eternity[16] Where it was once unquestionably the role of Catholic Church to oversee the safe passage of human souls to salvation, Calvinism asserted that the process of being saved was in fact only possible through faith and trust that God would grant mercy to people who by their inherently sinful human nature could never truly deserve such mercy regardless of good deeds or favor with Earthly religious institutions. In addition, Calvin blasted elaborate Catholic worship traditions and rituals which claimed to ensure the salvation of its following, especially those which prevented the full engagement and involvement of the laity. The inability of Catholic worshippers to understand the Latin words they chanted during Mass was unacceptable to Calvin, who wrote that these practices, along with an emphasis on idolatry were "nothing but a kind of sorcery."[17] Calvin detested that Catholic clergy "deem the entire mystery impaired if all is not done and said

[15] George A. Rothrock, *The Huguenots: A Biography of a Minority* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1979). 22.
[16] Ibid. 23.
[17] Reinold Theisen, *Mass Liturgy and the Council of Trent* (Collegeville, MN, 1965). 17.

secretly in a way that no one perceives anything."[18] Calvin's theology rejected the authority of the Catholic Church and asserted that rulers could only be considered legitimate if they were supportive of the "true" religion.[19] For King Francois I of France (1494-1547, 1515-1547), whose divine authority to rule was directly attached to the fortunes of the Roman Church, this theology was not simply heretical, but treasonous, although spiritual heresy remained a far greater crime than earthly treason in the minds of the time. For the remainder of its existence,Francois I's House of Valois line would be permanently aligned against Calvin's Reformation.

While in exile, Calvin developed theological requirements detailing every aspect of a Christian community which would find favor in God's eyes and, notably, His ears. In drafting and revising his *Institutes,* Calvin made important transitions in his approach to the role of music in prayer. These ideas would evolve to form a core of Huguenot communal worship. The importance of committed, genuine prayer was paramount to Calvin, who argued that in lieu of luxurious Earthly temples, "we ourselves are the true temples of God" and therefore if we "wish to pray in God's temple, pray in ourselves."[20] With such an emphasis on the private and devout nature of proper prayer, Calvin emphasized in his initial 1536 edition of the *Institutes* that the act of publicly expressing these prayers through voice and song was therefore a worthless endeavor unless deeply felt.[21] Any motivating factor for the creation of sound "from the tip of the lips and from the throat" other than the devout expression of faith was an abusive mockery of genuine

[18] Ibid. 17.
[19] Rothrock, *The Huguenots*. 24.
[20] John Calvin, *Institution of the Christian Religion*, trans. Ford Lewis Battles (Atlanta, 1975). 99.
[21] Charles Garside, "The Origins of Calvin's Theology of Music: 1536-1543," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 69, no. 4 (1979): 8.

prayer and had to be banned from true Christian communities.[22] No mention was made of song in public prayer in 1536, although the emphasis on dedicated intensity of prayer sung in private revealed Calvin's view that music was a serious ritual not to be practiced lightly in Calvinist communities and should be solely employed to strengthen faith and enhance one's personal relationship with God through sacred text. [23] Calvin's views on music evolved dramatically over the next year, as his *Articles* of 1537 reveal a shift from cautious reluctance to utilizing music as a worship practice to nearly unqualified acceptance of the singing of psalms in public worship.[24] Calvin writes:

> The other matter is the psalms which we wish to be sung in the church as we have it from the example of the ancient church and also the testimony of Saint Paul, who says that it is good to sing in the congregation with mouth and heart. We are not able to estimate the benefit and edification which will derive from this until after having experienced it. Certainly at present the prayers of the faithful are so cold that we should be greatly ashamed and confused. The psalms can stimulate us to raise our hearts to God and arouse us to an ardor in invoking as well as in exalting with praises the glory of His name. Moreover by this one will recognize of what advantage and consolation the pope and his creatures have deprived the church, for he has distorted the psalms which should be true spiritual songs into a murmuring among themselves without any understanding.[25]

Calvin's transition toward an acceptance of musical performance in public settings stood in stark contrast from his contemporary Swiss reformer Huldrych Zwingli (1484-1531), whose Reformation at this time was characterized by a rejection of music featuring the burning of organs and sacred religious music.[26] Calvin's rapid transition in 1537 established the foundation

---

[22] Calvin, *Institution of the Christian Religion*. 100.
[23] Garside, "The Origins of Calvin's Theology of Music." 9.
[24] Ibid. 9.
[25] John Calvin, *Articles*, 1537.
[26] Robin Leaver, "Zwingli, Ulrich," *Grove Music Online*.

of his theology of embracing religious music to enhance personal connection to sacred text and compel communities of faith to join together in dedicated worship of God. With this transition, the prioritization of sincere intensity and spiritual experience surrounding sung private prayer as specified by Calvin in the *Institutes* of 1536 was reinforced and expanded within Calvin's theology as an important communal staple. Calvin also continued his strict proscription of music created or performed for any other purpose. Psalms sung in unison communally to enhance the collective devotional experience were now not simply accepted, but uplifted as a pillar of Calvinist communities. Calvin's awareness of the spiritual strength and devotional commitment obtained through psalm singing is evident in the cited passage of the *Articles* of 1537 along with two other significant points of emphasis: First, that psalms should be sung as they were by the often-martyred Christians of the ancient Church, and second, that the practice of communal, vernacular psalm-singing was a major point of theological and cultural differentiation between Calvin's pure Reformed Church and the Pope's Catholicism, as Catholic songs substituted spiritual meaning for empty, excessive, Latin spectacle while Calvinists participated in the pure, sung expression of faith to God. As persecution against Calvinist Huguenots by the people and institutions of the Roman Church intensified, the understanding of French Protestants that the psalms elevated them above morally bankrupt Catholic traditions and enabled them to feel connected to their community, to God, and to the psalm-singing ancient Christians martyred by the Romans gave Huguenot communities a sense of strength and determination to commit to their struggle. This increased their capacity to withstand intense bouts of religious violence and persecution and prolonged the confessional conflict in France.

In stark contrast to simple, unison psalms of Calvinist communities, the complex and decadent musical works of the French Catholic Counter-Reformation, characterized by harmonically dense choral works in which multiple lines of Latin text were sung in overlapping layers, seemingly confirmed Calvinist criticisms that the indulgent ritual practices of Catholicism overshadowed the importance of spirituality through prayer and faith. Indeed, to Calvin and his followers, Catholic decadence was overshadowed only by that of the monarchy. As king and the church grew increasingly interdependent through mutually beneficial taxation schemes and politically motivated episcopal appointments, many of which were sold to members of powerful families by the crown for massive fees.[27] Calvin and his followers were provided with easy targets in addition to the established grievances of poorly trained and behaved clergy and corrupting ritual excess.

After an initial expulsion from the city in 1538 for denouncing Genevan rulers from the pulpit,[28] Calvin was asked to return in 1541 and assume control of Genevan Church which had experienced a crisis of aggressively competing confessional and political factions.[29] He immediately worked to enact each aspect of the Christian society outlined in the *Institutes* over every facet of social, cultural, and political life in Geneva. A strict consistory was established to prosecute behavior out of line with Calvinist standards.[30] Music for purposes other than established worship practices - especially dancing - was strictly outlawed and designated as a sinful practice detrimental to the purity of the Christian community. Thirty-three recorded cases

---

[27] William Beik, *A Social and Cultural History of Early Modern France* (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009). 178.

[28] Bruce Gordon, *Calvin* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2009). 80.

[29] Ibid. 123.

[30] Philip. Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven, Conn. ; Yale University Press, 2002). 96.

were brought against the Genevan consistory for dancing and "profane songs" alone.[31] The Calvinists believed that they were God's chosen people whose predetermined purpose was to create order and promote true faith in a world characterized by sin and corruption.[32] Although harsh punishments were certainly an incentive to live according to Calvin's teachings, it does seem apparent that Genevans were deeply invested in the purity of their religious community. In his canonical classic *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed, A Social History of Calvinism,* Philip Benedict noted that Geneva's parish registers featured incredibly low rates of illegitimate births and prenuptial conceptions: At just 0.12 and 1 percent respectively, these are likely the lowest rates reliably observed in European history.[33] As they disciplined themselves and their community with fervent dedication to Calvin's laws, the sinful communities of Geneva's neighbors appeared increasingly problematic and impossible to ignore.

With firm control of Genevan political, legislative, and religious institutions, Calvin and his followers looked to spread their faith to France. French Protestant refugees, including noblemen and converted priests, had been arriving in Geneva with increasing frequency after the succession of Henri II (1519-1559, r. 1547-1559) to the throne upon the death of his father Francois I.[34] Although Henri II's reign was marked by distractions from foreign wars, he was determined to eliminate the growing domestic Huguenot threat through violent persecution: he once promised "I swear that as soon as I can get my external affairs in order I will see that the streets are flowing with the blood and heads of these infamous swine the Lutherans."[35] That the

---

[31] William Monter, "The Consistory of Geneva, 1559-1569," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 38 (1976).

[32] Beik, *A Social and Cultural History of Early Modern France*. 181.

[33] Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed*. 103.

[34] Beik, *A Social and Cultural History of Early Modern France*. 181.

[35] Garrisson, *Les Protestants Au XVIe Siècle*. 185.

heretics he publicly burned were actually Calvinists mattered little to him. Just as the fortunes of the French crown and Catholic Church were directly correlated, the moral crime of heresy was also one of treason in the eyes of the crown. As the Reformed Church grew, Henri II saw to it that Protestants would be treated as traitors or worse.

Yet the French Reformed Church did grow. Despite the already substantial development and expansion of reformed communities,[36] Calvin worried about the capacity of the staunchly Catholic monarchy to quell the spread of the true church throughout France and established his Company of Pastors in Geneva in 1555 to promote the spread of Calvinism and ensure that proper Calvinist doctrine was practiced in reformed communities.[37] In 1555 alone, 119 of these immigrant proselytizers were registered in Geneva to be sent to aid developing Huguenot communities around France.[38] Their careful training under the supervision of Calvin in Geneva ensured that Calvinist theology, including the important role of music in the Calvinist community, formed the core of the French Reformed Church. The Huguenot message of faith, hard work and the rejection of Catholic decadence resonated with French people who perceived the failings of their clergy and worried about Catholicism's capacity to ensure their salvation.[39] By the early 1560s, between 1.5 and 2 million people had committed themselves to the reformed cause.[40] The Huguenots were most strongly concentrated in central and southern France and also formed a strong presence along the coast and in major cities.[41] Although the Huguenots were

---

[36] Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed*. 130-134.

[37] N. M. Sutherland, *The Huguenot Struggle for Recognition* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University, 1980). 52.

[38] Robert M. Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion in France, 1555-1563*, Cahiers d'humanisme et Renaissance v. 82 (Geneva: Droz, 2007). 60.

[39] Beik, *A Social and Cultural History of Early Modern France*. 182.

[40] Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed*. 137.

[41] Ibid. 137.

roughly evenly distributed among socioeconomic strata in urban environments, the literate and geographically mobile were disproportionately represented, while largely illiterate agricultural workers were underrepresented within their ranks.[42] A collective government for the scattered web of Huguenot was officially established at the Synod of Paris in 1559. In title, culture and society, the Reformed Church of France was well established.

This was unacceptable to Henri II, who made his position on the rise of Huguenot Church clear during a procession against heresy early in his reign: "In such a manner that if one of the arms of my body was infected with this corruption, I would cut it off, and if my children were tainted with it, I would myself offer them in sacrifice."[43] During his first year as King in 1547, Henri II established the *Chambre Ardente*[44] and charged it solely with the task of torturing and burning heretics over the course of three years.[45] This intensely cruel inquisition ended in 1551 only when a public conflict between Henri II and the Pope Julius III (1487-1555) pushed the French King toward a less extreme although resoundingly anti-heretical response in the form of the Edict of Châteaubriant (1551),[46] which censored the production and sale of Protestant texts and criminalized withheld information regarding Protestant printers, distributors, or book owners.[47] This censorship of the Huguenot press was followed by the Edict of Compiègne (1557), which legally equated heresy with sedition by assigning the death penalty to anyone convicted of being a Protestant, partaking in a Protestant gathering, or creating, selling, or

---

[42] Ibid. 137.
[43] Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross*. 47.
[44] Or "burning room"
[45] Nancy L. Roelker, *One King, One Faith: The Parlement of Paris and the Religious Reformations of the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996). 210-212.
[46] Ibid. 222.
[47] Sutherland, *The Huguenot Struggle for Recognition*. 46.

possessing Protestant literature.[48] The King's increasingly draconian approach drew the concern of Parliament of Paris, which in 1559 refused to register his latest persecution law.[49] A furious Henri II saw that five magistrates sympathetic to the suffering of the Protestants were arrested. [50] Although four of them would later be released and reinstated, Henri II was so outraged by the counselor Anne du Bourg's (1521-1559) outspoken criticism of royal persecution that he famously swore he would see du Bourg burn. The King's eye was ironically and fatally gouged out in a jousting tournament one month later.[51] Du Bourg burned as promised, however Henri II was not alive to see him do so.[52]

Henri II was succeeded by his 15 year old son Francois II (1544-1560), who through youth and his marriage to Mary Stuart (1542-1587), the niece of Charles de Guise (1524-1574), the Cardinal de Lorraine, was vulnerable enough to be controlled by the Cardinal's ambitious and ultra-Catholic House of Guise.[53] The Cardinal acted quickly, removing officeholders who were not under Guise control and mounting a campaign of mass arrest, torture, and public burning of Huguenots in Paris.[54] His extreme measures encouraged the development of a moderate party led by the queen mother Catherine de Medici (1519-1589), who had been isolated from influencing her son by the Guises and by their aggressive political approach was incentivized to develop a competing faction in court.[55] In a personally tragic yet politically lucky turn of events for Catherine, the death of her son Francois II from illness after just seventeen

[48] Roelker, *One King, One Faith*. 231.
[49] Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross*. 52.
[50] Ibid. 52.
[51] Ibid. 52.
[52] Roelker, *One King, One Faith*. 239.
[53] Ibid. 238.
[54] Ibid. 238.
[55] Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross*. 56-57.

months as king resulted in the loss of Guise's influence over the crown, enabling his mother to become regent for her next son Charles IX (1550-1574), whose minority prevented him from ruling.[56] She retained her moderate tendencies in hopes of easing escalating tensions between Catholics and Huguenots, who were engaging in increasingly frequent and violent bouts of confessional violence against each other. Catherine oversaw the passage of an edict of toleration on January 17, 1562, which allowed for the practice of Reformed services under certain constraints, including the condition that they took place outside of city walls.[57] Catholics were outraged.

It was in this burst of indignation that Francois, the Duke of Guise (1519-1563) and brother of the Cardinal de Lorraine, was summoned to Paris to address the crisis of toleration. Aware of the earlier interaction between his Bishop Jérôme and the defiant Protestant congregation in Wassy, the Duke ordered his men to march toward the city upon hearing church bells ringing in the town "at a time when one was not accustomed to hearing them."[58] As they marched closer, the sound of these rebellious bells was paired with clearly heretical psalm-singing. The singers were massacred soon after, prompting Huguenot leaders to mobilize armies. The first of eight wars, which would go on to result in an estimated three million deaths, had begun.

Music played a notable role in instigating and exacerbating the urban violence that characterized this period of escalating confessional conflict between Catholics and Huguenots. Through an analysis of major episodes of confessional violence in the years leading to the Wassy

[56] Ibid. 57.
[57] Ibid. 62.
[58] De Thou, *Histoire Universelle. Depuis 1543 Jusqu'en 1607.*, vol. 3, p. 167.

Massacre of 1562 and of the massacre itself, several related and mutually compounding factors appear to have contributed to this propensity.

The first of these was the deeply ingrained sixteenth-century French Catholic notion that the sins or good deeds of the individual or of the few have the capacity to respectively bring God's wrath or grace on the entirety of a population. Barbara Diefendorf has convincingly emphasized the importance of collective behavior to 16th century Catholics and the impact of this widespread fear that just as one could benefit his community with prayer for others, he could seriously jeopardize its well-being with individual sins.[59] The fear of collective Catholic guilt brought about by resting idly while Huguenots boldly offended God with heretical worship compelled Catholics to acts of profound violence against those who dared to bring about divine retribution on France. The word "pollution" frequently accompanied religious riot during the 16th century, as each confession viewed the other as the source of social contamination displeasing to God.[60] As religious tensions mounted between the confessions, the pressure to combat societal pollution generated by the rival confessions through purifying violence and ritual grew increasingly powerful.[61] In her influential essay *The Rites of Violence,* historian Natalie Zemon Davis has established that religious riots preceding and during the Wars of Religion was not random or unorganized, but rather a widely accepted and methodical practice that occurred in response to this need for religious purification.[62] The fear of divine wrath brought about by the prominence of the sinful practices of the other confession fueled demand for acts of increasingly brutal ritualized violence to purify spaces tarnished by heresy.

---

[59] Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross*. 37.

[60] Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1975). 157.

[61] Ibid. 157.

[62] Ibid. 184-186.

Because of the attention brought about by the loud psalm singing of Huguenots in public spaces, the triumphant, relic-bearing public processions of Catholics, and the deafening cathedral bells announcing mass, the areas in which these musical works were repeatedly performed invited the scorn and violent purification ritual of each confessional community. It is critical to emphasize in this study that these musical performances and practices were not only deeply offensive to the competing confession, but threatened to bring down the wrath of God upon all of the community and doom idle bystanders of the competing faith to eternal damnation.[63] With this principle in mind, it is clearer why upon learning of the Protestant worship occurring within a barn he owned,[64] the Duke de Guise felt personally threatened by this social pollution occuring on his own land. His famously devout mother was indignant and ceaselessly reminded him that this worship would "offend God and do harm his reputation."[65] While marching near Wassy and hearing the bells and psalm-singing months later, it was no longer possible for the Duke or his men to ignore the heresy he believed polluted their community. To allow such singing to continue would be detrimental to the Duke's all-important honor and threaten to bring down the wrath of God upon his people. For Parisian Catholics appalled at the willingness of Catherine de Medici to tolerate Huguenot pollution, the Duke's willingness to purify Protestant heresy with violence was cause for celebration and commandment.

Huguenot and Catholic music in public spheres provided clear evidence of social pollution to the rival confession and consequently necessitated violence in response. When hundreds of Calvinists gathered for five consecutive nights on the Pré aux Clercs in fiercely Catholic central Paris to publicly sing songs in defiance to Henri II's persecution, massive

---

[63] Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross*. 37.
[64] Carroll, *Martyrs and Murderers*. 17.
[65] De Thou, *Histoire Universelle. Depuis 1543 Jusqu'en 1607.*, vol. 3, p. 167.

crowds of Parisians responded first with heckling and progressed to open violence in the streets.[66] The attention brought on by the psalm-singing made it impossible for Parisian Catholics to ignore the presence of heresy through which they shared guilt by proximity. The only adequate response in their minds was through retributive violence. In Lyon, where Huguenots initially enjoyed a stronger presence, Protestants engaged in even bolder public displays of faith through music; marching through the city center singing psalms in a loud and provocative manner and going so far as to interrupt canon counts at the Cathedral of Saint Jean.[67] The city council immediately dispatched the city watch to suppress the marchers before violence progressed further.[68] Through this pollution of such sacred and public spheres, Lyonnais Huguenots invited dramatic retributive violence from Catholics, who would eventually massacre the last public remnants of their Protestant community at a musical service during the Massacre of the Lyon Vespers in 1572.[69]

These violent acts were further encouraged by clearly understood, direct, and immediate societal association of Huguenot and Catholic music and musical traditions with their respective confessional communities. While marching to Paris, the oddly timed bell-ringing from Wassy prompted the Duke of Guise to ask locals why he could hear them. His men and locals alike replied that these bells were summoning local Protestants to their Sunday worship service.[70] Upon approaching the town and hearing the psalm-singing, there were no questions in the minds of the Duke or his men as to who was responsible for these sounds. It was immediately clear to

---

[66] Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross.* 51; Roelker, *One King, One Faith*. 233

[67] Raymond A. Mentzer and Andrew Spicer, eds., *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559-1685* (Cambridge, U.K. ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 17; Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France*. 5.

[68] Mentzer and Spicer, *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559-1685*. 17.

[69] Ibid. 27.

[70] Carroll, *Martyrs and Murderers*. 15.

contemporary listeners whether a performance of sacred vocal music was Huguenot psalm or a Catholic hymn or mass and the bells of cathedrals and churches clearly indicated to residents and visitors which confessional community was in control of an area. Psalm singing in particular became widely understood as an important element of Huguenot communities and therefore came to symbolize the Reformed Church in the eyes of Huguenots and Catholics alike. In an inventory of the 1087 books available from clandestine Protestant bookseller Richard Breton (1524-1571) discovered after his death, 634 books of psalms were listed, with an additional 101 books of Psalms with the New Testament included.[71] The extent that these psalms were precious and valuable to the Huguenots was understood by Catholics as well. In response to the violence of the Pré aux Clercs, Henri II banned psalm-singing entirely.[72] In a similar manner, the cherished Catholic tradition of royal and religious hymn-singing processions to appeal for divine aid, give thanks for victories, or combat heresy was clearly associated with Catholicism to each confession.[73]

These differing musical practices neatly distinguished and identified each group and importantly aligned with their perceived negative stereotypes regarding the deviance and sin of the rival confession. Huguenots were disgusted by relic-worshipping masses which they described as "vile filth,"[74] featuring corrupt, concubine-contaminated clergy polluting religious spaces with disingenuous idolatrous worship and lavish ritual procedures that prevented the faithful from engaging in true spirituality. Protestants are known to have held parades satirizing the excess of Catholic ceremonies during which a Huguenot man dressed as a priest would

---

[71] Georges Wildenstein, "L'imprimeur-Libraire Richard Breton: Et Son Inventaire Après Décès, 1571," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme Et Renaissance* (1959) 364-379; Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross*. 136.

[72] Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross*. 137.

[73] Ibid. 39.

[74] Ibid. 159.

publicly ride an ass and be led through streets pretending to lead mass while crowds mockingly sang Catholic sacred pieces.[75] Their rejection of Catholic music was made easy by its corresponding compositional excess in lieu of textual emphasis, which directly contradicted the theology of Calvin.[76] In addition, Protestants despised the Catholic acceptance of dance music, which was directly contradictory to Calvin's interpretation of the role of music in good Christian communities. This particularly virulent strain of Catholic pollution prompted episodes of violence in which Protestants stoned festive dancers at Pamiers and Lyon.[77] Contrarily, Catholics were appalled that women were allowed to sing psalms jointly with men,[78] which reinforced their widespread belief that Protestants would conclude their psalm-singing and immediately engage in horrific sexual deviance.[79] Each community cherished and upheld its own musical tradition and found that of the other confession to be clear and offensive expressions of heresy. This reinforced each confession's preconceived notions that it was in God's grace and that the other confession was one of heresy. Sacred music was deeply symbolic of the confession with which it was associated, which further increased the necessity of violently intervening against heretical musical rituals performed in public.

Sixteenth-century French religious conflict took place in villages, towns, and cities marked by two irreconcilable religious communities without clear geographic boundaries distinguishing them.[80] Often forced to live without established areas of worship, Huguenots were

---

[75] Jean Crespin, *Le Livre Des Martyrs* (Geneva, 1554). 311-312.

[76] Charles Garside, "The Origins of Calvin's Theology of Music: 1536-1543," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 69, no. 4 (1979): 20.

[77] Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France*. 175.

[78] Ibid. 86.

[79] Ibid. 158.

[80] Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross*. 112.

able to claim public physical areas and their soundscapes with forceful psalm-singing.[81] While these occasions provided the community of the Reformed Church with an opportunity to display its strength, faith, and solidarity in the face of persecution, it also prompted inevitable conflict from angry and disapproving Catholics. Musicologist Amy Graves-Monroe has convincingly argued that the Wars of Religion were characterized by the use of music as an instrument of social violence and that the acoustic landscape of France, especially in urban areas, can be considered a cultural battleground during the era.[82] The heretical Psalms sung in public at the Cathedral St. Jean in Lyon and the Pré aux Clercs in Paris represented an attack on Catholicism, and clearly expressed the Reformed Church's defiance and rejection of the institution whose existence hinged on its ability to ensure their salvation. In addition to this institutional threat, the claiming of these spaces and acoustic landscapes by Huguenots doomed Catholic individuals within the community to God's wrath by way of assumed guilt through collective association with heretics. To these Catholics, this claiming of public areas and soundscapes by means of psalm-singing had to be addressed with acoustic retaliation, which had a tendency to spiral into physical violence for the same reasons that the music was initially threatening to them. In addition to the intense verbal heckling that accompanied Huguenot psalm-singing,[83] Catholic churches were known to ring their bells so loudly that the Huguenot psalms-singing was drowned out.[84] The power and confidence gained by each confession with the knowledge that its God was present and in control of physical space through sonic expression, even if temporary, represented a direct threat to the other confession and created a need to compete for control of

---

[81] Ibid. 51.

[82] David P. LaGuardia, Cathy Yandell, and Amy C. Graves-Monroe, *Memory and Community in Sixteenth-Century France* (London, United Kingdom: Routledge, 2015). 69.

[83] Roelker, *One King, One Faith*. 233.

[84] LaGuardia, Yandell, and Graves-Monroe, *Memory and Community in Sixteenth-Century France*. 66.

acoustic landscapes with song, ritual, and violence. In cities without concentrated neighborhoods of Huguenots and Catholics, these conflicts over the control of public soundscapes clearly distinguished two opposing groups and promoted violent conflict between them.

The impact of this conflict over soundscapes is evident in the 1561 tumult of St. Medard, which along with the Wassy Massacre was one of the most inflammatory episodes of confessional violence in the months preceding the first of the religious wars.[85] Although Catholic and Protestant accounts of the episode vary dramatically, it is clear that Huguenots were worshipping at a house near the Catholic church of St. Medard in Paris.[86] Catholic bells rang out and interrupted the Protestants service in an action they determined to be deliberate and an angry crowd approached the Church.[87] It is not clear who began the resulting battle, which featured the pillaging of the Church along with multiple deaths and serious injuries. What is more important are the perceived causes of the conflict to the Huguenots, who sincerely believed that the bells were an act of Catholic sonic aggression. As Graves-Monroe notes in her analysis of the conflict, the initial act of aggression was delivered through sound, not physical violence.[88] Soundscapes could be polluted, purified, and fought over just as physical spaces were.

Religious music had the capacity to enhance the resolve, faith, confidence, and determination of the Church community. Huguenots knew their psalms by heart,[89] and the very experience of public psalm-singing reinforced their certitude that they were in the right when

---

[85] Barbara B. Diefendorf, *The St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre: A Brief History with Documents*, The Bedford series in history and culture (Boston, Mass: Bedford/St. Martins, 2009). 63.

[86] Louis Lafaist and Félix Danjou, eds., *Archives curieuses de l'histoire de France: depuis Louis XI jusqu'à Louis XVIII, ou collection de pièces rares et intéressantes... publiées d'après les textes conservés à la Bibliothèque royale, et accompagnées de notices et d'éclaircissemens : ouvrage destiné à servir de complément aux collections Guizot, Buchon, Petitot et Leber* (Beauvais, 1835) 52-56.; Claude de Sainctes, *Discours Sur Le Saccagement Des Églises Catholiques, Par Les Hérétiques Anciens,Nouveaux Calvinistes* (Toulouse, n.d.). 31-33.

[87] Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross*. 61.

[88] LaGuardia, Yandell, and Graves-Monroe, *Memory and Community in Sixteenth-Century France*. 67-68.

[89] Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France*. 189.

fighting inevitably broke out around their public performances.[90] The Psalms strengthened their resolve in these moments of urban violence as well as during the frequent public executions of heretics, whose resolve and psalm-singing during their moments of martyrdom could be a source of inspiration for their fellow Huguenots.[91] The power and inspiration gained from sung reminders of this shared anguish posed a threat to Henri II, whose preferred practice of cutting out the tongues of heretics before their execution was developed out of the fear that this courageous singing would encourage further heresy in moments that were carefully staged to suppress it. The communal and individual strength gained from the practice of psalm-singing also contributed to Huguenot resolve to defy and resist Catholic suppression. This capacity intensified violent conflicts in which music was present. Music enhanced cooperation within groups, which made them more effective at carrying out acts of violence against the rival confession as well as more determined to do so. The power of these vernacular psalms to contribute to Huguenot courage worried Catholics enough that they considered commissioning Catholic vernacular hymns in order to more effectively compete with the Protestants.[92]

As full-scale war broke out, sacred song contributed to confessional resolve and hatred on a new scale. The text of Psalm 144, which was sung by the Huguenots before their doomed resistance to Catholics during the central French Siege of Sancerre in 1572, perfectly voiced their drive to fight to their death in holy war: "blessed be the Lord my strength which teacheth my hands to war and my fingers to fight."[93] In a similar manner, Catholic religious hymns, along

[90] Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France*. 168.
[91] Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross*. 137.
[92] Van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France*. 127.
[93] Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross*. 136-144

with simple popular songs such as the *Song on the Massacre at Wassy,* clearly expressed to Catholics the necessity of never resting until France was entirely purified of heresy.

Each of these forces converged upon and intensified the other to create acoustic arenas of fear and hatred in which confessional song and ritual prompted the need for purifying violence and the reclamation of spaces through competing musical and ritual practices. This spiraling tendency toward conflict over spaces and soundscapes was further intensified by the capacity of sacred musical rituals to strengthen the resolve and determination of one confessional community while highlighting the unacceptable polluting heresy present within the greater community. By claiming and purifying physical areas and their acoustic landscapes with sacred songs, each confession could enhance its own confidence and resolve while purifying pollution for God. This action was directly confrontational to the opposing confession and was a source of consistent and increasingly ferocious violence. Music before and during the Wars of Religion represented an important platform for cultural conflict over the control of acoustic landscapes that ignited and reinforced hateful divisions to the extent physical conflicts were significantly provoked, sustained, and intensified.

The great perseverance in this great fire,
That in the throes of death makes of the soldier a victor,
Stirs within me the eye, the ear, and the heart,
When I see it, when I hear it, when I think upon it.
I see suffering borne with great joy and constancy,
I hear singing out loud under extreme duress.
Thus I think that God's greatness
Shines forth into the darkness of human weakness.
If one might wish a great benefit to enjoy.[94]

[94] Jean Crespin and Simon Goulart, *Histoire Des Martyrs: Persecutez Et Mis a Mort Pour La Verite De L'evangile, Depuis Le Temps Des Apostres Iusques a Present*, trans. Amy C. Graves-Monroe (Geneva, n.d.).

Chapter 2: Pressures on Composition during the Wars of Religion

The decades of war and destruction that followed the Wassy Massacre in 1562 had devastating effects on French musical composition and production after a preceding century of musical breakthroughs building on Josquin des Prez's[1] Ars Perfecta style.[2] Throughout the decade of the 1580s, barely thirty new books of music were published by the Royal Printers of Music;[3] half of what had been composed and produced during the 1570s.[4] After the assassination of Henri III (1551-1589, r. 1574-1589), the Royal Printers of Music ceased printing music and French music publishing collapsed completely.[5] In addition to the suffering brought on by the rapid decline of a major source of income and patronage, French musical composers were often placed in adverse situations by the increasingly radical religious and cultural constraints of their communities. Composers in devoutly Calvinist areas were forced to reconcile their music with the stringent limitations of Calvin's theology of music, while Henri II's banning of Marot's psalms and institutionalized persecution rendered the composition of Huguenot music a dangerous endeavor in France. The composition of sacred music constituted the generation of cultural pollution to the rival confessional community and the widely understood importance of these songs generated immense pressure for composers to write music that closely conformed to

[1] B. 1450 to 1455 – 1521

[2] Patrick Macey et al., "Josquin (Lebloitte, dit) Des Prez" (February 23, 2011).

[3] Known as Le Roy et Ballard, this printing firm was founded by Adrian Le Roy and his cousin Robert Ballard in 1551 and obtained prestige and success as the preferred printing company of King Henri II and his successors.

[4] Kate Van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005). 3.

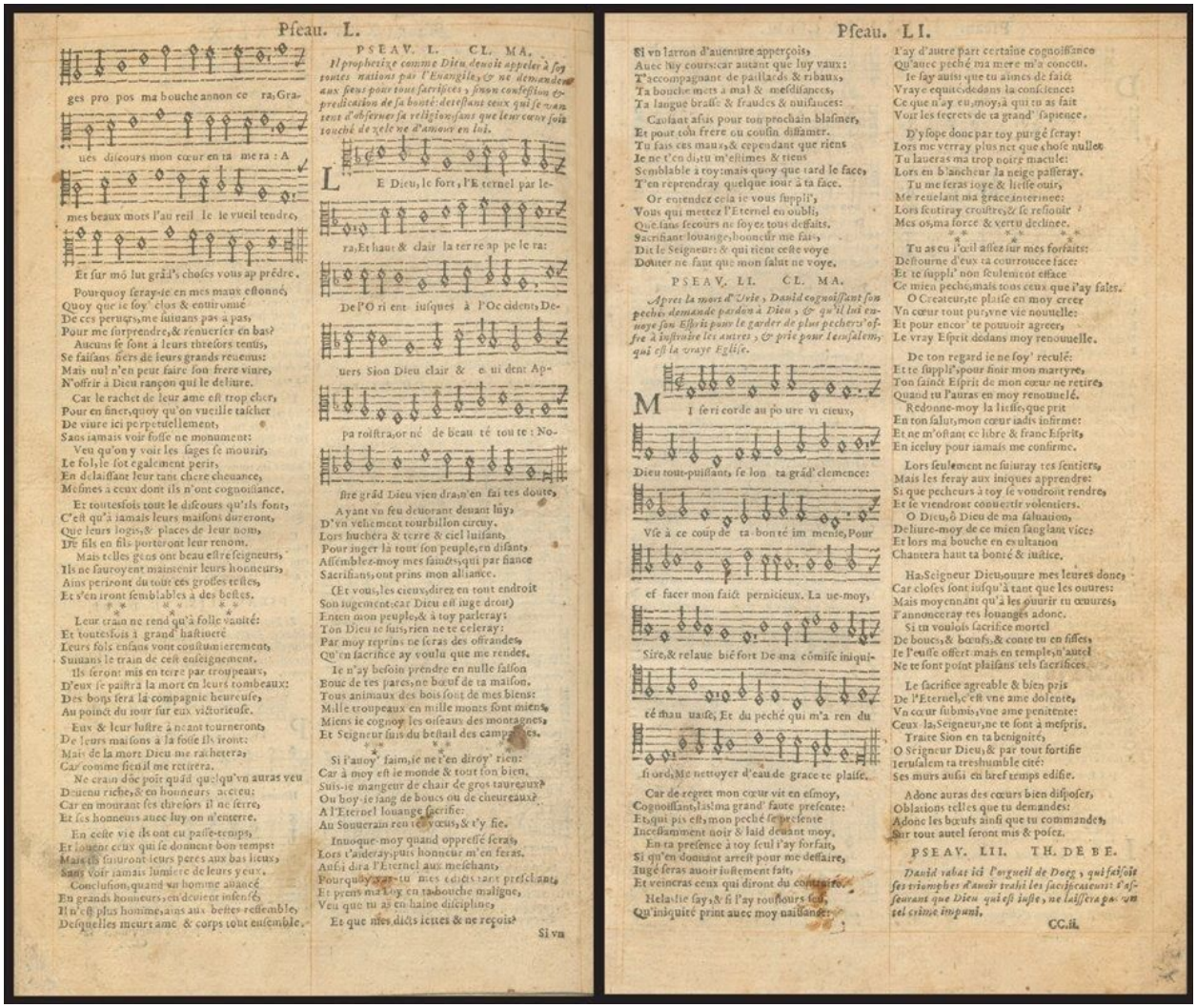
[5] Ibid. 4.

the cultural ideals of their respective confessions. Because of this, ambitious and innovative composers and poets were placed in situations that often forced the prioritization of their embrace of new musical ideas and styles or their confessional observance. Calvinist composers struggled to balance their religious beliefs with their desires to create music that would be considered musically advanced and found themselves with the difficult decision of suppressing their desires for musical innovation in Protestant areas or risking Catholic persecution in areas in which they were a minority. Other composers of each Church were able to look past their religious differences and collaborate even as the conflict grew increasingly hateful. These composers and poets were likely exceptional in their prioritization of musical creation over religious feuds however, as the presence of Jesuit composers who based their lifelong musical output around support of the Catholic cause along with the widespread popularity of popular music invoking religious hatreds suggests that religious divisions often played a dominant role in the compositional process.

The bitter cultural divisions brought about by the Wars of Religion often placed composers in positions when they were creatively limited by religious restrictions on the content or structure of music throughout France and Geneva. For Protestant composers, musical composition and constraints on style were derived from Calvin's theology of music. Calvin's emphasis on the value of music solely as a platform for the expression of text had important ramifications on the Calvinist and eventual Huguenot style; the psalms would be sung in vernacular language in communal settings.[6] In addition, they would be metrical, or rhyme in the style of congregational prayer and would have simple monophonic melodies.[7] Monophonic

[6] Albert Dunning, *Calvin [Cauvin], Jean* (Oxford University Press, 2001).
[7] Ibid.

music is characterized by a single unison voice part which is sung by the entire singing body. Monophony results in the clearest expression of text, yet is by definition incapable of harmony as it involves a single musical note at each given moment.



Pſeau. L.

PSEAV. L. CL. MA.

Il prophetize comme Dieu deuoit appeler à ſoy toutes nations par l'Euangile, & ne demandera aux ſiens pour tous ſacrifices, ſinon confeſſion & predication de ſa bonté: deteſtant ceux qui ſe tiennent d'obſeruer ſa religion ſans que leur cœur ſoit touché de zele ne d'amour en lui.

Pſeau. LI.

PSEAV. LI. CL. MA.

Apres la mort d'Vrie, David cognoiſſant ſon peché, demande pardon à Dieu, & qu'il luy enuoye ſon Eſprit pour le garder de plus pecher: offre à inſtruire les autres, & prie pour Ieruſalem, qui eſt la vraye Egliſe.

In this edition Calvinist Psalter, one single voice part is designated for each psalm setting.[8]

The monophonic harmonic structure required by Calvin imposed severe limitations on composers of sacred music in Geneva, the most talented of whom would grow frustrated by the austere restrictions established on musical composition by Calvin. This is evident in the

[8] Clément Marot, Theodore Beza, and Louis Bourgeois, *Les Pseaumes Mis En Rimes Francoise* (Geneva: L'imprimerie de François Estienne, 1567).

experience of Clément Marot (1496-1544), the poet whose metrical verse translations of the Psalms into French formed the core of the Genevan psalter.[9] Forced to flee Paris after his evangelically-motivated refusal to stop translating the Psalms, Marot arrived in Geneva as one of thousands of religious refugees in 1543 and obtained Calvin's support to work on a psalter.[10] Beginning in 1541, his psalms had already been published in Geneva with Calvin's approval.[11] Although his psalms would become remarkably popular and instrumental in the spread of Calvinism throughout Europe, Marot, who was described as at best a "casual Evangelical who worked without deep attachment to the Reform,"[12] was unhappy with the austere lifestyle that characterized Calvin's Geneva and left later in 1543 in hopes of returning to royal favor in France before dying in Turin in 1544.[13] Marot's void was filled by Théodore of Bèze, (1519-1605) a theological leader in Geneva and eventual successor to Calvin who compensated for his relative lack of poetic virtuosity with an intense dedication to Calvinist theology.

The limitations on the creative process imposed by Calvin's theology and Catholic antiheretical sentiments are even more apparent in the life of Loys Bourgeois, (1510 – 1559) a French composer and music theorist who used popular chansons and old Latin hymns as well as his personal compositions to form the monophonic melodies for the new Psalms of Marot and Bèze. [14] In a manner similar to that of Marot, Bourgeois was dissatisfied with the artistic limitations he faced in Geneva. His request that his psalm settings published in 1547 should be

---

[9] Frank Dobbins, *Marot, Clément* (Oxford University Press, 2001).

[10] Ibid.

[11] Frank Dobbins, *Music in Renaissance Lyons*, Oxford monographs on music (Oxford : New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 1992). 260.

[12] John H. Gerstner, "Singing the Words God Has Put in Our Mouths : A Personalized Account of the 1551 Genevan Psalter," *Hymn.* (1953). 73.

[13] Dobbins, *Marot, Clément*.

[14] Frank Dobbins, *Bourgeois [Bourgeoy, Bourgeoys, Bourgoys, Bourjois], Loys* (Oxford University Press, 2001).

accompanied by instruments was rejected by the powerful Genevan Council because of instrumental music's perceived 'lascivious' connotation with dancing.[15] The tension escalated on December 3, 1551 when Bourgeois was imprisoned after he 'changed the tunes of some printed psalms' and was only released after Calvin himself directly intervened.[16] The Genevan Council, which owed its power and existence to Calvin's theological justification and direction, was so opposed to Bourgeois' changes to his psalm melodies that it protested Calvin's decision on the basis that these new melodies would disorient the faithful and distract them from the all-important sacred texts. Bourgeois' salary was decreased and he bitterly left for Lyon in 1552, where he immediately began publishing increasingly complex music.[17]

Bourgeois took advantage of his freedom from Calvin's musical constraints and published *Pseaulmes LXXXIII de David* in Lyon in 1554. The collection notably featured songs with five, six, and even eight voice parts.[18] Compared to the one voice part allowed by the draconian Genevan regulations on music, this represented a substantial advance in psalm harmony for Calvinist music. Despite this rejection of the Genevan Council's rules, there is evidence that Bourgeois continued to embrace his evangelical beliefs and Calvinist identity despite his frustrating personal history in Geneva. This is because of the homophonic structure of the psalms and the placement of the psalm melody in the tenor.[19]

In Renaissance vocal music with multiple independent voice parts, the structure of musical compositions could be polyphonic or homophonic. Polyphonic structure involves voice

---

[15] Dobbins, *Music in Renaissance Lyons*. 195.

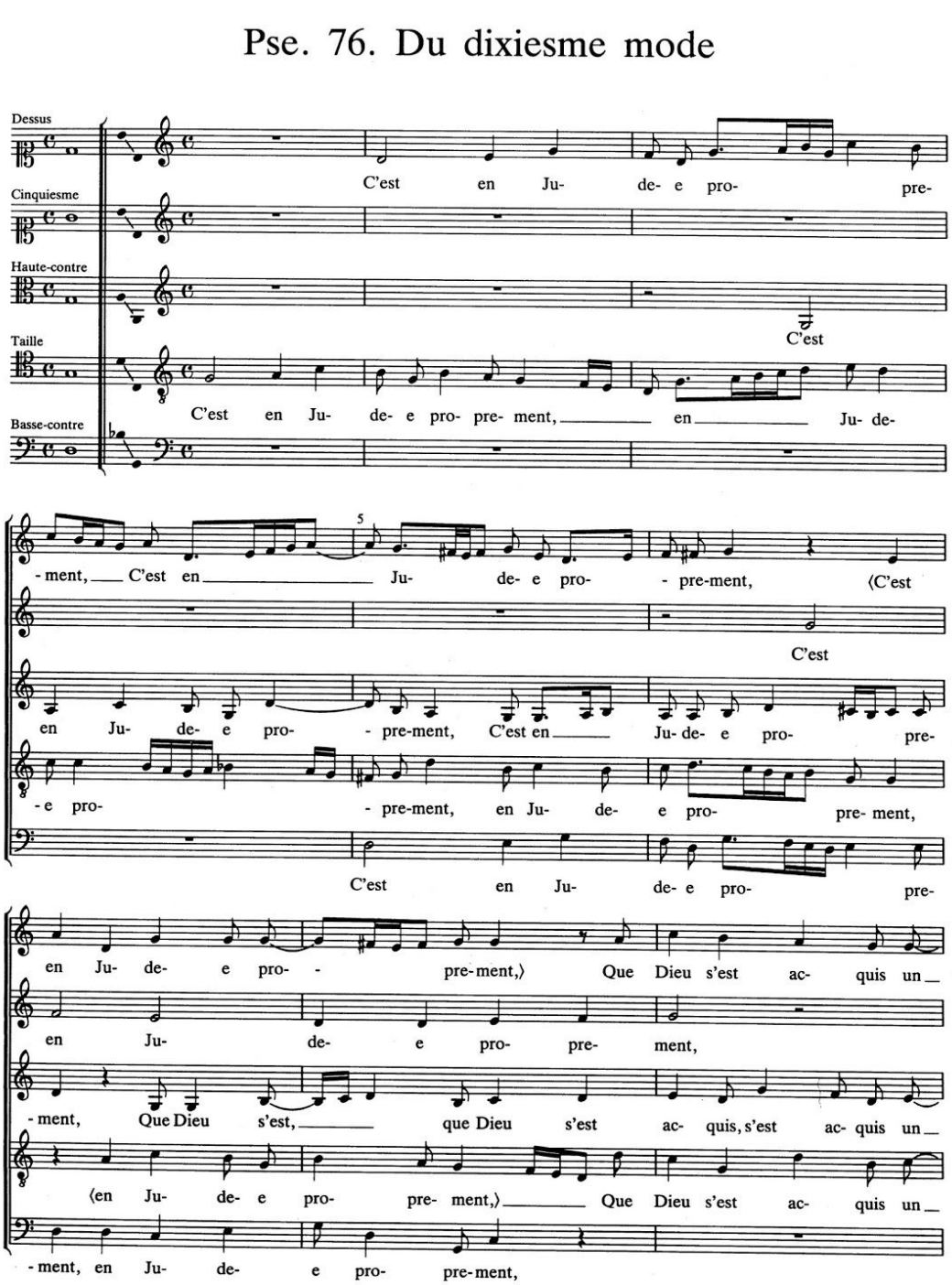
[16] Frank Dobbins, *Bourgeois [Bourgeoy, Bourgeoys, Bourgoys, Bourjois], Loys* (Oxford University Press, 2001).

[17] Ibid.

[18] Dobbins, *Music in Renaissance Lyons*. 194.

[19] Ibid.

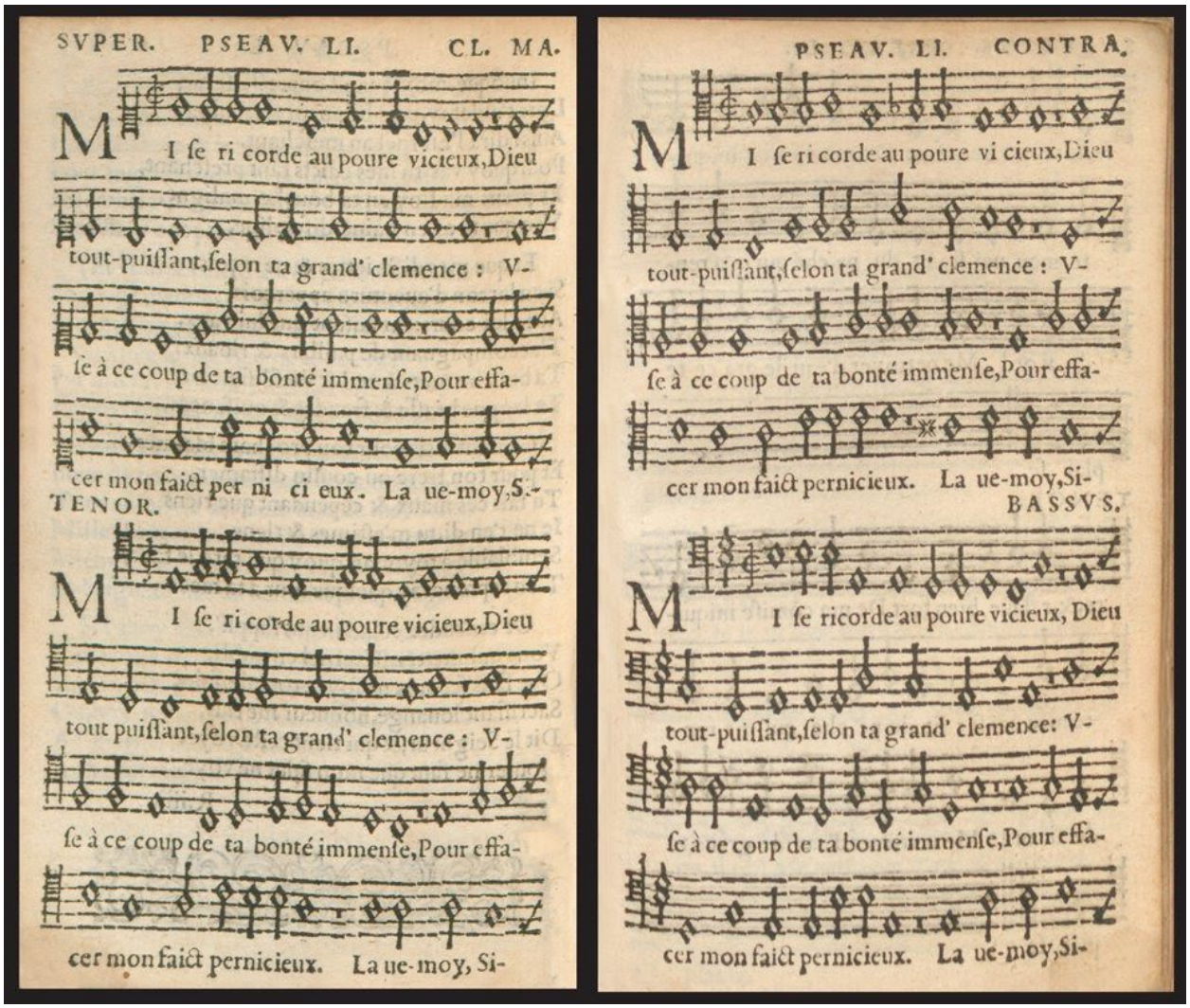
parts that move independently with overlapping rhythms. Often, a single line of text can be repeated at different moments in a composition by each voice part. Because of this tendency to have overlapping different words at given moments, this structure yielded unclear expressions of text in exchange for rich harmonies and exciting, challenging rhythms. This resulted in difficult and innovative musical composition that was embraced by ambitious Catholic composers who were eager to demonstrate the artistic might of the Catholic Church during the Counter Reformation, which lasted roughly from the Council of Trent in 1545 until the end of the Thirty Years' War in 1648. This style of voice part structuring was directly contrary to Calvinist musical theology, which was developed out of criticism for music which prioritized distracting musical extravagance over emphasis of sacred text.



The capacity for sacred text to be relegated is evident in this polyphonic psalm setting. The "Taille" voice part begins with the psalm text and is joined first by the "Dessus" in the second measure. As the "Dessus" sings "c'est," the "Taille" is singing "de." Because of this overlapping structure, polyphonic pieces tended to emphasize the skill of the composer and the complexity of the music over the clear expression of text.[20]

[20] Claude Le Jeune, *Dodecacorde*, ed. Anne Heider (A-R Editions Inc., 1598).

Instead of the independently moving voice parts that characterize polyphonic choral music, homophonic pieces move rhythmically in unison but at the different pitches necessary for harmony. Because of this unison movement, there are never moments that feature overlapping different texts.



In this homophonic psalm setting, each half page is reserved for a different voice part. Although each part features different note pitches, the parts move rhythmically at identical paces beginning at each large "M", allowing for greater harmony without overlapping text.[21]

[21] Clément Marot, Theodore Beza, and Claude Goudimel, *Les Pseaumes Mis En Rime Francoise* (Geneva: Par les heritiers de François Jaqui, 1565).

The use of homophonic structuring enabled Bourgeois to make his psalms as harmonically rich as possible without muddling the text with overlapping voice parts. This structure attempted to reconcile the expectations of dense harmonies that were norms of professional Catholic choirs with the Calvinist of prioritizing the text for congregational engagement. In addition, his decision to place the melody entirely within the tenor further appealed to the Calvinist attitude toward music. The tenor constituted a single voice part in these compositions, which allowed amateur musicians to sing the melody as they would have during a service in Geneva along with a choir of experienced or professional choristers on accompanying harmonic voice parts. Although Loys Bourgeois' homophonic compromise satisfied his own desires for compositional fulfillment, appealed to Catholic style, adhered to Calvinist theological concerns and even preserved his original melodies which the Genevan Council had furiously protected, monophonic chant remained the protected norm in Geneva and for a majority of Huguenot communities in France during the Wars of Religion. Although his compositions indicated a continued commitment to Calvinism, Loys Bourgeois would never again return to Geneva.

Instead, by May 1560, Bourgeois moved to devoutly Catholic Paris and watched as his daughter Suzanne was baptized in the Catholic church of St Côme.[22] The composition and distribution of Protestant psalms had been banned, forcing Bourgeois to compose secular *chansons*, which he had earlier decried as "that effeminate music, which is intended to express the voluptuousness or languor of love."[23] Bourgeois' previously prolific musical output and personal records disappear by the next year, which has led music historian Frank Dobbins to

[22] Dobbins, *Bourgeois [Bourgeoy, Bourgeoys, Bourgoys, Bourjois], Loys*.
[23] Loys Bourgeois, *Le Premiere Livre Des Psaumes*, ed. Paul-André Gaillard (Basle, 1960).

highlight the possibility that his status as a Protestantant may have brought about his death in the Wassy Massacre.[24] Regardless, it is notable that his musical output ceased in Paris, where extreme Catholic paranoia over Huguenot social and cultural pollution was likely the driving force behind the end of his musical output, if not his life.

The dynamic of structural restrictions to music imposed by Calvinism and the Catholic rejection of vernacular psalm texts in France constrained Bourgeois' music composition for the entirety of his career. Despite these obstacles, his experiments with homophonic harmonic structure and melodies in the tenor were important precedents for future Protestant composers in France and were the products of his challenging personal circumstance as a composer of sacred music during a period of religious civil war. These were important advances in the progression of Huguenot music, however Bourgeois most significant contributions to 16th century music were the monophonic psalm melodies that had left him so unsatisfied.[25] Bourgeois' melodies of Marot and Bèze's psalms became incredibly popular in France to the extent that they became a staple of Henri II's court.[26] In 1558 as religious tensions intensified and the close associations between the Psalms and the Reformed Church became apparent to the Crown and Catholic Church leadership, Henri II banned them, although this prohibition only served to make the Psalms more precious to French Protestants as a symbol of defiance and spiritual purity.[27] The capacity of the Psalms to inspire and recruit new Huguenots was widely understood by Catholics. In his *Histoire véritable de la ville de Lyon,* Catholic Claude de Rubys lamented that "the voices of men and women singing melodiously together and blending in musical harmony… is a bait that Satan has

---

[24] Dobbins, *Music in Renaissance Lyons*.
[25] Dobbins, *Bourgeois [Bourgeoy, Bourgeoys, Bourgoys, Bourjois], Loys*.
[26] Van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France*. 135.
[27] Barbara B. Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991). 137.

always used as a means of deceiving and attracting to him women and ignorant people."[28] Catholic fear of the capacity for the Psalms to win potential French conversions manifested themselves in requests for the French Catholic Church to offer a vernacular alternative to Marot's overwhelmingly popular Psalms, of which twenty five separate printings have been documented in Paris alone between 1545 and 1550.[29] As the first religious war began in 1563, the influential Jesuit Edmond Auger (1530-1591) clearly expressed his concerns over the threat that Huguenot Psalms posed to Catholicism in France. He wrote to his superior in Rome that only vernacular Catholic songs could "quench these psalms of Clement Marot… for the French love singing very much and with this would be a battle like that in the time of St. Chrysostom against the songs of the Arians."[30] Marot's influence was unquestioned by the beginning of the wars and Psalms in particular were feared by Catholics for their ability to reinforce Huguenot faith and hope.

Although the polarized confessional divisions resulted in challenges for creative artists and composers such as Marot and Bourgeois, there is evidence that some artists and composers were able to look past religious differences and prioritize musical and artistic development over religious rivalry. Despite substantial pressure to align cleanly with a single confession and to fully reject and despise anyone or anything associated with the rival confession, composers and poets of different confesions are known to have collaborated at great risk to their reputations and lives. This is evident in the life of Pierre de Ronsard (1524-1585), whose fame was even greater than that of Marot. The most famous French poet of his day, Ronsard was an exalted writer who

---

[28] Claude de Rubys, *Histoire Véritable de La Ville de Lyon*, 1603. 390.

[29] Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross*. 137.

[30] Thomas Frank Kennedy, *Jesuits and Music: Reconsidering the Early Years* (Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1988). 82.

was commissioned by the monarchy and whose talent and Catholicism made him the preference of Edmond Auger to compose Catholic sacred music in French. Although he never considered himself to be musically gifted, his work was adored by fellow poets as well as musicians; during the second half of the 16th century, more than 200 of his poems were set to music by more than 30 composers.[31] His output was a valuable cultural asset for Kings Charles IX (1550-1574, r. 1560-1574) and later Henri III, whom he served to the venomous disapproval of Huguenot contemporaries.[32] This royal patronage prompted a deep hatred of Ronsard by the Huguenots, who conducted a sustained campaign to represent him as an atheist.[33]

Although hated by many Huguenots, Ronsard maintained a notably friendly and productive relationship with Claude Goudimel (1510-1572), the most distinguished Huguenot composer of the mid-16th century. Goudimel composed music for several sonnets and odes from Ronsard's *Amours*, which suggests that their mutual appreciation for each other's craft was prioritized over the confessional hatreds that defined their lifetimes. The vilifying or discriminatory treatment that they experienced from their respective rival confessions was not enough for Ronsard or Goudimel to cease their working relationship. Their cultural capability and power in the context of the Wars of Religion was such that they were feared by their rival confession but respected by each other as talented musicians.

In addition to his work with Ronsard, Goudimel was most famous for his settings of the Psalms, which represented a significant upgrade in complexity and quality over those of Bourgeois. Instead of solely composing homophonic harmonic structures, Goudimel wrote polyphonic pieces using Genevan melodies as each different voice part in addition to the Psalm

---

[31] Frank Dobbins, *Ronsard, Pierre De* (Oxford University Press, 2001).
[32] Ibid.
[33] "Ronsard, Pierre De," *1911 Encyclopædia Britannica*, 1911.

settings featuring the homophonic structures that characterized the psalms of Bourgeois.[34] These polyphonic settings were stylistically aligned with pieces of the modern motet style championed by prominent Catholic composers and contradicted Calvin's theological justification for the Psalms.[35] To justify a piece which featured texts and melodies that were illegal to Catholics and deemed unfit for Calvinist worship services, Goudimel specified in the preface of his 1565 edition of Psalm settings that these pieces were intended solely for home use rather than for worship services.[36] This justification enabled Goudimel to compose pieces that aligned with his Evangelical views while remaining musically innovative and up to date with the modern stylistic norms that characterized Catholics and secular songs.

Although artistically and spiritually fulfilling, Goudimel's creative justification for his confessional freedom did not change the reality of his dangerous situation as a famous Protestant in an increasingly radically Catholic France. In 1572, he was killed in Lyon along with much of the city's Huguenot population in the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre which featured the murder of as many as 30,000 Protestants throughout France in a matter of a days.[3738] Even when composers and poets were able to experience a degree of creative freedom and enjoy the strengths of the stylistic elements of the rival confession, the extent of polarized religious hatreds in France was such that few people were able to look past confessional differences as Goudimel and Rosard did. The chaos of the massacre was such that it will likely remain unknown whether

---

[34] Paul-André Gaillard and Richard Freedman, *Goudimel [Godimel, Godimell, Godymel, Jodimel, Jodymel, Jodrymel, Jodimey Etc.], Claude* (Oxford University Press, 2001).

[35] Ibid.

[36] Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York, NY: Norton, 1959). 502.

[37] On August 24, 1572, Catholic soldiers began massacring a large group of Protestants who had traveled to Paris to celebrate a royal wedding. Angry Catholic Parisians began to take part as well and within days, Protestants across France were indiscriminately massacred in major French cities across the country.

[38] Barbara B. Diefendorf, *The St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre: A Brief History with Documents*, The Bedford series in history and culture (Boston, Mass: Bedford/St. Martins, 2009).

the death of Goudimel was intentional on account of his musical contributions to the French Reformed Church or that he was killed randomly for his Protestantism. His accomplishments likely mattered little to many French Catholics, who by 1572 were determined to rid France of heretical pollution after years of bitter warfare.

Goudimel was not alone in his experience as a Protestant who enjoyed artistically enriching friendships with powerful, royally patronized Catholic artists: the parallels between Goudimel's life and that of Claude le Jeune (1528 to 1530 – c. 1600) are difficult to ignore. The most significant and prolific Huguenot composer of the 16th century, Le Jeune benefited greatly from Goudimel's precedent of normalizing polyphonically structured Psalms for home use as his compositions pushed the contemporary boundaries of French polyphonic musical theory and structure. Le Jeune's polyphonic pieces are notably advanced for his lifetime because of his experiments with new quantitative meters, which allowed for greater rhythmic control and complexity of independent voice parts.[39] Several of his 348 Psalm settings featured seven contrapuntally structured independent voice parts with complex rhythmic variations.[40] This new rhythmic approach, called *musique mesurée à l'antique,* was not simply a significant advance for Huguenot musical schools, but for all of French sacred and secular music.[41]

As with Goudimel, Le Jeunes' Protestant faith did not prevent him from valuable collaborative friendships with some Catholic composers and poets in Paris, although it did leave him in a position of constant danger of death or persecution. He was imprisoned by the extremist Catholic League in prison in Paris and attempted to flee the city during a siege in 1590 but was

[39] Frank Dobbins and Isabelle His, *Le Jeune, Claude* (Oxford University Press, 2001).
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid.

caught by guards at the city's St Denis gate.[42] He likely would have been killed and his manuscripts destroyed without the intervention of his close Catholic friend Jacques Mauduit (1557-1627), one of the most influential composers in Paris at that time.[43] Unlike Goudimel, Le Jeune was able to escape to the Huguenot stronghold of La Rochelle and avoid a violent death at the hands of Catholic mobs and soldiers. He published his last major works, including his *Dodecacorde* masterwork, using the Protestant presses at La Rochelle.[44]

Le Jeunes' close personal and working relationship with Jacques Mauduit again suggests that leading French composers and poets may have prioritized musical and artistic prowess and innovation over the confessional hatreds that otherwise starkly divided French society. Mauduit was also instrumental in developing the *musique mesurée* that was championed by Le Jeunes' music and his willingness to risk his reputation to save Le Jeune and his manuscripts is reflective of their mutual respect. This is particularly surprising considering Mauduit's dedication to the musical styles of the Catholic Counter-Reformation and his prosperous career in the service of the crown and leading Catholic artists. As the leading Catholic composer in Paris, Mauduit composed funeral pieces commemorating Ronsard in 1586 and for the first anniversary of the death of Henri IV in 1610.[45] He led musical performances that were characteristic of Catholic musical stylistic norms that followed the Council of Trent. This ecumenical gathering of Catholic Church leaders from around Europe marked the beginning of the Catholic Counter Reformation, which was reflected in theology and ritual procedure by a dramatic turn toward spectacle, opulence, and sublimity meant to inspire awe and convince Europeans that the Catholic Church

---

[42] Van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France.* 4; Dobbins and His, *Le Jeune, Claude*.
[43] Dobbins and His, *Le Jeune, Claude*.
[44] Van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France*.
[45] Frank Dobbins, *Mauduit, Jacques* (Oxford University Press, 2001).

remained the dominant religious institution.[46] In music, these new Catholic priorities were reflected in the development of the polychoral style, which was characterized by multiple choirs with as many as 16 voice parts along with complex instrumental accompaniments.[47] These pieces could only be performed by advanced professional musicians in concerts which highlighted the skill of the composer and the musicians, the opposite of what Calvin wanted. All emphasis of these pieces was on musical complexity instead of sacred text, which was muddled by the substantial contrapuntal overlap necessitated by this many polyphonic voice parts.

Although this lavishly orate style was first established in Italy, it was brought to France largely through the efforts of Mauduit, who was the leading conductor in France at the time of the Catholic shift toward polychoral music. The same composer who saved the Protestant Le Jeune assumed a leading role in compositions that directly embodied the luxurious style of the Catholic Counter Reformation; his *ode mesurée* marking Louis XIII's return to Paris was performed by about 135 singers, lutenists and viol players, while a ballet titled *La délivrance de Renaud* was given by 92 singers and 45 instrumentalists under his supervision.[48] Just as Goudimel and Ronsard looked past their religious differences to prioritize advances in music and poetry, Mauduit and Le Jeune clearly valued musical innovation over the religious hatreds that reached a climax in France as they were making the most significant advances in their compositional style.

There is evidence that relationships that prioritized musical innovation over religious identity were not the case for every French composer, as the composer Antoine de Bertrand's

---

[46] Richard Taruskin and Christopher Howard Gibbs, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, College ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013). 210-211.

[47] Ibid. 212.

[48] Dobbins, *Mauduit, Jacques*.

(1530 to 1540 – c. 1581) increasingly extreme Catholic influences became clearer toward the end of his life as he became involved with Jesuit confraternities established in Toulouse by Edmond Auger.[49] Bertrand composed the polyphonic collection of explicitly Catholic songs--some featuring Catholic texts by Ronsard-- with French lyrics as well as with sacred Latin texts that were chanted frequently enough in Catholic services that the words were commonly known.[50] This collection was followed by the composition of his *Airs Spirituels,* a book of Catholic hymns for four and five voices that clearly reflected the increasing influence of extreme Catholic Jesuits over his spiritual identity and music composition.[51] It is possible that these deeply Catholic pieces were composed with retributive intentions as they were composed after Protestant pastor Simon Goulart used Bertrand's melodies from his first two books of chansons to compose Protestant *Sonnets chrestiens* in the style of sacred contrafacta.[52] Bertrand's *Airs Spirituels* were so upsetting and threatening to Huguenots that they assassinated him near Toulouse sometime around 1580.[53] The hatreds evoked by the war were deep enough that productive relationships between composers of different confessions like those of Mauduit and Le Jeune were likely exceptions to the norm.

The methods of contrafacta composition that offended Bertrand enough to write his *Airs Spirituels,* were not limited to formal composers. The research of early modern French musical historians Kate van Ordan and Jessica Herdman has revealed the contrafacta process, in which the monophonic melodies of songs are set to new texts without any musical changes, to be an important practice of urban popular music printing with significant capacities to harness public

---

[49] Van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France*. 164.
[50] Ibid. 164.
[51] Frank Dobbins, *Bertrand, Anthoine [Antoine] De* (Oxford University Press, 2001).
[52] Ibid.
[53] Van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France*. 4.

outrage and violence. Their research each concerns the printing and distribution of cheap sheets of paper known as "feuilles volantes" or "placards."[54] Although the cheap nature of placards has ensured that few remain today, it is clear that the melodies of popular songs, which were known as timbres, were frequently set to texts that were politically and religiously charged.[55] In Lyon, for example, the printer Michael Jove published the Catholic priest Artus Désiré's *Contrepoison des cinquante chansons de Clément Marot, faussement intitulées par luy Psalmes de David, fait et composé de plusieurs bonnes doctrines, et sentences préservatives d'hérésie* (Antidote of the fifty songs of Clément Marot, falsely titled by David's Psalms, made and composed of several good doctrines, and preservative sentences of heresy.)[56] It is significant that this genre of contrafacta was known as contrepoison, as this directly translates to "antidote" in English. This is because Désiré's *Contrepoison* of strongly anti-Protestant contrafacta were primarily set to timbres that were widely understood to be the monophonic settings of the Psalms of Clément Marot.[57] The *Contrepoison* was literally considered to be a Catholic antidote to the heresy that polluted the melodies used for Protestant songs. The fear of collective sin and guilt was so deeply ingrained in the Catholic psyche that physical spaces and soundscapes alone were not polluted by the singing of Protestant Psalms. In addition, the melodies themselves were polluted by the mere association with Marot's Psalms. By reclaiming these heretical melodies for use in music that directly attacked Protestant heresy, the melodies were cured of heretical poison.

---

[54] Kate van Orden, "Street Songs and Cheap Print During the French Wars of Religion," *New Faculty Lecture Series, University of California Berkley* (1998). 11.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Jessica Herdman, "Songs Danced in Anger: Music and Violent Emotions in Late Sixteenth-Century Lyon," *French History* 32, no. 2 (May 25, 2018): 52; Artus Désiré, *Contrepoison Des Cinquante Chansons de Clément Marot, Faussement Intitulées Par Luy Psalmes de David, Fait et Composé de Plusieurs Bonnes Doctrines, et Sentences Préservatives d'hérésie*, trans. Jessica Herdman (Lyon, 1562).

[57] Herdman, "Songs Danced in Anger." 153.

In addition to their capacity to purify and reclaim melodies used by the rival confession, contrepoisons also served as a potent statement of hatred because of their intertextual semantics to contemporary listeners.[58] The hateful messages against the rival confession were more effective when it was widely understood that the prized timbres of that confession were being used to musically express these sentiments. The reappropriation of these tunes, which were widely understood to be associated with certain Psalms or other popular sacred and secular songs, allowed composers to effectively harness public hatreds as Herdman and van Ordan have effectively proven that they did in Lyon. The relative simplicity of the compositional prowess required to create these monophonic songs along with the cheap printing process further enhanced the capacity of contrepoisons to incite the violent hatreds of the public.

The hateful nature of anti-Huguenot contrepoisons was clearly displayed in Christophe de Bordeaux's *Beau Recueil de plusieurs belles chansons spirituelles, avec ceux des huguenots hérétiques et ennemis de Dieu, et de nostre mère saincte Église: faictes et composées par maistre Chistofle de Bourdeaux* (Beautiful Collection of several beautiful spiritual songs, with those of the heretical Huguenots and enemies of God, and of our holy mother Church: fictitious and composed by Master Christophe de Bourdeaux.)[59] The collection solely features constrepoisons which denounce the Huguenots and encourage their extermination. The degree of this hatred is effectively demonstrated by Bordeaux's *Chanson contre les Guguenaux, sur les article de foy* (song against the Huguenots, on the articles of faith):

De l'eau beniste aussi

[58] Ibid. 157.
[59] Ibid. 161.

N’en ont pas grand soucy,

De cela ne leur chault

Aux meschans huguenaulx […]

Ils nient Purgatoire,

Car ils n’y ont que faire,

Enfer leur est plus chauld

Pour ces faulx huguenaulx […]

Le gigot de mouton

Cela ils treuvent bon

Le vendredy auté

Cest meschans huguenaulx […]

De l’Ave Maria

La vierge on salua

En sacre et tout hault

Malgré les huguenaulx.

En l’Eglise de Dieu

Images auront lieu

Sur les autelz bien hault

Malgré les huguenaulx.

Et si par bonne guise

Nous aurons en l’Eglise

Ornemens riches et beaux

Malgré les huguenaulx.

La Messe on chantera

Qui nou preservera

Des souffres infernaux

Malgré les huguenaulx.

Of holy water as well

They are not concerned,

This does not matter

To the evil Huguenots […]

They deny Purgatory,

For they have no use for it,

Hell is hotter for

Those false Huguenots […]

A leg of lamb

That they find good

In great quantities on Friday

Those evil Huguenots […]

On the Ave Maria

The Virgin we will commend

Sacred and elevated

In spite of the Huguenots.

In God's Church

There will be images

High upon the altars

In spite of the Huguenots.

And by his good grace

We will have in the Church

Rich and beautiful ornaments

In spite of the Huguenots.

We will sing the Mass

Which will protect us

From infernal sufferings

In spite of the Huguenots.[60]

The song concludes with the declaration that if they did not convert and attend mass, the Huguenots would be 'burned like pigs' and that order will only be attained by 'hanging them all'.[61] As has already been emphasized in this essay, ritual slaughter to purify the community in fear of collective guilt was very much a staple of life for Huguenots living in primarily Catholic areas. As the Wars of Religion progressed and urban and military violence became increasingly ingrained in daily French life, these contrepoisons assumed greater degrees of popularity, as their themes of inciting violence resonated with a French Catholic populace that acted upon these messages. In addition, the popularity of songs with justificatory tones that emerged after the St.

[60] Ibid. 161-163. Translated by Herdman.
[61] Ibid. 163.

Bartholomew's Day massacre, an incredibly violent turning point after which Huguenot influence never recovered, suggests that these songs also played an active role in normalizing and validating these acts of violence after they had already been committed. This is most evident in *Tremblez tremblez Huguenotz* (Tremble tremble Huguenots), a contrepoison which claims that the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre responded to a plot against Charles IX, who was the king widely believed to have ordered the massacre:

Un vray Neron y estoit
Nommé Capitaine Pille,
Qui grandement pretendoit
De endommager la ville,
Il y laissa la houbille,
Les trippes et les boyaux,
La commune file à file
L'estendirent sur carreaux.
De savoir nombre des morts
C'est une chose impossible.
Sans fin sans cesse les morts
Pendant la fureur terrible,
Tant des masles que femelles
Estoyent tous jettez dans l'eau,
Pour en porter les nouvelles

Jusqu'à Rouan sans batteau.

Tremblez tremblez Huguenotz

Maintenant sont mis par terre

Les plus grand de vos suppos

Vous avez tant offensé

Charles noble Roy de France,

Que Dieu s'en est courroucé,

Et en a prins la vengeance

Noble Ville de Paris

Le coeur de toute la France,

Huguenots avoyent promis

De te mettre à outrance:

Le bon Dieu par sa puissance

Les en a bien engardé,

C'eust esté un grand dommage

Pour la saincte Chrestienté.

There was a real Nero there

Named Captain Pille,

Whose grand intent it was

To ravage the city,

He left the offal there,

Stomachs and guts,

All those people in a row

Stretched across the squares.

To know the number of deaths

Is impossible.

The killings went on without end

During the formidable furore,

Men as much as women

Were all thrown into the water,

To carry the news

To Rouen without a boat.

Tremble, tremble Huguenots

Your biggest goons

Have now been knocked flat

You have so offended

Charles, noble King of France

That God is furious,

And has exacted vengeance

Noble city of Paris

The heart of France,

The Huguenots had promised

To destroy you:

The good Lord by his power
Protected them [the Parisians],
It would have been a great shame
For holy Christianity.[62]

The capacity of these songs to incite as well as justify violence is reflective and derivative of the societal needs for popular music at the time. Although the ephemeral nature of music performance renders it difficult to analyze the exact nature of the performance of *Tremblez tremblez Huguenotz,* its widespread popularity is evidenced by future contrafacta specifically being se to the timbre of *Tremblez tremblez Huguenotz,* rather than its source timbre *Noble Ville de Paris.* The existence and popularity of contrepoisons was derivative of the Catholic need to purify the Psalm melodies which had been so captivating and inspiring to the heretics. The intertextual semantics of these pieces proved to be an effective means of inciting and justifying the extreme violence against the Huguenots that characterized the end of the wars.

The impact of the war on the composition of music was profound as the Wars of Religion featured battles of music and culture in addition to traditional military conflict. Although there is evidence that ambitious composers and poets rose above violent religious tendencies to collaborate in pursuit of musical and literary innovation, the immense pressure from the religious institutions that constrained their creative freedom as well as the violent persecution of confessional minorities rendered interfaith collaborative efforts challenging and dangerous, especially for Huguenot composers in France. Although the extent of confessional hatreds that

[62] Ibid. 169-171. Translated by Herdman.

characterized the Wars of Religion was evidenced in composers whose faith was clearly prioritized over their pursuit of musical innovation, the bitter religious divide in France was most clearly manifested in popular contrepoisons whose violent messages and disrespectful theft of prized timbres proved to be an effective and popular method to incite and justify violence and hatred of the rival Church. This process of music composition and distribution was directly derivative of bitter religious civil war.

Chapter 3: Royal Ceremony and Confessional Consolidation

The St Bartholomew's Day Massacre of the Huguenots had a devastating impact on the trajectory and security of the French Reformed Church. French Protestants saw their presence decrease by two thirds of total membership as the survivors of the massacre emigrated or fearfully returned to the Catholic Church.[1] For the remaining Huguenot faithful, the massacre deepened religious hatreds and clarified the importance of staunch military resistance against the murderous Catholics. In the decades following 1572, the Huguenots would never achieve the strength necessary to conquer France for their faith, but proved to be too strong for determined Catholic forces to fully eliminate.

Catholic troubles were augmented with the ascension of Henri III to the throne in 1574 coupled with the death of his younger brother Francois II in 1584. The Roman Church's fears revolved around the heir presumptive to the French throne, as the most powerful living Calvinist in France, Henri of Bourbon, King of Navarre, (1553-1610, 1589-1610) was now the next in line for the crown after Henri III.[2] The death of Francois II in 1560 added to another substantial liability to Henri III's already insecure reign. Catholic extremism experienced a rapid ascent and was concentrated especially in Paris, where fearful Catholics resented his tolerationist policies toward the heretics.

Widespread rumors of Henri III's homosexuality seemed to be confirmed by his barren marriage, which was now a primary reason that the French throne was exposed to the

---

[1] Barbara B. Diefendorf, *The St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre: A Brief History with Documents*, The Bedford series in history and culture (Boston, Mass: Bedford/St. Martins, 2009). 24.

[2] Ibid.

unthinkable possibility of a Calvinist king. Outraged by the King's inability to rid France of what ardent Catholics perceived of as heretical pollution, an extremist Catholic Holy League was formed under the leadership of Henri I, Duke of Guise (1550-1588) in 1576.[3] The league was firmly opposed to the toleration of Protestants and continuously pushed Henri III to pursue harsher policies against Huguenots. Under their pressure, Henri III was forced to declare an intention to rid France of all heresy in 1585. This was met with another religious war against Henri of Navarre and the Protestants across France.[4] As civil-religious war entered this phase of heightened polar division, the Catholic League enjoyed soaring membership and popularity while the more moderate Henri III found his support continually wavering.

In the face of these threats to his rule, Henri III embraced religious procession and ceremony in an effort to assert his Catholic fervor and strength as king. It is likely that Henri III participated in more religious processions and ceremonies than any other king in French history.[5] In 1585, the same year he was forced by the League to officially end his tolerationist stance toward the Huguenots, he created the Grand Master of Ceremonies so that the power and grandeur that he perceived of his rule could be properly appreciated by the skeptical populace.[6] Although a notably fine singer, Henri III's emphasis on ceremony was probably derived not from his personal appreciation for these ceremonies and their musical productions, but rather from the necessity to assert his strength and dedication to the Catholic Church through opulent religious ceremony to compensate for any damages to his reputation brought about by the Duke of Guise

---

[3] George A. Rothrock, *The Huguenots: A Biography of a Minority* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1979). 102.

[4] Diefendorf, *The St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre*.

[5] Mack P. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629*, 2nd ed., New approaches to European history (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005). 125.

[6] Théodore Godefroy, Chapître de la cathédrale Saint-Jean, and Neufville, *Le cérémonial François, recueilli par Théodore Godefroy, ... et mis en lumière par Denys Godefroy* (Chez Sebastien Cramoisy, 1649).

and the Holy League's criticism. Of the many such ceremonies that were enacted during his reign, the *Te Deum Laudamus* ceremonial was the most successful and potent demonstration of the King's military and spiritual power as well as his connection to God. So important would this ceremonial prove to be to the assertion of the Catholic devotion and cultural dominance of the monarchy that it continued as a staple of royal ceremony until the French Revolution two centuries later.[7]

The *Te Deum Laudamus* was a widely known Latin hymn composed in the 4th century by the Saints Augustine (354-430) and Ambrose (c. 340–397).[8] Although few French Catholics understood Latin, most knew the words of the *Te Deum Laudamus* through their frequent exposure to the hymn in Catholic religious services.[9] From the earliest moments of religious conflict in France, the *Te Deum Laudamus* had served as a symbol of royal Catholic authority, an association on which Henri III's wartime ceremonial capitalized. The innovation of the ceremonial was not in its introduction of the *Te Deum Laudamus* in religious contexts, as the hymn had already been well established as an important element of the *sacre et couronnement* ceremonial celebrating the consecration and coronation of each new French king. Rather, the *Te Deum Laudamus* ceremonial was a repurposing of this hymn and text as the central event of a massive ceremony in celebration of his achievements and greatness in God's name. Because the use of the *Te Deum Laudamus* was previously confined to traditional religious ceremonies, this new ceremonial use of the hymn represented a novel development in the ability of the king to culturally reinforce his rule. At any time the King desired, he could announce a *Te Deum*

---

[7] Kate Van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005). 173.

[8] Ibid. 157.

[9] Ibid. 157.

Laudamus ceremonial and enjoy praise and applause during a festival featuring a carefully controlled, celebratory setting in which the message that God's grace and glory manifested itself in the authority of the king was publicly emphasized.

Music had played an important role in French coronation ceremonies since the coronation of King Clovis (c. 466–511, r. 481 – c. 509) in 507 and by the early modern era was a defining feature of the most dramatic moments of this important royal ceremony.[10] The structure of the *Te Deum Laudamus* ceremonial was derived from a climactic moment in the *sacre et couronnement* coronation ceremony. The royal candidate would be consecrated with holy oil, crowned by the twelve peers of France, and enthroned while the choir and musicians sang and played the *Te Deum Laudamus.* The entire episode would be accompanied by the sound of the crowd, who were expected to repeatedly chant "Vive le roy" throughout the performance and consecration.[11] The ceremony did not always have its powerful desired effect however, as the hymn was originally included in the *sacre et couronnement* as a medium for the expression of public blessing toward the new King's rule; if the ceremony schedule dictated that the *Te Deum Laudamus* should be sung by the ceremony attendees before the king was enthroned, the public would sing to express their consent. If the ceremony included the hymn after the enthroning, the singing public would sing the hymn to express approval.[12] After embarrassing scenes that hardly gave the impression of the consent or approval of the public, royal counselors removed the *Te Deum Laudamus* from the ceremony entirely several decades before Henri III's rule.[13] Recognizing this limiting element of the traditional coronation ceremony, Henri III and his

---

[10] Robert M. Isherwood, *Music in the Service of the King: France in the Seventeenth Century* (Ithaca [N.Y.]: Cornell University Press, 1973). 55.

[11] Van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France*. 137.

[12] Van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France*. 141.

[13] Van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France*. 141.

Grand Master of Ceremony continued to style the *Te Deum Laudamus* ceremonial around the structure of this particularly dramatic moment of the *sacre et couronnement* ceremony but were now able to carefully choose the timing and context of the ceremony with public opinion in mind. Because the King was now able to choose the reason for a ceremonial and directly control the time which it would take place, he removed the possibility of ambiguous audience feedback that had reduced the effectiveness of the hymn during some earlier *sacre et couronnement* ceremonies. Under Henri III's reign, this hymn ceremonial would take place during times in which there were widely perceived reasons to celebrate the King, regardless of their truth or validity.

The ceremonial was created in 1587 during a moment of crisis for Henri III's rule. During a peak of hawkish public desire for military action against the Huguenots, the Duke of Guise and an army loyal to the Catholic League won a successful victory against German *rêitres* horseman just one month after Henri III had suffered a terrible defeat at the hands of Henri of Navarre.[14] As a moderate facing substantial pressure from the extreme Catholic Guise faction during a moment of dramatically deepening religious and subcultural divides throughout France, the unquestionably Catholic Duke's victory close following King's defeat added to Henri III's popularity woes and placed the king in a position of needing to assert his military capability, his determination to rid the country of heresy and even the perception that God favored his rule of France at all. In response, he led an army to further chase down the *rêitres* in an effort to secure slightly harsher terms of their surrender, a relatively inconsequential victory which the King

[14] Rothrock, *The Huguenots*. 100.

leveraged to justify a massive processional ceremony based around the *Te Deum Laudamus* hymn upon his return to Paris.[15]

Henri III's entry into the city was marked by celebratory cannon fire and massive bonfires strewn throughout his procession route.[16] As the King reached Notre Dame Cathedral, grand organ music played at maximum volume to greet the king before a twelve voice-part *Te Deum Laudamus* was performed during a lavish religious ceremony in the cathedral.[17] To that point, it was the largest work ever performed in France in terms of numbers of voice-part complexity and would have represented an immense challenge to the unknown composer, the choir and to the small army of musicians that respectively performed and accompanied it. The ceremony was followed by a city-wide festival that extended throughout Paris into the evening as bonfires and chants of "Vive le Roy" gloriously celebrated their King's victory which in reality, was of minimal strategic performance to the greater war against the Huguenots.

In claiming the *Te Deum Laudamus* ceremonial as the distinguishing celebration of royal victory and triumph, Henri III was able to demonstrate his grandeur and cultural power as King while strengthening the public perception of God's favor over him and his people. From his reign and onward, the ceremonial enabled French kings to carefully adjust their appearance and presence over their subjects at any time they deemed necessary. Central to this capacity were the text and music, which when sung in the context of royal ceremonies clearly reminded proud French Catholics that their king was a champion of God's Church and that as his subjects they pleased God with their faithful support. In particular, the *Te Deum Laudamus* verses "*Tu Rex gloriae, Christe*" (You are the King of glory, O anointed one) and "*Salvum fac populum tuum*

[15] Van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France*. 145.
[16] Ibid. 146.
[17] Ibid. 146.

Domine et benedic hereditati tuae. Et rege eos, et extolle illos usque in aeternum" (O Lord save your people and bless your heritage. Govern them and lift them up forever)[18] revolve around the image of obedience under Christ as the King.

By these structuring citywide and eventually nationwide celebratory ceremonies, which emphasized and uplifted moments of perceived royal triumph, around a text highlighting the importance of obedience to Christ and the Christian structures beneath him, the *Te Deum Laudamus* ceremonial paired the expression of this sacred message highlighting the importance of Catholic duty under holy governance within the context of victorious conditions that indicated to the French people that their King held God's favor. The polyphonic and even polychoral music on which this text was delivered acted as an adhesive for this fusion of textual and contextual messages, as the compositional and performative intricacy and splendor, which rivaled that of any other music in Europe in terms of structural complexity, simultaneously celebrated the good fortune of the French people on account of the successful leadership of their King while expressing gratitude to God for his evident support of France and its leader. In these contexts, it was easy to mistake the uplifted, victorious and pious King of France for the literal subject of the triumphantly sung sentiments of "you are the King of glory, O anointed one" and "save your people and bless your heritage. Govern them and lift them up forever." Although the text clearly expresses celebration of and gratitude toward Jesus Christ, the victorious royal contexts during which the *Te Deum Laudamus* was performed grandly expressed to the public the sentiment that the King, whose divine right to rule was traditionally first consecrated in the presence of this text, was the recipient of God's grace and jurisdiction and that these lines

[18] Ibid. 139-140.

uplifting lines emphasizing the importance of Christian obedience therefore applied to their support of his reign as well. In expanding the purpose and frequency of the *Te Deum Laudamus* to a self-standing event which could be announced at the King's leisure, Henri III could awe his people at will with the sheer grandeur of the ceremonies while revolving them around a text which asserted that to be a good French Catholic meant absolute loyalty to the crown.

Despite the successful implementation of the *Te Deum Laudamus* ceremonial as a cultural staple of the French royal power, Henri III's political liabilities and poor strategic judgment proved to be too much for his symbolic displays of authority to compensate. Increasingly frustrated by the overbearing influence of the Catholic League over his rule, he ordered the assassination of its leader, the Duke of Guise on December 23, 1588,. This unofficial declaration of war against the Holy League resulted in his assassination by an agent of the League three months later.[19]

Just as Henri III's assasination of the Duke of Guise, carried out to secure the longevity of his reign, achieved the opposite of its desired effect, the Holy League's retributive assassination failed to achieve its goal of ridding the French monarchy of tolerationism. As Catholics had feared, Henri III died without a direct heir and Salic Law dictated that the Protestant leader Henri of Navarre, whose doomed wedding in Paris had been the starting point of the climactic St Bartholomew's Day Massacre, was now the King of France.[20] Henri of Navarre adopted the name Henri IV and claimed the crown while preparing for another religious war to unite France under his reign. Although he was militarily successful, it became clear to him that in order to rule over his subjects, who were Catholic by a large majority, he would need to

[19] Diefendorf, *The St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre*. 30.
[20] Ibid. 30.

convert to Catholicism. This was especially true in Paris, which was distinguished by particularly vehement opposition to the Huguenot Cause.[21] Although he never actually stated it, Henri IV's conversion to Catholicism has been famously associated with the maxim "Paris is worth a Mass." He captured the most Catholic capital in March 1594 and entered the city to a triumphant *Te Deum* procession in the style of Henri III in September. In the six months preceding his arrival, six *Te Deum* ceremonials had already taken place throughout the city in celebration of the newly Catholic King.[22] With the most intimidating and important city in France under his control, Henri IV finally united France militarily under his rule by 1598, although the task of cultural and social consolidation in war torn France remained.

Henri IV employed the *Te Deum Laudamus* ceremonial prolifically with or without his physical presence to quickly and triumphantly assert his rule and prove that his conversion to Catholicism was not simply to easily assume the French crown. Upon his Capture of Toulouse in 1596 after the city's late surrender, massive fireworks were set off and chants of "vive le Roy" accompanied a *Te Deum Laudamus* whose polyphonic structure featured an incredible fourteen voice parts.[23] For this grand ceremonial, the King was not even physically present and the ceremonial and shouts of "vive le Roy" were instead directed at an effigy of his likeness.[24] Traditionally, French kings would be obligated to constantly tour the cities of their kingdom in order to assert their royal grandeur on this scale in person. Henri IV's expanded use of the *Te Deum* ceremonial in cities without his presence allowed him to reap the benefits of the ceremonial's capacity to demonstrate his commitment to Catholicism as well as his cultural

---

[21] Barbara B. Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 180.

[22] Van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France*. 175.

[23] Ibid. 150.

[24] Ibid. 150.

power and grandeur without dedicating valuable time touring cities during the ongoing civil war. In the early stages of Henri IV's reign, the *Te Deum* was also employed to reinforce his legitimacy as a true Catholic King of France and to persuade skeptical Catholics that God found favor in his reign. In Lyon and Rouen, elements of Henri IV's coronation were restaged to further legitimize his authority in these areas that were initially resistant to his rule. Each of these ceremonies is notable for the substantial presence of music, including the *Te Deum Laudamus.*[25] Although Henri IV's age, experience and military success distinguished him from the impotent and unfit boy kings that had defined France for the previous decades, it was imperative to his primarily Catholic populace that he clearly align his reign with the Roman Church. An embrace of the *Te Deum Laudamus* and its ceremonial enabled him to assert genuine commitment to the Catholic confession while also demonstrating the glory and cultural power of his reign with the most elaborate music of his day. It also suggested a turn toward Catholic consolidation across the country and a rejection of the King's Huguenot roots. The frequent national *Te Deum Laudamus* ceremonials asserted that that France was unifying around a national religious identity that favored conformity over tolerance and pushed Huguenots farther and farther toward a geographic and cultural periphery.

The importance of symbolic demonstrations of Henri IV's Catholicism were heightened as the King negotiated and accepted the Edict of Nantes in 1598, which promised Huguenots some freedom of conscience and public worship in limited places with complex measures for settling individual religious disputes.[26] Although misunderstood as a fully tolerationist compromise, the Edict was written to appease Catholics, and was far from an embrace of

---

[25] Ibid. 176.
[26] Diefendorf, *The St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre*. 30-31.

Protestantism. In addition to Henri IV's widespread implementation of elaborate Catholic ceremony and musical symbolism, his choice to raise his son and heir as a devout Catholic pointed France further toward a path of religious and cultural consolidation under a Catholic monarch after decades of religious war. The trauma of the wars and divine consequences of social pollution were still on the minds of French Catholics and pressure to rid the country of the well defended Huguenot strongholds allowed for by the Edict remained present.

After progress in unifying France and ending the wars, Henri IV was assassinated in 1610 and was succeeded by his son Louis XIII, (1601-1643, r. 1610-1643), whose suspicious attitude toward the Huguenots evolved into a firm resolve to rid France of their institutional presence when they declared war against him in the 1620s. He dealt the final blow to Huguenot resistance in France in 1628 with his capture of La Rochelle after a siege that halved the city's population.[27] For the entirety of the Wars of Religion, La Rochelle had been the ultimate stronghold of the Huguenot cause and its capture marked the final phase of the Catholic erasure of what ardent Catholics considered France's heretical social pollution. After successfully combating this pollution with violence, Louis XIII wasted little time employing music to symbolically reclaim the religious spaces which had once been home to dreaded Protestant psalms. Louis XIII entered the city to a *Te Deum Laudamus* procession and, more strikingly, sang the sacred hymn himself in entirety with the celebrants in the mass that soon followed.[28] This exceedingly rare public vocal performance underlined the importance of this hymn to the French monarchy and to the context of the Wars of Religion. Rather than receive the approving blessings of the crowd singing before him, his active participation suggests that the King extended his personal thanks

[27] Van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France*.
[28] Ibid. 183.

up to God for aligning with the monarchy and Catholicism in France. His *Te Deum Laudamus* ceremonial was the ultimate celebration of France's religious purification and social consolidation around a unified Catholic identity. In addition to traditional violence that, though shocking in intensity, is hardly surprising considering the decades of bitter civil war that characterized the end of the sixteenth century in France, this newly unified national identity was achieved through a mentality of cleansing and purification rather than through toleration and was enacted with greater efficiently around the country through sacred musical ceremonies which celebrated and culturally reinforced this forced religious consolidation.

As Catholics became increasingly dominant ideologically and militarily in the decades that followed the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre, Catholic music and the grandeur-evoking religious ceremonies it accompanied were used to symbolically express the Roman Church's rising momentum and to propagate the idea of cultural consolidation around the French Catholic identity in areas which had been torn between the Huguenot and Catholic causes. This was instrumental in initially protecting the vulnerable regencies of Henri III and Henri IV and in reinforcing the newly unified Catholicism of Louis XIII's reign as France transitioned from bitter religious divisions toward grand unified absolutism under Louis XIV.

Conclusion

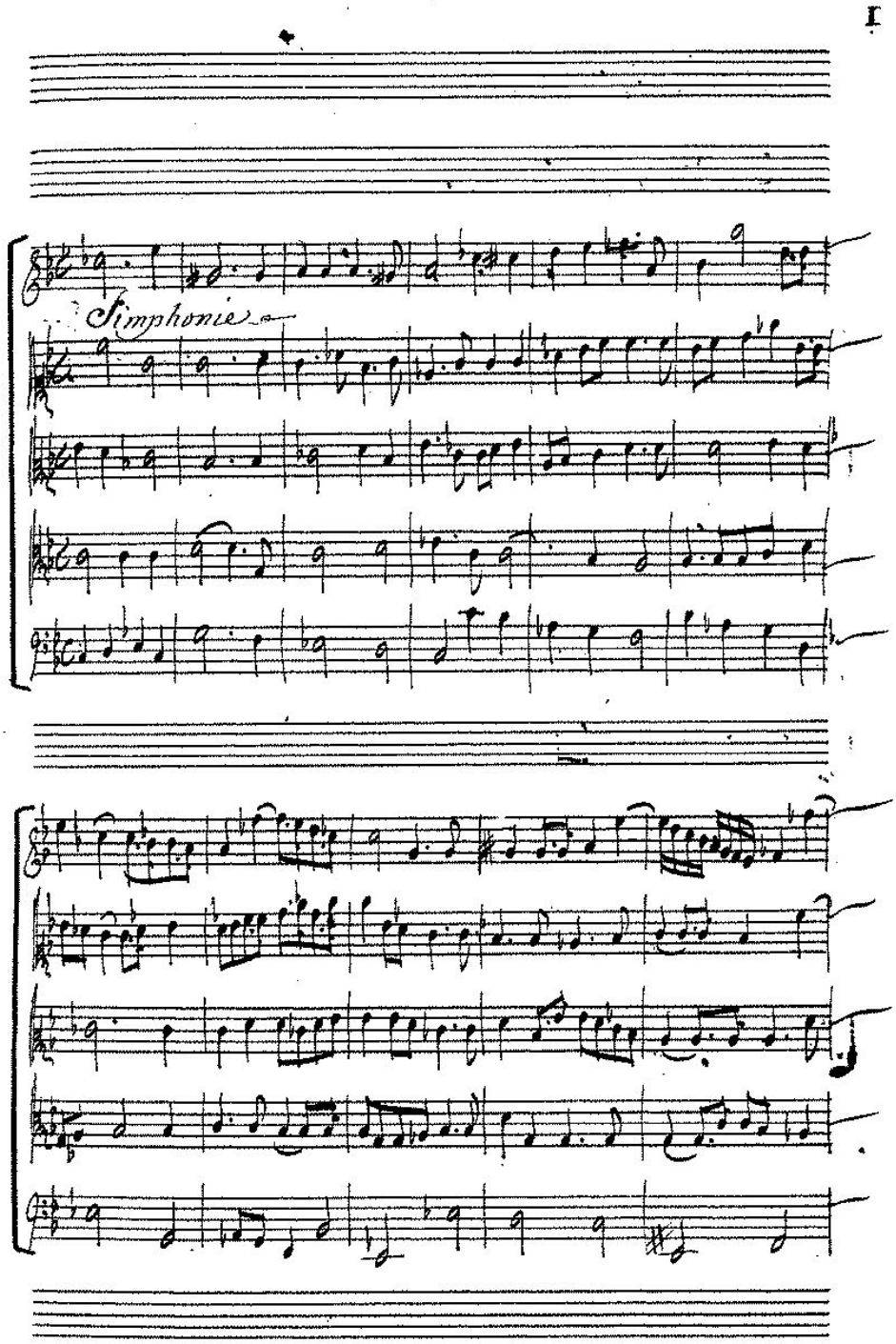
The First Religious War, which began in outrage over the Massacre of Wassy, concluded with the signing of the Peace of Amboise in 1563. One hundred years after this first of seven unsuccessful peace treaties signed over 36 years, King Louis XIV's (1638-1715, 1643-1715) prodigious, newly appointed *surintendant de la musique de la chambre du roi*[1] Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632-1687) began composing his *Misèrere*, a grand motet whose five part instrumental introduction was the first of its kind.[2] In a style which recalls the music of the exiled Huguenot master Claude Le Jeune, Lully's piece was written for two overlapping homophonic choirs in a polychoral structure and was richly orchestrated with especially challenging parts for strings, as the composer benefitted from the knowledge that his piece would eventually be performed by the 24 Violons du Roi, the most advanced symphonic ensemble in Europe.[3] Upon its release, the composition was a wild success whose performances would continue to be ordered by Louis XIV for sacred services at the royal court for the remainder of his reign. Today, it is widely recognized as a masterpiece of Baroque sacred music.[4]

[1] In english, the "music superintendent of the king's chamber." This was the highest musical post in France at the time.

[2] Jérôme de La Gorce, "Lully, Jean-Baptiste (i)," *Grove Music Online*.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.



This extended five voice part instrumental introduction of Lully's Misèrere was a novel development in the Grand Motet style. It is indicative of France's advanced musical innovation under Louis XIV.[5]

[5] Jean-Baptiste Lully, *Misèrere* (Paris, 1663).

The support of Louis XIV was everything for the leading court composer, as the monarch who titled himself the Sun King reigned for a 72 year period of unprecedented French military power and cultural influence over Europe. Louis XIV's fervent belief in his divine right to rule resulted in a dramatic centralization of power around the French monarchy and set the standard for royal power during the age European absolutism. Louis XIV crushed any traces of Huguenot resistance, revoking Henri IV's Edict of Nantes in 1685 and forcing nearly every Huguenot in France to emigrate or convert to Catholicism. The divided France that characterized the end of the previous century had been brought to a resolute end.

Louis XIV's desire for control and unity extended well beyond religious consolidation. His reign is notable for his concerted efforts to improve the international reputation of France's cultural output while maintaining an ever greater degree of authority over the output of its artists, writers, and composers. These ambitions prompted the creation of the academies, which provided elite education in the arts for promising pupils while ensuring that none dared to create anything which would displease the King.[6] Music, like every other aspect of French society and culture, was centralized and composition trends were forced to consolidate around the goal of reinforcing and celebrating the rule of Louis XIV for the remainder of his long life.

The social role of music under the Sun King as an institutionalized, unifying force less than one century after songs were freely composed by amateurs to incite and encourage the mass murder of a rival confession represents a dramatic shift in how religious music interacted with French society and culture. Louis XIV's move toward complete control over the creation and public performance of music stands in clear rejection of the chaotic, violent, and divisive

[6] Robert M. Isherwood, *Music in the Service of the King: France in the Seventeenth Century* (Ithaca [N.Y.]: Cornell University Press, 1973). 150.

tendencies that characterized French music during the latter half of the sixteenth century. While Louis XIV's academic tradition forced musicians to build on the unifying messages of royal triumph and divine approval that characterized the *Te Deum Laudamus* ceremonial, the performance and composition religious music of the Wars of Religion was characterized by elements which distinguished confessional factions and emphasized their differences. Although some composers and poets were able to overcome these divisive social pressures, they often risked endangering their lives and reputations in the process. Composers such as Antoine de Bertrand, who composed divisive pieces which directly aligned with the goals of the Catholic Church and antagonized Huguenots moved more concurrently with socially accepted norms. Religious music during France's Religious Wars did not bring people together. Rather, it offered further evidence of the differences between religious subcultures which were already deeply divided.

The important realities of French social and cultural norms during the late 16th century further augmented the urban violence which was so often derived from this capacity to highlight controversial differences. The urban arenas of town squares and soundscapes that were constructed by universally held notions of collective guilt, social pollution, and the need for purification of these spaces made competition through sound and violence inevitable to religious communities which were unwilling to live with the knowledge that the sources of their eternal damnation were singing and marching in the streets and public squares. The frequent close proximity and ambiguous dispersal of Catholics and Protestants throughout French towns and cities challenged each confessional community to assert its cultural presence within these spaces and the easily identifiable features in musical style and text, loved by one confession yet loathed

by its rival, enabled music to consistently incite, catalyze, and sustain violence within communities to a substantial and possibly unique degree.

Works Cited

Beik, William. 2009. *A Social and Cultural History of Early Modern France*. Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Benedict, Philip. 2002. *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism*. New Haven, Conn. ; Yale University Press.

Bourgeois, Loys. 1960. *Le Premiere Livre Des Psaumes*. Edited by Paul-André Gaillard. Basle.

Calvin, John. 1975. *Institution of the Christian Religion*. Translated by Ford Lewis Battles. Atlanta.

———, ed. n.d. *The Genevan Psalter*.

Carroll, Stuart. 2011. *Martyrs and Murderers: The Guise Family and the Making of Europe*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.

Crespin, Jean. 1554. *Le Livre Des Martyrs*. Geneva.

Crespin, Jean, and Simon Goulart. n.d. *Histoire Des Martyrs: Persecutez Et Mis a Mort Pour La Verite De L'evangile, Depuis Le Temps Des Apostres Iusques a Present*. Translated by Amy C. Graves-Monroe. Geneva.

Davis, Natalie Zemon. 1975. *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press.

———. 2012. "Writing 'The Rites of Violence' and Afterward*." *Past & Present* 214 (suppl_7): 8–29. https://doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gtr016.

De Thou, Jacques-auguste. n.d. *Histoire Universelle. Depuis 1543 Jusqu'en 1607.* Vol. 3.

Désiré, Artus. 1562. *Contrepoison Des Cinquante Chansons de Clément Marot, Faussement Intitulées Par Luy Psalmes de David, Fait et Composé de Plusieurs Bonnes Doctrines, et*

Sentences Préservatives d'hérésie. Translated by Jessica Herdman. Lyon.

Diefendorf, Barbara B. 1991. *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris*. New York: Oxford University Press.

———. 2009. *The St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre: A Brief History with Documents*. The Bedford Series in History and Culture. Boston, Mass: Bedford/St. Martins.

Dobbins, Frank. 1992. *Music in Renaissance Lyons*. Oxford Monographs on Music. Oxford : New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press.

———. 2001a. *Bertrand, Anthoine [Antoine] De*. Oxford University Press.

———. 2001b. *Bourgeois [Bourgeoy, Bourgeoys, Bourgoys, Bourjois], Loys*. Oxford University Press.

———. 2001c. *Marot, Clément*. Oxford University Press.

———. 2001d. *Mauduit, Jacques*. Oxford University Press.

———. 2001e. *Ronsard, Pierre De*. Oxford University Press.

Dobbins, Frank, and Isabelle His. 2001. *Le Jeune, Claude*. Oxford University Press.

Dunning, Albert. 2001. *Calvin [Cauvin], Jean*. Oxford University Press.

Gaillard, Paul-André, and Richard Freedman. 2001. *Goudimel [Godimel, Godimell, Godymel, Jodimel, Jodymel, Jodrymel, Jodimey Etc.], Claude*. Oxford University Press.

Garrisson, Janine. 1988. *Les Protestants Au XVIe Siècle*. Nouvelles Études Historiques. Paris: Fayard.

Garside, Charles. 1979. "The Origins of Calvin's Theology of Music: 1536-1543." *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 69 (4): 1–36. https://doi.org/10.2307/1006143.

Gerstner, John H. 1953. "Singing the Words God Has Put in Our Mouths : A Personalized

Account of the 1551 Genevan Psalter." *Hymn.*

Godefroy, Théodore, Chapître de la cathédrale Saint-Jean, and Neufville. 1649. *Le cérémonial François, recueilli par Théodore Godefroy, ... et mis en lumière par Denys Godefroy*. Chez Sebastien Cramoisy.

Gordon, Bruce. 2009. *Calvin*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

Hammond, Nicholas. 2019. *The Powers of Sound and Song in Early Modern Paris*. https://muse.jhu.edu/book/72267/.

Herdman, Jessica. 2018. "Songs Danced in Anger: Music and Violent Emotions in Late Sixteenth-Century Lyon." *French History* 32 (2): 151–81. https://doi.org/10.1093/fh/cry001.

Hogenberg, Frans. 1562. *Massacre de Vassy*. Print.

Holt, Mack P. 2005. *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629*. 2nd ed. New Approaches to European History. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Isherwood, Robert M. 1973. *Music in the Service of the King: France in the Seventeenth Century*. Ithaca [N.Y.]: Cornell University Press.

Janse, Wim, and Barbara Pitkin, eds. 2006. *The Formation of Clerical and Confessional Identities in Early Modern Europe*. Dutch Review of Church Histor = Nederlandsch Archief Voor Kerkgeschiedenis 85th. Leiden ; Boston: Brill.

Kennedy, Thomas Frank. 1988. *Jesuits and Music: Reconsidering the Early Years*. Leo S. Olschki Editore.

La Gorce, Jérôme de. n.d. "Lully, Jean-Baptiste (i)." Grove Music Online. Accessed March 30, 2020.

LaGuardia, David P., Cathy Yandell, and Amy C. Graves-Monroe. 2015. *Memory and Community in Sixteenth-Century France*. London, United Kingdom: Routledge.

Le Jeune, Claude. 1598. *Dodecacorde*. Edited by Anne Heider. A-R Editions Inc.

Leaver, Robin. n.d. "Zwingli, Ulrich." Grove Music Online. Accessed March 31, 2020.

Leroux de Lincy, Antoine Jean Victor. 1841. *Recueil de Chants Historiques Français Depuis Le XIIe Jusqu'au XVIIIe Siècle.* Translated by Barbara B. Diefendorf. Paris.

Lully, Jean-Baptiste. 1663. *Miserere*. Paris.

Marot, Clément, Theodore Beza, and Louis Bourgeois. 1567. *Les Pseaumes Mis En Rimes Francoise*. Geneva: L'imprimerie de François Estienne.

Marot, Clément, Theodore Beza, and Claude Goudimel. 1565. *Les Pseaumes Mis En Rime Francoise*. Geneva: Par les heritiers de François Jaqui.

Mentzer, Raymond A., and Andrew Spicer, eds. 2002. *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559-1685*. Cambridge, U.K. ; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Monter, William. 1976. "The Consistory of Geneva, 1559-1569." *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 38.

Orden, Kate van. 1998. "Street Songs and Cheap Print During the French Wars of Religion." *New Faculty Lecture Series, University of California Berkley*.

Patrick Macey, Jeremy Noble, Jeffrey Dean, and Gustave Reese. 2011. "Josquin (Lebloitte Dit) Des Prez," February. https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.14497.

Reese, Gustave. 1959. *Music in the Renaissance*. New York, NY: Norton.

Roelker, Nancy L. 1996. *One King, One Faith: The Parlement of Paris and the Religious Reformations of the Sixteenth Century*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

"Ronsard, Pierre De." 1911. In *1911 Encyclopædia Britannica*. Vol. Volume 23.

Rothrock, George A. 1979. *The Huguenots: A Biography of a Minority*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

Rubys, Claude de. 1603. *Histoire Véritable de La Ville de Lyon*.

Sainctes, Claude de. 1562. *Discours Sur Le Saccagement Des Églises Catholiques, Par Les Hérétiques Anciens,Nouveaux Calvinistes*. Toulouse.

Sunshine, Glenn S. 2003. *Reforming French Protestantism: The Development of Huguenot Ecclesiastical Institutions, 1557-1572*. Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies, v. 66. Kirksville, Mo: Truman State University Press.

Sutherland, N. M. 1980. *The Huguenot Struggle for Recognition*. New Haven, Conn: Yale University.

Taruskin, Richard, and Christopher Howard Gibbs. 2013. *The Oxford History of Western Music*. College ed. New York: Oxford University Press.

The Economist. 2019. "Why Obama-Trump Swing Voters like Heavy Metal," 2019.

Theisen, Reinold. 1965. *Mass Liturgy and the Council of Trent*. Collegeville, MN.

Van Orden, Kate. 2005. *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Benedict, Philip. 2002. *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism*. New Haven, Conn. ; Yale University Press.

Bourgeois, Loys. 1960. *Le Premiere Livre Des Psaumes*. Edited by Paul-André Gaillard. Basle.

Calvin, John. 1975. *Institution of the Christian Religion*. Translated by Ford Lewis Battles. Atlanta.

Crespin, Jean. 1554. *Le Livre Des Martyrs*. Geneva.

Crespin, Jean, and Simon Goulart. n.d. *Histoire Des Martyrs: Persecutez Et Mis a Mort Pour La Verite De L'evangile, Depuis Le Temps Des Apostres Iusques a Present*. Translated by Amy C. Graves-Monroe. Geneva.

De Thou, Jacques-auguste. n.d. *Histoire Universelle. Depuis 1543 Jusqu'en 1607.* Vol. 3.

Désiré, Artus. 1562. *Contrepoison Des Cinquante Chansons de Clément Marot, Faussement Intitulées Par Luy Psalmes de David, Fait et Composé de Plusieurs Bonnes Doctrines, et Sentences Préservatives d'hérésie*. Translated by Jessica Herdman. Lyon.

Diefendorf, Barbara B. 1991. *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris*. New York: Oxford University Press.

———. 2009. *The St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre: A Brief History with Documents*. The Bedford Series in History and Culture. Boston, Mass: Bedford/St. Martins.

Dobbins, Frank. 1992. *Music in Renaissance Lyons*. Oxford Monographs on Music. Oxford : New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press.

———. 2001a. *Bertrand, Anthoine [Antoine] De*. Oxford University Press.

———. 2001b. *Bourgeois [Bourgeoy, Bourgeoys, Bourgoys, Bourjois], Loys*. Oxford University Press.

———. 2001c. *Marot, Clément*. Oxford University Press.

———. 2001d. *Mauduit, Jacques*. Oxford University Press.

———. 2001e. *Ronsard, Pierre De*. Oxford University Press.

Dobbins, Frank, and Isabelle His. 2001. *Le Jeune, Claude*. Oxford University Press.

Dunning, Albert. 2001. *Calvin [Cauvin], Jean*. Oxford University Press.

Gaillard, Paul-André, and Richard Freedman. 2001. *Goudimel [Godimel, Godimell, Godymel,*

Jodimel, Jodymel, Jodrymel, Jodimey Etc.], Claude. Oxford University Press.

Garrisson, Janine. 1988. *Les Protestants Au XVIe Siècle*. Nouvelles Études Historiques. Paris: Fayard.

Gerstner, John H. 1953. "Singing the Words God Has Put in Our Mouths : A Personalized Account of the 1551 Genevan Psalter." *Hymn.*

Godefroy, Théodore, Chapître de la cathédrale Saint-Jean, and Neufville. 1649. *Le cérémonial François, recueilli par Théodore Godefroy, ... et mis en lumière par Denys Godefroy*. Chez Sebastien Cramoisy.

Gordon, Bruce. 2009. *Calvin*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

Herdman, Jessica. 2018. "Songs Danced in Anger: Music and Violent Emotions in Late Sixteenth-Century Lyon." *French History* 32 (2): 151–81. https://doi.org/10.1093/fh/cry001.

Isherwood, Robert M. 1973. *Music in the Service of the King: France in the Seventeenth Century*. Ithaca [N.Y.]: Cornell University Press.

Kennedy, Thomas Frank. 1988. *Jesuits and Music: Reconsidering the Early Years*. Leo S. Olschki Editore.

La Gorce, Jérôme de. n.d. "Lully, Jean-Baptiste (i)." Grove Music Online. Accessed March 30, 2020.

Le Jeune, Claude. 1598. *Dodecacorde*. Edited by Anne Heider. A-R Editions Inc.

Lully, Jean-Baptiste. 1663. *Miserere*. Paris.

Marot, Clément, Theodore Beza, and Louis Bourgeois. 1567. *Les Pseaumes Mis En Rimes Francoise*. Geneva: L'imprimerie de François Estienne.

Marot, Clément, Theodore Beza, and Claude Goudimel. 1565. *Les Pseaumes Mis En Rime Francoise*. Geneva: Par les heritiers de François Jaqui.

Orden, Kate van. 1998. "Street Songs and Cheap Print During the French Wars of Religion." *New Faculty Lecture Series, University of California Berkley*.

Patrick Macey, Jeremy Noble, Jeffrey Dean, and Gustave Reese. 2011. "Josquin (Lebloitte Dit) Des Prez," February. https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.14497.

Reese, Gustave. 1959. *Music in the Renaissance*. New York, NY: Norton.

"Ronsard, Pierre De." 1911. In *1911 Encyclopædia Britannica*. Vol. Volume 23.

Rothrock, George A. 1979. *The Huguenots: A Biography of a Minority*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

Rubys, Claude de. 1603. *Histoire Véritable de La Ville de Lyon*.

Sainctes, Claude de. 1562. *Discours Sur Le Saccagement Des Églises Catholiques, Par Les Hérétiques Anciens,Nouveaux Calvinistes*. Toulouse.

Taruskin, Richard, and Christopher Howard Gibbs. 2013. *The Oxford History of Western Music*. College ed. New York: Oxford University Press.

Van Orden, Kate. 2005. *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.