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## Polluted Soundscapes and *Contrepoison* in Sixteenth-Century France

### The Sonic Warfare Leading to the First War of Religion

John Romey

On March 1, 1562, soldiers under the command of François, the duke of Guise, massacred Huguenot worshippers in the French town of Wassy. In retrospect this event was the opening salvo in thirty-six years of confessional bloodshed. Contemporaries described the massacre of Wassy as a series of vivid sonic experiences, and the cause could be interpreted in part as the duke understanding that the soundscape was polluted with seditious sounds. Passing through Wassy to pick up reinforcement gendarmes, Guise heard church bells ringing at an unexpected time of day. He demanded to know the cause of the bellringing, and some of his men and passersby in the streets informed him that the bells summoned Huguenots to their Sunday service. Enraged at the possibility of Protestants making use of the church, Guise and his company decided to assert their rights as nobles and entered Wassy to hear Mass. On their way the duke and his retinue realized Huguenots were meeting in a barn close by the church—not outside the city walls, as allowed by the Edict of Toleration—and on his niece’s property.<sup>1</sup> From the streets the duke, his council, and the gendarmes could hear worshippers singing psalms inside the barn, another sonic dissonance that further antagonized him. The duke sent three men to announce his arrival, but they were prohibited from entering until the minister had finished preaching and were physically repelled when they tried to force their way inside. When “mere peasants” threw a stone at one of the duke’s envoys, they responded

by killing the Huguenot guarding the door. The gendarmes sounded their trumpets, which both announced an assault and overpowered Huguenot voices, and cried, “Kill! Kill! By God’s death kill these Huguenots!” Jacques Tortorel memorialized the event in an engraving (see Fig. 1) that depicts the bells as well as the sounding of the trumpets, the subsequent gunfire, and the tumult as Huguenots fled fearing for their lives while fellow worshippers met an untimely death by sword or bullet.<sup>2</sup> At the conclusion of the massacre, fifty Huguenots lay dead in the barn and the streets, marking the first clash in what would become decades of periodic civil war.<sup>3</sup>

Scholars have analyzed the historical sources describing the massacre of Wassy many times but have paid little consideration to the sonic experience of the slaughter. For the people who lived through the turbulent times of the French Wars of Religion (ca. 1562–98), sounds were charged with emotional significance and were more than symbolic; they could be markers of identity and at times could function as a call to arms to defend one’s faith or noble rights. In the decades before this outbreak of violence, zealous Catholics and Huguenots strategized to control soundscapes around them and waged audible battles over sonic territories.<sup>4</sup> When early modern people sang songs, they were committing potentially explosive acts that could lead to physical violence. In these ways, participants in confessional conflicts endeavored to create a sonic presence and

to control soundscapes—the complex relationships, mediated through sounds, between humans and their environment—through rites of purification and erasure in the decades leading to and during outbreaks of violence.

Studying the years leading up to and during the Wars of Religion through the lens of soundscapes resuscitates the musical and sonic experiences of the people who lived through and participated in these

confessional conflicts.<sup>5</sup> While reams of published song texts survive from the period, many printed as ephemeral pamphlets and placards, I shall avoid the common pitfall of limiting my study to textual analysis. Rather, following scholars such as Roger Chartier, Kate van Orden, and Nicholas Hammond, I will analyze these historical artifacts through a framework of a sonic cultural history that seeks to understand the sound worlds of the Wars of Religion



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 1: The Massacre of Wassy as depicted in Jacques Tortorel, “Le Massacre fait à Vassy le premier jour de mars 1562” (N.p.: n.p., n.d.). Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Richelieu, Estampes et photographies. RESERVE QB-201 (5)-FOL 33. The key reads: A. The barn where about 1,200 people are present. B. Monsieur de Guise, who was in command. C. The minister at the pulpit praying to God. D. The minister, trying to save himself, is wounded in several places and would have been killed if the sword did not break in two. E. The Cardinal de Guise leaning on [the wall of] the parish cemetery. F. The roof that the people break to try to save themselves. G. Several who are thrown onto the city wall follow each other to the fields. H. Many who save themselves on the roof are shot at by harquebusiers. J. The poor box is torn off. K. The trumpets were sounded two different times.

and the motivations of historical people in shaping the soundscapes they inhabited.<sup>6</sup> The work of these scholars and historians of the book demonstrates that textual forms relied on memory and oral tradition and that written texts inspired aural acts.

While scholars have long scrutinized both the destructive nature of iconoclastic attacks on religious buildings, artworks, and musical instruments, and the deployment of song in the confessional conflicts that plagued sixteenth-century Europe, we still lack an analysis of the techniques of erasure employed by Catholics and Huguenots as they struggled to control, shape, and dominate sonic spaces.<sup>7</sup> The anthropological concepts of pollution and purification, as first articulated by Mary Douglas in her classic study, provide a potent framework for understanding both Huguenot and Catholic strategies and motivations for combating impure song through rites of reversing, washing, erasing, or eradicating.<sup>8</sup> In her apposite essay on rites of violence during the Wars of Religion, Natalie Zemon Davis analyzed both Catholic and Huguenot religious riots as rites of purification that ridded the community of dreaded “pollution,” a word she demonstrated originated from the mouths of the violent participants.<sup>9</sup> Some types of singing in the context of confessional politics, I contend, were heard as sonic pollution, and soundscapes therefore needed to be purified by erasing texts to cleanse melodies, by drowning out opposing singers, or by eradicating the offending voices. The use of songs as aural weapons in the lived experiences of political and religious conflict comes into focus through a study of the strategies of musical polemic and sonic erasure as early modern people fought battles over sonic territories.

Moreover, I argue that in some cases sonic purification prefigured corporeal violence as spiritual song ratcheted up confessional tensions. In terms of prefiguration, I reference both theological prefiguration and the ecclesiastical Latin *praefigurare* (“to represent beforehand”). Theological prefiguration, or typology, uses biblical exegesis to interpret the Old Testament in anticipation of salvation through Christ.<sup>10</sup> Huguenots, for example, during times of persecution found comfort in reading their own salvation prefigured in the Psalms. In the present context, prefiguration means that singing polemical songs—which sought to purify melodies performed by confessional enemies and to eradicate impure sound from contested sonic spaces—heightened tensions and in some cases heralded, exacerbated, or inspired outbursts of violence.

### **Arming the Faithful: Music and Memory**

Both Huguenots and Catholics relied on textual and musical forms to aid the faithful in memorizing tenets of their faith and to tap into and forge collective memories of a confessional identity group. Huguenots memorized psalms, yet Catholics heard psalmody as a sonic disturbance; both confessional groups repurposed the psalm melodies for more vehement polemics against their spiritual enemies. Psalm melodies therefore served as vehicles to memorize psalm verses, as pedagogical tools to teach religious doctrine, and as polemical weapons targeting perceived Protestant heresy and Catholic hypocrisy.<sup>11</sup> Catholics began to learn to read by sounding out and memorizing fixed prayers in Latin, such as the Pater noster and Salve Regina. Parodies of these prayers too became instruments for Huguenots

to criticize what they considered Catholic idolatry. In some instances, Catholics and Huguenots waged audible battles in efforts to drown out what they considered sonic pollution created by adherents of opposing religious beliefs.

The massacre of Wassy is just one of countless examples of Huguenots performing psalms from the Genevan Psalter in public spaces. Jean Calvin, who encouraged communal singing of metrical psalms in French by Reformed congregations, published the first edition of his psalter in 1539.<sup>12</sup> For subsequent expanded editions, he relied on translations by court poet Clément Marot and theologian Théodore de Bèze, who completed all 150 psalms in 1562. The melodies, each with a narrow range and limited rhythmic profile, were suitable for untrained voices, and Huguenots committed them to memory as a declaration of their faith.

Because unity of voices through communal psalmody was an important expression of Huguenot solidarity, the Reformed church prioritized supporting its followers in memorizing the metrical psalms. In support of this project, in 1560 the humanist Pierre Davantès, who himself contributed 42 melodies to the Genevan Psalter, published an edition of the *Pseaumes de David, mis en rythme françoise par Clement Marot, et Theodore de Beze* with “a new and easy method to sing each psalm verse without rehearsing it first.”<sup>13</sup> The 89 psalms in the volume used a new type of musical notation that indicated pitch using a series of numbers and rhythm with interspersed symbols. Strings of numbers and symbols were then placed above the text of each psalm verse (see Fig. 2), thereby presenting an “easy” method through which Huguenots who were not

musically literate could realize the tunes. In his introduction, Davantès stressed that his notational innovations made his edition “handy and portable.” His space- and time-saving notation helped Huguenots arm themselves with sonic weapons for the spiritual battles that lay ahead. Psalmody would emerge as musical accompaniment to iconoclastic attacks on churches, organs, bells, musical instruments, statuary, and other religious artworks.<sup>14</sup>

While Huguenots believed communal psalmody was an expression of spiritual solidarity, Catholics interpreted the same sounds as a threat polluting the soundscape.<sup>15</sup> Thus in the same year of Davantès’s edition (1560), a Catholic priest named Artus Désiré published *Le contrepoison des cinquante deux chansons de Clement Marot, fausement intitulees par luy Psalmes de David* (The Antidote to Clement Marot’s Fifty-Two Songs, Wrongly Entitled by Him David’s Psalms).<sup>16</sup> The idea behind *contrepoison*, or writing new texts to cleanse existing tunes, was not a new one, but Désiré’s project appeared just as confessional tensions were flaring up and the Wars of Religion were on the horizon. Despite his stated intention of creating these songs for the “salvation and conversion” of Huguenots, Désiré composed polemical anti-Huguenot texts intended to be sung to “Marot’s chansons.” Each text begins with an “argument.” The first psalm, for example, is prefaced: “this song shows that true Catholics, who reject and repel the heresies of Calvin and his accomplices seated on the pulpit of pestilence, are very happy.”<sup>17</sup> Catholics frequently used the word “pestilence” to mark Huguenots as unclean, especially to describe their “pestilential little books full of poison,” to adopt the language of another Catholic theologian and polemicist, a phrase



that could refer to vernacular editions of the Bible or to Protestant songbooks.<sup>18</sup> Désiré's songs are militant in nature and, if sung, could serve as weapons to combat heresy by purging Huguenot voices from soundscapes inhabited by Catholic singers.

Three years later, as the flames of the first War of Religion were raging, the Jesuit Father Emond Auger, writing from Lyon to Father Laynez in Rome, recommended that Pierre de Ronsard, "first poet of the kingdom," compose *chansons spirituelles* to serve as weapons against the dangerous "psalms of Clément Marot." In another letter written four months after the first, Auger argued that ardent Catholics could sing such vernacular songs "at home, in

shops, and while traveling, against those which the adversaries go around mumbling." He envisioned these Catholic *chansons spirituelles* deployed as weapons defending the faith in sonic battles:

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. Everyone who sees the situations of these times judges it necessary to cure opposites with opposites. And if the cardinal of Lorraine asks Ronsard, he will do it divinely. Thus, the people, having Mass, sermons, catechism, and holy psalms, will have no occasion to be led astray by any novelty.<sup>19</sup>



Figure 2: Psalm 119, "Bien-heureuse est la personne," from Pierre Davantès, *Pseaumès de David, mis en rythme françoise par Clement Marot, et Theodore de Beze* (Geneva: Pierre Davantès, 1560). Bibliothèque de Genève: Bb 659.

Both Huguenots and Catholics therefore used songs to wage audible battles about doctrine while occupying physical spaces. Their voices filled urban and rural soundscapes with songs that signified religious and political allegiances while attempting to silence those with opposing beliefs.

A Huguenot living in Lyon named De Nakol began his 1562 poem, titled *Confession de la foy chretienne* (Confession of the Christian Faith), with the following stanza.<sup>20</sup>

Puis que Satan bataille contre nous,  
 Par l'antechrist nostre grand adversaire:  
 Or sus Chrestiens armons nous donq tretous,  
 Prenons la Foy ne nous laissons deffaire,  
 Et confessons en toute verité  
 La Foy qu'avons receu de Dieu Pere.

Because Satan battles against us,  
 By the antichrist, our great adversary:  
 Now, Christians, let us arm ourselves,  
 Let us have faith, do not let ourselves be undone,  
 And let us confess in all truth  
 The Faith that we received from God the Father.

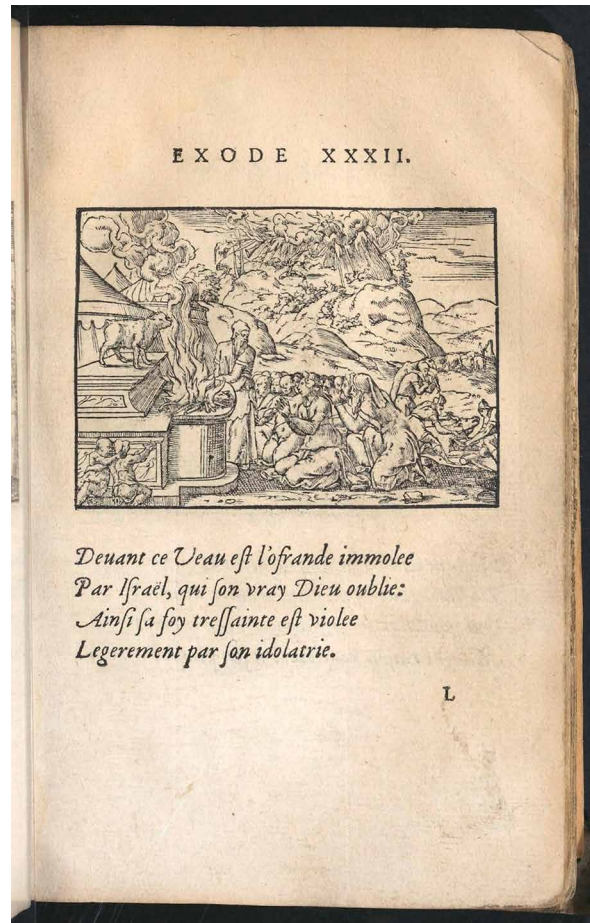
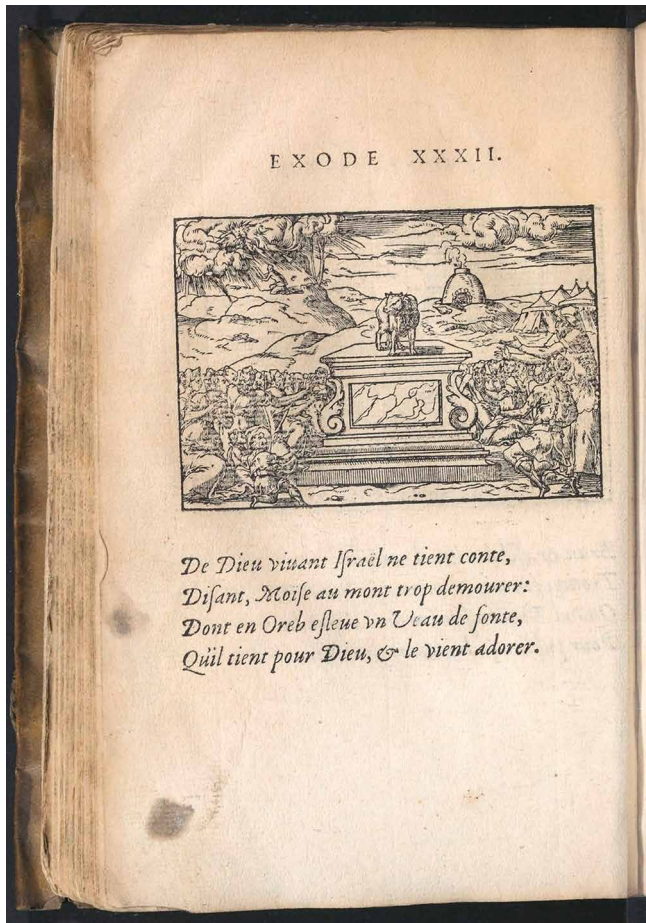


Figure 3: Two pages illustrating idolatry from the book of Exodus in Claude Paradin's *Quadrins historiques de la Bible* (Lion: Ian de Tournes, 1560). Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Tolbiac A-10822 (1).

De Nakol encouraged readers to arm themselves against Satan with knowledge of their faith, in this instance communicated through song because the entire poem “was properly accommodated to the tune of Psalm 119” from the Genevan Psalter (for the tune, see Fig. 2). This pamphlet represents one example of a flurry of polemics produced by the Huguenot publisher-entrepreneur Jean Saugrain during the outbreak of war. On the cover page, De Nakol claims that the reader will find within a text that summarizes the principal articles of “our faith” and a “very clear understanding of the holy Sacraments.” He concludes by recommending two modes of engaging with his poem: “We can be edified by simply reading it or by singing it spiritually, the better to retain it in memory.”<sup>21</sup> De Nakol thereby suggests that an important motivation for using strophic songs: to support the faithful in memorizing the tenets of the faith.

Rhymed couplets or quatrains, sometimes set to strophic tunes that were easy to sing and had already been internalized, were a rhythmic, aural, and sometimes musical strategy to develop literacy and memorize texts. Early modern printer-publishers produced large amounts of material targeting those to whom Roger Chartier has referred as the “half-literate” (*demi-lettrés*).<sup>22</sup> Printed in Lyon in 1560, for example, Claude Paradin’s *Quadrins historiques de la Bible* consists of 231 woodcut images of scenes from the Bible, each accompanied by a rhyming quatrain explaining the image (see Fig. 3).<sup>23</sup> Many ephemera, such as pamphlets and placards, likewise communicated to the marginally literate through rhymed couplets or quatrains that could be sounded out phonetically.

The internalization of at times lengthy texts was simplified by relying on a strophic rhymed structure that could use a simple tune as a mnemonic device. The tunes, a continuously evolving stock of shared material held in the collective memory, rendered written texts more legible and helped listeners retain texts they heard performed aurally.<sup>24</sup> Jesuits, for example, taught literacy using rhymed *abcédaires*, catechisms, and prayers, and around 1600 they too adopted a pedagogical approach, using music to aid memorization.<sup>25</sup> Similar strategies were employed in street song, a pan-European tradition for communicating the news in the early modern period. By singing, in a public setting, songs about the latest news, scandals, and gossip set to a body of strophic tunes culled from the collective memory, these texts were committed to memory and could rapidly circulate in oral networks. In the case of De Nakol’s pamphlet, he repurposed a melody already approved by the Reformed church for singing psalms, and therefore used to internalize psalm verse, for the memorization and recitation of tenets of his faith.

Catholics in France learned to read using primers that began with the letters of the alphabet and progressed to syllabaries containing the Pater noster, Ave Maria, Credo, Confiteor, and the Benedicite followed by the Magnificat, Nunc Dimittis, Salve Regina, the Seven Penitential Psalms, and the litanies of the saints.<sup>26</sup> Memorized by rote, these common prayers would have been intoned until late in the sixteenth century, when Jesuits such as Michel Coyssard and Guillaume Marc began to teach paraphrases in French sung to strophic songs. Coyssard believed that texts composed “in verse and musical poems are imprinted more deeply in the mind” because “grace creeps in



or slips into our minds.”<sup>27</sup> Whether intoned or sung, in Latin or paraphrased in French, these prayers formed a foundational part of education in early modern France. Because they were memorized at an early age, they also served as forms ripe for parody in confessional doctrinal battles that resounded in urban soundscapes.

The Pater noster, for example, appears in most primers as the first lesson after students learned the letters of the alphabet. Van Orden has shown that Jacques Cossard’s *Methodes pour apprendre a lire, a escripre, chanter le plain chant, et compter* (Paris, 1633) breaks the Pater noster into syllables that can be sounded out by the aspiring reader.<sup>28</sup> As early as 1553 the Huguenot Jean Crispin published a paraphrase in French as *Notre Pere qui es es cieux* for the first lesson in his *L’ABC françois*.<sup>29</sup> Michel Coyssard, in his 1592 “battle-worthy” collection of catechistic songs that Van Orden described as “designed to be taught by rote and sung from memory,” set this paraphrase homophonically with a superius part that could be detached and sung monophonically.<sup>30</sup>

Because of its function in Catholic *abcedaires* and catechisms, Huguenots like Eustorg de Beaulieu could rely on the prayer as a model for parody. The first poem that appears in the second half of his *Chrestienne Resiouyssance* is a “Prayer for the idolaters” that parodies the French paraphrase of the Pater noster:

Nostre ydole qui est close dans un armoire  
/ Ton nom soit aboly qu’il n’en soit plus  
memoire / Ton royaulme mondain  
viene à destruction: / Car aussi ce n’est  
rien qu’abomination.<sup>31</sup>

Our idol that is enclosed in a cabinet  
/ Your name be abolished so that it is  
no longer remembered. / Your worldly  
kingdom comes to destruction / For thus  
it is nothing but an abomination.

Beaulieu, a Reformed pastor who formerly lived in Lyon, relies on the familiarity of the prayer to aid the marginally literate in sounding out his polemic against what Protestants considered Catholic idolatry. In the second line, the connection to erasing memories by abolishing language is explicit. While Beaulieu and others used language to abolish memories and erase dangerous song texts, others used fire—described in Deuteronomy 7:5 as a sacred means to purify idols—to eradicate Catholic paintings, sculptures, and other icons, often while singing psalms. Beaulieu proselytized by repurposing a common prayer memorized by French women, men, and children with even the most basic literacy. If a reader intoned or sang his parody, Beaulieu could contribute to the purification of a soundscape in Lyon or even further away from the safety of his home in the Swiss town of Thierrens.

Like the Pater noster, the *Salve Regina* became a vehicle for parodies that shaped confessional discourse occurring in public spaces. The *Salve Regina* held confessionally charged significance because it was sung by Catholics before the burning of a heretic, a tradition that enabled pamphlet creators to link heresy with other forms of evil in need of eradication from public spaces. When condemned Huguenots met a fiery public death, crowds often comforted them by joining in singing psalms. In 1554 Catholic authorities responded by ordering Jean Filleul’s and Julien Leveille’s tongues cut out to silence them before they could incite such a spectacle.<sup>32</sup> In Meaux in 1566, 14 Huguenots were condemned to burn to death. In an act of defiance, the prisoners refused to stop singing psalms, and, according to a Huguenot description of events, the priests responded by “singing

*O Salutaris hostia, Salve regina*, and other execrable blasphemies.” Metrical psalms and the *Salve Regina*, sung in battles over the sonic territories of public executions, thus bring the aural battles, erasures, and silencings in the closest proximity to the erasure of evangelical flesh and bone that would soon be reduced to ash.<sup>33</sup>

Because singing the *Salve Regina* held educational, confessional, and political significance for Catholics, it was a memorized prayer suitable for repurposing. *Le Salve Regina des prisonniers*, produced in 1561, is a political pamphlet that pleads with the Queen Mother and Regent Catherine de Medici to release Huguenot prisoners involved in the failed Conspiracy of Amboise (see Fig. 4).<sup>34</sup> This pamphlet intersperses rhyming quatrains in French between each Latin phrase of the *Salve Regina*, thereby creating a plea that used a well-known formula associated with eliminating heretics from public spaces. According to the pamphlet, which amounted to Catholic propaganda, Théodore de Bèze, accompanied by 11 ministers and 20 deputies of the Reformed church, delivered this harangue in front of the king, the queen mother, other members of the court including members of the king’s council, and representatives of the Catholic clergy on September 9, 1561.

Both Catholics and Huguenots used metrical psalm melodies and common prayers as weapons wielded against confessional or political enemies. The tunes and prayers were forms that sat on the margins of oral and print cultures and communicated as broadly as possible. By relying on musical and textual templates embedded deep in the collective memory of those who received a basic education in France, religious polemicists, political

activists, and all types of plotters and schemers shaped soundscapes in their favor by producing and circulating cheap print that inspired performative acts.<sup>35</sup> Tapping into collective and individual memories and oral traditions was an essential consideration for a thriving ephemeral print culture that sought to influence the sonic landscape. Popular religion was thereby shaped by educated elites through the creation of such pamphlets, placards, and songs. Performing memorized songs in public and private spaces was at times an act of spiritual edification, but songs were also deployed as potent weapons of spiritual and political sonic warfare.

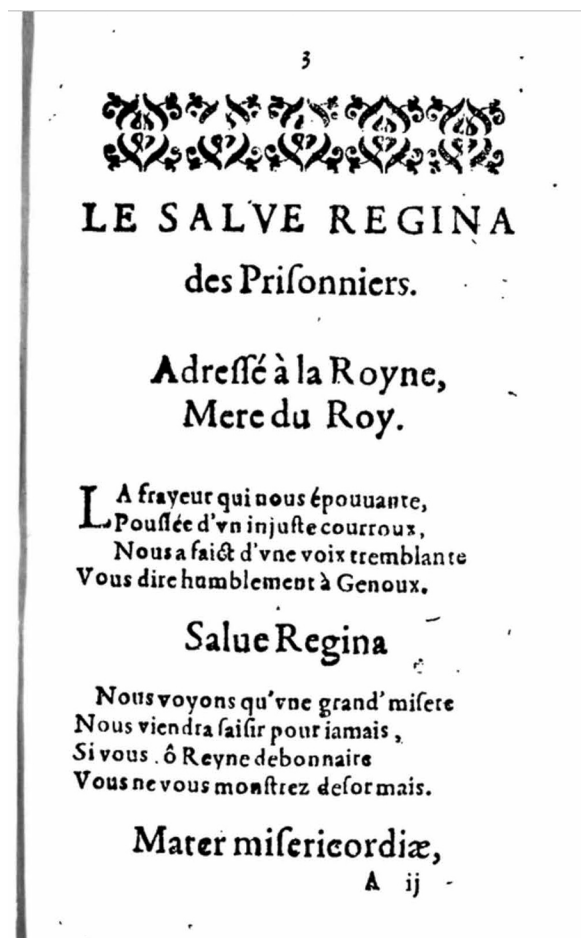


Figure 4 : “Le Salve regina des prisonniers arrestez au chasteau d’Amboise” ([Paris]: n. p., 1560), fol. 1r.

### Sonic Erasure and Purifying Melodies

While the Wars of Religion did result in outbreaks of violence that eliminated religious enemies and icons from public spaces, some of this violence was prefigured by or occurred simultaneously with sonic erasures. Both Catholics and Huguenots appropriated song repertoires from opposing confessional traditions and inscribed these melodies with new texts expressing their own beliefs or attacking the perceived fallacies of their confessional opponents. This process fostered a vibrant polemical discourse. Huguenots also worked to purify profane melodies with spiritual texts infused with divine grace. While Catholics like Désiré published *Le contrepoison des cinquante deux chansons de Clement Marot* to aurally combat Huguenot's singing psalms in public spaces, Huguenots sought to superimpose the tenets of their faith onto the dangerous *mondain* (worldly) music that some zealous pastors believed was infecting their sonic environments, especially within the confines of the homes of members of their flock.

In his dedication to the Catholic duke of Savoy, Désiré claims that "Marot's chansons, falsely titled psalms, are poison to many poor souls" and that Huguenots "go around the public roads singing false and heretical songs full of errors."<sup>36</sup> Désiré proposed two solutions to eradicate these pollutants: the duke could exterminate Huguenots from the earth ("Our Lord, that he owes you such grace / That you may end the race of mastiff dogs, obstinate & bad") or "good Catholics" could respond to Huguenots singing psalms by singing the *contrepoison* (antidote) Désiré provides in his volume.<sup>37</sup> On the page before his first chanson, he reiterates his claim that

he provided this volume as a means for Catholics to respond to Huguenots singing psalms in public spaces: "When some enemy of the Faith / Sings Marot's Songs / And we ask him why / He sings them, he does not answer a word, / Except that the unfortunate fool / Says it is better to sing them in public places, / Than to sing lustful Songs, / Of which cause and reason, / I have for all the good Catholics, / Composed this *Contrepoison*."<sup>38</sup> In the remainder of the publication, he presents 52 texts that refute Huguenot iconoclasm, express support for the Catholic nobility in warfare against Protestant heretics, and champion Catholic doctrine. Désiré was thus manufacturing an arsenal of sonic weapons with which faithful Catholics could reclaim sonic territory polluted by Huguenot psalmody. Huguenots found Désiré's publication threatening to their cause. According to Father Coysard, Désiré's publication inflamed tensions in Lyon so much that Huguenots purchased all copies of the Lyon edition. This group also attacked the printer-publisher Michel Jove, "tearing off his beard and threatening him with more if he reprinted it."<sup>39</sup> The publication of this volume of polemical chansons thereby inspired a violent response.

Désiré's compositional process began with Marot's metrical psalm translations, for which he created a countertext that inverted the meaning of the poem while closely imitating its structure. Marot's translation of Psalm 1, for example, suggests that happiness can be obtained by turning away from sin and focusing on God's law. Désiré's antidote to Marot's psalm in contrast claims that those who honor God and his saints and turn away from Calvin, Geneva, and all the unclean things preached by those who abandoned the Catholic church, will find happiness.

In the first edition published in Paris in 1560, Désiré only included texts and identified to which tune to sing his musical antidote. In the Lyon edition published two years later, Michel Jove included notated music for each psalm melody, perhaps in recognition that Catholics, unlike Huguenots, did not memorize the melodies for metrical psalms.

In 1561, between the publication of the Paris and Lyon editions of *Le contrepoison*, an anonymous Reformed writer tried to disgrace Désiré’s publication by providing an “antidote” to the “poison” contained in his songs. The author of the *Singulier antidot contre la poison des chansons d’Artus Désiré* (Singular Antidote against the Poison of Artus Désiré’s Songs) claims that Désiré “mocks David openly, like an atheist and dog resorted to vomiting.”<sup>40</sup> In response to Désiré referring to Protestants as “mastiff dogs,” the anonymous poet

reverses and intensifies the image in applying it to Désiré by suggesting he is a dog and his *contrepoison* vomit. Later in the volume, a sonnet addressed to the Protestant reader compares the current repression of Huguenots in France to a shipwreck in the middle of a storm, and exhorts the faithful that “if he sees his brother die in the fire with his own eyes, for the sake of the Lord he must not change his face.”<sup>41</sup> The author encourages Huguenots to remain defiant in the face of persecution, even when their confessional brothers are being burned alive for their beliefs. The poet composed 20 songs—each set to one of Marot’s psalms, to which Désiré first created a *contrepoison*—meant to refute Désiré’s songs by attacking the hypocrisy of both Désiré and the pope (whom he refers to as the “damnable antichrist”), the illusionist sacrilege of the Mass (“Their Mass, which sells God

**Marot’s Metrical Psalm 1:**

Qui au conseil des malings n'a esté,  
 Qui n'est au trac des pecheurs arresté,  
 Qui des mocqueurs au banc place n'a prise:  
 Mais nuict, et jour, la Loy contemple, et prise  
 De l'Eternel, et en est desireux:  
 Certainement cestuy là est heureux.

Who has not been on the council of the evil ones,  
 Who is not afraid to stand in the way ungodly sinners,  
 Who has not sat on the bench of scorners.  
 But night and day contemplates the Law, and takes  
 of the Eternal, and desires it:  
 Certainly, this man is happy.

**Désiré’s contrepoison:**

Qui au conseil de Calvin n'a esté  
 Et qui ne s'est à Genesve arresté  
 Pour reposer au banc de pestilence,  
 Mais à tousjours en grande reverence  
 Honnoré Dieu & ses saintz glorieux  
 Certainement tel homme est bien heureux.

Who has not been on Calvin's council  
 And who has not stopped in Geneva  
 To rest on the bench of pestilence,  
 But always with great reverence  
 Honored God & his glorious saints  
 Certainly, such a man is happy.



. . . so goes abolished”), and the heretical nature of Catholic idols (“certainly our all-perfect God / is not the one of counterfeit paste, under the Church of Rome”).<sup>42</sup> He concludes the volume with another sonnet suggesting that those who want to repel the “stinking vermin,” or even murder them “by sword or by sticks,” should “read all of the beautiful things in these divine songs.”<sup>43</sup> The poet therefore connects singing his polemical songs to both physical violence and repelling disease-ridden animals capable of great destruction.

Matthieu Malingre, a Dominican born in Normandy who experienced a conversion and worked as a Reformed pastor in Neuchâtel, published the earliest surviving Reformed songbook in 1533 with *S'ensuivent plusieurs belles et bonnes chansons*.<sup>44</sup> In this volume and its expanded Genevan reprint from 1545, Malingre presents spiritual and edifying texts intended for performance to tunes then in vogue, especially melodies drawn from the repertoire of Parisian chansons, a more homophonic style of chanson popular from the 1520s through the middle of the century. Parisian chansons typically feature a graceful melody in the superius voice, and they were published in a manner that allowed for flexible performance practices mixing instruments and voices. As evidenced by the publication of Huguenot composer and writer on music Philibert Jambe de Fer's tutor *L'épitome musical des tons, sons et accordz, es voix humaines, fleustes d'Alleman, flesustes à neuf trous, violes, & violons* (Lyon, 1556), some Huguenots learned to play instruments and performed secular music like Parisian chansons in their homes to fill their leisure time. Others of the Reformed faith, however, saw *mondain* poetry, frequently texts exploring carnal love, as

dangerous, especially when combined with music. In the 1543 edition of the Psalter, Calvin, echoing Saint Augustine, claimed that music “has a secret and almost incredible power to arouse hearts in one way or another.” Calvin and his followers believed that music must be regulated to prevent “disorderly delights” and that musical performances, especially those with instruments or meant to accompany dancing, could lead to “fornication.”<sup>45</sup> One form of regulation meant discouraging music other than the Psalms, but another strategy of regulation involved purifying arousing texts from profane melodies.

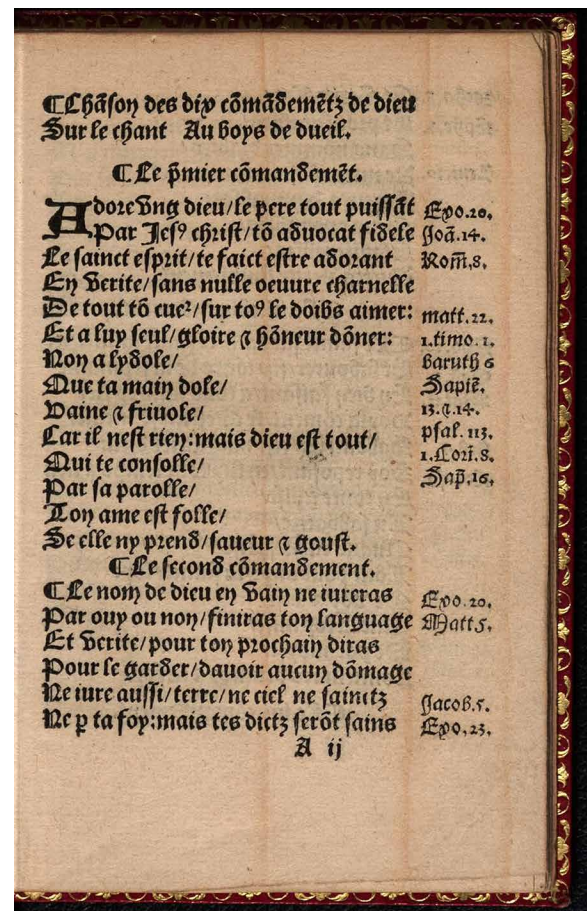


Figure 5: The Ten Commandments sung to the tune “Au boys de duel.” Matthieu Malingre, *S'ensuivent plusieurs belles et bonnes chansons* ([Pierre de Vingle: Neuchâtel], 1533), Aii. Bibliothèque de Genève: Bd 1475.

Many of the chansons cleansed by Malingre were composed by Claudin de Sermisy, the Catholic composer who was by 1533 *sous-maître* over the musicians of the royal chapel of François I's court. Malingre begins his collection, for example, with edifying verses meditating on each of the Ten Commandments (see Fig. 5). Calvin included the *décalogue* in metrical verse in his first Psalter of 1539, and later editions of Marot's poetry achieved even wider circulation. In August 1561, for example, children of the town of Albiac burned Catholic icons in a fire while ceremonially reciting the Ten Commandments.<sup>46</sup> The second commandment, which forbade the

worship of graven images, was particularly germane during these fiery purification rituals. Each of Malingre's ruminations on a commandment requires singing the popular melody known as "Au bois de dueil" and set by Sermisy as a Parisian chanson (see Fig. 6) published by Attaignant in his 1529 *Trente et une chansons musicales*.<sup>47</sup>

In another example, Malingre parodies Sermisy's "Tant que vivray," a Parisian chanson that set a poem by Clément Marot:

Tant que vivray en aage florissant, / Je  
serviray Amour le Dieu puissant, / En  
faict, et dictz, en chansons, et accords. /  
Par plusieurs jours m'a tenu languissant,  
/ Mais apres dueil m'a faict resjouyssant,

Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 6: The superius part for Claudin de Sermisy's "Au joly boys." Published in *Trente et une chanson musicales a quatre parties* (Paris: Pierre Attaignant, 1529), fol. 4v. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque national de France. Musique RES VM7-173.

/ Car j'ay l'amour de la belle au gent  
 corps. / Son alliance / Est ma fiance: / Son  
 cuer est mien, / Mon cuer est sien: /  
 Fy de tristesse, / Vive liesse, / Puis qu'en  
 Amours a tant de bien.

As long as I live in this flourishing age,  
 / I shall serve the powerful God of Love  
 / In actions and words, with songs and  
 harmonies. / For several days she let  
 me languish; / But after this sadness  
 she made me rejoice, / Since now I have  
 the love of the beautiful woman. / Her  
 alliance / Is my betrothal. / Her heart is  
 mine, / My heart is hers: / Fie on sadness,  
 / Long live joy, / Since in love there is so  
 much good.

Malingre removes all references to carnal  
 love and refocuses the poetry to a meditation  
 on divine love. Malingre's changes are  
 shown in bold:

Tant que vivray en eage florissant, / Je  
 serviray **le Seigneur tout** puissant, / En  
 faitz, et dictz, en chansons, et accords.  
 / **Le vieil serpent** ma tenu languissant, /  
 Mais **Jesus Christ** m'a fait resiouissant, /  
**En exposant pour moi son sang & corps.**  
 / Son alliance / **Cest** ma fiance: / **Il est tout**  
 mien, / **Je suis tout** sien: / Fy de tristesse,  
 / Vive liesse, / Puis qu'en **mon Dieu** a tant  
 de bien.<sup>48</sup>

As long as I live in this flourishing age,  
 / I shall serve the **all-powerful Lord** /  
 In actions and words, with songs and  
 harmonies. / **The old serpent** let me  
 languish; / But **Jesus Christ** made me  
 rejoice, / **By exposing for me his blood**  
**and** body. / His alliance / Is my betrothal.  
 / **He is all** mine, / **I am** all his: / Fie on  
 sadness, / Long live joy, / Since **my God**  
 has so much good.

In Malingre's *chanson spirituelle*, a  
 celebration of the "God of Love" is  
 replaced by his love for God, and rather  
 than attracting the love of a beautiful  
 woman, the singer rejoices about Jesus's

sacrifice through crucifixion. Recognizing  
 that songs like "Tant que vivray" were too  
 popular to eliminate entirely, Malingre and  
 others strategized to combat *mondanité* by  
 refocusing songs about carnal love and by  
 creating texts of spiritual edification.

Eustorg de Beaulieu—the Reformed  
 pastor who criticized idolatrous Catholics  
 by parodying the Pater noster discussed  
 above—also supplied spiritual texts to  
 supplant those from *mondain* songs.  
 Beaulieu was a former Catholic priest who  
 converted, after which he denounced the  
 secular poetry and chansons he had earlier  
 published. In his *Chrétienne Resiouyssance* of  
 1546, he provides other likeminded souls  
 160 spiritual poems set to chansons then  
 in vogue, especially tunes culled from the  
 repertory of Parisian chansons. Beaulieu's  
 preface provides context for his motivations  
 in producing such a collection of spiritual  
 songs. Specifically, he is concerned about  
 "voluptuous songs," which, he claims, lead  
 to great evil. These songs are treacherous  
 because they celebrate "the kingdom of  
 Satan, of the pope, his vicar general, of  
 many princes, and other voluptuous people  
 of this world."<sup>49</sup> Here Beaulieu echoes  
 Calvin, who wrote: "The old doctors of the  
 church often take pleasure that the people  
 of their time were given to dishonest and  
 indecent songs, which, not without cause,  
 they esteem and call deadly and satanic  
 poison."<sup>50</sup> These "indecent songs," he  
 claimed, were sung in "taverns, cabarets,  
 private houses, or public streets," thereby  
 creating a dangerous spectacle that could  
 infect the ears and move the hearts of  
 those who heard them.<sup>51</sup> Beaulieu himself  
 confesses that he too used to participate  
 in this "worldly rejoicing" (*resjouyssance*  
*mondaine*) by performing abominable  
 songs, at times with musical instruments.<sup>52</sup>



Beaulieu, like Malingre before him, composed many of his spiritual texts to purify Parisian chansons published by Attaignant. He begins his collection, for example, by creating a contrafactum to the following poem by Marot, which celebrates wine, set to music by Sermisy (see Fig. 7):

Changeons propos, c'est trop chanté d'amours: / Ce sont clamours, chantons de la serpette: / Tous vigneronns ont à elle recours, / C'est leur secours pour tailler la vignette; / Ô serpillette, ô la serpillonnette, / La vignollette est par toy mise sus, / Dont les bons vins tous les ans sont yssus!<sup>53</sup>

Let us change the subject, there is too much sung of love, / These are clamors, let us sing about the pruning knife: / All winegrowers have recourse to it, / To help them cut the young vines; / O pruning knife, O tiny little pruning knife, / You trim the little vines / That yield good wine each year!)

Echoing Malingre, Beaulieu's parodic text warns of the dangers of worshipping Venus and urges Huguenots to sing only to the glory of God and Jesus Christ:

Changeons propos, c'est trop chanté d'amours: / C'est pour gens lourdz que n'ont sens en la teste. / Nulz bons Chrestiens n'ont à Venus recours. / Ains avec pleurs sont à Dieu leur requeste. / O saint Prophete, o Christ, & quelle feste / Te sera faicte icy bas, ou là sus: / Selon les biens qui de toy sont yssus.<sup>54</sup>

Let us change the subject, there is too much sung of love: / It is for dull people who have no sense in their heads. / No good Christians have recourse to Venus. / Thus with tears they request to God. / O holy Prophet, O Christ, & what a celebration / will be made to you here below, or there above: / According to the blessings which come from you?

Both drinking songs and songs about the Goddess of Love needed to be eradicated because singing or listening to such "indecent songs" could excite the passions and lead to fornication and disorder. Rather than banish these songs, which might have been an impossible endeavor, Huguenots like Malingre and Beaulieu regulated them by refocusing their texts.

Protestant pastors viewed eradicating voluptuous songs about carnal love and

Figure 7: The superius part for Claudin de Sermisy's "Changeons propos." Published in *Trente et sept chansons musicales a quatre parties nouvellement et correctement* (Paris: Pierre Attaignant, 1529), fols. 12r–12v. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Musique RES VM7-178.



wine as part of a broader battle waged against Catholicism. Despite criticism from Protestant reformers, Catholics held firm on the doctrine of transubstantiation: the belief that the substance of the bread and wine becomes Christ's body and blood, or his real presence, through the ritual of the Mass. Protestants abhorred what they claimed was the diabolical magic of the Mass and saw the Mass, the belief in transubstantiation, and veneration of the host as idolatrous. They also adopted the theological tradition in which idolatry was described in the Old Testament as a broken relationship between Israel, identified as the wife, and God, identified as the husband. The God of the Old Testament is a jealous one who forbids Israel from worshipping other gods. Idolatry is therefore understood as adulterous through breaking the exclusivity of the relationship between a monotheistic God and his chosen people, as both the Israelites and the Protestants saw themselves.<sup>55</sup> Huguenots understood these *mondain* songs as dangerous because of their connection to Catholic corruption through their encouragement of carnal love, which led to fornication and adultery, and drinking wine, which represented both the institutional rot of the Catholic Church emblemized by the Mass and the idolatry of those who worshipped in this way. The purification of love songs and drinking songs was inseparable from Protestant iconoclastic attacks on Catholic idols.

In his songs, Beaulieu highlights his own reputation as a repentant sinner and seeks to use his gifts as a poet to rectify his earlier mistakes. In chanson 35, set to "I'ay trop aymé, urayment ie le confesse," he claims that although he formerly sang Mass as a priest, he now sings psalms in praise of the Lord:

I'ay trop chanté l'abominable messe, /  
I'en quite l'art, marchandise & mestier, /  
Or chanteray les chansons du Psaultier: /  
Là ou Dieu fait de mon salut promesse.<sup>56</sup>

I sang too much the abominable Mass,  
/ I am leaving art, merchandise, &  
profession, / I will sing the songs of the  
Psalter: / There where God promises my  
salvation.

Huguenots saw the Mass as "vile filth" and a pollutant of the House of the Lord.<sup>57</sup> Beaulieu abandons worldly possessions and false idols in seeking his salvation. In chanson 24, set to the chanson "Longtemps y a que ie uy en espoir," he states his desire to return to France to preach the gospel:

Longtemps y a que ie vy en espoir /  
Qu'un jour i'auray liberté & pouuoir /  
D'aller prescher l'Euangile dans france. /  
Et si quelcun ne le veult recepuoir / Dieu  
eternal en sera la vengeance.<sup>58</sup>

For a long time I lived in hope / That one  
day I would have freedom & power / To  
go and preach the gospel in France. / And  
if someone does not receive it in the vault  
/ Eternal God will have his vengeance.

Even if he could not safely return to France to sing psalms or preach the gospel, his collections of songs could circulate and, if performed in "taverns, cabarets, private houses, or public streets," could sonically mark a city as Reformed.

### Sonic Territory in Lyon

At the outbreak of the Wars of Religion, the Huguenot publisher-entrepreneur Jean Saugrain emerged as a leading producer of Evangelical cheap print. In 1562, the year Saugrain published the *Confession de la foy chretienne* discussed above, Lyon's Huguenot community seized control of the City Council and of the city itself. As Lyon's identity briefly shifted to that of a

Protestant city, the Mass was abolished, the Catholic clergy expelled, and churches were converted to serve as spaces for Huguenot worship. As depicted by the anonymous painter of *Le sac de Lyon par les calvinistes en 1562* (see Fig. 8), zealous iconoclasts destroyed countless religious artworks deemed idols.<sup>59</sup> They burned statues and paintings of saints, crucifixes, relics, and other icons in a rite of purification that substantiated the Protestant belief that these objects held no magical power. Religious garments

were auctioned off to the highest bidders. Metallic accoutrements of Catholic liturgy, such as chalices, crucifixes, monstrances, and reliquaries, were weighed and sold at auction, or melted down to fund the Huguenot army. While armed Huguenots patrol the streets and read from the Bible in the foreground, a man is seen in the belltower fetching the bell, a sonic object that summoned the faithful to Mass. The aural symbol of Catholicism was silenced by melting it down and repurposed to finance Huguenot troops.<sup>60</sup>



**Figure 8:** Anonymous, *Le Sac de Lyon par les calvinistes en 1562*. Oil on wood. Musée Gadagne de Lyon. Image © Lyon MBA – Photo Alain Basset. In the right foreground, Huguenots weigh and inventory metal religious paraphernalia from the churches and monasteries. In the center left, auctioneers sell vestments and personal belongings commandeered from priests and monks. Outside the front steps of the church, iconoclasts burn a pile of icons, including a large wooden crucifix. Someone is in the campanile removing the bells, and an even more daring individual has climbed on the spire to topple the cross.

In the 1560s, approximately a third of Lyon professed the Reformed faith, numbers that overshadow the roughly 10 percent average of the rest of France.<sup>61</sup> Catharine Randall has argued that by altering the interiors of Catholic churches, Huguenots inscribed new meaning on sacred spaces.<sup>62</sup> They also altered urban soundscapes both by occupying public spaces with their bodies and by communally singing metrical psalms from the Genevan Psalter. Huguenots, especially the *menu peuple* (the underclass or lesser folk), made their presence felt and heard by roaming the streets as armed groups and by singing psalms as loudly as possible in public.<sup>63</sup> For a fleeting period in 1562 and 1563, these roving singing groups sonically marked the city as Protestant.

Prior to the signing of the Peace of Amboise in 1563, which permitted the Catholic clergy to reenter the city and return to their churches and convents, a brief period in 1562 saw a flood of polemical cheap print from entrepreneurs like Saugrain. While most of these pamphlets sought to inflame tensions by inspiring audible readings, some encouraged musical expressions of Protestant identity by circulating texts sung to tunes from psalms that faithful Huguenots had already internalized. These contrafacta aimed to audibly convert the urban soundscape and to make a militant presence felt by both the inhabitants of the city and Catholics outside of the city.

During this tense moment, Saugrain's press rapidly produced incendiary literature, mostly short pamphlets consisting of one or two sheets (16 to 32 pages when folded) in octavo format with bold typeface. These polemics derided the Catholic clergy, condemned the Mass, and lauded the Huguenots' military leadership, especially the recently converted Louis de Bourbon,

prince of Condé.<sup>64</sup> In addition to *Confession de la foy chretienne*, between 1562 and 1563, Saugrain produced *Cantique et action de graces au Seigneur*, set to Psalm 7; *Cantique Spirituel de la persecution des fideles Chrestiens*, set to Psalm 99; *Ode Hystoriale de la Bataille de saint Gile*, set to Psalm 81; and *Echo parlant a la paix*, set to Psalm 33.<sup>65</sup> Each of these psalm contrafacta uses the melody to connect the polemical text to intertextual themes found in the psalm, taps into the collective memory of the Huguenot population, and, when performed, would audibly mark Lyon as a Reformed city.<sup>66</sup>

Psalm 7, used in the *Cantique et action de graces au Seigneur*, for example, claims that the righteous, although perceived as weak, will prevail against the wicked.<sup>67</sup> The psalm, as translated into metric verse by Marot in the Genevan Psalter, pleads with God to protect the Huguenots from their "inhuman enemies."<sup>68</sup> The text in the pamphlet is a prayer of praise and thanksgiving for God having given strength to the faithful Huguenots who had to persevere through great afflictions at the hands of the Catholics, in this case the "inhuman enemies" from the psalm. The fourth verse of the contrafactum calls on Huguenots to assemble under the trumpet of Zion and to "come out, come out of hiding to complete God's work, to assemble his chosen people."<sup>69</sup> The succeeding verse invites the reader to sonically signify that Lyon was a Reformed city by "singing in exaltation to the God who dwells in Zion," presumably by performing the *Cantique et action de graces au Seigneur* in public places.<sup>70</sup> A second chanson in the same pamphlet exhorts members of the Reformed church to rejoice in the Lord in the face of persecution. It also condemns the idolatry and superstition of the Catholics while praising the princes who have

“received the Gospel” and turned against idolatry. The songs thereby reflect Huguenot iconoclasm at a moment in which adherents were reshaping the interior spaces of houses of worship in Lyon and performing psalms and contrafacta of psalms to audibly signal Lyon’s altered status as a Reformed city.

Other pamphlets, like the *Cantique nouveau, contenant le discours de la guerre de Lyon*, mix contrafacta of psalm tunes with those of *mondain* songs. The pamphlet begins with a chanson celebrating “the assistance that God granted his Church in Lyon, being persecuted and assaulted continually by its enemies in the year 1562,” set to the tune “de Pienne.”<sup>71</sup> The title “de Pienne” was a reference to a scandalous affair around the negotiations of Anne de Montmorency, the constable of France, to marry his son François to Henry II’s legitimated daughter, Diane of France. François had consummated his secret marriage to his lover, Jean de Haulluin de Piennes, maid-of-honor to Catherine de Medici, an act of insubordination that infuriated the father. Anne had Piennes confined to the convent of Filles-Dieu for seven months while François was sent to Rome to seek an annulment from the pope.

The tune known as “de Pienne” has a complicated circulation history obscured by a misidentification in a nineteenth-century reproduction of the text. Una McIlvenna recently claimed that the first song in the pamphlet *Deux chansons sur les amours de M. De Montmorency et de Mademoiselle de Pienne, fille d’honneur de la reine Catherine de Médicis* (1556) is set to the tune “Laissez la verde couleur.”<sup>72</sup> She followed the nineteenth-century bibliophile Antoine Le Roux de Lincy, who characteristically does not cite his source, which no longer seems to survive.<sup>73</sup> The metric structure of the poetry, however,

does not match the known variants of the popular “Laissez la verde couleur” tune.<sup>74</sup> There were many songs written about the scandal involving Mademoiselle de Pienne, however, including one that became known as “Montmorency, te souviens de Pienne.” Le Roux de Lincy himself includes a text from 1595 about the “rejoicing of the good French in honor of the king of France and of Navarre” (Henry IV), set to the tune “Montmorancy, te souviens de Pienne.”<sup>75</sup> The verse produced by Le Roux de Lincy set to the tune “Montmorency, te souviens de Pienne” begins “Voicy la saison plaisante,” and this text was printed with a melody in Chardavoine’s 1576 collection of monophonic *voix de ville* (see Fig. 9).<sup>76</sup> The verse structure matches the structure of the song in Saugrain’s pamphlet set to the tune “de Pienne,” making this a likely candidate for the new verse. Returning to the *Deux chansons sur les amours de M. De Montmorency et de Mademoiselle de Pienne* of 1556, the sixth verse of Mademoiselle de Pienne’s response (the twelfth and final verse overall) begins, “Montmorency, te souviens / De ta Pienne.” The verse structure of this poem grafts onto the tune with a text beginning “Voicy la saison plaisante.” It seems, then, that this melody became associated with the scandal surrounding Mademoiselle de Pienne in 1556, and in the 1560s it emerged as a popular vehicle for contrafacta about Huguenot persecution. This fitting intertext links the scandals of the morally bankrupt court with the morally unjust persecution of Huguenots.

Other chansons attest to this tune’s popularity in the years following the 1556 pamphlet. In 1561 Saugrain published a *Complainte et chanson de la grande paillardie babylonienne de Rome* in Lyon with the text



set to the tune “de Pienne.”<sup>77</sup> Complaints were then fashionable as poetic and musical laments voiced from a female perspective.<sup>78</sup> According to the *Revue des livres anciens*, a Noël beginning “Une vierge debonnaire” was included in a now-lost volume called *Noëlz nouveaux*, published in Paris by Jean Bonfons in 1562.<sup>79</sup> Another anti-Catholic polemic using this tune was published in 1569, probably in Geneva, in a collection of *chansons spirituelles*.<sup>80</sup> Sometime during the years 1569–70 in Paris, Christophe de Bordeaux, a composer of ruthless Catholic propaganda, published *Recueil de plusieurs belles chansons spirituelles*, a collection that

included a militant response against the Huguenots set as a *noël nouveau* to the tune “de Pienne.”<sup>81</sup>

The *Cantique nouveau, contenant le discours de la guerre de Lyon* pamphlet concludes with a “narrative canticle” about the persecutions of the faithful and their deliverance, set to Palm 99. The metrical psalm, translated by Théodore de Bèze, praises God as king of his people:

Or est maintenant / L’Eternal regnant,  
/ Peuples obstinez / En soient estonnez,  
/ Cherubins sous luy / Luy servent d’appuy,  
/ Que la terre toute / Tremblant redoute.

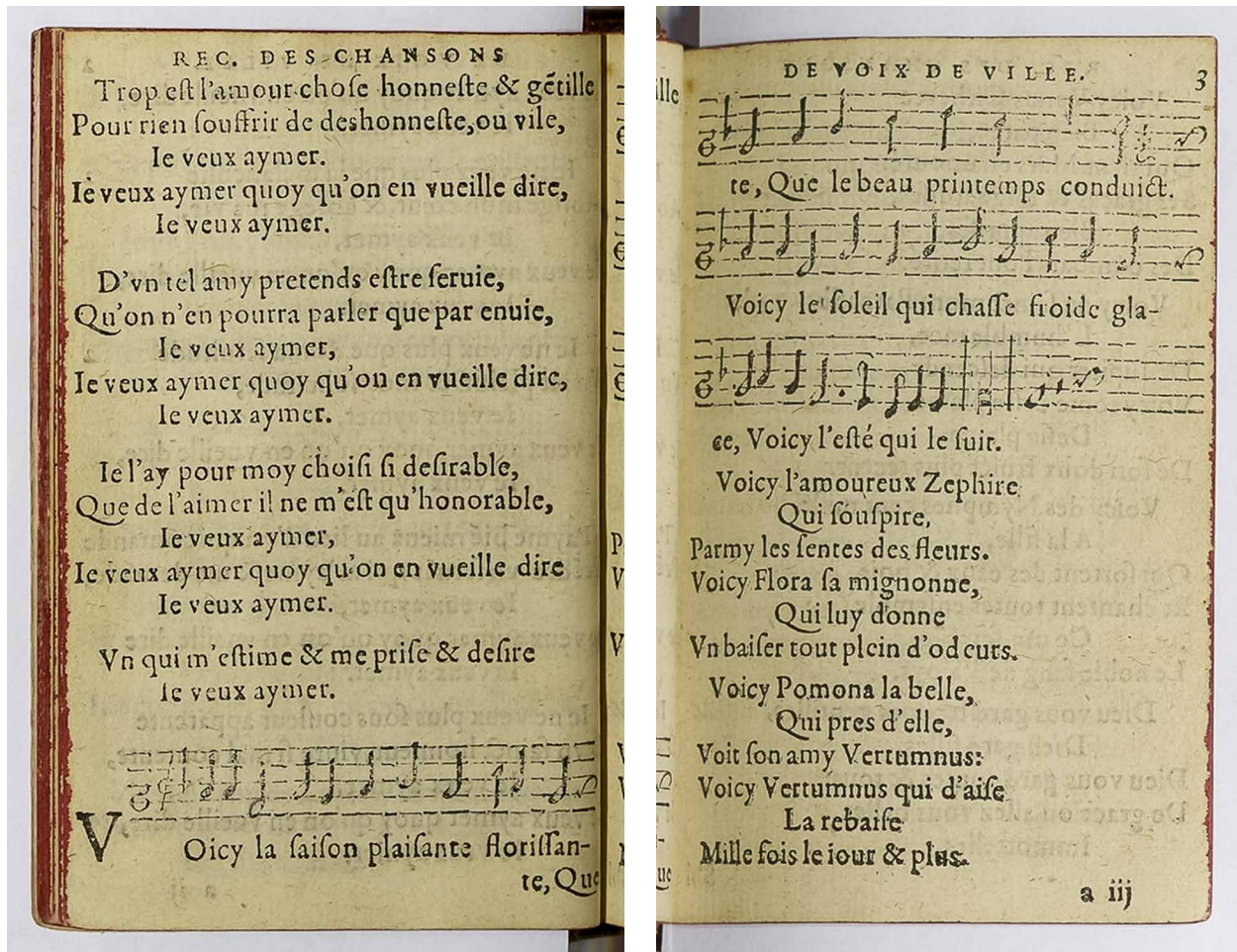


Figure 9: “Voicy la saison plaisante,” from Jean Chardavoine, *Le recueil des plus belles et excellentes chansons en forme de voix de ville* (Paris: Claude Micard, 1576), fols. 2v–3r. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque national de France. Musique RES VM COIRAULT-184.

Now is / The Eternal reign, / Obstinate  
peoples / Be astounded at Him, /  
Cherubim beneath him / Are his  
support, / Whom the whole trembling  
/ Earth fears.

The tune associated with this psalm is repurposed for a text that exhorts Huguenots to give thanks to God for delivering them from their enemies. The first of its 11 stanzas reads:

Sus enfants de Dieu, / Louëz le en tout  
lieu; / Chantez à haut son, / Nouvelle  
chanson: / Pseaumes resonans, / Voz  
cœurs entonnans: / Soient au Dieu de  
gloire, / Pour vostre victoire.

You children of God, / Praise him  
everywhere; / Sing in a loud voice, / This  
new song: / Resonant psalms, / Your  
hearts intone: / May the God of glory be /  
For your victory.

The readers and singers of this contrafactum of a psalm are beseeched to “praise him everywhere” by singing loudly the “resonant psalms,” thereby occupying urban spaces not only corporeally but also sonically. Audible and physical expressions of solidarity, these chansons proclaim, are the only feasible mechanism to resist a corrupt church.

But this sonic occupation of the city by the Huguenots did not last long. On March 19, 1563, Catherine de Medici, operating as regent for Charles IX, signed the Edict of Amboise, which ended the first of the French Wars of Religion. Although the Peace of Amboise inaugurated a period of official peace and granted Huguenots certain religious freedoms, periodic altercations between Catholics and Huguenots continued to shape the rhythms of the city. In December 1564, Claude Thevenon, the public crier, “cried, read, and publicized by loud voice, public cry, and the sound of the trumpet at each

and every one of the crossroads and public squares usual for making announcements, proclamations, and publications of the said city of Lyon,” a royal ordinance against the singing of “dissolute songs.” After expelling all vagrants from the city, the ordinance expressly forbade and prohibited “all persons of whatever estate, quality, and condition that they might be to swear, blaspheme, spite, and renounce the name of God, to make other vile and detestable sermons against the honor of God, the Virgin Mary, and the Saints, to sing or say dissolute songs and songs leaning toward sedition, or to agitate by insults or otherwise and under the pretext of Religion . . .”<sup>82</sup> Article 9 further ordered both sides not to “insult or provoke one another by reproaching what has happened, argue, quarrel, or dispute together the fact of religion, offend or insult in fact or in speech, but contain themselves and live peacefully together as brothers, friends, and fellow citizens.”<sup>83</sup> Despite the official reconciliation of confessional factions in the city, the singing of songs could still spark outbreaks of violence. Van Orden has suggested that this ordinance was directed at psalms, which had since the 1550s been sung by Huguenots as insurrectionary hymns in acts of defiance in public spaces. In addition to and perhaps even more so than the psalms themselves, the ordinance must have addressed contrafacta like those printed by Saugrain, which merged the psalm tunes, the sonic symbol of Huguenot confessionalism, with aggressively militant texts that were hostile to Catholics, as well as Catholic polemical songs that provoked Huguenots. In Lyon in 1562, as mentioned above, Huguenots had violently ripped off the beard of Michel Jove, the printer-publisher of the Lyon edition of

Désiré's *Contrepoison* and threatened him with further brutality if he reprinted the collection. The Edict of Amboise, therefore, might be read as an attempt to purify the soundscape of all polemical singing—from both Catholic and Huguenot voices—to achieve a sonic reconciliation.

In the years leading up to and during the Wars of Religion, singing was fraught with danger. For Huguenots, communally singing a metrical psalm from the Genevan Psalter, especially in public spaces, was a sonic expression of confessional identity, but Catholics interpreted these same musical sounds as pollutants. Even communally singing psalms in places of worship—like in a barn, as occurred during the massacre of Wassy—could be perilous because sound could penetrate the exterior walls, and Catholics would hear it as sonic dissonance in the streets. Catholics, when they could not rely on the extreme purifying power of fire and water to cleanse Huguenot bodies by burning them or by throwing their corpses into a nearby river, attempted to isolate Huguenots by forcing them to worship, often at night, outside of the city walls or only in small groups within the confines of private homes. As Huguenots went to services, they sang psalms, marking sonic pathways as Protestant and further escalating the sonic pollution piercing Catholic ears. When Huguenots achieved a military success, like in Lyon in 1562, they sought to purify the space with iconoclastic rituals that involved burning icons, often to the accompaniment of psalmody.

Zealous Huguenot pastors were further concerned with purifying music that members of their flock performed during hours of leisure. They created *contrafacta*

of voguish Parisian chansons to wash the *mondanité* from these texts, which they saw as treacherous if allowed to infect the ears of members of their flock with voluptuous poetry. Parisian chansons, as they saw them, were associated with the idolatrous beliefs of corrupt Catholics and could lead to fornication and adultery. In the minds of these pastors, the process of scrubbing poetry about carnal love and consuming wine from chanson melodies was inextricable from their desires to abolish the Mass, obliterate idols, and maintain social and moral order.

Catholics possessed their own aural symbols—for example, bellringing to summon the faithful to their elaborate liturgies, especially the Mass—which allowed them to assert their presence in public spaces. When these sounds and their beliefs were under attack from Huguenots, they responded not only with physical violence, but often first with attempts to purify their surroundings of what they considered sonic pollution, namely Huguenots singing metrical psalms. Désiré's *Contrepoison* is an early example of polemical Catholic song that cleansed Marot's psalm melodies by creating countertexts that could be deployed as spiritual weapons. Just as Huguenots melted bells and looted churches, monasteries, and convents to pay their soldiers, Catholics repurposed the melodies from Huguenot psalms to forge their own weapons.

The power of audible symbols could be revoked through rites of purification or reversal. During the early years of the Wars of Religion, Huguenots too composed new polemical texts to psalm tunes to create their own musical munitions. During these moments of impassioned iconoclasm, Huguenots attacked with fire and in song

what they considered Catholic idolatry and the Mass. As the Wars of Religion intensified in the years and decades to come, countless other Catholic songbooks provided increasingly militaristic and polemical responses to what they considered Huguenot heresy, thereby ratcheting up confessional tensions.<sup>84</sup>

Both Catholics and Huguenots relied on oral networks and ephemeral prints to disperse their sonic weapons. Huguenots invented new notational methods and pedagogical strategies to teach psalmody and the tenets of their faith to their confessional allies. Both groups also relied on fixed forms—whether Catholic prayers, metrical psalms, or popular Parisian chansons—as mnemonic devices to aid the marginally literate in sounding out, memorizing, and disseminating their polemics. The stakes for propagating aural weapons to one’s spiritual army were high: those who failed to defend sonic territories also risked losing their lives when violence erupted.

When we reappraise the years leading up to and the early years of the Wars of Religion through a lens of a sonic cultural history, we resurrect the vivid auditory experiences of the people who lived during these tumultuous times. This reassessment allows us to better understand the motivations of individuals and groups who waged battles over and purified the sonic spaces that surrounded them. During these years, periods of physical violence percolated as tensions oscillated between simmering and boiling. Many early modern people navigated and interpreted their quotidian experiences through the mutable soundscapes they inhabited. Controlling these soundscapes, whether by physically removing, exterminating, or silencing those of opposing beliefs or by purifying what they heard as sonic pollution by creating *contrafacta*, was not only an attempt at confessional domination, it was also a means of imposing order on a volatile world around them.



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## NOTES

1 Foa has argued that by forcing Huguenots to worship within their own homes or outside the city walls, Catholic authorities were protecting a town from pollution by heretics. He further suggested that “sensorial encroachment on forbidden space was effected by songs or noises” and singing psalms can therefore be interpreted as “a sonorous expansion of the space within which Protestants were confined.” See Jérémie Foa, “An Unequal Apportionment: The Conflict over Space between Protestants and Catholics at the Beginning of the Wars of Religion,” *French History* 20/4 (2006): 375 and 382.

2 For more on Tortorel’s prints on “wars, massacre and troubles,” see Philip Benedict, *Graphic History: The Wars, Massacres and Troubles of Tortorel and Perrissin* (Geneva: Droz, 2007), 131–32 and 263–67. Benedict cites the primary sources of this massacre and notes that the print is based on the fullest account, and also the most partisan.

3 When the duke returned to Paris, Catholics welcomed him as a hero and called for crusades against the Huguenots. Huguenots, in their propaganda recounting the slaughter, christened Guise as the “butcher of Wassy.” Within a year, the duke was murdered by the Huguenot assassin Jean de Poltrot de Méré. Stuart Carroll, *Martyrs and Murderers: The Guise Family and the Making of Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 1–20.

4 Graves-Monroe has analyzed soundscapes during the Wars of Religion to argue that violence presents an acute relationship with sensory experience and that sound and hearing helps demarcate a location of tension during conflict. She recounts one anecdote of sonic battles between Huguenots and Catholics in Paris in 1561: bells pealing to celebrate Saint Stephen’s Day make a Huguenot preacher inaudible to his flock; a Protestant is murdered when he tries to stop the sound of the bells; Catholics in the church sound the *tocsin* (alarm bell); Huguenots respond to the violence, according to their own biased account, by singing psalms. Amy C. Graves-Monroe, “Soundscapes of the Wars of Religion: Sensory Crisis and the Collective Memory of Violence,” in *Memory and Community in Sixteenth-Century France*, ed. David P. Laguardi and Cathy Yandell (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2015), 55–69.

5 Launay published the most complete survey of religious music in France beginning with the Council of Trent. Denise Launay, *La musique religieuse en France: Du Concile de Trente à 1804* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1993).

6 Roger Chartier has revolutionized our understanding of the intersections between print culture, oral culture, performative reading, and education. Kate van Orden (see references below) has used Chartier’s groundbreaking work to offer profound insight into musical literacy and how print culture shaped musical performance in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century France. Tatiana Baranova has provided a fresh tactical reading of *écrit diffamatoire* (defamatory writing) from the Wars of Religion to demonstrate how a writer built a case against an enemy. Tatiana Baranova, *À coups de libelles: Une culture politique au temps des guerres de religion (1562–1598)* (Geneva: Droz, 2012).

7 The literature on iconoclasm is vast. A useful overview for iconoclasm during the Wars of Religion can be found in Olivier Christin, *Une révolution symbolique: L’iconoclisme huguenot et la reconstruction catholique* (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1991). On Reformed iconoclasm in the Netherlands during the sixteenth century, see Phyllis Mack Crew, *Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands, 1544–1569* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

8 See Mary Douglass, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge, 2002), 169–71. Julia Kristeva’s concept of *abjection* is also useful in understanding breaks with confessional norms. *Pouvoirs de l’horreur: Essai sur l’abjection* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1980).

9 Natalie Zemon Davis, “The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth-Century France,” *Past & Present* 59 (1973): 51–91.

10 See Carlo Ginzburg’s essay “Ecce: On the Scriptural Roots of Christian Devotional Imagery,” in Carlo Ginzburg, *Wooden Eyes: Nine Reflections on Distance*, trans. Martin Ryle and Kate Soper (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 79–94.

11 Four essays in a recent issue of *Revue d’histoire du protestantisme* engage with militant uses of psalmody: Chrystel Bernat, “Introduction,” *Revue d’histoire du protestantisme* 5/2–3 (2020): 289–96; Chrystel Bernat, “Fortifier contre tous assaulx’: Psaumes et militaires réformées, l’esprit et la règle (XVI<sup>e</sup>–VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle),” *ibid.*, 297–337; Gilbert Dahan, “L’exégèse protestante des Psaumes et son influence dans les usages militants des réformés,” *ibid.*, 339–56; Beat Föllmi, “Du bûcher au champ de bataille: Le chant des psaumes pendant les conflits confessionnels au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *ibid.*, 357–77.

12 For more on the importance of psalmody to Huguenots in the sixteenth century, see Roger Zuber, “Les psaumes dans l’histoire des Huguenots,” *Bulletin de la Société de l’histoire du protestantisme français (1903–2015)* 123 (1977): 350–61.

13 Pierre Davantès, *Pseaumes de David, mis en rythme françoise par Clement Marot, et Theodore de Beze. Avec nouvelle et facile methode pour chanter chacun couplet des pseaumes sans recourd au premier, selon le chant accoustumé en l’Eglise, exprimé par notes compendieuses en la preface de l’auteur d’icelles* (Geneva: Pierre Davantès, 1560): “nouvelle et facile methode pour chanter chacun couplet des pseaumes sans recourd au premier, . . .” See Pierre Pidoux, *Franc, Bourgeois, Davantès: Leur contribution à la création des mélodies du psautier de Genève* (Geneva: n.p., 1993).

14 Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 60.

15 The term “soundscape” originated with the pioneering work in sound studies by R. Murray Schafer, *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Soundscape* (Rochester, VT: Destiny Books, 1994). Work on soundscapes in early modern France includes a recent special issue on the topic and a monograph: “Soundscapes,” ed. Nicholas Hammond and Tom Hamilton, special issue, *Early Modern French Studies* 41/1 (2019); and Nicholas Hammond, *The Powers of Sound and Song in Early Modern Paris* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2021). The type of multivalent signification of psalm singing I analyze here has parallels with Glenda Goodman’s examination of Native American psalmody in “‘But they differ from us in sound’: Indian Psalmody and the Soundscape of Colonialism, 1651–75,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 69/4 (2012): 793–822.

16 Artus Désiré, *Le contrepoison des cinquante deux chansons de Clement Marot, faulsement intitulees par luy Psalmes de David* (Paris: Pierre Gaultier, 1560). Editions were published in Lyon and Rouen in 1560, and new editions continued to be produced until 1567: Rouen: Jean Orival, 1560; Paris: Pierre Gaultier, 1560; Paris: Pierre Gaultier, 1561; Avignon: Louis Barrier, 1561; Lyon: Michel Jove, 1562; Avignon: Pierre Roux, 1562; Paris: Pierre Gaultier, 1562; Paris: Jean Ruelle, 1567. For more on Désiré’s life and works, see Frank S. Giese, *Artus Désiré: Priest and Pamphleteer of the Sixteenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973). For more on *Contrepoison*, see Jessica Herdman, “Musical Affective Economies and the Wars of Religion in Lyon” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2015), 102–06; and Jessica Herdman, “Songs Danced in Anger: Music and

Violent Emotions in Late Sixteenth-Century Lyon,” *French History* 32/2 (2018): 151–56.

17 Désiré, *Le contrepoison*: “Ceste Chanson monstre que tresheureux sont les vrais Catholiques, qui reiectent & repoulsent les Heresies de Calvin & de ses complices abis en la chaire de pestilence.”

18 Zemon Davis, “The Rites of Violence,” 57–58; Gentian Hervet, *Discours sur ce que les pilleurs, voleurs et brusleurs d’Eglises dissent quails n’en veulent qu’auz Prestres au Peuple de Rheims, et des environs* (Paris: C. Blihart, 1563).

19 Both the first letter, dated July 15, 1563, and the second, dated Nov. 7, 1563, are quoted in T. Frank Kennedy, “Jesuits and Music: Reconsidering the Early Years,” *Studi musicali* 17 (1988): 82.

20 De Nakol, *Confession de la foy chrestienne* (Lyon: [Jean Saugrain], 1562): “Contenant en somme, les principaux Articles de nostre Foy: & tresclaire intelligence des saints Sacrements.” For more on the Lyonnais printer-publisher-entrepreneur Jean Saugrain, see Andrew Pettegree, *The French Book and the European Book World* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 65–87. Weiss has suggested that De Nakol is an anagram for Bernardin de Candole, a Reformed pastor. Weiss, “Encore l’auteur qui signe De Nakol,” *Bulletin de la Société de l’histoire du protestantisme français* 66/1 (1917): 89–92. R. Garreta has discovered the identities of the three female dedicatees of this publication: “Quel est l’auteur de la confession de la foi chrestienne en vers, 1562?,” *Bulletin de la Société de l’histoire du protestantisme français* 64/4 (1915): 726–27.

21 “. . . on peu ester edifié, la lisant simplement ou la chantant spirituellement, pour la mieux retenir en memoire.” In the original Hebrew, Psalm 119 already embedded mnemonic strategies to memorize its text. The verses are an acrostic, with each of its 22 stanzas beginning with the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet. Despite abandoning the acrostic when translated into French, most versions of the Huguenot Psalter reproduce the Hebrew letters between the stanzas. See, for example, Davantès, *Pseaumes de David*, 233–47. De Nakol only uses the first 12 stanzas but still produces the Hebrew letters between each stanza of his contrafactum in emulation of the French visual layout.

22 Roger Chartier, *Lectures et lecteurs de l’Ancien Régime* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1987), 118. For more on education history in early modern France, see Roger Chartier, Dominique Julia, and Marie-Madeleine Copère, *L’éducation en France du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Société d’édition d’enseignement supérieur, 1976).

23 Claude Paradin, *Quadrins historiques de la Bible. Revuz, & augmentez d'un grand nombre de figures* (Lyon: Jan de Tournes, 1560).

24 Kate van Orden, "Cheap Print and Street Song Following the Saint Bartholomew's Massacres of 1572," in *Music and the Cultures of Print*, ed. Kate van Orden (New York: Garland, 2000), 297.

25 For more on the Jesuits and singing catechism, see Daniele V. Filippi, "A Sound Doctrine: Early Modern Jesuits and the Singing of Catechism," *Early Music History* 34 (2015): 1–43; and Daniele V. Filippi, "'Catechismum modulans doucebat': Teaching the Doctrine through Singing in Early Modern Catholicism," in *Listening to Early Modern Catholicism: Perspectives from Musicology*, ed. Daniele V. Filippi and Michael Noone (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 129–48.

26 Kate van Orden, "Children's Voices: Singing and Literacy in Sixteenth-Century France," *Early Music History* 25 (2006): 209.

27 Coyssard, *Traicté du profit que toute personne tire de chanter en la Doctrine Chrétienne* (1608): "Parce que celle, qui est comprinse en vers & Poèmes Musicaux, s'imprime plus profondement en l'esprit. Car nous voyons que c'est une chose naturelle, que ce qu'on à apprins par force, & contre son gré, ne dure guiere, mais s'oblie incontinent, où au contraire je ne sçay comment s'arreste plus fort en la memoire, ce que par une plaisante delectation, & grace s'insinuë, ou glisse en nostre esprit."

28 Van Orden, "Children's Voices," 209–10. Van Orden argues elsewhere that because pride of place was given to the Pater noster and Ave Maria in the Catholic faith, they were also placed by printers at the beginning of music books. Van Orden, *Materialities: Books, Readers, and the Chanson in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 135–36.

29 *L'ABC françois sanchez enfans cest Abc, pour prier Dieu deuotement, et le servir bien humblement: Car pour cela il est dressé* (Geneva: Jean Crespin, 1553), 4–5.

30 Michel Coyssard, *Paraphrase des hymnes et cantiques spirituelz pour chanter avecque la Doctrine Chrestienne. Qui ne les voudra chanter à quatre parties, se pourra servir du superius seul* (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1592), fols. 4v–5r; Van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005): 365; Van Orden, *Materialities*, 143.

31 Eustorg de Beaulieu, *Chrétienne Resiouyssance* (Geneva: Jean Girard, 1546), 168–69: "L'oraison des ydolates, pour dire à leur dieu, fait de paste."

32 Jean Crespin, *Histoire des vrais tesmoins de la verité de l'Evangile* (Geneva: Jean Crespin, 1570),

fol. 163v: "chanter O Salutaris hostia, Salve regina, & autres blasphemes execrables.>"; fol. 290v: "qu'aussi leurs langues seroyent coupees." See also Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, 60.

33 Una McIlvenna examines the history of execution ballads in Europe in *Singing the News of Death: Execution Ballads in Europe, 1500–1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022).

34 For an account of the Conspiracy of Amboise, see N. M. Sutherland, "Calvinism and the Conspiracy of Amboise," *History* 47/160 (1962): 111–38. This pamphlet was reproduced in 1624 as *La priere ou Salve Regina des financiers, à la Reyne mère*. In 1626 the pamphlet was reprinted by swapping *prisonniers* for *financiers*, again addressed to the queen, thus demonstrating the adaptability and prolonged lives of ephemeral texts. *Le Salve, Regina des prisonniers arrestez par le commandement du Roy, tant au chasteau d'Amboise, à Loches, la Bastille et conciergerie du Palais, adressé à la Reyne mère* (Nevers, 1626).

35 Christian Jouhaud has discussed ephemera from the Fronde (1648–52) as a "literature of action" because the goal of *mazarinades* was to inspire political action. *Mazarinades: La Fronde des mots* (Paris: Aubier, 1985), 32; "Propaganda et action au temps de la Fronde," in *Culture et idéologie dans la genèse de l'Etat moderne: Actes de la table ronde organisée par le Centre national de la recherche scientifique et l'École française de Rome: Rome, 15–17 octobre 1984*, Collection de l'École française de Rome, 82 (Roma: École Française de Rome, 1985), 37–39 and 348–49. See also John Romey, "Singing the Fronde: Placards, Street Songs, and Performed Politics," in "Soundscapes," ed. Nicholas Hammond and Tom Hamilton, special issue of *Early Modern French Studies* 41/1 (2019): 52–73.

36 Dedicatory poem: "chansons de Marot / Intitulées faulsement par luy Psalmes, / Qui sont poison à plusieurs pauvres ames." "S'en vont chantant par les chemins publiques / Chansons d'erreur, faulses & heretiques."

37 Dedicatory poem: "Notre Seigneur, qu'il vous doit telle grace / Que vous puïssiez exterminer la race / Des Chiens mastins obstinez & mauvais."

38 "L'Auther. / Quand quelque emmemy de la Foy / Chante les Chansons de Marot / Et qu'on luy demande pourquoy / Il les chante, il ne respond mot, / Sinon que le malheureux sot / Dict qu'il vault mieulx en lieux publiques / Les chanter, que Chansons lubriques, / Dont a ceste cause & raifon / J'ay pour tous les bons Catholicques / Composé ce Contrepoison."

39 A single volume of the Lyon edition published by Michel Jove in 1562 has survived in the TU Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek-Stadtmitte. Michel Coyssard, *Traicté du profit, que*

toute personne tire de chanter en la doctrine chrestienne, & ailleurs, les hymnes, & chansons spirituelles en vulgaire (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1608), 40; quoted in Gérald Pau, "De l'usage de la chanson spirituelle par les Jésuites au temps de la Contre-réforme," in *La chanson à la Renaissance: Actes du XXe Colloque d'études humanistes du Centre d'études supérieures de la Renaissance de l'Université de Tours, juillet 1977*, ed. Jean-Michel Vaccaro (Tours: Éditions Van de Velde, 1981), 15–35, at 25: "tout ce qui restait de l'impression faite à Lyon chez Michel Jove, 1562. Auquel ils feirent tous les outrages qu'ils peurent jusques à lui arracher la moitié de la barbe, et le menacer de mort, s'il la réimprimait."

40 J.D.D.C., *Singulier antidot contre la poison des chansons d'Artus Désiré, ausquelles il a damnablement et execrablement abusé d'aucuns psalmes du prophete Royal David* (1561): Aiii: "comme un Atheiste & chien recouru à son vomissement." For more on this volume, see Jacques Pineaux, "Une contrefaçon protestante des psaumes de Marot au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle: Le Singulier Antidot d'I.D.D.C.," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français* 122 (1976): 149–65.

41 J.D.D.C., *Singulier antidot*, fol. 6r: "S'il voit mourir son frere au feu devant ses yeux, / Pour le nom du Seigneur, n'en doit changer visage."

42 Ibid., fol. 13r: "Pape abhominable, / Antichrist damnable"; fol. 8r: "Leur Messe (qui vend Dieu) / N'a defia plus de lieu, / Ains s'en va abolie"; fol. 21v: "Certainement nostre Dieu tout-parfait; / N'est pas celuy de paste contrefait, / Sous l'Eglise de Rome."

43 Ibid., fol. 29r: "Qui se voudra garder des Puantes vermines, / De ces fins Papelars, des Prestres & cagots, / Homicides daustruy par glaiue, ou par fagots, / Lise tout bellement en ces chansons divines."

44 Matthieu Malingre, *S'ensuivent plusieurs belles et bonnes chansons, que les chrestiens peuvent chanter en grande affection de cuer: Pour et affin de soulager leurs esperitz et de leur donner repos en Dieu, au nom duquel elles font composées par rythmes qu plus près de l'esperât de Jesus Christ contenu es saintes scriptures* ([Neuchâtel: Pierre de Vingle], 1533). A second, revised edition was published in 1545 as *Chansons spirituelles, pleines de louenges à Dieu: De sancta doctrine & exhortations, pour edifier le prochain, tant vielles que nouvelles: dont l'ordre ensuit à la fin du liure* (Geneva: Jean Girard, 1545).

45 *La forme des prieres et chantz ecclesiastiques* (Geneva: Jean Girard, 1543), Epistle: "Quand il n'y auroit autre consideration que ceste seule, si nous doit-elle bien esmouvaoir à modérer l'usage de la musique, pour la faire servir à toute honnesteté: & qu'elle ne soit point occasion de nous lascher la bride à dissolution, ou de nous effeminer en délices desordonnées, & qu'elle ne soit point instrument de paillardise, ne

d'aucune impudicité. Mais encore y a-t-il davantage: car à grand' peine y a-il en ce monde chose qui puisse plus tourner ou fléchir çà et là les mœurs des hommes, comme Plato l'a prudemment considéré. Et de fait, nous expérimentons qu'elle a une vertu secrette & quasi incroyable à esmouvoir les cœurs en une sorte ou en l'autre. Parquoy nous devons estre d'autant plus diligens à la reigler en telle sorte qu'elle nous soit utile, & nullement pernicieuse." See Augustine, *Confessions*, book 9, chapter 6.

46 Zemon Davis, "Religious Riot," 83.

47 Malingre, *S'ensuivent*, Aii–Av; Malingre, *Chansons spirituelles*, 3–8; *Trente et une chansons musicales a quatre parties* (Paris: Pierre Attaignant, 1529), fol. 4v. See also Dorothy S. Packer, "Au Boys de dueil and the Grief–Decalogue Relationship in Sixteenth-Century Chansons," *Journal of Musicology* 3/1 (1984): 19–54.

48 Malingre, *S'ensuivent*, Aviiir–Aviiiv.

49 Beaulieu, *Chrétienne Resiouyssance*, Epistre: "le Royaume de Satan, du Pape son vicaire general, & de plusieurs Princes & aultres gens voluptueux de ce monde." For more on Beaulieu's collection of spiritual parodies, see Alice Tacaille, "Eustorg de Beaulieu parodiste: La 'Chrestienne resjouyssance' comme propagande musicale," *Revue d'histoire du protestantisme* 3/3–4 (2018): 501–33; and Anne-Gaëlle Letrerrier-Gagliano, "Annoter les vers: Étude des références bibliques inscrites dans les marges de la 'Chrestienne resjouyssance,'" *ibid.*, 535–46.

50 *Œuvres françoises*, ed. P. L. Jacob (Paris: Charles Gosselin, 1842), 328: "les docteurs anciens de l'Eglise se complaisent souventes fois, que le peuple de leur temps était adonnée à chansons deshonnêtes et impudiques, lesquelles, non sans cause, ils estiment et appellent poison mortel et satanique"

51 Beaulieu, *Chrétienne Resiouyssance*, Epistre: "Et mesmement de ceulx qu'on profere par les Tauernes, Cabaretz, maisons privées ou Rues publiques: en chantant à pleine voix un tas de chansons deshonestes?" See also Melinda LaTour, "Gestes honnestes et sages: Les chansons morales de la Chrestienne Resjouyssance," *Revue d'histoire du protestantisme* 3/3–4 (2018): 557–66. Here Beaulieu was echoing Saint Augustine and others. See Augustine, *Confessions*, book 9, chapter 6.

52 Beaulieu, *Chrétienne Resiouyssance*, Epistre: ". . . tant de chansons charnelles, que m'a peu souuenir auoir iadis chanté au regne de Satan."

53 *Trente et sept chansons musicales a quatre parties nouvellement et correctement* (Paris: Pierre Attaignant, 1529), fols. 12r–12v.

54 Beaulieu, *Chrétienne Resiouyssance*, 1.

55 Moshe Halbertal and Avishai Margalit, *Idolatry*, trans. Naomi Goldblum (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 9–14.

56 This chanson was printed in both a three- and four-voice version, each with the same superius, in 1529: *Quarante et deux chansons musicales a troys parties nouvellement et correctement imprimees* (Paris: Pierre Attaignant, 1529), fol. 7r; *Trente chansons musicales a quatre parties nouvellement et tres correctement imprimees* (Paris: Pierre Attaignant, [ca. 1529]), fol. 13v. Beaulieu, *Chrétienne Resiouissance*, 28–29.

57 Zemon Davis, “Religious Riot,” 58–59. For Huguenot polemics against the Mass, see Antoine de Marcourt, *Declaration de la Messe, le fruit d’icelle, la cause et le moyen pourquoy et comment on la doit maintenir* ([Neuchâtel: Pierre de Vingle], 1534); and the satirical Protestant edition of the Catholic missal: Antoine de Marcourt, *Les Cauteles, canon et ceremonies de la messe. ensemble la messe intitulée, du corps de Jesus Christ. le tout en latin & en françois: le latin fidelement extrait du messel à l’usage de Rome* (Lyon: Claude Ravot, 1564). Marcourt was also the protagonist in the Affaire of the Placards, during which placards denouncing the Mass were posted around Paris and other cities, and even on François I’s door.

58 *Trente chansons musicales*, fol. 8v; Beaulieu, *Chrétienne Resiouissance*, 20.

59 For Huguenot iconoclasm in Lyon, see Yves Krumenacker, ed., *Lyon 1562: Capitale protestante: Une histoire religieuse de Lyon à la Renaissance* (Lyon: Olivétan, 2009); Christin, *Une révolution symbolique*; and Pettegree, *The French Book and the European Book World*, 72–73.

60 Christin shows that 5,392 livres of metal were taken from the bells to pay Condé’s army. For more on this painting, see Olivier Christin, “En survol de l’ouvrage: Coexister malgré tout. Humanisme, amitié, parité,” in Krumenacker, ed., *Lyon 1562*, 292–97.

61 Van Orden, “Cheap Print and Street Song,” 272.

62 Catharine Randall, *Building Codes: The Aesthetics of Calvinism in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 31.

63 See, for example, the descriptions of mobs of more than 100 Huguenots singing psalms as loudly as they could in the center of town in 1551. Natalie Zemon Davis, “The Protestant Printing Workers of Lyons in 1551,” in *Aspects de la propagande religieuse*, ed. Henri Meylan (Geneva: Droz, 1957), 247–57.

64 For an analysis of polemical songs in Lyon in the decades following the period covered by my study, see Jessica Herdman, “Songs Danced in Anger: Music and Violent Emotions in Late

Sixteenth-Century Lyon,” *French History* 32/2 (2018): 151–81.

65 *Cantique et action de graces au Seigneur, avec prieres des fideles qui ont receu l’Evangile: Et se châte sur le septième pseume, Mō Dieu j’ay en toy esperance, &c.* (Lyon: [Jean Saugrain], 1562); *Cantique nouveau, contenant le discours de la guerre de Lyon, & de l’assistance que Dieu a faite à son eglise audit lieu, durant le temps de son affliction en l’an 1562. Sur le chant de pienne. plus un cantique spirituel de la persecution des fideles chrestiens, & de leur delivrance, les exhortant à rendre graces à Dieu, se voyons délivrez par sa divine providence, sur le chant du pseame 99* (Lyon: [Jean Saugrain], 1563); *Ode hystoriale de la Bataille de saint Gile, sur le chant du pseame huitaine un* (Lyon: [Jean Saugrain], 1563); *Echo parlant a la paix . . . sur le chant du pseame trente trois* ([Lyon: Jean Saugrain], 1563).

66 For a discussion of the editions of psalms published in Lyon, see Marc Desmet and Jean-Michel Noailly, “Les psaumes et leurs harmonisations à Lyon au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle,” in Krumenacker, ed., *Lyon 1562*, 207–19.

67 “Mon Dieu, J’ay en toy esperance, / Donne moi donc sauve assurance, / De tant d’ennemis inhumains, / Et fay que ne tombe en leurs mains, / A fin que leur chef ne me grippe, / Et ne me détrompe et dissipe, / Ainsi qu’un lion devorant, / Sans que nul me soit secourant.”

68 “Mon Dieu, i’ay en toy esperance, / Donne moy donc sauve ausseurance / De tant d’ennemis inhumains,”

69 “Sortez, sortez de la cachette: / Travaillez en l’œuvre de Dieu, / Pour assembler son peuple eleu.”

70 “Chantez en exultation / Au Dieu qui habite en Sion.”

71 “De l’assistance que Dieu a faite à son Eglise à Lyon, exstant persecutee & assaillie continuellement par ses ennemis, en l’an 1562.”

72 Una McIlvenna, *Scandal and Reputation at the Court of Catherine de Medici* (London: Routledge, 2016), 89–91.

73 *Recueil de chants historiques français depuis le XII<sup>e</sup> jusqu’au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, vol. 2 (Paris: Charles Gosselin, 1841), 204–06.

74 For a discussion of the many variants of this tune, see Kate van Orden, “Female Complaints: Laments of Venus, Queens, and City Women in Late Sixteenth-Century France,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 54/2 (Autumn 2001): 803–19.

75 *Recueil de chants historiques*, 565–67.

76 Jehan Chardavoine, *Le recueil des plus belles et excellentes chansons en forme de voix de ville, tirees de divers autheurs & poëtes françois, tant anciens que modernes. ausquelles a esté nouvellement adapté la musique*



de leur chant commun, à fin que chacun les puisse chanter en tout endroit qu'il se trouvera, tant de voix que sur les instruments (Paris: Claude Micard, 1576), 2v-4r.

77 *Complainte et chanson de la grande paillarde babylonienne de Rome. sur le chant de piene. plus une déploration des cardinaux, évesques, et toute leur compagnie pour leur mère la messe. avec l'accord fait à Poissy sur le point de la Cène* ([Lyon: Jean Saugrain,] 1561).

78 See Kate van Orden, "Female Complaintes."

79 Pierre Louÿs, *Revue des livres anciens: Documents d'histoire littéraire, de bibliographie & de bibliophilie*, vol. 2 (Paris: Fontmoing, 1917), 170-74. See also Adrienne F. Block, *The Early French Parody Noël*, vol. 1 (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1978), 139-40.

80 The chanson begins "Sus, Cardinaux, Archevesques." *Chansons spirituelles à l'honneur et louange de Dieu, & à l'édification du prochain. Reveues & corrigees de nouveau avec une table mise à la fin* ([Geneva?]: n.p., 1569), 263-68.

81 Christophe de Bordeaux, *Beau Recueil de plusieurs belles chansons spirituelles, avec ceux des huguenots hérétiques et ennemis de Dieu, et de nostre mère sainte Église, faites et composées par maistre Christofle de Bourdeaux* (Paris: Magdeleine Berthelin, n.d.), 21. For more on this collection, see Tatiana Debbagi Baranova, "Combat d'un bourgeois parisien Christophe de Bordeaux et son 'Beau recueil de

plusieurs belles chansons spirituelles' (vers 1569-1570)," in *Médialité et interprétation contemporaine des premières guerres de Religion*, ed. Gabriele Haug-Moritz and Lothar Schilling (Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2014), 135-46.

82 ". . . à toutes personnes de quelque restât, qualité & condition qu'ilz soyent, de jurer, blasphemer, maugréer & renier le nom de Dieu, faire autres vilains & destestables sermons, contre l'honneur de Dieu, de la vierge Marie & Saintcz, & de ne chanter ny dire chansons dissoulues & tendant à sedition, ne se provocquer par injures ou autrement, & soubz prétexte de la Religion . . ." London, British Library, MS 5423.AA.23 (1); discussed and translated in Van Orden, "Cheap Print and Street Song," 274-75 and 314-15.

83 Excerpt from Article 9: "qu'ilz n'ayent à s'attacher, injurier ne provocquer l'ung l'autre par reproche de ce qui est passé, disputer, quereller ne contester ensemble du fait de la religion, offenser ne oultrager de fait ne de parole, mais se contenir et vivre paisiblement ensemble comme freres, amys et concitoiens." From the online edition of the Édit d'Amboise (1563): [http://elec.enc.sorbonne.fr/editsdepacification/html/editsdepacification.html#art\\_02\\_09](http://elec.enc.sorbonne.fr/editsdepacification/html/editsdepacification.html#art_02_09)

84 See, for example, Debbagi Baranova, "Combat d'un bourgeois parisien."