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The influence of the Lutheran and Calvinist attitudes on Protestant liturgical music within sixteenth-century France.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The aim of this project is to show how liturgical music developed from the standard Roman Catholic liturgy to the Calvinist and Lutheran settings in France during the sixteenth century. The objectives of this project is to detail how Martin Luther represented the Normative Principle and John Calvin, in turn, represented the Regulative Principle, through their teachings and publications. As both Calvin's and Luther's views on music had been influenced by their upbringings, this project will explore their young lives and careers that had an impact on their beliefs regarding music. This project will also set the context of the interactions of music, religion and worship in the times before Martin Luther and John Calvin. The fourth objective is to explore musical publications that were published by both Luther and Calvin, giving examples of their teachings thus allowing for a deeper understanding of the theologians' perspectives on liturgical music. Within this fourth objective, in order to understand Calvin's desire for music within its liturgical context, an analysis of Psalm XIX, taken from the Genevan Psalter will be undertaken.

In order to fully appreciate the changes that occurred within French liturgical music that will be discussed throughout this project, one must have a working knowledge of the political events that surrounded the sixteenth century. Whilst countries such as England broke away from Rome during the sixteenth century, France continued to be a Catholic state, with its monarchy remaining loyal to the Vatican. The French Protestants were known as the Huguenots, who would be met with an unfavourable future.[1] France throughout the sixteenth century saw a multitude of significant changes including the Rise of the Huguenots and the influential

[1] Treasure, 'The Huguenots', x.

theologian John Calvin. The time period where this project takes place can be characterised specifically by the French Wars of Religion (1562-98),[2] the Rise of the Huguenots and the civil unrest between both the Roman Catholics and the Huguenots resulting in numerous conflicts and massacres. The most notorious conflict between the Huguenots and the Romans Catholics during the sixteenth century was the 1572 St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre,[3] taking place within the French Wars of Religion and resulting in the deaths of almost 10,000 people.[4] Martin Luther and John Calvin, two theologians who had a considerable impact on both the religious and political landscape of France during the sixteenth century, shared the viewpoint that the Roman Catholic church was corrupt and in need of reform. Whilst Luther and Calvin clearly differed in certain teachings, these two theologians had more in common with one another than they did with the Roman Catholic church.

The second chapter of this project provides context and background to the time period under discussion detailing the French Monarchy throughout the sixteenth century, as well as the Rise of the Huguenots and several conflicts between them and the Roman Catholics. Providing key background information on the events that had significant historical and political impact upon the landscape during the sixteenth century allows us to view the decisions made by Luther and Calvin in particular with more accuracy.

[2] Knecht, 'The French wars of religion', xxi.
[3] Smither, 'The St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre and Images of Kingship in France: 1572-1574', 27.
[4] Jouanna, 'The Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre: The Mysteries of a Crime of State', 3.

The Lutheran ideology referred to as the Normative Principle claimed that if an action is not prohibited in scripture, then it should be permitted in worship with the purpose of promoting unity both within and of the church. Luther held art and music in high esteem; it is reasonable to think that this view of music influenced his beliefs on music within the church. I believe that it is reasonable to conclude that Luther perhaps believed that congregations should partake in liturgical music because he himself wanted to participate in the musical aspects of worship. Luther's approach as well as his background in music, which is believed to have heavily influenced his teachings surrounding music and art, will be discussed in depth in the third chapter of this project.

The Calvinist ideology referred to in this project as the Regulative Principle held that the congregations should partake in the music of mass; Calvin's solution was congregational metrical psalm singing. Calvin wished for the church to return to a more simple form of worship that was seen in the early church, thus allowing his congregation to focus completely on the message of the worship that was being delivered. By eliminating complex Catholic Polyphony, which was deemed as a distraction,[5] and replacing it with Calvinist Congregational Monody exemplifies the Regulative Principle. Calvin, his teachings, beliefs and views on music are the subject of the fourth chapter in this project and are based on extensive existing literature. The influence of these two theologians cannot be underestimated. Examples of their influence within the sixteenth century will be covered within their respective chapters.

[5] Barber, 'Luther and Calvin on Music and Worship', 12.

The fifth chapter of this project is dedicated to the use and publications of psalters, which allow us to see the implementation of the Calvinist and Lutheran teachings and the ultimate influence that these psalters would have on the Huguenots. By exploring the psalters that had been approved by Calvin, we can see the evidence of how Calvinist music was intended to be used within the liturgy. This provides us with the evidence of Calvin embodying the Regulative Principle within Liturgical music. Additionally, by exploring Huguenot psalter publications, we can see the influence of Luther and the Normative Principle. The 1562 publication of the Genevan Psalter, which could be considered the pre-eminent psalter publication of the sixteenth century, consists of 126 melodies that accompany 150 Biblical metrical psalms all written in the French vernacular.

The original focus of this project was to examine how the Reformation in France affected liturgical music by exploring the development of music from the Roman Catholic liturgy to the new Protestant or Calvinist liturgy. However, this topic proved to be too broad for a MRES final project and ultimately could not be completed due to two factors: resource issues and word count limitations. In order to write in critical depth, the original focus has been scaled down and reframed resulting in the aims and objectives that have been previously stated.

Chapter 2 – Historical and Political events surrounding sixteenth-century France

It is necessary to set out the background to this project, which involves an adequate understanding of the relevant historical and political events. It is the aim of this chapter to provide narrative on historical events that furnish context to this project. While this chapter cannot articulate and detail each moment of historical or political interest, it will provide a focused overview of the following subjects: the French Monarchy; the Hundred Years War; the Rise of the Huguenots; The French Wars of Religion; and the Council of Trent. Additionally, to account for the fact that this single chapter within a Master's thesis cannot encompass the entirety of conflicts and moments of political interest in France during the sixteenth century, the events detailed in this chapter have been chosen due to the impact that they would have had on Luther, Calvin or the use of music within church.

The French Monarchy From 1328-1574

Whilst this project is focused on liturgical music produced between 1530 and 1570, it is important to be aware of the political and social landscape that existed prior to this period that both informed and influenced it. The reign of the Valois Dynasty began in 1328[1] and remained in power until 1589. The popularity of the Valois dynasty was a point of discontent within

[1] Knecht, 'The Valois: Kings of France, 1328-1589', 1.

France during their succession to the throne in 1328. Throughout their reign the Valois kings remained consistent with the efforts started by their predecessors to unify France. A number of French nobles were unconvinced and dissatisfied with their new monarchs.[2] A possible reason for the discontent shown towards the Valois dynasty was The Hundred Years War between France and England. The Hundred Years War will be discussed further in the latter half of this chapter. France observed a surge of trials that led to executions during this period, it is plausible that a number of these executions were based on the grounds of treason appertaining to citizens who praised and sided with the English monarchy.

Charles VIII, the last King of the direct line of Valois, began a series of invasions in Italy, beginning in 1494,[3] with the objective to obtain the Duchy of Milan and subsequently gaining the Kingdom of Naples.[4] All efforts to gain the Kingdom of Naples and expand the French territory fell short, and on occasion proved to be disastrous; for example, during one invasion Francis I (the reigning monarch or France from 1515 until his death in 1547) was captured after being defeated at Pavia, a town located in Northern Italy, in 1525.[5] This left the French monarchy vulnerable and could have led to the end of the Valois dynasty. However, Francis I was able to negotiate his release and managed to cling onto the French territory.[6] The French

[2] *Ibid.,* 27.
[3] Abulafia, 'The French Descent into Renaissance Italy, 1494–95', 1.

[4] Knecht, 'The Valois: Kings of France, 1328-1589', 124-25.
[5] *Ibid.,* 229.
[6] Frieda, '*Francis I: The Maker of Modern France*'.

monarchy remained a strong and unified presence during the Valois dynasty, despite being defeated and not being able to expand their territory.

France as a country began the sixteenth century as Catholic spearheaded by their monarchy. Francis I believed the trend of breaking from Rome, which could be seen by the action of the English King Henry VIII, was unnecessary and decided not to follow suit.[7] The unified Roman Catholic French state would not last, in part due to the rising of the Huguenots ultimately leading to the Wars of Religion between the Roman Catholics and the Huguenots.[8] It is important to note that while France remained an overwhelmingly Catholic country, there were pockets where the Huguenots lived in peace.[9] The rise of the Huguenots and the Wars of Religion will be discussed in depth in the next section of this chapter.

Wars and the Rise of the Huguenots

The second section of this chapter is devoted to specific wars, conflicts and the Rise of the Huguenots. For ease of navigation this section has been divided into four sections; the Hundred Years War, the French Wars of Religion, the Rise of the Huguenots, and the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre. Additionally, these sections have been organised chronologically, allowing for a more cohesive narrative.

[7] Treasure, 'The Huguenots', x
[8] Knecht, 'The Valois: Kings of France', xi.
[9] Hauss, 'Politics in France', 35.

The Hundred Years War

From 1337 until 1453 France and England were engaged in a series of battles and wars that would later be named The Hundred Years War.[10] Knecht states that this lengthy war saw its official start on 24th May 1337, after the French King Philip V planned to take ownership of the Duchy of Aquitaine, which at this point was under the reign of the English King, Edward III.[11] However, the Duchy of Aquitaine had been a point of contention between the English and French monarchy for centuries. Through marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine, Henry Plantagenet inherited the English throne,[12] meaning that Aquitaine had belonged to the English crown since 1137.[13] A source of tension between England and France were the issues regarding the ownership of territory between both countries, this had been a longstanding issue over many preceding centuries before the official start of The Hundred Years War.

There is an argument that while France suffered loss and war damage of every conceivable nature, during The Hundred Years War, England appeared to benefit from the war. This argument states that not only did England benefit from the Hundred Years War but additionally made a profit from the military campaigns as well as their occupation of French territory.[14] This provides us with information that may explain why some of the nobles in the north-west of

[10] Knecht, 'The Valois: Kings of France, 1328-1589', 23.
[11] *Ibid.,* 23.
[12] Hivergneaux, *'*Queen Eleanor and Aquitaine, 1137–1189. In: *Eleanor of Aquitaine. The New Middle Ages*', *55*.
[13] Barber, 'Henry Plantagenet', 212.
[14] Postan, 'The Costs of the Hundred Years' War', 44.

France showed discontent towards the Valois dynasty and pledged allegiance to the English crown.

The Rise of the Huguenots

The French Protestants, commonly known as the Huguenots, began their public rise in 1534 with what is known as the Affair of the Placards.[15] During October of 1534 and January of 1535 placards were posted across cities in France, focused on the subject of attacking the Roman Catholic Mass.[16] The placards were posted in mostly public places and even outside the bedchamber of King Francis I, a Roman Catholic head of state. The placards described the Roman Catholic Mass as an example of 'transubstantiation as the devil's doctrine'[17] and may have been viewed as pompous, blasphemous. The rise of the Huguenots over almost 150 years saw progress being made for the Huguenot cause. For example, in 1598 the Édict de Nantes law was passed which allowed for an increase in religious freedom towards the Huguenots[18] and for Huguenots to have administrative and judicial office within France.[19]

The Huguenots, who saw Calvin as their leader, rejected traditions that had become tenets of faith within the Roman Catholic Church; for example, Huguenots failed to attend Mass and made the decision to ignore Roman Catholic holy days and feast days such as Corpus Christi and

[15] Theis, 'Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559-1685', xiii.
[16] Reed, 'Sovereignty, Sedition, and Sacrament in the Affair of the Placards (1534–1535)', 107.
[17] *Ibid.,* 107.
[18] Holt, 'Religious Violence in Sixteenth-Century France: Moving Beyond Pollution and Purification', 63.
[19] Eurich, '"Speaking the King's Language": the Huguenot magistrates of Castres and Pau', In *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559-1685*. 117

Candlemas.[20] The simplicity of the Huguenot services and worship was a marked change from the Roman Catholic services that the converted Huguenots would have been used to. It is possible that a number of the converted Huguenots would have welcomed the simplicity of services and worship, as they may have agreed with Calvin that the Roman Catholic services were pompous and distracted from the message of worship. In an attempt to perhaps supervise or control the Huguenots, their churches were prohibited in a select number of cities and were purposefully limited to suburban locations[21] that may have been difficult to access. The influence of John Calvin and his publication of the Institutes of the Christian Religion, which emphasised the church existing as a singular entity and the importance of non-complex services can be seen here. John Calvin and his teachings will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

The phenomenon that was the rise of the Huguenots came to an end in 1685[22] after Protestant worship and churches were forbidden throughout France;[23] the length of this period cannot be ignored. Lasting almost 150 years, the rise of the Huguenots also saw a great loss of life from both the Huguenots and Roman Catholics, most notably during the St Bartholomew's Day massacre, which will be discussed in more depth in the latter part of this chapter.

[20] Theis, 'Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559-1685', 2.
[21] *Ibid.,* 2.
[22] Holt, 'Religious Violence in Sixteenth-Century France: Moving Beyond Pollution and Purification', 72.
[23] *Ibid*., 72.

The French Wars of Religion

The French Wars of Religion commenced in 1562 and finally came to an end 36 years later in 1598.[24] The French Wars of Religion refers to the period of time where the later Valois Kings were at war with radical French Roman Catholics and the Huguenots.[25] Within the 36-year stretch of the French Wars of Religion there were a number of conflicts that took place which historians have divided into eight notable conflicts.[26] These conflicts included massacres and assassinations. The result of the increase of Calvinism in France led Catherine de Médici, the mother of the French king Charles IX, to show some leniency and tolerance towards the Huguenots,[27] this in turn angered the French Roman Catholics, in particular the Guise family, an influential family during this time. The supporters of the Guise family instigated a massacre at Vassy of a Huguenot congregation in 1562,[28] thus beginning the French Wars of Religion.

More incidents such as the 1562 massacre of the Huguenot congregation would occur in the subsequent years resulting in understandings and compromises being made between the French Roman Catholics and the Huguenots in 1563, 1568 and 1570. There was a two-year hiatus from 1570 to 1572 when the war resumed due to the murder of Gaspard II de Coligny, a Huguenot leader, during the St Bartholomew Day massacre. Once again peace fell on the Huguenots for a short amount of time from 1576 to 1584, until Henry of Navarre, the current Huguenot leader, took his place on the French throne becoming King Henry IV. Having a

[24] Knecht, 'The French wars of religion, 1559-1598', xxi.
[25] Tulchin, 'Massacres during the French Wars of Religion', 100–126.
[26] *Ibid.,* 100-126.
[27] Benedict, 'From Polemics to Wars: The Curious Case of the House of Guise and the Outbreak of the French Wars of Religion', 103.
[28] *Ibid.,* 103.

Huguenot on the throne of a Roman Catholic country came with implications and ultimately led to the War of the Three Henrys, where Henry IV would once again embrace Roman Catholicism. However, this was not bad news for the Huguenots as they were granted religious tolerance through the Édict de Nantes law in 1598, marking the end of the French Wars of Religion.

The massacres that occurred during the French Wars of Religion can be seen in the graph below.[29] Tulchin provides us with an accurate representation of the massacres endured during this war. We can see there are two main peaks in the graph; the first and biggest peak occurs in 1562 at the beginning of the War of Religions, where Catholics committed the majority of these atrocities. The second largest peak can be seen in 1572, when the St Bartholomew Day massacre occurred in which the majority of the massacres were committed by the Huguenots. This clear reversal of which party was responsible for the atrocities supplies us with the knowledge that there was no real victory for either party as they are equally culpable.

[29] Tulchin, 'Massacres during the French Wars of Religion', 100–126.

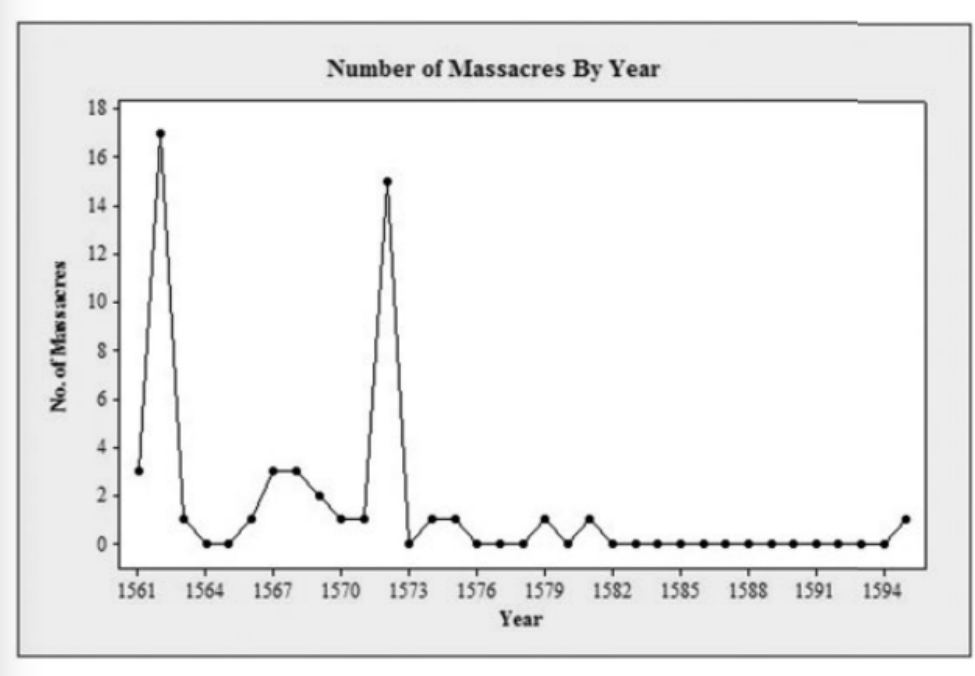

Fig 1 – Tulchin graph of massacres committed throughout the French Wars of Religion.[30]

St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre

This section will address the most well-known and heavily studied event that occurred during the French Wars of Religion,[31] the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, perhaps due to the sheer volume of deaths[32] that occurred from this month's long massacre beginning on the 24 August 1572,[33] in Paris and lasting until October.[34] It is important to note that this massacre was not

[30] Tulchin, 'Massacres during the French Wars of Religion', 115.
[31] Smither, 'The St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre and Images of Kingship in France: 1572-1574', 27.
[32] *Ibid.,* 27.
[33] van Tol, 'Epilogue: The Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre'. In *Germany and the French Wars of Religion, 1560-1572.* 226.
[34] Benedict 'The Saint Bartholomew's Massacres in the Provinces', 206.

premeditated by either the Roman Catholics or the Huguenots and was born instead out of a Roman Catholic plot to assassinate Admiral Coligny.

Catherine de' Medici, the mother of the French king Charles IX, grew concerned at the increasing influence of Admiral Coligny over her son.[35] In an effort to deter her son, Charles IX, under Admiral Coligny's Protestant influence, the Medici approved a plot hatched by the Roman Catholic house of Guise, to assassinate Coligny. The official start of the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre occurred before dawn on the 24th August 1572 as the bell of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois tolled, signalling the start of the plot against Coligny and consequently the massacre began.[36] Ultimately de' Medici's role in the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre would lead to the death of almost 20,000 Huguenots.[37]

The barbarity of this massacre is perhaps the reason why this event within the French wars of Religion is infamous and widely covered in academic writings. An anonymous printed pamphlet detailing the attempted assassination of Admiral Coligny, who was stabbed in his bed and thrown out of the window,[38] also gave information regarding the murder of the Huguenots stating that even pregnant women were stabbed.[39] Upon seeing the bloodshed within the streets, a royal order was issued on the 25th of August to end the violence within Paris. This

[35] Incorvia, 'A Threshold of Genocide: Microgenocide in Mary Tudor's Revenge on Protestant England and Catherine de Medici's Massacre of the Huguenots', 58.
[36] Jouanna, 'The Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre: The Mysteries of a Crime of State', 112.
[37] Incorvia, 'A Threshold of Genocide: Microgenocide in Mary Tudor's Revenge on Protestant England and Catherine de Medici's Massacre of the Huguenots', 57.
[38] van Tol, 'Epilogue: The Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre'. In *Germany and the French Wars of Religion, 1560-1572.* 226.
[39] *Ibid.,* 226.

decree came to no avail as the killing and pillaging continued throughout Paris by both the Roman Catholics and the Huguenots, and had subsequently spread into the provinces, including Bordeaux, Rouen, Bourges, Orléans and Lyon.[40]

Lasting until the beginning of October, the number of casualties reported differs dramatically from accounts of the massacre. Scholars currently state the number of casualties in Paris alone to be 3,000[41] and the number for casualties including the 15 provincial towns could have totalled to 10,000.[42] The Roman Catholics, in an attempt to diminish the atrocity that began with their plot and perhaps in an effort to not lose favour with the public, claimed the number of casualties to be 3,000. The Huguenots greatly exaggerated the number of casualties; this may have been in an attempt to gain sympathy from the French public or additional support and members for the Huguenot party.

The St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre did diminish Huguenot numbers but did not debilitate the party; instead, the massacre reignited the hostility between the Huguenots and the Roman Catholics. The St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre horrified the protestant nations: for example, a pamphlet highlighted the innocence of the Huguenots and detailed how they behaved respectably.[43] Conversely this Bartholmew's Day Massacre was welcomed by multiple Roman Catholics, including Philip II of Spain and the head of the Roman Catholic church, Pope Gregory

[40] Benedict 'The Saint Bartholomew's Massacres in the Provinces', 206.
[41] Jouanna, 'The Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre: The Mysteries of a Crime of State', 3.
[42] *Ibid.,* 3.
[43] van Tol, 'Epilogue: The Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre'. In *Germany and the French Wars of Religion, 1560-1572.* 226.

XIII, who commissioned three frescoes by Vasari to commemorate the massacre, and had a commemorative medal struck, in addition to having a Te Deum sung which is used typically as an expression of thanksgiving.[44] From this evidence it is clear that the Catholic church viewed the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre as a success, despite the enormous bloodshed. It was at this point, once the hostilities between the Roman Catholics and the Huguenots increased, the principles set by John Calvin of obedience to the crown and royal authority was abandoned by the Huguenots. The Roman Catholics that took an active role within the massacre believed they were carrying out the king's bidding,[45] therefore serving their king and country. This narrative was believed until the nineteenth century when letters from King Charles IX clearly commanded those in his command to prevent the violence of the massacre spreading into the surrounding areas.[46] An argument could be made that the Roman Catholics who acted on behalf of their King without absolute knowledge of Charles IX wishes were adhering to Robert Parson's 1593 publication of 'Elizabethae Angliae reginae haeresim Calvinianam propugnantis'. Within this publication of Catholic resistance, Parson's reasoned that it was not always necessary to wait until express approval from the Pope before acting and that it was permissible for an individual to harm a tyrant in order to protect their faith and country.[47]

The majority of the population believing that the reigning king of France wished for his subjects to defend both the crown and the Roman Catholic Church by entering into battle with the

[44] Jouanna, 'The Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre: The Mysteries of a Crime of State', 158.
[45] Benedict, 'The Saint Bartholomew's Massacres in the Provinces', 206.
[46] *Ibid.,* 208.
[47] Cuttica, 'Tyrannicide and Political Authority in the Long Sixteenth Century'. In: *Routledge Companion to Sixteenth-Century Philosophy*, 268.

Huguenots. It is considerable through following this line of thinking that many Huguenots now abandoned Calvin's principles of obedience to the crown and the royal authority. The Huguenots were no longer obedient towards the French crown tyrannicide and rebellion could have been seen as permissible due to the current state of affairs and the onslaught of violence from the Roman Catholics.

The Council of Trent

The final section of this chapter will focus on the Roman Catholic Council of Trent, the 19th Ecumenical Council that was active in three periods between 1545 and 1563.[48] The Council of Trent was to address questions regarding ambiguity that surrounded the Roman Catholic Church during this time as well as addressing concerns regarding the doctrine from this council that had been raised by the Protestant communities. In relation to this project, we are concerned with the Council's attitudes towards music; for the council musical matters were not preponderate to other matters that more directly connected to doctrine.

Whilst the Council of Trent did address music within the Roman Catholic church, giving direction on the fundamental attitudes towards music, it was not concerned with the details or specific stylistic problems.[49] There was no decree dedicated solely to the use and function of music within the church; music was discussed within decrees that had been dedicated to more

[48] Minnich, 'Introduction: Historical Survey of the Council of Trent.' In: *The Cambridge Companion to the Council of Trent*. 3, 10-12.

[49] Fellerer, Hadas, 'Church Music and the Council of Trent', 576.

substantial overarching issues.[50] The occasions where music was addressed by the council occur entirely in the third and final period of activity, between the years 1562 and 1563, under the heading "Abuses in the Sacrifice of the Mass".[51] It was the opinion of the council that secular expression must be avoided, and the words sung must remain intelligible, and the music must benefit and uplift the congregation.[52] Within the "Abuses in the Sacrifice of the Mass" Church music was addressed by the council in four instances, the first in the twenty second session that occurred on September 17th, 1562.

It is important to remember that during 1562, France was still a unified Catholic state under the reign of Charles IX; additionally, the year 1562 saw the official start of the French Wars of Religion. It is well documented that during France was at a point of civil unrest and at the root of these disputes was the issue of religious freedom. The council would have been aware of the conflicts and massacres occurring in France at this time; the insistence from the council that liturgical music must remain intelligible, albeit in Latin, could have been in an effort to appease the Huguenots. One of the main Calvinist beliefs, embraced by the Huguenots, is that mass should be understood and comprehended by the entire congregation. One could argue that the Council's decision for music within worship to remain intelligible acted as middle ground for the strict Roman Catholics and Huguenots. The instance for the words of liturgical music to remain intelligible to the congregation appears to a belief that both the Roman Catholics and

[50] Crook, 'Sacred Music'. In: *The Cambridge Companion to the Council of Trent,* 304.
[51] Fellerer, Hadas, 'Church Music and the Council of Trent', 576.
[52] *Ibid.,* 576

Huguenots shared, whilst the noticeable difference is that the Roman Catholic music would have remained in Latin and the Huguenots would have been translated into the vernacular.

This is the first instance in the history of the Council of Trent where music was addressed within the "Degree on Things to Be Observed and Avoided in the Celebration of the Mass". It was during this session that the council decided that churches be instructed to avoid the "intermingling of anything wanton or impure in either the singing or the playing of instruments".[53] It is not specified what the council believed to have been impure that would have brought the music in the Roman Catholic church into disrepute. It is likely that the council was referring to the work being undertaken by the Protestant community, taking psalms originally written in Latin into their vernacular. This subject of psalms being translated into the vernacular will be discussed in depth throughout the entirety of this project.

The twenty-third session of the Council of Trent took place on July 15th, 1563, almost a year after its previous session. This session contains the second instance of music being addressed by the council; the council within the 'Decree on Reform' decided that boys in training for the priesthood should have instruction in singing.[54] This decree will have affected both the quality and regularity of singing within churches for decades after its implementation. The third and fourth instances of music being addressed by the council was approved in the twenty-fourth session on November 11th, 1563. The third mention of music by the council can be seen within

[53] Crook, 'Sacred Music'. In: *The Cambridge Companion to the Council of Trent,* 304.
[54] *Ibid.,* 304.

the 'Decree on Reform', here the council stipulated that all clergy when participating in the choir should sing the name of God "reverently, distinctly and devoutly" in all canticles and hymns.[55] The fourth and final reference made to music that affected liturgical music within the Roman Catholic church called upon the synod for each province to determine the quality and appropriate style of both chanting and singing.

There is an argument to be made that, with one exception, the Council of Trent implemented decrees concerning music that lined up with the Calvinist ideology. There are two possible explanations for the Council's reasoning behind these choices. The first, in an attempt to appease the Protestants and those who shared Calvin's beliefs, perhaps to in an effort to stop or limit more bloodshed from either side. The second to ensure the quality of church music within the Roman Catholic Church and to limit the amount Roman Catholics converting to Protestantism. By issuing these decrees affecting church music, ensuring that liturgical music would be performed to a high standard and most importantly ensuring that the music was intelligible to the congregation, the Council found common ground with the Protestants and possibly spared some bloodshed.

It is possible that the Council of Trent saw the issues facing church music as not a priority and a secondary issue facing the church, due to the period in which church music was addressed. It is the opinion of this author that in fact the council saw music as a varied and complex issue within the church that could not be fixed with a one-size-fits-all attitude. The council, rather

[55] *Ibid.,* 304.

than provide instruction that could prove difficult or impossible for certain churches to implement, allowed the decisions regarding choirs and music to be made by each church's discretion.

There are several aspects from this chapter that we should bear in mind whilst reading the rest of this project. Whilst England broke from Rome, Francis I remained loyal to the Roman Catholic church and in turn this led to an uncomfortable existence for the Huguenots. The French wars of Religion, beginning with the Affair of the Placards, saw the Rise of the Huguenots through a series of conflicts and massacres, including the St. Bartholomew's day Massacre, lasting two months and resulting in the deaths of almost 10,000 people.[56] This chapter has provided context and background regarding the social and political landscape of France throughout the sixteenth century that inevitably shaped, influenced and informed the choices made by Luther and Calvin. Additionally, clear evidence has been provided, and context has been set of the centuries long unrest between Roman Catholics and the Huguenots.

As we near the end of the second chapter of this project it would be helpful to remind ourselves of the aim of this project: to show how liturgical music developed from the standard Roman Catholic liturgy to the Calvinist and Lutheran settings. This aim will be achieved by the objectives outlined in the first chapter of this dissertation. The first objective is to provide evidence of how Luther represented the Normative Principle and Calvin represented the Regulative Principle; these objectives will be achieved in chapters 3 and 4, through the

[56] Jouanna, 'T*he Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre: The Mysteries of a Crime of State',* 3, 86.

explorations of their upbringing, beliefs and teachings. The second objective of this project was to explore the music publications of both Luther and Calvin, to identify the implementation of their teachings regarding liturgical music, and in turn, allowing for a deeper understanding of the two theologians' perspectives of liturgical music. The second objective will be achieved in chapter 5 of this project with an analysis of a Calvinist psalm. The third and final objective of this project is to provide a context of the interactions of music, religion and worship predating Luther and Calvin, which has been achieved in this chapter. The exploration of key political events within the French Wars of Religion and the Rise of the Huguenots underneath an absolute Roman Catholic monarchy and the intervention of the Council of Trent has set a context of the interactions of music, religion and worship both before and during Luther and Calvin.

Chapter 3: Martin Luther, Music and the Normative Principle

The third chapter in this project is dedicated to Martin Luther and the representation of the Normative Principle. Martin Luther (1483-1546) was a German theologian and founder of the Lutheran church. He is widely thought of as the father of the Reformation, having influenced all sixteenth-century church reformers who came after him,[1] including John Calvin, who will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 4. This chapter will detail Luther's young life, career, beliefs, and compositions. Luther is seen in an almost heroic light regarding the liberation of music from the domination of the Roman Catholic Church.[2] Luther is best known for the overwhelming influence that he wielded over not only the religious aspects of life in Europe during the sixteenth century, but also the cultural life of Europe. Regarding music, Luther thought highly of music and is responsible, at least in part, for the implementation of congregational singing in the vernacular within Protestant churches. Luther's influence on the Reformation across Europe, the Protestant religion, and in particular the music used in Protestant churches cannot be underestimated. This chapter will also provide evidence of Luther's embodiment of the Normative Principle, representing his exegetical, mature approach to liturgical music.

[1] Leaver, 'Luther, Martin'

[2] Barber, 'Luther and Calvin on Music and Worship', 1.

While little can be found about Luther's family home with regard to music, there is a wealth of information relating to Luther's schooling and his musical endeavours from the age of 13 onwards. By 1498, Luther, then 14, had been enrolled in the Georgenschule in Eisenach under the supervision of Archbishop Ernst Von Sachsen. Whilst Luther attended the Georgenschule he sang in the school choir alongside his classmates in order to earn a salary.[3] Luther as a member of the choir within the Roman Catholic church was responsible for the liturgical music, as before the Reformation the music fell to professional musicians,[4] including the choir and the clergy, not the congregation. In 1501, three years after Luther had begun his studies at Georgenschule, he went to study in Erfurt within the faculty of liberal arts, gaining both his bachelor's and master's degrees.[5]

Whilst in Erfurt, Luther improved his practical skills in monophony, polyphony, compositional skills and had undertaken the study of the lute,[6] which would prove useful in the following years. Additionally, a requirement for Luther's studies was to become proficient in music theory.[7] This knowledge of traditional late medieval music theory was accompanied by lectures regarding Aristotle's teachings on music. Luther's understanding of music as a philosophical discipline as well as his practical skills in monophony, polyphony and composition were held in high regard by those at Erfurt.[8] There is no evidence available regarding the exact music theory that Luther studied during this period. However, we can see that Luther's views on music are

[3] *Ibid.,* 210-211.
[4] St-Onge, 'Music, Worship and Martin Luther', 2.
[5] Leaver, 'Luther, Martin'.
[6] Loewe, '"Musica est optimum" : Martin Luther's theory of Music', 575.
[7] Schwarz, 'Martin Luther and music', 211.
[8] Loewe, '"Musica est optimum" : Martin Luther's theory of Music', 575.

underpinned by traditional late medieval music theory; Luther also referred to music in quadrivial terms.[9] Quadrivium refers to the study of arithmetic, astronomy, geometry and music; it is plausible to think that Luther would have studied music theory within the discipline of quadrivium. We can assume that after his graduation Luther carried the knowledge gained throughout his studies into his career; a clear example of this is how Luther consistently classified music in clear and strict quadrivial terms.

Luther had officially become a monk by 1505 and was ordained as a priest two years later, in 1507.[10] By 1512 Luther had begun his doctorate in theology and became a professor of sacred scripture at the University of Wittenburg; as a professor,[11] it is important to remember at this point that Luther was committed to the Roman Catholic church, with no trace of rebellion. In 1516 Luther visited Rome in order to get an official recognition from the Pope of the Augustinian monks. It was during this visit that Luther observed the Pope and the clergy of the Roman Catholic church and believed them to be corrupt due to their decadent way of living.[12] In addition to this, it was during this time that Luther began questioning the sermons being delivered in Italy and viewed them as indulgent[13] and lacking the core values of Christianity.

[9] *Ibid.*, 577.

[10] Leaver, 'Luther, Martin'.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] Karolides, Bald, Sova, '120 Banned Books: Censorship Histories of World Literature', 278-281.

[13] *Ibid.,* 279.

After witnessing the decadent way the leaders of the Roman Catholic church lived Luther invited his colleagues at the University of Wittenburg to debate the subject of the sixteenth century Roman Catholic doctrine.[14] This doctrine will be discussed in more detail further on in this chapter. In 1525, 24 years after Luther had begun his studies in Erfurt, he began the creation of the German Mass and was assisted in this endeavour by Johann Walter, a cantor whom Luther met during his time at the Augustinian convent and Konrad Rupff, who at this time was the director of the Elector of Saxony's orchestra.[15] Luther's German Mass was written for smaller congregations with the intention of both the congregation and clergy participating in worship. Luther, believing that all people present should have an opportunity to participate in worship, gave the congregation an opportunity to reaffirm their faith through the Ten Commandments and praise God through hymns. A marked difference from the Roman Catholic norm at the time, where the music was in the hands of the clergy and professional musicians only.

As discussed in the first chapter in this thesis, Luther's approach to liturgical music will be referred to as the Normative Principle, representing Luther's 'mature exegetical approach' [16] to liturgical music and the interpretation of the Bible which had emphasised the 'spiritual and existential' [17] relating to Christian lives. Luther aimed for unity within the church congregation;

[14] *Ibid.,* 278-281.

[15] Schwarz, 'Martin Luther and music', 211.

[16] Barber, 'Luther and Calvin on Music and Worship', 2.

[17] *Ibid.,* 2.

this can be seen in his approach to the Bible, which exemplifies the Normative Principle. It was the viewpoint of the Lutheran church that if something was not specifically forbidden in the Bible, it could be done, for example the use of musical instruments within worship. This viewpoint and the Lutheran view of using musical instruments within worship will be expanded on later in this chapter.

The main Lutheran teachings and beliefs that will be covered in this chapter are the use of the vernacular instead of Latin in worship, and the use of congregational singing. Luther had a strong belief that illustrations and art should co-exist and belong together; this belief also extended into music. A possible reason for this is due to the majority of the population at this time being illiterate, by providing illustrations and art would allow religion to be more accessible to the public. The Wittenberg Hymnbook is a prime example of the Normative Principle, the way in which these three mediums are combined into a hymnal, the first of its time, for all new Protestants to read and utilise in and out of worship. The Wittenburg Hymnbook will be discussed later in this chapter. One of the cornerstones of Luther's teaching was the translation of Latin texts and psalms into the vernacular. The reasoning behind this choice was the belief that the mass and worship should be equally approachable to all members of the congregation. Based on the Latin texts and psalms that Luther had translated, these became the basis for Luther's hymn compositions.[18] In addition to this Luther used the preexisting Latin hymns as a basis for the composition of metrical psalms written in the

[18] *Ibid.,* 1-16.

vernacular.[19] These views and beliefs challenged the norm at the time due to the Roman Catholic church that dominated Europe and would ultimately become some of the foundational beliefs of the Protestant church.

Luther strongly disagreed with the way in which the Roman Catholic church operated; this became clear after Luther's visit to Rome in 1516. Luther invited his colleagues to debate on this subject by posting a notice in Latin on the doors of the Schlosskirche in Wittenburg; this notice contained Luther's famed 95 Theses.[20] Luther's 95 Theses detailed the ways the Catholic church operated that he did not agree with. This included the indulgent and decadent way of living[21] and the collection and fundraising taken from the congregation in order to build an unnecessary basilica[22] as well as the Roman Catholic doctrine. This doctrine allowed the Pope to transfer merit from saints, the Virgin Mary and Christ in order to cancel out the individual sins committed on Earth by Catholics. Luther took grievance with this doctrine and believed a better approach was to have an emphasis on complete forgiveness of sins and for the 'reconciliation with God through God's grace alone'.[23] In addition to the 95 Theses being posted on the doors of the Schlosskirche, the notice was published by Johannes Froben of Basel and

[19] Ballard, '(The) influence of the Scriptures on hymn writing, culminating in reformation psalmody and hymnody', 35.
[20] Karolides, Bald, Sova, '120 Banned Books: Censorship Histories of World Literature', 278.
[21] Leaver, 'Luther, Martin'.
[22] Karolides, Bald, Sova, '120 Banned Books: Censorship Histories of World Literature', 279.
[23] Karolides, Bald, Sova, '120 Banned Books: Censorship Histories of World Literature', 278.

distributed in Germany in both the vernacular and Latin, gaining attention and starting a 'storm of controversy'.[24] Thus began the Reformation in Europe.

Other grievances that Luther had with the Catholic church began to surface. He strongly believed that the mass had merely become a spectacle to observe.[25] It is possible that Luther had the opinion that divine services in the Catholic church had become performative and thus lacked the core values of the Christian faith. Building on this belief, in the Catholic church the clergy and choir played the main roles in the services, leaving the congregations as bystanders or simply as an audience. Music, as previously stated in this chapter, Luther believed to be integral to worship and he strongly encouraged music to be utilised in worship.[26] The use of music in the Catholic church before the Reformation was mostly the responsibility of the professional musicians,[27] for example the choir and the clergy, not the congregation. It seems clear that one of Luther's main aims regarding music in worship was to ensure that every person present would actively participate and engage with music that the public could understand and comprehend in worship. It is plausible that Luther had a personal grievance against some priests and the way in which they performed mass, after witnessing mass in Italy

[24] *Ibid.,* 278.
[25] Schwarz, 'Martin Luther and music', 212.
[26] St-Onge, 'Music, Worship and Martin Luther', 1-9.
[27] *Ibid.,* 1-9.

as a spectacle.[28] He perhaps viewed the priests as feeling superior and self-important, using the mass as a performance opportunity instead of its intended use as a time of led worship.

This leads us onto the next point of Luther believing that all Christians are priests in their own right[29] and that in the Lutheran church the congregation would be viewed as equal. From this belief of Luther's, we gather that the way in which the Catholic church ran its services, with a mainly passive congregation, was something with which Luther strongly disagreed. As Luther believed every Christian to act as a priest meaning that not only should the congregation have an active role in services, but the services should be understood by the public and easy to comprehend, which Latin was not. This belief moves us onto the efforts that Luther made in order to ensure that the congregation could understand the services in the new Lutheran church, such as the Wittenburg hymnbook and the translations of texts and poems from Latin into the vernacular.[30] Due to the Lutheran belief that all Christians are priests in their own right, it is logical that Luther possessed the dogmatic view in favour of congregational singing. Luther intended for all to participate in worship and actively implemented this by the use of congregational singing.

It is quite probable that Luther's upbringing surrounded by music influenced his beliefs of music and its place in the church, particularly his time spent in choirs while in school. One could argue that Luther was aware that not every child had been exposed to music in the way that he was

[28] Schwarz, 'Martin Luther and music', 212.
[29] *Ibid.,* 212.
[30] *Ibid.,* 212.

as a young boy and therefore would not have experienced the joy that it had clearly brought him. This could have been a considerable deciding factor on Luther's stance on congregational singing. Luther believed that it was necessary to continue and maintain the teaching of music in schools, having introduced congregational singing into the Protestant church. This could have been a preventative measure to ensure that all Protestants had some knowledge and experience of singing, as it is possible that not everyone had been able to sing in a school choir, whilst the church was available to all regardless of income or class.

Luther's teachings

It is well known that Luther had a respect for music and believed music to be 'near allied to divinity'.[31] It was a gift from God that should be used for praise and worship which would in turn be pleasing to God. Luther, having experienced a childhood surrounded and moulded by music in his schooling was adamant that music should be maintained in schools[32] for every child to have a solid foundation of music. A statement written by Luther shows that Luther believed so strongly in music education in schools that he would not entertain the idea of a schoolmaster or a minister who was ignorant and had little to no understanding of music.[33] From these statements we can draw a picture of Luther that shows unwavering support for music and art, fighting for music to continue being taught in schools as well as ensuring that the schoolmasters and ministers that he would appoint had a similar view and respect for music. By

[31] Grew, 'Martin Luther and Music', 67-78.

[32] *Ibid.,* 67-78.

[33] *Ibid.,* 72.

appointing these people, Luther ensured that music would continue to be taught in schools to a good standard as well as ensuring that music would remain an integral part of the Protestant services. It seems clear to any reader that Luther's formative years, surrounded by music and artistic minds, influenced his views on music and art. These views would eventually become the teaching of the Lutheran church.

Naturally as Luther was predominately a theologian, his views of music and theology were very closely related; one could even argue that Luther viewed music as intertwined with theology and faith as a whole. Luther believed that the church should follow the example of the prophets in the Bible and compose psalms in the vernacular.[34] This can be seen in the letter that Luther wrote in 1523 to George Spalatin, the secretary of Frederick III, the Elector of Saxony from 1486 to 1525, more commonly known as Frederick the Wise. Luther's stated reasoning for the change of psalms from Latin into the vernacular was that 'the Word of God may be among the people also in the form of music'.[35] From this we have further proof that Luther's main objective for the change of Latin texts, poems and psalms was to ensure that all members of the church were able to participate in worship and perhaps have a superior understanding of Mass, the aforementioned texts, poems and psalms.

The translation of psalms into the vernacular proved to be of utmost urgency to Luther; in the same year that Luther wrote his letter to Geroge Spalatin, he began composition on new hymns

[34] Schwarz, 'Martin Luther and music', 212.
[35] *Ibid.,* 212.

written in the vernacular.[36] The number of psalms that Luther composed before his death remains unknown as unfortunately, many manuscripts from this period were lost or destroyed. However, 36 hymns have survived[37] the psalms composed by Luther provided a foundation for not only Lutheran churches, but also other protestant churches founded in the sixteenth century Reformation throughout Europe.

There are contradictory theories on where Luther drew his inspiration for his compositions of congregational music. The first opinion is that Luther chose rhymed Ambrosian chant over Gregorian chant[38] and the second that Luther drew inspiration from three musical sources: Gregorian chant, Medieval unison hymns and traditional folk songs.[39]

The first theory that will be explored in this chapter is that Luther had the choice of either translating Gregorian chant or the hymns of Ambrosian chant; this choice appeared a simple task for Luther, as the latter was chosen.[40] There are many possible reasons for this decision, perhaps as these were rhymed hymns which could have made the lyrics more memorable for the congregation, or perhaps Luther simply preferred the rhymed hymns of Ambrosian chant to Gregorian chant. Ambrosian chant, predating Gregorian chant, is less uniform and regimented than Georgian chant; additionally Ambrosian chant only exists in Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian and Mixolydian modes. Gregorian chant is more structured than its predecessor and exists in the

[36] Barber, 'Luther and Calvin on Music and Worship', 1-16.

[37] *Ibid.,* 1-16.

[38] Schwarz, 'Martin Luther and music', 216.

[39] St-Onge, 'Music, Worship and Martin Luther', 1-9.

[40] Schwarz, 'Martin Luther and music', 216.

eight church tones. Using the Ambrosian chant that accompanied the Roman Catholic Latin mass was a way for Luther to repurpose sacred music for the congregation that was familiar to them. Luther's Wittenberg Hymnbook published in 1529, six years after first attempting translating and composing new psalms to be sung in the vernacular, contains examples of the translated Ambrosian chant being utilised in congregational compositions.[41] This publication is crucial to this thesis as it provides how Luther intended his new translated hymns to be performed. The Wittenberg Hymnbook will be discussed in depth further on in this chapter.

Moving to the second theory in this chapter, St. Onge writes that Luther drew from three sources when composing congregational music: Gregorian chant, Medieval unison hymns and traditional folk songs. Gregorian chants, similar to Ambrosian chant, was used in the Catholic Latin mass and therefore was familiar to new Protestants who had recently left the Catholic church. An example of Luther utilising Gregorian chant can be seen in the Luther hymn 156 'Creator Spirit Heavenly Dove'.[42] Popular Medieval hymns were used in Luther's congregational compositions and these hymns were likely well known by the public, which again would have provided some form of familiarity to the newly Protestant congregations. An example of the use of a popular Medieval hymn being used in Luther's composition and translated into the vernacular can be seen in the Lutheran hymn 'In the Very Midst of Life'.[43]

[41] *Ibid.,* 216.

[42] St-Onge, 'Music, Worship and Martin Luther', 2.

[43] Foley, 'Martin Luther: A Model Pastoral Musician', 405-418.

The third and final theory explored in this chapter, is that Luther employed in his own compositions combined with the melodies taken from traditional folk songs.[44] There is controversy in the academic field as to whether Luther used sacred or secular folk music, or indeed whether folk music was used in Lutheran compositions at all. It is my opinion that Luther did use both sacred and secular folk music in his compositions. The use of secular song melodies being utilised for sacred music can be seen during Luther's period; arguably the most famous example of this can be seen in the English composer John Taverner's parody mass based on the popular secular song 'The Westron Wynde' composed between 1510-1520.[45]

The act of using popular secular song melodies that had been repurposed into scared songs became common practice, particularly utilising the well-known secular melody as the Cantus Firmus, once again ensuring that the congregation were familiar with the new compositions being used in congregational worship. The evidence for Luther having used or drawn influence from folk song is due to the German Bar form of A-A-B, upon which Germanic folk music is based and can be seen in the Lutheran hymn 'Dear Christian One and All Rejoice'. [46] It is possible for both theories to be correct, and that Luther drew inspiration from all the sources mentioned above, as there is ample evidence for all theories. Regardless of which theory you believe to be correct, the common theme from all sources is that Luther wished for the melody to be simple, singable, and familiar to the congregation.

[44] St-Onge, 'Music, Worship and Martin Luther', 2.

[45] Anderson, 'Taverner & Tudor Music I: The Western Wind', 923.

[46] Barber, 'Luther and Calvin on Music and Worship', 4.

As previously stated, Luther strongly believed that the whole congregation should participate in the music of the mass; accessibility was clearly at the forefront of Luther's mind when composing, as he chose to compose most often in the Ionian and Dorian modes, the easiest modes to sing in, and used a melodic range of a ninth[47] which all novice singers should easily be able to sing.

The publication of the Wittenburg Hymnbook was Luther's first publication of his own compositions alongside other composers of hymns and text that had been translated into the vernacular; this is the first instance of a complete hymnbook where text, music and illustrations were published together.[48] The Wittenburg Hymnbook was organised into five sections; the first contains 28 hymns written by Luther, 24 written in the years 1523 and 1524,[49] the year of and after the letter Luther wrote to Spalatin; the second section contains hymns and songs written by a composer who had worked closely with Luther and had clearly received the stamp of approval for the composition of new protestant music. The third section is comprised of Medieval songs that were part translated into the vernacular; this includes and Easter hymn, two Christmas Carols and a vespers hymn.[50] The addition of the Medieval songs in the third section of this hymnbook shows us that Luther intended to supply his Protestant followers with an all-encompassing hymnbook including specific hymns to be sung throughout the year. The fourth section of Luther's Wittenburg Hymnbook included sacred compositions written by other

[47] St-Onge, 'Music, Worship and Martin Luther', 3.

[48] Schwarz, 'Martin Luther and music', 213.

[49] Barber, 'Luther and Calvin on Music and Worship', 2.

[50] Schwarz, 'Martin Luther and music', 213-14.

composers of the era; the final section is home to 15 canticles, which included a Magnificat.[51] Schwarz states the intention of this hymnbook was to not only provide a way for hymns that were suitable for services to be distributed, but moreover a 'comprehensive book for all singing Christians'.[52] One could challenge this claim made by Schwarz, and argue that the Wittenberg Hymnbook served an equal purpose, both to supply Protestant churches with music in the German vernacular that can be utilised in the liturgy approved by Luther as well as functioning as a book that provided a broad introduction and acted almost as a guidebook for Protestants.

It is apparent from the time of publication of the Wittenberg Hymnbook that Luther viewed the need for liturgical and religious music written in the vernacular as immediate. The publication of this hymnbook also is the first instance of a hymnal that contains text, illustrations, and music in one publication; this is of course with the exception of Medieval illuminated manuscripts.[53] Perhaps the most important aspect of the publication of the Wittenberg Hymnbook is the symbolism of Luther's efforts to develop the newly founded protestant congregation.

Luther did not believe the music of the Roman Catholic church to be completely irrelevant or useless, in fact he believed the opposite. Polyphony that had been used within the Roman Catholic church was admired by Luther, additionally he supported the use of polyphony within

[51] *Ibid.,* 213.
[52] *Ibid.,* 213.
[53] *Ibid.,* 213.

the Protestant churches. Luther had a high regard for the music used in services by the Catholic church and believed it would be a mistake for this music to no longer be heard. He wished to compose psalms and hymns in the vernacular 'according to the example set by the prophets and ancient fathers'[54] with the main aim of conserving the word of God through the people participating in singing. This provides us with an additional reason for why Luther appeared to routinely utilise music used in the Catholic church while changing either the language or the wording.

Luther encouraged and included the use of instruments in worship;[55] we can assume that Luther approved and supported the use of the organ and perhaps also, as a skilled lutenist himself, the use of the lute in religious setting, which was unprecedented previously in the Catholic church.

Martin Luther was a profoundly influential figure and is oft thought of as the forefather of Protestantism, as all sixteenth-century church reformers were influenced by the Normative Principle. Luther's influence in the church during his lifetime cannot be overstated, nor his influence on modern society. First and foremost, the translation from Latin texts, poems, psalms and hymns into the vernacular allowed every person in the congregation to gain an understanding of the service being performed and is now the norm in all Protestant churches and the majority of Roman Catholic churches. Secondly, Luther was outspoken on the subject of congregational singing ensuring that congregations took an active role in worship.

[54] Buszin, 'Luther on Music', 87.

[55] Barber, 'Luther and Calvin on Music and Worship', 2.

Congregational singing is now expected in most churches across Europe subject to the nature of the service, once again providing evidence that Luther remains as a substantial influence on all Christian religions. With his high respect for music Luther irrevocably changed liturgical music forever; the popularity of Gregorian chant and Latin masses are continually diminishing whilst congregational singing in the vernacular, which Luther spearheaded, is now the expected music in both Catholic and Protestant churches.

Chapter 4: John Calvin, Music and the Regulative Principle

The fourth chapter of this project will encompass the early life, career, beliefs and publications of John Calvin. It is important to have an understanding of Calvin's early life to identify the influences on his teachings regarding liturgical music. This chapter will detail how Calvin embodies and represents a rigid ecclesiastical approach to music, known as the Regulative Principle. John Calvin (1509-1564), a French theologian, was a dominant influence on the French Reformation and the namesake of the Calvinist movement. Calvin, who originally trained to be a lawyer, would later become the Head Pastor of Geneva and would have considerable influence across Geneva and France, as the ministers trained by Calvin would go on to preach throughout France. We can argue that in some respects Calvin had more of an influence on France than his predecessor Luther, due to the rise of the Huguenots; this will be expanded upon later in this chapter. In this project Calvin represents the Regulative Principle providing an unyielding and inflexible ecclesiastical religion.

It is important to remember that a single chapter in a Master's dissertation cannot fully address the subjects of Calvin and Calvinism. There is a plethora of literature regarding Calvin and the influence of Calvinism on reformed theological traditions. The sheer amount of literature on Calvin does not make the task of addressing this subject easier, in fact the opposite is true. There are glaring bald spots in the literature, such as Calvin's views on music used outside of worship and not including psalms. In addition to this there are few academic publications containing information regarding Calvin's birth and youth. There are a small number of

biographies that have been published; however, these biographies are still wanting and often repeat each other. There is a clear split of opinion regarding Calvin and his work and he is often thought of as an impossibly strict pastor; some authors have shown disdain towards Calvin, even if indirectly. It is the aim of this chapter to remain impartial and focus on Calvin's work and influence. Nevertheless, this chapter will provide an overview of Calvin's career and personal life, focusing on his views of liturgical music and exploring Calvin's influence on Europe. Calvin's influence and impact on the Huguenots cannot be overstated; the relationship between Calvin's metrical psalms composed in the vernacular and the Huguenots provides us with some idea of this, given that the recorded last words of Jean Leclerc, a protestant pastor was Psalm 115, sung in the vernacular as a political statement,[1] that Protestantism and Calvinism were causes that he would be executed for. Before commencing with this chapter, it may be useful to remind ourselves of the Regulative Principle, which Calvin represents.[2] This principle refers to the restrictive teachings of the Calvinist church in comparison to Luther's exegetical approach. The Regulative Principle, represented by Calvin, refers to the unyielding and stringent views on a myriad of issues that were prevalent during this era. This strict view on life during this era can be seen in many areas of Calvin's teachings; this project will focus on Calvin's attitude and teachings regarding music both in sacred and secular settings.

[1] Simut, '"John Calvin and the Complete French Psalter," Hymns and Hymnody, Volume 2: From Catholic Europe to Protestant Europe', 50.
[2] Barber, 'Luther and Calvin on Music and Worship', 12.

John Calvin was born in Noyon in 1509 and baptised into the Roman Catholic church within the month of his birth.[3] Academic publications containing information regarding Calvin's life before his university studies are sparse; it is known however that Calvin was not born into nobility and introduced himself to the public as a plebian.[4] In line with his teachings that are detailed later, Calvin married Idelette de Bure, an Anabaptist[5](date unknown) a member of his congregation in Strasbourg.[6] It is known that this marriage had taken place between the years of 1538 and 1541.

Calvin was not a founder of an ecclesiastical tradition;[7] despite having a tradition that carries his name, Calvin did not have authority within Calvinism.[8] This is vastly different from Luther and Lutheranism; Luther did have the licence over the tradition after his name. This is not to say that one theologian was more important or had more influence than the other but instead is a prime example of the differences in their traditions. Calvin's Regulative Principle is focused on the message and meaning of worship, forbidding the distractions that appeared in both Lutheran and Roman Catholic churches. Luther's normative approach was focused on ensuring that worship was equally approachable to all, he believed that music and art enhanced and improved worship, as they were closely related to divinity.[9] These two theologians, who held

[3] M'Crie, 'The early years of John Calvin: a fragment, 1509-1536', 1.
[4] Parker, 'John Calvin: a biography', 17.
[5] *Ibid.,* 18.
[6] Bouwsma, 'John Calvin: A Sixteenth-century Portrait', 22-23.
[7] Gordon, 'The Oxford Handbook of Calvin and Calvinism', 1.
[8] *Ibid.,* 1.
[9] Grew, 'Martin Luther and Music', 70-72.

vastly different and often opposing views, remained as significant influences within Protestantism.

There is no definitive date recorded for Calvin's conversion from Roman Catholicism to Protestantism; it appears however, that this conversion happened before 1536, when Calvin would have been 27. We are also aware that Calvin was still a practising Roman Catholic at the age of 14 as he began his studies in Paris for the priesthood in 1523.[10] This is an example of a shared experience between Calvin and Luther; both theologians were born into Catholicism, trained as priests within the Catholic church and later converted to Protestantism. Calvin studied law for a total of five years until 1533[11] and attended two universities, Orleans and Bourges.[12] It was during these years studying Law that Calvin was exposed to evangelical and Protestant thinking.[13]

Geneva, where Calvin spent much of his life, was an independent, self-governing city during the sixteenth century, when this was far from the norm.[14] As a self-governing city, Geneva had the ability to administer its own affairs, free from a head of state whose religious beliefs would have affected the general populus. Geneva in 1541 was home to around 10,000 people;[15] after four years of Calvin's employment as the head pastor and teacher the population of Geneva

[10] Gordon, 'The Oxford Handbook of Calvin and Calvinism', 110.
[11]Bouwsma, 'John Calvin: A Sixteenth-century Portrait', 10.
[12] Zachman, 'John Calvin', In: *Christian Theologies of Scripture: A Comparative Introduction,* 114.
[13] Bouwsma, 'John Calvin: A Sixteenth-century Portrait', 10.
[14] Sallmann, M, Hirzel M E, 'John Calvin's Impact on Church and Society, 1509-2009', 2.
[15] Selderhuis, 'Calvin, 1509-2009', in: Calvin and His Influence, 1509-2009, 144-146, 152.

had increased by 20 percent to 12,000.[16] By 1560, almost 20 years after Calvin's permanent move to Geneva, the population had more than doubled to 21,000.[17] It could be surmised from these statistics that Calvin was popular in his teachings and that many moved in order to be in Calvin's congregation; however, it is possible that the influx of residents in Geneva is related to its independence. Geneva would have allowed its residents to have religious freedom from the Roman Catholic church and perhaps was a refuge for those being accused of treason. Both may have been true; it is clear that the religious freedom provided by Geneva coupled with the ever-growing Calvinist Church was appealing and influenced many to move.

The result of Calvin's work in the church, however, did result in him not only becoming a well-known theologian, but also becoming a bourgeois of Geneva in 1559.[18] Despite this and having spent the majority of his adult life residing in Geneva, Calvin still viewed himself as first and foremost a Frenchman,[19] perhaps providing a reason for the Huguenot's identification with and love of Calvin's psalms. Calvin's metrical psalms in the vernacular became a political statement for the Huguenots sung throughout the streets of France and before the executions of Huguenots for heresy.[20] The Huguenots showed their support for Calvinism by singing the metrical psalms in the vernacular and were determined to continue this support, for some of

[16] *Ibid.,* 152.

[17] *Ibid.,* 152.

[18] Sallmann, M, Hirzel M E, 'John Calvin's Impact on Church and Society, 1509-2009', 4.
[19] *Ibid.,* 4.
[20] Simut, '"John Calvin and the Complete French Psalter," Hymns and Hymnody, Volume 2: From Catholic Europe to Protestant Europe', 50.

them, until the moment they died. The connection between the Huguenots and Calvin's metrical psalms will be discussed later in this chapter.

The distinct split of opinion on Calvin lasted long after his death and continues to influence academic writings more than 400 years after his death. Cases of literature which discuss both Luther and Calvin almost exclusively hold some disdain towards Calvin: for example, Barber's 'Luther and Calvin on Music and Worship',[21] which has been utilised extensively in this project can be seen to have a favourable bias towards Luther. This is understandable after reading Calvin's work, which at times can read as unnecessarily harsh and strict, in addition to the way in which he would "dispatch all that disagreed with him".[22] While Luther is seemingly beloved by these authors, it is Calvin who had a greater influence on France and the Huguenots. Some may write unfavourably towards Calvin unknowingly, as there is hypocrisy in Calvin being both being a self-proclaimed man of the people and an active member of the bourgeois in Geneva as Head Pastor and in his role within the general council.

Calvin infrequently put himself in his writing; instead, he utilised the Bible as a medium to speak through and was thus objective in his writings: this aligns with the Regulative Principle of ensuring that there should be no distractions from the message of worship and the Gospel. Further proof of Calvin maintaining the Regulative Principle regarding himself can be seen in his

[21] Barber, 'Luther and Calvin on Music and Worship', 1-16.

[22] Gordon, 'The Oxford Handbook of Calvin and Calvinism', 4.

death. Calvin made a conscious decision to not have his grave known,[23] most likely to avoid idolatry, which he despised, from his followers. Even in death both of these theologians still exemplify the principles ascribed to them in this project, contrasting Calvin's burial to Luther's: Luther is buried in the Schlosskirche in Wittenburg, the same church where his 95 theses were posted, where there is a plaque dedicated to Luther. While a simple plaque at Luther's burial place in the church that hosted a pivotal moment in his life may seem tasteful and understated may have encouraged some idolatry from his followers. Calvin's adamant decision to have an unknown grave purposely discouraged his followers from idolising him in his burial place, exemplifying the Regulative Principle.

Calvin also did not approve of the use of images in worship as well as any works of art, including paintings and statues, of a religious nature, believing that by representing any aspect of God as a visible being would ultimately be defacement, as the human eyes cannot comprehend the majesty that would be God.[24] Here Calvin provides us with another example of exemplifying the Regulative Principle, stripping worship to the core elements allowing Calvinists to focus entirely on the word of God and the message of worship. In addition to providing us with an example of the Regulative Principle, this Calvinist belief of excluding art from worship contradicts the Lutheran belief that both should co-exist, resulting in the creation and publication of the Wittenburg Hymnbook. The effects of this Calvinistic belief can be seen more in Switzerland,

[23] *Ibid.,* 4.
[24] Barber, 'Luther and Calvin on Music and Worship', 7.

the Netherlands and France[25] as this is where Calvin had a larger influence than the Lutheran movement. Calvin's approach to art meant that the churches and places of worship used by the Calvinists and Huguenots would not have been adorned with art and instead worship would take place in bare churches, limiting distractions for the congregation.

It is clear that Calvin's intention was to discard those acts he viewed as distractions or unnecessary that appeared in both Roman Catholic and Lutheran services, for worship to exist in a simple form. Calvin insisted that the congregation should have minimal distractions during worship in order to not take away or distract from the message of the service, the word of God, the focal point of the worship. In the same strain, Calvin believed and aimed for worship to be simplified and to extricate the acts that 'the prophet enjoyed only upon those of his own time';[26] this included the use of musical instruments. Calvin's desire for liturgical music to exist in its most simple form with no distractions, including the prohibition of musical instruments, exemplifies the strict, unyielding ecclesiastical approach religion known as the Regulative Principle.

This is the Calvinist belief that people on earth are incapable of knowing what actions in worship would please God and most attempts made to please God in worship were a foolish endeavour. In this particular quote 'the prophet enjoyed only upon those of his own time'[27]

[25] *Ibid.,* 7.

[26] *Ibid.,* 7.

[27] *Ibid.,* 7.

Calvin is addressing musical instruments such as the harp, tabret and psaltery being used in services; Calvin insisted that all should follow the meaning of the word of God and should not make assumptions as to what would please God. To base decisions regarding worship on what had pleased prophets mentioned in the Bible, Calvin believed to be an unwise and inane choice.[28] Calvin's disdain for the anticipation and assumption of what would please God can be seen in the commentary that accompanied the Book of Psalms.

This next section of this chapter will detail the Calvinist views on liturgical music; the views that Calvin held would influence the Protestant community throughout Europe well past the Reformation. Before delving into the specific Calvinist views on music and its place in the liturgy, one must have an understanding of those who influenced Calvin himself. The most noticeable and arguably famous influence on Calvin was Luther. There are many similarities to be found in their teachings, as well as sharing the influence of prominent philosophers: Plato[29] and Aristotle respectively.[30] In addition to this, notable influences on Calvin and his attitudes towards music were the Church Fathers, including Pope Gregory I (responsible for the spread and uniformity of Gregorian Chant), as well as the Musical Humanists.[31] Musical Humanists believed that music moved and influenced the soul; this influence could have either be positive or negative. In addition to this the Musical Humanists believed that music could have

[28] *Ibid.,* 7, 14.

[29] Clive, 'The Calvinist attitude to Music and its literary aspects and sources', 86.

[30] Schwarz, 'Martin Luther and music', 211.

[31] Clive, 'The Calvinist attitude to Music and its literary aspects and sources', 87.

therapeutic and even miraculous effects on the human soul.[32] Calvin, whilst influenced by the Musical Humanists, rejected the belief that music could have miraculous effects on the soul as this would diminish God's omnipotence.[33] Calvin embraced the belief that the power of music can have both positive and negative influence on the human soul,[34] providing us with a possible reason for his strict selection of Calvinist approved songs and liturgical music. The main themes that can be seen from both the Church Fathers and the Musical Humanists that have influenced Calvin include: modern music is seen as immoral and corrupt, music should be used to worship and give praise to God, music is natural and should play a part in education.[35]

Calvin concurred with the Lutheran teaching that the congregations should actively participate in worship; an ideal way to include the congregation in worship is through the medium of music. When one is in worship, it is the Calvinist belief, that they are standing before God and therefore cannot and should not be idle as worship begins in the heart of the worshipper that is connected to the mouth.[36] It appears to have been a logical idea for Calvin to involve the congregation, therefore fulfilling the requirement for all worshipers to engage the heart by the use of their mouths with congregational singing. Building on this point Simut writes that Calvinist followers must come together for worship in places designated as temples and that the idea of individual worship is not true worship. Relating this idea to music within the context

[32] *Ibid.,* 87.
[33] *Ibid.,* 86-7.
[34] *Ibid.,* 86-7.
[35] *Ibid.,* 91.
[36] Simut, '"John Calvin and the Complete French Psalter," Hymns and Hymnody, Volume 2: From Catholic Europe to Protestant Europe', 54-5.

of the church shows us that Calvin would not have approved of the idea of soloists performing in worship and the only correct and true way of worship is for participation from all those attending the service. We can see common traits emerging in the Calvinist teachings, not only does the congregation participation limit any distractions, thus exemplifying the Regulative Principle, Calvin's use of Calvinist Monody brings the congregation together into worship, out ruling passive worship. This has provided us with an example of Calvin's belief that music should be integrated and used in worship as well as the clear influence of Luther, the Church Fathers, and the Musical Humanists.

In line with Calvin's stance on other aspects of how worship should be conducted, he was also strongly opposed to the use of musical instruments in congregational worship. He believed the addition of musical instruments in congregational worship was unnecessary and foolish:[37] despite the prophet enjoying the playing of musical instruments, that did not mean, for Calvin, that musical instruments should be included in congregational worship.[38] This belief bolsters Calvin's Regulative Principle, stripping the distractions and perhaps indulgent acts from worship in order to leave a simpler form of worship. Calvin's commentary which accompanied the publication of the 'Book of Psalms' provides us with his clear and arguably callous attitude towards the inclusion of musical instruments in worship services. It is in this commentary that Calvin describes the people as exhibiting a 'silly delight'[39] whilst worshipping the Old

[37] *Ibid.,* 7-14.

[38] *Ibid.,* 7-14.

[39] *Ibid.,* 8.

Testament. Calvin believed that the use of the Old Testament for worship was simply figurative and made redundant once Christ had appeared the church had now become it's 'full age'.[40]

Calvin did not approve and strongly opposed the use of polyphony[41] that was standard and expected in Roman Catholic church services, once again due to its distracting nature[42] resulting in polyphony meeting the same fate as organ accompaniment and the use of additional instruments in Calvinist worship. From Calvin's desire for unostentatious liturgical music, we can hazard that Calvin would not be in favour of any embellishments or changes to his approved compositions and would instead insist on the unadorned and simple music that he clearly had a predilection for. The measures that Calvin took in order to provide the Calvinist churches with alternative appropriate and Calvin approved liturgical music can be seen with the publication of the Genevan Psalter, which will be discussed in depth in chapter 5. The addition of these instruments and additional voices that provide depth to a piece of music were viewed as merely a distraction by Calvin,[43] removing the worshipper from the true message of worship and instead indulging in the harmony provided by additional voices and instruments.

As previously stated in this chapter, Calvin's theology was based on what would please God as well as understanding the meaning of the Word of God. It is understandable with Calvin's theology present in our mind that psalms and hymns would become an integral part of worship,

[40] *Ibid.,* 8.
[41] Bellanti, 'Sing to the Lord a New Song: John Calvin and the Spiritual Discipline of Metrical Psalmody', 70.
[42] *Ibid.,* 70.
[43] *Ibid.,* 75.

as this was a medium used to spread the Word of God.[44] Calvin insisted that congregational singing should contain text that was solely found in the Bible,[45] taking, once again, his convictions a step further than Luther, who merely aimed for the hymns to reflect the words of scripture closely.[46] This is not to say that all the congregational compositions that Calvin approved of did not deviate from the Word of God. Calvin did approve of a select number of texts taken from scripture providing the 'Divine Revelation'[47] was maintained and utilised in the compositions. The Word of God was the focal point of hymns and psalms; hence the text holds greater importance than the music which acts simply as a vehicle for the Word of God. The Roman Catholic church during the sixteenth century did use psalms in their liturgy; these psalms were in Latin and sung exclusively by the clergy.[48] This strongly contradicts the Calvinist view of worship in two ways; the first is it being said in Latin, a language that is not understood or spoken by the majority of the congregation. The second is having the psalm performed by only the clergy; this exclusion of the congregation, in Calvin's view, results in a passive worship for all the congregation who make up an overwhelming majority of the people present.

Calvin's influence on Christian worship was and remains intertwined with the use and singing of psalms in worship. It is important to note that when referring to psalms within Calvinism, the

[44] Simut, '"John Calvin and the Complete French Psalter," Hymns and Hymnody, Volume 2: From Catholic Europe to Protestant Europe', 54-56.
[45] *Ibid.,* 8.

[46] *Ibid.,* 1-16.

[47] *Ibid.,* 8.

[48] Reid, 'The Battle Hymns of the Lord Calvinist Psalmody of the Sixteenth Century', 38.

majority of these are metrical psalms. It is clear to us that Calvin respected metrical psalms; these are psalms that were originally composed in Latin that have been repurposed and rewritten with the use of rhyme and metre in the vernacular, in this case, French.[49] With the addition of rhyme and metre, the metrical psalms used by Calvin were easier for amateur singers to follow due to the improved structure and metred pattern of the compositions;[50] it could be argued that these changes to original psalms were made for the sole purpose of functionality and not aesthetics. This well may have been a conscious choice made by Calvin to include a simplified and more functional version of psalms, seeing an opportunity to encourage newly converted Calvinists to participate in the Calvinist Monody. The use of metrical psalms provides us with another example of Calvin representing the Regulative Principle: this simple melody having implemented a functional use of rhythm provides no distraction from the message of worship. In addition to this, the metrical psalm compositions are unassuming, un-ornate in line with Calvinism and fulfil the requirement of a simple form of worship.

Along the same thread, it is important to remember that throughout the early ages of the Church until the Renaissance many people were illiterate and would not be able to read hymns or psalms. Therefore, the memorisation of psalms, due to this mainly illiterate population, was crucial[51] to have a full participation of the congregation. Metrical psalmody, where the Word of God has been organised with the addition of rhyme and rhythm, allows all members of the

[49] Bellanti, 'Sing to the Lord a New Song: John Calvin and the Spiritual Discipline of Metrical Psalmody', 65.
[50] *Ibid.,* 69.
[51] *Ibid.,* 69.

congregation and indeed the clergy to memorize the psalms with minimal effort and recall them with ease.

The term Calvinist Monody has been used throughout this chapter and will appear in later chapters. This term refers to the Calvinist idea of psalms being sung in worship in one part by the whole of the congregation and clergy without any accompaniment from instruments. As previously discussed, the Musical Humanists were one of Calvin's greatest influences[52] and shared a disdain of polyphony. The Musical Humanists, however, did approve of the use of a single voice accompanied by contrapuntal accompaniment and monody.[53] It is clear that Calvin's decision to advocate and actively commission monodic metrical psalms to be performed in liturgical settings was heavily influenced by the Musical Humanists as well as Luther, due to the psalms being composed in the vernacular. Eventually Calvin's opinions on psalms and his influence would result in Calvinist Psalters, including the Genevan Psalter. The Genevan Psalter and other Psalters will be discussed in depth later in this chapter.

Calvin's adamant view on what we have termed as Calvinist monody is strikingly similar to the use of Gregorian chant that once was the sole music used in the liturgy of the Roman Catholic church. While the ideas of Calvinist monody and Roman Catholic reformers who called for the reinstatement of Gregorian chant as the only music in mass are similar, due to the sole melodic

[52] Clive, 'The Calvinist attitude to Music and its literary aspects and sources', 87.

[53] *Ibid.,* 90.

line and lack of accompaniment, they should not be confused. Gregorian chant has remained in Latin, while Calvin's metrical psalms were composed in the vernacular based on Clement Marot's translations, and therefore remained accessible and comprehensible to the whole of the congregation. Furthermore, Calvin had a desire for the majority of the text used in psalms to be lifted directly from the Bible.[54] The use psalm texts lifted directly from the Bible; Calvin limits the misinterpretation of the scripture as he thought it would have been foolish to rephrase what the prophets would have said. Calvin's unyielding approach towards psalm interpretation once again exemplifying the Regulative Principle.

The use of metrical psalms in the vernacular and Calvin's legacy are so tightly intertwined, it is difficult to mention one and not the other. The use of psalms sung in the vernacular became a prominent feature of not only Calvinists residing in Geneva, but also the Huguenots in France. The vernacular psalms became a political and social statement for the Huguenots that were used to disrupt Roman Catholic services[55] or even used as a statement by condemned Huguenots before execution by the Roman Catholics on account of heresy.[56] The first account of what would become a trend of singing psalms in the vernacular moments before one's execution was in 1524 when a Protestant pastor named Jean Leclerc sang Psalm 115 before being burned at the stake.[57] This was undoubtedly a powerful statement made by Leclerc; the

[54] Bellanti, 'Sing to the Lord a New Song: John Calvin and the Spiritual Discipline of Metrical Psalmody', 71.
[55] Simut, '"John Calvin and the Complete French Psalter," Hymns and Hymnody, Volume 2: From Catholic Europe to Protestant Europe', 50-51.
[56] *Ibid.,* 50-51.
[57] *Ibid.,* 51.

reason for his execution was due to his desire for religious freedom, and this soon became a trend for the Huguenots. There is evidence of both Calvinists and Huguenots that would sing psalms whilst protesting[58] and going into battle,[59] thus psalms composed and published in the Psalters had become an acting battle cry or more aptly named battle psalm.

The two theologians that have been included in this project are from vastly different backgrounds but had an equally important influence throughout Europe in the sixteenth century and into present day. Luther, the better known and often-used name when discussing sixteenth-century theologians, provided and influenced Calvin with his writings and beliefs. However, at the time when the Huguenots began to rise, it was Calvin's influence the anti-Reformationists feared the most.

John Calvin played an integral part in the Reformation throughout Europe and had a significant and lasting influence over areas of Europe, including Geneva and France. Holding the position of Head Pastor and teacher while in Geneva, Calvin promoted the idea of a modest, un-ornate and simplified way of worship, and built on the Lutheran idea of congregational participation within worship. Calvin's theology that informed the creation of the Genevan Psalter and the use of metrical psalms in the vernacular went on to inspire the Huguenots, who would sing these psalms during their rise both while in battle and before being executed for their beliefs by being

[58] *Ibid.,* 50-51.
[59] Reid, 'The Battle Hymns of the Lord Calvinist Psalmody of the Sixteenth Century', 42.

burnt at the stake. Calvin, a leading force in the integration of metrical psalms in the vernacular, supplied the Huguenots and Calvinists with a social and political statement that was sung throughout the streets of Europe. In addition to these, Calvin's insistence on monody to further fulfil his need for a simple form of worship appealed to newly converted Protestants and brought more people into Calvinism. Calvin's influence and effect on the European Reformation and even spanning into modern day cannot and should not be understated or neglected.

Chapter 5 – The Genevan Psalter and Psalm XIX

This chapter will explore the 1562 Calvinist psalter publication referred to in this project as the Genevan Psalter. The Genevan Psalter would prove to be a highly influential publication favoured by the Huguenots as previously discussed in Chapter 2. In addition to the exploration of the Genevan Psalter, this chapter provides research into the four contributors, Clément Marot, Théodore de Bèze, Loys Bourgeois and Guillaume Franc, who are often neglected in academic writings on this topic. Whilst in the research stage of this project, certain roadblocks have appeared; notably, the availability of academic writing regarding Théodore de Bèze. In comparison to Loys Bourgeois there is strikingly little published academic writing regarding both Bèze's personal and professional life. This will be discussed further later on in this chapter. The aim of this chapter is to show the influence of the Genevan Psalter, as well as demonstrate Calvin's dedication to the production and accessibility of metrical psalms written in the vernacular.

This chapter will demonstrate how Calvin's teachings and expectations for the use of liturgical music and music used within worship were exemplified within the contents of the Genevan Psalter. Psalm XIX, taken from the Genevan Psalter will be studied at the end of this chapter, allowing for an example of Calvin's liturgical music. The influence of the Genevan Psalter on the

Huguenots cannot be overstated, with the singing of metrical psalms in the vernacular becoming an identifying characteristic during protests and even executions.[1]

The Genevan Psalter

It should be noted that in some literature the Genevan Psalter is often referenced to as the Huguenot Psalter or the French Psalter;[2] I believe this to be an inaccurate way of naming this psalter as these terms are also used for the psalter editions that had been published previously to the Genevan Psalter. In order to avoid any confusion in this thesis the psalter published in 1562 will be referred to exclusively as the Genevan Psalter.

The completion and publication of the Genevan Psalter was a protracted process that eventually published in 1562[3] under its official title of 'Les pseaumes mis en rime françoise par Clément Marot et Théodore de Bèze';[4] the direct English translation of this is 'The psalms set in French rhyme by Clément Marot and Théodore de Bèze'. The Genevan Psalter consists of 126 melodies that were composed to accompany the 150 Biblical psalms that had become metrical in nature and had been translated into the vernacular.[5] In addition to this the Song of Simeon and the Ten Commandments were included in a musical setting.[6] It is our understanding that the Genevan Psalter was a publication to aid and provide Protestant and Calvinist

[1] Simut, '"John Calvin and the Complete French Psalter," Hymns and Hymnody, Volume 2: From Catholic Europe to Protestant Europe', 50.
[2] Wursten, 'Clément Marot and Religion: A Re-assessment in the Light of his Psalm Paraphrases', refers to the Genevan Psalter as the Huguenot Psalter. This can be seen thoughout this publication.
[3] Schuler, 'The history of the Genevan Psalter', 1.
[4] Slenk, 'Christophe Plantin and the Genevan Psalter', 230.
[5] Owens, 'The History of the Genevan Psalter', 2.
[6] Maag, '"No Better Songs": John Calvin and the Genevan Psalter in the Sixteenth Century and Today', 28.

denominations with metrical psalms in the vernacular that could be sung in worship. The Genevan Psalter can be likened to Luther's Wittenburg hymnbook, only in the respect that both publications provide the congregations with music that was deemed appropriate to be used in services and approved by their leader.

The original publication of the Genevan Psalter was to be published by a consortium of printers, which was clearly needed as 30,000[7] copies were printed, a staggering number when considering that the average number for a typical print run was anywhere from 500 to 1,000 copies.[8] This statistic alone is enough to show the significance and popularity of the Genevan Psalter, as well as demonstrating the inevitable influence that this publication would go on to have across Europe.

It is clear that the Genevan Psalter was an eminently successful publication in its own right; the influence of this publication would inspire several works throughout the ages. Claude Goudimel, a French composer, composed a four-part harmony of the Genevan Psalter published in 1565, three years after the original publication of the Genevan Psalter.[9] By creation of this composition Goudimel was simultaneously going against the Calvinist belief of exclusive monody and the Roman Catholic belief that psalms should remain being sung in Latin

[7] *Ibid.,* 28.
[8] *Ibid.,* 28-29.
[9] Woodward, 'The Genevan Psalter of 1562; Set in Four-Part Harmony by Claude Goudimel, in 1565', 167.

and therefore provided a new genre that both the Huguenots and the Roman Catholic Church would have grievance with.

Whilst Calvin did not contribute any versifications or melodies to the 1562 Genevan Psalter, he enlisted the help of Clément Marot and Théodore de Bèze as versifiers and the composers Loys Bourgeois and Guillaume Franc as well as a man known only as 'a certain master Pierre' (hereafter referred to as Pierre) to adapt and compose melodies for this publication.[10] It is possible that Calvin recognised his own versifications as amateur and therefore, for a publication that held such importance, such as the Genevan Psalter, Calvin opted to only include the work of professional poets. Marot and Bèze were the sole poets tasked with creating poetic translations of the 152 Latin psalms, including the Nunc dimittis and the Decalogue.[11] Both composers adapted pre-existing melodies including early catholic hymns and simplified Gregorian Chant.[12]

Moving onto the contents of the Genevan Psalter, the modes of the 125 melodies that appear in the publication are split into four sections. The largest section is the Lydian and Ionian modes; 56 melodies were composed in these modes.[13] Perhaps a reason for the majority of psalm melodies falling in this section is that they are almost the modern major scale in addition

[10] Maag, '"No Better Songs": John Calvin and the Genevan Psalter in the Sixteenth Century and Today', 29.
[11] Pratt, 'The Importance of the Early French Psalter', 26.
[12] Maag, '"No Better Songs": John Calvin and the Genevan Psalter in the Sixteenth Century and Today', 29.
[13] Woodward, 'The Genevan Psalter of 1562; Set in Four-Part Harmony by Claude Goudimel, in 1565', 175.

to Ionian being one of the simpler modes to sing.[14] The section with the second-most number of compositions is the Dorian and Hypo-Dorian modes with 31; this is not a surprising revelation as the Dorian mode is also a simple mode to sing,[15] especially for novice singers. The remaining sections are as follows: 19 psalms were composed in the Mixolydian and Hypo-Mixolydian modes; 11 were composed in the Phrygian and Hypo-Phrygian modes and 8 psalms were composed in the Aeolian and Hypo-Aeolian modes.[16] In addition to this Marot's and Bèze's versifications of the psalms supplied the composers with various and specifically chosen measures, with strophe and antistrophe[17] giving the impression of antiphonal texture. The metres and rhythms determined by the versifications of the psalms undoubtedly inspired the Bourgeois, Franc and Pierre compositions or adaptations of the psalm melodies.[18]

There is clear evidence that Calvin intended the psalms in the Genevan Psalter to be easy for the congregation to sing; a compelling piece of evidence of this is that the Genevan Psalter consists of 126 melodies that were composed to accompany the 150 Biblical psalms[19] meaning some psalms are to be sung to the same melody. For example, psalms 5 and 65 should be sung

[14] St-Onge, 'Music, Worship and Martin Luther', 3.

[15] *Ibid.,* 3.

[16] Woodward, 'The Genevan Psalter of 1562; Set in Four-Part Harmony by Claude Goudimel, in 1565', 172 –175.

[17] *Ibid.,* 175.

[18] *Ibid.,* 171.

[19] Owens, 'The History of the Genevan Psalter', 2.

to the same tune another example can be seen with psalms 24, 62, 95 and 111, which all can be sung to the same melody.[20]

Contributors

This section of this chapter will be focused on the contributors of the Genevan Psalter; Clément Marot, Théodore de Bèze, Loys Bourgeois and Guillaume Franc and will detail important information of their personal lives, professional careers and relevant works. It is necessary in this project to explore the aforementioned aspects of the contributors' lives to allow us to build a clear understanding of the knowledge and expertise required for this role. Additionally, we can appreciate and gain an understanding of the work that was needed to produce the Genevan Psalter, which for many of the contributors appeared to be a crowning achievement.

Clément Marot

The eldest of the contributors, Clément Marot (1496-1554) was a French poet known most widely for his French psalm versifications and has been recognised as the leading French poet of his time.[21] Marot would utilise his French psalm versifications and skills as a poet and ultimately become a contributor to the Genevan Psalter. Born in Cahor-en-Quercy,[22] located in the western part of Southern France, Marot had a comfortable upbringing as the son of a poet. Marot could be considered a privileged witness or perhaps was shown to have immunity, due

[20] Woodward, 'The Genevan Psalter of 1562; Set in Four-Part Harmony by Claude Goudimel, in 1565', 170, 177.
[21] Pratt, 'The Importance of the Early French Psalter', 26.
[22] Morley, 'Clement Marot and Other Studies,' 1.

to his status as a well-known poet, Marot participated in the Protestant traditions[23] all whilst escaping the pyre.[24] It is through the lens of this privilege that we see how Marot escaped execution and any repercussions for his publications of metrical psalm versifications and contributing to the psalter in collaboration with Calvin. In addition to this Marot was thrice accused of being a Lutheran and each time he remained unscathed by the law or any consequences. Marot's escape from the pyre is most likely due to his connection with the court, being a favourite of both King François I[er] and his sister Marguerite d'Alençon[25]. Many were not so lucky as Marot, for example, Claude Goudimel a French composer responsible for the composition and publication of the polyphonic edition of the 1562 Genevan Psalter in four parts was martyred in the St. Bartholemew day massacre, as discussed in the second chapter of this project.

Some may argue that the versifications of Latin psalms into metrical psalms written in the vernacular, of which Marot had written and published plenty, is a more serious offence against the Roman Catholic church than utilising those same versifications in polyphony. Polyphony was still being used in the Roman Catholic church at this time, performed by professional musicians and the clergy; it would have been logical for Goudimel's work to be viewed as less of an

[23] Screech, 'Clément Marot, a Renaissance Poet Discovers the Gospel: Lutheranism, Fabrism and Calvinism in the Royal Courts of France and of Navarre and in the Ducal Court of Ferrara', 1-2.
[24] Wursten, 'Clément Marot and Religion: A Re-assessment in the Light of his Psalm Paraphrases', 1.
[25] Pratt, 'The Importance of the Early French Psalter', 26.

offence as it uses the truly Protestant composition and reintegrated a part of the Catholic tradition back into the psalms with the use of polyphony.

Marot was as poet of the French court during François I's reign (1494-1547) and held the position of the 'valet de chambre du Roi' (valet of the King);[26] we can gather from Marot's writings that he was grateful for his employment within the court. With Marot's gratitude to the Court in mind we can establish that Marot's Protestant views and acts were not fuelled by rebellion or resentment towards the Crown and the Court. Scollen-Jimack posed the question of whether Marot during his lifetime was either a Protestant humanist or a court jester; the poet's main role within the court is to entertain those within the court. The jester and the poet within the court have strikingly similar responsibilities; to think that the poet would be more well-respected by the people of the court or perhaps adorned with finer clothes would be foolish. By the sixteenth century jesters or fools were cared for and clothed well; the only markable difference between the court jester and the court poet is the court jester was routinely expected to endure practical jokes and at times physical violence oft disguised as a practical joke. One is reminded of Caillette, a fool of Louis XII, whose ear was nailed to a post by some pages of the court.[27]

Marot's poems written for the court were often humorous in nature, typically taking a satirical or parodic stance of the more serious themes of poetry such as love, of which the King's poetry

[26] Scollen-Jimack, 'Clément Marot: Protestant Humanist or Court Jester?', 137.
[27] *Ibid.,* 139-140.

typically consisted. Scollen-Jimack writes that Marot's lighter satirical approach to poetry provides the people of the court of with comedic relief and acted as jocose counterpart to the King's poems based on his time spent imprisoned in Spain and the theme of love.[28] The versification of Latin psalms appears to be a significant departure from Marot's typical work within the court. In 1533 almost a year before his death, Marot began what could be argued as his most famous works – the translation of Latin psalms into verse.[29] Whilst translating psalms proved to be a new venture, Marot did have previous experience from translating Latin, Greek and Italian poems into the vernacular.[30] The leap from translating Latin psalms into verse appeared to not be a taxing task for Marot and coincidentally appealed to the people of the court, as these translations provided 'novel dignity' and were a clear diversion from Marot's typical satirical and humorous poems.

Despite Marot's experiments with psalm translations being well received, they were not officially published until almost a decade later.[31] However, versions of Marot's translations surfaced in Strasbourg in 1539 having been published with accompanying music.[32] The official publication of Marot's psalm translations was published in 1542, two years before his death in 1544. This publication consisted of 30 psalms and received commendations from King François I[er] and Emperor Charles V;[33] sadly, these commendations where no use as Marot had translated

[28] *Ibid.,* 140.
[29] Pratt, 'The Importance of the Early French Psalter', 26.
[30] *Ibid.,* 26.
[31] *Ibid.,* 26.
[32] *Ibid.,* 26.
[33] *Ibid.,* 26.

scripture into the vernacular and received an indictment for doing so.[34] Marot fled to Geneva to escape this indictment, where he met Calvin who asked Marot to produce 51 psalm translations that would be used in Calvin's psalter publications.[35]

It appears for Marot to have been spared from the pyre, it is likely that he was a favourite of the court and received political immunity. However, this would have had no effect on the people of France; it is simple luck that Marot did not meet the same fate as Goudimel during the St. Bartholomew day massacre. Marot died in 1544, making his psalm translations one of his last and most famous works, having influence over many countries. Sadly, Marot did not live to see the publication of the 1562 Genevan Psalter, where his contribution was sizable or see the influence of effect that this publication had on the Huguenots.

Théodore de Bèze

Following on from Clément Marot, the next contributor to the Genevan Psalter who will be discussed in this chapter is Théodore de Bèze (1519-1605). Bèze, second poet who contributed psalm translations to the Genevan Psalter, was appointed by Calvin as Marot's successor after his untimely death[36] in 1544. Whilst researching the contributors of the Genevan Psalter for this project, there was a lack of academic writing on Théodore de Bèze compared to other

[34] *Ibid.,* 26-27.
[35] *Ibid.,* 26.
[36] *Ibid.,* 26

contributors such as Marot and Bourgeois. Despite this, there is some information regarding his education and his psalm translations. In 1521 at the age of 3 Bèze's education became the responsibility of his uncle, Nicole de Bèze. At his uncle's behest Bèze was sent to Paris to commence his education. It was during his time in Paris that Bèze began his studies in a multitude of subjects including; law, Greek, Latin and Hebrew.[37] The latter three of these subjects would prove to be useful for his poetic translations later in life.

After Marot's death, Calvin was in search of a new poet that could continue the work of the respected poet. In 1551, seven years after Marot's death, Bèze would continue the work left by his predecessor; the majority of the translations for the Genevan Psalter were completed during a three-year span between 1551 and 1554.[38]

There are similarities to be found between both Marot and Bèze upbringings and childhoods, both being from families that had more nobility than most but were not considered royalty by any stretch. However, their reputations and legacies are vastly different; Bèze, for example, did not gain the same recognition for his poems as Marot. In addition to this Bèze did not possess the same gift for poetry that appeared to have come naturally for Marot, and it was this gift and poetic genius that was held in high regard of the court.[39] On the other hand, Bèze's education enabled the poet to have a scholarly and more academic approach to the remaining

[37] *Ibid.,* 26-27.
[38] *Ibid.,* 27.
[39] Genton, '"Chapter 4 Théodore de Bèze and Geneva". In *A Companion to the Reformation in Geneva',* 95.

psalm translations that he had been tasked with completing for the publication of the Genevan Psalter.

Whilst Marot and Bèze had different styles of poetic writing, Bèze adhered to the plan, style and method that had been laid out by Marot before his death.[40] It is entirely likely that if Marot had not died before the completion of the Genevan Psalter, Calvin would not have enlisted the help of Bèze and consequently the Genevan Psalter would have had Marot as its sole poet. Due to the publication of the Genevan Psalter, the name of Bèze gained popularity, this coupled with the death of Calvin in 1564, two years after the publication of the Genevan Psalter, resulted in Bèze becoming a natural and default leader of the Huguenots.[41]

Loys Bourgeois

Loys Bourgeois, the chief Psalm composer for the Geneva played an integral and crucial role in the completion and publication of the Genevan Psalter.[42] There is no information available regarding Bourgeois' early life and no recorded date of birth; some however estimate his birth around 1510. The first written record of Bourgeois as a composer appears in a publication of three chansons composed for four voices, published by Moderne in Lyons in 1539.[43]

[40] *Ibid.,* 95.
[41] Pratt, 'The Importance of the Early French Psalter', 27.
[42] Maag, '"No Better Songs": John Calvin and the Genevan Psalter in the Sixteenth Century and Today', 29.
[43] Dobbins, 'Bourgeois [Bourgeoy, Bourgeoys, Bourgoys, Bourjois], Loys'.

One would think that Geneva, being the only self-governing city in Europe, would have showed some form of laxity towards changes being made to psalms, given that the Genevan government approved of Calvin's plans for metrical psalms being composed in the vernacular. This, however, was not the case. Bourgeois was imprisoned for one night in December 1551 for making small changes to the printed melody of the Psalms of David that appeared in the third psalter publication in 1551.[44] The changes that Bourgeois made to the published melody lines were corrections to the errors that had been made by the printers; nevertheless, the Genevan government were adamantly opposed to the changes to the Psalms of David. The Genevan government held the opinion that only the old melodies should be sung due to congregations that had learnt the misprints and were expectant of the original version.[45] Calvin did come to Bourgeois' defence, stating that only corrections had been made after errors occurred while in the hands of the printers; this proved to be a futile effort as Bourgeois was imprisoned for the night.[46] It is possible that the council showed leniency towards Bourgeois due to his relationship with Calvin, resulting in a short sentence and no further charges against Bourgeois. A year after his incarceration, in July 1552, the Genevan council received a warning from a minster residing in Lausanne that not only his congregation but his whole town would not accept the changes made by Bourgeois to the well-known and familiar psalms by Marot.[47] Despite this controversy

[44] Maag, '"No Better Songs": John Calvin and the Genevan Psalter in the Sixteenth Century and Today', 31.
[45] *Ibid.,* 29.
[46] *Ibid.,* 29.
[47] Dobbins, 'Bourgeois [Bourgeoy, Bourgeoys, Bourgoys, Bourjois], Loys'.

and the clear disdain shown towards Bourgeois, Calvin still entrusted the task of composing new melodies and altering pre-existing melodies for the Genevan Psalter to Bourgeois.

The first record that is available to us regarding Bourgeois as a professional musician being paid to perform music duties is a record from the Genevan council dated 14th July 1545. This record states that Bourgeois was paid a sum of 60 florins annually in the role of a singer performing the new psalms, in addition to teaching the choristers at St. Pierre the Genevan cathedral.[48] This is sadly all the information available to us regarding this employment of Bourgeois; we can infer that it was probable that Bourgeois was performing his own compositions of the metrical psalms in the vernacular for the majority of the time. We cannot know if Bourgeois performed his psalm composition for the entirety of his employment at the Genevan cathedral. We are aware of the fact that Bourgeois made changes and alterations to Marot's and Bèze's psalms compositions and may have utilised these compositions during his employment.

Bourgeois is known predominantly for his contribution to the Genevan Psalter and his compositions of monophonic metrical psalms in the French vernacular. In addition to this Bourgeois also composed chansons, the early compositions which echoed the styles of both Claudin de Sermisy and Clément Janequin[49] in addition to dabbling in polyphonic compositions.

[48] Maag, '"No Better Songs": John Calvin and the Genevan Psalter in the Sixteenth Century and Today', 30.
[49] Dobbins, 'Bourgeois [Bourgeoy, Bourgeoys, Bourgoys, Bourjois], Loys'.

Examples of this polyphonic works can be seen in Bourgeois' setting of Marot's psalms for four voices that was published in Lyons by the Beringen brothers in 1547.[50]

Although Bourgeois worked alongside Calvin on a number of publications, they did not always work amicably. An example of this disjointed relationship can be seen in their respective attitudes towards instrumental music. As discussed in chapter 4, Calvin possessed the strong belief that instrumental music had no place in worship[51] due to its distracting nature; this sentiment was not shared by Bourgeois. Bourgeois insisted that his psalm collections written 'á voix de contrepoinct égal consonante au verbe', a four-voice psalm setting published in 1547 as well as his 'Quatre-vingt-trois psaulmes de David' published in Paris in 1561 were very suited for the use of instrumental accompaniment.[52] The publications mentioned here also provide us what we will term as the Compromised Homophony that became the middle ground between the professional Roman Catholic polyphony and the congregational Calvinist Monody.

Guillaume Franc

Similarly, to Bourgeois, there is no information regarding Guillaume Franc's birth and youth additionally, there is a scarcity of academic writing regarding Franc's working life, with the exception of his involvement within the Genevan Psalter. However, there is a small window of information regrarding Franc's professional life from 1542 to 1545 that has been found. The

[50] Dobbins, 'Bourgeois [Bourgeoy, Bourgeoys, Bourgoys, Bourjois], Loys'.
[51] Barber, 'Luther and Calvin on Music and Worship', 12.
[52] *Ibid.,* 12-13.

first key information available to us regarding Franc's career is he that worked as a cantor in the church of St. Peter's in Geneva;[53] the dates for this however, elude us.

Franc is the first recorded musician to have been employed to teach the children of Geneva the new metrical psalms in the vernacular.[54] This record from June 1542 lists Franc role as teaching the children how to sing the Psalms of David in church; we also know that this was not a voluntary position as Franc was paid by the city of Geneva for this service.[55] Franc's appointment to teach the children of Geneva the new metrical psalms shows that he was a reliable and proficient musician to be entrusted with educating the younger generations in church music as well as being responsible for the quality of future Geneva's liturgical music. In addition to this we know that Franc was a key contributor to the Genevan Psalter as well as likely being the editor of the 1542 psalter publication.[56] Franc's work can be seen in the melodic compositions of the metrical psalms 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 13, 14, 19, 22, 24, 38 and 115.[57]

As previously stated in this chapter Franc held the same position as Bourgeois in the role of a singer performing the new psalms and teaching the choristers at St. Pierre from 1543 to 1544.[58]

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[53] Josselyn-Cranson, 'Gaining a New Appreciation for Calvin and Music: The Past, Present, and Future of the Genevan Psalm Tune', 23.
[54] Maag, '"No Better Songs": John Calvin and the Genevan Psalter in the Sixteenth Century and Today', 29-30.
[55] *Ibid.,* 30.
[56] Josselyn-Cranson, 'Gaining a New Appreciation for Calvin and Music: The Past, Present, and Future of the Genevan Psalm Tune', 23.
[57] *Ibid.,* 23-24.
[58] Maag, '"No Better Songs": John Calvin and the Genevan Psalter in the Sixteenth Century and Today', 30.

From this information we can build a short timeline of Franc's career; from collaborating with Calvin on the 1542 psalter publication, working as a teacher to train the youth of Geneva in psalm singing as well as editing the 1542 psalter publication in the same year. In 1545, Franc left Geneva, as well as his position within the church; the reasons for this move remain unclear. It is possible that the workload had proved to become too overwhelming; possible supporting evidence for this can be seen by the appointment of two men to take over Franc's responsibilities and role, Guillame Fabri and Loys Bourgeois.[59] However, regardless of employing an additional musician in a possible effort to lighten the workload, this arrangement did not last long due to Fabri's choir not performing at a satisfactory standard and as a result of this Bourgeois took over Fabri's duties.[60] From these records we can see that this was an extremely important and possibly taxing job responsible for the training of the children that provide the leading voices for the congregation in the singing of the new psalms. Training the choristers and choir of a church that were learning new hymns would have been a large undertaking, it fell to Franc to ensure that the choir were proficient in their hymns and psalms could lead a possibly unmusical or challenging congregation. We can gather from Franc's employment throughout this period that Franc was a respected professional musician, teacher and composer, and it is these attributes that inevitably appealed to Calvin when recruiting Franc as a contributor to the Genevan Psalter.

[59] *Ibid.,* 29.
[60] *Ibid.,* 29-30.

Contents of the Genevan Psalter

The Genevan Psalter was the culmination of Calvin's ideology regarding psalm singing and provides us with an example of how Calvin instructed psalms and other compositions to be used within worship. The Genevan Psalter provided the Protestant congregations with 152 psalm translations in the vernacular, including the Nunc dimittis and the Decalogue,[61] intended to be used during worship. The psalter consisted of 150 psalm translations in the vernacular written by Marot and Bèze that could be used with the 125 psalm tunes composed by Franc and Bourgeois.[62] In line with Calvinist teachings, all metrical psalms have been written in the vernacular and consist of one melody line, allowing the congregation to sing as one, resulting in an increased understanding and comprehension of the worship in which the congregation were participating.

In order for us to gain an understanding of the psalms in the Genevan Psalter and what they would have sounded in accordance with Calvin's instructions, we will analyse Psalm XIX as an example. This psalm comes from an early edition of the Genevan Psalter, and therefore, is the most accurate version of Calvinist psalms available. Before delving into the musical elements in this psalm, it is important to remind ourselves of the Calvinist teachings regarding music. Calvin wished for metrical psalms sung in the vernacular, enabling the congregation to better understand the worship in which they were participating. In addition to this Calvin advocated

[61] Pratt, 'The Importance of the Early French Psalter', 26.
[62] Bellanti, 'Sing to the Lord a New Song: John Calvin and the Spiritual Discipline of Metrical Psalmody', 75.

for whole congregation singing, rather than the church choir exclusively singing, allowing the congregation to actively participate in worship. For ease of navigation this analysis has been divided into three sections: rhythm, pitch and melody and rhyming scheme.

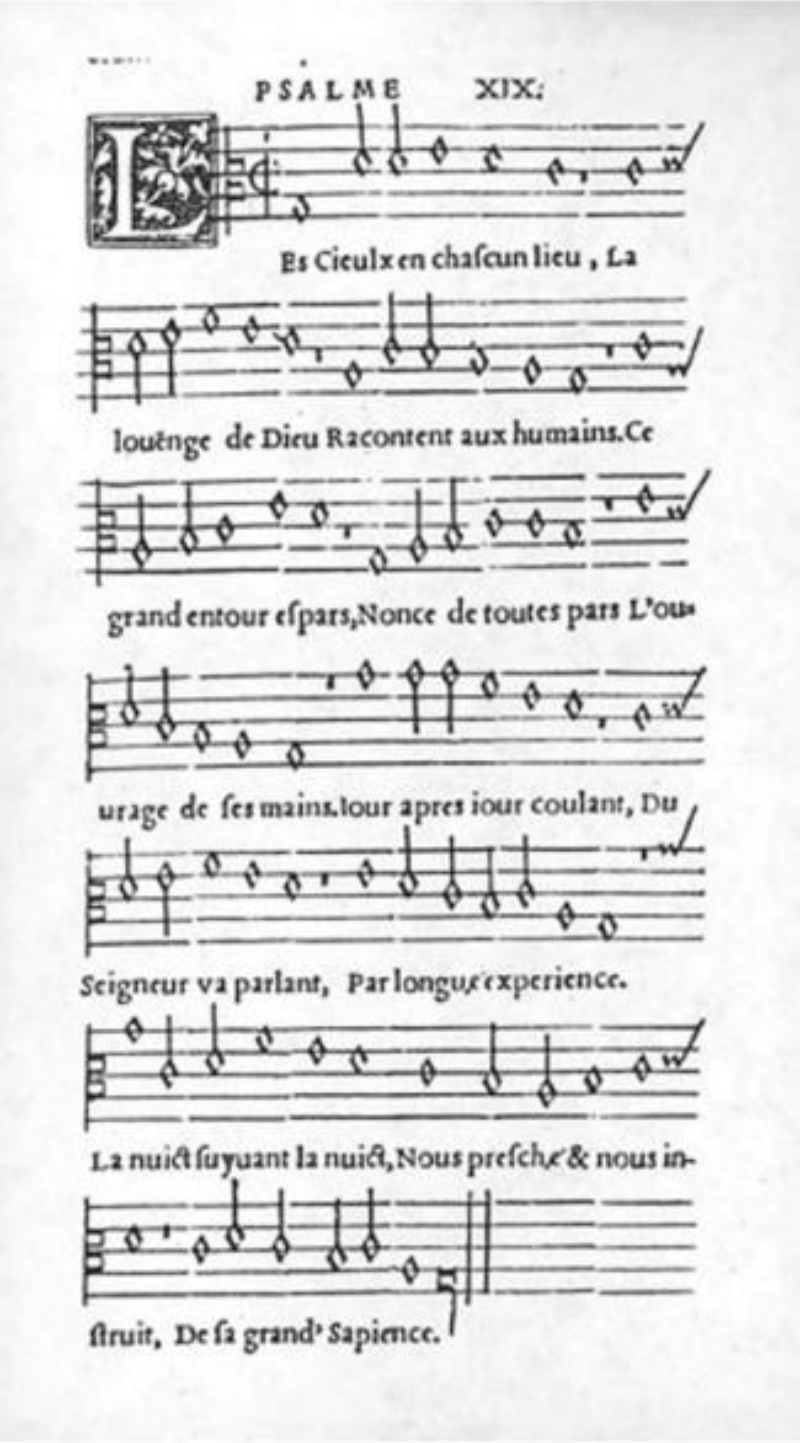

Fig. 2 – Psalm XIX from and early edition of the Genevan Psalter.[63]

[63] *Ibid.,* 79.

Rhythm

The first element of Psalm XIX to be explored in this project will be rhythm; even by a quick cursory glance at this psalm one can see that there is a clear and distinct repeated rhythmic pattern that occurs in every phrase with only three expectations. This repeated rhythm will be referred to in this project as the main rhythmic pattern and is also the first rhythm that appears in this psalm; consisting of one semibreve, two minims, three semibreves and ending with a semibreve rest. The main rhythmic pattern is repeated seven times after its initial use changing only when the congregation sings ‘Par longue experience’.

The phrase ‘Par longue experience’ is home to the first differing rhythm; the new rhythm deviates from the original rhythm only slightly, beginning with one semibreve, followed by four minims, two semibreves and ending with the familiar semibreve rest. The next phrase ‘nuiet suyuant la nuiet’, which occurs immediately after the new rhythm, sees an almost complete return to the original rhythm, beginning with one semibreve, two minims, three semibreves but lacking the semibreve rest and instead going immediately into the next phrase which is now the original rhythm. The final rhythmic pattern that we see in this psalm is the closing rhythm accompanied with the words ‘De sa grand’ Sapience’. The final rhythm has similarities to the second rhythm seen in this psalm; both begin with one semibreve followed by four minims; the final rhythm however features a singular semibreve and concluding with the only longa seen in this psalm.

The almost consistent repetition of the main rhythmic pattern exemplifies the Calvinist belief that all members of the congregation should participate in the singing of psalms. By writing a simple and repetitive rhythm would allow even the most novice and inexperienced of singers to become confident in at least one aspect of psalm singing. Whilst the congregation is specified to begin singing in the eighth phrase with the words 'Par longue experience', it is possible that some members of the congregation would have sung the previous phrases in addition to the congregation phrases. Evidence of congregational singers participating before it had been specified within the psalm can be seen from Bourgeois' printed notice in the psalter published in 1551, Bourgeois states that non confident singers should practise in silence and should exclusively participate during the congregational sections.[64] We can gather that there would have been a number of people in the congregation who would not have been privy to any musical training but still may participate in the entirety of the psalm. As previously stated, it is unclear if there was instruction from Calvin to enforce the congregation to participate only in their designated phrases; it is the opinion of this project that any such instruction from Calvin is not likely to have existed as this would have contradicted the Calvinist teaching for all members to actively participate in worship.

[64] Maag, '"No Better Songs": John Calvin and the Genevan Psalter in the Sixteenth Century and Today', 31.

Pitch and melody

The next section of this chapter will focus on the pitch and melody of select phrases of Psalm XIX; this section has been divided once again into phrases as they appear in the Psalm. Whilst all phrases of this psalm could have been included in this section, only phrases 1, 2, 4, 6, 8-12 will be discussed as they provide the psalm with instances of melodic interest.

Phrase 1 - Es Cieulx en chaseun lieu

The opening phrase of this psalm is not intended to be sung by the whole congregation, instead by the clergy and experienced singers, allowing the congregation to hear the psalm phrase before joining in. The first phrase begins with a semibreve on the G below middle C, the lowest note sung in throughout this psalm, and is followed by a leap of a fifth to D above middle C where repeated minims are sung to the words 'Cieulx en'. The initial phrase has a range of a major sixth and moves mostly stepwise; this, combined with the use of the main rhythmic pattern, would allow even novice singers to learn this phrase quickly.

Phrase 2 - La louènge de Dieu

The second phrase begins with a semibreve on middle C followed by ascending minims on D and E. This phrase provides us with the first instance of the two minims in succession in the main rhythmic pattern that do not sound on the same note; here in the fourth phrase the second minim sounds a note higher than the first. Following on from the ascending minims, a semibreve on F is sung and provides us with the highest pitch in this phrase. The final two semibreves in this phrase sound on E and D, concluding a conjunct descending pattern. As this phrase follows the main rhythmic pattern the phrase meets its end on a semibreve rest. This

phrase is the first in this psalm to move completely in stepwise motion, there are a number of possible reasons for this melodic choice. It is the opinion of this project that this was a conscious decision made by the composer to allow for an easy and predictable phrase that all members of the congregation could sing or to follow. It is important that whilst the melodic line moving only stepwise was to encourage singing from the congregation, this phrase was originally intended for the clergy to sing. However, as previously discussed within this chapter, it is the opinion of this project that Calvin would have encouraged the congregation to sing when possible and therefore making the simple melodic line an apt compositional choice.

Phrase 4 - Ce grand entour espars

The fourth phrase of Psalm XIX commences on middle C and conforms to the main rhythmic pattern of one semibreve, two minims, three semibreves and ending with a semibreve rest. In the fourth phrase we see a repeat of the ascending minims, previously seen in the second phrase, on notes A and B. In the same fashion as all phrases detailed thus far, this phrase ends with a semibreve rest. We are also provided with the first instance that we have come across up to this point in Psalm XIX that moves in an ascending pattern for the majority rather than a descending pattern. The fourth phrase is the second instance of a phrase beginning on middle C, providing the singers with a sense of familiarity. The composer has included two ways in which the fourth phrase of this psalm would be familiar to the congregation; the first, beginning on middle C and the second utilising the main rhythmic pattern of this psalm.

Phrase 6 - L'ourage de ses mains

The sixth phrase provides us with the first occurrence of a phrase that is consists of an entirely descending melodic line; this descending pattern follows us into the seventh phrase, starting with a semibreve on the G above middle C, the first of only two leaps of an octave in this psalm, then followed by two repeated minims on the same G. Once again, the phrase is concluded by a semibreve rest, exemplifying the main rhythmic pattern. The words 'L'ourage de ses mains' have been translated to mean 'The storm of/with his/her hands'; it is understandable that the first instance of an entirely descending phrase accompanies these words, a downwards phrase to depict a more serious scene as well as balancing out the previous two phrases that were composed in a mostly ascending fashion.

Phrase 8 - Du Seigneur va parlant

The eighth phrase subscribes to the main rhythmic pattern and begins with a semibreve on middle C; this is the third instance of a phrase beginning on middle C and further solidifies the theory that middle C represents the home note of this psalm. This phrase provides us with a perfect example of a conjunct ascending pattern followed by a conjunct descending pattern; this may have been an intentional compositional decision, due to this being the final phrase before it is stipulated that the congregation must participate. This simple melodic pattern of Psalm XIX could have signalled to the congregation that the next phrase required full participation from the congregation. In line with the main rhythmic pattern, a semibreve rest concludes phrase eight.

Phrase 9 - Par longue experience

Moving on to the ninth phrase, this is the first instance in Psalm XIX where the whole of the congregation should participate and is also the first time in this psalm that we experience a rhythm that deviates from the now all too familiar main rhythmic pattern. This change of rhythm does not stray too far from the original, replacing one of the three final semibreves with two minims. It is important to note that the duration of the psalm has not been affected by the change of rhythm. The new rhythm consists of a semibreve followed by four minims, with two semibreves and semibreve rest to finish the phrase. This phrase is perhaps the most intuitive and easiest to sing in this psalm; examples of this can be seen in the opening note, beginning a tone above the final note of the previous phrase, a simple interval to pitch for even the most novice singers. Additionally, the majority of this phrase has a conjunct descending melody line, with the exception of the rise from B to C and the jump down from the aforementioned C to A, the only interval in this phrase that is greater than a tone. The simplicity of this phrase may have been an intentional compositional decision to allow the congregation to gain confidence in the first phrase where all are required to sing. This provides us with another example of how Calvin set out to ensure that all members of the congregation should actively participate in worship and began to eliminate the barriers that may have previously obstructed them from doing so.

The melody of the ninth phrase resembles the sixth phrase of this psalm, both begin with a semibreve on E followed by two descending minims on D and C and concludes with two semibreves on A and G. The only melodic and rhythmic difference between the two phrases is due to the use of two minims instead of a semibreve. However, even in the only way the phrases differ they still have another similarity: the semibreve in the sixth phrase is sung on B and the third minim in the ninth phrase (where a semibreve would usually be placed if one were to keep to the original rhythm) is sung on the same B. One could argue that the ninth phrase is nothing more than a minutely embellished version of the sixth phrase replacing a semibreve with two minims, that would start in the same place and then rise back to middle C, only one step higher. These similarities may have been intentional, again assisting the congregation in order for all people present to be able to participate in psalm singing to the best of their ability and thus fulfilling the Calvinist aim of active congregational worship.

Phrase 10 - La nuiet suyuant la nuiet

The tenth phrase of this psalm follows the main rhythmic pattern with one exception; there is no semibreve rest to end the phrase, instead phrase ten goes immediately into phrase eleven. However, there is a comma written after the word 'nuiet', signalling to the singers that a breath should be taken; it is possible that this was a misprint and that a semibreve rest should have been included. There is no apparent reason for the missing semibreve rest in this phrase. As the second phrase in which the congregation is required to participate, there is a slightly more varied melodic line with a mix of ascending and descending movements developing from the

previous phrase. Whist this phrase does not move in the same conjunct fashion as phrase eight, the composer could have felt that the congregation would be confident in the performance of this phrase, adding in only intervals of an octave, a fifth and a third, all simple intervals for even inexperienced and novice singers to master.

Phrase 11 - Nous presche & nous instruit

The penultimate phrase in Psalm XIX returns to the main rhythmic pattern and begins with a semibreve on middle C; this is the third instance in this psalm where the opening note is middle C further proving that middle C is the home note of this psalm. There is clear evidence in the penultimate phrase of this psalm that the composer and Calvin, in line with the Calvinist teachings, intentionally composed a phrase that would be easy for inexperienced singers to learn quickly. The evidence here can be seen clearly in the decision for the opening note, to fall on the home note, middle C. Additionally, this phrase has an entirely conjunct melodic line, first descending and then ascending. The final piece of evidence in this phrase is the implementation of the main rhythmic pattern, allowing the congregation to latch onto a secure rhythmic pattern that was a steadfast feature in the first half of this psalm.

Phrase 12 - De sa grand' Sapience

The final phrase shows us a variant of the changed psalm rhythm beginning with a semibreve, followed by four minims, a semibreve and the only appearance of a longa. This phrase overall

follows a descending pattern. The final note, the longa, falls on the G below middle C concluding the psalm on the lowest note that has been sung throughout Psalm XIX. There are two features of this phrase that immediately strike us as familiar, as it would have done for the congregation during the time of publication; the first of which is the initial note of this phrase. The opening note is once again a middle C; this is the fifth instance we have seen of a phrase opening on middle C, confirming the home note of this psalm. The second feature is the use of a mainly conjunct descending pattern with the exception of one jump to the penultimate note A; by implementing a simple mostly conjunct descending melodic line, the majority of singers would be able to anticipate where this phrase would be going.

The range of Psalm XIX spans an octave, from the G below middle C and the G above; throughout the psalm the melodic line moves mainly in a conjunct fashion with occasional leaps. While one might think of this composition to have a limited singing range, instead it ensures that majority of the congregation would be able to sing this psalm comfortably in line with Calvin's pedagogy regarding psalm singing. There are a total of 12 leaps throughout the entirety of this psalm, consisting of four leaps of a third, three leaps of a fourth, three leaps of a fifth and two leaps of an octave. The phrases are overwhelmingly written in a descending pattern with the exception of two phrases that are written in an ascending pattern. Further evidence of Calvin's effort to eliminate barriers for nonmusicians and ensure an active congregation can be seen in the melodic line. The implementation of a melody line consisting of almost entirely conjunct phrases, as well as all phrases are written functionally both in regard to rhythm and melody. Rhythmically, this phrase has been written to accommodate for the words sung by the congregation coupled with the functional melody line allowing the

congregation to participate, regardless of musical training, as they can anticipate where the phrase will go.

As previously mentioned in this chapter, the home of this psalm is middle C; there are five instances of phrases beginning on this crucial note, including both the penultimate and ultimate phrases. Providing this psalm with a home note allows the singers to latch onto some security and familiarity, as the congregation of previously Roman Catholic parishioners would not be experienced in psalm singing. As common with music written in this era, there are no bar lines apart from the double bar line signalling the end of the psalm. Psalm XIX is written in alla breve and in C clef, which is suitable for tenors, altos and sopranos to sing; it is the opinion of this project that Calvin would have permitted the basses of both the clergy and members of the congregation to sing the psalm at an appropriate and comfortable octave. This opinion is founded on one of the cornerstones of the Calvinist church, where all must actively participate in worship.

The simple rhythmic pattern of each phrase allows the congregation to become familiar with the psalm quickly; each phrase with the exception of phrases ten and twelve contain a total of 24 beats. This would allow the congregation to anticipate when each phrase comes to its end, regardless of the melody or the rhythm being sung. The tenth phrase is almost identical to the main rhythmic pattern, the only discrepancy between the rhythm found is the lack of a semibreve rest. With the lack of the semibreve rest this phrase is one of only two where the

beats do not make a total of 24; instead, the total number of beats in phrase ten is 20. While a comma is found in the text indicating a breath, there is no rest for the congregation to breath in; it is possible that Calvin wished for the breath to be taken hastily or for the final semibreve in this phrase to be cut short. These theories do not line up with Calvin's ideology for his psalms to accessible and simple. The change from 9 previous phrases of 24 beats could have confused the congregation, resulting in some perhaps making mistakes and thus taking them out of worship.

The second instance of a phrase not totalling 24 beats can be seen in the final phrase, consisting of two semibreves, four minims and ending with a longa. A longa has the duration of 16 beats, quadruple the length of a semibreve, making the total beats for this phrase 32. I believe that this extended phrase was an intentional choice made by either Calvin or the composer; by including the longa it could signal to the congregation that this would be the final phrase in the psalm. The additional eight beats in this phrase most likely would not be confusing to the members of the congregation who were not well versed in this psalm as these beats are added onto what would have been a semibreve and do not change pitch. On this occasion, the extension of the psalm phrase is in line with the Calvinist teachings for music to remain simple.

A continuous similarity between all phrases in Psalm XIX can be seen in the penultimate and final notes of the phrases. The final two notes in each phrase descend stepwise, regardless of

whether the phrase was ascending or descending in nature. It is the opinion of this project that this was an intentional choice to have the psalm phrases mirrors speech, where a descent in pitch typically signals the end of the phrase. By making this choice, Calvin or the composer may have intended for the congregation members who were not familiar with psalm singing to have a consistent and perhaps familiar ending to the phrases.

The rhyming pattern for this psalm is a point of interest for this psalm and can be best demonstrated in the table below:

Phrase	Text	Rhyme
1	Es Cieulx en chaseun lieu	A
2	La louènge de Dieu	A
3	Racontent aux humains	B
4	Ce grand entour espars	C
5	Nonce de toutes pars	C
6	L'ourage de ses mains	B
7	Iour apres iour coulant	D
8	Du Seigneur va parlant	D
9	Par longue experience	E
10	La nuiet suyuant la nuiet	F
11	Nous presche & nous instruit	F
12	De sa grand' Sapience	E

Fig 3.

While this rhyming scheme, that implements tail rhymes,[65] is not as straightforward as other psalms composed under Calvin, for example Psalm 100 taken from the 1565 publication of the Genevan Psalter utilises an AABB structure.[66] The use of tail rhymes in Psalm XIX combined with the equal phrase lengths and repeated rhythm patterns for the majority of phrases results in a psalm that is memorable and predictable. By employing these techniques Calvin, alongside the composer and poet, ensured that these psalm translations would be easy to remember and sing as a congregation, as the majority of the congregation would not be able to read music notation or likely not be able to read at all. This is compelling evidence of Calvin's belief that all liturgical music should be accessible to the entire congregation and thus allowing them to take an active role in worship, which every member must do to fully engage with the Word of God.

[65] Tail rhymes refer to the use of rhymes at the end of the sentence. Fig 3 shows the tail rhymes used throughout Psalm XIX

[66] Bellanti, 'Sing to the Lord a New Song: John Calvin and the Spiritual Discipline of Metrical Psalmody', 76.

It is important to remember that all compositional decisions regarding psalms found in the Genevan Psalter were deliberate. For example, the rhythm to modern day listeners would become monotonous and dull before the end of the psalm was sung. This lack of variety, variation and excitement within the psalm was purposeful, allowing the congregation to focus on the message and words of the psalm without being swept up in elaborate compositions, as was Calvin's intention with his music. More examples that add weight to the argument of Calvin ensuring the whole congregation could participate in the singing of psalms can be seen here, in Psalm XIX. The first that comes to mind is the choice of clef; by composing in C clef a large majority of the congregation could sing without strain, as C clef is suited towards soprano, alto and tenor voices. In addition to this the range of this psalm is an octave, suitable for most singers, while the basses may have sung the psalm either the octave lower or in falsetto. Another example of Calvin's quest for accessibility within congregational psalm singing can be seen in the simple melodic lines which move stepwise for the majority, with the addition of 12 simple intervals of an octave, fifth, fourth and third.

This chapter has provided an overview of the psalters published with Calvin's approval, including the Genevan Psalter. Exploring the many psalter publications approved by Calvin has allowed us to gain a deeper understanding of how Calvin implemented his belief regarding liturgical music into churches across Geneva and Europe. The clear and simple melodic lines that feature heavily in Psalm XIX exemplify the Regulative Principle towards liturgical music. Within the study of Psalm XIX, alongside the additional psalter publications, it is clear that Calvin set to produce a publication that would enable Protestant communities throughout Europe to engage in active worship, with minimal distractions regardless of skill level.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This project has shown how throughout the sixteenth century liturgical music developed from the Latin mass and Catholic polyphony that was standard within the Roman Catholic church to the Lutheran and Calvinist settings. These settings were more simple and unornate in nature, the purpose of this was to allow the congregation to focus on the message of the worship and eliminate the unnecessary distractions. Whilst Luther set in place the stepping stones for congregational singing, it was the Calvinist teachings that the Huguenot's embraced. The abandonment of Catholic polyphony and embracement of Calvinist Monody by the Huguenots has been detailed throughout the 4th chapter of this project.

Additionally, this project has provided evidence of how both theologians, Luther and Calvin, influenced church music during their lives and after their deaths. Chapter 2 of this project set a context of the political and religious landscape of France throughout the sixteenth century, allowing for a greater and deeper understanding of the choices made by the two theologians, Luther and Calvin. The exploration of the battles and wars between the Huguenots and Roman Catholics, including the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre and the French Wars of Religion, provided a context of the ever-rising tensions between the two religious parties. The Roman Catholic Council of Trent, the 19th Ecumenical Council, having addressed church music within their session, albeit briefly, provided the Roman Catholic churches across Europe to ensure that the Latin words used within services were intelligible. It remains unclear if this was an attempt

to appease the Huguenots and meet a common ground, perhaps in order to diminish the bloodshed between the two parties.

Through the exploration of Luther, his career, beliefs and publications regarding liturgical music, this project has provided examples of how Luther embodied the Normative Principle. By allowing polyphony, encouraging the use of musical instruments and insisting on congregational singing in the vernacular, Luther's aim was to unify the congregations and allow the congregation to praise God. Luther embraced the use of art, musical instruments and polyphony within worship, believing that their use can only bring you closer to God. The Wittenburg Hymnbook provided us with an example of how Luther wished for music, worship and art to coexist, thus once again exemplifying the Normative Principle. While both Luther and Calvin believed the Roman Catholic mass was in need of reform, Luther embraced the use of additional elements in worship, such as art and the use of instruments and polyphony to enhance worship further engaging the congregation.

Calvin's Regulative Principle has been discussed extensively throughout this project. Believing that simple music within the liturgy would enable the congregation to focus on the message of worship instead of being distracted by polyphony or the use of musical instruments, exemplifies the Regulative Principle. Insisting that the congregation and clergy should actively participate in worship, Calvin saw the need for what we have referred to as Calvinist Monody sung in the vernacular. The limitation of art, Calvinist Monody and the use of musical instruments being forbidden allows the worshiper to focus on the message of worship, rather than the indulgences that had been seen in both the Roman Catholic church and the Lutheran church.

The combination of singing in the vernacular with simple melody lines ensured that the entire congregation would participate, allowing for a purer and more spiritual connection to God. As previously mentioned, the Huguenots identified with Calvin and his teachings, specifically the Calvinist psalms written in the vernacular. These psalms were of great significance to the Huguenots and were sung on occasion by individuals before facing the pyre as their last statement before their execution.

The exploration of Psalm XIX has provided evidence of how Calvin intended music to be used liturgically and has allowed this project to explore the Regulative Principle more thoroughly. There were conscious decisions made by the composers and Calvin to use a limited melodic range, repeated rhythms and simple melodies to enable the congregation to memorise the music. As most of the congregation would not have been able to read, the choices outlined above were imperative to have a full congregation participating in worship. This psalm embodies the Regulative Principle, the use of congregational singing in the vernacular combined with the simple melodic line and repeated rhythms allow all members of the congregation to actively participate within worship.

The influence of both Luther and Calvin spans centuries and cannot be overestimated, the two theologians set forth a motion of congregational singing that can be seen across Europe in both Roman Catholic and Protestant churches. Luther's teachings, the Normative Principle, regarding music within worship saw the inclusion of musical instruments and the use of polyphony remained, allowing for the congregation to better please God with their worship. Calvin's

teachings, contrary to Luther, stripped back liturgical music to one melody line sung in the vernacular. This representation of the Regulative Principle allowed for the congregation to participate and focus on the message of worship without distraction. Whilst the Normative and Regulative Principles are different and represent contrasting approaches to liturgical music it cannot be said which has influenced church music more thorough the centuries.

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