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Music and Moral Repair in Early Modern France

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy  
in Musicology

by

Melinda Anne Latour O'Brien

2016

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Music and Moral Repair in Early Modern France

by

Melinda Anne Latour O'Brien

Doctor of Philosophy in Musicology

University of California, Los Angeles, 2016

Professor Olivia Ashley Bloechl, Chair

This dissertation examines musical settings of moral poetry in France from 1556-1652. Rooted in the history of philosophy and modern ethical theory, this research illuminates the emergence of musical settings of moral poetry as a response to the trauma of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre in 1572. I argue that these settings offered Catholics and Protestants a means of collective repair, through the moral content of the text and through edifying experiences of repetition and beauty built into the musical settings. With their focus on virtue, these collections occupied an unusually neutral space in the otherwise polemical

landscape of Francophone musical print culture. Furthermore, they emerged as part of a nascent “moral” genre, a domain of musical print culture that resists categorization as either sacred or secular. Because musical settings of moral poetry were used alongside confessionally-marked sacred texts in Catholic and Protestant education and domestic contexts, they were linked together under the broader banner of edifying music, sometimes labeled “chaste” or “honneste.” However, as the content of these moral texts were rooted in ancient philosophy, rather than in the authority of church tradition, they participated in the late sixteenth-century process of secularizing ethics. Through an analysis of their production and use, I consider how the widespread practice of singing moral poetry played a role in popularizing rational, ethical reflection over religious belief as the foundation for repairing damaged communal relations.

The dissertation of Melinda Anne Latour O'Brien is approved.

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University of California, Los Angeles

2016

Dedicated to my love Patrick,

“Il est très simple: on ne voit bien qu’avec le cœur. L’essentiel est invisible pour les yeux.”

-Antoine de Saint Exupéry, *Le Petit Prince*

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- 2015 “Le renouveau moral en musique.” Séminaire France vers 1600, Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne, Paris, France.
- 2015 “Repetitions of Virtue: Music Pedagogy and Ethical Capacity in the *Quatrains de Pibrac en musique*.” Renaissance Society of America, Berlin, Germany.
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## PREFACE

My interest in musical settings of moral poetry began in the spring of 2013, when a grant from the Zoppo family offered me the opportunity to perform research and co-direct a concert with the UCLA Early Music Ensemble dedicated to the music of Paschal de L'Estocart. We performed a variety of L'Estocart's oeuvre, from several Psalms settings to his magnificent "Susanne un jour" setting; but I think that for all of us, the *Octonaires de la vanité du monde* were the most exquisite. The evocative imagery of Chandieu's poetry paired with L'Estocart's varied and unusual harmonies sparked my initial interest in pursuing a dissertation project centered on moral poetry set to music.

If I had an image in my mind of what sixteenth-century musical settings of moral poetry would sound like, it would not have been this. This was daring, imaginative, rich, and seemed to offer a challenge to the performer and listener to engage more profoundly on both musical and intellectual levels. In offering principles for human flourishing, moral poetry and their musical settings provoke reflection on difficult ethical questions. They seem designed to offer a route towards freedom from injustice, chaos, and despair and to seek pathways towards rebuilding a future of peaceful human relations. In some cases, they offer a musical experience that seems as interested in inspiring pleasure as in warning about the dangers of carnal desires. They offer moral principles drawn from the ancient past, even as they renovated these concepts for the contemporary situation in late sixteenth-century France, which was deeply mired in religious fanaticism, violence, intolerance, and extreme political and social instability.

When seen through the lens of a chaotic and deeply unstable world, the quest for morality, understood as inner virtue that could form the basis for external ethical relationships, emerged as

a beacon of hope for a disillusioned, destabilized populace. Time and time again, the front matter of moral music prints maintained that, through practical moral lessons, new hope could emerge for anchoring to some commonly accepted vision of the good, of obligation, how to live virtuously with one's neighbors, and how one might process death and loss in the world. The pursuit of moral virtue envisioned in these prints thought to offer an exit strategy for a populace trapped in a cycle of destructive religious extremism. And, in fact, producing and consuming moral music prints did become a cross-confessional phenomenon, in a moment where very little crossed the confessions other than hatred and suspicion.

This dissertation identifies moral music settings as a small, yet distinct genre of music history that offers important insight into how musical production and practices participated in processes of moral repair in post-war France. The core features of this genre are: 1) virtue and practical wisdom as central themes; 2) moral/ethical aim; 3) *form breve*; 4) neutral tone; 5) memorable (for memorizing); 6) mostly syllabic musical setting; 7) shared by Catholics and Protestants.<sup>1</sup>

To our way of thinking, moral texts—whether *quatrains*, *sixains*, *huitains*, or other brief poetic forms—are not the most likely candidates for setting to music. Perhaps, one could expect to find monophonic settings of these didactic texts in the sort of functional, pedagogical prints produced by Jesuits during the Catholic Reform. However, the brief form and proverbial tone of these texts seems an unusual choice for cultivated polyphony produced for a recreational audience. Guillaume Boni's setting, "Plus on est docte," the final piece in his complete collection

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<sup>1</sup> This is a revised and reordered version of Jean Vignes' criteria for classifying gnomonic poetry: 1) juxtaposition of statements, 2) brevity, 3) memorable character (and meant for memorizing), 4) moral/ethical aim. Jean Vignes, "Pour une gnomologie: enquête sur le succès de la littérature gnomique à la Renaissance," *Seizième Siècle*, no. 1 (2005): 176-7.

of Pibrac's *Quatrains*, offers a perfect example of this unexpected union between a didactic moral text and full-voice polyphonic setting:

Plus on est docte, et plus on se deffie  
D'estre sçavant : et l'homme vertueux  
Jamais n'est veu estre presumptueux,  
Voila des fruicts de ma philosophie.

[The more one is learned, and the more one mistrusts oneself/ To be knowledgeable: and a virtuous man/ Is never seen as presumptuous,/ That is the fruit of my philosophy.]

Boni set this straightforward, didactic moral text in a polyphonic setting for six voices that, even with its internal repetitions of the text, lasts a mere thirty-eight measures in modern score. We see across the vogue of moral poetry *en musique* that composers confronted with these unusually concise morsels of poetry handled the problem of brevity differently. Some composers, like Boni, padded these unsettlingly brief morsels through repetition at both the word, phrase, and *vers*. Other composers were more direct in allowing the impact of the short form to strike the singer full force, exposing the singer and listener to the strange void of an abrupt ending.

Despite the diversity of strategies employed in setting these texts, certain commonalities developed across the repertoire. Most importantly, composers and printers of moral music prints prioritized inclusivity and accessibility in their production of moral music. The relatively small and inexpensive format of the music prints and the modest level of difficulty of the musical settings indicate that they were produced for the market of urban, semi-literate to literate musical amateurs that was rapidly expanding in the late sixteenth-century. And the format of the scores, whereby the two to eight voice parts were printed in separate partbooks (typically in quarto or octavo), did not facilitate individual, silent reading. The only way to fully access this music was to sing or play it aloud as a group.

In one of these moral music prints, Claude Le Jeune's *Octonaires*, the preface to the first edition (1606) written by the composer's sister Cecile Le Jeune, describes the collection as "a work small in appearance but large in effect" ("œuvre petit en aparence, mais grand en effét"). The same could be said for moral music settings as a genre. For these seemingly marginal late Renaissance music prints offer a history of production and use that sheds new light on the way in which developments in moral philosophy were worked out in musical activities and sounded in homes across the Christian divide during a period of intense civil and religious discord. Composers' and editors' musical approaches to these moral texts harness the range of compositional styles and forms popular during the period, even as their prefaces reveal contemporary ethical thought about the potential utility of music in projects of moral edification. Neutral in tone and conciliatory in its stated aims, moral poetry and music clearly proposed much-needed principles for virtuous living that had been destroyed during the conflict and became embedded in elite and amateur recreation on both sides of the Catholic/Protestant confessional divide. Thus, this shared culture of moral poetry and music entered into the daily fabric of communities across the francophone world and ultimately played a profound role in the critical transition period during and after the Wars of Religion.

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#### A Note on Transcriptions

When quoting from primary sources, I have remained as close to the original text as possible, retaining the original spelling, punctuation, and accentuation. However, in order to improve the readability of these citations, I have regularized certain printing conventions, such as the interchangeability of the u/v, i/j, the use of the long s, and other special characters such as the eszet, according to standard use. I have expanded the contractions signaled by macrons, tildes,

and ampersands. Finally, I have corrected minor printing errors. Citations drawn from critical editions and other secondary sources are quoted as they appear in these published sources.

## CHAPTER ONE

### Moral Crisis and Repair

The bloody French Wars of Religion, which pitted Catholics against the emerging Protestant sect in a series of civil conflicts between 1562 until 1598, posed a different kind of moral crisis than that encountered by many other situations of large-scale violence.<sup>1</sup> The fact that both parties in the conflict were not only neighbors and compatriots, but also identified as Christians, deeply damaged the moral foundations of the Christian church. In his *Discours politiques* of 1587, the Huguenot François de la Noue admitted, in a rare egalitarian perspective, the shared responsibility for the damage that was caused by the wars.

[1. Origin of Atheism in France] If we ask what has produced such a generation, it would not be wrong to answer that it is our wars over religion that have caused us to forget religion. And it is not right to say that either one [party] or the other say: it is the opposing party who produces the atheists, because all parties are involved.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For background on the Wars of Religion, see Robert J. Knecht, *The French Civil Wars, 1562-1598* (Harlow, UK: Longman, 2000); John H. M. Salmon, *Society in Crisis: France in the Sixteenth Century* (London: E. Benn, 1975); Jean-Hippolyte Mariéjol, *La Réforme et la Ligue: l'édit de Nantes, 1559-1598* (Paris: Tallandier, 1983); Mack P. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Frederic J. Baumgartner, *France in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: St. Martin's, 1995); Arlette Jouanna, "Le temps des guerres de religion en France (1559-1598)," in Arlette Jouanne, *et al., Histoire et dictionnaire des guerres de religion* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1998), 3-445; Jouanna, *La France du XVIe siècle, 1483-1598* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1996); Denis Crouzet, *Dieu en ses royaumes: une histoire des guerres de religion* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2008); and David Potter, *The French Wars of Religion: Selected Documents* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997).

<sup>2</sup> All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated. "1. *Origine de Atheïsme en France*. Si on demande qui a produit une telle génération, on ne répondra pas mal, que ce sont nos guerres pour la Religion, qui nous ont fait oublier la Religion. Et ne faut point que les uns ni les autres disent, C'est le parti contraire qui engendre les Atheïstes: car de toutes parts ils se rencontrent." François de la Noue, *Discours politiques et militaires* (Basle: François Forest, 1587), 6; for critical commentary on the *Discours politiques*, see Myriam Barakat, "Edition commentée des 'Discours politiques et militaires' de François de la Noue (1531-1591)," Ph.D. Diss, Université de Montpellier 3, 2011.

It is striking to note that La Noue's concern here is not just with the loss of life brought about by the violence. He proposes that by continuing to perpetuate civil war, both Catholics and Protestants shared equal blame for critically undermining the moral authority of the Christian church.

Natalie Zemon Davis, Denis Crouzet, Barbara Diefendorf and other cultural historians of early modern France have emphasized religious zeal as the fundamental motivation behind the continually erupting local violence, revising an earlier historiography that saw religion as a pretext for civil or political maneuvering.<sup>3</sup> According to Diefendorf, both Catholics and Protestants shared “an ideal of community in which the sacred and the civic were joined.”<sup>4</sup> Thus, religious division was seen to threaten public life and, in particular, the deep medieval link between kingly and religious authority.<sup>5</sup> By this logic, more radical factions of both Catholics and Protestants justified violence, rioting, and other public disorder as a necessary and

---

<sup>3</sup> For an overview and debates regarding the significance of this historiographic movement, see Holt, “Putting Religion Back into the Wars of Religion,” *French Historical Studies* 18, no. 2 (1993): 524-51; Holt, “Religion, Historical Method, and Historical Forces: A Rejoinder,” *French Historical Studies* 19, no. 3 (1996): 863-873; Henry Heller, “Putting History Back Into the Religious Wars: A Reply to Mack P. Holt,” *French Historical Studies* 19, no. 3 (1996): 853-861; and Susan Rosa and Dale Van Kley, “Religion and the Historical Discipline: A Reply to Mack Holt and Henry Heller,” *French Historical Studies* 21, no. 4 (1998): 611-629.

<sup>4</sup> Barbara Diefendorf, “Rites of Repair: Restoring Community in the French Religious Wars,” *Past & Present* 214, no. 7 (2012): 34.

<sup>5</sup> See Marc Bloch, *Les rois thaumaturges: étude sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale particulièrement en France et en Angleterre* (Paris: Colin, 1961); Ernst Hartwig Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1957); Paul Kléber Monod, *The Power of Kings: Monarchy and Religion in Europe, 1589-1715* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999); Alain Tallon, *Conscience nationale et sentiment religieux en France au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle: essai sur la vision gallicane du monde* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2002); and Penny Roberts, *Peace and Authority During the French Religious Wars, c.1560-1600* (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

acceptable means to restore the social body by purging the corrupting elements that were defiling it.<sup>6</sup>

During and just after the First War of Religion (1562-3), the divide between Catholics and Protestants continued to deepen. As Diefendorf notes, beyond their shared ideal of community and their mutual justification of violence in defense of it, the warring confessions diverged dramatically in their sense of how best to restore their community and rebuild the kingdom.<sup>7</sup> Catholics sought to purge heresy, restore the sacred and venerated spaces in the city, and return to Christian unity, while Protestants sought a renewed, godly society where their right to worship on their own terms would be accommodated. Thus, the fundamental rupture of the social body brought about by the religious quarrels led to a complicated situation where, as the Wars continued on and off between 1562 and 1598, many different possible solutions for resolving the conflict and reestablishing peace and civil harmony competed. However, with little grounding in any adequate moral authority that could cross the confessional gulf, the majority of these strategies remained particular to one confession or the other and did little to unite the fractured populace.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> See Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Rites of Violence," in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1975), 152-88; and Graeme Murdock, Penny Roberts, and Andrew Spicer, eds. *Ritual and Violence: Natalie Zemon Davis and Early Modern France* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); and Nicolas Le Roux, *Un régicide au nom de Dieu: l'assassinat d'Henri III* (Paris: Gallimard, 2006).

<sup>7</sup> Diefendorf, "Rites of Repair," 34.

<sup>8</sup> See for example, Diefendorf, "Rites of Repair"; Davis, "The Rites of Violence"; and Suzanne Desan, "Crowds, Community, and Ritual in the Work of EP Thompson and Natalie Davis," *The New Cultural History* (1989): 47-71; and Mark Greengrass, *France in the Age of Henri IV: The Struggle for Stability*, 2d ed. (London: Longman, 1995); Philip Benedict, "Un roi, une loi, deux fois: Parameters for the History of Catholic-Reformed Coexistence in France, 1555-1685," in *The Faith and Fortunes of France's Huguenots, 1600-1685* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2001), 279-308; and Olivier Christin, *La paix de religion: l'autonomisation de la raison politique au XVIe siècle* (Paris: Seuil, 1997).



Addressing these questions of moral authority escalated in urgency as a recurring cycle of civil conflict, temporary accord, and recommencement of conflict began to emerge in the 1560s and the decades that followed. In a chilling statement at Orléans in 1560 for the opening of the Estates General of France, Michel de L'Hospital, one of the most important figures in favor of confessional conciliation, lamented the dire situation caused by religious discord in their kingdom:

[W]e cannot deny that religion, good or bad, creates such a passion in man that a greater one cannot exist...It is folly to hope for peace, repose, and friendship between people who are of different religions. And there is no opinion so deeply held in the heart of men as the opinion of religion, nor one that separates them so much from each other....We have experienced it today and see that a Frenchman and an Englishman who are of the same religion have more affection and friendship for each other than two citizens of the same city, subject to the same lord, who are of diverse religions. This is the extent to which the unity caused by religion surpasses that caused by country. On the other hand, the division caused by religion is greater and wider than any other. It is what separates the father from the son, the brother from the brother, the husband from his wife. Non veni pacem mittere, sed gladium [I have not come to make peace, but war]. It is what keeps a subject from obeying his king, and what causes rebellions.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Michel de L'Hospital, "Harangue prononcée à l'ouverture de la session des Etats généraux à Orléans le 13 décembre 1560." Cited and translated in Kathleen Perry Long, *Introduction to Religious Differences in France: Past and Present*, ed. Kathleen Perry Long (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press), xiii. For more on L'Hospital, see Crouzet, *La sagesse et le malheur: Michel de L'Hospital, Chancelier de France* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 1998); Loris Petris, "L'Hospital, Pibrac, Montaigne: trois magistrats-écrivains face au néostoïcisme Chrétien," in *Stoïcisme et Christianisme à la Renaissance*, ed. Frank Lestringant (Paris: Rue d'Ulm, 2006), 71-91.

As L'Hospital recognized at the start of the conflict, the problem of religious diversity deeply complicated the process of reunification after discord. Even if the peace could be restored, where would they find the means to rebuild a shared vision of community that had been shattered during the conflict?

The fundamentally religious motivations for the local and global violence and this loss of moral authority, therefore, posed particular ethical problems for the process of post-war repair. In particular, where could cross-confessional communities locate a source of moral authority for rebuilding when the traditional religious sources for that authority were destabilized because of the continuing theological controversies? Religious piety, for the most part, operated as both the source of the conflict and the motivation for the ensuing violence perpetrated at both official and local registers. It thus offered scant resources for bringing about a stable peace and repairing the damage wrought by the wars. Thus, religious and devotional sites of repair were ultimately unfruitful. In fact, as Diefendorf has demonstrated, even the positive 'rites of repair' attempted as a strategy of pacification by Catholic and Protestant communities during and after the first religious war (1562-3) ultimately exacerbated the religious division, rather than healing it.<sup>10</sup>

A watershed moment of crisis in the Wars of Religion was the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre of 1572. Prompted by rumors about a Huguenot plot against the Crown, in August of 1572 Parisian Catholics murdered several thousand Protestants in a wave of mass carnage that spread across the French kingdom.<sup>11</sup> Arriving after ten years of intermittent conflict and

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<sup>10</sup> Diefendorf, "Rites of Repair," 51.

<sup>11</sup> For more on the context and interpretations of the massacre, see Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-century Paris* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Diefendorf, *The Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston, Mass.: Bedford, 2009); Crouzet, *La nuit de la Saint-Barthélemy: un rêve perdu de la Renaissance* (Paris: Fayard, 1994); Jouanna, *La Saint-Barthélemy: les mystères d'un crime d'état, 24 août 1572* (Paris: Gallimard, 2007); Robert M. Kingdon, *Myths about the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacres, 1572-1576* (Cambridge,

negotiation, it dealt a lethal blow to hopes for a swift religious and political reconciliation between the Catholic crown and the Protestant minority in France. In the aftermath of the shocking violence, many Catholics and Protestants openly expressed a loss of faith in the moral authority of their governing religious and political institutions and their capacity to bring about social or religious restoration.<sup>12</sup> Ultimately, the shock of unchecked bloodshed perpetrated among neighbors and former friends led many who had formerly supported violence as a means of resolving their differences to now begin to actively seek compromises for healing the social body, turning towards a more moderate position, towards introspection, and towards a disavowal of religion as a moral justification for violence. La Noue expressed it clearly:

For as each one confesses that he adores the same God, avows as Savior the same Jesus Christ, and as the Scriptures and fundamentals are the same, there should be such fraternity and charity among them, that ceasing all hatred, cruelties, and wars, we come to some reconciliation. Is it not enough that more than two hundred thousand soldiers have perished by the violence of these divisions?<sup>13</sup>

Although there had been a faction seeking reconciliation from the start of the Wars, an increasing number of Catholics and Protestants after the Massacre now began to actively seek means of repairing the damage wrought by the continued conflict.<sup>14</sup> The nascent traces of non-

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Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988); and Benedict, "The Saint Bartholomew's Massacres in the Provinces," *Historical Journal* 21, no. 2 (1978): 205-225.

<sup>12</sup> Greengrass, *Governing Passions Peace and Reform in the French Kingdom, 1576-1585* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 4; Roberts, *Peace and Authority*, 10.

<sup>13</sup> "Car puis que chacun confesse qu'il adore un mesme Dieu, advouë pour Sauveur un mesme Jesus Christ, et que les Escritures et fondements sont semblables, il doit y avoir telle fraternité et charité entre'eux, que cessans toutes haines, cruautez et guerres, on viene à quelque reconciliation. Ne se doit-on pas contenter de plus de deux cens mille hommes de guerre qui sont peris par la fureur de ces divisions?" La Noue, *Discours politiques*, 4.

<sup>14</sup> Greengrass, *Governing Passions*, 1, 4-5, 365; Keith Cameron and Elizabeth Woodrough, *Ethics and Politics in Seventeenth-century France* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996), 31; and Benedict,

violence, tolerance, and cross-confessional dialogue which had been present from the beginnings of the conflict began to truly flourish after the Massacre—by the late 1570s and 80s—into a widespread virtue movement whose aim was individual and corporate moral repair.<sup>15</sup>

In his recent study, *Governing the Passions: Peace and Reform in the French Kingdom, 1576-1585*, historian Mark Greengrass has outlined the political aspects of the program of moral reform developed at the French court during these decades, as rooted in the notion of politics as a branch of moral philosophy. His excellent study reveals the efforts of elites and ‘notables’ to regulate the passions and model the cultivation of virtue that could be imitated by the broader population. Other scholars working on early modern France have identified aspects of this late sixteenth-century impulse towards individual and corporate moral improvement in a variety of other contexts, through community ritual, through court activities, and through artistic practice.<sup>16</sup> Although these prior studies vary widely in their contexts, subject matter, and scope, they shed

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“Catholic-Reformed Co-existence in France 1555-1685,” in *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation*, eds. Ole Peter Grell and Robert W. Scribner (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 71. For more on the history of tolerance and cross-confessional boundary crossing during and after the Wars, see Thierry Wanegffelen, *Ni Rome ni Genève: des fidèles entre deux chaires en France au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1997); Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 2009); Joseph Lecler, *Histoire de la tolérance au siècle de la réforme* (Paris: Aubier, 1955); Corrado Vivanti, *Guerre civile et paix religieuse dans la France d'Henri IV* (Paris: Desjonquères, 2006); Mario Turchetti, *Concordia o tolleranza?: Francois Bauduin (1520-1573) e i “moyenneurs”* (Geneva: Droz, 1984); and Turchetti, “Religious Concord and Political Tolerance in Sixteenth-and Seventeenth-Century France,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* (1991): 15-25.

<sup>15</sup> Greengrass, *Governing Passions*, 1; Colin Kaiser, “Les cours souveraines au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle: morale et Contre-Réforme,” *Annales* (1982): 15-31.

<sup>16</sup> Jean Delumeau, *Naissance et affirmation de la Réforme* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1968); Diefendorf, “Rites of Repair”; Murdock, ed., “*Ritual and Violence*”; Keith P. Luria, *Sacred Boundaries: Religious Coexistence and Conflict in Early-modern France* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2005); Roberts, *Peace and Authority*; Greengrass, *Governing Passions*; Crouzet, *La nuit de la Saint-Barthélemy*; Jacqueline Boucher, *La cour de Henri III* (Rennes: Ouest France, 1986); Frances Yates, *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century* (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1947); Robert J. Sealy, *The Palace Academy of Henry III* (Geneva: Droz, 1981); Kate van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); and Margaret M. McGowan, *Dance in the Renaissance: European Fashion, French Obsession* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2008).

light on the strength and diversity of the moral culture that developed across the religious divide during this period.

Although this wealth of literature from a range of disciplines has highlighted the increased interest in moral virtue in late sixteenth-century France, there is as yet no adequate terminology or framework for describing this movement in its complexity. Scholars have utilized terms such as *tolerance*, *reconciliation*, *conciliation*, *neutrality*, or *moral reform*. These terminological choices effectively highlight specific domains of this movement be it in the sphere of the political (*tolerance*, *neutrality*), relational (*reconciliation*, *conciliation*, *accommodation*), or religious (*moral reform*). I propose that the term *moral repair* provides both the necessary strength and flexibility to encompass the many domains in which various expressions of this moral culture flourished. The choice to use *moral repair*, a term drawn from contemporary fields of repair and transitional justice, emphasizes key theoretical stakes that were central to the moral culture that developed in the late sixteenth century.<sup>17</sup> First of all, moral repair implies an ethical situation that has at its core a response to damage. Moral repair, according to Margaret Urban Walker is an ethical task that is directly motivated by the experience of wrongdoing:

Moral philosophers following Immanuel Kant have often described ethics as answering the question: “what ought I to do?” This seems to imply a set of choices on a fresh page.

One of our recurrent ethical tasks, however, is better suggested by the question “what

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<sup>17</sup> For an introduction to the vast literature on repair and transitional justice, see Claudia Card and Armen Marsoobian, eds., *Genocide's Aftermath: Responsibility and Repair* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007); Colleen Murphy, *A Moral Theory of Political Reconciliation* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Elizabeth V. Spelman, *Repair: The Impulse to Restore in a Fragile World* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2002); Alexander Keller Hirsch, *Theorizing Post-conflict Reconciliation: Agonism, Restitution and Repair* (New York: Routledge, 2012); Hilde Lindemann, *Damaged Identities, Narrative Repair* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001); and Paul Hoggett and Simon Thompson, eds., *Politics and the Emotions: the Affective Turn in Contemporary Political Studies* (New York: Continuum, 2012), Part 4: The Politics of Reparation.

ought I – or, better, *we* – to do *now*?” after someone has blotted or torn the page by doing something wrong.<sup>18</sup>

Walker defines moral repair as “the process of moving from the situation of loss and damage to a situation where some degree of stability in moral relations is regained.”<sup>19</sup> Abundant evidence from both primary and secondary sources reveals that precisely this sort of process of moral repair was at work in late sixteenth-century France. Through this framework of moral repair, it is possible to understand the late sixteenth-century turn towards virtue as a widespread response to the catastrophic damage of religious war. The composition, printing, and performance of musical settings of moral poetry developed within this fertile post-war interest in virtue.<sup>20</sup> In framing moral music settings within a larger movement of moral repair, I expose the links between diverse modes of moral activity as responses to the damage of religious war, while retaining the rich, sometimes contradictory inflections between their participants, contexts of use, and objectives involved. Moreover, the use of an overarching theoretical framework drawn from contemporary work on repair critically positions this early modern musical interest in virtue as a participant in the broader historical trajectory of ethics in France.

### **The Ethical Power of Music**

Scholars have long noted a broad early modern European interest in musical practice as a route toward moral virtue. The explicit link between moral virtue and music has been examined

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<sup>18</sup> Margaret Urban Walker, *Moral Repair: Reconstructing Moral Relations After Wrongdoing* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006), 6.

<sup>19</sup> Walker, *Moral Repair*, 6.

<sup>20</sup> Denise Launay, *La musique religieuse en France du Concile de Trente à 1804* (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 1993), 101-5.

most clearly within Italian humanism, a movement that was extremely influential in France.<sup>21</sup> Claude Palisca's classic studies of humanist music theory and philosophy provide foundational insights into our understanding of the moral framework underpinning early modern music production and use. Anne Moyer's exploration of sixteenth-century Italian theories of music's relationship to mathematics, poetics, and rhetoric, builds upon this foundation by teasing out the artistic, humanistic approach to musical ethics against the competing view of music as a mathematical science. Gary Tomlinson takes an alternate approach as he focuses on Marsilio Ficino's brand of neoplatonism that recovered the magical potency of these theories and musical practices to act upon the human spirit.<sup>22</sup>

As these scholars and others have documented, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources on both sides of the confessional divide frequently cited adages on the ethics of music (*laus musicae*) passed down through Plato, Aristotle, St. Augustine, and Boethius. These citations praise the capacity of music to incite an emotional state that leads to virtuous, moral action, while often warning that music's emotional power could conversely ignite lust or provoke debauchery if the texts were lascivious. Musicologists have further demonstrated that this belief in the power of music to shape moral character was thought to be transmitted through ethically

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<sup>21</sup> For the reception of this tradition in France, see Van Orden, "An Erotic Metaphysics of Hearing in Early Modern France," *The Musical Quarterly* 82, no. 3-4 (1998): 678-691; Georgia Cowart, *French Musical Thought, 1600-1800* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1989), 1-6, 149-75; Philippe Vendrix, "L'Augustinisme musical en France au XVIIe siècle," *Revue de Musicologie* 78, no. 2 (1992): 237-55.

<sup>22</sup> Claude V. Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); Palisca, *Music and Ideas in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006); Ann E. Moyer, *Musica Scientia: Musical Scholarship in the Italian Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992); Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993). See also Cecilia Campa, *Il Musicista filosofo e le passioni: linguaggio e retorica dei suoni nel seicento Europeo* (Napoli: Liguori, 2001); Florence Malhomme, *Musica humana: la musique dans la pensée de l'humanisme Italien* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2013); and Malhomme, and Anne-Gabrièle Wersinger, eds., *Mousiké et aretè, la musique et l'éthique de l'antiquité à l'Âge Moderne* (Paris: Vrin, 2007).

charged musical habits associated with singing, playing, learning, and listening to music.<sup>23</sup>

Protestant and Roman Catholic theorists and composers attempted to harness this perceived moral efficacy of music through traditional and experimental techniques of musical composition that invested certain rhythms, musical modes, large-scale ordering, and other compositional/editorial devices with ethical or spiritual power.<sup>24</sup>

Against this more general early modern fascination with music's role in moral formation, the exceptionally unstable French political context of the time nurtured an environment where the pursuit of virtue took on a more all-encompassing urgency. Despite their many differences, what Catholics and Protestants were able to agree on in these times of conflict and recovery was the need for moral repair at both an individual and societal level. Evidence for the use of music in these moral projects has been well illuminated for the context of the French court. In *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France*, Kate van Orden has elucidated the critical importance of building both moral and military virtue through artistic practices of music and

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<sup>23</sup> On the view of singing as an edifying moral experience, see Hyun-Ah Kim, *The Renaissance Ethics of Music: Singing, Contemplation and Musica Humana* (Oxford: Routledge, 2015); Kim, *Humanism and the Reform of Sacred Music in Early Modern England: John Merbecke the Orator and the Booke of Common Praier Noted (1550)* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008). On the morally edifying potential of learning music see Van Orden, "Children's Voices: Singing and Literacy in Sixteenth-Century France," *Early Music History* 25 (2006): 209-56; and Van Orden, "A New Generation of Musical Civilities: The Quatrains de Pybrac" in *Materialities: Books, Readers, and the Chanson in Sixteenth-century Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 228-265.

<sup>24</sup> See for example, Richard Freedman, *The Chansons of Orlando di Lasso and Their Protestant Listeners: Music, Piety, and Print in Sixteenth-century France* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2001); Harold S. Powers, "Tonal Types and Modal Categories in Renaissance Polyphony," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34, no. 3 (1981): 428-470; Jessie Ann Owens, "Palestrina As Reader: Motets From the Song of Songs," in *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Dolores Pesce (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 307-28; Cristle Collins Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory: Hearing with the Eyes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Kerry Robin McCarthy, *Liturgy and Contemplation in Byrd's Gradualia* (New York: Routledge, 2007); Yates, "The Measured Poetry and Music," in *The French Academies*, 36-76; and Isabelle His, "Un musicien de l'avant-garde," in *Claude Le Jeune (v. 1530-1600): un compositeur entre Renaissance et Baroque* (Arles: Actes sud, 2000), 239-366.



dance, education, and spectacle.<sup>25</sup> Frances Yates' magisterial study of the French academies (1947) reveals the influence of Ficinian neo-Platonism on the musical and artistic activities of the *Académie de poésie et de musique*.<sup>26</sup> The statutes founding this influential institution, composed in 1570 by the Catholics Jean-Antoine de Baïf and Joachim Thibault de Courville at the court of Charles IX, make the connection between musical activity and moral behavior explicit:

It is of great significance for the morals of the citizens of a town that the current music utilized in the country be held under certain laws, for the hearts of men are formed and their comportment influenced by its nature, so that where music is disordered, there morals are depraved, and where it is well ordered, there men are well mannered.<sup>27</sup>

According to Yates, the cross-confessional membership of poets and composers participating in the *Académie* explored the possibility of reconciliation between the confessions through musical and artistic means. Their efforts at musical experimentation, called *musique mesurée*, revealed their concern with proper rhythm and text declamation as having particular ethical force.

It is no coincidence that many of the poets and composers who produced moral poetry and music, as well as the philosophers who were participating in the revival of Greek ethical thought, were affiliated with Baïf's original *Académie* or the later *Académie du palais* sponsored by Henri III. Lectures recorded from the *Académie du palais* focused on moral virtue and frequently used

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<sup>25</sup> Greengrass, *Governing Passions*, 52; Van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms*; Petris, "Guy du Faur de Pibrac et l'Académie du Palais," in *Les académies dans l'Europe humaniste: idéaux et pratiques* (Actes du colloque international de Paris, 10-13 Juin 2003), ed. Marc Deramaix (Geneva: Droz, 2008), 509-533.

<sup>26</sup> See also Crouzet, *La nuit de la Saint-Barthélemy*, for the influence of neo-Platonism on the political agenda of the Valois court.

<sup>27</sup> "Qu'il importe grandement pour les mœurs des Citoyens d'une Ville que la Musique courante et usitée au Pays soit retenuë sous certaines loix, dautant que la plupart des esprits des hommes se conforment et comportent, selon qu'elle est ; de façon que où la Musique est desordonnée, là volontiers les mœurs sont deepravez, et où elle est bien ordonné, là sont les hommes bien moriginez." *Lettres patentes de l'Académie de poésie et de musique*. Transcribed in His, *Claude Le Jeune*, 421.

musical language—most importantly the concept of harmony—as a metaphor for the proper exercise of virtue. For example, in his “Discours de l'ire” Guy du Faur Pibrac argued:

Music does not make the harmony of a chord, by removing the high and the low from the voice, neither does medicine bring health by removing the hot and the cold from the body, but in tempering and mixing them together in good proportion. In the same way, morals become praiseworthy when by the conduct of reason they moderate the passions.<sup>28</sup>

And in Pibrac’s speech before the Parlement of Paris in 1572, he uses a musical metaphor for just social relations. Referring to the Herald’s opening cry at the Olympic games, “Sing, but sing in tune” (*Chante, mais chante justement*), he noted that “these words have often ravished me with admiration . . . and they can be accommodated to our exercises of Justice, for so we ought all to sing, justly and in legitimate measure, both those who plead and those who defend.”<sup>29</sup>

For Guy du Faur Pibrac, the interest in moral repair was not only theoretical or intellectual, but a call for everyday action. Thus, in a speech before the Parlement of Paris in 1569, he emphasized the importance of putting virtue into practice:

For there are many who believe themselves virtuous, for having diligently read all that past Philosophy schools have debated about virtue, without ever having employed themselves in a single act or exercise of it. As Cato and Simon wish to say, moral virtue

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<sup>28</sup> “La musique ne fait point l'armonie de l'accord, en ostant le hault & le bas de la voyx, ni la medecine ne rameine pas la senté en ostant le chaut & le froid des corps, ains en les temperant & meslant ensemble par bone proportion. De mesme les mœurs ce rendent louables quand par la conduite de la raison ce fait une moderation aux passions.” Cited in Petris, “Guy du Faur de Pibrac et l'Académie du Palais,” 533.

<sup>29</sup> Cited and translated in Yates, *The French Academies*, 106.

consists not in speculation and intelligence, but in action and execution, and that it is necessary apply one's hand to the work, if we wish to be and become virtuous.<sup>30</sup>

Pibrac's call for the exercise of virtue, beyond moral reflection, represents an escalating interest in disseminating and implementing virtuous practices into the quotidian lives of the broader populace. This aim found particular purchase in that both Catholics and Protestants had already subscribed to views of music as an important vehicle for moral formation.<sup>31</sup> For example, La Noue's 1587 program for moral reform proposed exercises for the body (physical sports and dance) as well as for the spirit.

As for exercises of the Spirit, which are not less necessary than the others: they will be as follows. We should do readings, in our language, of the best books of the Ancients, which treat the morale virtues, the civil government, and of war: and particularly they will read histories both ancient and modern....And because the life of man is composed of work and rest, it is fitting, while he is at leisure, that he has some decent occupations, for retaining and uplifting the spirit: so that he will not be carried away by bad thoughts and deliberations. That is what moved Aristotle to order that they teach Music to young people: and for the same means to play instruments, and also painting.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> “Car il s'en trouve plusieurs, qui pensent et se reputent estre vertueux, pour avoir leu diligemment tout ce que jadis es scholes des Philosophes on a disputé de la vertu, sans jamais s'estre emploiez à un seul acte et exercice d'icelle: voulans dire Cato et Simon, que le vertu Morale ne consistoit point en speculation et intelligence, ains en action et execution, et qu'il falloit mettre la main à l'œuvre, si nous voulions estre et devenir vertueux [...]” *Recueil des poincts principaux de la remonstrance faicte en la Cour de Parlement de Paris, à l'ouverture des plaidoiries, après la feste de Pasques MDLXIX [...]* (Paris, R. Estienne, 1569), 5. Cited in Petris, ed. *Les Quatrains, les Plaisirs de la vie rustique et autres poésies* (Geneva: Droz, 2004), 16.

<sup>31</sup> Van Orden, “Street Songs and Cheap Print During the French Wars of Religion” in *Music and the Cultures of Print*, ed. Van Orden (New York: Garland, 2000), 275; His, *Claude Le Jeune*, 245-6.

<sup>32</sup> “Quant aux exercices de l'Esprit, qui ne sont moins necessaires que les autres : ils seroyent tels. On feroit des lectures, en nostre langue, des meilleurs livres des Anciens, qui traitent des vertus morales, de la police, et de la guerre : et specialement se liroyent les histoires, tant anciennes que modernes....” “Et

Pibrac himself made the connection between music and the law more directly, recalling that “Aristotle in his Problems treats this question, why it is that the Greeks call songs and laws by the same name.” He goes on to note that this link between songs and laws was so strong that “they had no other Laws than their songs, nor other songs than their laws, which they learned and knew all by heart, uttering them with melody.”<sup>33</sup>

For both Catholics and Protestants, vain, lewd, or frivolous singing was thought to engender social disorder, while proper singing had the capacity to foster stable moral relationships. My work on the Genevan consistory has demonstrated the seriousness to which Calvin and other Reformed leaders took the misuse of song and their concern to discipline the ethical power of song for “honest” use, a concern that greatly influenced French Protestant communities during the period.<sup>34</sup> In the midst of the Wars of Religion, French Catholic leaders also made this point clearly as they recommended that, in light of the current conflict, the ladies of the court should cease their supposedly vain and frivolous music and dancing and instead sing edifying moral or sacred texts.<sup>35</sup> This sort of gendered link between musical practice and admonitions for moral virtue appears in both Catholic and Protestant sources, often in the context of female domestic education. Thus, although moral edification through music held prominence

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pource que la vie de l’homme est composee de travail et de repos, il convient, pendant qu’il est oisif, qu’il ait quelques occupations honnestes, pour retenir et contenter l’esprit : à fin qu’il ne se transporte à mauvaises pensees et deliberations. Cela a esmeu Aristote d’ordonner qu’on enseignast la Musique aux jeunes gens: et par mesme moyen à jouër des instrumens, et autres aussi pour la peinture.” La Noue, *Discours politiques*, 127-8.

<sup>33</sup> “Aristote en ses Problemes traictant ceste question, pourquoy est ce que les Grecs appellent de mesme nom les chansons, et les loix: [...] Tant y a, qu’ils n’avoient autres Loix que leurs chansons, ny autres chansons que leurs loix, lesquelles ils apprenoyent et sçavoient toutes par cœur, et les prononçoient avec melodie.” Cited in Petris, *Les Quatrains*, 33 n69.

<sup>34</sup> Melinda Latour, “Disciplining Song in Sixteenth-Century Geneva,” *Journal of Musicology* 32, no. 1 (Winter 2015): 1-39.

<sup>35</sup> See the speech by Jean de Monluc, Bishop of Valence, Fontainebleau, 1560 cited in Yates, *The French Academies*, 201.

for all people during the late sixteenth century, discussions of these questions often relied upon women as the exemplar, or the site most vulnerable to either the benefits of virtuous training or the vices of wantonness.<sup>36</sup>

Against this background tapestry of music's role in moral uplift and reform at court and in the activities and legislation of notables, my own work considers how printed musical settings of moral poetry participated in the work of disseminating these virtuous interests among a broader public. A musical setting of a moral text was thought to offer both the textual content of the moral poetry and the vehicle for depositing that moral content into the innermost part of the singer and/or listener.<sup>37</sup> In other words, the presumed efficacy of these moral musical settings lay not only in the practical moral advice contained in the text, but just as importantly in the mechanisms by which they were learned and experienced, which were acts of ethical formation in themselves. Thus on both sides of the confessional divide, musical settings of moral poetry offered a double capacity for collective repair—through both the moral text and through the performance of the musical setting. Musical performances of moral poetry thus worked out

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<sup>36</sup> Kristine Forney demonstrates the close association between musical training and the moral education of ladies in Northern Europe. See for example, Kristine K. Forney, "A Proper Musical Education for Antwerp's Women," in *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, eds. Russel E. Murray, Jr., Susan Forscher Weiss, and Cynthia J. Cyrus (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 84-125; Forney, "'Nymphes gayes en abry du laurier': Music Instruction for the Bourgeois Woman," *Musica Disciplina* 49 (1995): 151-87; Catherine Deutsch's current work illuminates an explicit link between musical practice and female virtue, both in terms of an economy of virtue (as a type of dowry) and as habitus (repeated musical exercises as virtuous formation); see Catherine Deutsch, "*Musica, abito e virtù* in the *Ragionamento del sig. Annibal Guasco a D. Lavinia sua figliuola* by Annibale Guasco," Renaissance Society of America, Berlin, Germany, March 26-28, 2015.

<sup>37</sup> See for example, James Haar, *The Science and Art of Renaissance Music*, ed. Paul E. Corneilson (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998), 20-33; Vendrix, *La musique à la Renaissance* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1999); for example, Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Music and Ideas*; Liana Cheney and John Hendrix, *Neoplatonic Aesthetics: Music, Literature & the Visual Arts* (New York: Peter Lang, 2004); Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic*; and Eyolf Østrem, "The Renaissance Reception of Augustine's Writings on Music," in *Augustine Beyond the Book Intermediality, Transmediality, and Reception*, ed. Karla Pollman and Meredith Gill (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 217-244.

moral theories of repair in real time, through sound and bodily expression. Singing and playing moral music offered a mode where the philosophical and theoretical ideas carefully crafted by poets and composers could be practiced with throats, tongues, and fingers, and heard through the ears of a diverse range of people.

### **Categorizing the Moral**

Musical settings of moral poetry do not fit easily into any pre-existing generic category of music history. They developed in the space between many firm boundaries, overlapping into a number of well-known domains, but not definable or limited to them. Moral music and poetry, as a category, therefore challenges a number of historical divisions that directly or indirectly shape scholarly research and publishing on the period. These poetic and musical prints were created in the midst of an intense period of transition that bridged the gaps of periodization (the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), royal dynasties (the Valois and Bourbon monarchies), compositional practice (modal to tonal), and musical epochs (Renaissance to Baroque). It developed in a space beyond the sacred and the secular, and it crossed Catholic and Protestant boundaries.

Although there are a several excellent isolated treatments of the more popular moral musical settings in composer biographies and critical editions,<sup>38</sup> the only systematic attention to musical settings of moral poetry is Denise Launay's brief overview in *La musique religieuse en France du Concile de Trente à 1804*.<sup>39</sup> The settings of Pibrac's *Quatrains* have received the bulk of the attention, with important work by Marie-Alexis Colin in the collection *L'humanisme à*

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<sup>38</sup> Annie Cœurdevey, *Roland de Lassus* (Paris: Fayard, 2003), 310-3; His, *Claude Le Jeune*, 95-9; J. Chailley and Marc Honegger, eds., *Paschal de L'Estocart, Second livre des Octonaires de la vanité du monde* (Paris: Salabert, 1958); Honegger, "Les chansons spirituelles de Didier Lupi et les debuts de la musique Protestante en France au XVIIe siècle," Ph.d. Diss., Université de Lille III, 1971.

<sup>39</sup> Launay, *La musique religieuse*, 103-5.

Toulouse, and her thorough introduction to the critical edition of Guillaume Boni's settings of the *Quatrains de Pibrac*. Late in the process of writing this dissertation, Van Orden also published a insightful chapter on the musical settings of the *Quatrains de Pibrac*. Focused on interpreting the significance of these musical settings and their use, her work offers a rich background on the moral foundations undergirding the presence of the *Quatrains* in music pedagogy and civility training.<sup>40</sup>

Although Launay offered only a brief overview of moral music settings, her work laid an important foundation for recognizing musical settings of moral poetry as a participant in a broader interest in moral virtue. Launay specifically noted that musical collections of moral poetry served as a unique space of cross-confessional tolerance and conciliation in a time of overwhelming hostility and uncertainty.

It is in this same spirit of tolerance, or neutrality, that short poems of a moralizing nature were conceived and realized, collections which were often set to music and which came into grand vogue at the end of the sixteenth century until the middle of the seventeenth century. We are speaking of the *Quatrains moraux* [moral quatrains], the *Octonaires de la vanité du monde*, the *Tablettes de la vie et de la mort*, and other versified adages, imprinted at the same time with a Christian morality and pagan wisdom.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Marie-Alexis Colin, "Les *Quatrains* de Guy du Faur de Pibrac en musique," in *L'humanisme à Toulouse: (1480–1596), Actes du colloque international de Toulouse, mai 2004*, ed. Nathalie Dauvois (Paris: Champion, 2006), 535-54; Colin, *Guillaume Boni, Les Quatrains du Sieur de Pybrac: 1582* (Tours: Centre de musique ancienne: Musica Gallica, 2000); Van Orden, "A New Generation of Musical Civilities"; see also catalogue entries in F. Lesure and G. Thibault, *Bibliographie des éditions d'Adrian Le Roy et Robert Ballard, 1551-1598* (Paris: Heugel, 1955); and Laurent Guillo, *Pierre I Ballard et Robert III Ballard. Imprimeurs du Roy pour la musique, 1599-1673, 2 vols.* (Sprimont: Mardaga, 2003).

<sup>41</sup> "C'est encore dans ce même esprit de tolérance, ou de neutralité qu'ont été conçus et réalisés, souvent aussi mis en musique, de courts poèmes de caractère moralisateur, qui ont connu une grande vogue à la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle et jusqu'au milieu du XVII<sup>e</sup>. Nous voulons parler des *Quatrains moraux*, des *Octonaires de la vanité du monde*, des *Tablettes de la vie et de la mort* et autres adages versifiés, empreints tout à la fois de morale chrétienne et de sagesse païenne." Launay, *La musique religieuse*, 103.

Thus, according to Launay, these moral texts represented an unusual mix of the Christian and the secular, of pagan philosophy and the more neutral, philosophical side of Christian devotional thought. Although she locates these moral poems as spiritual poetry, she crucially notes that moral poetry and music did not fit neatly into this category. On the other extreme, moral poetry and music does not fall under the broad category of the secular *chanson*, whose diverse themes of love, nature, and other topics drawn from everyday life were typically marked by their uses for entertainment. Musical settings of moral poetry were more serious and purposeful in their tone, clearly aimed at edification.

Scholars of French literature, on the other hand, have recognized the moral as a poetic category that gained prominence in the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>42</sup> Although the practice of writing and transmitting, collecting, and memorizing memorable morsels of moral poetry has a long history that goes back into antiquity, the printed genre of moral poetry and their musical settings began to take discernable form in the mid sixteenth century.<sup>43</sup> A leading scholar in this field, Jean Vignes, notes that the boundaries of moral poetry, which blur into spiritual and

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<sup>42</sup> Terence Cave's classic work on devotional poetry, made early efforts at noting a distinction in moral tone and aim between certain poetic collections in his study, however he stops short of recognizing a generic difference. Terence Cave, *Devotional Poetry in France C. 1570-1613* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969); Éric Tourrette, *Quatrains moraux: XVIe et XVIIe siècles* (Grenoble: J. Millon, 2008); Tourrette, *Les formes brèves de la description morale: quatrains, maximes, remarques* (Paris: Champion, 2008); Tourrette, "La sagesse en quatre vers," *Littérature*, no. 143 (2006): 28-42; Jean Lafond, "Des formes brèves de la littérature morale aux XVIe et XVIIe s.," in *Les formes brèves de la prose et le discours discontinu: XVIe-XVIIe siècles*, ed. Jean Lafond (Paris: Vrin, 1984), 101-122; Mouna Baradie, "Pibrac et le genre du quatrain moralisateur au XVIe siècle," Ph.D. Diss., Université Stendhal-Grenoble III, 1999; Ullrich Langer, *Vertu du discours, discours de la vertu: littérature et philosophie morale au XVIe siècle en France* (Geneva: Droz, 1999); Muriel Bourgeois, Oliver Guerrier, and Laurence Vanoflen, *Littérature et morale, 16e-18e siècle: de l'humaniste au philosophe* (Paris: A. Colin, 2001); Bruno Méniel, ed. *Éthiques et formes littéraires à la Renaissance: Journée d'études du 19 Avril 2002* (Paris: Champion, 2006); Petris, "La philosophie morale aux champs: ethica, oeconomica et politica dans 'Les Plaisirs de la Vie Rustique' de Pibrac," *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France*, 107, no. 1 (2007): 3-18.

<sup>43</sup> Vignes, "Paraphrase et appropriation: les avatars poétiques de l'ecclésiaste au temps des guerres de religion (Dalbiac, Carle, Belleau, Baïf)," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* (1993): 503-526.



devotional categories, have made it difficult to define and study as a genre, particularly if one attempts to define the outer limits of the genre.<sup>44</sup>

The early foundations of this printed genre of moral music settings appeared in the paraphrases of Solomon's *Proverbs* and *Ecclesiastes* which were published in the 1550s, during the early years of hostilities between the Catholic and Protestant factions in France. Moral poetry and music, however, flourished most dramatically in response to the instability caused by the Massacre of 1572 and remained popular until the middle of the seventeenth century, as evidenced by the production and use of the three most important collections of moral poetry *en musique*, the *Quatrains de Pibrac*<sup>45</sup>, the *Octonaires de la vanité du monde*<sup>46</sup>, and the *Tablettes ou Quatrains de la vie et de la mort* by Pierre Matthieu.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Vignes, "Pour une gnomologie," 177. Vignes and other francophone scholars more often use the more narrow term "littérature gnomique" to emphasize brief, didactic, moral poetry such as the *Quatrains de Pibrac*; S. Perrier, "'Sous les derniers loys ou du vray ou du faux': les vers gnomiques dans l'épopée au XVIe siècle," in *Morales du XVIe siècle: hommage à Denis Baril*, ed. Charles Béné and Jean-François Louette (Grenoble: Université Stendhal-Grenoble III, 1996), 75-88; Wallace Kirsop, "La réception de la poésie gnomique de la Renaissance: lecteurs et collectionneurs," in *Études sur Étienne Dolet, le théâtre au XVIe siècle, le forez, le Lyonnais et l'histoire du livre*, ed. Gabriel-André Pérouse (Geneva: Droz, 1993), 275-284.

<sup>45</sup> See the excellent critical edition and introductory essay in Petris, *Les Quatrains*; see also the introduction and critical edition of the *Quatrains de Pibrac* in Tourrette, ed., *Quatrains moraux*; Petris, "Entre unité et variété: éthique et esthétique dans les Quatrains de Pibrac," *Versants* 48 (2004): 49-69; Petris, "Philosophie morale et justice: les 'Quatrains' de Pibrac à l'Hôtel des Six Communes de Môtiers," *Revue historique neuchâteloise* 142, no. 4 (2005): 273-283; Petris, "L'Hospital, Pibrac, Montaigne"; Tourrette, "Poète après tout l'art de l'enjambement dans les *Quatrains de Pibrac*," *L'information grammaticale* 100 (2004): 4-8; Tourrette, "L'effet de proverbe dans les *Quatrains de Pibrac*," *Seizième Siècle* 1 (2005): 145-159.

<sup>46</sup> See the critical edition by Françoise Bonali-Fiquet, ed. *Octonaires sur la vanité et inconstance du monde* (Geneva: Droz, 1979); Florence Mauger, "Antoine de Chandieu et Etienne Delaune: *Les Octonaires sur la vanité et inconstance du monde*, un recueil d'emblèmes?" *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 58, no. 3 (1996): 611-629; Mauger, "*Les Octonaires...* d'Antoine de Chandieu: archéologie d'un titre," *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France* (1999): 975-988; Bonali-Fiquet, "Le 'Cantique de la misère de ceste vie' d'Antoine de Chandieu est-il antérieur à ses 'Octonaires sur la vanité et inconstance du monde,'" *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 40, no. 2 (1978): 317-324; Damon di Mauro, "*Les Octonaires...* d'Antoine de Chandieu et les 'trois concupiscences'" *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 68, no. 3 (2006): 563-569; François Rouget, "Manuscrits, éditions et transformations: *Les Octonaires sur la vanité et inconstance du monde* d'Antoine de Chandieu," *Bulletin de la Société de*

Moral verse, according to Guillaume Colletet's *Traité de la poesie morale, et sententieuse*,<sup>48</sup> is a poetic genre "which hates nothing as much as the ineptitudes and the vanities of the world, is that which treats morals, which gives good precepts for living well and is truly the veritable science of man."<sup>49</sup> Although the didactic objective that defined the genre encompassed practical skills such as learning to speak and write well, the overarching purpose of moral poetry is to communicate ethical precepts. At basis, its creators and editors intended moral verse to transmit normative content in a pleasing and memorable form that could provide a practical means for learning to live well. Therefore, moral poetry often thematizes the establishment of individual moral virtue by cultivating knowledge of the self, as well as an interest in outlining and teaching ethical principles for understanding the world and guiding human relationships.

In terms of form, vernacular French moral poetry developed in the sixteenth century as a brief, strophic form. The *forme brève* refers to poetry composed of short strophes (typically *quatrains*, *sixaines*, or *huitains*), each of which represents an independent meaning. Unlike the sonnet, epic, or ode, whose meaning builds across successive strophes, each individual strophe in the *forme brève* can stand alone and unites with the other strophes in the collection through their

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*l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 152, no. 4 (2006): 565-582; Lucile Gibert, *Joseph du Chesne, De la folie, vanité et inconstance du monde* (Geneva: Droz, 2009).

<sup>47</sup> See the critical edition by Tourrette, *Quatrains moraux*; and the edition by Christopher Norman Smith, *Tablettes de la vie et de la mort* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1981); Roger Trinquet, "Pierre Matthieu, lecteur de Montaigne," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 19, no. 2 (1957): 349-54.

<sup>48</sup> Guillaume Colletet, *Traité de la poésie morale et sentencieuse* (Paris: Sommaville et Chamhoudry, 1658). This treatise provides a fascinating window into the genre of moral poetry as seen in retrospect at the middle of the seventeenth century. Colletet claims that his treatise is the first attempt to document the genre of moral poetry, which he catalogues according to a range of examples with commentary.

<sup>49</sup> "Qui ne hait rien tant que les inepties, et les vanitez du monde, est celle qui regarde les mœurs, qui donne de bons préceptes pour bien vivre, et qui est à vray dire la veritable science de l'homme." Colletet, *Traité de la poésie morale*, 44-5.

shared thematic content, tone, and moral aims.<sup>50</sup> The brevity of form, tone, versification, and moral point of the poetry provided the material for memorizing, repeating, and meditating on this advice, activities which were meant to provoke and train the reader towards a practical understanding of the good and teach principles for how to live life well.<sup>51</sup>

An important aspect of moral poetry, according to Colletet, is its ability to express ethical precepts in a neutral, abstract philosophical tone, thus avoiding the polemical or zealous tone often employed in other poetry of the period. For Colletet, this requirement of a neutral tone for moral poetry excludes even Baif's *Mimes* from being considered as a true member of this genre, because, although he admits that they bear the intention of "correcting vice and praising virtue in general," he argues that they have an aggressive and polemical tone that "irritates them more than it converts."<sup>52</sup> Moral precepts, in contrast, offer wisdom in a sweet and appealing tone that is gentle and elegantly inspires people to rise above human nature, tame their passions, and learn to govern themselves.<sup>53</sup>

It should be noted that the titles of prints from the mid-sixteenth century and after supports the idea of the "moral" as a category of poetic, visual, and musical activity. For example, note

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<sup>50</sup> "La où nos Quatrains et specialement nos Quatrains moraux sont d'ordinaire de petites pieces detachées, qui ont toutes leurs sens, et leurs conclusions à part, et qui en formes d'Epigrammes subsistent chacunes d'elles-mesmes sans le secours ny la dépendance des autres." Brief, moral poems, are often known in French as "gnomique" or "sentensieuse" a generic description that includes short sayings, sentences, maxims, aphorisms, or other concise poetic phrases that impart wisdom and principles for good living. Colletet, *Traité de la poésie morale*, 149. See also Vignes, "Pour une gnomologie"; and Tourrette, *Quatrains moraux*, 11-12.

<sup>51</sup> Vignes, "Pour une gnomologie," 197-8.

<sup>52</sup> "Reprendre le vice, et de louer la vertu en general;" [...] "si est-ce qu'ils attaquent quelquefois et traittent les personnes en particulier avecque tant d'aigreur, et avecque des traits si picquans, que souvent il les irritent plus qu'ils ne les convertissent." Colletet, *Traité de la poésie morale*, 63.

<sup>53</sup> "Qui d'elle-mesme s'insinuë doucement dans les cœurs, qui donne une autre vie, à la vie, et qui eslevant l'homme sur les autres hommes le met au dessus de toutes les passions humaines et le fait si absolument regner sur luy-mesme." Colletet, *Traité de la poésie morale*, 63-4.

the marked use of “moral” in the titles of the following early examples of the genre which emerged in the Protestant milieu around mid-century:

Guillaume de La Perrière, *La morosophie...contenant cent emblèmes moraux, illustrez de cent tétrastiques latins, réduitz en autant de quatrains françoys* (Lyon: Bonhomme, 1553).

*Instruction tres bonne, et tres utile, faicte par quatrains, concernant le profit, & utilité d'un chacun. Plus ont esté ajoutez plusieurs dictz moraux, et belles sentences non encore imprimez* (Lyon: Rigaud, s.d.).

Pantaléon Bartelon, *Distiques moraux rendus en françois par beaux, graves et sententieux quatrains, ausquels sont remarquées et taxées les mœurs corrompues et les misères du temps présent...* (Lyon: Rigaud, 1569).

In his critical work defining this emerging “moral” genre, Colletet emphasizes a crucial distinction between these moral prints and the larger category of spiritual poetry.<sup>54</sup> Spiritual poetry (*poesie divine*), by his definition, “sings the praises of the Gods, treats different modes of worship, sacrifices, and the mysteries of Religion.”<sup>55</sup> Colletet makes it clear in both his treatise and in his accompanying catalogue that moral poetry should be considered distinct from pious or devotional works; and he excludes poetic works whose focus was “less to give Moral precepts as much as piety and devotion.”<sup>56</sup>

Of course, the moral and spiritual were often linked in theory and practice, as the pursuit of a moral life was of prime importance for the education of a devout Christian. Late Renaissance moral literature and music settings were, in the same way used alongside spiritual texts in education and domestic contexts with an intent to edify the user. For example, in a letter dated

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<sup>54</sup> Colletet, *Traité de la poésie morale*, 27. Colletet also notes “natural poetry” (*poesie naturelle*) as a third category, which “traicte à fonds des choses de la Nature, tant des Corps celestes, que des Corps sublunaires, et elementaires.” Colletet, *Traité de la poésie morale*, 38.

<sup>55</sup> “Chante les louanges des Dieux, traicte de leurs cultes differens, des sacrifices, et des mysteres de la Religion.” Colletet, *Traité de la poésie morale*, 27.

<sup>56</sup> “Intention n'estoit pas tant de donner des preceptes de Morale que de pieté et de devotion.” Colletet, *Traité de la poésie morale*, 103.

November 24, 1608, Élisabeth de Nassau wrote to her husband the Duc de Bouillon regarding some edifying reading material:

The Baron of Augne being there not at all [at the sermon] and going to catechism [?], it is necessary to not forget to send him or bring him something, but what I am not sure. I would prefer to offer him something to keep for ordinary usage of the type Tablette or Psalms, which I think would be very agreeable [...]<sup>57</sup>

Élisabeth's request for either the moral Tablettes or the Psalms, reveals that for a Protestant user, the line between the moral and spiritual was not necessarily important in everyday use.

This becomes even more apparent in that fact that a number of printed collections from the period include both the moral and the spiritual in the title. Note the following examples:

Gilbert de Gondouyn, *Quatrains spirituels et moraux...* (Paris: Bonfons, 1587).

Jean vanden Velde, *Quatrains spirituels et moraux servans d'instruction et d'enseignement à la jeunesse* (Rotterdam: Waesbergue, 1613).

F. de Rocquète's *Quatrains chrestiens et moraux...* (Bourdeaux: Vernoy, 1621).

This use of moral and spiritual in the title of prints offers evidence of an overlapping market for these two types of uplifting and serious prints. However, the fact that they are both mentioned separately marks the growing awareness and identification of the “moral” as a category of poetic and musical activity that was distinct, if often linked to the spiritual. Yet moral philosophy, and its expressions in poetry and music, sought to provide precepts for practical living and governing human relations that transcended the zeal and devotion of spiritual aims. Thus, it is crucial to

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<sup>57</sup> “Le baron d’Augne n’y estoit point [au prêche] et estoit allé au quattessime [catéchisme ?] il ne faut pas oublier de luy envoyer ou porter quelque chose mes quoy je ne say pas bien. J’aiderois mieux quelque chose de garde que d’usage ordinaire de sorte tablette ou pseumes luy seroient, je croy bien agréable [...]” Many thanks to Isabelle His for bringing this citation to my attention. The letter is transcribed and available online in Jean Luc Tulot, ed., *Correspondance d’Elisabeth de Nassau, Duchesse de Bouillon à sa sœur Charlotte-Brabantine, Duchesse de La Tremoille* (années 1595-1609), 122-3.

decouple the genre of moral poetry and music from the spiritual and pious, in order to understand fundamental aspects of its development and use that were quite distinct from devotional texts. For it was only this neutrality with regard to spiritual and dogmatic matters that let the moral genre develop as a genre that was shared by Catholics and Protestants.

In a period where religious zeal had, for many, lost its moral anchor, musical settings of moral poetry established precepts for ethical conduct and sought to cultivate personal understanding of how to identify the good and live well. The cultivation of virtue in this sense worked as a fundamentally reparative movement, as the basis for restoring harmonious civil relations. Although leading figures such as Pibrac and Montaigne emphasized the interior life, they also clearly articulated that the pursuit of a virtuous self provided the foundation for proper outward engagement with the world and the city.<sup>58</sup> This recurring topic represents a philosophical turn in the late sixteenth century that recuperated ancient Greek virtue ethics as a powerful new source of moral authority, one that was less controversial than the destabilized sovereign authority and the authority traditionally drawn from the conflicted (and for some, morally bankrupt) Christian church.

Classical Greek and Latin philosophy, in particular works by Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, Cicero, provided a compelling, alternate source of moral authority that was recognized across the divided confessions. Dovetailing with the increased accessibility of classical Greek and Latin moral texts in original and vernacular printed editions, the late sixteenth-century cultivation of virtue developed within this specifically neoplatonist and neoaristotelian philosophical tradition. Although this tradition was historically pagan or, in some cases, secular in orientation, these works had long since been appropriated into the Christian tradition by St. Augustine and Thomas

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<sup>58</sup> Petris, “Foi, éthique, politique et théologie dans *Les Quatrains de Pibrac*,” in *L'humanisme à Toulouse*, 532.

Aquinas, together with medieval authorities. With the humanist revival of the classics in the Renaissance, these ancient sources on philosophy, rhetoric, and poetics were incorporated into both Catholic and Protestant traditions in the sixteenth century as a rich source of thought that could be recuperated by and for Christian moral thought.

Aristotle's ethics served as the most influential texts in Renaissance moral philosophy. Known in contemporary philosophy as "virtue ethics," Aristotle's ethics founded the philosophical tradition of normative ethics that centers on inner disposition and moral character as the guide for outward behavior.<sup>59</sup> Virtue, when used more broadly, typically denotes ideal inner character, whereas ethics outlines principles or norms of human behavior. Virtue ethics forges a link between these two domains—between the cultivation of inner virtue and the ethical behaviors that ideally result from these moral dispositions. In contrast to the other two primary modern strains of normative ethics—deontological or Kantian ethics (emphasizes duties or rules) and utilitarianism (emphasizes results of actions)—virtue ethics approaches outward behavior as motivated and conditioned by virtuous inner moral character.<sup>60</sup>

According to Aristotle and other ancient writers, *ethos* (moral character, disposition,

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<sup>59</sup> For an introduction to the literature on virtue ethics, see Rosalind Hursthouse, *On Virtue Ethics* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); Daniel Statman, *Virtue Ethics* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1997); Alasdair C. MacIntyre, *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984); Robert M. Adams, *A Theory of Virtue: Excellence in Being for the Good* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); Julia Annas, "Being Virtuous and Doing the Right Thing," *Proceedings and Addresses of the American Philosophical Association* 78, no. 2 (2004): 61-75; and Thomas Hurka, "Virtuous Act, Virtuous Dispositions," *Analysis* 66, no. 289 (2006): 69-76.

<sup>60</sup> For example, imagine that we are confronted with the ethical question of whether to speak the truth or lie in a given situation? A deontologist could advise that one should speak the truth because it conforms to a moral rule such as "The truth will set you free;" a utilitarian could assert that telling the truth would lead to the maximum good for the majority of persons involved. The virtue ethicist, on the other hand, would urge the agent to speak the truth because doing so would be the action of an honest and just person. See Hursthouse, "Virtue Ethics," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2013 Edition), ed. Edward N. Zalta, <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2013/entries/ethics-virtue/>.

emotion, feeling) was the source of *ethics* (how best to live or act).<sup>61</sup> Thus, in a technical sense, ethos and ethics cannot be disentangled from one another and are merely two parts of the same philosophical construct, the first being the arousal of feeling and the second being the action or potential behavior incited by this virtuous disposition, such as the improvement of moral character, living well, or conforming to some action or behavior, such living a chaste life, obeying one's authorities, doing one's duty.<sup>62</sup>

It is thus unsurprising that, in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources, the ethos and ethics of music are also deeply intertwined. To take just one influential example, John Calvin's revised Psalter preface of 1543 relied upon these traditional sources in his praise of music's ethical powers, arguing that "almost nothing in the world is more able to turn and bend here and there the morals of men, as Plato has prudently considered it. And in fact, we have proven that it has a secret and almost incredible power to move hearts in one manner or another."<sup>63</sup> Calvin's

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<sup>61</sup> Richard Kraut, "Aristotle's Ethics," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2016 Edition), ed. Edward N. Zalta. <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2016/entries/aristotle-ethics/>. See also Thornton Lockwood's discussion of this famous opening of the second book of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*. "Excellence of character results from habituation [*ethos*]---which is in fact the source of the name it has acquired [*êthikê*], the word for 'character-trait' [*êthos*] being a slight variation of that for 'habituation' [*ethos*]. This makes it quite clear that none of the excellences of character [*êthikê aretê*] comes about in us by nature; for no natural way of being is changed through habituation [*ethizetai*]." Thornton Lockwood, "Habituation, Habit and Character in Aristotle's Ethics," in *A History of Habit: From Aristotle to Bourdieu* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Press, 2013), 19.

<sup>62</sup> Although the ethical underpinnings of music's ability to influence the emotions continued to linger at the margins of later seventeenth-century musical thought, normative musical ethics in the seventeenth century were more and more overshadowed by an interest in music's ability to produce pleasure, affect the passions, and create diverse emotional states as ends unto themselves. I will consider late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century musical ethos only in terms of its role in philosophies of early modern virtue ethics. I will not consider the well-trod terrain of the relation between music and specific emotions, debates over which modes/scales/rhythms generated which emotions, or the development of the seventeenth-century Doctrine of the Affections.

<sup>63</sup> "Car à grand' peine y a-il en ce monde chose qui puisse plus tourner ou fléchir çà et là les mœurs des hommes, comme Plato l'a prudemment considéré. Et de fait, nous expérimentons qu'elle a une vertu secrète & quasi incroyable à esmouvoir les cœurs en une sorte ou en l'autre." Transcribed in Pierre Pidoux, *Le Psautier Huguenot du XVIe siècle: mélodies et documents* (Basle: Baerenreiter, 1962), vol. 2, 20-21.



language here, which is typical of the *laus musicae*, uses language drawn from classical virtue ethics, as he describes music's capacity to stir up, arouse, inflame, delight, or move the heart/soul to an emotional disposition (*ethos*).

In this same passage, Calvin explicitly links this special power of music to kindle an emotional disposition to the formation of outward behavior:

If there were no other consideration than this alone, it should move us to govern the use of music, to make it serve all decent behavior and that it be not at all an occasion to give free reign to dissolution, or to make us effeminate in disorderly delights, and that it be not an instrument of fornication, neither of wantonness. [...] That is why we must be all the more diligent to regulate it in such a way as to be for our profit, and not for our destruction.<sup>64</sup>

Although Calvin's tone is particularly negative at this point, certainly more so than the average *laus musicae* source, his explicit connection between music's arousal of emotion and a subsequent potential for moral behavior or action, be it towards virtue or vice, serves as a representative example of the early modern musical virtue ethics that undergirded moral music production and use.

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<sup>64</sup> "Quand il n'y auroit autre consideration que ceste seule, si nous doit-elle bien esmouvoir à modérer l'usage de la musique, pour la faire servir à toute honnesteté: & qu'elle ne soit point occasion de nous lascher la bride à dissolution, ou de nous effeminer en délices desordonnées, & qu'elle ne soit point instrument de paillardise, ne d'aucune impudicité. Mais encore y a-il davantage: car à grand' peine y a-il en ce monde chose qui puisse plus tourner ou fléchir çà et là les mœurs des hommes, comme Plato l'a prudemment considéré. Et de fait, nous expérimentons qu'elle a une vertu secrète & quasi incroyable à esmouvoir les cœurs en une sorte ou en l'autre. Parquoy nous devons estre d'autant plus diligens à la reigler en telle sorte qu'elle nous soit utile, & nullement pernicieuse." Transcribed in Pidoux, *Psautier Huguenot*, vol. 2, 20-21.

## Moral Poetry and the Secularization of Ethics

A critical aspect of the moral genre is that, while it was birthed within a Christian framework, its classical philosophical sources ultimately offered a pathway towards a secularized ethics. For the moral genre emphasized the rational discovery of ethical principles that were ultimately capable of critiquing religion, spiritual practices, and the church—particularly the justification of violence and war as a means of purifying the church body.

Even as at mid-century, engagement with ancient philosophy through commentary and discussion generally attempted to harmonize Aristotle and Plato for use within Christian frameworks, these philosophies never lost their autonomy and distinction as pre-Christian texts.<sup>65</sup> Due to his interest in the eternal and in faith as the primary focus of his philosophy, Plato fit much more easily into the religious priorities of sixteenth-century theologians and philosophers. However, despite these challenges, the clarity of Aristotle's ethics made it more attractive in education. For even as sixteenth-century humanists often indicated a preference for Plato, the rambling nature of his discourse and the difficulty of arriving at conclusions to the difficult questions that he raised made it impractical as a teaching text. Aristotle's philosophy, unlike Plato's, resisted Christianization due to his emphasis on rationality and the senses, his valorization of worldly goods, and his appreciation of pleasure as integral to a virtuous life. Yet, despite his resistance to complete assimilation into Christianity, Aristotle's ethics served as the central philosophical text throughout the medieval period and well into the seventeenth century.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Colletet, for example, notes that some Christians might resist learning from "profane and pagan" ancient Greek philosophers. However, he argues for the Christian to follow Augustine in reading the ancient Greeks as part of Christian moral training. Colletet, *Traité de la poésie morale*, 55.

<sup>66</sup> Jill Kraye, "Moral Philosophy," in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, eds. Charles B. Schmitt and Quentin Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 325; Heinrich Kuhn, "Aristotelianism in the Renaissance," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2014 Edition), ed.

The crisis of moral authority brought about by the Wars of Religion and the continued acts of violence perpetrated by the extremist Catholic League provoked some philosophers to call for a reevaluation of the relationship between morality and religious devotion. Although Montaigne laid important foundations in this regard, historians of moral philosophy have noted the importance of Pierre Charron's work *De la sagesse*, in culminating and clarifying a longer secularization of ethics that had been at work since the late sixteenth century. A disciple of Montaigne, Charron built upon his mentor's foundation and clearly decoupled ethics from its religious harness. In a particularly illuminating passage titled "Against those who confuse piety and probity," he criticizes the common assumption that religious piety automatically leads to good moral character.

I now come to those others who confuse and spoil all: and thus have neither true religion, nor true probity, and in fact differ hardly at all from the former, who only worry about religion: these are those who would like probity to follow and serve religion, and who recognize no other probity than that which is stirred by the fount of religion. Yet not only is such probity neither true, nor acting by the good fount of nature, but accidental and unequal, according to what was said above; yet it is quite dangerous, producing sometimes very villainous and scandalous results (as the experience of all time makes felt) under noble and specious pretexts of piety. What execrable evils have been produced by religious zeal?<sup>67</sup>

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Edward N. Zalta, <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2014/entries/aristotelianism-renaissance/>. As Kuhn sums it up, "if we use the term 'Aristotelianism' to denote everything in Renaissance philosophy that with some high degree of probability makes direct or indirect use of Aristotle's texts would mean that 'Aristotelianism in the Renaissance' and 'Philosophy in the Renaissance' are equivalent terms."

<sup>67</sup> "28. *Contre ceux qui confondent la piété et la probité*. "Je viens aux autres qui confondent et gastent tout : et ainsi n'ont ni vraye religion, ni vraye preud'homme, et de fait ne different gueres des premiers, qui ne se soucient que de religion : ce sont ceux qui veulent que la probité suive et serve à la religion, et

Although Charron was clearly not arguing against religion per se (despite contemporary charges that he promoted atheism and libertinism), he identified the danger of religious zeal without an independent and autonomous ethical system to balance it and keep it in check. For Charron, the problem was that, in subsuming morality underneath religion, morality became only a tool in the service of religion, thus allowing religious zealots to praise any immoral act that furthered the advancement and goals of the church:

But it comes that having no taste, nor image, nor conception of probity, than that which serves religion, and thinking that to be a good man is nothing other than to carefully advance and propagate his religion, believing that anything, whatever it may be, be it treason, perfidy, sedition, rebellion, and any offense whatever it may be, is not only lawful and permitted, colored by the zeal and care of religion: but even praiseworthy, meritorious, and canonizable, if it serves in the progress and advancement of religion, and the pushing back of its adversaries.<sup>68</sup>

What Charron proposes is the possibility of a relationship between piety and probity, in which neither one subsumes the other. Rather, they can work together side by side in society, yet independently.

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ne reconnoissent autre preud'homie que celle qui se remuë par le ressort de la religion. Or outre que telle preud'homie n'est vraye, n'agissant par le bon ressort de nature, mais accidentale et inegale, selon qu'a esté dict au long ci dessus; encores est elle bien dangereuse, produisant quelquefois de tres-vilains et scandaleux effects (comme l'experience l'a de tous temps fait sentir) sous beaux et specieux pretextes de pieté. Quelles execrables meschancetez n'a produit le zele de religion?" Pierre Charron, *Le Thresor de la Sagesse, Compris en trois livres* (Lyon, 1606), Bk.2, Ch.5, 360-1.

<sup>68</sup> "Mais cela vient que n'ayant aucun goust, ny image, ou conception de preud'homie, qu'à la suite et pour le service de la religion, et pensant qu'estre homme de bien, n'est autre chose qu'estre soigneux d'avancer et faire valoir sa religion, croyent que toute chose quelle qu'elle soit, trahyson, perfidie, sedition, rebellion et toute offense à qui conque soit, est non seulement loisible et permise, coloree du zele et soin de religion : mais encores louable, meritoire, et canonizable, si elle sert au progrès et advancement de la religion, et reculement de ses adversaires." Charron, *Le Thresor de la Sagesse*, Bk. 2, Ch. 5, 361-362.

Yet here in order to achieve this proposition, what I want and require in my wisdom, a true moral virtue and a true piety, joined and married together, where each subsists and sustains itself, without the aid of the other; and each acting by its own energy.<sup>69</sup>

Ethics and morality, as Charron conceived it, provide a counter to pure devotion and zeal, providing a space for philosophical reflection of principles that transcends religious fervor and can keep it in check. In other words, ethics offers a space to challenge through philosophical reflection the kind of religious extremism that can justify any violence or ambition, if it is done in the name of God or purifying the holy church. Spiritual zeal thus unmoored from ethics, as Charron recognized it, was how a kingdom falls into decades of civil war and witnesses horrific genocide in the name of religion.

Beginning at mid-century, printed collections of moral poetry and their musical settings participated in exactly the kind of gradual separation between religion and ethics that Charron so clearly articulated at the turn of the seventeenth century. For the moral texts under consideration in this dissertation, most centrally the *Quatrains de Pibrac*, the *Tablettes de Mathieu*, and the *Octonaires de la vanité du monde*, model an interest in an ethics of virtue that is distinct from spiritual zeal. Here the pursuit of virtue emerges as a cultivation of moral character that could lead to outward ethical relationships in communal and civil contexts, even in a context of religious plurality.

The popularization of singing moral poetry played a role in a late sixteenth-century process of secularization that ultimately increased interest in rational, philosophical reflection over piety and religious belief as the foundation for virtuous individual and communal relations. Thus, this

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<sup>69</sup> “Or voyci pour achever ce propos, ce que je veux et requiers en mon sage, une vraye preud’homme et une vraye piété, jointes et mariees ensemble; que chacune subsiste et se soustienne de soy mesmes, sans l’ayde de l’autre ; et agisse par son propre ressort.” Charron, *Le Thresor de la Sagesse*, Bk. 2, Ch. 5, 362.

dissertation will specifically bracket off moral music settings from the spiritual and argue for the “moral” itself as a distinct category of music history. I argue that the practice of using moral poetry and music, in particular, cut across political, communal, and religious boundaries and created a de facto shared normative ethics, as this practicum became embedded in domestic recreation and education for both Catholics and Protestants across the francophone world. With their marketable blend of musical accessibility and generally high compositional quality, moral music settings offered an attractive mode of reparation useful for daily life, not only for elites but also for the larger public of amateur musicians and children.

By the late sixteenth century, some adults had spend their entire life in a state of conflict, destruction, and the breakdown of social and religious structures, with little hope of permanent resolution. Virtue, in this setting, was more than a current fashion to be worn for a moment and discarded. Or as Chandieu imagined it, cultivating virtue was as important as constructing a rudder for a ship helplessly caught in a raging storm.<sup>70</sup> In the chapters that follow, I will trace the development of the central poetic and musical prints in the moral genre, considering their production and use within the urgent interest in moral repair that followed the wars.

In Chapter 2 (“Moral Cultures of Print”), I outline the history of moral music printing, beginning with the publication of Solomon’s *Proverbes and Ecclesiastes* as a foundational model for the neutral, philosophical tone that characterizes these prints. In Chapter 3 (“Moral repair *en musique*”), I use prefaces, commendatory poetry, and the contents of moral music prints to illuminate this genre as a response to the trauma of continued civil war. The producers and early audience for these prints positioned these music books as a type of daily repair, with an ethical power to mend damaged communal morals. In my final two chapters, “Repetitions of Virtue”

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<sup>70</sup> For example, this imagery appears across Chandieu’s *Octonaires sur la vanité et inconstance du monde*.

and “Virtuous Beauty”, I explore two primary virtuous experiences—repetition and beauty—that were central to musical and poetic projects of moral repair in post-war France. These virtuous musical experiences were understood to be both markers and generators of moral dispositions, states with a powerful potential to influence individual and communal morality.

Repetition, in particular, offered an accessible mode of musical edification that combined practical utility with moral value. In Chapter 4 (“Repetitions of Virtue”), I show how practices of repetition were connected to the long history of learning moral poetry by heart in scholastic models of early modern education that focused on developing the art of memory. Drawing on pedagogical treatises, memoirs, letters, and other printed and manuscript sources, I demonstrate that the well-documented practice of young children and even adults memorizing Pibrac’s *Quatrains* and other moral poetry by heart through the tedious process of repetition served as a crucial mediator between the philosophical and the practical. As these texts were practiced and sung through composed musical settings rife with rhetorical repetition, they then doubled back on themselves in even more layers of repetition, between the mysticism of neo-Platonism and the everyday action of neo-Aristotelian scholasticism.

Chapter 5 (“Virtuous Beauty”) then uncovers the role of beauty and pleasure in the production and use of moral music settings. By some accounts, beauty offered the most compelling virtuous musical experience, as rapturous commendatory poetry included in L’Estocart’s *Octonaires* prints makes clear. However, it was also the most controversial for producers and users of moral poetry and music, because of its association with the feminized vices of vanity and carnal pleasure. Was musical beauty virtuous, as Aristotle had proposed? Or were beauty and the experience of pleasure dangerous distractions from the pursuit of virtue? Using the exquisitely crafted musical settings of the *Octonaires de la vanité du monde* by

L'Estocart as a starting point, I explore musical and historic evidence for understanding the necessity of considering beauty in this repertoire. Developing the ability to recognize the beautiful was a central objective in artistic projects of moral improvement, where the experience of beauty served as both an act of ethical formation and served as the evidence of a virtuous life.



## CHAPTER TWO

### Moral Cultures of Print

Foundational for setting moral poetry to music was the success of the paraphrases of Solomon's Proverbs and Ecclesiastes that appeared in the tense years leading up to the outbreak of the First War of Religion in 1562.<sup>1</sup> This renewed interest in moral philosophy accompanied a search for sources, proverbs, and adages from antiquity to serve as models in formulating lessons in moral virtue for the contemporary situation.<sup>2</sup> Solomon's book of Ecclesiastes was an especially important model for moral poetry in the second half of the sixteenth century, with a particular influence on Pibrac's *Quatrains* and Chandieu's *Octonaires*.<sup>3</sup>

The first poetic paraphrases and musical settings of Solomon's Proverbs and Ecclesiastes appeared in print in 1556 (see Table 1).

LES PRO | VERBES DE SALOMON, | Ensemble L'ecclésiaste, mis en cantiques & rime  
Françoise, selon la verité hebraique | Par A. D. du Plessis. | Mis en Musique par F.  
Gindron. | Par Jean Rivery. | M. D. L. VI.

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<sup>1</sup> See Vignes, "Paraphrase et appropriation: les avatars poétiques de l'ecclésiaste au temps des guerres de religion (Dalbiac, Carle, Belleau, Baïf)," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* (1993): 503-526. For more on Biblical paraphrases see also Véronique Ferrer, "Réformes de l'ecclésiaste, entre rimes et raisons," in *Les paraphrases Bibliques aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles: Actes du colloque de Bordeaux des 22, 23 et 24 Septembre 2004*, ed. Ferrer and Anne Mantero (Geneva: Droz, 2006), 191-206; Jacques Pineaux, *La poésie des protestants de langue française, du premier synode national jusqu'à la proclamation de l'Édit de Nantes (1559-1598)* (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1971); Pascale Blum-Cuny and Mantero, eds, *Poésie et Bible de la Renaissance à l'Age Classique, 1550-1680*, Actes du colloque de Besançon des 25 et 26 mars 1997 (Paris: Champion, 1999).

<sup>2</sup> Vignes, "Paraphrase et appropriation," 521.

<sup>3</sup> Ferrer, "Réformes de l'ecclésiaste," 192.

LES VERTUS DE LA FEMME FIDELE, ET BONNE | *MESNAGERE, COMME IL EST*  
*CONTENU AUX* | Proverbes de Salomon Chapitre XXXI, | *Sur le chant du Pseaume XV.*

Published in Lausanne by Jean Rivery, both of these prints indicated through their contents and prefatory material that they sought to edify a Protestant audience.<sup>4</sup> The text for the first print listed above was a poetic paraphrase of both Solomon's Proverbs and Ecclesiastes by the Protestant Accasse Dalbiac, *dit* Du Plessis<sup>5</sup> set to music by François Gindron (see Figure 1).

The organization and presentation of the poetry and musical settings emphasizes diversity, over unity and order. Dalbiac used a wide variety of poetic forms and meters, with no two consecutive chapters having the same length of strophe.<sup>6</sup> Gindron chose to set some of the Proverbs chapters to melody, twenty in total, while he noted that other portions of text offered no accompanying musical setting. Gindron offered Proverbs 1, 8-9, 11-17, 21-22, 24-25, 27-28, 31, and Ecclesiastes 1-12 with individual monophonic settings for each chapter. In several cases (Proverbs 9, 24, 27, and Ecclesiastes 3), Gindron offered two melodies for an individual chapter. He closes the collection by setting a portion of Ecclesiastes 12 in a 5-voice, simple polyphonic setting, "Esjouy toi ô jeune en ta jeunesse."<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Every aspect of these two prints signals Protestant production and audience. The printer Jean Rivery was a known Protestant printer, active in Geneva from 1550-4 and 1559-65 and in Lausanne from 1556-8. In 1557, the church authorities in Rome condemned Rivery in absentia, naming him "parmi les imprimeurs d'écrits heretiques." See *Index librorum prohibitorum*, v. VIII, 340, #0176. Both of the poets, Theodore de Beze and Accace Dalbiac, were noted Protestants, and François Gindron was a Protestant composer who had composed some of the early Psalm settings sung in Bern churches. Furthermore, Gindron's print was dedicated to the Council of Bern.

<sup>5</sup> *Les Proverbes de Salomon, ensemble l'Ecclésiaste, mis en cantiques et rime française, selon la vérité hébraïque* (Lausanne: Jean Rivery, 1556).

<sup>6</sup> For a summary of the poetic forms and meters by chapter, see Vignes, "Paraphrase et appropriation," 509.

<sup>7</sup> In standard Bibles, the reference for this text is Ecclesiastes 11:9.

Table 1: Musical Settings of Solomon’s *Proverbs* and *Ecclesiastes*.

MUSICAL SOURCES, PRINTED:				
CATALOGUE	DATE	AUTHOR/TITLE	PUBLISHER	COMMENTS
GLN-1835; Pidoux v. 1, 201-16; and v.2, 101-2; Honegger v.2, 1556/III	1556	François Gindron, <i>Les Proverbes de Salomon, ensemble l’Ecclesiaste, mis en cantiques et rime française, selon la vérité hébraïque. Par A. D. Du Plessis. Mis en musique par F. Gindron.</i>	Lausanne: Jean Rivery	33 monophonic, and 1 polyphonic setting for the Dalbiac’s texts.
GLN-1988	1556	Theodore de Bèze, <i>Les Vertus de la Femme Fidele, Et Bonne Mesnagere, comme il est contenu aux Proverbes de Salomon Chapitre XXXI, Sur le chant du Pseaume XV.</i>	Lausanne: Jean Rivery	Printed with the tune for Psalm 15 in notation.
Lesure no. 48; Honneger v.1, 1558/I	1558	Clément Janequin, <i>Proverbes de Salomon, mis en Cantiques, et rime Française, selon la vérité Hebraïque : nouvellement composés en Musique à quatre parties, par M. Clement Janequin, imprimés en quatre volumes.</i>	Paris: Le Roy et Ballard	

Lesure no. 119; Honegger 1567/II	1567	Nicolas Millot, <i>Les Proverbes de Salomon mis en musique à quatre parties par N. Millot. Maistre de la chapelle du Roy.</i>	Paris: Le Roy et Ballard	20 polyphonic settings of Dalbiac's texts.
Lesure No. 139	1570	Guillaume Costeley, <i>Musique de Guillaume Costeley, Organiste Ordinaire et Vallet de Chambre...</i>	Paris: Le Roy et Ballard	2 Proverb paraphrases by an unknown poet.
GLN-3964	1598	<i>Tragédie françoise du sacrifice d'Abraham. Avec un Ode chanté par Th de Beze, et un cantique de la femme fidelle et bonne mesnagere. Plus est ajousté un poeme des plaisirs de la vie rustique, ...</i>	[Geneva]: Jacob Stoer	Includes de Bèze's text for Proverbes 31, to be sung to the tune of Ps. 15 (without notation).

Gindron's musical style bears a strong resemblance to the simple strophic style of the Geneva Psalter, while the note-against-note polyphonic settings presage the musical style made famous by Goudimel in his celebrated polyphonic settings of the psalms. Gindron's largely strophic format came to characterize much of the genre of moral poetry and music, whereby the presentation of the moral text in a simple musical setting appeared alongside a large number of texts meant to be sung to the same music.

The other print from 1556 by Rivery was a one-page print titled *Les Vertus de la Femme Fidele, Et Bonne Mesnagere, comme il est contenu aux Proverbes de Alomon Chapitre XXXI, Sur le chant du Pseaume XV*. The print offers the melody of Psalm XV in notation at the head, followed by the poetic paraphrase of Proverbs 31 by Theodore de Bèze (see Figure 2). De Bèze's Proverbs 31 setting seems to have been a success, as it was eventually republished in 1598 (without notated music this time) and named in the title of the *Tragédie françoise du sacrifice d'Abraham. Avec un Ode chanté par Th de Beze, et un cantique de la femme fidelle et bonne mesnagere*. This 1598 print also importantly includes the *Quatrains de Pibrac* and the *Octonaires* by Chandieu, thus linking together this early musical Proverb setting with two of the most important late sixteenth-century moral texts.

In 1558, Clément Janequin published four-voice musical settings of Dalbiac's paraphrases of the Proverbs of Solomon, the first of a series of Catholic composers who contributed to the musical bibliography of the Proverbs.

PROVERBES DE SALOMON, | mis en Cantiques, et rime Françoise, selon la verité  
Hebraique : nouvellement | composés en Musique à quatre parties, par M. Clement  
Janequin, | imprimés en quatre volumes. | TENOR | A PARIS. | De l'imprimerie d'Adrian  
le Roy, et Robert Ballard, Imprimeurs du Roy, | rue S. Jean de Beauvais, à l'enseigne S.  
Genevieve. 1558 | Avec privilege du Roy, pour dix ans.

Published at the end of his life, Janequin was in Paris holding the honorary title of “compositeur ordinaire du Roi.”<sup>8</sup> Although Janequin was best known for his “chansons descriptives,” in the

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<sup>8</sup> Christelle Cazaux-Kowalski, “Que sait-on de Clément Janequin?,” in *Clément Janequin: un musicien au milieu des poètes*, eds. Olivier Halévy, His, and Vignes (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 2013), 33; Jean Duchamp, “La musique religieuse de Clément Janequin” in *Clément Janequin: un musicien au milieu des poètes*, 177.

final years of his life, he turned to more serious themes. He published five books of devotional music in French, including settings of the Psalms, *chansons spirituelles*, and paraphrases of Proverbs and Lamentations.<sup>9</sup> While this turn towards what seems to be a marked Protestant corpus may lead to questions about whether Janequin converted at the end of his life, the evidence suggests that he continued to serve as a Catholic priest until his death and that he was not a “nicodemite” (someone who hid their true confession for social or political reasons). As Jean Duchamp reminds us, the production and consumption of Biblical paraphrases and other vernacular devotional music was, still in the 1550s a neutral cultural fashion shared by Catholics and Protestants alike.<sup>10</sup>

Although only the tenor and bass parts for Janequin’s setting survive,<sup>11</sup> it is clear by the identical rhythms and the compatibility of the harmonies that Janequin used the Gindron melodies as the superius part, in the simple style of note-against-note counterpoint known as “voix de ville.”<sup>12</sup> For the Gindron melodies, their success as melody can also be measured by the fact that Janequin chose to use these melodies as the superius for his polyphonic settings.

Janequin’s *Les Proverbes* are an early example of the Italian-influenced chromatic experimentation that would become the hallmark of later composers, from Costeley, Servin, Bertrand, Boni, L’Estocart, and Le Jeune.<sup>13</sup> Janequin signaled his use of unusual harmonies in the preface to his *Octant deux psaumes* (1559), remarking on his use of dissonances “non

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<sup>9</sup> Halévy, His, and Vignes, eds., *Clément Janequin: un musicien au milieu des poètes*, 7.

<sup>10</sup> Duchamp, “La musique religieuse de Clément Janequin,” 177-8.

<sup>11</sup> For a restitution of Janequin’s *Proverbs* with a hypothetical altus part, see Honegger, “Les chansons spirituelles,” Part II. Textes musicaux.

<sup>12</sup> Duchamp, “La musique religieuse de Clément Janequin,” 195. Honegger refers to this simple, vertical, homorhythmic style, where the superius rather than the tenor consistently bears the melody, as the “Protestant choral style,” noting that Janequin’s *Proverbs*, along with his later *Octant deux Psaumes* (1559), are foundational examples of this trend. Honegger, “Les chansons spirituelles,” x.

<sup>13</sup> Honegger, “Les chansons spirituelles,” x.

usitées.” These experimental harmonies, found also in Janequin’s *Proverbs*, are typically created through chromatic false relations of octaves. Although these unusual harmonies were not meant to underline specific words, they do accomplish broader expressive purposes, reflecting a more general sense of metaphysical inspiration.<sup>14</sup>

In 1567, Le Roy and Ballard published another twenty polyphonic settings of Dalbriac’s Proverb paraphrases, this time by Nicolas Millot.

SUPERIUS. | LES PROVERBES DE | SALOMON MIS EN | musique à quatre parties  
par N. Millot. | Maistre de la chapelle | du Roy. | A PARIS. | Par Adrian le Roy, & Robert  
Ballard, Imprimeurs | du Roy. | 1567 | Avec privilege de sa majesté. | Pour dix ans.

Like Janequin before him, Millot was in the service of the French royal court. Millot served as a singer (*haute-contre*) and composer in the *chapelle royale*, appearing in various documents between 1560 and 1590.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, there is evidence that he worked with young singers. His final appointment was as the “maître des enfans” in the chapel of the queen mother, Catherine de Medici. In addition to Millot’s position in the royal chapels, his dedication of this print to Charles IX further attests to the continued interest in singing paraphrases of the wisdom literature in the court milieu, perhaps written particularly for use by the young choristers (see Appendix C).<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Duchamp, “La musique religieuse de Clément Janequin,” 196; Honegger, “Les chansons spirituelles,” 139.

<sup>15</sup> For example, in 1578, Millot was noted as a singer (*haute-contre*) and composer at the *chapelle royal*. Then in 1585, records name Millot as having been “sous-maître de la chapelle de musique du Roy” for more than twenty years. See Frank Dobbins, “Millot, Nicolas,” *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed February 8, 2016, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/18702>.

<sup>16</sup> Dobbins, “Millot, Nicolas.”

Unlike Janequin, Millot did not use Gindron's melodies. Millot is the only composer to take more liberties with both the musical structure and ordering. Millot loosens the strictly syllabic style of the Gindron/Janequin settings, instead opting for a freer relationship between texts and musical setting. Not only does he rearrange the order of the texts (no longer sequential according to chapter), but he lengthens and embellishes the text and musical setting. Although the style remains relatively syllabic, he uses occasional melismas, and he expands the setting through text repetitions built into the setting.

In 1570, several new settings of Proverbs appeared. Guillaume Costeley set two of Solomon's Proverbs to poetic paraphrases by an unidentified author. He included these settings in his large collection *Musique*, also dedicated to Charles IX, and printed by Le Roy and Ballard in 1570 during the third War of Religion.

MUSIQUE DE | GUILLAUME COSTELEY, | ORGANISTE ORDINAIRE ET |  
VALLET DE CHAMBRE, DU | TRESCHRESTIEN ET TRESINVINCIBLE | ROY DE  
FRANCE. | CHARLES. IX. | SUPERIUS. | A PARIS. | Par Adrian le Roy & Robert  
Ballard, | Imprimeurs du Roy. | 1570. | Avec privilege de sa majesté.

Like Janequin and Millot before him, Costeley was also in royal service. In his preface, Costeley warns that the ranges for the music in this collection would be larger than normal because the music was originally created for Charles IX's chamber singers.<sup>17</sup> Costeley's two Proverb settings are included in a section marked "chanson en façon d'air," and they use the homophonic texture, syllabic setting, and strophic form that characterized the genre that came to be known as the *air*

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<sup>17</sup> See Jeanice Brooks, *Courtly Song in Late Sixteenth-century France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 27.



*de cour*.<sup>18</sup> Although the texts and music are not taken from the Gindron/Dalbiac print, the syllabism and strophic format with a large number of additional verses printed with the notated music resembles the format of the Gindron model.<sup>19</sup>

This publication history of the musical settings of Solomon's Proverbs and Ecclesiastes laid important groundwork for the later development of newly composed moral texts set to music. Initially, poetic and musical settings of Solomon's wisdom literature emerged in an explicitly Protestant milieu alongside interest in vernacular paraphrases of other Old Testament Biblical texts, most importantly the Psalms.<sup>20</sup> Like the more popular Psalm paraphrases and their musical settings, this clear Protestant context and the Biblical source of Solomon's texts justifies the typical categorization of these settings as spiritual prints created for domestic devotion. However, the moral and philosophical character of Solomon's wisdom literature, distinct in tone and purpose from the Psalms, quickly moved the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes onto an alternate trajectory that led to the formation of a new category of moral poetry and music. As Colletet put it when he included the vernacular Solomon paraphrases in his catalog of moral poetry, these texts offer "a sacred tableau of beautiful Morality."<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> The first print to use the term "air de cour" was Adrian Le Roy's *Airs de cour miz sur le luth* (1571). For more on this genre, see Brooks, *Courtly Song*; Georgie Durosoir, *L'air de cour en France: 1571-1655* (Liège: Mardaga, 1991); and Nahéma Khattabi, "Du voix de ville à l'air de cour: les enjeux sociologiques d'un répertoire profane dans la seconde moitié du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Seizième Siècle* 9, no. 1 (2013): 157-170.

<sup>19</sup> For more on the Costeley print, see Khattabi, "Les 'chansons en façon d'airs' de Guillaume Costeley (1570): une volonté d'œuvrer pour la paix?," in *1570: Le mariage des arts au cœur des guerres de religion*, Actes de colloque (22 et 23 Mars 2013), eds. Hugues Daussy, His, and Vignes (Paris: Champion, forthcoming 2016).

<sup>20</sup> For more on the development and use of Biblical paraphrases in this period, see Michel Jeanneret, *Poésie et tradition Biblique au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Corti, 1969); Ferrer and Mantero, eds., *Les paraphrases Bibliques*; Blum-Cuny and Mantero, eds., *Poésie et Bible*; and Pineaux, *La poésie des protestants*.

<sup>21</sup> "Un sacré tableau de la belle Morale." Colletet, *Traité de la poésie morale*, 102, #33.

The basis for this alternate trajectory for the Psalms and the Proverbs centers in a clear difference in their tone and aims. The Psalms and other spiritual music aim to cultivate devotion and lead the singer to worship and praise the divine. Through poetic and musical means, they seek to inspire a deeper connection to God, and they express profound emotions regarding a variety of worldly circumstances, from thankfulness in times of blessing to anger and despair in a period of crisis. In contrast, the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, classified by Biblical scholars as wisdom literature, were focused on teaching principles, the laws of morality, the cycle of life, and knowledge of how to live well in the world. Solomon's Proverbs and Ecclesiastes take on a much more neutral tone, exploring the nature of the world, human relationships, and principles for life that transcend the bounds of religious doctrine, and whose content explores a more practical, ethical register.

At the heart of this difference between the spiritual (as exemplified by the Psalms) and the moral register (as found in the wisdom literature) is a difference in their directionality. The Psalms primarily guide the singer to focus vertically on the human-divine relationship. They express human emotion (adoration, hope, despair, rage) and through the beauty of the poetic form lead the reader to worship God with both spirit and heart. On the other hand, the wisdom literature has a human-human, horizontal orientation, serving to instruct, to guide, to provoke the singer towards understanding the world, towards learning ethical relationships with other humans, towards a life well lived, and to an understanding of the human condition in the world. Furthermore, the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, while elegant and compelling, display a more neutral tone, one that has a more limited emotional range and abstract character in comparison to the unbridled passion and intense, emotional register of the Psalms.

As mentioned in the first chapter, moral texts were sometimes framed or presented within a broadly spiritual frame, encouraging pious and devout Christians to read and follow the moral teaching therein as part of their Christian duty. For example, the Dalbiac/Gindron print displays a dual spiritual and moral purpose, as it presents the moral teaching of Solomon within a spiritual framework. According to Dalbiac's preface to the reader, the overarching purpose for the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes settings was to give Christians "more ample occasion and material to praise God and to profit in all kinds", a spiritual aim (see Appendix B).<sup>22</sup> Gindron's poetic and musical preface and musical format further bolster his presentation of Solomon's moral teaching within a spiritual framework. He opens with an introductory *chanson spirituelle*, ("Reveillez-vous, ô muses chanteresses") in four voices, which justifies the musical paraphrases of the Biblical wisdom literature as an act of duty in praising God.

However, in addition to signaling his broad spiritual aims, Gindron specifies a more particular, didactic moral aim of his musical settings. In contrast to his Psalm settings, which were sung in corporate worship in Lausanne, he clarifies that his Proverbs and Ecclesiastes settings were intended for domestic education.<sup>23</sup> Gindron's substantial preface goes on to explore the theme of moral education as a duty within the Christian life. Thus, although this early example of moral music printing was framed within a spiritual project, the moral contents of the texts helped to launch a new trajectory focused on a moral and ethical domain.

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<sup>22</sup> "Le tout, tant pour servir à ton goust, que pour te donner plus ample occasion et matiere de louer Dieu et de profiter en toutes sortes." Gindron, *Les Proverbes de Salomon*. Khattabi has even suggested that the Dalbiac/Gindron print was an attempt to challenge the supremacy of the Geneva Psalter in Protestant devotional life. Khattabi, "Les 'chansons en façon d'airs'," 7.

<sup>23</sup> Gindron notes that his settings were aimed for "le peuple chrestien recevant ceste excellante doctrine celeste, en puisse chanter à son." At the conclusion of the dedication, Gindron refers to his Psalm settings, noting that they were still being sung in Bern churches, "pour le jourh'uy sont chantez es Eglises de vostre subjection à la louange de notre bon Dieu." Gindron, *Les Proverbes de Salomon*.

## The Quatrains de Pibrac

As the civil war continued on and off, peaking in the 1572 Massacre, the final quarter of the sixteenth century saw a true flourishing of moral poetry as a modern genre. Poets, composers, and printers focused their energies on producing new collections that centered on moral virtue and communicating ethical principles drawn primarily from ancient Greek and Roman sources. This late sixteenth-century turn towards the pursuit of virtue is nowhere more evident than in the extraordinary fortune of the *Quatrains* by Guy du Faur Pibrac.<sup>24</sup> Shortly after its first printing of fifty quatrains in 1574, the *Quatrains* became a classic text. Reprinted and gradually expanded, the collection reached its definitive form of 126 moral poems in 1576.<sup>25</sup> The *Quatrains* became standard material for domestic and formal education, appeared in quotation in a range of printed texts, inspired musical settings, and resounded in recitation and song throughout the French-speaking world, well into the next century.

Colletet's *Traité de la poésie morale et sentencieuse* lauds the abundance of editions of the *Quatrains de Pibrac*, noting that "there is almost no city in this Kingdom which has not reproduced it, and which has not reproduced again every year some edition, for the education of young French people." The *Quatrains* are "like the Manual and the Breviary" for these young people. In short, "the memory of them will never perish."<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> The alternative spelling "Pybrac" was also common during the period.

<sup>25</sup> Guy du Faur Pibrac, *Cinquante Quatrains, contenant préceptes et enseignemens utiles pour la vie de l'homme* (Paris: Gilles Gorbin, 1574). An additional fifty-one quatrains were added in Pibrac, *Continuation des Quatrains du Seigneur de Pybrac, contenant preceptes et enseignemens très utiles pour la vie de l'homme, composez à l'imitation des anciens Poetes grecs* (Paris: Frédéric Morel, 1575). The full set of 126 were published the following year in Pibrac, *Les Quatrains du seigneur de Pybrac [...] de nouveau mis en leur ordre, et augmentez par ledict seigneur* (Paris: Frédéric Morel, 1576). See the critical editions by Petris, *Les Quatrains*; and Tourrette, *Quatrains moraux*.

<sup>26</sup> "La memoire n'en perira jamais. . . . et ce d'autant plus qu'il n'y a presque point de Ville en ce Royaume qui n'en ait renouvelé, et qui n'en renouvelle encore tous les ans quelque edition, pour l'institution de la jeunesse Françoise, dont ils font, ainsi que j'ay dit dans la vie du mesme Pybrac, comme le Manuel et le Breviaire." Colletet, *Traité de la poésie morale*, 133-4.

Although there were periodic examples of *quatrains* and gnomic poetry before the appearance of Pibrac's text and an abundance of imitators after, the *Quatrains de Pibrac* deserve pride of place. This prominence is owed not on the merits of their extraordinary artistry, but for their evident efficacy in providing a route to personal and corporate moral improvement that resonated with Catholics and Protestants seeking means of moral repair.<sup>27</sup> For Greengrass, Pibrac's *Quatrains* epitomize the virtue-centered program of moral reform driving the activities of the French court in the late 1570s and 1580s. "Pibrac's *Quatrains* are a reminder that reform must not be interpreted simply as administrative changes but as a struggle for virtue."<sup>28</sup> Although the main focus was on personal virtue and knowledge of the self, the *Quatrains* repeatedly demonstrate that nurturing individuals' inner virtue would lead to their ethical behavior in communal and civil contexts.

Scholars from a range of disciplines have illuminated Pibrac's role in this virtue movement, both as a political actor and as the author of the *Quatrains*. For example, Greengrass uses Pibrac's *Quatrains* and their focus on virtue as a starting point to outline efforts by Pibrac and other highly placed political leaders to reform virtue through legislation.<sup>29</sup> Yates and Petris, among others, have also noted Pibrac's prominent role in the *Académie de poésie et musique* and the later *Académie du palais*. Virtue was central to the musical and philosophical activities of both academies, which also drew on neoplatonist discourse in support of their efforts to foment

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<sup>27</sup> Scholars typically judge Mathieu's collection to be superior in artistic merit to Pibrac's *Quatrains*. For more on the historical context, style, and posterity of Mathieu's collection, see Tourrette, *Quatrains moraux*, 16-18.

<sup>28</sup> Greengrass, *Governing Passions*, 261.

<sup>29</sup> Greengrass, *Governing Passions*; see also the group of chapters dedicated to Pibrac in Dauvois, ed. *L'humanisme à Toulouse*.

political tolerance and stability.<sup>30</sup> Moving beyond court activities and politics, Van Orden has illuminated the importance of Pibrac's poetry and their musical settings in quotidian music education, examining their use in morally-inflected projects of civility training.<sup>31</sup>

The full title to Pibrac's *Quatrains*, advertises that they offer "precepts and teaching useful for the life of man, composed in imitation of Phocylides, Epicharmus, and other ancient Greek poets."<sup>32</sup> Like most other moral poetry, Pibrac's collection is deist, but ecumenical. For example the first quatrain opens with a paraphrase of an ancient moral text by Phocylides that encourages the honoring of the divine as part of the moral life:

*Quatrain 1*

Dieu tout premier, puis pere et mere honnore:

Sois juste et droit, et en toute saison

De l'innocent pren en main la raison,

Car Dieu te doit là haut juger encore.

[Honor God first, then your father and mother:/ Be just and upright, and in every season/ Take up the cause of the innocent/ For in the end, God will yet be your judge on high.]

It is important to note that even in the cases such as this *quatrain*, which speak of God, the emphasis is not spiritual, but moral. In other words, this text is not leading the user to worship God, but rather positioning the honoring of God within a broader program for living a just and virtuous life. Set in decasyllabic verse with an unrelenting a-b-b-a rhyme scheme, Pibrac's collection has a range of topics for good living, from basic manners to how to find friends.

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<sup>30</sup> Yates, *The French Academies*; Sealy, *The Palace Academy of Henry III*; Petris, "Guy du Faur de Pibrac et l'Académie du palais," 620-42; Boucher, *La cour de Henri III*; and Crouzet, *La nuit de la Saint-Barthélemy*.

<sup>31</sup> Van Orden, *Materialities*, 228-65.

<sup>32</sup> Pibrac, *Cinquante Quatrains*.

Deeply influenced by neostoicism, the overall tone of the collection emphasizes moderation, self-control, and self-knowledge as the foundations for the virtuous life.<sup>33</sup>

The impressive publishing history of Pibrac’s poetic text was enriched by a number of musical settings of the *Quatrains*. Between 1580 and 1622 there were well over three hundred distinct printed musical settings of Pibrac’s *Quatrain* texts, produced by a range of composers and editors.<sup>34</sup> Building upon important foundational work published by Marie-Alexis Colin, I present an expanded musical bibliography for the *Quatrains* with several previously unknown printed and manuscript sources (see Table 2).

Table 2: Musical settings of the *Quatrains de Pibrac*.

MUSICAL SOURCES, PRINTED:				
CATALOGUE	DATE	AUTHOR/TITLE	PUBLISHER	COMMENTS
RISM [c.1580] <sup>8</sup> ; USTC 34667	[1580]	<i>Nouveau recueil et élite de plusieurs belles chansons joyeuses, honnestes, et amoureuses [...] Avec les quatrains du S. de Pibrac aussi en Musique</i>	Rouen: Thomas Mallard	Monophonic setting for Pibrac’s <i>Quatrains</i>

<sup>33</sup> See Petris, “L’Hospital, Pibrac, Montaigne,” 71-91; Petris, “Guy du Faur de Pibrac et L’Académie du Palais,” 509-533; Petris, “Foi, éthique, politique et théologie dans les Quatrains de Pibrac,” 509-533.

<sup>34</sup> Colin, “Les *Quatrains* de Guy du Faur de Pibrac en musique,” 535-6; Lesure and Thibault, *Bibliographie des éditions d’Adrian Le Roy et Robert Ballard*; and Guillo, *Pierre I Ballard et Robert III Ballard*.

HAB Wolfenbüttel, 5 Musica	1581	<i>Nouveau recueil et élite de plusieurs belles chansons joyeuses, honnestes, et amoureuses [...] Avec les quatrains du S. de Pibrac aussi en Musique</i>	Rouen: Richard L'Allemand .	Identical setting as above, different format
Lesure 251; Guillo, Lyon/ 69; RISM L 2074	1582	Paschal de L'Estocart, <i>Cent vingt et six quatrains du Sieur de Pibrac...mis en musique à deux, trois, quatre, cinq et six parties</i>	Lyon: B. Vincent [Geneva: J. de Laon]	Polyphonic settings for 126 <i>quatrains</i> (some doubled settings)
Lesure 259; RISM B 3486; USTC 48550 to 48553	1582	Guillaume Boni, <i>Les Quatrains du Sieur de Pybrac mis en musique à 3, 4, 5, et 6</i>	Paris: A. Le Roy et R. Ballard	Polyphonic settings for 126 <i>quatrains</i>
RISM B 3487; USTC 48560 to 48565, 23548	1583	Guillaume Boni, <i>Les Quatrains du Sieur de Pybrac mis en musique à 3, 4, 5, et 6</i>	Paris: A. Le Roy et R. Ballard	Reprint of 1582 edition
Lesure 260; USTC 30566	1583	Jean Planson, <i>Les Quatrains du Sieur de Pybrac [...] mis en Musique à 3, 4, 5, et 7 parties</i>	Paris: A. Le Roy et R. Ballard	Polyphonic settings for 18 <i>quatrains</i>



Lesure 263; RISM 1583 <sup>7</sup>	1583	Orlande de Lassus, <i>Vingtdeuxième livre de chansons à quatre et cinq parties, d'Orlande de Lassus et autres</i>	Paris: A. Le Roy et R. Ballard	Polyphonic settings for 7 quatrains
RISM 1585 <sup>11</sup>	1585	Orlande de Lassus, <i>Vingtdeuxième livre de chansons à quatre et cinq parties, d'Orlande de Lassus et autres</i>	Paris: A. Le Roy et R. Ballard	Reprint of 1583 edition
RISM M 1429	1616	Piat Maulgred, <i>Airs et chansons a III, V. VI. et VIII. parties, accomodees tant a la voix, qu'aux instrumens</i>	Douai: J. Bogard	Quatrain 28, "Le sage fils"
Guillo, Ballard/ 1622- B	1622	Jean de Bournonville, <i>Cinquante quatrains du Sieur de Pybrac, mis en musique à 2, 3, et 4 parties</i>	Paris: P. Ballard	Polyphonic settings for 50 quatrains
Paris, BSG, Rès Vm 161	1703	<i>Chants des noëls, anciens et nouveaux de la grande Bible, notez avec des basses</i>	Paris: C. Ballard.	Setting of the Quatrains, air with basso continuo
BnF Tolbiac, YE-11355 (BIS)	1705	Simon-Joseph Pellegrin, <i>Chants des cantiques des noels nouveaux et des chansons spirituelles,</i>	Paris: C. Ballard	Notated timbre for "Quatrains de Pibrac"

MUSICAL SOURCES, MANUSCRIPT:	
Paston Manuscript, Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, MS 52A 30-32, folios 25v–26	Orlande de Lassus, <i>Quatrain</i> 34, “Ce que tu peux” and <i>Quatrain</i> 22, “Heureux qui met”
Manuscript collection, early 17th c., Bibliothèque nationale de France, Musique, Rès Vmd Ms 49	Tenor part for an unknown setting of <i>Quatrain</i> 33, “Ayme l’Honneur”
[s.d.], Simon-Joseph Pellegrin, <i>Chants des noels anciens</i> . BnF Tolbiac, YE-11355 (BIS)	Notated timbre for “Quatrains de Pibrac”

A few years after the full edition of Pibrac’s *Quatrains* was issued in 1576, the first known settings of the *Quatrains de Pibrac* appeared in two small collections of poetry and music:

NOUVEAU | RECUEIL ET | ÉLITE DE PLUSIEURS | BELLES CHANSONS JOYEU-  
|ses, honnestes, et amoureuses, | Partie mises en Musique, en une voix : Re- | cueillies de  
plusieurs excellens Poë- | tes François non encor’ veuës. | *Avec les quatrains du S de Pi- |*  
*brac ansi en Musique, | A ROUEN. | Chez Thomas Mallard, libraire : pres le | Palais à*  
L’Homme armé [1580].

NOUVEAU | RECUEIL ET | ÉLITE DE PLUSIEURS | BELLES CHANSONS JOYEU-  
|ses, honnestes, et amoureuses, | Partie mises en Musique, en une voix : Re- | cueillies de  
plusieurs excellens Poë- | tes François non encor’ veuës. | *Avec les quatrains du S de Pi- |*  
*brac ansi en Musique, | A ROUEN. | Chez Richard Allemand [au port-] | tail des*  
Libraires | 1581.

As *recueils* of *chansons*, both prints are cheap, pocket-sized *seidecimo* collections of vernacular song texts that, in this case, also contain some printed monophonic music. Although the titles are nearly identical, the two collections differ in both content and formatting. However, both collections include the *Quatrains de Pibrac* at the end of the collection, presented with the same simple melody. The specific mention of the *Quatrains de Pibrac* in the title and their pride of place at the end of the collections indicates the market value of this popular set of moral poetry in print sales for a broad audience.

The Thomas Mallard print was bound in a two-volume set in the early seventeenth century with other *recueils*, comprised mostly of song texts on love, war, and moral piety. In her study of this domain of cheap print, Van Orden notes that inexpensive collections such as these would have been sold in sixteenth-century French cities by *colporteurs* along with other forms of cheap print, such as *canards* and *placards*. She surmises that the market for cheap print in the late sixteenth century included city-dwellers spanning a broad socio-economic class range. In addition, she notes that these small prints were more accessible to the marginally literate than many other forms of print. The formatting and content often relied on material already in oral circulation. For the semi-literate, the prints themselves may have been used as a point of reference for material that was already learned through aural means.<sup>35</sup>

1582 marked the peak year of *Quatrain* musical production, as Paschal de L'Estocart and Guillaume Boni each published polyphonic settings for Pibrac's entire collection.<sup>36</sup>

CENT VINGT ET SIX| QUATRAINS DU SIEUR DE PIBRAC,| CONSEILLER AU  
PRIVE CONSEIL DU| ROY, ET PRESIDENT A PARIS, DE NOUVEAU| MIS EN  
MUSIQUE A DEUX, TROIS, QUA-| TRE, CINQ ET SIX PARTIES, PAR| PASCHAL

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<sup>35</sup> Van Orden, "Cheap Print and Street Song," 278-84.

<sup>36</sup> L'Estocart doubles several settings. See Chapter 4 for table and discussion of doubled settings.

DE L'ESTOCART. | A LYON. | On les vend chez Barthelemi Vincent. | 1582. | Avec  
privilege du Roy.

LES QUATRAINS || DU SIEUR DE PYBRAC || MIS EN MUSIQUE A. 3. 4. || 5. et 6.  
parties Par G. Boni. || A PARIS, || Par Adrian le Roy, et Robert Ballard. || Imprimeurs du  
Roy. || M. D. LXXXII. || Avec privilege de sa majesté.

In terms of both size and artistry, L'Estocart's *Quatrain*s and Boni's collection (which was reprinted in 1583) stand out within the *Quatrain* repertoire. In addition to their ambitious number of settings, they accomplish a surprising level of artistic success while keeping the settings within a limited range of difficulty.<sup>37</sup> The short length of each setting, the limited vocal range required, and the relatively straightforward polyphonic writing would have invited the participation of a broad range of amateur singers and/or instrumentalists with varying degrees of musical expertise. On the other hand, the elegant part writing of these finely crafted settings and the beauty of the overall effect in performance would have also appealed to a more discerning community of singers and listeners.

In 1583, the music printers Le Roy and Ballard opened their twenty-second book of *chansons* with seven settings of the "Quatrain de Monsieur de Pybrac" set to music by Orlando de Lasso (see Figure 3).<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> I am grateful to Ghislain Dhibie for his generosity in discussing his upcoming critical edition of L'Estocart's *Quatrain*s de Pibrac and sharing several advanced proofs with me. I also had the wonderful experience of attending a concert in Paris where his vocal ensemble Les Consort des Planets performed several of L'Estocart's hauntingly beautiful *Quatrain* settings, including "Dieu tout premier."

<sup>38</sup> A case has been made for the possibility of a lost 1581 edition which is not cited in RISM or in Lesure and Thibault, see Wolfgang Boetticher, *Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeit, 1532-1594*, vol. 1 (Kassel-Basel: Bärenreiter, 1958), 594 ff.; James Erb, *Orlando di Lasso: A Guide to Research* (New York: Garland, 1990), 19-20; and Jane A. Bernstein, "Lasso in English Sources: Two Chansons Recovered," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* (1974): 315-325. However, Cœurdevey points out that

VINGTDEUXIEME LIVRE DE CHANSONS | à quatre et cinq parties, | D'ORLANDE  
DE LASSUS | ET AUTRES | Imprimé en quatre volumes. | A PARIS. | M. D. LXXXV.

According to Cœurdevey, this exceptional attribution to a literary author was most likely motivated by the overwhelming popularity of musical settings of Pibrac's *Quatrains*, demonstrated with the full collections printed the year before.<sup>39</sup> The seven Pibrac settings, all in four voices, open the collection; they are followed by a range of other chansons by Lassus, Goudimel, Le Jeune, De Bussy, and Du Caurroy on a range of themes from moral texts to love songs.

That same year Le Roy and Ballard published another group of Pibrac *Quatrains*, this time composed by Jean Planson. Like the Lassus print, Planson's Pibrac settings also received special mention, in this case as the opening of the title.

QUATRAINS DU SIEUR DE | Pybrac, ensemble quelques Sonetz, et Mo- | tetz, mis en  
Musique à 3. 4. 5. et 7. | parties, par J. Plançon | Imprimé en quatre volumes. | A PARIS |  
M.D.LXXXIII.

Planson's eighteen *Quatrain* settings appeared in a mixed collection that included moral texts, along with a few on love texts and Latin sacred texts.<sup>40</sup> Additional polyphonic settings for selected Quatrains continued to appear in the following years, although none of these later collections survives with all parts extant.

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there is no actual evidence to support this claim. Annie Cœurdevey, *Roland de Lassus* (Paris: Fayard, 2003), 310, n1.

<sup>39</sup> Cœurdevey, *Roland de Lassus*, 310.

<sup>40</sup> Unfortunately, only the tenor and superius parts are extant.

Piat Maulgred, who served as “maître du chant” at the collegial church of St. Pierre in Lille, included a Pibrac *quatrain* setting in his collection of airs and chansons (see Figure 4).<sup>41</sup>

AIRS, | ET CHANSONS | A III. V. VI. ET VIII. | PARTIES, | *ACCOMMODEES TANT  
A LA VOIX*, | QU'AUX INSTRUMENS, | PAR PIAT MAUGRED. | TENOR. | A  
DOUAY, | De l'Imprimerie de Jean Bogart, l'An 1616.

This collection, which presents diverse texts on themes of love and the moral life like the Lassus and Planson collections, includes a new musical setting of Pibrac’s twenty-eighth *quatrain*, “Le sage fils est du pere la joye.” This Pibrac setting belongs to the largest group in the collection, that of the “chansons à cinq parties.” Unfortunately, only the tenor part survives. However, an examination of this remaining part seems to suggest a simple imitative polyphony, revealed in the initial silences that suggest a staged entry between voices. Furthermore, the setting displays a syllabic approach to the text and uses only simple rhythmic values.

In 1622, the final known polyphonic collection of *Quatrain* texts appeared, this time under the pen of Jean de Bournonville who composed fifty polyphonic *quatrain* settings in two to four voices.

CINQUANTE QUATRAINS| DU SIEUR DE PYBRAC,| mis en Musique à ij. iij. et iiij.  
parties| PAR JEAN DE BOURNONVILLE| M. des Enfans de Choeur de l'Eglise Cath.  
d'Amiens.| A PARIS.| Par Pierre Ballard Imprimeur de la Musique| du Roy.| *Avec  
privilege de sa Majesté* | 1622.

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<sup>41</sup> F. J. Fétis, “MAULGRED (Piat)”, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*, 2<sup>ème</sup> ed., v. III, (Paris: Claude Tchou, 2001), 522; Piat Maulgred, *Airs et chansons à III, V. VI. et VIII. parties, accomodées tant à la voix, qu'aux instrumens, par Piat Maugred* (Douay: Jean Bogart, 1616).

In his dedication to Henri II de Bourbon, Prince de Condé, Bournonville describes his settings as “the Airs of my Music that I animate from Pybrac’s sententious and moral verses.”<sup>42</sup> Although he utilizes the occasional melisma, Bournonville retains a mostly syllabic setting, with frequent in-text repeats at the level of the phrase for emphasis of key passages.

Evidence for sustained interest in singing the *Quatrains* in the seventeenth century can also be found in manuscript sources. A manuscript music notebook preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale (Département de la musique, Rés Vmd Ms. 49) includes a single voice part for an unknown polyphonic setting of Pibrac’s *Quatrain* 33, “Ayme l’honneur plus que ta propre vie.” The collection, which dates from the years 1610-40, uses a music paper printed by Pierre Ballard.<sup>43</sup> The two copyists are amateur hands who worked in two different periods. Found at the end of the first and oldest part of the manuscript, before 1610, this mysterious musical setting could be a new composition, a copy of a printed setting for which we have no other trace today, or perhaps a *contrafactum* of a preexisting composition.

Another manuscript source for the *Quatrains* is the *Paston Manuscript*, which includes copies of two musical settings by Lassus, *Quatrain* 34 “Ce que tu peux” and *Quatrain* 22 “Heureux qui met.” Both settings were copied after the 1583/85 editions.<sup>44</sup> Rediscovered by Jane Bernstein in 1974, this manuscript has enabled the reconstruction of these two Lassus settings, which were incomplete in all other sources.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> “Les Airs de ma Musique que j’anime des vers sententieux et moraux du Sieur de Pybrac.” Jean de Bournonville, *Cinquante Quatrains du Sieur de Pybrac* (Paris: Pierre Ballard, 1622).

<sup>43</sup> Recueil de pièces vocales et instrumentales, F-Pn/ Rés Vmd Ms. 49, folio 27r. See Thomas Leconte, “Catalogue des airs de Nicolas Le Vavasseur (ca 1580-1658?),” Versailles: CMBV, 2003 (Cahiers Philidor ; 16), 96; and Guillo, *Ballard*, v. 2, 806.

<sup>44</sup> The Paston Manuscript, GB-Cfm/ MU MS 278, folios 25v-26r.

<sup>45</sup> See Bernstein, “Lassus in English Sources,” 315-325.

The taste for singing the *Quatrains de Pibrac* in the decades around 1600 appears indirectly in several references to the *Quatrains de Pibrac* as a “timbre” or popular tune, used to sing newly composed *chanson* texts. A single sheet *chanson* print from 1594 bears the heading, “Chanson Nouvelle de la Prinse du Visconte de Chamois. *Sur le chant*: Dieu tout premier, puis père et mère honnore.”<sup>46</sup> It is clear that the title of this timbre indicates the first *quatrain* by Pibrac. It is even possible that this timbre refers to the melody printed in the monophonic editions from 1580-1581, which I discussed earlier. However, the important point is that this print suggests that a melody for the *Quatrains de Pibrac* was in wide enough oral circulation by the end of the sixteenth century to be useful as a timbre.

It seems that the popularity of the musical editions of the *Quatrains* fell dramatically after Bournonville’s publication of 1622. However, at the beginning of the next century Ballard published a new musical setting of the *Quatrains* in his collection *Chants des noëls anciens et nouveaux de la grande Bible, notez avec des basses* (1703).<sup>47</sup> Ballard’s print includes as its closing entry the *Quatrains de Pibrac*, presented here as an air in triple meter with basso continuo (see Example 1). The words for the first *quatrain*, “Dieu tout premier puis pere et mere honnore,” appear with the music, followed by the following nine *quatrains*. The strophic form recalls the earliest monophonic editions from Rouen, which presented only a single strophic setting that one could use for all of the *Quatrain* texts.

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<sup>46</sup> Antoine Le Roux de Lincy, *Recueil de chants historiques français, depuis le XI<sup>e</sup> jusqu’au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Charles Gosselin, 1842), v. 2, 554. According to Le Roux de Lincy, the printed source was the *Recueil de plusieurs belles chansons* (Lyon, 1593, in-32), held in Paris at the Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal. Unfortunately, it seems that the print has been lost.

<sup>47</sup> Christophe Ballard, *Chant des noëls anciens et nouveaux de la Grande Bible, notez avec des basses, imprimez pour la première fois* (Paris, 1703). The collection has been published in facsimile by Philippe Lescat and Jean Saint-Arroman (Courlay: J.M Fuzeau, 1997).



This inclusion of a musical setting for the *Quatrains de Pibrac* in a collection of noëls may seem odd in that these moral texts make no reference to the baby Jesus, the Virgin Mary, or any other themes central to Christmas. However, a survey of noël prints from the sixteenth century and beyond shows that it was in fact common for noël collections to include at the very end a text or two with a moral theme.<sup>48</sup> For singing moral chansons became associated with the new year, in association with making new year's resolutions.<sup>49</sup>

In the years following the Ballard noël collection, music for the *Quatrains de Pibrac* again appears as a traditional noël. In Simon-Joseph Pellegrin's collection *Airs notez des cantiques sur les points les plus importants de la Religion et de la Morale Chrétienne. Noels nouveaux et chansons spirituelles* (Paris: Le Clerc, 1705), Pellegrin uses the tune for the "Quatrains de Pibrac" as a timbre for singing his newly composed chanson texts (see Example 2). In his index of timbres, he lists the "Quatrains de Pibrac" as an anonymous "vaudeville." The binder's volume of this print held at the Bibliothèque nationale includes two copies of the same notated timbres, one printed by Ballard and the other a manuscript copy. In comparing the Pellegrin timbre with the 1703 Ballard air *avec basse continue*, it is clear that they are two versions of the same basic tune, thus suggesting the melodic variation normal for tunes circulating in oral transmission (see Example 3).

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<sup>48</sup> See Pierre Rézeau, *Les noëls en France aux XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Strasbourg: ELIPHI, 2013), 3-5.

<sup>49</sup> For example, in a letter to his mother dated from the beginning of 1604, Henry the Prince of Wales declared his resolution to memorize the *Quatrains de Pibrac* during that year. See Susan Snyder, ed., *The Divine Weeks and Works of Guillaume de Saluste, Sieur Du Bartas, Translated by Josuah Sylvester*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 20-21.

## Octonaires de la vanité et inconstance du monde

In the second half of the 1570s, another popular moral collection appeared, the *Octonaires de la vanité et inconstance du monde*, by Antoine de la Roche Chandieu.<sup>50</sup> Known for his work as a pastor/theologian, polemicist, diplomat, and poet, Chandieu was one of the most influential figures in the French Protestant church in the second half of the sixteenth century. In stark contrast to his earlier polemical and apologetic works, the *Octonaires* no longer directly engage with the religious politics of the day; instead they have withdrawn to a neo-stoic contemplation of the instability of the world, the frailty of man, and the emptiness of earthly pursuits and pleasures.<sup>51</sup>

Nineteen *Octonaires* circulated in manuscript from at least 1576 on before appearing in print for the first time in Etienne Delaune's emblem book from 1580.<sup>52</sup> L'Estocart then set twenty-six of Chandieu's *Octonaires* in the collection of polyphonic settings that he finished by November, 1581.<sup>53</sup> The first complete edition of the fifty texts then appeared in print in 1583,

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<sup>50</sup> Chandieu came from a noble family and studied law at Toulouse. Around 1555, he left for Geneva to meet Calvin. He left behind his law career to become a Protestant pastor in Paris at the age of twenty-two. Chandieu exerted influence not only as a pastor in Paris but also as an active participant in the Synod. He participated in the political and military intrigues of the Wars of Religion by playing a role in the Conspiracy of Amboise, and after that Catherine de Medici sought his council in her effort to understand the motivations for these troubles. After taking refuge in Switzerland after the Massacre, in Lausanne from 1573-79 and then in the small nearby village of Aubonne, he returned to Paris in 1585 at the behest of Henri de Navarre who called him to become one of his almoners. For the next three years, Chandieu served Henri and undertook various diplomatic missions for him. See Bonali-Fiquet, ed., *Octonaires sur la vanité et inconstance du monde*, 7-10; and Chailley and Honegger, eds., *Second livre des octonaires*, v.

<sup>51</sup> Sarah K. Barker, *Protestantism, Poetry and Protest: The Vernacular Writings of Antoine de Chandieu (c. 1534-1591)* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2009), 226-241; Gibert, ed., *De la folie*, 35.

<sup>52</sup> Mauger, "Antoine de Chandieu et Etienne Delaune," 613.

<sup>53</sup> Paschal de L'Estocart, *Premier Livre des Octonaires de la vanité du monde, mis en musique a trios, quatre, cinq et six parties* (Lyon: Barthelemi Vincent [Geneva: J. de Laon], 1582). L'Estocart's musical setting, which was completed at the end of 1581, in fact, provides important evidence for dating the manuscript, as L'Estocart notes that he had set several of the *Octonaires* several years prior and had been too busy to finish the set until this publication. See Bonali-Fiquet, ed., *Octonaires*, 15-16. In 1583, the poetic texts were printed for the first time in their definitive state of fifty *octonaires*. Antoine de

after which the collection was reprinted in abundant editions well into the next century. The success of Chandieu's *Octonaires* is evident not only from their frequent reprinting and their musical settings, but also from the fact that they inspired poetic imitations. The two most important later writers of *Octonaires* were the well-known pastor and editor Simon Goulart and the physician and poet Joseph du Chesne.<sup>54</sup>

The *Octonaires* are moral poems or, as the first book of L'Estocart's *Octonaires* describes them, "epigrammes," written in *huitains* (8 line strophes). Like other examples of the *forme brève*, each strophe in the *Octonaires* have a self-contained meaning and find unity through their common themes of the world's vanity and instability and human frailty in it. The abstract, philosophical tone and the sententious directives towards the pursuit of moral virtue unite this collection with other moral poetry of the period.<sup>55</sup> In particular, the title signals the well-known *vanitas vanitatum* theme, a focus on human fragility, the instability of life, and the vanity of the present world that can be found frequently in other moral collections cited in Colletet's list.<sup>56</sup>

A central aspect of the poetic collection is the personification of Virtue calling out to the "Mondain" (wordly person) in direct address to heed the moral teachings found in the poetry. A good example is *Octonaire* 47:

Arreste, atten, ô Mondain, où cours-tu ?

Escoute, enten la voix de la Vertu.

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Chandieu, *Meditations Sur le Psalme XXXII [...] Ont esté aussi adjoustez cinquante octonaires sur la vanité du monde*. Par A. Zamariel (G. Laimarie, 1583).

<sup>54</sup> Olivier Pot, *Simon Goulart: un pasteur aux intérêts vastes comme le monde* (Geneva: Droz, 2013); Eugénie Droz, "Simon Goulart, éditeur de musique," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 14, no. 1 (1952): 266-276; Gibert, *De la folie*.

<sup>55</sup> Bonali-Fiquet, ed., *Octonaires*, 23.

<sup>56</sup> See the catalogue in Colletet, *Traité de la poésie morale*, 45 ff. For more on the *vanitas vanitatum* theme, see Cave, "Poetry of sin, sickness and death, *vanitas vanitatum* and *memento mori*," in *Devotional Poetry in France*, 146-171.

Las ! il passe outre, il court apres le Monde  
Et va courant, fuyant ainsi que l'onde  
D'un gros torrent que l'orage des cieux  
Fondu en bas a rendu orgueilleux.  
Ma remonstrance est un roc qu'il rencontre  
Passant dessus, murmurant à l'encontre.

[Stop, wait, O Worldly One, where are you running?/ Listen, hear the voice of Virtue./ Alas! He ignores it, he chases after the World/ And runs, fleeing as a wave/ In a great flood that the heavenly storm/ Poured out below and made proud./ My admonishment is a rock that he encounters/ Passing over, whispering against it.]

Scholars have typically referred to this first person voice as the voice of the Preacher who is seeking the Mondain's conversion from sin.<sup>57</sup> However, there is no direct evidence in the *Octonaires* that supports this overt spiritualization, for the religious conceptions of the preacher, conversion, or sin are strikingly absent from the collection. This commonly accepted reading seems to be based on the false lure of the biographical reading, assuming that because Chandieu was himself a pastor, the protagonist must be his own pastoral voice calling to his congregation.

Although the *Octonaires* had a close relationship to spiritual literature, the collection is clearly moral not spiritual in its content, tone, and aims.<sup>58</sup> Rather than supporting the idea of the Preacher, iconographic evidence from the emblems that accompanied the *Octonaires* supports the argument that there are two protagonists in the *Octonaires*, the masculine figure of the

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<sup>57</sup> For an example of this spiritual reading of the *Octonaires*, see for example Bonali-Fiquet's commentary for *Octonaire* 47. "Les exhortations du prédicateur visent à amener le pécheur à se repentir et à confesser sa faute." Bonali-Fiquet, ed., *Octonaires*, 91.

<sup>58</sup> Of course, the *Octonaires*, like other moral poetry were often linked to the spiritual and devotional corpus in printed collections. For example, note that the first printed edition of the complete text of the *Octonaires* without music was appended to his meditations on the Psalms. Chandieu, *Meditations Sur le Psalme XXXII*.

Philosopher and the feminine persona of Virtue, both of whom call the Mondain to heed wisdom. They call out to the worldly person to let go of vain passions and ambitions for power, pleasure, and wealth that create violence and conflict; instead finding wisdom and virtue in living and dying well.

*Octonaire 27*, for example, features the voice of the Philosopher, which questions the Mondain with a series of contradictions meant to demonstrate the moral lessons that the world is not to be trusted. In the left foreground of Delaune's emblem for this text, a male figure sits apart from the central action, pointing towards the scene in a way that reveals that he is the one teaching the moral lesson (see Figure 5). Note the contrast in hair and dress for this male "teaching" figure and that of the other men (the worldly people) in the scene who are dressed in the style common for contemporary, sixteenth-century France. This male teaching figure, who appears across the collection, resembles Renaissance portrayals of ancient Greek philosophers in both his posture, dress, and hair styling. The opening emblem for the Strasbourg *Octonaire* print, labeled "A," portrays the Philosopher holding a book and pointing upward, in an almost identical pose to that of Plato in Raphael's famous fresco, *The School of Athens* (see Figures 6 and 7). Delaune's portrayal of the female figure of Virtue also references antiquity, as she resembles a Muse. Like the Philosopher, she stands holding a book (see Figure 8). These emblems circulating during the period support a moral reading of the protagonists of the *Octonaires*, bolstering the broader philosophical aims of the contents and further strengthening their connection to an ethical rather than spiritual trajectory.

The depth and beauty of these moral texts offered particularly rich material for musical exploration. The musical settings of the *Octonaires* were composed of just three polyphonic collections in total, by Paschal de L'Estocart and Claude Le Jeune, and they are among the most

daring, imaginative and compelling musical compositions from the entire period, not merely the moral repertoire (see Table 3). L'Estocart published the first two musical collections of

*Octonaires*, the same year that he published his settings for Pibrac's *Quatrains* (see Figure 9):

PREMIER LIVRE / DES OCTONAIRES DE LA / VANITE DU MONDE, MIS EN  
MU- / SIQUE A TROIS, QUATRE, CINQ / ET SIX PARTIES, PAR / PASCHAL DE  
L'ESTOCART. / A LYON. / On les vend chez Bartholemi Vincent. / 1582. / Avec  
privilege du Roy pour dix ans.

SECOND LIVRE | DES OCTONAIRES DE LA | VANITE DU MONDE, MIS EN MU-  
| SIQUE A TROIS, QUATRE, CINZ | ET SIX PARTIES. PAR | PASCHAL DE  
L'ESTOCART. | A LYON. | On les vend chez Barthelemi Vincent. | 1582. | Avec  
privilege du Roy pour dix ans.

L'Estocart's first collection of polyphonic settings presents twenty-six texts by Chandieu, while the second collection sets twelve *Octonaires* by the pastor and editor Simon Goulart, and another twelve by Joseph du Chesne, poetic texts modeled after Chandieu's style and tone.

L'Estocart's two collections of *Octonaires* present the richest source for understanding moral music settings as they have an abundance of prefatory material that speaks to the aims and nature of the musical settings of the moral texts.

Table 3: Musical Settings of the *Octonaires de la vanité et inconstance du monde*.

MUSICAL SOURCES, PRINTED:				
CATALOGUE	DATE	AUTHOR/TITLE	PUBLISHER	COMMENTS
GLN 2948; Honegger 1582/I	1582	Paschal de L'Estocart, <i>Premier Livre des Octonaires de la vanité du monde, mis en musique a trios, quatre, cinq et six parties</i>	Lyon: Barthelemi Vincent [Geneva: J. de Laon]	26 polyphonic settings of texts by Chandieu
GLN 6969; Honegger 1582/II	1582	Paschal de L'Estocart, <i>Second Livre des Octonaires de la vanité du monde, mis en musique a trios, quatre, cinq et six parties</i>	Lyon: Barthelemi Vincent [Geneva: J. de Laon]	24 polyphonic settings of texts by Goulart (12) and Du Chesne (12)
RISM/ L 1693; Guillo, Ballard/ 1606- H; Honegger 1606/II	1606	Claude Le Jeune, <i>Octonaires de la vanité et inconstance du monde mis en musique à 3 et à 4 parties par Claude Le Jeune</i>	Paris: Pierre Ballard	36 polyphonic settings of texts by Chandieu (29), Goulart (4), and Du Chesne (3)
Guillo, Ballard/ 1611- C; Not in RISM	c.1611	Claude Le Jeune, <i>Octonaires de la vanité et inconstance du monde mis en musique à 3 et à 4 parties par Claude Le Jeune</i>	Paris: Pierre Ballard	Reprint of 1606 edition.

Guillo, Ballard/ 1631- C	1631	Claude Le Jeune, <i>Octonaires de la vanité et inconstance du monde, mis en musique à 3 et à 4 parties par Claude Le Jeune</i>	Paris: Pierre Ballard	Reprint of 1606
Guillo, Ballard/ 1641- D; RISM/ L 1694	1641	Claude Le Jeune, <i>Octonaires de la vanité et inconstance du monde, mis en musique à 3 et à 4 parties par Claude Le Jeune</i>	Paris: Robert Ballard	Reprint of 1606, but with new liminal poetry.

In 1606, Claude Le Jeune's collection of thirty-six polyphonic *Octonaire* settings appeared posthumously under the direction of his sister Cecile Le Jeune. His collection, composed just before his death, sets twenty-nine *Octonaires* by Chandieu, four by Goulart, and three by Du Chesne.

OCTONAIRES | DE LA VANITE, ET INCON- | STANCE DU MONDE. | Mis en  
Musique à 3. et à 4. Parties | Par CLAUDE LE JEUNE, natif de Valentienne,  
Compositeur | de la Musique de la chambre du Roy. | A PARIS, | Par PIERRE  
BALLARD, Imprimeur en Musique de Roy, de- | meurant ruë S. Jean de Beauvais, à  
l'enseigne du mont Parnasse. | 1606. | AVEC PRIVILEGE DE SA MAJESTE.

The composer set three pieces for each mode, each realized for three to four voices. In her preface to the collection, Cecile notes that her brother had intended to expand his collection of musical settings for the *Octonaires* by writing an additional three settings in five to six voices for each mode; however his plans were cut short by his death.



Claude Le Jeune's *Octonaires* became one of his most beloved collections, as evidenced by their repeated publication and later testimonials. Indeed, his sister's preface praised his work as "a work small in appearance, but grand in effect":

He not only amassed all that previous science and industry made known of the beautiful and rare: but he added to this so many aspects, so new, so excellent, I dare say so inimitable (pardon me this word) that one will judge by this sample, how if he had lived, the entire piece would have been full of perfection.<sup>59</sup>

Cecile Le Jeune's high estimation of this collection seems to have been shared by others throughout the period. After reprints in 1611 and 1631, the collection reappeared again in 1641, this time in an edition issued by Robert Ballard with a new dedicatee and new prefatory material. In the new preface, Ballard reveals that he chose to republish Le Jeune's *Octonaires* in honor of the French chancellor, Monseigneur Seguier, on the occasion of his being inducted as a member of the *Ordre des chevaliers du saint esprit*. Ballard names Le Jeune "the voice of the most agreeable Musician of his century," and praises his *Octonaires* as "among all his works that I esteemed the most perfect."<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> "Il a non seulement amassé tout ce que la science et l'industrie precedente ont fait cognoistre de beau et de rare: mais y a adjousté tant et tant de traits, si nouveaux, si excellents, j'ose dire si inimitables (ce mot me soit pardonné) qu'on jugera par cet eschantillon, combien, s'il eust vescu, la piece entiere eust esté pleine de perfection." Claude Le Jeune, *Octonaires de la vanité et inconstance du monde* (Paris: Pierre Ballard, 1606), preface by Cecile Le Jeune.

<sup>60</sup> "La voix du plus agreable Musicien de son siecle" [...] "celuy de tous ses ouvrages que j'ay estimé le plus parfait." Claude Le Jeune, *Octonaires de la vanité et inconstance du monde* (Paris: Robert Ballard, 1641).

## The Tablettes ou Quatrains de Pierre Mathieu

The success of Pibrac's *Quatrains* inspired a number of imitators. Most notable was the collection by Pierre Mathieu, the *Tablettes ou Quatrains de la vie et de la mort*, which appeared in the first decade of the seventeenth century and became the most circulated and celebrated collection of moral poetry after Pibrac's *Quatrains*.<sup>61</sup> The first known musical settings of Mathieu's *Tablettes ou Quatrains de la vie et de la mort* were also published in a monophonic *chanson* collection from 1621 by Jean Rousson (see Table 4):

RECUEIL | DE CHANSONS | SPIRITUELLES, | AVEC LES AIRS | nottez sur chacune  
d'icelles. | *AINSI RECUEILLIES | ET ACCOMMODEES* | PAR | *M. IEAN ROUSSON*  
*PRESTRE* | *nagueres Curé de Chantenay.* | *Beatus populus qui scit iubilationem.* | *Le*  
*peuple est bien-heureux, qui sçait se resioüir au ser- | vice de Dieu, et son saint Nom*  
*benir.* Psal. 88. | A LA FLECHE, | CHEZ LOUYS HEBERT Imprimeur, à l'Enseigne | du  
Nom de JESUS pres le Collee Royal. | M. DC. XXI. | *Avec approbation.*

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<sup>61</sup> Pierre Mathieu was the official historiographer of Henri IV. Pierre Mathieu, *Tablettes de la vie et de la mort* (Lyon: Pierre Rigaud, 1610). The majority of later editions added *ou quatrains* to the title. Due to inconsistencies in the period sources, Pierre Mathieu's name can alternately be spelled Matthieu. Pibrac's and Mathieu's quatrain collections were often linked in compilations, treatises, and memoirs from the period. For a critical edition of both collections, see Tourrette, *Quatrains moraux*.

Table 4: Musical Settings of Pierre Mathieu, *Tablettes ou Quatrains de la vie et de la mort*.

MUSICAL SOURCES, PRINTED:				
CATALOGUE	DATE	AUTHOR/TITLE	PUBLISHER	COMMENTS
RISM R 2961	1621	Jean Rousson, <i>Recueil de chansons spirituelles, avec les airs nottez sur chacune d'icelles</i>	La Flèche: Louys Hebert	2 monophonic settings, one for each group of 100 <i>quatrains</i>
Guillo, Ballard/ 1636- C	1636	Artus Aux-Cousteaux, <i>Les Quatrains de Mr Mathieu, à 3 parties selon l'ordre des douze modes.</i>	Paris: Pierre Ballard	Polyphonic settings for Mathieu's first 50 <i>quatrains</i>
RISM A 2890; Guillo, Ballard/ 1643- A	1643	Artus Aux-Cousteaux, <i>Les Quatrains de Mr Mathieu, à 3 parties selon l'ordre des douze modes.</i>	Paris: Pierre Ballard	Reprint of 1643 edition
RISM A 2891; Guillo, Ballard/ 1652- A	1652	Artus Aux-Cousteaux, <i>Suite de la première partie des quatrains de M. Mathieu, à 3 voix, selon l'ordre des douze modes.</i>	Paris: Robert Ballard	Polyphonic settings for Mathieu's second 50 <i>quatrains</i>

Rousson's 1621 print includes two separate monophonic settings of Mathieu's moral poetry, one for each set of one hundred *quatrains* (called *centaines*).<sup>62</sup> Rousson's songbook appeared as part of the wave of "chaste" vernacular chanson collections intended for Catholic domestic use that peaked within the broad movement of Catholic Reform in the early seventeenth century. Central to this religious movement was the Jesuit project of religious education, which emphasized music as a route towards greater piety and moral character.<sup>63</sup> This resurgence of Catholic devotion through musical means was, according to Dorothy Packer, a measured response to the continued political and religious instability of the period. Thus, Catholic songbooks like Rousson's were tools in widespread Catholic efforts at moral repair, as Catholics longed for "a stable and rational way of life" after the brutality of the religious wars.<sup>64</sup>

Although Mathieu's *Tablettes* retain a detached moralizing tone maintained confessional neutrality, the first musical setting appeared in Rousson's 1621 songbook as part of a confessionally marked Catholic educational project. Rousson's preface closes with endorsements from two doctors of theology, each affirming that they have found nothing in Rousson's collection "contrary to the Catholic Religion."<sup>65</sup> Furthermore, the inclusion of devotional poetry on Marian topics and the lives of the saints would have limited its use to the Catholic

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<sup>62</sup> Jean Rousson, *Recueil de chansons spirituelles, avec les airs nottez sur chacune d'icelles ainsi recueillies et accommodees par m. Jean Rousson prestre nagueres curé de chantenay* (La Fleche: Louys Hebert, 1621), 28-32, 86-88.

<sup>63</sup> Guillo, *Les Éditions musicales de la renaissance Lyonnaise*, *Domaine musicologique* 9 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1991), 165-9; Launay, *La musique religieuse*, 115-136, 167-270; for more on Jesuit philosophy and education and their role in the Catholic Reform, see Thomas Worcester, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); and Eric Nelson, *The Jesuits and the Monarchy: Catholic Reform and Political Authority in France (1590-1615)* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2005).

<sup>64</sup> Dorothy S. Packer, "Collections of Chaste Chansons for the Devout Home (1613-1633)," *Acta Musicologica* 61, no. 2 (1989): 180, 175-216.

<sup>65</sup> "J'ai rien trouvé contraire à la Religion Catholique Apostolique et Romaine." Rousson, *Recueil de chansons spirituelles*, unpaginated preface.

community. Nevertheless, Rousson's preface and approach are more philosophical than dogmatic in tone, and he avoids any attacks on Protestants. His stated aim is to build virtue through a greater knowledge of the self, and he demonstrates a strong conviction that music has a role in this process.

Rousson, a Jesuit priest, makes the pedagogical and ethical aims of his collection explicit in both the preface and in the notes directed to the user throughout the collection (see Appendix L). Rousson opens his preface with a statement affirming the supreme importance of self-knowledge, as knowledge of the self and of God is the foundation for a pious and virtuous life. He relies heavily on classical philosophers, citing Plato and Aristotle alongside the church fathers and scriptural citations. His lengthy, erudite preface closes with a practical section addressed to children ("To all children desiring to live well"), where he states that the aim of the collection is to draw souls to heaven, away from the enticing sounds of the devil's "fife."<sup>66</sup> He closes with a warning, often reiterated in such collections, that indecent songs corrupt good morals. He also notes that, while the collection is primarily meant for children's moral formation, it is also useful for adults to sing these songs while going about their daily work. By his account, this daily singing of chaste chansons could lessen, little by little, the devil's hold on the world.<sup>67</sup>

Fifteen years after the publication of the Rousson monophonic settings, Artus Aux-Cousteaux published three-voice polyphonic settings for the first fifty of Mathieu's *Tablettes*.

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<sup>66</sup> "A tous Enfants Desireux de bien-faire." Rousson, *Recueil de chansons spirituelles*, unpaginated preface.

<sup>67</sup> "Les Bergers gardant leurs troupeaux, les Laboureurs cultivant leurs tertes, les Artisans exerçans leurs metiers, les femmes et filles faisans leurs ouvrages et fillant à leurs quenouilles: si bien que la gloire de Dieu s'augmenteroit, et le regne du diable s'affoibliroit peu à peu." Rousson, *Recueil de chansons spirituelles*, unpaginated preface.

LES QUATRAINS//De Mr. MATHIEU.//Mis EN MUSIQUE//A TROIS  
PARTIES//Selon l'ordre des Douze Modes,//PAR//ARTUS AUX-COUSTEAUX,//DE  
LA MUSIQUE DU ROY.//HAUTE.//A PARIS,//PAR ROBERT BALLARD, seul  
Imprimeur de la Musique//du Roy, demeurant ruë S. Jean de Beauvais,//à l'enseigne du  
mont Parnasse.//1643.//*Avec privilege de sa Majesté.*

This collection appeared first in 1636, published by Pierre Ballard, and Robert Ballard reprinted it with identical musical and prefatory material in 1643. If the 1643 reprinting of Aux-Cousteaux's *Quatrain*s was not sufficient indication of their success, the fact that at the end of Aux-Cousteaux's life he published a sequel to his first fifty *Quatrain* settings explicitly notes that Aux-Cousteaux's new settings were appearing by popular demand.

In 1652, Aux-Cousteaux published this companion collection, setting the second fifty *quatrain*s from the *Premiere Partie* of Mathieu's *Tablettes* (see Figure 10).

SUITE DE LA PREMIERE PARTIE / DES QUATRAINS / DE Mr MATHIEU, / Mis en  
Musique à trois Voix, selon l'ordre / des douze Modes. / *Et dédiez* / A MESSIRE /  
MESSIRE MATTHIEU MOLÉ, / Premier President au Parlement de Paris, / ET GARDE  
DES SCEAUS / de France. / *Par* / ARTUS AUX-COUSTEAUX. / MOYENNE. / A  
PARIS, / Par ROBERT BALLARD, seul Imprimeur du Roy pour la Musique, demeurant  
ruë S. Iean de Beauvais, au Mont Parnasse. / M. DC. LII. / *Avec Privilege de sa Majesté.*

Aux-Cousteaux was trained under Jean de Bournonville at Saint-Quentin. After his early training at Saint-Quentin, he went on to serve as *haute-contre* for the chapel of Louis XIII from 1613-1627. He succeeded Bournonville at Saint-Quentin; then succeeded him again as chapel master at Amiens for two years. Then he left Amiens after two years to become a “clerc haute-contre” at the *Sainte Chapelle du Palais* in June, 1634, singing under the direction of Bournonville, where

Aux-Cousteaux ultimately spent the rest of his career. Although Aux-Cousteaux fell into regular difficulty in his professional relationships, he benefited from the longstanding patronage and protection of the magistrate, Matthieu Molé, the dedicatee for Aux-Cousteaux's 1652 quatrain collection.<sup>68</sup> Considering the longstanding relationship shared by Aux-Cousteaux and Bournonville, it seems as if Bournonville's 1622 setting of the *Quatrains de Pibrac* may have been a direct inspiration for Aux-Cousteaux's initial interest in composing his own moral music settings, this time to the more recent texts by Mathieu.

## Conclusion

In this chapter I have outlined the central collections of moral poetry with a tradition of being set to music. Musical collections of moral poetry offered a means of disseminating moral teaching in a form that was appealing and accessible to a wider public. There exists abundant evidence that moral prints, whether in poetry and music or other forms, were used in pedagogical contexts, most particularly for the young.<sup>69</sup> Gindron highlighted this aim for his musical settings of the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, noting that they were intended for moral education. His choice of text for his closing polyphonic setting from Ecclesiastes 12, "Esjouy toi ô jeune en ta jeunesse" (*Rejoice, o young people in your youth*), further suggests a youthful audience.

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<sup>68</sup> Aux-Cousteaux had a turbulent time in the choir, with documentation of fighting, reprimands, and dismissals appearing in the records. However, his powerful benefactors always protected him and managed to get him reinstated. For example, after being expelled from the *Sainte Chapelle* in August of 1639, then was reinstated in October. He was then promoted to be the chant master in 1642. However, his personal disputes continued to plague his working environment. In January 1645, he was fired again; this time he needed the direct intervention of his benefactor Matthieu Molé, Premier Président du Parlement, to be quickly reinstated, Jan 21 1645. In June of 1645, Aux-Cousteaux had another conflict, was put on another definitive leave, and was again reinstated at the behest of Matthieu Molé. Around 1651, Aux-Cousteaux left the *Sainte Chapelle*, and retired at the church of Saint-Jacques de l'Hôpital, where his powerful friends acquired for him an appointment as a canon. He died around 1654. See René Reboud, "Messire Arthus Aux Cousteaux, Maître de Musique de la Sainte-Chapelle du Palais, 1590-1654," *XVIIe siècle* (1964): 403-17.

<sup>69</sup> See Chapter 4 of this dissertation for specific examples.

Rousson explained in his preface to the print containing the settings for the *Tablettes* by Mathieu that he chose “the most popular possible [melodies], in order that children and all sorts of people could learn them.”<sup>70</sup> The format of the monophonic settings of the collections by Dalbiac, Pibrac, and Mathieu, followed by the texts (either in part or in their entirety) encouraged their use as a pleasing tool for memorizing these moral texts by heart.

At the level of the polyphonic settings, the contexts and formats of their production suggests that they may have been composed in the first place for children’s choirs. First of all, the inclusion of small-voice arrangements, such as duos and trios, some for all high voices, suggests their use in childhood musical education.<sup>71</sup> Nicolas Millot, Guillaume Boni, Jean de Bournonville, and Artus Aux-Cousteaux, notably were each responsible for training children’s choirs in the years preceding the publication of their moral music settings. In his preface to Mathieu’s *Tablettes* from 1636, Aux-Cousteaux explained that they were originally composed “for the instruction of the schoolboys.”<sup>72</sup> Aux-Cousteaux, was himself trained by Jean de Bournonville and perhaps had sung the *Quatrains* settings by Bournonville in the course of his musical training.

It should be noted, however, that this likely association of moral music settings with pedagogical contexts and young singers did not hamper their appeal and popularity among adult musicians looking for accessible and “honnête” recreational material. Aux-Cousteaux made this point clearly, explaining that although he initially composed his settings for use by his choirboys, he chose to publish them afterwards for a larger public of amateurs. In the preface to his treatise

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<sup>70</sup> “Le plus populairement que m’a esté possible, à fin que les enfans et toute sorte de personnes puissent les apprendre.” Gindron, *Les Proverbes de Salomon*.

<sup>71</sup> See Van Orden, *Materialities*, 215-7; 246-7; 258; and Anne Smith, “Lasso’s Two-Part Fantasies as a Didactic Tool for Solmization,” *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 4, no. 2 (2012): 283-305.

<sup>72</sup> “Pour instruire les Escoliers.” Aux-Cousteaux, *Les Quatrains de Mr. Mathieu*.



on moral poetry, Colletet makes a similar statement, noting that he wrote the treatise primarily for the instruction of his own son, but also “for all the others who have the inclination for good things and a love for virtue.”<sup>73</sup>

Another important point is that the majority of the composers of these moral settings were connected, at one time or another, to the French court. Janequin, Millot, Le Jeune, Bournonville, and Aux-Cousteaux were recruited as singers and/or composers, and given posts in the *chapelle royale* or the *chambre du roi*. Considering the variety of documented activities of the court focused on moral virtue, as outlined in the previous chapter, it is certainly plausible that these moral texts were a reflection of the musical interests of the court. The fact that almost all of these prints were published by the Ballard firm, under royal license, offers even more weight to this proposition. Whether Ballard’s clear focus on moral music settings in the 1580s and after came out of commercial opportunism or came from more direct forms of request or commission, Ballard’s continued interest in publishing this genre of edifying music played a crucial role in disseminating the foundations of an emerging reparative morality to a wider public.<sup>74</sup>

Producers and publishers of moral prints, Ballard among them, certainly capitalized on the courtly interest in virtuous formation as a marketing strategy for increasing sales. Prefaces and dedications from all sectors of the moral genre emphasized that repairing moral foundations began with the education of the prince, whose childhood training and rise to virtuous adulthood could serve as an inspiration for the broader public to emulate for their children and for themselves.<sup>75</sup> Volumes of moral poetry and music were often dedicated to a king, noble patron,

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<sup>73</sup> “Pour tous les autres encore qui ont de l’inclination pour les bonnes choses, et de l’amour pour la vertu.” Colletet, *Traité de la poésie morale*, 45.

<sup>74</sup> See Brooks, *Courtly Song*, 28-9.

<sup>75</sup> See Chapter 4 of this dissertation for the important example of Louis XIII learning and singing the *Quatrains de Pibrac* as part of his early education, documented and publicized by Jean Héroard.

magistrate, or officer whom the author paints as a model of the virtuous behavior and an active participant in the work of moral repair in the kingdom. Millot's and Costeley's settings of the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, name the present king, Charles IX, as the dedicatee. Millot's preface makes explicit a comparison between the two kings by remarking on the wisdom of the moral texts "made from the mouth of a great and wise KING."<sup>76</sup> Charles IX, in his efforts to bring peace to the kingdom, thus stands as a double of the wise King Solomon who penned the morality found in the texts.<sup>77</sup> Millot references Charles' important efforts in his hope that his musical work would be an encouragement to the King in his work, offering him "some contentment, and to bring some pleasure to the greatness and sweetness of your divine spirit fatigued so much by important affairs."<sup>78</sup>

Boni dedicated his *Quatrain* settings to Henri III's younger brother, François Hercules, Duke of Brabant and Anjou, in praise of his virtuous deeds. Likewise, L'Estocart dedicated his settings of Pibrac's *Quatrains* (1582) to Charles III, Duke of Lorraine. After praising the Duke for ruling according to the wise and just precepts outlined in Pibrac's *Quatrains*, the composer states his hope that his musical settings will assist him as he continues on this upright path:

Because your land having had the benefit of living in peace under your happy government, and finding infinitely sufficient testimony from all parts of how you are careful to practice in private and in public the wise warnings that the learned Pibrac gives to kings and princes, I have desired that my music (if you are willing to favor it and

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<sup>76</sup> "Façonné de la bouche d'un grand et sage ROY." Millot, *Les Proverbes de Salomon*.

<sup>77</sup> Khattabi, "Les 'chansons en façon d'airs'," 6-9.

<sup>78</sup> "Quelque contentement, et apporter quelque plaisir a la grandeur et douceur de votre divin esprit travaillé de tant d'affaires d'importance." Millot, *Les Proverbes de Salomon*.

receive it with a good ear) may sometimes joyfully encourage you to persevere more and more in this good endeavor.<sup>79</sup>

Thus, L'Estocart positions his musical settings, which he describes as animating the moral poetry, as a pleasing encouragement and useful tool for moral living and just rule.

In a similar vein, L'Estocart dedicated his two collections of settings of *Octonaires de la vanité du monde* to two Protestant princes whom he praised for their example of virtue. L'Estocart dedicated the first book of *Octonaires* to Guillaume-Robert de La Marck, the Duke of Bouillon and the second book of *Octonaires* to his younger brother, Jean the Count of La Marck, noble brothers who model the exercise of virtue (“tous exercices de pieté et vertu”). L'Estocart offers his musical settings to these model princes, desiring to see them “always so well united, that renouncing more and more the vanities of the World, you advanced so much on this happy path, where you were introduced from your most tender infancy, that in the end you will receive the crown of immortal glory.”<sup>80</sup>

Magistrates and royal ministers also served as common dedicatees for moral prints. For example, Aux-Cousteaux's preface to the 1636 collection of Mathieu's *Tablettes*, reprinted in 1643, named the magistrate Nicolas Le Jay as dedicatee, praising him as an example of “high and rare virtues, by which you make a model of your incomparable life.”<sup>81</sup> In the dedication to

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<sup>79</sup> “Car vos pays ayans eu toujours ce bien de vivre en paix sous vostre heureux gouvernement, et se trouvant une infinité de suffisans tesmoins qui publie de toutes parts combien vous estes soigneux de pratiquer en particulier et en public les sages avertissemens que le docte Pibrac donne aux Rois et aux Princes, j'ay désiré que ma Musique (s'il vous plait la favoriser tant que de la recevoir de bon oeil) en vous resjouissant quelques fois vous dispose de plus en plus à perseverer en ce bon train.” L'Estocart, *Cent vingt et six quatrains*, unpaginated preface.

<sup>80</sup> “Vous voir tousjours si bien unis, que renonçans de plus en plus aux vanitez du Monde, vous avaniez tellement en l'heureux chemin, où vous avez esté introduits des vostre plus tendre enfance, qu'en fin vous receviez la couronne de gloire immortelle.” L'Estocart, *Seconde Livre des Octonaires*.

<sup>81</sup> “De hautes et de rares vertus, par qui vous faites un modelle de vostre incomparable vie.” Aux-Cousteaux, *Les Quatrains de Mr. Mathieu*.

his treatise on moral poetry, Colletet follows this same model as the genre that he examines, in dedicating his treatise to the royal minister Basile Fouquet (brother of Nicolas), who according to the author is “the living Image of a Morality achieved.”<sup>82</sup> These dedications to wise and virtuous leaders, from noble leaders to magistrates, officers, and intellectuals demonstrates a patronage and circulation of these materials well beyond the court.<sup>83</sup> The dedications, prefaces, and contents of these prints valorized the consumption of moral texts and the practice of their musical settings as foundational to developing the skills to live uprightly and make wise and just decisions, whatever the degree and sphere of influence of the user.

Just as these moral prints were marketed for a much broader audience than princes and nobles, these virtuous aims became aspiration models for training the future generation in ethical conduct. As Jacques Amyot argued in his preface to his translation of Plutarch’s *Moralia*, “subjects learn their morals and conditions from their King.”<sup>84</sup> Therefore kings must demonstrate moral behavior, because their subjects will be modeled on his original. He goes on to use a fitting metaphor drawn from the world of print and manuscript culture: “All copies transcribed

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<sup>82</sup> “L’Image vivante d’une Morale achevée.” Colletet, *Traité de la poésie morale*.

<sup>83</sup> The political landscape in the late sixteenth and seventeenth century was incredibly complex, as traditional tensions fomented between the parlements and the crown, between the generally Third-Estate ministerial class and the hereditary nobility, and between royal ministers and the parlements. For an introduction to this landscape, see Bernard Barbiche, *Les institutions de la monarchie française à l’époque moderne* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1999); Sylvie Daubresse, *Le Parlement de Paris ou la voix de la raison (1559-1589)* (Geneva: Droz, 2005); Michel de Waele, *Les relations entre le Parlement de Paris et Henri IV* (Paris: Publisud, 2000); Roland Mousnier, *The Institutions of France under the Absolute Monarchy, 1598-1789*, 2 vols., trans. Brian Pearce and Arthur Goldhamer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979-1984); Nancy Lyman Roelker, *One King, One Faith: The Parlement of Paris and the Religious Reformations of the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); and Thierry Sarmant and Guillaume Lasconjarias, *Les ministres de la guerre, 1570-1792: histoire et dictionnaire biographique* (Paris: Belin, 2007).

<sup>84</sup> “Les subjects prennent leurs moeurs et conditions de leur Roy.” Jacques Amyot, “Au Roy Treschrestien Charles IX de ce nom,” *Les Oeuvres Morales et meslees de Plutarque, Translatees du Grec en François par Messire Jacques Amyot* (Paris: Michel de Vascosan, 1572), unpaginated preface.

from a defective or depraved original retain the faults of the first copy.”<sup>85</sup> As the first copy after which the entire population will be “transcribed,” the education of the young prince and his moral education through text and song becomes an archetype whose aim was to inspire any person in the kingdom desirous of virtue to follow in his noble path.

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<sup>85</sup> “Toutes les copies transcrites d'un original defectueux ou depravé retiennent les fautes du premier exemplaire.” Amyot, “Au Roy Treschrestien Charles IX de ce nom.”

FIGURES AND EXAMPLES

Figure 1: Françoise Gindron, *Les Proverbes de Salomon, ensemble l'Ecclésiaste*, 1556, 18-19.

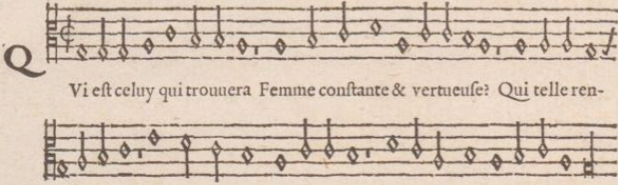
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Gallica.

<p>CHAP. VIII. PROVERBES</p> <p>CHAP. VIII.</p> <p><i>La sagesse se rend familiere à tous, afin que l'homme ne se veuille ou excuser, n'aidant seulement aux princes, mais faisant ainsi que les Rois regnent, &amp; exercent saintement leurs offices.</i></p>	<p>DE SALOMON: 19</p>
<p><b>L</b>A sagesse se rend familiere à tous, afin que l'homme ne se veuille ou excuser, n'aidant seulement aux princes, mais faisant ainsi que les Rois regnent, &amp; exercent saintement leurs offices.</p>	<p>to<sup>e</sup> lieux par grād'folicitude Oū elle void d'hômes</p>
<p>A la pi ence ele ue haut sa voix, Et la p</p>	<p>la multitude, Hômes oy ez, oyez hômes (dit</p>
<p>déce à to<sup>e</sup> presche ses loix, Sur grās chemis poi</p>	<p>elle,) Escoutez moy, car c'est vo<sup>e</sup> que i'appelle.</p>
<p>mieux estre escouté e, Et aux sōmers des pl<sup>e</sup> hau</p>	<p>poires d'espris oyez l'instruction,</p>
<p>lieux mō té e Iette ses crys, &amp; espād ses mena</p>	<p>Foibles de cœur prenez correction,</p>
<p>ces Par les portaux des Citez, &amp; aux places, Hâte</p>	<p>le vous diray des parolles notables,</p>
	<p>Choses de poix, &amp; à tous profitables:</p>
	<p>Car mon palais la verité rumine,</p>
	<p>Et vanité de ma bouche extermine.</p>
	<p>Trefiustes sont tous les dits de ma bouche,</p>
	<p>Plus purs &amp; nets que le fin or de touche.</p>
	<p>Point n'y cherchez propos d'affetteries,</p>
	<p>Ne vains caquets, ne folles menteries.</p>
	<p>n'y a rien vicieux ny peruers,</p>
	<p>Vn tout seul mot n'y est dit de trauers,</p>
	<p>Ce sont propos &amp; sentences faciles</p>
	<p>Aux entendus, enseignans les dociles:</p>
	<p>Or &amp; argent, toutes choses aimables</p>
	<p>C.iii.</p>

Figure 2: Theodore de Bèze, *Les Vertus de la Femme Fidele, Et Bonne Mesnagere*, 1556. Musée historique de la Réformation, Geneva. E-rara.

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LES VERTVS DE LA FEMME FIDELE, ET BONNE  
MESNAGERE, COMME IL EST CONTENV APX  
Prouerbes de Salomon Chapitre XXXI,  
Sur le chant du Psaume XV.



Vi est celuy qui trouuera Femme constante & vertueuse? Qui telle ren-  
contre fera, Plus grād Thresor rencontrera, Que nulle Perle precieuse.

<p>Vntel mary fiance aura En elle &amp; en sa diligence, Et a bon droit s'asseurera, Que iamais contrainct ne fera De desfrober par indigence.</p>	<p>Elle mesmes regardera Combien son labeur luy rapporte, Et quand la nuit arriuera, Adonc sa lampe esclairera Pour besongner en quelque sorte.</p>	<p>Iamais sa bouche n'ouurira Qu'avec vne sagesse exquise, Et sur sa langue on iugera, (Alors que parler on l'orra.) La Douleur mesmes estre assise.</p>
<p>Silong temps qu'elle durera Elle luy cherchera son aise, Et si bien se gouvernera, Que iamais ne s'adonnera A faire rien qui luy desplaïse.</p>	<p>Sa main voluntiers estendra Vers celuy qui vit en destresse: Sa main liberale tendra A tous ceux dont elle entendra Que quelque indigence les presse.</p>	<p>Ce pendant point ne laissera De son mesnage la conduicte, Aincoys elle y regardera, Et son pain point ne mangera, Auec oyfueté maudite.</p>
<p>Laine &amp; fillace amassera, Pour entretenir son mesnage: Puis elle mesmes fillera Et de ses mains besongnera Franchement &amp; de bon courage.</p>	<p>Viene l'hyuer quand il voudra, Elle ne craind froid ne gelée: De bonne heure elle s'armera, Et chascun des siens munira De bonne robe &amp; bien doublée.</p>	<p>Maint enfant qu'elle produira, Luy portera grand reuerence, Et bien heureuse la dira. Son mary mesme en parlera Louant ainfy son excellence.</p>
<p>A vn nauire semblera Party de region lointaine, Qui tout vn pays fournira Quand au port elle arriuera De marchandise toute plainne.</p>	<p>Tapis a l'egueille ouurera, Pour en veoir sa maison parée: De lin elle se garnira, Et proprement se montrera De fine escarlate acoustrée.</p>	<p>Il est bien vray qu'on trouuera Plus d'une femme mesnagere, Et qui des biens amassera, Mais entre toutes qu'on saura Le dy que tu es la premiere.</p>
<p>Deuant le iour se leuera Pour veoir sa despense ordonné: A sa famille pouruoira, Aux seruantes ordonnera Dequoy employer leur ioumée.</p>	<p>Quand les Senateurs on verra S'assembler pour la republicque, Son mary sur rous apperra, Lors que maint homme s'asserra Parmy l'assemblée publicque.</p>	<p>La bonne grace perira, Beauté est chose peu durable, Mais ceste la qui Dieu craindra, Voila la femme qu'il faudra Sur toutes estimer louable.</p>
<p>Les terres considerera Qui seront par elle achetées, Et de ses mains tant gaignera, Que de son gain elle acquerra Vignes desia toutes plantées.</p>	<p>De fines toiles ourdira Que puis apres saura bien vendre, De ce qu'elle deuidera Aux marchans mesmes baillera Cordons &amp; rubens a reuendre.</p>	<p>Telle femme raportera De ses faicts recompense telle, Que là ou lon s'assemblera, Sa vie mesmes preschera Par tout sa louange immortelle.</p>
<p>Au traual ne s'espargnera, Mais plustost, de toute sa force, Deffus ses reins se troussera, Et de ses bras s'efforcera Tant plus la peine se renforcera.</p>	<p>Es robes qu'elle vestira Luiront sa gloire &amp; sa puissance, Lors qu'en fin se reposera, Et ses derniers iours passera Auecques toute estouissance.</p>	<p>Fin. TH. DE BE.</p>

A LAVS ANNE,  
De l'Imprimerie de Jean Riuary.  
M. D. LVI.

Figure 3: Orlande de Lassus, *Vingtdeuxieme livre de chansons*. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Gallica.

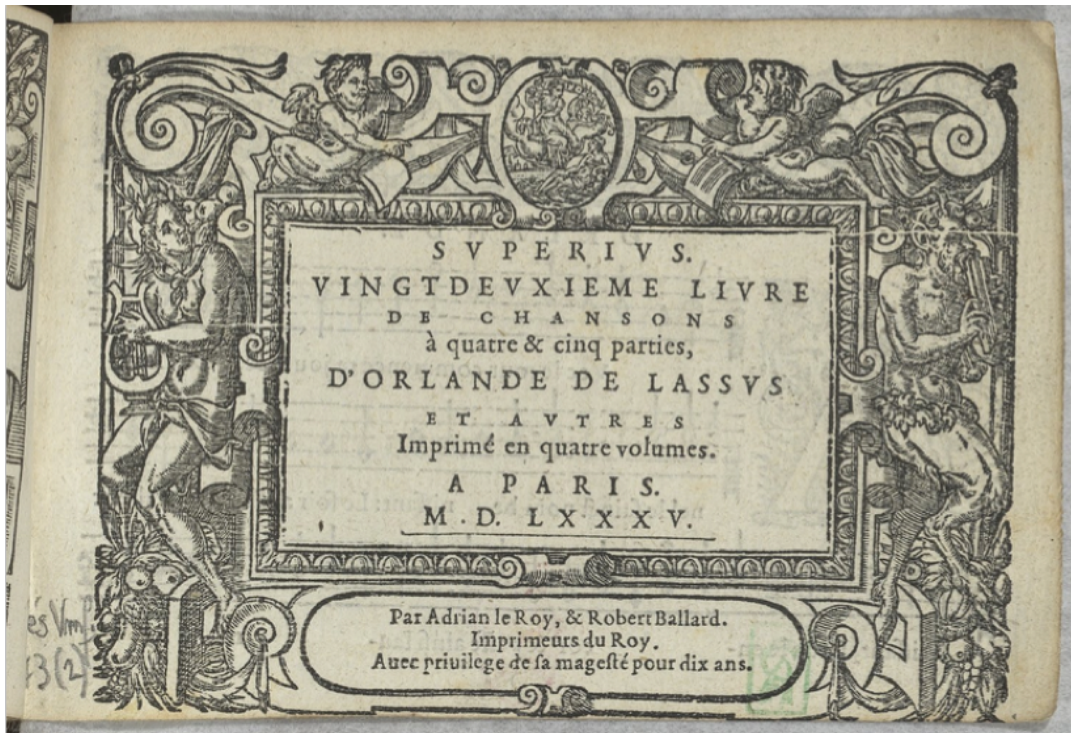
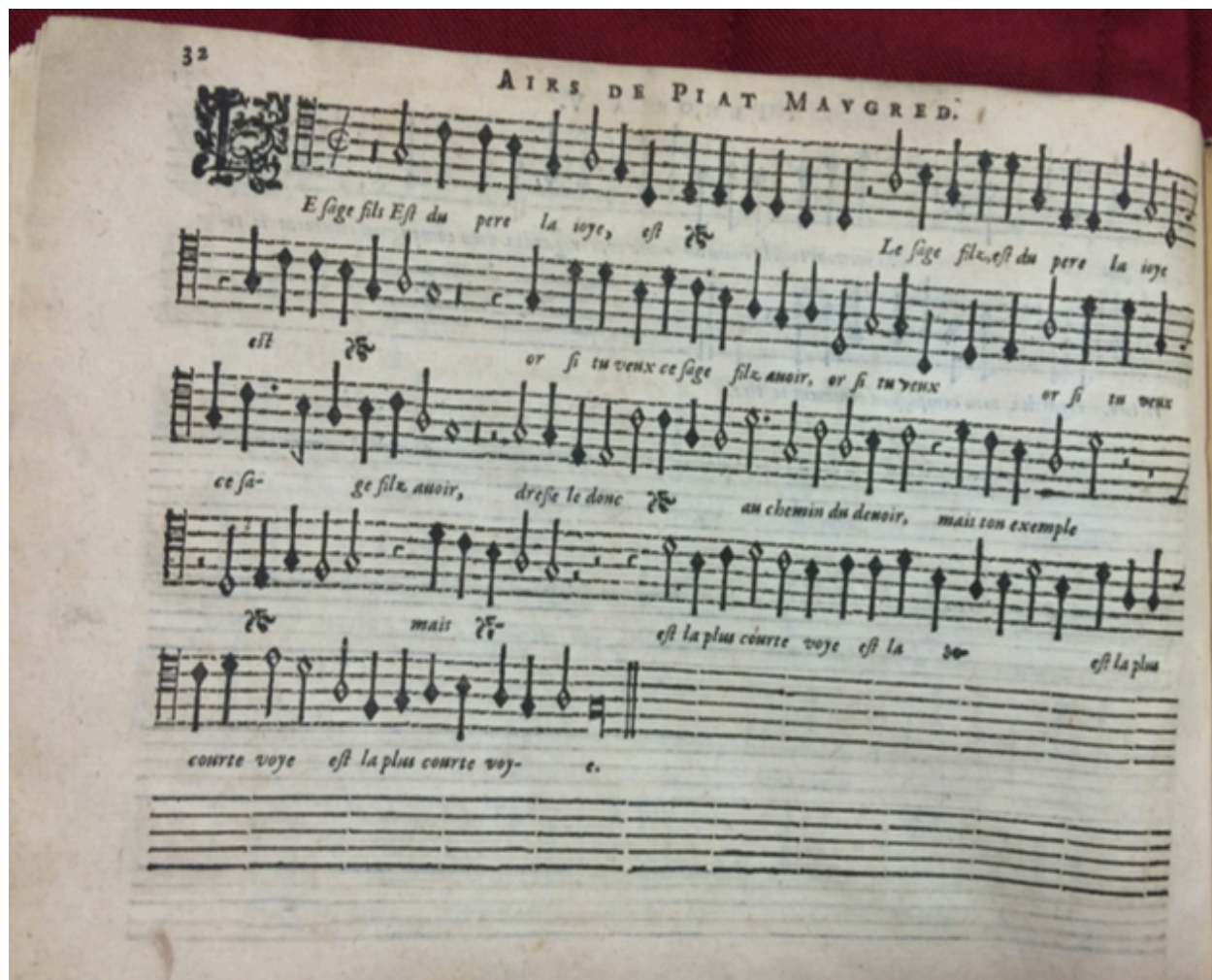




Figure 4: Piat Maulgred, *Airs et chansons a III, V. VI. et VIII. Parties*, 1616, *Quatrain de Pibrac* no. 28. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de Musique.



Example 1: Christophe Ballard, *Chants des noels, anciens et nouveaux de la grande Bible*, 1703.

Dieu tout pre-mier, puis pere & mere ho - no - re, Sois juste & droit & en tou-te Sai-  
son: De l'in - no - cent prens en main la rai - son,  
Car Dieu te doit la haut ju - ger en - co - re.

The musical score consists of three systems of staves. Each system has a treble clef staff on top and a bass clef staff on the bottom. The key signature has one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 3/4. The first system starts at measure 8. The second system starts at measure 13. The third system starts at measure 13. The lyrics are written below the treble clef staves.

Example 2: Pellegrin, Timbre “Quatrains de Pibrac” (vaudeville), 1705.

The musical score consists of three systems of staves. Each system has a treble clef staff on top and a bass clef staff on the bottom. The key signature has one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 3/4. The first system starts at measure 8. The second system starts at measure 13. The third system starts at measure 13. There are no lyrics visible for this example.

Example 3: Comparison of Ballard 1703 and Pellegrin 1705, “Quatrains de Pibrac.”

Ballard 1703

Pellegrin 1705  
(Transposed)

7

12

Dieu tout pre-mier, puis pere & mere ho - no - re, Sois juste & droit & en  
tou - te Sai - son: De l'in - no - cent prens en main la rai -  
son, Car Dieu te doit la haut ju - ger en - co - re.

Figure 5: Etienne Delaune, Emblem for *Octonaire* “Mondain, si tu le sçais.” Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Estampes et de la photographie.



Figure 6: Etienne Delaune, emblem for introductory *Octonaire* “Pour t’enseigner Lecteur.”

Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Estampes et de la photographie.



Figure 7: Raphael, *School of Athens*, Fresco, c. 1509. Rome, Vatican.



Figure 8: Etienne Delaune, emblem for *Octonaire* “Je vis un jour.” Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Estampes et de la photographie.



Figure 9: Paschal de L'Estocart, *Premier livre des Octonaires*, 1582. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Online.

**PASCHAL.**

**L**'Eau va viste en s'escoulant, Plus vi- ste le traict volant, Et  
plus viste encor pas- se le vent qui les nu- es chaf- se. Mais de la  
io- ye mon dai- ne La course est si tressou- dai- ne, Qu'el le passe en cor deuant L'eau & le  
traict & le vent, L'eau & le traict & le vent. A. j.

The image shows a page from a 16th-century music book. At the top, the word 'PASCHAL.' is written in a simple, bold font. Below it is a highly decorative horizontal border featuring intricate scrollwork, floral motifs, and a central circular emblem. On the left side, a large, ornate initial letter 'L' is decorated with a scene of a figure playing a lute. The main body of the page contains five staves of musical notation in a single system. The notes are diamond-shaped, and the staff lines are simple horizontal lines. The lyrics are printed below the staves, with some words like 'Eau', 'vent', and 'traict' appearing on multiple lines. The text is in a historical French font. At the bottom right of the page, there is a small signature 'A. j.'.

Figure 10: Artus Aux-Cousteaux, *Suite de la première partie des Quatrains de Mr Mathieu*, 1652. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Gallica.

AUX-COUSTEAUX.  
Premier Mode Harmonique.  
H A V T E.  
L n'ya point de mort de mort soudain' à l'hôme sa-  
ge, de mort soudain' à l'hôme point de mort soudaine à  
l'hôme sage; De tous Der tous les accidens son cœur va au deuant, Quand il s'em-  
barque Quád il s'embarque il pense au peril du naufrage, Et cesse de vo-  
guer Et cesse de voguer Et cesse de voguer quád il n'a pl' quand il n'a pl' de vent.  
Visque tu ne sçais pas tu ne sçais pas où la mort te doit  
pren- dre, Si de nuit ou de jour, Si de nuit ou de jour, en quel aage en quel

## CHAPTER THREE

### Moral Repair *en musique*

For princes, magistrates and royal ministers, and the larger populace, the flourishing of moral print culture offered accessible and sensible materials for guiding the kingdom back onto a path of virtue and harmony. A striking feature of many moral music prints is their unusually direct engagement with the surrounding moral crisis, and their effort to propose a practical means of repairing damaged virtue through musical means. Through their poetic content, compositional strategies, and plentiful prefatory material, these books of moral songs offer new insight into the close relationship between musical practice and ethics (moral philosophy) in the period. The various contributors to these music prints reveal their engagement with cutting-edge developments in moral philosophy, contextualizing them within long-established ethical ideas about music's power to shape human character. Produced for a broad recreational audience, books of moral songs provided an attractive vehicle for disseminating contemporary moral philosophy to children and adult amateurs across the French kingdom.

In this chapter, I will consider the prefaces and contents of these music books as evidence of a productive site of moral repair that developed during the period of civil and religious crisis. Producers of moral musical settings reveal that they proposed the insertion of virtue into a singer through recreational, vernacular music as more than a pleasant distraction. They proposed the consumption of moral songs as an effective cure to the ills tormenting their society. In contrast to other attempts at repairing the moral damage wrought by the conflict, which were largely unsuccessful in gaining traction across the confessional divide, moral poetry and their musical settings became a site of both artistic and philosophical collaboration across the confessions.



Perhaps due in large part to this spirit of neutrality and tolerance, they developed a large virtual community of users that were united not by confession, but by their shared pursuit of moral virtue.

### **The Question of the Psalms**

Before delving into the evidence for considering moral song books as a site of repair, I will first consider the possibility of the Psalms as a potential partner in this movement. For some scholars researching the thriving environment of moral renewal originating at the French court have proposed that the production of spiritual poetic and musical materials, such as the explosion of interest in the vernacular Psalms, displayed reparative and tolerant motivations. In a chapter titled “Les Psaumes et le Renouveau Moral,” French literature scholar Michel Jeanneret, for example, argues that the later vernacular Psalm tradition participated in a movement of moral renewal that escalated in the final part of the sixteenth century, driven partly by the penitential spiritual fervor of Henri III.<sup>1</sup> Particularly considering the close relationship between the early development of the wisdom literature settings and the Psalms in the mid-sixteenth century, Jeanneret’s thesis merits detailed consideration to determine whether the vernacular Psalms played a role in the late sixteenth-century movement of moral repair.

The most compelling evidence of the Psalms as an attempt at moral repair appears in Claude Le Jeune’s preface to the *Dodecacorde*.<sup>2</sup> This masterful collection of Psalm settings appeared the same year as the Edict of Nantes, which finally brought a measure of peace and

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<sup>1</sup> Jeanneret, *Poésie et tradition biblique*, 350-61.

<sup>2</sup> Claude Le Jeune, *Dodecacorde contenant douze Pseaumes de David, mis en musique selon les douze modes* (La Rochelle: Hierosme Haultin, 1598).

stability to the land. The composer's preface overtly positions the collection as accomplishing reparative work through the music it contained:

I have thought to be appropriate, at a time when so many discords are accorded, in giving the French something to unite both tones and thoughts, voices as well as hearts.<sup>3</sup>

Le Jeune's preface, neutral and conciliatory in tone, elegantly offers his music as a means of cross-confessional healing. There is certainly evidence that Le Jeune's aspiration for a cross-confessional audience succeeded to some degree, at least for the highest level of Catholic theorists and composers who inhabited the same artistic and intellectual circles as Le Jeune. The theorist Father Marin Mersenne greatly admired Le Jeune and wrote about him extensively in his famous *Harmonie universelle* (Paris: S. Cramoisy, 1636); and court composer Eustache Du Caurroy had a copy of Le Jeune's *Dodecacorde* in his library and referenced him in his compositions.<sup>4</sup>

However, other evidence suggests that the continued controversy surrounding Marot's Protestant Psalm texts prevented Le Jeune's *Dodecacorde* from achieving wider acceptance among more devout, reform-oriented Catholics.<sup>5</sup> The music printer Pierre Ballard may have believed as much, for in 1618 he issued a dual edition of the *Dodecacorde*. The first was a reprint of the original La Rochelle print from 1598, and the second was a contrafacted version

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<sup>3</sup> "J'ay pensé estre à propos en un temps où tant de discords sont accordez, donner aux François dequoy unir les tons comme les pensees, et les voix aussi bien que les cœurs." Le Jeune, *Dodecacorde*.

<sup>4</sup> See His, "Une Postérité Singulière," in *Claude Le Jeune*, 367-416; and Marie-Alexis Colin, ed., *Eustache Du Caurroy, Meslanges* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), xv.

<sup>5</sup> For more on Catholic piety and devotion under the Reform, see Diefendorf, *From Penitence to Charity Pious Women and the Catholic Reformation in Paris* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); and Ann W. Ramsey, *Liturgy, Politics, and Salvation: The Catholic League in Paris and the Nature of Catholic Reform, 1540-1630* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1999).

with newly composed moral texts.<sup>6</sup> Ballard's preface for this moral edition makes it clear that this "neutral" version was aimed at a Catholic audience of "most devout souls" who, it seems, were not comfortable singing the Protestant Psalm paraphrases.<sup>7</sup> As the preface states, Ballard decided to produce a more neutral version of Le Jeune's celebrated work, "so that the most devout souls will have means to serve themselves usefully, and will be grateful because of the service that brings them the effort I take gladly to serve the public."<sup>8</sup> Ballard's more expensive choice to create a dual edition was thus evidently a response to market demand for a version of Le Jeune's collection designed for Catholic consumption during the heightened devotional fervor of the Catholic Reform.<sup>9</sup>

This example reveals that even by this point in the early seventeenth century, well after the Edict of Nantes, the Psalm texts were perhaps still more powerful as a point of controversy and division, than viable as a space for cross-confessional tolerance and shared healing. For the Marot Psalm settings continued to be deeply associated with Protestant worship, as they formed the corpus of unison congregation singing used in Geneva and French Protestant churches. They were also used in more oppositional, popular contexts throughout the years of conflict in the sixteenth century, serving as battle songs and riot music.<sup>10</sup> Thus, in some cases the vernacular

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<sup>6</sup> Claude Le Jeune, *Dodecacorde contenant douze Pse. De David, mis en musique selon les douse modes* (Paris: Pierre Ballard, 1618); Le Jeune, *Dodecacorde selon les douse modes [...] Sous lesquels ont esté mises des paroles Morales* (Paris: Pierre Ballard, 1618). See His, "'Sous lesquels ont esté mises des paroles morales': un cas de contrafactum de Psaumes entre 1598 et 1618," *Revue de Musicologie* 85, no. 2 (1999): 189-225.

<sup>7</sup> "Les ames plus devotes." Pierre Ballard, "Au lecteur," in Le Jeune, *Dodecacorde selon les douse modes [...] Sous lesquels ont esté mises des paroles Morales* (Paris: Pierre Ballard, 1618).

<sup>8</sup> "De sorte que les ames plus devotes auront moyen de s'en servir utilement, et me sçavront gré de la commodité que leur apportera la peine que je prens volontiers pour servir le public." Ballard, "Au lecteur."

<sup>9</sup> His, *Claude Le Jeune*, 375-81.

<sup>10</sup> Diefendorf, "The Huguenot Psalter and the Faith of French Protestants in the Sixteenth Century," in *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800)*, eds. Diefendorf and Carla Hesse (Ann Arbor:

Psalms were specifically banned along with other purportedly dissolute songs from public contexts as a possible catalyst for civil disobedience.<sup>11</sup>

As Vignes and His pointed out in their critique of Jeanneret's thesis on the Psalms as a site of repair, this attempt to ascribe tolerance or neutrality to the Psalm tradition in general is particularly problematic when one considers that the later Catholic Psalm paraphrases were created for Catholics, sometimes explicitly to counter the popularity of the Protestant Psalms.<sup>12</sup> For example, in the first version of Baïf's Psalter, he notes that the psalms are meant "to serve good Catholics against the heretical Psalms." Moreover, in a 1573 letter to Gregory XIII Baïf represented his second collection of Psalm paraphrases as a means of fighting heresy.<sup>13</sup> Considering this evidence that the Psalms continued to be mired in controversy, it seems unlikely that they offered an attractive site of cross-confessional healing. Thus, even though Le Jeune may have proposed his collection of Psalm settings as an effort to unite voices and hearts across France, there is little to suggest that his collection found any degree of traction among the broader Catholic community.<sup>14</sup>

## Markets and Users of Moral Settings

In contrast to the enduring controversy over the Psalms, moral poetry and their musical settings flourished across the confessional divide. This alternate trajectory for moral prints began

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University of Michigan, 1993), 41-63; Davis, "Strikes and Salvation," in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France*, 4-5.

<sup>11</sup> Van Orden, "Cheap Print and Street Song," 275-6.

<sup>12</sup> Vignes and His, "Les paraphrases de psaumes de Baïf, La Noue et d'Aubigné, mises en musique par Claude Le Jeune (1606): regards croisés du musicologue et du littéraire", in *Les paraphrases bibliques*, 384.

<sup>13</sup> "En intention de servir aux bons catholiques contre les psalmes des haeretiques." Cited in Vignes and His, "Les paraphrases de psaumes," 384.

<sup>14</sup> His, *Claude Le Jeune*, 379-81.

with the vernacular wisdom literature, which also originated in the Protestant realm but achieved an almost immediate and lasting acceptance among Catholics. Newly composed vernacular moral poetry and their musical settings, such as the collections by Pibrac, Chandieu, and Matthieu that were inspired by the model of the wisdom literature, attracted an even more surprising degree of cross-confessional interest. These collections became beloved and central texts for the education and recreation of Protestants and Catholics alike. It is therefore in the domain of moral poetry and their musical settings, rather than in the Psalms or other spiritual materials, that both Catholics and Protestants found a truly effective, united interest in moral repair. Beginning with the cross-confessional success of Solomon's Wisdom literature, moral music settings achieved unusual success in forming an edifying, "honnête" recreational market made up of lovers of virtue of all ages. This capacity to impart serious, moral training approved by church leaders on both sides of the religious controversy relied in part on the fundamental difference between moral and spiritual song genres that I outlined in the previous chapters.

Most importantly, the capacity for cross-confessional creation and use depended on the philosophical tone of the content and prefaces of moral poetry and music. Thus this genre of music and poetry, although appealing to a pious, devout person, was in itself pointedly neutral, at a time when the vast majority of spiritual prints were polemical and partisan. In contrast to this markedly confessional and often oppositional spirit, the prefaces and contents of moral poetry and their musical settings speak to the broadest possible audience in their inclusive moral aims. They bring a different tone to the field, emphasizing virtue and the capacity of music to repair division in a time of conflict.

This neutrality and cross-confessional use is particularly striking when one notes that the poets for these texts were well known, influential intellectuals and diplomats on opposite sides of

the conflict. For example, the *Quatrains* were written by the highly placed Catholic magistrate and diplomat, Guy du Faur Pibrac, who had recently penned the official royal defense of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre.<sup>15</sup> Pierre Mathieu, author of the *Tablettes*, was a devout Catholic who had been a loyal supporter and apologist for the ultra-Catholic Guise faction before ultimately becoming the official historian of Henri IV.<sup>16</sup> From the other side, the *Octonaires de la vanité et inconstance du monde* flowed from the pen of one of the most highly positioned Protestant leaders, the pastor, diplomat, and polemicist Antoine de la Roche Chandieu, with later *Octonaire* texts written by the controversial pastor/editor Simon Goulart and the Protestant diplomat and physician of Henri IV, Joseph du Chesne, sieur de la Violette.<sup>17</sup>

In some cases, these poetic and musical collections were created through cross-confessional artistic collaboration. For example, the publishing history of the *Proverbs* and *Ecclesiastes en musique* demonstrates that, if Protestants were first responsible for setting Solomon's Wisdom literature in the vernacular, Dalbiac's texts and Gindron's melodies nevertheless crossed over quickly into the Catholic domain and were soon set by Catholic composers, presumably for a mixed confessional audience. In other cases, a print's cross-confessional affiliation was the work of editors who printed collections of verses by well-known Catholic and Protestant poets in the same volume. Maisonfleur, for instance, included the

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<sup>15</sup> See Scott M. Manetsch, *Theodore Beza and the Quest for Peace in France, 1572-1598* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2000), 80; Sealy, *The Palace Academy*, 30.

<sup>16</sup> Penny Richards, "Warriors of God: History, Heritage and the Reputation of the Guise," in *Aspiration, Representation and Memory: The Guise in Europe, 1506-1688*, eds. Jessica Munns, Penny Richards, and Jonathan Spangler (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 177; Gilles Ernst, ed., *Pierre Matthieu, Clytemnestre: de la vengeance des injures perdurable à la postérité des offencez, et des malheureuses fins de la volupté* (Geneva: Droz, 1984), 21-22.

<sup>17</sup> For more on Chandieu, see Barker, *Protestantism, Poetry and Protest*; Bonali-Fiquet, ed., *Octonaires*, 7-10; and Chailley and Honegger, eds., *Second livre des Octonaires*, v. For more on Goulart, see Pot, *Simon Goulart*; and Droz, "Simon Goulart," 266-276. For more on Du Chesne, see Gibert, ed., *De la folie*, 7-37.

Catholic Pibrac's *Quatrains* along with the *Octonaires* of the Protestant pastor Antoine de Chandieu in his bestselling collection, which saw many editions over the years.<sup>18</sup>

I have already outlined preliminary evidence from the printing history of the *Proverbs*, the *Quatrains de Pibrac*, and the *Tablettes* by Mathieu, demonstrating that these collections were used widely by Catholics and Protestants in moral education, a subject that will be explored in more depth in Chapter 4. However, the case of the *Octonaires* merits special consideration here to understand the degree to which this Protestant collection may have crossed over into Catholic territory.

However, there is clear evidence that the *Octonaires* both the texts and the musical settings crossed over into the Catholic domain and were well known there. In Colletet's catalogue of moral poetry he includes a brief entry on the Valagre and Maisonfleur collection, alongside his entries for other moral collections such as Pibrac's *Quatrains* and Mathieu's *Tablettes*. The Valagre and Maisonfleur collection of cross-confessional moral poetry, which was frequently reprinted from 1587 onward, included the *Octonaires* as well as Pibrac's *Quatrains*. Thus, although Colletet does not mention the *Octonaires* or their various authors by name, he does include the Valagre and Maisonfleur collection, which he claims would be known by all.<sup>19</sup>

Other evidence suggests that Le Jeune's and L'Estocart's musical settings may have served to popularize the *Octonaires* among Catholics. As mentioned above, Le Jeune's *Octonaires* became a favorite collection for Catholic domestic use. Their combination of neutral edifying texts with Le Jeune's expert counterpoint and clear modal organization popularized these moral songs with a broad audience, at least in until the next century. Even as the degree of acceptance of Le Jeune's Psalm settings by devout Catholics remains doubtful, Le Jeune's moral

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<sup>18</sup> See Bonali-Fiquet, ed., *Octonaires*, 17.

<sup>19</sup> Colletet, *Traité de la poésie morale*, 153, entry #70.

*Octonaire* settings fared much better with devout Catholics and ultimately had a much longer posterity as a result. This is despite the fact that their verses were penned by a roster of well known Protestant poets. Ballard even dedicated the 1641 edition of the *Octonaires* to the Catholic chancellor Pierre Séguier, who was an intimate of both Richelieu and Mazarin, thus signally the degree to which this collection had lost its Protestant associations.<sup>20</sup>

The evidence for cross-confession use of L'Estocart's *Octonaires* remains more scant, exacerbated by a severe lack of extant evidence for his life, his career, and his professional success. However, an interesting piece of evidence for Catholic use of L'Estocart's prints comes from a Rouen Breviary. The only extant copy of the Breviary of Rouen, located at the Library of the College of Usham, near Durham in England, includes fifty-four anonymous *vers* copied by hand into the blank opening pages of the print. Louis Allen and A. I. Doyle propose that it was most likely Nicolas Le Forestier, the curé of the parish of d'Argues-la-Bataille (ordained a priest in 1574 and deceased in 1629), who penned these verses.<sup>21</sup> Four of these verses found in the Rouen Breviary are from the thirty-first text in Chandieu's *Octonaires*, "La glace est luisante et belle." Bonali-Fiquet notes that the Breviary has the exact, unique text variant as the L'Estocart print in the second line, leading him to conclude that Le Forestier (or another Catholic owner of the breviary who copied the verses) knew the *Octonaires* through L'Estocart's musical print.<sup>22</sup>

While printers readily combined material from Catholic and Protestant sources, perhaps due to commercial motivations, Paschal L'Estocart is the only composer to create polyphonic settings for the moral collections by both the Catholic Pibrac and the Protestant Chandieu. What

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<sup>20</sup> His, *Claude Le Jeune*, 381.

<sup>21</sup> Louis Allen and A. I. Doyle, "Adversaria from a Rouen Breviary," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 18, no. 1 (1956): 114-9.

<sup>22</sup> Bonali-Fiquet, ed., *Octonaires*, 75.



scant evidence remains of L'Estocart's life presents an interesting and rather complicated case, in terms of understanding how his music and perhaps even personal life and beliefs crossed confessional boundaries.<sup>23</sup> The little trace that L'Estocart left in historical documents comes from just four years, 1581-4, and leaves a great deal unknown regarding his confessional affiliations and convictions. L'Estocart clearly had close ties to the French Protestant church. Not only were all of his musical prints published in Geneva, but the commendatory verses in these editions all come from the most important cultivated literary circle of French Protestants refugees living in Geneva, including well-known figures such as Theodore de Bèze, Simon Goulart, and Jean de Sponde.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, in the preface to his second book of *Octonaires*, L'Estocart describes the author of the first twelve *Octonaires*, whom we now know was the Protestant pastor and editor Simon Goulart, as "one of his best friends." Furthermore, between 1581-2, L'Estocart matriculated at the University of Basel. Whether his matriculation was a matter of form or for actual enrollment, this would have put him in Basel at the same time as his friend Jean de Sponde, as well as two sons of Antoine de Chandieu (Jean and Jacques) who were also enrolled at the University of Basel that year.<sup>25</sup>

Conflicting evidence suggests that L'Estocart either converted to/back to Catholicism near the end of his life, or else had such moderate and/or conciliatory Protestant convictions that he was able to participate actively in an ultra-Catholic milieu. For example, in 1584 L'Estocart's name appears in records as a member of the chapel of Nicolas de Breban, the abbey of Valmont.

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<sup>23</sup> For L'Estocart's biography, see Droz, "Jean de Sponde et Pascal de l'Estocart," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 13, no. 3 (1951): 312-326; Chailley and Honegger, eds., *Second livre des Octonaires*, ii-iii; Henry Expert, ed., *Paschal de L'Estocart, Premier Livre des Octonaires de la Vanité du Monde* (Paris: Senart, 1929), ii-iii; Cœurdevey, "Liner Notes" for Ludus Modalis, *Paschal de L'Estocart, Deux cœurs aimants* (Ramée, 2007), 7-8.

<sup>24</sup> For more on the members of this Genevan circle, see Droz, "Jean de Sponde et Pascal de l'Estocart,"; Pot, *Simon Goulart*; Droz, "Simon Goulart"; and Backus, ed., *Théodore de Bèze*.

<sup>25</sup> Chailley and Honegger, *Second livre des Octonaires*, ii-iii.

From 1577 onward, he was also a member of the important association of the Puy d'Évreux, a music competition founded by the Confraternity of Saint Caecilia in 1575. The Confraternity itself, founded five years prior, included Costeley among its founding members, and was created to support Évreux cathedral's celebrations of Saint Caecilia day. Records show that L'Estocart was elected a "prince" of this association for the year 1582. This would have given him the important responsibility of arranging special services, rich in music, for the eve and feast day of Saint Caecilia (November 21 and 22), a Requiem Mass the day following (November 23). As "prince" he would have also been responsible for arranging the music competition, the Puy d'Évreux, for that year.<sup>26</sup> In 1584, he participated in the competition and brought home the second prize ("la harpe d'argent") for his Latin motet, "Ecce quam bonum et quam jucundum."<sup>27</sup>

This active participation in a Catholic Confraternity and its religious celebrations, along with his position as a singer in a Catholic chapel late in his career, could either indicate that L'Estocart was a Protestant with an uncommon capacity to thrive in an overwhelmingly Catholic (and *ligeur*) environment, or that he underwent a change in his religious convictions at the end of his life.<sup>28</sup> I suggest that L'Estocart's production of moral music prints by both Catholic and Protestant poets and their inclusive prefatory tone lends weight to a reading of his biography as one marked by cross-confessional conciliation.

In discussing any of these moral prints and musical practices as occupying a cross-confessional domain, I am not necessarily arguing that groups of Protestants and Catholics came

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<sup>26</sup> For more on this music competition and its participants see Elizabeth C. Teviotdale, "The Invitation to the Puy d'Évreux," *Current musicology*, no. 52 (2001): 7-26.

<sup>27</sup> Chailley and Honegger, *Second livre des Octonaires*, iii; see also Inga Mai Groote and Vendrix, "The Renaissance Musician and Theorist Confronted with Religious Fragmentation: Conflict, Betrayal and Dissimulation," in *Forgetting Faith: Negotiating Confessional Conflict In Early Modern Europe*, eds. Isabel Karremann, Cornel Zwierlein, and Groote (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012).

<sup>28</sup> See Chailley and Honegger, *Second livre des Octonaires*, v; and Groote and Vendrix, "The Renaissance Musician."

together physically to sing moral settings. Perhaps in some cases they did, whether in the kind of cross-confessional setting offered by the formal concerts of Baïf's *Académie* or in homes of conciliatory community members who were looking for edifying recreational material to sing with their neighbors. My argument, rather, is that the use and development of moral poetry and music became a point of common interest across the confessions, bringing Catholics and Protestants from across the political and religious spectrum into a "virtuous" community of users formed through print. At the most moderate end of this spectrum, there were very likely moderate Catholics and Protestants who recognized the ethical value of these prints and sought to use them according to the reparative and moral aims presented in the prefaces and dedications. However, there were certainly many more Catholics and Protestants who may have still been politically and religiously closed to cross-confessional exchange, but who sought moral renewal within their religious contexts. By sharing and using these same poetic and musical tools of repair for training in morality and discovering principles for living well, they intentionally or inadvertently participated in building the foundations for a *de facto* shared ethics across the confessions.

### **A Context of Crisis**

The dramatic success of moral poetry and music across the French kingdom and its refugee areas was rooted in their capacity to address the pervasive crisis of morality and offer practical tools for repairing this damage at the individual and group level. The printing history of each of the four major musico-poetic collections that I introduced in the previous chapter engages either directly or indirectly with the instability of their immediate civil and political contexts. Indeed, it is striking that the production history of moral music settings began around mid-century with the

commencement of the first War of Religion and peaked in the decade after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day (see Chapter 2, Tables 1-4). This correlation suggests that the dramatic rise of interest in moral virtue went beyond fashionable philosophical speculation, but developed as a response to civil unrest that resonated with a wider-literate and semi-literate market. Considering the evident focus on virtue displayed by the court, magistrates, and royal ministers during this same period, the commercial success of the moral genre underscores the new importance of print as a technology for accomplishing sweeping social reform. Printing moral settings thus offered a means to disseminate the reparative ethical and civil goals developing in the intellectual milieu of the French Court outward to the realm of quotidian pedagogy, practice, and musical performance.

This positive correlation between moral print history and civil instability in the French kingdom began with the early roots of the moral genre, in the publication of versified wisdom literature. Jean Vignes has already identified this mid-century interest in more serious, edifying poetic material such as the *Proverbs* and *Ecclesiastes*, as a response to the "extreme dissaray" caused by the political and religious crisis. He notes that the origins of printing poetic paraphrases of Solomon's wisdom literature seems to have been connected to the broader movement of moral and spiritual renewal that blossomed during the period.<sup>29</sup> In her analysis of Costeley's *Melanges* (1570), Nahéma Khattabi offers further support for this link between the moral literature and the contemporary crisis. Costeley's two *Proverb* paraphrases significantly appear in a section titled "chanson en façon d'air," a group of texts which together make a clear reference to the troubles of the Wars of Religion.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> See Vignes, "Paraphrase et appropriation," 503-526.

<sup>30</sup> Khattabi, "Les 'Chansons en façon d'airs.'"

Moral prints published after the 1572 St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, such as the *Quatrains de Pibrac*, make even more explicit reference to the contemporary civil crisis in both their contents and prefaces. The commendatory verse for Boni's collection of *Quatrains* settings (1582), dedicated to the Duc de Brabant, d'Anjou, opens with a reference to "the bloody fureur" (la sanglante fureur) and those "dirty with human blood" ("souille de sang humain"), referring to "the grand battles" ("les grands combats") that marked the period. Furthermore, the commendatory poetry which prefaces L'Estocart's *Quatrains* (1582) notes that the current times would see virtue dead. "Virtue dead! The times wish you so." ("Morte vertu! Le temps te veut ainsi.")

The *Quatrains de Pibrac* responded to this moral crisis by offering clear pathways for reconstructing shared ethical values. Judging by the almost immediate success of the poetic collection and its musical settings that followed, this focus on rebuilding virtue attracted a broad audience. As Pibrac himself stated in his prefatory quatrain, his collection was meant for those whose desire was to learn how to live well (*faire bien*), a critical need during troubled times. For example, *Quatrain 25*, one of the texts chosen by Lassus for a musical setting, may have had particular resonance for those who had lost homes, communities, and livelihoods during the chaos of the conflict.

Les biens du corps et ceux de la fortune,  
Ne sont pas biens, à parler proprement,  
Ils sont sujets au moindre changement:  
Mais la vertu demeure tousjours une.

[The goods of the body and those of fortune,/ Are not goods, to speak properly,/ They are subject to the least bit of change:/ But virtue lives always as one.]

This text offers a Stoic denial of the sustainability and value of health and fortune as moral goods due to their capacity to be suddenly lost.<sup>31</sup> For those either facing direct loss of these goods, or the fear of that loss, Pibrac's affirmation of virtue as a good that could not be taken away may have offered hope for some stability in the midst of uncertainty.

The *Octonaires* by Chandieu and his imitators were also written in the direct wake of the Massacre. As a prominent Protestant pastor in Paris, Chandieu was personally affected by the Massacre, as it almost completely destroyed his congregation. After taking refuge in Switzerland to escape the violence, he began writing his *Octonaires*, which explicitly reference that time of violence as the pretext for a new morality that critiques the vain ambitions of the world. For example, *Octonaire 22* engages in a philosophical reflection on the futility of war, as part of the vanity of the poor Mondain.

Si le ciel est un cercle et son point est la terre,  
Comme le Philosophe enseigne et nous fait voir,  
Pourquoy, povres Mondains, vous faictes-vous la guerre,  
A qui pourra le plus de ceste terre avoir ?  
Pourquoy, povres Mondains, prenez-vous tant de peine,  
Trompez du fol espoir d'une ambition vaine ?  
O dangereux erreur ! de ne cognoistre point  
Qu'en vain on se travaille à mespartir un point.

[If heaven is a circle and its point is the earth, / As the Philosopher teaches us to see, / Why, poor Wordly Ones, do you make war, / Who can have more of this earth? / Why, poor Worldy Ones, do you take such trouble, / Tricked by the crazy hope of a vain ambition? / O dangerous error! To not understand / That in vain we toil to divide a point.]

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<sup>31</sup> Kraye, "Moral Philosophy," 360.

Particularly considering Chandieu's personal loss as a result of the Massacre, it is striking to see that his collection makes no attempt to justify the Protestant position or mourn its persecution in the way common to much Protestant post-Massacre writing.<sup>32</sup>

The tone of Chandieu's *Octonaires* refuses the impulse to further entrench confessional division. Instead, the collection presents a poignant, yet confessionally neutral commentary on the futility of war and violence. Thus, he takes the religious motivations out of the equation, boiling all violent conflict down to a vain desire for dividing and owning the earth. Again in his twenty-sixth text of the *Octonaires*, Chandieu returns to this theme, here exposing as false the idea that war and violence could be justified for establishing peace or creating a righteous cause.

Tu me seras tesmoin, ô inconstante France,  
Qu'au monde n'y a rien qu'une vaine inconstance,  
Car ta paix est ta guerre et ta guerre est ta paix,  
Ton plaisir te desplaist et ton soulas t'ennuye.  
Tu crois qu'en te tuant tu sauveras ta vie,  
Flotant sur l'incertain de contraires effects.  
Il n'y a chose en toy qui ferme se maintiene,  
Et n'as rien de constant que l'inconstance tiene.

[You will give testimony to me, O inconstant France,/ That in the world there is only a vain inconstancy,/ Because your peace is your war and your war is your peace,/ Your pleasure displeases you and your relief irritates you./ You believe that in killing you will save your life,/ Floating on uncertain and contrary effects./ There is nothing in you so firm remaining,/ And nothing as constant as your inconstancy.]

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<sup>32</sup> Of course, the Psalms were ideally suited for this type of emotionally-charged lament over persecution and had long offered Protestants a deep source of group identity as God's people. Diefendorf, "The Huguenot Psalter," 41-63.

In this text, Chandieu avoids the temptation to validate his own party's sense of justice in provoking and continuing to foment civil war. Rather, he seems to lay equal blame on both Protestants and Catholics for their engagement in violence for worldly gain.

Like the *Quatrains de Pibrac* and the *Octonaires*, the poetic text for the *Tablettes ou quatrains de la vie et de la mort* also emerged as a poetic response to a large-scale crisis in the kingdom. Mathieu published the *Tablettes ou quatrains de la vie et de la mort* in 1610, just after the shocking death of Henri IV, the beloved ruler who had established an uneasy peace with the Edict of Nantes in 1598. His murder at the hands of the mentally unstable Catholic zealot François Ravaillac once again plunged the kingdom into instability and a series of power struggles, as the crown passed to the young Louis XIII and his regent mother, Marie de Medici.<sup>33</sup> Eric Tourette has even suggested that the break between the two *centaines*, or two sets of 100 *quatrains* for Mathieu's *Tablettes* symbolized the rupture of regicide.<sup>34</sup> The content of the final poem of the first *centaine* and the first poem of the second *centaine* lend support to this reading. The final poem from the first *centaine* offers the hope of eternal life after death:

D'un eternal repos ta fatigue est suivie,  
Ta servitude aura une ample liberté :  
Où se couche la Mort, là se leve la Vie,  
Et où le Temps n'est plus, là est l'Eternité.

[From an eternal rest your fatigue is followed,/ Your servitude will have ample liberty:/ Where Death goes to sleep, there rises Life,/ And where Time is no longer, there is Eternity.]

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<sup>33</sup> For more on Ravaillac's regicide, see Anita M. Walker and Edmund H. Dickerman, "Mind of an Assassin: Ravaillac and the Murder of Henry IV of France," *Canadian Journal of History* 30, no. 2 (1995): 201-229; for more on the historical context, see Holt, "Epilogue: The Last War of Religion, 1610-1629," in *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 173-189.

<sup>34</sup> Tourette, *Quatrains moraux*, 18.



After the break, the first poem of the second *centaine* follows up this general treatment of death with a text that clearly references the murder of Henri IV, who was stabbed in his carriage:

Cette grandeur des Rois, qui nous semble un Colosse,  
N'est qu'ombre, poudre et vent. L'unique honneur des Roys,  
D'une execrable main meurt dedans son carrosse,  
Au temps que l'Univers trembloit dessous ses loix.

[This grandeur of Kings, which seems to us Colossal,/ Is only shadow, powder, and wind. The only honor of Kings,/ By an execrable hand dying in his carriage,/ While the Universe trembled under his laws.]

With its overarching focus on the universality of death and loss, Mathieu's *Tablettes* offered common wisdom for those living in the continued situation of loss and instability in early seventeenth-century France.<sup>35</sup> The *Tablettes* occupy a middle ground between the *Quatrains de Pibrac* and the *Octonaires* by Chandieu and others. Although the form of Mathieu's collection, all in *quatrains*, recalls Pibrac's poetry, the tone and content of the *Tablettes* resonate with the detached, philosophical tone of the *Octonaires* and its emphasis on the fragility of the human condition and accepting death as a natural part of the life-cycle.

The first two musical settings of Mathieu's moral poetry, Rousson's 1621 monophonic print and Aux-Cousteaux's much later 1636 polyphonic collection, reprinted in 1643, were written under a much more stable political situation. Thus, the interest in Mathieu's moral teachings serve a more general interest in moral education, yet make little reference to their prints as responding to the past or present political contexts. However, with the outbreak of the Fronde in 1648, it seems that Mathieu's moral poetry on the need to reconcile life and death took on more urgency. It is striking to note the difference in the tone of the prefaces for Aux-

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<sup>35</sup> Tourrette, *Quatrains moraux*, 18.

Cousteaux's 1636/43 musical settings and his new collection in 1652, the year that marked the conclusion of the Fronde. The first collection, printed in 1636/43, focuses primarily on praising the dedicatee, Nicolas Le Jay, and lauding the beauty of the musical settings. However, Aux-Cousteaux's *Suite de la première partie des Quatrains*, from 1652, specifically notes the violence and instability of the recent political conflict, referencing "these times of misery where a million people languish."<sup>36</sup> Considering that Aux-Cousteaux was listed as still occupying a post in Paris until 1651, as a member of the Sainte Chapelle, he would have likely seen firsthand the rioting and violence ravaging the city.

Colletet's treatise on moral poetry, written in the same post-Fronde milieu as the Aux-Cousteaux *Suite*, also situates the importance of the moral genre as an antidote to social and political instability. The commendatory sonnet included in the preface and dedicated to the royal minister Basile Fouquet clearly refers to the recent civil war, lamenting "France opposes itself in gruesome plots/ Which put its safety on the brink of shipwreck."<sup>37</sup> Thus, both in the individual poetic and musical prints themselves and in Colletet's later work of cataloguing moral collections, it is evident that the genre developed its most influence and appeal in times of civil war.

## **Musical Repair**

Situated within these various contexts of chaos and destruction of the social and political body, musical collections of moral poetry presented their contents as a means for accomplishing ethical work at the level of the individual and the community. After the noble ruler, magistrate,

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<sup>36</sup> "Ce temps de misere où un million de personnes languissent." Artus Aux-Cousteaux, *Suite de la première partie des quatrains de M. Mathieu, à 3 voix, selon l'ordre des douze modes* (Paris: Robert III Ballard, 1652).

<sup>37</sup> "La France s'opposoit aux funestes complots/ Qui mirent son salut à deux doigts du naufrage." Colletet, *Traité de la poésie morale*.

or minister, the suggested audience for moral poetry and their musical settings, as indicated by the producers of these prints, were those people with an interest in acquiring virtue. For example, Adrian Le Roy's preface to the first complete musical settings of the Boni's *Quatrains* (1582), proposes that the musical setting could enhance the moral efficacy of the text (“n'apporterait moins de profit aux bonnes moeurs”) while simultaneously providing virtuous pleasure accomplished through music making (“plaisir à la recreation honeste”):

Among all the subjects that concern Christian piety as much as human government, I hold the Quatrains of Pibrac as most praiseworthy for the good teaching that they contain, as admirable for their sententious brevity and sweet-flowing style that one notices in them. And in truth, seeing them rightly received and treasured, I have thought that a musical setting appropriate to such a subject, would provide no less profit to good morals, than to provide pleasure in the honest recreation of those who are lovers of virtue.<sup>38</sup>

Like Goulart in his poetry for L'Estocarts Quatrains, Le Roy illustrates the role of musical performance in the pursuit of virtuous living. By addressing his audience of musicians as “amateurs de vertu,” a frequent addressee of prefaces for moral prints, Le Roy emphasizes his musical collection as playing a role in the character formation of the singers.

Other prefaces in this genre likewise underscore that musical settings of moral texts served as a doubly effective mode of ethical formation, in that musical practice and performance bolstered the edifying content of the poetry. In the preface to Bournonville's *Quatrains* (1622),

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<sup>38</sup> “Advertissement touchant l'ordre observé en la composition de ces Quatrains, par Adrian Le Roy. Entre tous les sujets qui concernent tant la piété Chrestienne, que la police humaine, je tiens que les Quatrains du Sieur de Pybrac, sont autant louables, pour la bonne erudition qu'ils contiennent, qu'admirables, pour la sentencieuse brieveté, et dous-coulante veine, qu'on remarque en iceux. Et de vray, les voyant à bon droit si bien receus et prizez d'un chacun, j'ay pensé qu'une musique convenablement appropriée à tel sujet, n'apporterait moins de profit aux bonnes moeurs, que de plaisir à la recreation honeste de ceux qui sont amateurs de vertu.” Facsimile reproduced in Colin, ed., *Quatrains du Sieur de Pybrac*, xliv.

the lengthy Ode by Roch de Beaulieu, dedicated “A Monsieur de Bournonville, sur l'impression de sa musique,” uses the example of Socrates learning music in his old age as an argument for music’s crucial role in the development of wisdom. Ignoring criticism of others for his interest in music lessons, Socrates pursued musical training believing that he could not “could not merit the high title of Sage/ Without knowledge of this beautiful Art.”<sup>39</sup> Following Socrates’ example, the Greeks practiced music as foundational in cultivating this virtue:

La Grece en t'imitant croit que la sapience

Ne peut reigner chés soy,

Si elle ne s'adjoit cette belle science

Si chérie de toy.

Ainsi elle la prise, elle l'ayme, et l'honore,

Et tant qu'elle le fait,

Le Grec est recognu jusqu'au lit de l'Aurore,

Pour un Sage parfait.

[Greece in imitating you believes that wisdom/ Cannot reign within oneself/ If it is not joined to this beautiful science/ So dear to you./ Thus she takes it, loves it, honors it,/ And as much as she does it,/ The Greek is recognized until the bed of the Dawn/ For a perfect Sage.]

The second part of the ode takes the connection between musical practice and building wisdom into the contemporary situation. If even Socrates believed that at the end of his life it was still necessary to study the musical arts to be worthy of the title of Sage, and the Greeks followed him, how much more necessary would this be for ordinary French people seeking the path to

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<sup>39</sup> “Tu ne crois meriter le haut tiltre de Sage/ Sans sçavoir ce bel Art.” Jean de Bournonville, *Cinquante Quatrains du Sieur de Pybrac* (Paris: Pierre Ballard, 1622).

wisdom? The poet makes it clear that contemporary France has become the new Greece, the new favorite of the Muses, as they valorize the role of musical practice and training in the process of moral formation:

Les Muses lors, dit-on, abandonnants la Grece,

Pour l'Empire François,

Y viennent ériger un throsne à la sagesse,

En ayant fait le choix.

Mettants à son costé cette douce science

Pour la faire cherir,

Et la recommandants aux esprits de la France

Pour la faire fleurir.

[The Muses then, it is said, abandoning Greece./ For the French power/ Were going to erect a throne to wisdom/ In having made the choice./ Putting at its side this sweet science/ In order to cherish it/ And recommending it to French spirits/ To make it flourish.]

The tone of this second half of the ode reflects both a sense of the tragedy and hope for the French context. The “sad misfortune” of the Greeks who were abandoned by the Muses could also be an oblique reference to the previous period of chaos in the French kingdom. In contrast to this previous calamity, Bournonville and his music symbolize a new era of French power. Through Socrates’ model, France has entered into a new age of both musical and moral virtuosity that is, by this model, central to human flourishing (“Pour la faire fleurir”).

Many of the prefaces and commendatory poetry that introduced moral prints were more specific in proposing that these collections were created to repair moral damage through the practice and performance of the poetry and musical setting. For example, the commendatory

verse for the contratenor part of L'Estocart's first book of *Octonaires* (1582) , signed "D. L. T.", makes it clear that these settings were meant as an antidote to the loss of virtue in their context. Although the evil of the times sought the death of virtue, the poet presents this musical collection as a living, lasting bulwark against this moral assault. Even if people no longer care about virtue, it could live on through the performance of these settings. Virtue could: "In verse and sound at least, remain imprinted."<sup>40</sup>

L'Estocart's second collection of settings for *Octonaires* (1582) also situates the collection in light of the current conflict, further highlighting the role of these moral texts *en musique* as a tool in the work of rebuilding virtue after destruction. L. Mongart's verse for the Bassus part opens with the image of a raging lion, held captive in a cage and subdued through the power of the lyre.

DU farouche Lyon, enserré dans la cage,  
On charme mainteffois la rugissante rage:  
On luy fait lascher prise, et en quelque façons  
Danser, quand il entend d'une lyre les sons.

[OF the ferocious Lyon, held in the cage,/ One charms numerous times the reddening rage:/ One makes him let go of his hold and in some way/ To dance when he hears the lyre's sounds]

He then compares this Orphic trope of music calming the savage beast, to L'Estocart's musical power to hold captive and subdue the raging misery of the world:

Ainsi le Monde vain, pris de cinquante chaines,  
Dans sa propre misere et fureur tournoyant  
Est par toy retenu: car tes accords oyant,

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<sup>40</sup> "En vers et sons demeure au moins empreinte." L'Estocart, *Premier livre des Octonaires*.

Paisible il chante ici ses inconstances vaines.

[Thus the vain World, held by fifty chains,/ In its own misery and roiling fury/ Is by you retained: because hearing your harmonies,/ Peacefully he sings here of its vain inconstancies.]

A poet known only as G. Mogne N. expounds further on this reparative capacity of these musical settings in his verse for the tenor part of L'Estocart second collection of *Octonaires*. He begins with a commonplace reference to Amphion's lyre (which appears in a number of verses in these collections), noting its power to destroy walls, shake the earth, and ravage the landscape to rubble just with the sweet sounds of his lyre. L'Estocart's musical settings, he goes on to say, have much more value than the Thebian's lyre, because they use the power of music to construct something useful and positive, rather than merely having the awesome power to destroy.

PASCHAL, si tes accords n'attirent les montagnes,  
Les fleuves, les forests, ni les plattes compagnes,  
D'Amphion toutesfois tu passes la valeur.  
De beaucoup il fit peu, son ouvrage est en pouldre.  
De rien tu fais un tout, qui dompte le malheur,  
Et de mort et du temps rendra vaine la fouldre.

[PASCHAL, if your chords do not attract the mountains,/ The rivers, the forests, nor the flat planes,/ Nevertheless you pass Amphion in worth./ From much, he made little. His work is mere dust/ From nothing you make a whole, which tames calamity,/ And from death and from time renders vain the thunderbolt.]

Another verse for the bassus part of L'Estocart's second book of *Octonaires*, signed I. P. L., also compares L'Estocart's music to the power of Orpheus's lyre, which had the capacity to reorder all of nature through its sweet harmony and to manage negative and destruction states, such as rage, grief, and felony, through music's ethical power.

LE Thracien, qui n'eut onc conoissance

Que des faux Dieux, par la seule harmonie

De son doux luth ciel et terre manie,

Et range tout à sa docte cadance.

Il est doué de si douce puissance

Qu'à ses accords sublimes la manie,

L'ire, l'orgueil, le dueil, la felonnie,

Sans repliquer rendent obeissance.

[THE Thracien, who never had knowledge/ That the false Gods, by the sole harmony/ By his sweet lute heaven and earth handled./ And reordered all to his learned cadence./ He is gifted with such sweet power/ That at his sublime chords handles/ Ire, Pride, Grief, Felony,/ Without reply becoming obedient.]

Further propagating the efficacy of music as a form of moral uplift, the prefaces to the musical settings of the *Tablettes* emphasize the persuasion of the musical setting to encourage the singer to accept without fear the reality of the world's fragility, and to embrace the natural cycle of life and death. The commendatory poetry for Aux-Cousteaux's *Suite* (1652) highlights the musical setting as having the capacity to persuade the singer to accept the moral truth communicated in the text. The second poem by F. Gougeon, in particular, casts the musical setting as the assurance needed to accept the moral principle that there is beauty in both life and death.

AUX-COUSTEAUX, rare esprit, dont la belle methode

Traite icy doctement les cadences du Mode,

Tu nous as temperé les aigreurs de la Mort ;

Si bien, que ta douceur tient nostre ame ravie,

Et personne ne peut, s'il ne se plaint à tort,

Asseurer que la mort est contraire à la vie.



[AUX-COUSTEAUX, rare spirit, of which the beautiful method/ Treats here learnedly the cadences of the Modes,/ You have tempered in us the bitterness of Death ;/ So well, that your sweetness holds our souls ravished,/ And no one can, if he does not complain wrongly, affirm that death is contrary to life.]

The liminal poetry in praise of Aux-Cousteaux by Belot for the 1636 and 1643 prints further reiterates the tradition of moral music print prefaces in emphasizing the use of the musical setting in accomplishing ethical work. After praising Aux-Cousteaux's gracious harmonies as second to none, the poet goes on to expound upon the utility of this musical power for moderating the passions.

Ces tons que tu mets en usage,  
Ont dessus les cœurs l'avantage  
De conduire leur passion,  
Et par ces charmantes merveilles,  
Tu sçays enchanter les oreilles  
D'un Orphée, et d'un Amphion.

[These tones that you put into usage,/ Have above hearts the advantage/ To guide their passion,/ And by these charming marvels,/ You know how to enchant the ears/ Like an Orpheus and an Amphion.]

In discussing the well-trod terrain of music's influence on the passions, scholars have often approached this from the perspective of music's influence on emotional states, such as happiness, sadness, or fear. In the broader context of this collection, however, the ethical edge of this broader concern to guide the passions comes to the forefront. Here, music offers a tool to control the direction of the heart, character, and emotions, towards some end (perhaps human behavior).

Going beyond music's general power to moderate emotional states, the poetry signed D. L. T. for the tenor part of L'Estocart's first book of *Octonaires* makes a clear case for musical sound as a mode of repair for a damaged world:<sup>41</sup>

PASCHAL, tes plaisans sons resuscitent le Monde

En ces riches tombeaux maintenant enterré.

Tu animes le vers en beaux quatrains serré

Par le docte Pibrac d'une dextre faconde.

Tu chantes les grands biens qu'à la machine ronde

Le Messie presente, et d'un pouce asseuré

Du grand David si bien touches le luth doré,

Qu'une harmonie en sort à nulle autre seconde.

[PASCHAL, your pleasant sounds bring the World back to life/ In these rich tombs now buried/ You animate the verse secured in beautiful quatrains/ By the learned Pibrac as a dextrous elocutionist./ You sing the great good that in the cosmos/ The Messiah presents, and with an assured thumb/ You play the great David's golden lute so well/ That a harmony comes from it second to none.]

By opening the first line with praise of L'Estocart's "pleasing sounds," the poet positions his praise as located in the ethical power of this musical beauty. The comparison between L'Estocart and David in the second stanza ("Du grand David si bien touches le luth doré/ Qu'une harmonie en sort à nulle autre seconde."), recalls the important Biblical story of David's beautiful harp playing which had the power to calm and heal King Saul's tortured spirit. In addition, David was a well known double of Orpheus, whose musical prowess in producing powerful ethical effects appears often in these prefaces. The second half of the poem offers more nuance on these moral and musical aims:

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<sup>41</sup> Considering the reference to "quatrains" in *vers* 3 and "le docte Pibrac" in *vers* 4, it seems clear that this piece of commendatory poetry was written for L'Estocart's *Quatrain* settings, and may have been included in the preface to L'Estocart's first book of *Octonaires* by mistake.

O que tu es heureux ! et plus heureux encor,  
Si tu reconois bien celui qui tel thresor  
T'a commis pour son los, rendant ton ame aprise  
A sonner ses bontez ! Poursui donc courageux,  
Et puis qu'il n'a besoin de nos presens es cieux,  
Par ta Musique esgaye et orne son Eglise.  
Tout par accord.

[O that you are happy! and more happy still./ If you recognize well that which is such a treasure/  
You committed to his praises, rendering your soul learned/ To sound these bounties! Follow  
therefore courageously./ And as there is need of our presence in heaven/ By your Music uplifts  
and ornaments his Church./ All through harmony.]

The call to happiness here in *vers* 9 (“O que tu es heureux ! et plus heureux encor”) had ethical inflections, rather a mere reference to surface emotion. For happiness recalls both a central concern of virtue ethics, but it also recalls the well-known Beatitudes, a passage of Jesus’s teaching recorded in the gospel of Mathew (Chapter 5). Both contexts inflected this word with a clear moral valence that went beyond surface emotion. Rather, the happiness called for there is a state of being, one that corresponds well to the ideas of passion/emotion as ethical states that lead to virtuous action. The use of “esgayer” in the final *vers* is another word that goes beyond a simplistic emotional state, but one that moves from despair to a state of content and positive emotion. These calls to achieve happiness suggest just such an ethical state, one that involves recognizing the good (here referred to as the treasure of L’Estocart’s moral setting) and allowing one’s soul to be taken and held by just principles and laws. The reference to the church in the final line should be understood less as a confessionally-marked institution, but more in the sense that it appears in the *Octonaires*, as a sacred community of people who are choosing to honor God by living a peaceful life of virtue. This community of virtuous people stands in contrast to

“Le Monde,” which in the *Octonaires* is a place of vanity, violence, destruction, evil, vice, and chaos.

Perhaps the most compelling assertion of music’s role as a site of moral repair after damage appears in the sonnet “L’Art Ha Doctes Places” by Simon Goulart, found in the superius part of the first book of L’Estocart’s *Octonaires*. The first part of the sonnet Simon proposes that worthy musicians will achieve moral renewal through these settings:

MUSIQUE, entre tous Arts le nom d’ART je te donne.

Tu animes vers, et d’un immortel son

Donnes tousjours à l’ame une neufve façon :

Transformant, ravissant toute honneste personne.

L’indocte audacieux, qui sur ton nom bourdonne,

Te brouille et faict pleurer par sa rude chanson.

Mais ceux que tu cheris, comprenans ta leçon,

Te font ouir et voir sublime-belle-bonne.

[Paschal de L’Estocart his excellent child/ MUSIC, among all Arts the name of ART I give you./ You animate verse, and from an immortal sound/ Give always to the soul a new path:/ Transforming, delighting every upright person./ The audacious unlearned, who sings badly,/ Confuses you and makes people weep by his crude song./ But those who you cherish understanding your lesson,/ Make you heard and seen as sublime-beautiful-good.]

Music here gives the soul a new way of being, transforming and ravishing every virtuous person to understand the moral lesson offered by through these settings, which is to hear and see music as sublime-beautiful-good. This triple word formation links three key concepts in circulation within various streams of Renaissance ethical thought—the unfathomable state of elevation that is the sublime; the compelling pleasure of beauty; and the understanding and appreciation of the

good, one of the central objectives of moral philosophy. By this triple account, music offers a practical and embodied route to ethical knowledge.

Even as these prefaces repeatedly laud music's capacity to accomplish healing and repair at the individual and communal level, they also offer an important warning to temper these grandiose claims. The quality and nature of the musical setting, no matter how persuasive, was not the only index of moral effectiveness. According to the preface to L'Estocart's *Quatrains*, the moral efficacy of a musical setting goes beyond the internal logic of the composed notes; for it can only be activated within a virtuous heart. As L. Mongart's commendatory verse ("sur la muse du Sieur de Pibrac, animee par Paschal de L'estocart") for the bassus part of L'Estocart's collection put it:

LE vertueux, lisant, chantant ces vers,  
De meilleur cœur à son devoir se range.  
Le vicieux, ici jugé, ne change,  
Ains chante, lit, et demeure pervers.

[The virtuous person reading, singing these verses/ With a better heart governs himself to live uprightly/ The vicious, here judged, change not/ And thus sing, read, and remain perverse.]

Therefore, although the action of reading and singing these musical settings was thought to have the capacity to lead a virtuous person to greater moral improvement, it was not automatic: even the most skillfully composed, avidly repeated setting might have no influence on a "worldly" person. The perceived ethical efficacy, as expressed here, was contingent on the willingness of the singer to receive moral instruction. It would be only the virtuous, or those who at least desire virtue, who would have their moral character improved through the repetitions of the setting. The vicious person could sing, read, repeat, and remain unmoved.

This safeguard built into these reiterations of the *laus musica* were very important for their work in preserving an idealized efficacy of musical settings that could accomplish a desired moral outcome. However, it also allows for a reason why the effects may not be immediately or ever visible, for the powerful moral effects were contingent upon some degree of reception in the hearer. L'Estocart says as much in the preface to his first book of *Octonaires* (1582). In addressing the pervasive question of the fabled and fabulous “effects” of music reported by the ancients, he notes that at the present time, they have not seen music with the same almost magical, immediate power to manipulate people’s spirits that everyone assumes occurred in ancient times.

One could reply, that ancient music was completely different and so much better so that it has no comparison with that of today, and that one can hardly ever find a man who can move and manipulate hearts, as we believe that the ancients have done.<sup>42</sup>

However, rather than discount these potential effects as illusory or mythical, L'Estocart proposes that perhaps the immediate and visible power of music has been weakened due to the evils and chaos of the present times, compounded by a lack of belief in this capacity of music to produce these wondrous effects.

To which I respond, even if they did more than what we say they did, that they have also lived in a time less evil than our own, and have encountered a greater number of people ready to weigh and appreciate that which is of value.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> “On pourra repliquer, que la musique ancienne a esté toute autre et trop meilleure sans comparaison que celle de maintenant, et qu’à peine se trouvera-il jamais homme qui puisse esmouvoir et manier les esprits, comme lon estime qu’aucuns des anciens ont fait.” L'Estocart, *Premier livre des Octonaires*.

<sup>43</sup> “A quoy je respon, encor qu’ainsi soit qu’iceux ayent plus fait que lon n’en dit, qu’ils ont aussi vescu en un temps moins malheureux que le nostre, et ont rencontré plus grand nombre de personnes disposees à bien poiser et priser ce qui estoit de valeur.” L'Estocart, *Premier livre des Octonaires*.

When L'Estocart notes the efforts to respond and develop music according to the ancient models, he presumably refers to the experiments of Baïf's *Académie* with *musique mesurée*.<sup>44</sup> He was also certainly aware of Italian academic experimentation, such as he may have encountered personally during his time in Italy, or via well-known treatises such as Zarlino's *Istitutioni Harmoniche* (1558).<sup>45</sup>

L'Estocart goes on to justify his publication of this collection of *Octonaires* as a means for rebuilding the kind of reparative capacity that music supposedly had in the past. However, it is interesting to note that he does not seem to attempt the kind of specificity for recovering these effects as others had done, through modal or rhythmic means. Rather, he merely offers his music to his dedicatee, the Duke de Bouillon, with the hope that his collection would be “the means to occasionally recreate your spirit, and to render it more disposed to embrace and accomplish the responsibilities to which God has commissioned you.”<sup>46</sup> Thus, L'Estocart presents his music as having the capacity to accomplish ethical work, first for his princely ruler, and by extension the market of amateurs who would purchase and sing these settings.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> For more on Baïf's *Académie* and *musique mesurée*, see Vignes, “Jean-Antoine de Baïf et Claude Le Jeune: histoire et enjeux d'une collaboration,” *Revue de Musicologie* 89, no. 2 (2003): 267-295; His, *Claude Le Jeune*, 239-348; Yates, *The French Academies*; and D. P. Walker, *Music, spirit, and language in the Renaissance*, ed. Penelope Gouk (London: Variorum Reprints, 1985).

<sup>45</sup> Deramaix, ed. *Les académies*. For the influence of Zarlino in France, see His, *Claude Le Jeune*, 390.

<sup>46</sup> “Le moyen de recreer par fois vostre esprit, et le rendre tant plus disposé à embrasser et effectuer les charges que Dieu vous a commises.” L'Estocart, *Premier livre des Octonaires*.

<sup>47</sup> Claude Le Jeune's preface to the *Dodecacorde* (1598) presents a very similar approach. There he makes the reparative and ethical aims of his music at the forefront, yet he pulls away from the more fantastical and mythical approach to specific modes and assigning them particular emotional potential. Thus, we see in these late-sixteenth century prints a more practical approach to musical virtue ethics, one that seems rooted in musical practices and actions as accomplishing ethical work. For Le Jeune's use of mode in the *Dodecacorde* see Jessica Herdman, “Zarlinian Modality in Claude Le Jeune's *Dodecacorde*,” *Musicological Explorations* 10 (2009): 33-71.

## Conclusion

My consideration of the production and use of moral poetry and their musical settings thus far reveals an alternate, and ultimately more widely influential means of post-war repair than other strategies attempted during and after the Wars of Religion. In Chapter 1, I outlined Diefendorf's work on rituals of repair attempted promote conciliation between Catholics and Protestants during the early years of the conflict. Drawing conclusions from these failed reparative strategies, Diefendorf proposed that it was only in the Crown's efforts to decouple the civil and religious spheres after the First War of Religion that an effective model for civil repair was ultimately located.<sup>48</sup> However, the development and use of moral poetry and their musical settings reveals that an alternate domain of repair—which succeeded in finding cross-confessional traction—emerged through text and song. Moral activity in the literary and musical domain thus ultimately united with the political efforts outlined by Diefendorf to demarcate a neutral (yet still decidedly Christian) civil sphere from a private confessional sphere. As we will see, it is not quite accurate to describe this as a top-down political cultural movement. The cultivation of moral poetry and music may have been sponsored by nobles, ministers, magistrates, and diplomats, but it flourished economically as a printed genre through the market interest of a textually and musically literate populace who bought and used these prints in their homes, schools, and personal lives.

With the mid sixteenth-century explosion of interest in Solomon's Wisdom literature, the beginnings of a new moral genre gained traction in both Protestant and Catholic circles. It was in their shared pursuit of virtue that Catholics and Protestants at last began to develop a nascent communal ethics for living together after conflict. The poetic paraphrases and musical settings of

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<sup>48</sup> Diefendorf, "Rites of Repair," 30-51.



the *Proverbs* and *Ecclesiastes* formed the foundations for the later flourishing of newly composed moral music settings, such as the *Quatrains de Pibrac*, the *Octonaires*, and the *Tablettes de Mathieu*, collections that displayed this same neutral tone in offering practical moral principles for virtuous living. Although the didactic, fundamentally ethical objectives presented by these prints were distinct from spiritual, devotional objectives on both sides of the confessional rift, they had the capacity to work in tandem with them.

With their rich prefaces and moral poetic content, these prints display a profound interest in recovering stable ground on which to build a better future. These moral and philosophical ideas, which were in the course of development in the highest intellectual circles at the time, were distilled into an attractive and accessible recreational form that encouraged the everyday use of these music prints. Located at the intersection of the ethical and the musical, this moral print culture successfully established a new identity for its target consumer, the “amateur de vertu,” a group identity that took shape through the printed moral genre. Through the consumption and use of these song books, therefore, effective moral training took place that went beyond the individual and linked together into an unlikely virtual community those people more interested in pursuing virtue than in continuing the violence.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### Repetitions of Virtue

The broad interest in virtue that emerged during the crisis of the religious wars in France found a particularly clear expression in the wave of moral prints that offered attractive training to both the young and the old across the fractured kingdom and beyond. As I have shown in the previous chapter, moral music prints offered prefaces and commendatory poetry that affirmed a belief in music's capacity to shape moral character. However, this vernacular theorizing about the ethical power of music did not center on modal ethos. Rather, these prints reveal a more mundane interest in music's ethical effects, as they promoted morally edifying musical practices associated with learning, singing, and listening to music. Seen in this light, for the "amateur de vertue" who was the intended user of these prints, learning to sing well provided the ethical formation necessary for learning how to live well.

My aim in this chapter is to demonstrate that the idealized efficacy of moral poems, such as the *Quatrains de Pibrac*, lay not only in the practical moral advice contained in the text but, just as importantly, in the mechanisms by which they were learned, used, and remembered—that is, in the everyday practice of learning to recite or sing these texts. I will examine the way in which these poetic collections and their musical settings were thought to be effective tools in the daily, repetitive task of individual and corporate moral formation. In a long context of use whereby moral poetry, such as the *Quatrains de Pibrac*, was widely memorized in early childhood, recited, and sung, these repetitions gained ethical significance through the pervasive notion of Aristotelian *habitus* that regarded repeated action as the mechanism for building moral virtue.

Practices of repetition were important tools for constructing the virtuous self—a central concern during the unstable post-war period from the late sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century. Textual and musical repetitions of moral poetry were composed and performed within this broader context of use, whereby the *Quatrains de Pibrac* and the *Tablettes* by Mathieu were staple pedagogical texts. As they were widely learned by heart by the young and recited in quotidian domestic and scholastic settings, these daily repetitions brought philosophy and ideology into the everyday realm of personal character formation through the efficacy of habitual action, and not merely belief.

From the vantage point of the use of Pibrac's and Mathieu's *Quatrains*, which were committed to memory, recited, and sung, we can begin to see how this poetry and music as experienced in people's daily lives bridged the gap between philosophy and habitual practice. Memory—specifically, the action of memorizing—was considered part of the cardinal virtue of prudence (or practical wisdom). Prudence was the capacity to recognize right action based on the remembrance of past experience; thus the recollections of memory took on ethical significance.

As the *Quatrains* were experienced through the tedious process of learning by heart through extensive repetition, and later sung to musical settings that doubled back on themselves in even more layers of repetition, they coupled virtuous texts with virtuous actions. These repetitions served as a crucial mediator between the philosophical and the practical, between neoplatonism and neoaristotelianism, between enthusiasm and activity.<sup>1</sup> As repetitions of the *Quatrains* reverberated across multiple generations, these repetitions accrued force in collective efforts to repair moral virtue.

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<sup>1</sup> Yates has argued that the lectures on virtue presented in the *Académie du palais*, under the direction of Pibrac, revealed the union between neoplatonist enthusiasm and neoaristotelianism rationalism. Yates, *The French Academies*, 111.

## ***Quatrains en musique***

The first known settings of the *Quatrains de Pibrac* appeared in two small collections of poetry and music just a few years after the full edition of Pibrac's *Quatrains* was issued in 1576: the *Nouveau recueil et élite de plusieurs belles chansons joyeuses, honnestes, & amoureuses*, first printed in 1580 by Thomas Mallard and then in 1581 by Richard l'Allemand. Both prints are cheap, pocket-sized collections of vernacular song texts that also contain some printed monophonic music.

The presence of these two monophonic editions provides a critical starting point for examining practices of repetition linked to the *quatrain* tradition and their musical settings (see Figure 1). Both editions include the same notated melody, which could be used for all of the printed *Quatrain* texts. The simple melody presents a straightforward G-Hypomixolydian exposition. The first phrase spans the shortened diatesseron (G down to E) before outlining the first four notes of the diapente (G up to C) in the second half of the phrase. The second phrase then remains with the diapente, reinforcing the upper boundary D with its upper neighbor (*sol-la-sol*) before dropping down to explore the diatesseron (G down to D) in the third phrase.

With its limited ambitus, almost entirely stepwise motion punctuated with occasional small skips, and its rhythmic values limited to breves and semibreves, this monophonic setting presents ideal material for a beginning singer. The pedagogical function of this simple melody, repeated again and again in singing the *Quatrains*, would have gone beyond its utility as a vehicle for memorizing the poetic text. The didactic nature of the melody, with its model presentation of G-Hypomixolydian, would have simultaneously provided training in basic musicianship for a beginning singer. It is clear that this melody was meant to be used for all 126 of the *Quatrains*, yet we do not know where this melody originated. Perhaps it was newly printed

in the first monophonic edition, or it may have already been in widespread oral use before this print.

Pierre Mathieu's *Quatrains ou Tablettes de la vie et de la mort* also saw its first musical publication appear in a monophonic edition, Jean Rousson's *Recueil de chansons spirituelles, avec les airs nottez sur chacune d'icelles* (1621). Rousson's print includes two separate monophonic settings of Mathieu's moral poetry, one for each set of one hundred quatrains (called *centaines*). Rousson notes that his strategy in choosing musical settings for each text was to furnish airs that were "as popular as possible, in order that children and all kinds of people could learn them."<sup>2</sup> In contrast to the simple, pedantic modal profile of the monophonic setting of Pibrac's *Quatrains*, the popular tunes that Rousson chose for the two *centaines* of Mathieu's *Tablettes* offer more challenging melodic contours. The setting for "Estime qui voudra la mort espouventable," titled "Sur le mespris de la mort par Mr. Mathieu," is a lilting air in triple meter (see Figure 2). From the perspective of the (admittedly declining) 12-mode system, the melodic profile clearly suggests a C-Ionian classification, as it outlines the G-C diatesseron in the first and fourth phrases and the C-G diapente in the middle two phrases. Oddly separated from the first Mathieu setting by more than fifty pages, the second setting, "Cette grandeur des Rois, qui nous semble un Colosse," titled "De la vie, et de la mort, par Mr. Mathieu," uses another triple-meter air (see Figure 3). Although the disjunct melody of this second setting would have increased the difficulty for a beginning singer, the clear G-Hypodorian modal profile would have anchored the performance, even if the tune itself were not already well known.

Although Rousson only printed a selection of the *quatrains* from Mathieu's *Tablettes* (one quarter of the first set of one hundred and only fifteen of the second set of one hundred), he

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<sup>2</sup> "Tout le plus populairement que m'a esté possible, à fin que les enfans et toute sorte de personnes puissent les apprendre." Rousson, *Recueil de chansons spirituelles*, unpaginated preface.

indicates that the singer could use the air for all of the others. At the head of the setting for the second group of one hundred *quatrains* by Mathieu, Rousson advises the singer, “all of these quatrains and multiple others can be sung to this Air.”<sup>3</sup> After printing a selection of the *quatrain* texts, Rousson then notes that those who would like to sing the full set should refer to the *Tablettes* by Mathieu.<sup>4</sup> If a singer were to take Rousson’s suggestion, then, each monophonic setting could be sung to one hundred *quatrain* texts.

The simplicity of these monophonic editions for Pibrac’s and Mathieu’s collections would have made these melodies useful as a mnemonic device, perhaps especially appealing for young children learning the poetry by heart.<sup>5</sup> Even if used for mnemonic or pedagogical purposes, using the same simple melody to sing all of the *Quatrains* from either collection presents a striking case of strophic excess.<sup>6</sup> Particularly considering that the process of learning one of these collections by heart may have taken years, the potential number of repetitions of this melody, whether sung in one setting or built up across an extended period, would have been staggering.

This amounts to a remarkable practice of musical repetition. In her recent book on print culture and music literacy, *Materialities*, Kate van Orden has also suggested that the ethical efficacy of pedagogical texts such as the *Quatrains de Pibrac* lay not only in the practical moral advice contained in the poetry but also in the process of learning to read and sing these texts

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<sup>3</sup> “Tous les quatrains duquel, et plusieurs autres peuvent estre chantez sur cet Air.” Rousson, *Recueil de chansons spirituelles*, 86.

<sup>4</sup> “Ceux qui en voudront davantage voyent les Tablettes de Mr. Mathieu.” Rousson, *Recueil de chansons spirituelles*, 88.

<sup>5</sup> Colin notes the similarity of this simple setting to the monophonic psalter tunes, so popular and widespread by this time. Colin, ed., *Les Quatrains du Sieur de Pybrac*, xii; Colin, “Les *Quatrains*,” 537.

<sup>6</sup> Both economic and practical considerations likely motivated such a printing decision. If this single melody was already in popular use before the printing, then the editorial decision was a response to this pre-existing practice. However, if the tune was newly composed for the print, the choice to use the same melody for all the *Quatrains* would have minimized printing costs.

through repetition.<sup>7</sup> As Pibrac's sixty-first *Quatrain*, "Vertu és mœurs" put it, repetition serves as the fundamental mechanism needed to develop virtue:

Vertu és mœurs ne s'acquiert par l'estude,  
Ny par argent, ny par faveur des Roys,  
Ny par un acte, ou par deux, ou par trois,  
Ains par constante et par longue habitude.

[Virtue and morals are not acquired by study, / Neither by money, nor by the favor of Kings,  
/Neither by one act, or by two, or by three, / But by constant and repeated practice.]

Within this explicitly Aristotelian framework, singing the *Quatrains de Pibrac* through these monophonic editions took on ethical significance through repetition, as a habitually performed action that united virtuous texts with virtuous actions. Building upon this premise, I propose that the simple work of repetition suggested by the monophonic editions of the *Quatrains* by Pibrac and Mathieu took on a deeper ethical import in the context of the reparative moral culture that I have outlined in previous chapters. Therefore, singing a new or already well-known tune, perhaps across hours, days, and even years of learning the 126 *Quatrains* by heart, would have ideally bolstered the intellectual work of the poetry through the heightened mnemonic efficacy of musical repetition.

### **Learning (through) the Quatrains**

Perhaps more than any other single publication of this era, the *Quatrains de Pibrac* reveal the importance of the arts within the broad early modern project of moral education. The impressive publication history of the *Quatrains de Pibrac* attests to its popularity as a work of

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<sup>7</sup> Van Orden, *Materialities*, 236.

poetry (alone or *en musique*) and its ethical function as a pedagogical text. Not only were countless editions made and reprinted for the next century, they were regularly included in general education primers, where the *Quatrains* were inserted after sections offering basic instruction on reading and arithmetic. In the seventeenth century, the *Quatrains* were also frequently included in civility manuals, widely disseminated prints focused on proper comportment and etiquette. For both the general education and the later civility prints, Pibrac's *Quatrains* were often the only poetic text included in otherwise entirely prosaic or didactic manuals.

However, the *Quatrains de Pibrac* had a special type of use in educational and comportment prints that their other contents did not, as the *quatrains* were specifically meant to be learned by heart and retained into adulthood.<sup>8</sup> In fact, learning the *Quatrains de Pibrac* by heart comprised a central element in what was considered good childrearing. According to education theorists of the period, memorizing the *Quatrains* was ideally part of a child's early domestic education, as overseen by a mother or governess. In his *De l'Institution du prince* (Paris, 1609), Jean Héroard, the doctor of the young Louis XIII, recommended that the prince who would one day become "good and gentle, wise, prudent and courageous"<sup>9</sup> be given the *Quatrains de Pibrac* along with the proverbs and Aesop's fables "to read, and then to recite by heart."<sup>10</sup> Héroard advises that this early moral instruction, beginning around the age of two and

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<sup>8</sup> The expression 'to learn by heart' (*apprendre par cœur*) had deeper implications in that the functions of the spirit (imagination, judgement, memory) were commonly thought to reside in the heart. See the section titled "Apprendre, ou dire quelque chose par Cœur," in Étienne Pasquier, *Les Recherches de la France d'Estienne Pasquier, ... augmentées en ceste dernière édition de trois livres entiers, outre plusieurs chapitres entrelassez en chacun des autres livres, tirez de la bibliothèque de l'auteur* (Paris: Laurens Sonnius, 1621), VIII. 8., 697-8.

<sup>9</sup> "Bon et doux, sage, prudent et courageux." Jean Héroard, *De l'Institution du prince* (Paris: J. Jannon, 1609), 5.

<sup>10</sup> "À lire, et puis à reciter par cœur." Héroard, *De l'Institution du prince*, 12.



continuing to around six years of age, should be overseen by an honorable woman of quality, well instructed in virtue.<sup>11</sup>

A number of other authors reiterated this recommendation. For example, in his commentary on the first book of the *Berger extravagant* (Paris, 1628), Charles Sorel cites this strategy as well-known advice,

For the Quatrains of Pibrac, if children learn to read from them, and if Adrian would like his cousin to learn them by heart, he would have good reason, because this work is full of very beautiful precepts for the conduct of all of life: so that it would be to observe the advice of the Lacedaemonians, who recommend that people should learn in their youth what they must do in their old age. For the Tablettes of Mathieu, also Quatrains, which treat life and death, in which we learn to fear not at all a passage where so many others have been before us.<sup>12</sup>

In *Les Recherches de la France d'Estienne Pasquier* (1621), Étienne Pasquier likewise emphasizes the usefulness of the *Quatrains de Pibrac* for children, as well as for adults. “I content myself only to say that nothing was more useful and pleasant to the people than the *Quatrains de Pibrac*, and the two *Sepmaines* by Seigneur Du Bartas: They served as the first

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<sup>11</sup> Héroard, *De l'Institution du prince*, 7.

<sup>12</sup> “Pour les Quatrains de Pibrac, si les enfans y apprennent à lire, et si Adrian vouloit encore que son cousin les sceust par cœur, il avoit bonne raison, car cét ouvrage est remply de tres-beaux preceptes pour la conduite de toute la vie: de telle sorte que c'estoit observer le conseil des L'Academoniens, qui vouloient que l'on aprist en sa jeunesse ce que l'on devoit faire en sa vieillesse. Pour les Tablettes de Mathieu, ce sont aussi des Quatrains, qui traitent de la vie et de la mort, dans lesquels nous aprenons à ne point craindre un passage où tant d'autres ont esté devant nous.” Charles Sorel, *Le Berger extravagant, où parmy des fantaisies amoureuses, on void les impertinences des romans et de la poésie*, part 3 (Paris: Toussaint Du Bray, 1628), 26.

instruction for our children, and nevertheless are worthy to be enshrined in the hearts of the greatest men.”<sup>13</sup>

The publication history of the *Quatrains de Pibrac* and advice by authors such as Héroard and Du Bray give us a sense of how the *Quatrains* were ideally to be used. Moreover, retrospective accounts from the mid- to late seventeenth century, such as Colletet’s, suggest that these collections of moral poetry were widely used in precisely these ways, as a text for memorization and the moral education of the young. We also have some valuable first-person testimony from individuals who claim to have followed these directives, by memorizing the *Quatrains de Pibrac* and other moral poetry in childhood. For example, in 1606 the seven-year-old Charlotte de La Trémoille<sup>14</sup> wrote a letter to her mother, Charlotte-Brabantine d’Orange-Nassau, at the Court of Henri IV, in which she mentions that she has already learned all of the *Quatrains de Pibrac* by heart. “Mother, Since you left, I became wise, thanks to God; you will find me fully learned; I know seventeen Psalms, all the *Quatrains de Pibrac*, all the *Octonaires* of Chandieu, and what is more, I speak Latin.”<sup>15</sup>

Other children were encouraged to learn the *Quatrains de Pibrac* while at their chores.

Madame de Maintenon (1635-1719), in her *Conseils et instructions aux demoiselles*, notes that in

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<sup>13</sup> “Je me contenteray seulement de dire que jamais chose ne fut plus utile et agreable au peuple que les Quadraings du Seigneur de Pibrac, et les deux Sepmaines du Seigneur du Bartas: Ceux-là nous les faisons apprendre à nos enfans pour leur servir de premiere instruction, et neantmoins dignes d’estre enchassez aux cœurs des plus grands.” Pasquier, *Les Recherches de la France*, VII. 7., 622B.

<sup>14</sup> Charlotte de La Trémoille (1599-1664), the future Countess of Derby, was the daughter of Claude de La Trémoille, Duke of Thouars and Charlotte-Brabantine d’Orange-Nassau, cousin of Henri IV. She grew up in a Protestant household. See Tulot, “Les La Trémoille et le protestantisme au XVIe et au XVIIe siècle: 3 - Charlotte-Brabantine de Nassau,” *Cahiers du Centre de Généalogie Protestante*, 84, no. 4 (2003): 173-202.

<sup>15</sup> “Maman, Depuis que nous êtes partie, je suis devenue bien sage, Dieu merci; vous me trouverez tout plein savante; je sais dix-sept psaumes, tous le quatrains de Pibrac, tous les huitains de Zamariel, et, encore plus, je parle Latin.” Letter transcribed in Henriette de Witt-Guizot, *Charlotte de La Trémoille, comtesse de Derby, d’après des lettres inédites conservées dans les archives des ducs de La Trémoille, 1601-1664* (Paris: Didier, 1870), 12.

her childhood she and her cousin were expected to memorize from the *Quatrains* daily while taking care of her aunt's turkeys. She recalls, "we would put a little basket on our arms containing our lunch with a little book of the *Quatrains de Pibrac*, where we were given some pages to learn each day; with that we were given a long pole in our hand, and we were charged with keeping the turkeys from going where they were not supposed to go."<sup>16</sup>

The young Louis XIII (b. 1601) underwent same process of moral formation through memorizing Pibrac's *Quatrains*, under the guidance of doctor Héroard himself.<sup>17</sup> From Héroard's journals chronicling the king's progress, we can see that Louis's pattern of learning the *Quatrains* was rather slow and was accomplished across the span of several years:

Wednesday, December 28, 1605. "Madame [Madame de Montglat, governess of Louis XIII] said her quatrains to the King and all that she knows; M. le Dauphin said his proverbs to her."

Tuesday, January 24, 1606, at Saint-Germain. "He said his abridged proverbs of Solomon, among others "*the one*," he said, "*that I love so much: Happy is the man who finds a virtuous wife*; he said three quatrains de Pibrac."

Thursday, June 1, 1606, at Saint-Germain. "He recited the first four quatrains of M. de Pibrac, that he knew, as if he was reciting a comedy."

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<sup>16</sup> "on nous mettoit au bras un petit panier où étoit notre déjeuner avec un petit livret des *Quatrains* de Pibrac, dont on nous donnoit quelques pages à apprendre par jour; avec cela on nous mettoit une grande gaule dans la main, et on nous chargeoit d'empêcher que les dindons n'allassent où ils ne devoient point aller." Françoise d'Aubigné, Marquise de Maintenon, *Conseils et instructions aux demoiselles, pour leur conduite dans le monde*, ed. Théophile Lavallée (Paris, Charpentier, 1857), 98.

<sup>17</sup> This example of the young Louis XIII memorizing the *Quatrains* became an important role model for proper childhood development. Many moral treatises printed during the period were dedicated to the education of the ruling elite and were meant to work their way down into the education of the kingdom. As Jacques Amyot put it, "les subjects prennent leurs moeurs et conditions de leur Roy." Jacques Amyot, "Au Roy Treschrestien Charles IX de ce nom," *Les oeuvres morales et meslees de Plutarque, translatees du Grec en François par Messire Jacques Amyot* (Paris: Michel de Vascosan, 1572), unpaginated preface.

Saturday, August 12, 1606. “He said his quatrains de Pibrac, in saying fifteen, and his sentences; and in one, where there was: ‘The one who guards his tongue is wise,’ he adds, of his own thoughts and free will: *The one therefore who lets it go is crazy.*”

Saturday, September 30, 1606. “He prayed to God, said his quatrains de Pibrac and, at the one where there is only God, who by a breath of his mouth carries us, Mme de Montglat warned that, if he was not good, than God would carry him far away, by a blow of his breath. *Eh!*, he said, *then I would return myself to my mother’s stomach.*”

Wednesday, November 8, 1606. “He said twenty-five quatrains de Pibrac.”

Saturday, April 21, 1607. “He said his quatrains and some sentences; among others Mme de Montglat made him say: ‘Humility is the way to honor;’ he said on his own: *Humility is the path of the glory which leads to honor.*”

Saturday, September 8, 1607. “He said his quatrains de Pibrac.”

Monday, September 17, 1607. “He said his quatrains de Pibrac in music” [*en musique*].

Thursday, November 22, 1607, at Noisy. “He said his quatrains and sentences, asking to study, in saying more than we wished of him; he named the words in their entirety without failure.”

Tuesday, February 29, 1608. “He said his quatrains, knowing fifty of them.”<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Mercredi, le 28 decembre, 1605, “Madame [Madame de Montglat, governess of Louis XIII] disoit ses quatrains au Roi et tout ce qu’elle savoit; M. le Dauphin lui dit ses proverbes”/Mardi, le 24 janvier 1606, à Saint-Germain, “Il dit des proverbes de Salomon abrégés, entre autres *celui*, dit-il, *que j’aime tant: L’homme est heureux qui rencontre une femme vertueuse*; il dit trois quatrains de Pibrac.”/Jeudi, 1er Juin, 1606, à Saint-Germain, “Il récite les quatre premiers quatrains de M. de Pibrac, qu’il savoit, comme s’il eût récité une comédie.”/Samedi, le 12 août, 1606, “Il dit ses quatrains de Pibrac, en dit quinze, et ses sentences; et en l’une, où il y avoit: ‘Celui qui contient sa langue est sage,’ il ajoute, du sien et de son mouvement: *Celui donc qui la lâche est fou.*”/Samedi, le 30 septembre, 1606, “Il prie Dieu, dit ses

We can see here that the young king's governess Madame de Montglat was the one who actually guided Louis in his process of learning by heart, and that these quotidian repetitions were punctuated by periodic recitation before Héroard and other dignitaries, who were also learning the *Quatrains*.<sup>19</sup>

Héroard's account also offers intriguing insight into the role of music as a corollary or aid to this process. Indeed, his journals furnish evidence that the standard pedagogical use of the *Quatrains* may have included singing, as well as memorizing and reciting them. The entry for September 17, 1607, states that Louis said his quatrains "en musique." Might the melody of the Mallard/L'Allemand editions have been the music that the young Louis XIII sang while reciting his *Quatrains*? Whatever he may actually have sung that day, it does seem likely, given Héroard's account, that singing was a regular part of Louis's daily routine of learning the *Quatrains de Pibrac* by heart with his governess.<sup>20</sup>

Beyond their use in early childhood education, the *Quatrains de Pibrac* were also ideally meant to be memorized as part of the curriculum for formal French primary education. For

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quatrains de Pibrac et, à celui où il y a que Dieu, d'un souffle de sa bouche, nous peut emporter, Mme de Montglat lui remontre que, s'il n'étoit sage, que Dieu l'emporteroit bien loin, d'un coup de son souffle. *Eh! dit-il, je m'en retournerois dans le ventre à maman.*"/Mercredi, le 8 novembre, 1606, "Il dit vingt-cinq quatrains de Pibrac."/Samedi, le 21 avril, 1607, "Il dit ses quatrains et quelques sentences; entre autres Mme de Montglat lui faisoit dire: 'L'humilité est le chemin de l'honneur;' il dit de lui-même: *L'humilité est le chemin de la gloire qui conduit à l'honneur.*"/Samedi, le 8 septembre, 1607, "Il dit ses quatrains de Pibrac."/Lundi, le 17 septembre, 1607, "il dit ses quatrains de Pibrac en musique."/Jeudi, le 22 novembre, 1607, à Noisy, "Il dit ses quatrains et sentences, demande à étudier, en dit plus qu'on ne veut; il appelle les mots entiers sans faillir."/Mardi, le 29 février, 1608, "Il dit ses quatrains, en sait cinquante." Jean Héroard, *Journal de Jean Héroard sur l'enfance et la jeunesse de Louis XIII (1601-1628)* (Paris: F. Didot, 1868).

<sup>19</sup> Petris, *Les Quatrains*, 26.

<sup>20</sup> The extant copy of the Thomas Mallard monophonic edition [ancien Res a 83; Mf no. 67] held by the Bibliothèque municipale de Versailles, though tantalising in its current location, cannot be assumed to have originated in the Royal Library. All that is known for certain is that it was confiscated during the revolution and made its way into the "fonds d'origine" of the Bibliothèque municipale de Versailles. The phrase "en musique," typically implied polyphony. However, it was also used for monophonic settings as evidenced by the title of the Mallard/L'Allemand prints, "*Avec les quatrains du S. de Pibrac aussi en Musique.*"

example, records from 1588 Noyon indicate the use of Pibrac's *Quatrains* in primary school classrooms.<sup>21</sup> Renowned Jesuit educator Jeanne de Lestonnac<sup>22</sup> likewise reveals that the *Quatrains* were utilized in the rhythms of memorization and recitation that structured the scholastic program that she employed during the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>23</sup> Her *Règles et Constitutions* (1638) outlines the daily teaching regime:

14. When we hear the stroke that warns that the first hour is passed, we will make them recite standing up what we have given them to learn by heart...

15. What we give them to learn by heart, is the quotidian exercise of the morning and evening, the abridged catechism of Cardinal Bellarmin, and after that the entire catechism; some prayers the most devoted to Our Lord, to Our Lady, and to the saints, and some other prayers before the confession and communion, as would be found in the *Mémorial de Grenade*, in the Hours of father Edmond Augier, in the Manuel of father Ribadeneira, in the works of father Cato, and in other authors, the quatrains de Pibrac, some spiritual songs, and other pious things.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> André Chervel, *Histoire de l'enseignement du Français du XVIIe au XXe siècle* (Paris: Retz, 2006), 468.

<sup>22</sup> St. Jeanne de Lestonnac (d. 1640) was the founder of the Compagnie de Marie Notre-Dame, an order dedicated to the education of girls. She was also the niece of the moral philosopher Michel Montaigne. Colin, *Les Quatrains*, xxiv.

<sup>23</sup> Françoise Soury-Lavergne, "L'oeuvre éducative de Jeanne de Lestonnac (1556 - 1640)," Ph.D. Diss. Université de Lyon II, 1984, 223.

<sup>24</sup> From "Instruction pour les classes, et quelles filles on y doit recevoir," 14. Quand on entendra le coup qui avertit que la première heure est passée, on fera réciter debout ce qu'on avait donné à apprendre par cœur; l'adversaire de celle qui récite, se levant de l'autre côté pour la reprendre si elle manque; et pendant ce temps-là toutes les autres seront assises, et écouteront sans parler et sans rien suggérer sur ce qui se dit, et se tiendront prêtes à réciter ensuite ce qu'on leur demandera. 15. Or, ce qu'on peut leur faire apprendre par cœur, c'est l'exercice quotidien du matin et du soir, l'abrégé du catéchisme du cardinal Bellarmin, et après cela le catéchisme entier; quelques oraisons des plus dévotes à Notre Seigneur, à Notre-Dame et aux saints, et quelques autres oraisons avant la confession et la communion, comme seraient celles qu'on trouve dans le *Mémorial de Grenade* dans les Heures du père Edmond Augier, dans le Manuel du père Ribadeneira, dans les œuvres du père Caton, et en d'autres auteurs, les quatrains de Pybrac, des cantiques

The *Quatrains* here are embedded in the daily exercises of the morning and evening, where students would have the opportunity to demonstrate their labors of memory in standing and reciting the chosen moral and instructive text for the lesson. De Lestonnac's detailed account provides texture to other, more general accounts or treatises describing the practice of learning the *Quatrains* by heart in primary education. When Claude Joly, the director of primary public teaching in Paris, published his *Avis Chrétiens et moraux pour l'institution des enfans* (1675), he too recommended memorizing the *Quatrains de Pibrac*, noting that they were "taught thoroughly to children at the beginning of this century."<sup>25</sup> Writing near the end of the seventeenth century, Joly's hearty recommendation for children to memorize the *Quatrains de Pibrac* emphasizes the importance of this text in the moral formation of the previous era, in an attempt to revive a practice of moral formation that had, by that point, already waned.

Beyond their pedagogical function, Pibrac's *Quatrains* were even advocated for adults as a remedy for insufficient morality. Molière humorously draws upon this common recommendation of the *Quatrains de Pibrac* and the *Tablettes* by Mathieu as a corrective to weak moral character in his play *Sganarelle ou Le cocu imaginaire* (1660). In the opening scene, where Gorgibus and his daughter Celia are fighting about Gorgibus attempting to force Celia into an arranged marriage to a rich man, Gorgibus notes that her disobedience is the result of her poor reading habits. Rather than filling her head with empty novels, Gorgibus recommends that she focus on memorizing pious texts that will improve her moral character:

Read to me, as necessary, instead of these silly things

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spirituels, et semblables choses de piété. Jeanne de Lestonnac, *Règles et constitutions des religieuses de Notre-Dame, dont le premier établissement fut fait dans la ville de Bordeaux* (Clermont-Ferrand: Librairie Catholique, 1844), 288-9.

<sup>25</sup> "Enseignés soigneusement aux enfans au commencement de ce siècle." Claude Joly, *Avis Chrétiens et moraux pour l'institution des enfans* (Paris: Guillaume Desprez, 1675), 91.

The *Quatrains de Pibrac*, and the learned *Tablettes*

Of Counselor Mathieu; the work is valuable,

And full of fine sayings to recite by heart.

*Le Guide des pécheurs* is another good book;

It is there that in little time we learn how to live well;

And if you had only read these moral texts,

You would better know how to obey my wishes.<sup>26</sup>

Molière's reference to Pibrac's *Quatrains* and Mathieu's *Tablettes* here provides literary support for the widespread belief in the memorization of their *quatrain* collections as a route to moral improvement.<sup>27</sup>

Other, legendary references to individuals who memorized the *Quatrains* and could recite them by heart came down into the eighteenth century, as a proof of character or virtue. For example, *Les vies des saints de Bretagne et des personnes d'une éminente piété* includes the example of a young girl from the previous century, Catherine de Francheville, who learned all the *Quatrains de Pibrac* by heart and recited them in company. One magistrate, upon hearing her, likened her recitation to that of an angel.<sup>28</sup> Jean-Antoine Du Cerceau's (1670-1730) comedy *Les Cousins* (1725) further attests to the lingering ethical associations of the *Quatrains de Pibrac*. In this comedy, the Baron recounts how he happened upon the *Quatrains* and made his

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<sup>26</sup> "Lisez-moi, comme il faut, au lieu de ces sornettes,/Les *Quatrains de Pibrac*, et les doctes *Tablettes*/Du conseiller Mathieu; l'ouvrage est de valeur;/Et plein de beaux dictons à réciter par coeur./La *Guide des pécheurs* est encore un bon livre;/C'est là qu'en peu de temps on apprend à bien vivre;/Et si vous n'aviez lu que ces moralités,/Vous sauriez un peu mieux suivre mes volontés." Molière, *Sganarelle, ou Le cocu imaginaire*, 1660, Act I, 1.

<sup>27</sup> Molière's reference to moral poetry here subtly mocks Georgibus' conservative bourgeois morality. Maurice Descotes, "Molière et le conflit des générations," *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* 72, no. 5/6 (1972): 786-799.

<sup>28</sup> Guy-Alexis Lobineau, *Les Vies des Saints de Bretagne et des personnes d'une éminente piété qui ont vécu dans la même province* (Rennes: Compagnie des imprimeurs-libraires, 1725), 563.



son memorize several of them by heart. “The Baron: I found by chance some quatrains by Pibrac/I chose some out of this repertory,/And I made my son learn them by heart./Come forward, Baronnet, and say them boldly;/Put on your hat, and recite nobly.” The Baron’s son accedes to this request and recites two of Pibrac’s *Quatrains* by heart.<sup>29</sup>

From the late sixteenth through well into the eighteenth century, the *Quatrains de Pibrac* were recalled in this way within a stunning diversity of writings: treatises of all kinds, polemical tracts, biographies, and memoires, both in the francophone world and beyond.<sup>30</sup> Dictionaries utilized a range of Pibrac’s *Quatrains* in word definitions, rehearsing the value of Pibrac’s poetry as a commonly known, shared reference point, learned in childhood and stored in a collective memory.<sup>31</sup>

An entry from Pierre Bayle’s *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (1715) gives a particularly intriguing retrospective look at the role of the Pibrac’s *Quatrains* and Mathieu’s *Tablettes* in the formation of the young during the previous era. Under the listing for Honorat de Beuil, Marquis de Racan (1589-1670), the entry mentions that Racan at one point composed four

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<sup>29</sup> “Le Baron: Je trouvai par hasard des quatrains de Pibrac/J’en choisais quelques-uns de tout ce répertoire,/Et je les fis apprendre à mon fils par mémoire./Avancez, Baronnet, dites-les hardiment;/Mettez votre chapeau, déclamez noblement.” Pierre-Marie-Michel Lepeintre, *Fin du répertoire du théâtre française*, vol. 5 (Paris: Dabo, 1824), 310.

<sup>30</sup> See for example, François Le Jay, *De La Dignité des rois et princes souverains: du droict inviolable de leurs successeurs légitimes: et du devoir des peuples et subjectz envers eux* (Tours: M. Le Mercier, 1589), 65-6, 191; Roch Le Baillif de La Rivière, *Traicté de la cause de la briefve vie de plusieurs princes et grands* (Rennes: Michel Logeroy, 1591), 1-2; Claude Mermet, *La Practique de l’orthographe française: avec la manière de tenir livre* (Lyon: Basile Bouquet, 1583), 120; and Louis Guyon, *Les Diverses leçons de Loys Guyon, sieur de La Nauche* (Lyon: C. Morillon, 1604), 192. The importance of the *Quatrains de Pibrac* extended beyond the francophone world. For example in 1604, Henry the Prince of Wales included one of Pibrac’s *Quatrains* in a letter to his mother, in which he stated his intention to memorize the entire collection that year. See Snyder, ed. *The Divine Weeks*, 20-21; and Thomas Birch, *The Life of Henry Prince of Wales, Eldest Son of King James I* (Dublin: Faulkner, 1760), 37-8.

<sup>31</sup> For example, the 1725 expanded edition of Antoine Furetière’s *Dictionnaire universel* (first published in 1690) cites Pibrac in his entry for ‘EXERCITATION.’ The entry states, “Il vaut mieux s’en tenir à seule chose, et tâcher de la bien posséder, suivant ce Quatrain de Pibrac, qu’on nous a appris dans notre enfance.” The entry then quotes Pibrac’s sixty-eighth *Quatrain*, “Un art sans plus.” Antoine Furetière et al., *Dictionnaire universel* (La Haye: Husson, 1725), vol. 2.

*quatrains* that were too close to those by Mathieu to be coincidence. Racan claimed them as his own, therefore the author of the dictionary concludes that he must have been taught Mathieu's *Tablettes* as a young child, forgetting about them while still retaining some latent memory of them. The author's speculations are very revealing about popular belief in the work of learning moral poetry by heart in forming later thinking.

There are not many people who are unaware that well-raised children must learn some maxims of piety and morality: and that before even they know how to read, we direct them to learn some sage couplets by heart. The Protestants choose some of the Psalms of David, or like the Catholics, some *quatrains de Pibrac*, or from another poet of equal force, of which we have no lack in any region. Undoubtedly, the little Racan from the age of 5 or 6 years would have recited to his governess or to his mother some of these beautiful *quatrains*, or those by Mathieu, which one links ordinarily with Pibrac. The ideas from them which imprinted themselves in his brain got clogged up there and remained in that state for some years: then they became dislodged and seemed to him to be an entirely new thing, without reawakening the specific memory of the author or of the work from whence they came.<sup>32</sup>

This entry provides rich evidence for an understanding of the use of moral poetry in childhood formation, offered in retrospective while this tradition was still widely known. Not only does the

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<sup>32</sup> "Il n'y a guere de gens qui ignorent que l'on fait apprendre aux enfans bien élevez, quelques maximes de pieté et de morale: et qu'avant même qu'ils sachent lire, on tâche de leur faire retenir par cœur quelque couplet sententieux. Les Protestans choisissent quelques endroits des Pseaumes de David, ou même, comme les Catholiques, quelques *quatrains de Pibrac*, ou d'un autre poëte de même force, dont on ne manque en aucun païs. Sans doute le petit Racan dès l'âge de 5 ou 6 ans avoit ouï dire à sa gouvernante ou à sa mere quelqu'un de ces beaux *quatrains*, ou de ceux du Sieur Mathieu, que l'on relie ordinairement avec Pibrac. Les idées qui s'en imprimerent dans son cerveau se boucherent, et demeurèrent en cet état quelques années: elles se deboucherent dans la suite, et se représenterent à lui comme un objet tout nouveau, et sans reveiller le souvenir particulier de l'Auteur, ou de l'ouvrage d'où elles venoient." Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, 3rd ed. (Rotterdam: [s.n.], 1715), 381.

entry confirm that both Protestants and Catholics shared the tradition of memorizing the *Quatrains* by Pibrac and Mathieu, but it also suggests that this work of childhood memorization would continue to influence the adult mind.

The golden age of moral poetry and its musical settings spanned the late sixteenth century through the middle of the seventeenth century. Already by the late seventeenth century, the *quatrain* tradition was mainly remembered as a vestige of a past generation's morality. Nevertheless, the inclusion of a strophic setting of the *Quatrains de Pibrac* as an air with basso continuo, in Ballard's 1703 print *Chants des noëls, anciens et nouveaux de la grande Bible* (almost eighty years after the most recent musical setting of the *Quatrains de Pibrac*, Bournonville's 1622 setting), suggests the continued cultural presence of the *Quatrains*, if, in this case, as a nostalgic item for the festive season. Although the texts themselves are not noëls and make no direct or indirect reference to the birth of Christ, moral texts had developed an association with the Christmas season and, more specifically, the new year. This developed as the project of memorizing a moral collection, such as the *Quatrains de Pibrac*, was a common new year's resolution. This single setting of the *Quatrains*, composed as an air with basso continuo, was followed by the first ten of Pibrac's *quatrain* texts. Thus, the Ballard print bookends the musical settings of the *Quatrains* by reviving the format of the monophonic editions. Simultaneously, this strophic form recalls the repetitions of the previous generation, recalling the practice of memorizing and singing moral poetry as part of projects of moral education.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> See Pierre Rézeau, *Les noëls en France aux XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Strasbourg: ELIPHI, 2013), 3-5.

## The Ethics of Memory

The widespread practice of memorizing and recollecting the *Quatrains de Pibrac* and other moral poetry was rooted in the classical rhetorical tradition, which regarded memory as foundational to all other cultural and scientific activity.<sup>34</sup> The unknown teacher who penned the *Ad Herennium*,<sup>35</sup> the most complete and influential treatise on classical rhetoric, articulated the central role of memory, as the supreme faculty through which all other faculties would be contained and retained.<sup>36</sup> Importantly, memory was considered both a natural talent and something that could be cultivated through practice.<sup>37</sup> While natural memory was understood either as an innate, divine attribute or as a talent that certain extraordinary persons possessed from birth, cultivated memory was a potential faculty, accessible to all, useful for everyday people, and not merely the provenance of exceptional people. Natural memory, depending on the strain of thought, was variously conceived as recollection, a proof of the divinity of the soul, and

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<sup>34</sup> In Greek mythology, the personification of memory, Mnemosyne, was the mother of the nine muses, who were themselves considered the source of knowledge and inspiration for literature, the arts, and science. The nine muses were Calliope (epic poetry); Clio (history); Euterpe (music); Erato (Lyric Poetry); Melpomene (Tragedy); Polyhymnia (Hymns); Terpsichore (Dance); Thalia (Comedy); and Urania (Astronomy).

<sup>35</sup> Composed around 86-82 B.C., the *Ad Herennium* was erroneously attributed to Cicero since the time of Jerome. For more on the role of the *Ad Herennium* in Western thought, see Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 4-26. For more on the problems of authorship and other controversies, see Caplan's introduction to the Loeb translation.

<sup>36</sup> "Now let me turn to the treasure-house of the ideas supplied by Invention, to the guardian of all the parts of rhetoric, the Memory." Harry Caplan, trans. *Ad Herennium*, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1954), III. xvi. Quintilian reiterates this supreme position of memory as the capacity that underpins all other capacities. "And all the labour of which I have so far spoken will be in vain unless all the other departments be co-ordinated by the animating principle of memory. For our whole education depends upon memory, and we shall receive instruction all in vain if all we hear slips from us, while it is the power of memory alone that brings before us the store of precedents, laws, rulings, sayings and facts which the orator must possess in abundance and which he must always hold ready for immediate use. Indeed it is not without good reason that memory has been called the treasure-house of eloquence." H. E. Butler, trans., *Quintilian, Institution Oratoria*, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1963), XI, ii, 1.

<sup>37</sup> As the *Ad Herennium* put it, "the natural memory is that memory which is imbedded in our minds, born simultaneously with thought. The artificial memory is that memory which is strengthened by a kind of training and system of discipline." Caplan, trans., *Ad Herennium*, III. xvi.

a natural talent for remembering. The most influential aspect of these theories of recollection is the proposition that the capacity to recollect is evidence of the eternity of the soul and the belief that every act of learning is in fact the eternal soul remembering and merely repeating what it has already experienced.<sup>38</sup>

Artificial memory, also known as the art of memory, is the memory that can be exercised, cultivated, and expanded through training.<sup>39</sup> It is this kind of memory that most concerns me in this study, for it was through this route that the cultivation of memory entered early modern thought as a field of ethical valuation, rather than exclusively the domain of rhetoric or pedagogy. Despite their differences in orientation, philosophies of natural memory ultimately came down to early modern thought through the same channels as practically oriented discussions valorizing the use of memorization in moral education. Thus philosophically charged ideas about the recollection as proof of an immortal soul were frequently cited in early modern educational treatises, whose primary aim was to justify the exercise of the artificial memory and to advocate memorization as a core pedagogical and ethical tool.

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<sup>38</sup> An important foundation for later conceptions of natural memory can be found in Plato's *Meno*, the *Phaedo*, and the *Phaedrus* where Socrates proposes that the soul existed before the body and had conscious knowledge in this previous state. The soul forgets this knowledge when it enters the body, but retains it as a memory. Aristotle's *De Memoria et reminiscencia* ("On Memory and Recollection") distinguishes between memory (*mnēmē*), holding something in one's mind, and recollection (*anamnēsis*) as recalling something that was forgotten temporarily. Aristotle also argues for recollection as proof of the immortality of the soul, a divine gift that is exclusively human. Ultimately, Plato's and Aristotle's discussions of recollection and memory explore the contours of what came to be known as the natural memory, a discussion that was centered on secondary, or philosophical learning, rather than primary, practical education. Plato, *Philebus*, 34a-c; Aristotle, *De Memoria*, 453a6-10; Aristotle, *Historia animalium*, A, 1, 488b24-26. For a useful introduction to differences between memory and recollection, see Kevin White and Edward M. Macierowski, the Translator's Introduction to *St. Thomas Aquinas Commentaries on Aristotle's "On Sense and What Is Sensed" and "On Memory and Recollection,"* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2005), 169-182.

<sup>39</sup> The primary source literature on artificial memory often seems to conflate artificial memory with the specific memorization technique of mnemonics. However, other authors clarify that artificial, cultivatable memory could be exercised through the normal route (repetition) or through special aids such as mnemonics.

Although Plato's<sup>40</sup> and Aristotle's philosophies of memory and recollection as proof of the divinity of the soul contributed to the development of the ethics of memory, it was ultimately the ethics of Cicero as read by Thomas Aquinas in his *Summa Theologica* that brought memory into the early modern tradition of virtue ethics as an aspect of the cardinal virtue of prudence [*prudentia*].<sup>41</sup> For Aquinas, it was the practical, cultivatable kind of memory that formed the positive proof for affirming that memory was a key element of the cardinal virtue of prudence, defined by Aquinas as "right reason in human deeds."<sup>42</sup> He concludes, "the aptitude for prudence is from nature, yet its perfection is from practice or from grace. And so Cicero observes that memory is not developed by nature alone, but owes much to art and diligence."<sup>43</sup> Thus, in arguing for memory as a part of prudence, Aquinas reveals that it is primarily the practice of memory that leads to this virtue; thus establishing a foundation for understanding memorization as ethical action.

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<sup>40</sup> Although Plato's *Meno* was known to some degree in the medieval and Renaissance periods, thanks to a Latin translation, Aristotle's *De Memoria* is more frequently cited in French educational treatises, typically paired with references to Cicero, Aquinas, and Plutarque.

<sup>41</sup> Remember that Aquinas and others of his time also attributed the *Ad Herennium* to Cicero, part of the reason for its longstanding popularity. According to Cicero's *De Inventione*, which was written around the same time as the *Ad Herennium*, the four virtues were prudence, justice, courage, and temperance. Memory, along with intelligence and foresight, comprised the three core components of the first virtue, prudence. "Wisdom [*prudentiam*] is the knowledge of what is good, what is bad and what is neither good nor bad. Its parts are memory, intelligence, and foresight. Memory is the faculty by which the mind recalls what has happened. Intelligence is the faculty by which it ascertains what is. Foresight is the faculty by which it is seen that something is going to occur before it occurs." H. M. Hubbell, trans., *Cicero, De Inventione*, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1949), II. LIII. 160. Aquinas fleshed out Cicero's basic formulation of the four virtues into a fully developed theological framework where prudence, justice, courage, and temperance became the four cardinal virtues. See Thomas Gilby, trans., *St. Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologiae, Prudence*, vol. 36 (Cambridge: University Press, 2006), 63 [282. 49, 2].

<sup>43</sup> Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 61-2 [282. 49, 1]. In Aquinas' initial arguments in book two of his *Summa*, his proofs against memory as part of prudence are taken from theories of natural memory, the part of memory that is a function of nature and not learned. Conversely, when he presents his proofs for including memory as part of the cardinal virtue of Prudence, he turns to artificial memory, the memory that is active, expandable, trainable, and capable of being developed, as evidence for affirming the place of memory within the virtue of Prudence.

This philosophical tradition from Aristotle to Aquinas that invested the art of memory and the repetitions of memorizing with ethical significance was in widespread circulation during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Not only were the aforementioned classical texts on memory, rhetoric, and ethics printed in their original languages and increasingly in French translation by the end of the sixteenth century, they were also widely cited and summarized in moral and educational treatises. For example, Pero Mexía's influential educational treatise *Les Diverses leçons de Pierre Messie*, first published in French in 1526, was republished in dozens of editions over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the section on memory, Mexía presents a summary of the received teachings on memory that had been passed down through this dual rhetorical and ethical lineage, citing salient passages by Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, Plutarch, and Thomas Aquinas to support his pedagogical emphasis on memorization (see Appendix A).<sup>44</sup> At the heart of early modern moral and pedagogical discussions of memory, then, was the question of how to define and develop it as a virtue: What is this practice of memory that leads to the virtue of prudence, and how does one cultivate it?

### **Repetition as Virtue**

From ancient times until today, the normal mode of cultivating the memory is memorizing, or learning by heart through rote repetition until a word, phrase, or concept is firmly held in the memory and able to be recalled without reference to the original. The author of the *Ad Herennium* makes clear the need for the normal type of memorization by rote repetition of

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<sup>44</sup> Claude Gruget, trans., *Les Diverses leçons de Pierre Messie* (Lyon: C. Michel, 1526), 479-490.

words, the “difficult training” achieved through “industry, devotion, toil, and care” that builds the capacity for profiting from other strategies of memory and the retention of higher concepts.<sup>45</sup>

Quintilian further expounds on the process of building the memory, emphasizing that it is primarily daily repetition and discipline that produces success in memorizing. Daily toil gradually expands the capacity of the memory. He also specifically notes the importance of beginning this memory training at a young age for maximum effectiveness:

However, if anyone asks me what is the one supreme method of memory, I shall reply, practice and industry. The most important thing is to learn much by heart and to think much, and, if possible, to do this daily, since there is nothing that is more increased by practice or impaired by neglect than memory.<sup>46</sup>

The training of the memory was thus accomplished through daily repetition and toil. Plutarch’s influential moral treatise, “The Education of Children,” published in French translation by Jacques Amyot (1559–72), also emphasized repetition as the mechanism by which memory leads to moral virtue. Plutarch asserts that “above all things, it is necessary to exercise and train the memory of children,” improving through persistent diligence and correction the capacity of each child whether their memory is naturally strong or weak (see Appendix D).<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Caplan, trans., *Ad Herennium*, III. xxiv.

<sup>46</sup> Butler, trans., *Quintilian, Institution Oratoria*, XI, ii, 40. The link between repetition, memory, and the virtue of practical wisdom goes back to ancient times. For example, the fragment *Dialexeis*, c. 400 B.C. outlines a route to moral judgment through the repetitions of memory. “A great and beautiful invention is memory, always useful both for learning and for life. This is the first thing: if you pay attention (direct your mind), the judgment will better perceive the things going through it (the mind). Secondly, repeat again what you hear; for by often hearing and saying the same things, what you have learned comes complete into your memory.” Cited in Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 29.

<sup>47</sup> Plutarch then includes a piece of poetry by Hesiodus, which Amyot translates into a *quatrain*, “If you put little upon little/And several times repeat it/In a short time you will see/What something once small can be.” Amyot, trans., *Les oeuvres morales*, 5-6. Amyot’s French translation was reedited and reprinted regularly until the mid-seventeenth century.



Whereas memory was the storehouse of the mind, the activity by which one could train in the art of memory was the practice of repeating something until it was learned, known, mastered. The long pathway to committing something to memory requires repetition, and countless more repetitions over a space of minutes, days, months, even years. Considering that the practice of cultivating the memory is memorization, and that the normal method of memorizing is achieved primarily through repetition, it follows that repetition, as an activity and as a pathway to developing memory, would take on ethical significance in the pursuit of practical wisdom.<sup>48</sup> Here, the centrality of repetition in the traditional pedagogical triumvirate of *lectio, repetio, discussio* finds its moral justification.

The widespread practice of memorizing the 126 *Quatrains de Pibrac* was a pillar of early modern neoaristotelian scholasticism, a philosophy of moral education that emphasized the art of memory as both an ethical capacity and as a habitus or practice.<sup>49</sup> Learning the *Quatrains* by heart, then, was a project that worked out the virtue of memory at both practical and philosophical levels. For the exercise of the virtue of memory through the *Quatrains de Pibrac*

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<sup>48</sup> See the excellent analysis of the neoaristotelian ethical link between memory and habituation in Mary J. Carruthers, “Descriptions of the Neuropsychology of Memory,” in *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 56-98; Van Orden and Adrian Johns have also pointed out the moral efficacy of reading as a repeated habit. See Van Orden, “Children’s Voices,” 212; and Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 405-6.

<sup>49</sup> Michel Montaigne and other sixteenth-century humanists harshly criticized the continued pedagogical emphasis on rote memorization that was an inheritance of medieval, scholasticism. However, these critiques seem to have done little to change the standard pedagogy of primary education. It is interesting that even Montaigne’s niece, Jeanne de Lestonnac, continued to rely on memorization as a central pedagogical tool. See Richard Regosin, “The Text of Memory: Experience As Narration in Montaigne’s *Essais*,” in *Montaigne: Montaigne’s Message and Method*, edited by Dikka Berven and Richard L. Regosin (New York: Taylor and Francis, 1995). For more on scholasticism vs. humanism, see Norman Kretzmann, Anthony Kenny, and Jan Pinborg, eds., *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy: From the Rediscovery of Aristotle to the Disintegration of Scholasticism, 1100-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); and Erika Rummel, *The Humanist-scholastic Debate in the Renaissance et Reformation* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995).

as developed in childhood education was later wedded to the related practice of recollecting the *Quatrains*, citing them in print, reciting them, and remembering.

Through these layers of repetition, reiteration, and recitation, the *Quatrains de Pibrac* took on an aura of universality as coming from the anonymous collective voice of wisdom, rather than from the pen of one particular man. Éric Tourrette has attributed some of the overwhelming and enduring popularity of the *Quatrains de Pibrac* to this perceived universal collective wisdom, a phenomenon that he calls “the effect of the proverb.” Although it was well known that Pibrac wrote these moral verses, the focus on practical wisdom and the simple style of the *Quatrains* launched it into the realm of widely accepted proverbial wisdom. “The effect of the proverb,” according to Tourrette, “is the exquisitely breathtaking experience of one voice, in both the singular and multiple.”<sup>50</sup> As Pibrac’s *Quatrains* were learned and recited by countless voices across generations, these repetitions fueled the moral authority of the poetic content, generating collective norms grounded in the ethical practice of memory.

### **Repetition as Rhetoric**

As we have seen, the ubiquitous daily repetition and remembering of the *Quatrains de Pibrac* in late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century France circulated not only in forms of heightened speech, but crossed over into the realm of song and musical sound. At a general level of musical learning, repetition is explicitly foregrounded in the learning process, as the primary and most ubiquitous means of acquiring basic musical facility with the voice or on an instrument and developing the ability to perform or read specific compositions. In French, the word for a

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<sup>50</sup> Tourrette, “L’effet de proverbe,” 158-9.

musical rehearsal is *répétition*, and the activity of practicing a musical instrument or developing vocal technique in verb form is *répéter*, literally ‘to repeat.’

Every musician knows the truth of this, that practicing music, and not just performing it, includes layer upon layer of repetition. For the individual, the daily repetition of scales, exercises, difficult passages, and entire compositions forms the core of musical training. For the group or ensemble, the rehearsal is the collective repetition of the chosen music, either in whole or in part, until it can be sung or played to the desired perfection. For individuals or amateur ensembles, perhaps repeating is less about learning new material, yet it persists in the unrelenting pleasure of replaying or re-singing a repertoire of already known and loved music.

So far, the musical repetition that I have considered has been both the repetition embedded in the process of learning or practicing music and the repetition called for by the strophic form, where the setting for an entire *quatrain* is repeated for all of the others. At this point, I will turn to a related type of musical repetition experienced through the musical settings of moral poetry: those musico-rhetorical repetitions composed into *quatrain* collections, whether at the level of the individual note, the motive, the *vers*, or the occasional repetition of an entire setting.

Rhetoric, the art and craft of persuasion, was the foundation of education in the Western European tradition, from the fifth century BCE until the eighteenth century.<sup>51</sup> Although the central concern of rhetoric was language and oratory, the scope of rhetorical discourse from its classical roots into early modern Europe extended to music as an expression of persuasive, and

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<sup>51</sup> Patrick McCreless, “Music and Rhetoric,” in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Street Christensen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 847. For an introduction to the vast literature on rhetoric, see Harry Caplan, “The Classical Tradition: Rhetoric and Oratory,” *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 27, no. 2 (1997): 7-38; Brian Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); and Wayne A. Rebhorn, *Renaissance Debates on Rhetoric* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000).

thus ethical, communication.<sup>52</sup> On the music-rhetorical side of this tradition, the ethical connection emerged in discussions of the capacity of well-crafted music and oratory to move an audience. Although the medieval interest in rhetoric remained focused on the technical structure and content of the argument, an important shift for Renaissance rhetoric was an interest in affect, persuasion, and the art of moving an audience.<sup>53</sup>

Repetition came down through this persuasive tradition as one of the most basic rhetorical strategies, useful for adding emphasis, heightening the affect of a particular word or phrase, or linking various parts of a structure. Composed musical repetition was ubiquitous in polyphonic music throughout the Renaissance; therefore, its frequent appearance in the repertory

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<sup>52</sup> Quintilian, for example, made this link explicit, recommending that the orator study music to better imitate its persuasive and affective power. See McCreless, "Music and Rhetoric," 847. The secondary literature on music and rhetoric is also vast, although it is more plentiful for Northern Europe and Italy than for France. See for example, Don Harrán, "Toward a Rhetorical Code of Early Music Performance," *The Journal of Musicology* 15, no. 1 (1997): 19-42; Blake McDowell Wilson, "Ut oratoria musica in the Writings of Renaissance Music Theorists," in *Festa Musicologica: Essays in Honor of George J. Buelow*, eds. Thomas J. Mathiesen and Benito V. Rivera (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon, 1995), 341-68; Todd Borgerding, "Preachers, "Pronunciatio," and Music: Hearing Rhetoric in Renaissance Sacred Polyphony," *The Musical Quarterly* 82, no. 3/4 (1998): 586-98; and Dietrich Bartel, *Musica Poetica: Musical-rhetorical Figures in German Baroque Music* (University of Nebraska Press, 1997). For music and rhetoric in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century France, see Robert M. Isherwood, *Music in the Service of the King: France in the Seventeenth Century* (Ithaca N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1973); Hugh M. Davidson, "The Rhetorical Ideal in France," in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism, vol 3: The Renaissance*, edited by Glyn P. Norton (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999), 500-510; Patricia M. Ranum, *The Harmonic Orator: The Phrasing and Rhetoric of the Melody in French Baroque Airs* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon, 2001); Catherine Elizabeth Gordon-Seifert, *Music and the Language of Love: Seventeenth-century French Airs* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011); Don Fader, "The Honnête Homme as Music Critic: Taste, Rhetoric, and Politesse in the 17th-Century French Reception of Italian Music," *Journal of Musicology* 20, no. 1 (2003): 3-44; Raphaëlle Legrand, "La rhétorique en scène: quelques perspectives pour l'analyse de la tragédie en musique," *Revue de Musicologie* 84, no. 1 (1998): 79-91; and Christine Noille, "Bernard Lamy et la musique. fonction des références musicales dans La Rhétorique ou l'Art de parler," *Revue de Musicologie* 76, no. 1 (1990): 5-21.

<sup>53</sup> See also Wilson et al., "Rhetoric and music," *Grove Music Online* [accessed November 24, 2014], <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/43166>; Vickers notes "traditional rhetorical concepts of arousing and inflaming the feelings to virtuous action." Vickers, "Figures of Rhetoric/Figures of Music?" *Rhetorica* 2, no. 1 (1984): 11, n32. See also Jody Enders, "Visions with Voices: The Rhetoric of Memory and Music in Liturgical Drama," *Comparative Drama* 24, no. 1 (1990): 34-54; Bartel, "Rhetoric in German Baroque Music: Ethical Gestures" *The Musical Times* 144, no. 1885 (2003): 15-19.

of moral music settings does not signal a departure from the prevailing compositional practice of the time. Rather, the rhetoric of musical repetition in the moral repertory offers an opportunity to interrogate the significance of this common stylistic convention within the context of a moral culture deeply invested in repetition and recollection as persuasive ethical action.

Repetition as composed musical rhetoric may at first glance appear to be vastly different from the kind of mechanical repetition embedded in the ethics of memory. However, these two distinct modes of repetition—rhetorical and mnemonic—were in fact disseminated in sixteenth-century Europe through the same classical rhetorical tradition: indeed, in many cases via the same texts, such as Cicero’s *De Inventione*, the Pseudo-Ciceronian *Ad Herennium*, Aristotle’s *Rhetoric*, and Quintilian’s *Institutio Oratoria*.<sup>54</sup> What is more, it is well known that this rhetorical tradition was intimately familiar to early modern composers, theorists, and educated practitioners of music, not limited to the domains of prose or oratory.<sup>55</sup> The celebrated music theorist Gioseffo Zarlino, for one, immediately signals his debt to Quintilian in the title of his *Istitutioni harmoniche* (1558). In making his arguments for counterpoint, he also relies on the major texts of classical oratory, rhetoric, and poetics (Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian), all of which are tied together through their ethical objective.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> McCreless, “Music and Rhetoric,” 847; Tomlinson, “Renaissance Humanism and Music,” in *European Music, 1520-1640*, ed. James Haar (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2006), 7-9.

<sup>55</sup> See Wilson, “Ut oratoria musica,” 341-68. In the sixteenth century, rhetorical principles exerted a significant influence, as musical humanists explored parallels between rhetorical principles and the elements and aims of musical composition. Although detailed attempts to generate a musico-rhetorical grammar for music were centered in Northern Europe, French sources from the period focused on asserting a link between music and rhetoric without attempting a full scale categorization. See McCreless, “Music and Rhetoric,” 847-8. For a scathing critique of the musico-rhetorical literature and the problem of categorization, see Vickers, “Figures of Rhetoric,” 1-44.

<sup>56</sup> On the influence of Italian theorists in France see for example, Launay, *La musique religieuse*, 360-2; Herdman, “Zarlinian Modality,” 33-71; Freedman, “Claude Le Jeune, Adrian Willaert and the Art of Musical Translation,” *Early Music History* 13 (1994): 124-148; His, “Italianism and Claude Le Jeune,” *Early Music History* 13 (1994): 149-170; and Brown, “‘Ut Musica Poesis,’ 1-63. See also William J.

The rhetorical strategies of composed musical repetition that I will consider below, by such composers as Guillaume Boni and Paschal de L'Estocart, were therefore intimately linked to the broader moral culture I have sketched, which framed repetition as a persuasive, virtuous action.<sup>57</sup> Musico-rhetorical strategies of repetition, for example, were thought to bolster the persuasive capacity of the musical setting, in that the process of re-singing and re-hearing something more than once increased its affective power through the act of recollection. We see just this process at work in Lassus's polyphonic setting of Pibrac's third *quatrain*, "Avec le jour commence ta journée," published in his *Vingtdeuxième livre de chansons* (1581–3). He gives a generally syllabic, straightforward setting of the text until the fourth *vers* ("Louë-le encore et passe ainsi l'année") (see Example 1), where he not only expands the length of this final *vers* through long melismas but also repeats the text and music for the entire *vers*. The melismas within these final phrases occur on key words describing the repetitions of the yearly cycle, 'encore' ('again') (mm. 13–14) and 'l'année' ('year') (mm. 16–18). In Lassus's setting, this structural repetition marks the climax of the piece, both textually and musically, inviting the singer to experience the yearly cycle of praise to God as a delightful, eternal release of the mundane world.

Jean Planson likewise use repetition more frequently than usual (if less dramatically than Lassus) in his setting of "Avec le jour," included in *Les Quatrains du Sieur de Pybrac* (1583)

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Kennedy, "Humanist Classifications of Poetry Among the Arts and Sciences," in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, 89-97.

<sup>57</sup> In highlighting this ethical trace in the musico-rhetorical tradition, it must be said that ethical concerns, while clearly present, were rarely dominant in Academicians' discussions of rhetoric or music, as most treatises devoted a great deal of energy to practical concerns of how to compose a speech or song. A number of other logics were at play in all aspects of musical activity, from composition to performance and listening. These other logics---the formal rules of music composition, market forces, the sheer pleasure of music making, social prestige, among others---predominated in many cases and, in any event, were driving forces in the production and use of all repertoires of music, including settings of moral poetry. However, a subtle ethical logic underpinned much musical activity, even where it may not have been the primary consideration.

(see Example 2). His rhetorical move to repeat small portions of the text, and sometimes a single word, slows down the textual development of the *quatrain*, prioritizing careful comprehension of each semantic unit before moving to the next. Rather than using repetition as a dramatic flourish at the climax of the piece, like Lassus, Planson emphasizes repetition as a stable ground from which unexpected musical difference can blossom. As each partial phrase or word returns, sometimes more than once, the musical variation incites a renewed, and slightly reformed recollection of the repeated text.

In his musical settings for the full set of 126 *Quatrains de Pibrac*, Guillaume Boni too used repetition in order to enhance the semantic unity or clarify the meaning of the text. For example, in his setting for “Avec le jour” Boni repeats the music for the first and third line of text, linking the two moments in the day (morning and evening) when one must pray to God (see Example 3). Importantly, the repetition here is not identical. Boni varies the rhythms and certain notes in each voice part, while clearly inducing a recollection of the first line through the overall similarity in the two sections.

Boni also often highlights link words (i.e. ‘car’, ‘et’) in the text with the repetition of the harmony that had closed the previous word.<sup>58</sup> Another rhetorical strategy found throughout Boni’s *quatrain* settings is the use of repetition as a kind of musical comma. To demarcate the pause between elements in a series, Boni often repeats all or almost all of the notes of the chord (see Example 4). The excerpt from “Bref, ce qui est” not only shows the musical demarcation of a series (m. 3), but in m. 1 we can see another, even more common rhetorical choice: that of

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<sup>58</sup> I am indebted to Colin for outlining Boni’s and L’Estocart’s compositional strategies in her introduction to the critical edition of Boni’s *Quatrains*. Colin, ed. *Les Quatrains*, xxiv. For repetition on the link-word ‘car,’ see mm. 12-13 and 18-19 of “Il ne sçauroit” and m. 16 of “Fuy jeune et vieil;” for ‘et,’ see m. 9 of “Recognoy donc” and m. 16 of “Ce qui en nous.”

repeating a word (“Bref, bref”) with a pause and reconfirming it with the same chord immediately after.<sup>59</sup>

L’Estocart chose to create unique settings for nearly all of the 126 *Quatrains de Pibrac*. Rather surprisingly, considering his stamina in creating 117 different quatrain settings, on eight occasions in the collection he used the same musical setting for two, and in one case, three *quatrain* texts (see Table 1). This type of strophic repetition, although related to the kind of strophism used in the monophonic *quatrain* settings analyzed above, takes on a deeper significance due to its deliberate linking of texts through repetition of the entire musical setting.

This linkage through strophic repetition serves to illuminate or emphasize thematic relationships between two or three different *quatrains*. In all but one of the eight pairs, the two *quatrains* set to the same musical setting were next to each other in the original poetic collection and the topical relationship between them, when read in sequence, would have been relatively obvious. However, in one case, L’Estocart alters the standard order of the 126 *quatrains* (standardized from the 1576 edition). The *quatrain* “Vouloir ne faut” is no. 91 in the 1576 edition, but L’Estocart moves this *quatrain* to no. 87 so that he can pair it with no. 86, “Le nombre saint.” He then pushes the settings that follow down one number, until they realign again at no. 92. Note that except in the case of the third group, each musical setting appears only once, with the two *quatrain* texts presented together underneath.

These repetitions of entire musical settings for multiple *quatrains* serve a clear rhetorical function, musically opening up an interpretive relationship between the two or three linked texts. In group 4, the two *quatrains* contrast two different types of behavior/people, one virtuous and the other full of vice. However, in the majority of the repetitions the subsequent text amplifies or

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<sup>59</sup> Colin, ed. *Les Quatrains*, xxiv.



provides greater insight into a topic begun in the previous *quatrain*. In some of these cases the texts are clearly connected thematically (groups 1, 2, 3, 6, 8), while in others the two *quatrains* could stand alone, but the musical linkage invites a new interpretation or reevaluating of the first *quatrain* through the second (groups 5, 7). For group seven, where L'Estocart changed the standard order of the *quatrains* in order to repeat the musical setting for “Le nombre saint” and “Vouloir ne faut,” this musical linkage invites a new reading of the individual *quatrains* as a semantic unit (see Figure 4). For Marie-Alexis Colin, these repeated musical settings in L'Estocart's collection, linking together several texts on the same theme, reflect “a primary concern to appropriate the text,” something that is emphasized by L'Estocart's willingness to sacrifice the original order.<sup>60</sup>

L'Estocart's settings are even more repetitive at multiple musical levels than was conventional, and yet they avoid the tedious didacticism that can encumber simple, repetitive compositions. In the setting for the first *quatrain*, “Dieu tout premier, puis pere et mere honore,”<sup>61</sup> L'Estocart opens the setting and the collection with what seems to be a reference to the monophonic setting printed in the Mallard and l'Allemand editions of 1580 and 1581, a tune that may have been well-known by this point (see Example 5). The contratenor and bassus parts open with the simple semibreve-minim-minim-semibreve rhythmic pattern from the 1580 and 1581 monophonic settings (mm. 1-2). Here we have a minor case of imitation, and perhaps the recollection of an already known melody associated with Pibrac's *Quatrains*.

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<sup>60</sup> “L'association sous une même musique de deux ou trois quatrains au thème identique révèle donc chez Pascal de L'Estocart un premier souci d'appropriation du texte, esquisse d'une organisation qui se situe loin encore de la réalisation du Toulousain Guillaume Boni.” Colin, “Les *Quatrains*,” 544.

<sup>61</sup> Pibrac, *Quatrain* 1, “Dieu tout premier, puis pere et mere honore/Sois juste et droit: et en toute saison/De l'innocent pren en main la raison:/Car Dieu te doit la haut juger encore.”

The degree of repetition utilized in the setting is particularly noticeable when we consider how it would have been sung by a singer learning the notes using solmization syllables, as was customary at the time. For the superius voice, in particular, the degree of repetition of the ‘mi’ and ‘fa’ syllables would have been striking. The first *vers* in the superius part would have been solmized as *fa-fa-mi-fa-fa-fa-fa-mi-fa-mi-fa-mi-fa* (mm. 1-4), the second *vers* as *fa-fa-fa-mi-mi-mi-mi-re-fa-mi* (mm. 5-8), and third *vers* again as *fa-fa-fa-mi-mi-mi-mi-re-fa-mi*. Although it is most dramatic in the top voice, the setting features a persistent repetition of the *mi-fa* interval that is interwoven throughout all the voice parts. L’Estocart’s pervasive use of the *mi-fa* interval in this setting not only makes an interesting statement to singers about his priority for repetition, but it would have offered a practical benefit as well, as a useful exercise for beginning singers in need of greater mastery of this crucial interval.<sup>62</sup>

Moving to the level of the note, L’Estocart utilizes repetition of individual pitches to add rhetorical emphasis to specific phrases. For example, on the second *vers* “Be just and upright, and in all seasons,” the superius sings three repeated B-flats (m. 5), then four repeated As (mm. 6-7), before tapering down to close the phrase with two repeated Gs followed by just one F-sharp (mm. 7-8). Here the didactic aspect of the text takes priority, as the repeated notes drive home the weight of this instruction.

At the broader level of the phrase, L’Estocart repeats entire sections in some or all voice parts throughout the setting. For example, the superius part repeats the pitches and rhythms from the second *vers* (mm. 5-8) exactly in the third *vers* (mm. 8-11). The three lower voice parts for these same two phrases vary the second phrase through minor changes in pitch and rhythm,

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<sup>62</sup> For compositional strategies surrounding the *mi-fa* interval, see Cristle Collins Judd, “Modal Types and ‘Ut, Re, Mi’ Tonality: Tonal Coherence in Sacred Vocal Polyphony From About 1500,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 45, no. 3 (1992): 428-467.

while still maintaining a general sense of imitation, emphasized in particular in that the voice leading at the cadence of each *vers* is identical. This creates the effect of recollection in everyday life, where the general sense of something may be recalled but only imprecisely.

The fourth *vers* (mm. 12-16) presents the climax of the *quatrain*, both textually and musically. The superius, contratenor, and bassus dramatically leap upward to illustrate the physical distance of God in the heavens. The entire fourth *vers* then returns in an identical repetition in all voices to bring the setting to a confident close (mm. 17-21). The imperfect repetition of *vers* 2 and 3, where the text exhorts humans to be just and upright in their dealings (“Be just and upright, and in all seasons/Give justice to the innocent”), contrasts with the ideal, perfect repetition of the final *vers*, where God who is the one who judges from on high in perfection (“Because one day God most high will be your judge”). Particularly considering that the setting is only 21 measures long (requiring a mere 45 seconds to sing from start to finish), the amount of repetition at play in the setting is particularly stunning. L’Estocart demonstrates here that the experience of repetition and recollection in a musical setting, while useful in the training of virtue, can equally be delightful.

In its various figures and forms, repetition functioned as a key rhetorical strategy across the *quatrain* repertory. Perhaps more than any other single rhetorical device, repetition embodies the aims of rhetoric, binding up its practical, pedagogical, and ethical objectives into a unified whole. The overarching purpose of rhetoric was persuasion, adapted to the logic of musical virtue ethics, as the ability to move a singer or audience to a virtuous disposition that would lead to right action. But how is a singer or listener moved most effectively? Which rhetorical techniques might best incite the spirit, inspire the heart, and influence the will to virtue?

Although many rhetoricians and music theorists attempted to systematically answer these questions, many others took a more subjective approach to the relationship between music and virtue, emphasizing that the true moral efficacy of a musical setting emerges only in the persistent and habitual experience of the participant. Pibrac himself followed Aristotle in accentuating this truth in his sixty-first *quatrain*, “Vertu és mœurs,” cited at the beginning of this chapter.

Arriving almost mid-way through the full collection of 126 *quatrains*, Pibrac’s reminder that virtue does not come easily, quickly, or cheaply would have been a needed encouragement to a person attempting the long task of memorizing the *Quatrains de Pibrac* by heart. Musical settings of this *quatrain*, some layered with rhetorical repetitions that animate the cycles of habitual training, would have added delightfully persuasive weight for singers and listeners.

Boni’s setting of “Vertu és mœurs” offers a particularly compelling musical experience of the repetitions of virtue (see Example 6). Opening with sober homophony on the first *vers*, Boni immediately repeats the opening text (“Vertu és mœurs”) using the same stately rhythm yet varying the harmony. He continues in this severe style until the third *vers*, where he animates the process of repeating by setting the text “par deux ou par trois” with an exposed, repeating melismatic figure in the contratenor (mm. 18-20). The final *vers* recasts the sobriety of the opening lines into a determined melodic repeating in each voice part (mm. 21-39). Boni then reprises the third and fourth *vers* (mm. 28-39), folding in multiple short structural repetitions of both text and music along the way that drill home the daily persistence needed to excel in virtue.

Beyond the effectiveness of Boni’s composed repetitions, the repeated action of learning and re-singing this musical setting, built upon a pre-existing foundation of repeating in the memorization of the texts, would have continually driven home the deeper message of the

*quatrain*, that training in virtuous action always takes place in a multiple. It is this deeper logic that drives the musical virtue of repetition beyond the rhetorical and into the realm of daily action.

## **Conclusion**

For singers of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, an encounter with the *Quatrains de Pibrac* or the *Tablettes* by Mathieu *en musique* would have exposed them to multiple registers of the ethics of repetition. Each rhetorical repetition would have had the capacity to recall other, deeper layers of recollection, remembrance, and memory—from the memory of learning the poetry as a child, to the recollection of specific *quatrains* in other printed contexts, to the musical repetitions that would have taken place in learning and singing the polyphonic setting.

Repetition as a practice and experience in quotidian life emerged as an apparatus of virtue, linked through the ethical repetitions of memory and rhetoric to the cardinal virtue of prudence or practical wisdom. Prudence is the virtue that stands as the janus-faced sentinel between past and future, and in order to acquire it, one must participate in its endless repetitions. For the generation who lived through the most unstable years during and just after the wars of religion, the tangible practice of virtue through mechanisms of memorization, repetition, and song offered new hope for constructing shared ethical norms. Building a broadly shared basis for collective morality after violence and trauma cannot be achieved by a single voice, no matter how influential. Rather, it is the reiterations, repercussions, and repetitions of countless voices across days, months, and years that does the business of infusing practical wisdom into the mentalities and hearts of those who have both the desire and the will to pursue virtue.

FIGURES, TABLES, AND EXAMPLES

Table 1: Repeated musical settings in Paschal de L'Estocart, *Cent vingt et six quatrains du Sieur de Pibrac*, 1582.

GROUP	QUATRAIN	INCIPIIT	RELATIONSHIP OF TEXTS
1	16	“Au ciel n’y a”	amplification
	17	“Il veult, c’est fait”	
2	20	“Ne va suivant”	amplification
	21	“Et ce-pendant”	
3	55	“Làs! que te sert”	amplification
	56	“Si ce-pendant”	
	57	“As-tu, cruel”	
4	59	“Le sage est libre”	contrast
	60	“Le menasser du Tyran”	
5	77	“Ainsi deslors”	interpretation
	78	“On dict soudain”	
6	81	“Pour bien au vif”	amplification
	82	“Elle ne faict”	
7	86	“Le nombre saint”	interpretation
	87	“Vouloir ne faut”	
8	113	“L’estat moyen”	amplification
	114	“De peu de biens”	

Figure 1: *Quatrains du sieur de Pybrac en musique*, Richard l'Allemand, 1581. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek.

<p style="text-align: center;">QVATRAINS DV</p> <p>Les Signes noirs &amp; les Corneilles blanches,          Les Elements tous quatre en vn monceau.          Que de me voir piustost changer d'amant          Car à luy seul ie suis predestinee,          Pour le serair suis en ce monde nee:          D'autre amy n'ay deffous le firmament.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">QVATRAINS DV SIEVR          DE PYBRAC.</p>  <p>Ieu tout premier, puis pere &amp;          mere honore: Sois iuste &amp; droict: &amp; en          toute saison De l'innocent pren en main          la raison: Car Dieu te doit la haut iuger          encore.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">S. DE PYBRAC. 79</p> <p>Si en iugeant la faueur te commande,          Si corrompu par or ou par presens,          Tu fais iustice au gré des Courtisans,          Ne doute point que Dieu ne te le rende.          Avec le iour commence ta iournee,          De l'Eternel le sainct nom benissant:          Le soir aussi ton labeur finissant,          Louë-le encor, &amp; passe ainsi l'annee.          Adore assis, comme le Grec ordonne,          Dieu en courant ne veut estre honoré:          D'un ferme cœur il veut estre adoré,          Mais ce cœur-la il faut qu'il nous le donne.          Ne va disant, ma main a fait cest œuvre,          Ou ma vertu ce bel œuvre a parfait:          Mais dis ainsi, Dieu par moy l'œuvre a fait          Dieu est l'auteur du peu de bié que l'œuvre,          Tout l'vniuers n'est qu'une cité ronde,          Chacun a droit de sen dire bourgeois,          Le Scythe &amp; More autant que le Gregeois,          Le plus petit que le plus grand du monde.          Dans le pourpris de ceste cité belle          Dieu a logé l'homme comme en lieu saint,          Cōte en vn Tēple, où luy mesme s'est peint          En mil'endroits de couleur immortelle.          Il n'y a coing si petit dans ce Temple,          Où la grandeur n'apparoisse de Dieu:          L'homme est planté justement au milieu,          Afin que mieux par tout il la contemple.</p>
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Figure 2: Jean Rousson, *Recueil de chansons spirituelles, avec les airs nottez sur chacune d'icelles*, Louis Hebert, 1621. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.

28

Sa Croix, humide de larmes,  
 Soit toujours deuant mes yeux:  
 Que la grace me console:  
 Qu'en fin mon Ame s'en vole  
 Apres ma mort és hauts Cieux,

---

SVR LE MESPRI DE  
 la mort par M. Matthieu.

**E**stime qui voudra la mort espouventable,  
 Parce qu'ell' est l'effroy de tous les animaux,  
 Quant à moy ie la tiens pour le poinct dechirable  
 Ou cōmencent nos biens & finissent nos maux.

Cette difformité de la mort n'est que feinte,  
 Elle porte vn beau frôt sous vn masque trôpeur.  
 Mais le masque leué, il ny a plus de crainte.  
 On se rid de l'enfant qui pour vn masque à peur.

A qui craint ceste mort, la vie est desia morte:  
 Au milieu de la vie il luy semble estre mort:  
 Sa mort il porte au sein, elle au tombeau le porte.



Figure 3: Jean Rousson, *Recueil de chansons spirituelles, avec les airs nottez sur chacune d'icelles*, Louis Hebert, 1621. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.

86

**DE LA VIE, ET DE LA**  
*mort, par Mr. Matthieu,*  
 Tous les quatrains duquel, & plusieurs  
 autres peuuent estre chantez  
 sur cet Air.

**C**este grandeur des Rois qui ressemble  
 Colosse, N'est qu'ombre, poudre & vent. L'uni-  
 que honneur des Rois, D'une execrable man-  
 meurt dedans son carosse, Au temps que l'uni-  
 uers trembloit deslous ses loix.

Hier tout en triophe, aujour d'huy chacun pleure,  
 La beauté du matin n'a duré iusqu'au soir: (r.  
 On a veu vif & mort ce prince en moins d'une heu-  
 Ayant beu le hanap de la mort sans le voit.  
 En ce monde tout branle, il n'y a rien de ferme,  
 C'est vne mer qui n'a feurté, calme ny port:  
 Les Empires les Loix, les villes ont leur terme,  
 Tout ce qui prend naissance est suiect à la mort.

Example 1: Orlande de Lassus, "Avec le jour," *The Sixteenth-Century Chanson*, vol. 11: Orlande de Lassus, edited by Jane Bernstein, 52-3.

Superius  
A- vec le jour com- men- ce ta jour-

Contratenor  
A- vec le jour com- men- ce ta jour-

Tenor  
A- vec le jour a- vec le jour com- men- ce ta jour

Bassus  
A- vec le jour com- men- ce com- men- ce ta jour- né-

5  
né- e, De l'E- ter- nel le saint nom be- nis- sant Le  
né- e, De l'E- ter- nel le saint nom be- nis- sant Le  
né- e, De l'E- ter- nel le saint nom be- nis- sant: Le  
e, De l'E- ter- nel le saint nom be- nis- sant Le

10  
soir aus- si ton la- beur fi- nis- sant Lou- é le en-  
soir aus- si ton la- beur fi- nis- sant Lou-  
soir aus- si ton la- beur fi- nis- sant  
soir aus- si ton la- beur fi- nis- sant Lou- é-

15

cor' & pas- se ain- si l'an- né-  
 e- le en- cor' & pas- se ain- si l'an- né- e & pas- se ain-  
 Lou- ë- le en- cor' & pas- se ain- si l'an-  
 le en- cor' & pas- se ain- si ain-

20

e Lou- ë- le en- cor' & pas- se ain-  
 si l'an- né- e Lou- ë- le en- cor' & pas- se ain-  
 né- e Lou- ë- le en- cor' Lou- ë- le en- cor' & pas- se ain-  
 si l'an- né- e. Lou- ë- le en- cor' & pas- se ain-

25

si l'an- né- e.  
 si l'an- né- e, & pas- se ain- si l'an- né- e.  
 si l'an- né- e.  
 si ain- si l'an- né- e.

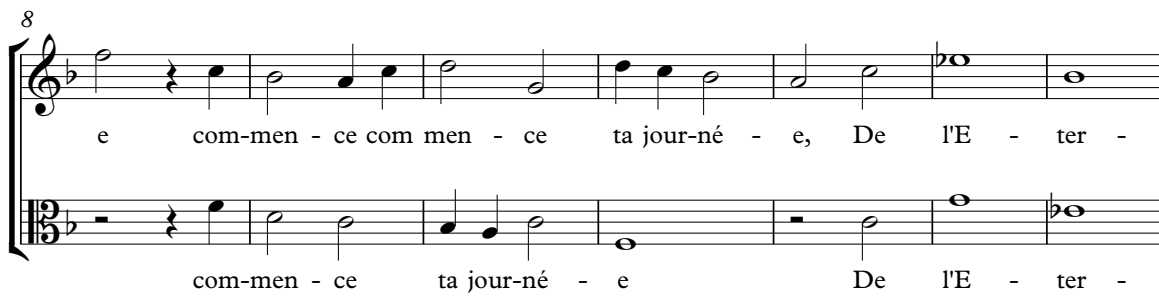
Example 2: Jean Planson, "Avec le Jour," for five voices, *Les Quatrains du Sieur de Pybrac*, Le Roy et Ballard, 1583. Only the superius and tenor parts survive.



A - vec le jour [A - vec le jour] com-men - ce ta jour-né -

A - vec le jour [A - vec le jour]

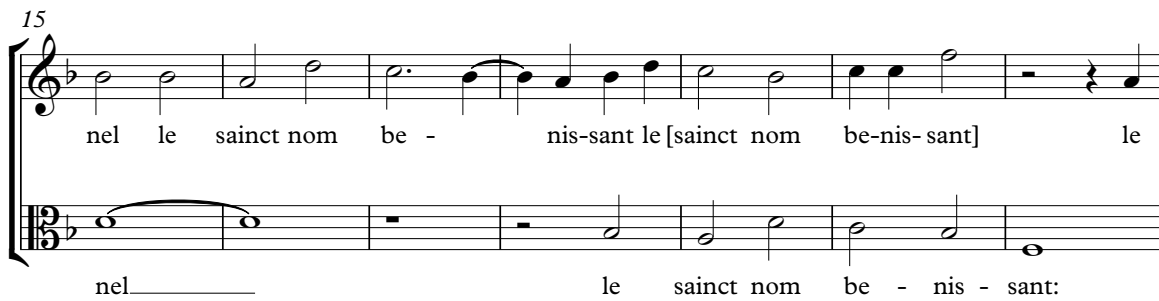
8



e com-men - ce com men - ce ta jour-né - e, De l'E - ter -

com-men - ce ta jour-né - e De l'E - ter -

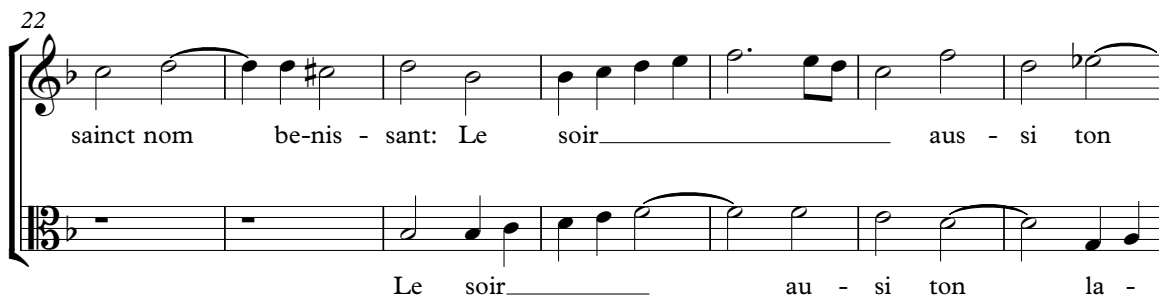
15



nel le saint nom be - nis-sant le [saint nom be-nis-sant] le

nel \_\_\_\_\_ le saint nom be - nis - sant:

22



saint nom be-nis - sant: Le soir \_\_\_\_\_ aus - si ton

Le soir \_\_\_\_\_ au - si ton la -

29

la - beur fi - nis - sant, Louï-e-le en-core [Louï-e-le en

- - beur fin - nis - sant, Louï-e-le en-core [Louï-e-le en

36

core] et passe ain - si l'an - né - e [et passe ain - si l'an-né -

core] et passe ain - si l'an - né - e

41

e] et passe ain - si et passe ain - si l'an-né - e.

[et passe ain - si l'an-né - e] et passe ain - si l'an-né - e.

Example 3: Guillaume Boni, "Avec le jour" (mm.1-11), *Les Quatrains du Sieur de Pybrac*: 1582, edited by Marie-Alexis Colin, 6-7.

S  
A - vec le jour com - men - ce ta jour - né - - e, De l'E - - ter - nel le

C  
A - vec le jour com - men - ce ta jour - né - - e, De l'E - - ter - nel le

T  
A - vec le jour com - men - ce ta jour - né - - e, De l'E - - ter - nel le

6  
saint nom be - - nis - sant : Le soir aus - si ton la - beur fi - nis - sant, [ton

saint nom be - - nis - sant : Le soir aus - si, [le soir aus - si] ton la - beur fi - nis - sant, [ton

saint nom be - - nis - sant : Le soir aus - si ton la - beur fi - nis - sant, [ton

Example 4: Repetition as rhetorical comma. Guillaume Boni, *Les Quatrains du Sieur de Pybrac*: 1582, edited by Marie-Alexis Colin, 31–2, 33.

"Il veult, c'est fait"  
mm. 14-17

[il a cre - é,] les sous - - tient,

[il a cre - é,] les sous - - tient,

[il a cre - é,] les sous - - tient,

[il a cre - é,] les sous - - tient, les ne

[il a cre - é,] les sous - - tient,

"Il veult, c'est fait"  
mm. 25-26

25  
les nour - rit, Et les des-faict,

les nour - rit, Et les des-faict,

nour - - rit, Et les des-faict,

les nour - rit, Et les des-faict,

les nour - rit, Et les des-faict,

"Bref, ce qui est"  
mm. 1-3

Bref, bref ce qui est, qui fut,

Bref, bref ce qui est, qui fut,

Bref, bref ce qui est, qui fut,

Bref, bref ce qui est, qui fut,

Bref, bref ce qui est, qui fut,

Figure 4: Paschal de L'Estocart, *Quatrains 86–87, Cent vingt et six quatrains du Sieur de Pibrac*, 1582. Superius Part. Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria.

76

SVPERIVS.

**L** E nom bre sainct, le nombre sainct se iu-ge par la preu-ue, Touf-  
Vouloir ne faut, vouloir ne faut cho- se que lon ne puit. se, Et

jours ef- gal, tousiours ef- gal, en- tier où def- par- ti,  
ne pou-oir, & ne pou-oir que ce- la que lon doit,

Le droit aus- si, le droit aus- si, en a- to mes par- ti, Semblable à foy tousiours, semblable à foy  
Me su- rant l'un, me- su- rant l'un & l'au- tre pas le droit, Sur le di- uin ef- tau, sur le di- uin

tousiours ef- gal se treu- ue, semblable à foy tousiours, semblable à foy tousiours ef- gal se treu-  
ef- tau de la iu- sti- ce, sur le di- uin ef- tau, sur le di- uin ef- tau de la iu- sti-

ue, ef- gal se treu- ue.  
ce, de la iu- sti- ce.

Huitantehuitième  
Quatrain T R I O.

Example 5: Paschal de L'Estocart, "Dieu tout premier, puis père et mère honore," *Cent vingt et six quatrains du Sieur de Pibrac*, 1582.

Superius  
 Dieu tout pre - mier, puis pere et mere ho -

Contratenor  
 Dieu tout pre - mier, puis pere et mere\_

Tenor  
 Dieu tout pre - mier, puis pere et mere ho -

Bassus  
 Dieu tout pre - mier, puis pere et mere ho -

4  
 no - re. Sois juste et droit, et en tou - te sai -

ho - no - re. Sois juste et droit, et en tout - te sai -

no - re. Sois juste et droit, et en tout - te sai -

8  
 no - re. Sois juste et droit, et en tou - te sai -

son De l'in - no - cent prens en main la rai - son:

son De l'in - no - cent prens en main la rai - son:

son De l'in - no - cent prens en main la rai -

son De l'in - no - cent prens en main la rai - son:



12

Car Dieu te doit là haut ju - ger, ju - ger en -  
 Car Dieu te doit là haut, là haut ju -  
 son: Car Dieu te doit là haut, là haut ju -  
 Car Dieu te doit là haut, Car Dieu te doit là

15

co - re. Car Dieu te doit là haut ju -  
 ger en - co - re. Car Dieu te doit là haut,  
 ger en - co - re. Car Dieu te doit là  
 haut ju - ger en - co - re. Car Dieu te doit là haut,

19

ger, ju - ger en - co - re.  
 là haut ju - ger en - co - re.  
 haut, là haut ju - ger en - co - re.  
 car Dieu te doit là haut ju - ger en - co - re.

Example 6: Guillaume Boni, “Vertu és mœurs ne s’acquiert par l’estude,” *Les Quatrains du Sieur de Pybrac: 1582*, edited by Marie-Alexis Colin, 119-20.

S  
Ver - - tu és mœurs, [ver - - tu és mœurs] ne s'ac-quiert

C  
Ver - - tu és mœurs, [ver - - tu és mœurs] ne s'ac-quiert

T  
Ver - - tu és mœurs, [ver - - tu és mœurs] ne s'ac-quiert

5  
Ver - - tu és mœurs, [ver - - tu és mœurs] ne s'ac-quiert

B  
Ver - - tu és mœurs ne s'ac-quiert

7  
par l'es - tu - de, [ne s'ac - quiert par l'es - tu - - de,] Ne par ar - gent, [ne  
par l'es - tu - de, [ne s'ac - quiert par l'es - tu - - de,] Ne par ar - gent, [ne  
par l'es - tu - de, [ne s'ac - quiert par l'es - tu - - - - - de,] Ne par  
par l'es - tu - de, [ne s'ac - quiert par l'es - tu - - de,] Ne par ar - gent, [ne  
par l'es - tu - de, Ne par ar - gent, [ne

12

par ar-gent,] ne par fa-veur des Rois, [ne par fa-veur des  
 par ar-gent,] ne par fa-veur des Rois, [ne par fa-veur des  
 ar-gent, ne par fa-veur des Rois, [ne par fa-veur des  
 par ar-gent,] ne par fa-veur des Rois, [ne par fa-veur des  
 par ar-gent,] ne par fa-veur des Rois,

17

Rois,] Ne par un ac-te, ou par trois,  
 Rois,] Ne par un ac-te, ou par deux ou par trois,  
 Rois,] Ne par un ac-te,  
 Rois,] Ne par un ac-te, ou par deux ou par trois, Ains  
 Ne par un ac-te,

21

Ains, ains par cons-tan-te et par lon-gue ha-bi-tu-de,  
 Ains par cons-tan-te et par lon-gue ha-bi-tu-de, ains [par cons-tan-te et  
 Ains par cons-tan-te et par lon-gue ha-bi-tu-de, et  
 par cons-tan-te et par lon-gue ha-bi-tu-de, ains [par cons-tan-te et par lon-  
 Ains par cons-tan-te et par lon-gue ha-bi-tu-de, ains [par cons-tan-te et

(1) Orig. : « longue »

26

Ne par un ac - - - - te,  
 par lon-gue ha-bi - - tu - - - - de,] Ne par un ac - - - - te, ou par  
 [par lon-gue ha - bi - tu - - - - de,] Ne par un ac - - - - te, ou par  
 - gue ha - - bi - tu - - - - de,] Ne par un ac - - - - te,  
 par lon-gue ha - bi - tu - - - - de,] Ne par un ac - - - - te,

31

ou par trois, Ains par cons - tan - - te,  
 deux ou par trois, Ains par cons - tan - te et par lon - - gue ha -  
 (1)  
 deux ou par trois, et par lon - gue ha - bi -  
 Ains par cons - tan - te et par lon - gue ha - - - bi -  
 Ains par cons - tan - te et par lon - gue ha - bi -

35

[ains par cons - tan - - tc,] ains par cons - tan - te et par lon - gue ha-bi-tu - - de.  
 (1)  
 - bi - tu - - - - de.  
 - tu - - - - de, Ains par cons - tan - te et par lon - gue ha - bi - tu - - - - de.  
 - tu - - - - de.  
 - tu - - - - de, [ains par cons - tan - te et par lon - gue ha - bi - tu - - - - de.]

## CHAPTER FIVE

### Virtuous Beauty

If the practice of repetition served as a foundational mechanism within late sixteenth-century musical virtue ethics, the crowning edifice gracing this philosophical framework was the virtue of beauty. By all accounts, the pleasure of hearing musical beauty served as the most powerful agent in affecting and moving the human spirit. The language used in diverse testimonies from ancient times into the early modern period and beyond described the mystical power of music to ravish and arouse the spirit towards both desire and fulfillment, to transport the emotions to an elevated state, to prepare the soul to receive the divine, and to open an aural portal to the uniquely human ability to understand truth and goodness. Responding to musical beauty was therefore profoundly embedded in conceptions of what it meant to be human and endowed with a rational mind and eternal soul.

At the same time, beauty and its role in ethical formation was controversial for producers and practitioners of the moral repertoire. Was beauty a virtue, or was it in fact a vice disguised under the perfection of an outer form? Was beauty the essence and proof of a divine goodness or a deceptive surface that could mask corruption underneath the surface and lead the unsuspecting to act upon sensual desire? From the dangerously compelling beauty of the Sirens' song to an Augustinian distrust of musical beauty as a dangerous pleasure, beauty came into the Renaissance as an ethically precarious quality of music.

In this chapter, I will examine the ethical function of musical beauty in musical settings of moral poetry. I propose that the strategic arousal of pleasure through the poetic form and beauty of the musical setting served as needed balance for the cold stoicism of the moral contents.

L'Estocart's settings of the *Octonaires sur la vanité et inconstance du monde* serve as my primary focus because these music prints make a concerted claim to an ethics of beauty, through their content and prefaces, that is particularly striking in the context of the surrounding moral repertoire. In the *Octonaires*, which circulated in both visual emblem form and as musical settings, the sensual imagery of the poetry served as a fertile source for composers to explore techniques of text expression that enhanced the moral content through multiple layers of musical representation, recognition, and reflection. When their prefaces and content are taken into account, these prints offer an invitation to approach an ethics of musical beauty from what may be for some the most unlikely place—musical text painting. There, in a musical domain often devalued for its childish literalism or its amateur accessibility, we find a script for accomplishing profound ethical work, for uniting the rational and the irrational parts of the soul through the pleasure of musical performance.

### **An Ethics of Aesthetics**

A single line from Horace's *Ars Poetica* served as the touch point for late Renaissance debates over an ethics of beauty. Verse 333 reads, "Poets aim either to benefit, or to amuse, or to utter words at once both pleasing and helpful to life."<sup>1</sup> Key words in these debates over the ethics of beauty were *delectare* (to give pleasure) and *prodesse* (to teach), which Ronsard and the Pleiade most famously translated into a tension between *le doux* (sweet) and *l'utile* (useful) in

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<sup>1</sup> "Aut prodesse volunt aut delectare poetae aut simul et jucunda et idonea dicere vitae." Cited and translated in H. Rushton Fairclough, trans. *Horace, Ars Poetica*, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1966), v. 333. The first French translation of Horace, paraphrased in *vers* by Jacques Peletier du Mans (1541), reads "L'intention des Poetes se fonde/ A enseigner ou delecter le monde." Michel Jourde, ed., *Jacques Peletier, Oeuvres complètes. 1. L'art poétique d'Horace traduit en vers François* (Paris: Champion, 2011), 124, v. 595.

their arguments for the beauty of style as an important partner to the moral function of poetry and music.<sup>2</sup>

After the rise of formal eighteenth-century aesthetics and the separation of the *beaux-arts* (fine arts) from the *arts utiles* (useful arts, such as furniture making), to speak of the utility or function of a piece of art was to relegate it to a lower position in the artistic hierarchy. Yet, in the sixteenth century, although poets and composers often spoke of their craft in terms of a work of art that could transcend the ordinary, inspire contemplation, and merit aesthetic judgments on its beauty, they saw this aesthetic value as justified and rooted in its moral function and utility. Thus one could say that in the sixteenth century, all artistic practices could be seen as *arts utiles*.<sup>3</sup>

Serving a function, whether practical or moral, was thus not seen as contrary to artistic beauty.<sup>4</sup> One must remember that poetics and rhetoric were taught as a subcategory of moral philosophy during this period.<sup>5</sup> Thus, questions of aesthetics in the late Renaissance were

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<sup>2</sup> Robert John Clements, "Poetic Sweetness and Utility," in *Critical Theory and Practice of the Pléiade* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University, 1942), 122-71; Marie-Hélène Prat, ed., *Le doux aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles: écriture, esthétique, politique, spiritualité*, Actes du colloque des 28 et 29 mars 2003 (Geneva: Droz, 2003); and André Gendre, "Lecteur 'esthétique' et lecteur 'éthique' dans les liminaires de la poésie française de 1549 à la fin du siècle," *Versants: revue suisse des littératures romanes* 15 (1989): 121-33.

<sup>3</sup> For a classic introduction to the history of aesthetics, see Umberto Eco, *History of Beauty*, translated by Alastair McEwen (New York: Rizzoli, 2005). See also, Berys Nigel Gaut and Dominic Lopes, eds., *The Routledge Companion to Aesthetics* (London; New York: Routledge, 2001); David Konstan, *Beauty: The Fortunes of an Ancient Greek Idea* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); and Henri de Lumley, *Le beau, l'art et l'homme: émergence de l'esthétique* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2014).

<sup>4</sup> The Greek word *kalon* (which is the closest equivalent to the word for 'beauty' in English) embodies well this view of an integral connection between the aesthetic and the ethical, a term which implies a sense of both surface beauty and/or moral virtue, just as *le beau* in French continues to have the possibility of beauty of form or of being fine or good, depending on the surrounding context (ie. "un beau visage," in contrast to "un belle argument"). See Bruno Méniel, "Note sur éthique et esthétique à la Renaissance," in *Éthiques et formes littéraires à la Renaissance: Journée d'études du 19 avril 2002*, ed. Bruno Méniel (Paris: Champion, 2006): 9. This presents a challenge in communicating this in English, where one must make a choice between what seems to be an aesthetic concept and a moral concept.

<sup>5</sup> Brian Vickers, "Rhetoric and Poetics," in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, eds. Charles B. Schmitt, Quentin Skinner, and Eckhard Kessler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 715.

always linked at least to some level to the question of moral utility.<sup>6</sup> It is well known that discussions of poetics by Ronsard and others of his time were also inclusive of the applicability of these debates for music, for they saw poetry and music as integrally linked.<sup>7</sup> However, we also have direct references to this moral-aesthetic framework in music sources from the period. For example, Zarlino's *Le istituzioni harmoniche* (1558), signals an interest in the ethics of musical beauty. After citing Cicero's well-known *movere-delectare-docere* (to move-to delight-to instruct) as the aim of music, Zarlino quotes Horace's recommendation that the poet/composer should "write things both pleasing and useful."<sup>8</sup>

These widespread references to the Horatian *utile dulci* ultimately relied upon Aristotle's virtue ethics, for there was a widespread tendency for Renaissance commentators to overlay this commonly cited line from Horace onto an Aristotelian framework.<sup>9</sup> In a number of his works, Aristotle sketched the fundamental questions that resonated throughout the late Renaissance as to how the understand the link between beauty of form, or aesthetics, and its function in shaping moral virtue. Not only were Aristotle's ethics, in particular his *Nichomachean Ethics*, the central texts in university curriculum and intellectual circles, but in the mid-sixteenth-century

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<sup>6</sup> Méniel's account of the relationship between ethics and aesthetics in the sixteenth-century, reminds us that this tension between the beautiful and the good, between pleasure and virtue did not develop in a simple line from the Renaissance to formal eighteenth-century aesthetics. For example Ronsard and the members of the Pléiade launched a movement at mid-century towards valorizing beauty and style (*le doux*) in poetry and music that was not an accidental by-product of a moral function (*l'utile*). However, the shift towards virtue in the final third of the sixteenth-century again renewed a deeply ethical framework for experiencing beauty and pleasure in poetry or music. See Méniel, "Note sur éthique," 9-18.

<sup>7</sup> Howard Mayer Brown, "'Ut Musica Poesis': Music and Poetry in France in the Late Sixteenth Century," *Early Music History* 13 (1994): 6 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche* (Venice: [F. De Franceschi], 1558), III, 26; see Patrick McCreless, "Music and Rhetoric," in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Street Christensen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 852.

<sup>9</sup> Daniel Javitch, "The Assimilation of Aristotle's Poetics in Sixteenth-century Italy" in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism, Vol. 3: The Renaissance*, ed. Glyn P. Norton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 53.



Aristotle's *Poetics* gained influence and was cited with increasing frequency in the late sixteenth-century as a source of authority on ethics and aesthetics.<sup>10</sup>

In contrast to the Platonist approach to beauty as an ideal, divine essence,<sup>11</sup> Aristotle approached beauty through the senses, defining it and its ethical role through experience and perception of pleasure.<sup>12</sup> In his *Traité de l'amour de Dieu*, François de Sales offers the most concise summary of this approach to this phenomenological approach to beauty when he explicitly defines beauty by our experience of delight and pleasure coming into contact with it. He writes, "the beautiful is therefore called beautiful because its knowledge delights"<sup>13</sup> This definition importantly takes an ethics of beauty from the abstract and into the everyday, as the definition of beauty becomes fundamentally linked to the experience of pleasure which arises when one encounters it. Thus, in discussing an ethics of beauty for artistic practices in the late Renaissance, an ethics of emotion and pleasure is ultimately also in play, whether directly or

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<sup>10</sup> Javitch, "The Assimilation of Aristotle's *Poetics*," 53-8; Méniel, "Note sur éthique et esthétique," 12.

<sup>11</sup> The ideal definition of beauty locates the beautiful as an essence found in an object/person/action under consideration. Plato's famous formulation linking beauty, goodness and truth, was foundational for this view of beauty as essence. Thomas Aquinas described beauty as an essential aspect of God. ("Being, Goodness, and Beauty"); thus he viewed all worldly manifestations of beauty as reflections of the divine presence. These ancient and medieval views of beauty as an ideal tied to divine goodness provided foundational support for Renaissance views of beauty as rooted in an essential moral truth. Renaissance neo-platonism, furthered this doubling between the beautiful and the good. According to Ficino, Beauty lives between Goodness and Justice. For him, beauty is the circumference around a core, divine Good. See Marsile Ficino, *Discours de l'Honneste Amour sur le Banquet de Platon*, trad. Guy Le Fevre de La Boderie (Paris: Jean Macé, 1578), 34-40. For another Renaissance iteration of this ideal notion of beauty, see B. Jamin's "Chant de la vraie beauté," printed in Pierre Poupo's *La Muse Chrestienne* (Paris: Barthelemy le Franc, 1590), which also included Goulart's *Octonaires* in the same edition. As Jamin put it, ("Dieu, Amour, et Beauté, tous ces trois ne sont qu'un"). See the critical edition, Mantero, ed., *Pierre Poupo, La Muse Chrestienne* (Paris: Société des textes français modernes, 1997), 362.

<sup>12</sup> See Louis Aryeh Kosman, "Being Properly Affected: Virtues And Feelings In Aristotle's Ethics," and "Beauty and the Good: Situating the Kalon," in *Virtues of Thought: Essays on Plato and Aristotle* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014); and Drew A. Hyland, *Plato and the Question of Beauty* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008).

<sup>13</sup> "Le beau donc étant appelé beau parce que sa connaissance délecte." André Ravier and Roger Devos, eds., *Saint François de Sales, Oeuvres*, vol 1 (Paris: Gallimard, 1969), I, 1, 354.

indirectly as ethical debates about poetry, image, and music were located in questions of creation, use, and effect.

Considering their moral subject matter, these debates over the relationship between aesthetics and ethics were particularly pressing for composers of moral poetry and music. In a single poem that prefaced his *Quatrains* after 1576, Guy de Faur Pibrac takes a more conservative position on the question of aesthetics as he warns his reader that his collection was aimed towards moral use rather than for the production of pleasure through stylistic beauty.

Je n'ay tasché cest oeuvre façonner  
D'un stile doux, à fin qu'il puisse plaire:  
Car aussi bien n'entens-je le donner,  
Qu'à ceulx qui n'ont soucy que de bien faire.<sup>14</sup>

[I have not attempted to make this work/ In a pleasing style in order for it to bring pleasure/  
Because I intend to give it/ Only to those whose only concern is good conduct.]

Pibrac presents his *Quatrains*, therefore, as first and foremost a functional aid to those who were seeking ethical principles for learning good conduct (*bien faire*). Despite Pibrac's clear prioritizing of the ethical over the aesthetic, the ambiguity of the quatrain does allow for the collection to please (*plaire*) through a lovely style (*un stile doux*); for Pibrac does not in fact state that his poetry was necessarily unappealing or lacking in style, merely that his *aim* was not to produce pleasure. Thus, in this formulation, if by chance a reader found pleasure in encountering this poetry, it would be a mere by product of the primarily ethical purpose for the texts.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Petris, ed., *Les Quatrains*, 146.

<sup>15</sup> See Petris, ed., *Les Quatrains*, 146, n1.

Following Pibrac's tone, the prefatory material that introduces Paschal de L'Estocart's 1582 musical settings of the *Quatrains de Pibrac* also prioritizes function over form.<sup>16</sup> The commendatory *quatrain* by Simon Goulart included in the superius part book addresses itself "To poets and musicians. Regarding the Quatrains du Sieur de Pibrac set to music by Paschal de L'Estocart."

Si tu ne fais si doctement escrire,

Si tu ne peux si doucement chanter,

Sois vertueux: c'est pour te contenter.

Car faire bien est trop plus que bien dire.

[If you do not write in such a learned way,/ If you cannot sing so sweetly/ Be virtuous: it is what will make you happy./ Because acting well is much better than speaking well.]

Like Pibrac's prefatory poem, Goulart's contribution develops an opposition between form and content, between outward appearances and inner character. However, his witty quatrain makes the point using both literary and music metaphors and wordplay. Even if you are not the most learned person or the best singer, be virtuous, he advises, because it is better to be morally upright (*faire bien*) than to be well spoken (*bien dire*).<sup>17</sup> The prefatory material does make subtle

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<sup>16</sup> Paschal de L'Estocart, *Cent vingt et six quatrains du Sieur de Pibrac* [...] (Lyon: B. Vincent [Geneva: J. de Laon], 1582).

<sup>17</sup> In this period, *bien faire* and *bien dire* appear frequently as a critical dyad—two halves (sometimes opposed, sometimes complementary), that together formed the ultimate goal of education and civility. This brings up a tension commonly found in moral poetry; there is a critique of the kind of vapid civility modeled by courtiers interested only in appearances, and in a rootless morality based entirely on popularity and fashion. Pibrac proposed a kind of civility that had deeper ethical roots, that balanced the kinds of social skills promoted by Castiglioni with an individual virtue that prized living well over pleasing the crowd. By at least the seventeenth century, this anti-politesse discourse was both class-marked and, often, hostile to the purported femininity of politesse. See Pauline M. Smith, *The Anti-Courtier Trend in Sixteenth-Century French Literature* (Geneva: Droz, 1966); Susannah Carson, "Il se veut faire voir": The Modern Courtier in Castiglione and Montaigne," in *Religion, Ethics, and History in the French Long Seventeenth Century*, eds. William Brooks and Rainer Oxford (New York: P. Lang, 2007), 117-30; and Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European Reception of Castiglione's Cortegiano* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996).

references to beauty in describing Pibrac's poetry as "these fine verses animated with musical airs,"<sup>18</sup> and the commendatory poem signed by François de L'Isle (Louis Régnier, sieur de La Planche) ascribe L'Estocart's settings with aesthetic value by "the sweet noise of your sounds."<sup>19</sup> However, in general, the tone throughout the preface retains the cautious attitude signaled by Pibrac at the beginning of his collection. L'Estocart's preface, therefore, emphasizes the significance of the musical setting and its ethical and persuasive power by emphasizing its commitment to virtue, more than praising the beauty and pleasure that could be experienced in these settings.

Whereas the content of Pibrac's *Quatrains* make strikingly little reference to aesthetic questions, the question of beauty and pleasure of form plays a central role in the *Octonaires* by Antoine de Chandieu and his imitators Simon Goulart and Joseph du Chesne.<sup>20</sup> Beauty and pleasure are treated overwhelmingly negatively across the *Octonaires* poetry, whose neo-stoicist orientation saw all earthly beauty, pleasure, and desire as integrally linked to the vanity of the world. For example, Chandieu's twelfth *Octonaire* cautions, "Beauty passes suddenly and escapes your eyes."<sup>21</sup> *Octonaire* nineteen goes on to describe pleasure as "décevant," a term that at best means disappointing and at worst, deceiving. Other texts later in Chandieu's collection use Petrarchan contradiction to emphasize this point that beauty and pleasure are embedded in the fragility and vanity of the world, and thus offer little of permanent value. For example,

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<sup>18</sup> "Ces beaux vers animez d'un air musical." L'Estocart, *Cent vingt et six quatrains*.

<sup>19</sup> "Le doux bruit de tes sons." L'Estocart, *Cent vingt et six quatrains*.

<sup>20</sup> Neo-stoicism was easily embraced within the religious orientation of the sixteenth-century, as its warnings against the futility of the world, suspicion of worldly pleasures fit effortlessly into traditional Christian concerns over the pleasures of the flesh. It also had a great deal of resonance with Ecclesiastes, a Biblical text that formed the justification for the broader *vanitas vanitatum* movement in poetry and philosophy. See Jill Kraye, "Moral Philosophy," in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, 360-74; Lestringant, ed., *Stoïcisme et christianisme*; and Daniel Ménager, *La Renaissance et le détachement* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2011).

<sup>21</sup> "La beauté soudain passe et echappe à tes yeux." Bonali-Fiquet, ed., *Octonaires*, 52.

*Octonaire* twenty-four refers to “painful pleasure” and “pleasing pain.”<sup>22</sup> In the fourth *vers* of *Octonaire* twenty-six, Chandieu reveals that “your pleasure displeases you and your relief bothers you.”<sup>23</sup> In a similar vein, several texts in the collection describe the world’s pleasures as both simultaneously sweet and bitter to the taste (*doux-amer*).<sup>24</sup>

In the *Quatrain* repertory, the clearest attempt to locate an ethics of pleasure and beauty in the *Quatrain* settings appears in Adrian Le Roy's preface to Guillaume Boni's important collection. The tone here diverges clearly from Pibrac's cautious attitude and the restrained approach found in L'Estocart's collection from the same year. What is particularly important here is that Le Roy not only makes a general claim to the moral utility of the musical setting, but that this utility is specifically located in its capacity “to provide pleasure in the honest recreation of those who are lovers of virtue.”<sup>25</sup> Thus, according to Le Roy, moral virtue might be learned, acquired, or exercised *through* the experience of pleasure, in particular the pleasure of experiencing musical beauty.

An open justification of musical pleasure and beauty as a worthy moral aim takes full shape in the prefaces to the musical settings of the *Octonaires*. The two collections by L'Estocart offer exceptionally rich prefatory material that reveals a clear engagement with the moral and philosophical debates circulating regarding the ethics of beauty from ancient times into the current period. Written by the most important poets and intellectuals based in Geneva, such as Jean de Sponde, Théodore de Bèze, and Simon Goulart, the commendatory poetry for

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<sup>22</sup> “Plaisir douloureux”; “douleur plaisante.” Bonali-Fiquet, ed., *Octonaires*, 65.

<sup>23</sup> “Ton plaisir te desplaist et ton soulas t'ennuye.” Bonali-Fiquet, ed., *Octonaires*, 67.

<sup>24</sup> See for example, Bonali-Fiquet, ed., *Octonaires*, 65, 69.

<sup>25</sup> “Et de vray, les voyant à bon droit si bien receus et prizez d'un chacun, j'ay pensé qu'une musique convenablement appropriée à tel sujet, n'apporteroit moins de profit aux bonnes moeurs, que de plaisir à la recreation honeste de ceux qui sont amateurs de vertu.” Facsimile reproduced in Colin, ed., *Quatrains du Sieur de Pybrac*, xlv.

L'Estocart's collections offered a model listening experience that could be seen as a kind of script for use by a broader market of singers and musicians who would purchase and use these prints.<sup>26</sup> Particularly considering that Reformation Geneva has typically appeared as a community suspicious of pleasure, these prefaces offer an important window into musical beauty and even pleasure as morally useful for the virtuous person.

In stark contrast to the morally-oriented prefatory poetry that this same circle offered for L'Estocart's *Quatrains*, the commendatory poetry written in praise of L'Estocart's two collections of *Octonaires* offers unabashed enthusiasm for the beauty of these collections, directly praising the musical settings as "beautiful" (*belle*) and "pleasing" (*doux*), noting the power of these settings to delight and ravish the hearer. For example, in the contratenor part of the first collection, Jean de Sponde asks, "My PASCHAL, where did you find this beautiful Music,/ Where you ravish the heart of all your listeners"<sup>27</sup>

Of course, in their praise of beauty, these prefaces made it clear that the group of intellectuals and poets in L'Estocart's circle were invested in the debates over the moral utility of aesthetic pleasure, launched by the Pléiade at mid-century. The tenor part for L'Estocart's collection opens with a commendatory poem by Théodore de Bèze, titled "Dedicated to Paschal de l'Estocart, chaste priest of the Muses," which criticizes those who divorce musical pleasure from its ethical responsibility:

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<sup>26</sup> For more on this Reformed intellectual and artistic circle, see Frank Dobbins, *Music in Renaissance Lyons* (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1992), 211; Irena Dorota Backus, ed., *Théodore de Bèze, 1519-1605: Actes du colloque de Genève, septembre 2005* (Geneva: Droz, 2007); Droz, "Jean de Sponde et Pascal de l'Estocart," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 13, no. 3 (1951): 312-326; and Pot, *Simon Goulart*.

<sup>27</sup> "Mon PASCHAL, où prends-tu ceste belle Musique, / Dont tu ravis le cœur à tous tes auditeurs?" L'Estocart, *Premier livre des Octonaires*.

Aures tinnitu qui solas pascis inani,  
    Sonore frustra Musice :  
Túque voluptatum insti illans qui dulce venenum  
    A dulci honestum dividis :  
I procul, et sancto Musarum ex numine natum  
    Polluere nomen desine.  
At tu, Musarum, PASCALI, caste sacerdos,  
    Dulci maritans utile,  
Salve. cantantique tibi sua crimina Mundus  
    Inuitus ipse succinat.

[You who feed only the ears with empty ringing,/ resound in vain with Music:/ and you who, by instilling the sweet poison of pleasures,/ separate the excellent from the sweet./ Go away, and cease to defile the name that was born/ from the holy divinity of the Muses./ But you, Pascal, chaste priest of the Muses,/ who unite the useful with the sweet,/ farewell: the unwilling world itself sings of its crimes to you as you sing.]<sup>28</sup>

In contrast to his critique of those who merely tickle the ears with empty musical titillation and give pleasure empty of moral value in *vers* 4 (“A dulci honestum dividis”), de Bèze offers L’Estocart the ultimate praise in terms of the Horatian *utile dulci*. L’Estocart’s musical setting perfectly unites moral utility with musical pleasure (*vers* 8, “Dulci maritans utile”).

Other poets in these prefaces also directly reference this Horatian dyad, praising L’Estocart’s music for its powerful marriage between aesthetic and ethical concerns. For example, the poem by Thibaut de Sautemont in the bassus part book for the first collection of *Octonaires* lauds L’Estocart’s ability to create musical pleasure in a simple and short compositional form:

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<sup>28</sup> Translation from the Latin by Dr. David Butterfield, [www.classicalturns.com](http://www.classicalturns.com).

C'est beaucoup, mon PASCHAL, de se montrer habile

En un ouvrage long, difficile, divers.

Mais c'est encores plus, bien animer un vers,

Et dans l'ame loger la Musique gentile.

L'un et l'autre tu fais d'une adresse subtile,

Ayant en peu de jours d'une infinité d'airs,

De motets, de chansons rempli nostre univers,

Qui revere joyeux ton travail doux-utile.

Se vante l'envieux d'en pouvoir faire autant.

Tandis que sur sa table il ira se grattant,

Sans rien faire en dix ans que brouiller sa cervelle,

Ou maints chantres fascher de ses ineptes sons :

Nous, portez par les airs de tes braves chansons,

Volerons de ce Monde à la Vie eternelle.

[It is much, my PASCHAL, to show oneself skilled/ Through a long, difficult, and varied work./ But it is much more, to animate a verse well,/ And in the soul to lodge this gracious Music./ With subtlety, you achieve the one and the other,/ Having in a few days an infinity of airs,/ With motets, with songs filled our universe,/ Who reveres joyously your sweet-useful work./ The jealous boast that they can do as much as you./ Whereas he is worrying himself at his table,/ Without doing anything in ten years other than scrambling his brain,/ Or making singers angry at his inept sounds:/ Us, you transport by the strains of your brave songs,/ We fly from this World to eternal Life.]

Again, this poem ties together praise for the aesthetic contribution of the musical setting and its ability to accomplish useful work. In the second and third stanzas, the poet suggests that an important aspect of L'Estocart's artistic success was the carefully crafted relationship between text and musical setting (*vers* 3, "bien animer un vers"). He goes on to imply that the intimacy between text and music was multi-directional, enriching both experience and understanding of



the moral lesson (*vers* 5, “L’un et l’autre tu fais d’une adresse subtile”). The key Horatian phrase arrives as the climax of the second stanza (*vers* 8, “Qui revere joyeux ton travail doux-utile.”), bolstering the possibility of form as a true partner in moral work.

Operating along the same dyad as the Horatian *utile dulci*, the duality between *grave* and *doux* appears as an even more important and specific descriptor for L’Estocart’s musical style. L’Estocart himself describes his compositional style in precisely these terms in his preface to the first collection of *Octonaires*. In the passage where L’Estocart describes his humanist aim to create musical settings that are well suited to the words, he offers more clarity on his own ethico-aesthetic aims:

But I will say this word, that my desire has been to present a gravely-pleasing [*grave-douce*] music, well accommodated to the letter: which is the goal, it seems, to which most learned masters of this art have aimed, whether ancient or modern.<sup>29</sup>

L’Estocart’s reference in his preface to his wish to present musical settings marrying a serious and attractive style claims an ideal unity between a serious [*grave*] musical style suited for philosophical or other morally edifying texts, yet also pleasing [*doux*] to sing.<sup>30</sup> This aim for a perfect union of pleasure and utility was, by L’Estocart’s account, a defining characteristic of the fabled music of the ancients—music that had “the sweetly-serious [*douce-grave*] vivacity

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<sup>29</sup> “Mais je diray ce mot, que mon désir a esté de presenter une musique grave-douce, et bien accomodee a la lettre : qui est le but, ce semble, auquel ont visé les plus doctes maistres en cest art tant anciens que modernes.” L’Estocart, *Premier livre des Octonaires*.

<sup>30</sup> Cotgrave’s 1611 Dictionary offers the follow definitions for these terms: *Doux*: m. *douce*: f. = “sweet; delicious, delightful, daintie, pleasing; soft, pliant; smooth, tractable; gentle, mild, meeke; lovelie; kind, courteous, loving”; *Grave*: com. = “grave; statelie, solemne; severe, austere; stayed, settled, constant; sage, discreet, advised; sad, important, heavie; greevous.”

recognized and dear among some (but in little number) of our age.”<sup>31</sup> L’Estocart’s implication here that only a select audience appreciated his musical and moral aims comes in the same passage where he suggests that the lack of clear contemporary evidence for music’s ethical effects was rooted in the overwhelming evil of the times. Thus, L’Estocart’s preface appeals to his virtuous audience to participate in valorizing and revitalizing the ethical power of this “douce-grave” style.<sup>32</sup>

This ambitious claim to a “grave-douce” compositional style that could influence moral character through musical beauty clearly found purchase among the first audience of poets and intellectuals who contributed the commendatory poetry for L’Estocart’s *Octonaires*. For example, in the superius part of the second collection, Francois de l’Isle dedicates his commendatory poem to L’Estocart “Grave-doux musicien”:

PASCHAL , aux doux accords de ta belle Musique,

(Mere de mille biens et plaisirs gracieux)

Mon ame sort du corps, embrasee, ecstatique,

Sur l’aile de tes airs s’en volant jusqu’aux cieux.

Mais elle redescend soudain en ces bas lieux,

Pour y gouter encor de tes tons la merveille:

Par ce qu’elle n’entend en ce rond spacieux

Harmonie que soit à la tiene pareille.

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<sup>31</sup> “Il sera aisé de voir que l’adresse qu’ils ont eue et aux accords des voix et aux sons des instrumens a eu la douce-grave vivacité reconue et chérie en quelques uns (mais en petit nombre) de nostre aage.” L’Estocart, *Premier livre des Octonaires*.

<sup>32</sup> L’Estocart returns to these aims in his preface to his second collection of *Octonaires*, noting his aim to produce a pleasing setting. “j’en ay dressé ce deuxiesme livre, d’un air le plus doux et le mieux apropré au sens de la lettre que jay peu.” He also acknowledged his resolve to dedicate the rest of his artistic energies to “choses graves et saintes.” Paschal de L’Estocart, *Seconde livre des Octonaires de la vanité du monde* [...] (Lyon: Barthelemi Vincent [Geneva: J. de Laon], 1582).

[PASCHAL, at the sweet chords of your beautiful Music,/ (Mother of thousand goods and gracious pleasures)/ My soul exits the body, enflamed, ecstatic,/ On the wing of your airs it flies to the heavens./ But it falls back suddenly in these low places,/ In order to taste again by your tones the marvelous:/ Because it only hears in this spacious round/ Harmony that is parallel to yours.]

Here, the poet claims a rare beauty for L'Estocart's settings. Not only does the music have the power to transport his soul to heaven, but he finds that heaven's music does not compare to L'Estocart's. Therefore, he wishes to return to earth to experience again this marvelous beauty. By this account, the pleasure of the musical setting offers an unexpected challenge to the moral content, as it valorizes musical beauty as part of the fragile world.

### **Sensing Beauty**

This tension between moral content and aesthetic form begins with the texts themselves, which through their lovely, evocative poetry offer a kind of resistance to the severe moral message. As the commendatory poetry for these collections suggests, setting these texts to music offers an even stronger counterbalance to this harsh critique of beauty and pleasure, if done successfully for its audience. In order to explore this tension between moral content and aesthetic form, consider the following text in Chandieu's collection, set by Paschal de L'Estocart in his first collection of *Octonaires*, No. 4 "Le beau du monde s'efface":<sup>33</sup>

Le beau du monde s'efface  
Soudain comme un vent qui passe:  
Soudain comme on void la fleur  
Sans sa premiere couleur:  
Soudain comme une onde fuit

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<sup>33</sup> Bonali-Fiquet, ed., *Octonaires*, No. 28.

Devant l'autre qui la suit.

Qu'est-ce doncques de ce monde?

Un vent, une fleur, une onde.

[The beauty of the world fades away/ Suddenly, like a passing wind :/ Suddenly, as we see the flower/ After its first blush :/ Suddenly as a rushing wave/ One after the other following./ What then is of this World?/ A wind, a flower, a wave.]

Taken at face value, the moral of Chandieu's text seems to offer a perfectly straightforward neo-stoicist warning against beauty. For beauty, like the wind, flower, and wave, fades away as part of the fleeting world. However, although the content paints beauty and pleasure in negative terms, the lovely poetic text, works in tension with the moral lesson, and perhaps even contradicts it. For the lovely cadence and delicacy of this poetic text offers a heightened poignancy in experiencing and even treasuring rare beauty, because it is so fleeting.

L'Estocart's musical settings for the *Octonaires* only heighten this contradictory pull between a detachment from and simultaneous celebration of beauty. In his high-voice trio setting of "Le beau du Monde s'efface" (see Example 1), L'Estocart vividly illustrates the textual content. At the most basic level, he takes advantage of opportunities for simple text-music correspondence, such as the running ascending eighth notes that arrive in imitation on the text "comme une onde fuit" (mm. 15-16) or his elegant little dotted rhythmic figure that paints a floral flourish for each "fleur" (mm. 26-29).

However, his approach to text expression also engages the singer at a much higher level, as the rhythm and harmony sonically unfold the fundamental moral questions raised through these texts. For example, L'Estocart opens in a breve-semibreve homophonic declamation that places less important words/syllables (le, du -de) on long note values, while key words/syllables (beau, Mon-) arrive on weaker parts of rhythmic pairs (mm. 1-4). This leads the singer to feel the surprise of semantically weighted syllables fading more quickly than would be expected. At the

end of this first *vers* (m. 4), this musical expression of beauty vanishing arrives even more dramatically with an abrupt meter change to cut time. The second *vers* remains in cut time but imitates the rhythmic effect of the opening by ending the *vers* with two quarter notes at the beginning of m. 7. These unexpected short note values at the end of the first and second *vers*, with their weak endings (*face*, *pas*), drift away quickly and elegantly. Harmonically, a similar effect appears throughout the settings as full-voiced chords (m. 1 “*Le Beau*”) lose their fifth, leaving only an oddly bereft third in their wake (mm. 2-3, 5, 7, etc.). These compositional strategies, which offer such lovely attention to declamation, enrich the sensory experience of the text as singers and listeners feel a sense of poignant “loss” throughout the setting.

A fascinating contradiction, thus, lies at the heart of the *Octonaires*. For even as the moral content of the text warns against the dangers of beauty, the pleasure of the poetic and musical forms directly challenge this detachment from the world by blatantly invoking the senses. Chandieu’s collection overflows with richly imaginative analogies drawn from nature, comparing the fragile world and pleasures to an ocean’s waves, the wind, a whirlpool, a shadow, a flower, an arrow, a tree, a leaf, fruit, sand, smoke, a ship, an eagle, the planetary bodies, and the four elements, to name only a few. He also gives vivid, colorful descriptions of these elements (“*la montagne couloree*, “*d’une lumiere doree*”, “*sa verte couleur*”, etc.)<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, Chandieu directly addresses the senses— sight, hearing, touch, taste, and smell—in constructing his metaphors. One text by Chandieu, “*La beauté soudain passe et eschappe à tes yeux*,”<sup>35</sup> systematically addresses all five senses. In general, though, sight and hearing are invoked the most frequently (for example, “*Je vis un jour le Monde combatant*”, “*J’ai veu, j’ai*

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<sup>34</sup> For examples of color in the text, see Bonali-Fiquet, ed., *Octonaires*, No. 6-10, 28, 31-14, 36, 46.

<sup>35</sup> Bonali-Fiquet, ed., *Octonaires*, No. 12.

veu que le Monde est un songe,” “Quel Monstre voy-je là,” “Escoute, enten la voix de la Vertu”).<sup>36</sup>

In light of the rich imagery, metaphors, and allegorical figures woven throughout the *Octonaires*, literature scholars have suggested the likelihood that Chandieu’s style was influenced by the illustrated genre of the emblem, popular, particularly among Protestants, since the 1530s.<sup>37</sup> It thus seems fitting that the first known printed source for the *Octonaires*, the Strasbourg edition [1580] was illustrated, including an emblem engraved by Etienne Delaune for each of the printed *Octonaires* texts.<sup>38</sup> The texts first appear in their entirety, each *Octonaire* introduced by a letter (A, B, C, etc.) that served as a key to the corresponding emblems found in the second half of the print. Considering that these Delaune *Octonaires* emblems also circulated in the form of individual sheets (feuilles volantes), both with accompanying *Octonaire* text and without, these letters which subtly appear somewhere in the image offer an important “key” for matching up image and text.<sup>39</sup>

L’Estocart could well have been familiar with the Strasbourg *Octonaires* emblem print as he was working on his own settings of the *Octonaires*. He uses the identical order for the first

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<sup>36</sup> See for example, Bonali-Fiquet, ed., *Octonaires*, No. 41, 44, 46, and 47.

<sup>37</sup> Mauger, “Antoine de Chandieu et Etienne Delaune,” 611-629, 611; Françoise Bonali-Fiquet, *Engagement spirituel et procédés stylistiques dans les "Octonaires sur l'inconstance et vanité du monde" d'Antoine de la Roche-Chandieu* (Paris: Presses de l'École Normale Supérieure, 1995), 25-26; Cave, *Devotional poetry in France*, 150-155.

<sup>38</sup> For more on the important discovery of this emblem print, see Mauger, “Antoine de Chandieu et Etienne Delaune.”; Although these emblems were engraved by Etienne Delaune, they were likely designed by his son Jean. Christophe Pollet, “Les gravures d'Etienne Delaune (1518-1583),” Ph.D. Diss., Université de Strasbourg, 1995, 703.

<sup>39</sup> See Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Estampes et de la photographie, Ed. 4. a. Rés, in-folio, for examples of the *Octonaire* emblems with no text accompaniment. For more on these sources and their locations, see the catalogue by A. P. F. Robert-Dumesnil, *Le peintre-graveur français*, (Paris: F. de Nobele, 1967 [1865], vol. 9, 16-130; and André Linzeler, *Bibliothèque nationale Département des estampes. Inventaire du fonds français. Graveurs du seizième siècle* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1932), 260-4 .

four *Octonaire* settings in his collection (corresponding to emblems B, C, D, and E in the print and in free circulation), an ordering that differs from what eventually became the standard ordering of the collection.<sup>40</sup> Considering how well established was this Protestant interest in emblems, and considering L'Estocart's close friendship with the literary and intellectual circle in Geneva, including Theodore de Beze who produced an important emblem collection in 1580, it would have been highly improbable that L'Estocart was not personally familiar with the emblem literature. However, the more important issue is that, whether or not L'Estocart had these illustrations in mind when composing his highly visual musical settings, it is likely that users of these music prints would have been familiar with the corresponding *Octonaires* emblems in circulation during the period.

### ***Une Morale en Couleur***

Emblems as a moral-visual form confronted the same tension between ethics and aesthetics that we have found in debates over poetic and music.<sup>41</sup> Henry Estienne's *L'Art de faire les devises* (1645), emphasizes the emblem as a visually pleasing form with a moral aim.

Because the Emblem is properly a pleasing and moral [*doux et morale*] Symbol, which consists in the painting and words by which one declares a serious moral saying [*grave sentence*]... The principle aim of the Emblem is to teach by touching our sight through

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<sup>40</sup> For the standard ordering, see Bonali-Fiquet, ed., *Octonaires*.

<sup>41</sup> For an introduction to the sources and contexts of the emblem literature, see Alison Saunders, *The Sixteenth-Century French Emblem Book: A Decorative and Useful Genre* (Geneva: Droz, 1988); Alison Adams, Stephen Rawles, and Saunders, *A Bibliography of French Emblem Books of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Geneva: Droz, 1999); Saunders, *The Seventeenth-Century French Emblem: A Study in Diversity* (Geneva: Droz, 2000).

illustrations, and in striking our spirit by their meaning: it is necessary therefore that they be hidden, subtle, joyous, and meaningful.<sup>42</sup>

Another important theorist of emblems, François Ménestrier, describes this Horatian union in visual form in his *L'Art des emblemes* (1662): suggesting that “Emblems are a silent discourse, an eloquence of the eyes, a Moral in colors, and things that signify and express our thoughts.”<sup>43</sup>

Throughout his analysis of the emblem literature, Ménestrier summarizes the motivation for the emblem in terms that explicitly call to mind an Aristotelian and Horatian ethics of beauty.

Although retrospective, seventeenth-century theorization of emblems often proposed rules and theories of the emblem literature that were more indicative to their own priorities than those of their sixteenth-century makers and users, Ménestrier correctly proposed the sixteenth-century emblem literature’s deep connection to the Horatian *utile dulci*. His astute observation emphasized that emblem popularity should be attributed to their unique use of the pleasure of visual representation as an aid to comprehension and thus moral edification.<sup>44</sup>

In a similar vein, the prefatory material for L’Estocart’s three moral collections makes it clear that musically representing the moral text was central to the ethics of beauty proposed by the composer and his circle of friends. References abound throughout these prefaces to music as animating (*animer*) the poetic text. In the bassus part of L’Estocart’s first collection of

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<sup>42</sup> “Car l’Emblesme est proprement un Symbole doux et morale, qui consiste en la peinture et aux parolles par lequel on declare quelque grave sentence.... Le principal but de l’Emblesme est d’enseigner en touchant notre veuë par les figures, et en frappant nostre esprit par leur sens: il faut donc quelles soyent un peu couvertes, subtiles, joyeuses, et significatives.” *L’Art de faire les devises, Où il est traicté des Hieroglyphiques, Symboles, Emblemes* [...] Par Henry Estienne, Escuyer, sieur des Fossez, Interprete du Roy és Langues Grevques & Latines (Paris: J. Paslé, 1645), B2v-3r, cited in Saunders, *Sixteenth-Century French Emblem*, 6.

<sup>43</sup> “Les Emblemes sont des discours muets, une Eloquence des yeux, une Morale en couleurs, & des choses qui signifient, et qui expriment nos pensées.” *L’Art des Emblemes, Par le P. C. François Menestrier, de la Compagnie de Jesus* (Lyon, Benoist Coral, 1662), 15.

<sup>44</sup> Saunders, *Sixteenth-Century French Emblem*, 27.



*Octonaires*, Thibaut de Sautemont follows up his praise of L'Estocart's masterful ability bring the text to life through an accessible, relatively simple style:

Mais c'est encores plus, bien animer un vers,

Et dans l'ame loger la Musique gentile.

L'un et l'autre tu fais d'une adresse subtile.

[It is much, my PASCHAL, to show oneself able/ Through a work long, difficult, varied./ But it is yet more, to animate a verse well,/ And in the soul to lodge this pleasing Music./ Both you make with a subtle talent.]

In the tenor part of the same collection, Dominicus Badius Flander lauds L'Estocart in similar terms:

PASCHALI, Aonios inter decus addite vates,

Praesens nectareis verba animare modis.

[Paschal, you who have been added as a glory among the Aonian bards,/ who are at hand to animate words with nectar-like rhythms [*modis*].]<sup>45</sup>

To describe music as “animating” a text serves a double function: it vividly calls to mind music's capacity to represent textual content while also offering an ethical accent. The entry for “animer” given in Cotgrave's 1611 dictionary reads, “to quicken, give life unto; inspire breath, infuse a spirit into; also, to animate, encourage, hearten, embolden; incite, incense.” Thus, to animate a text, to illustrate it through music offered a way to bring it to life and infuse a spirit into it, concepts whose language alludes to neo-Hellenic moral philosophy.

Bringing a text to life through musically “painting” a text is another way of talking about the issues of representation and *mimesis* that Aristotle presents in his *Poetics*. In contrast with Plato's harsh dismissal of artistic representation as imitation of imitation, Aristotle valorized

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<sup>45</sup> Translation from the Latin by Dr. David Butterfield. Note that references to nectar and distillation were a common descriptor for sweetness and beauty in these collections, and also elsewhere in discussions of the *utile dulci*. Clements, “Poetic Sweetness and Utility,” 125.

imitation as a natural part of being human, an impulse that reveals human superiority to animals, and ultimately a tool for education:

Representation comes naturally to human beings from childhood, and so does the universal pleasure in representations. Indeed, this marks off humans from other animals: man is prone to representation beyond all others, and learns his earliest lessons through representation.<sup>46</sup>

Representation, by this account, offers pleasure even as it increases a person's capacity to learn and understand. According to Aristotle, we even find pleasure in representations of things that would be disgusting to us if experienced or approached in real life. Representation is therefore a fundamental part of the learning process for ordinary people, one that simultaneously brings great pleasure through recognition.

The commendatory poetry by D.L.T. poetry in the contratenor part book for L'Estocart's *Quatrains* draws on this compelling visual analogy to praise the ethical power of the composer's musical representation of the text. Praising L'Estocart's animation of the virtue-centered text, he opens his *quatrain*, "on this paper, I see virtue painted," and he closes by praising its enduring power to remain "imprinted" in singers' hearts through verse and sound.<sup>47</sup> This poem relies on this intersection between the visual, the musical, and the moral, in the first *vers* playing on music's capacity to "paint" virtue through sound, and then closing with a play on musical and textual printing that appears of the kind that could appear in material form in a book, but also the kind of imprinting that could potentially take place on a singer's moral disposition through exposure to these settings.

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<sup>46</sup> Anthony Kenny, trans., *Aristotle. Poetics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 20 [1448b5].

<sup>47</sup> "En ce papier je voy la vertu peinte [...] En vers et sons demeure au moins empreinte." L'Estocart, *Cent vingt et six quatrains*.

As we have already seen in “Le beau du monde s’efface,” L’Estocart utilizes multiple techniques for musically illustrating the text, from simple to more abstract levels of representation. At the most basic level, he uses easily recognizable correspondences between an object and a musical figure. At a more abstract level, L’Estocart goes beyond simple word figuralism to musically invoke more abstract content, such as actions (disappearing, understanding), emotions (desire, pleasure, fear), color (silver, gold), and the senses (sight, taste, etc.) through unusual harmonic or rhythmic strategies. These musical illustrations often work at the level of the phrase, rather than a specific word, and sometimes strange moments do not come into focus until one considers the meaning of the phrase as it later unfolds.

L’Estocart also uses daring harmonies, extreme dissonance brought about through cross-relations, and augmented triads, as a way to express key images in the text.<sup>48</sup> As he chose to compose the majority of his first collection in the same tonal type, b-G-g2, suggesting a modal profile of G-Dorian, it is possible to see a pattern emerge in his melodic and harmonic expression.<sup>49</sup> For example, he often uses a move to an unexpected sonority involving the flatted sixth degree as a musical marker of wonder, beauty, or reflection. For example, the opening *vers* for L’Estocart’s second setting, “Tu me seras tesmoin,” establishes the significance of this shift to the flat sixth degree through a slow harmonic rhythm that draws out the move to a C-Eb-G triad (m. 3), set off by G triads on either side (see Example 2). The sense of surprise at the arrival of the E-fa in m. 2-3 comes through the cross-relations produced by the move from B-mi in the superius to the E-fa in the tenor, with its implied need for a harmonizing B-fa.

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<sup>48</sup> See Vincent Arlettaz, *Musica ficta: une histoire des sensibles du XIIIe au XVIe siècle* (Sprimont, Belgium: Mardaga, 2000). 315; Chailley and Honegger, *Second livre des Octonaires*, ix-xii.

<sup>49</sup> See Powers, “Tonal Types and Modal Categories in Renaissance Polyphony,” 428-470.

Several poems reference L'Estocart's use of unusual harmonies, referencing them arrives unexpectedly the context of their beauty and ethical power. For example, in the contratenor part of the second collection of *Octonaires*, Philippe de La Tour refers to the novelty of L'Estocart's harmonic language: "ONE could say, Friends, that the new Music/ Of PASCHAL, braves so many diverse names,/ So many exquisite titles, and such learned verses."<sup>50</sup> Yet another poem, written by B. M. B.<sup>51</sup> for the second collection, praises L'Estocart's novel harmonies more wittily, asking "if his discord takes his harmonies from the heavens."<sup>52</sup> Jean Jaquemot further praises L'Estocart, "the sweetest of musicians," for his beautiful and daring harmonies:

Macte noua virtute, chori, PASCHALIS, alumne

Castalidum, citharae quae docuere modos

Tam dulces, varijs concentibus, atque pudicos

[Congratulations for your new-found courage, Paschal, alumnus / of the chorus of the Muses, who have taught the rhythms/modes of the cithara, / which are so sweet and, with varying harmonies, so chaste.]<sup>53</sup>

In a late sixteenth-century context rife with interest in the ethics of beauty, musical techniques of text painting offered a mode of representation that worked out the Aristotelian and Horatian ideal for unifying the rational and sensual sides of the soul through the pleasure of recognition and the even more pleasurable recognition of beauty. L'Estocart utilizes both of these layers of text expression in his setting for "Mondain, si tu le sçais," (No. 3 in his collection, but No. 27 in the standard ordering). This text, which is entirely constructed around a series of

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<sup>50</sup> "ON pourra dire, Amis, que la neufue Musique/ De PASCHAL, se bravant de tant de noms divers/ De tiltres tant exquis, et de tant doctes vers." L'Estocart, *Second livres des Octonaires*.

<sup>51</sup> Although it has been possible to verify the identity of many of the poets contributing to L'Estocart's prefaces, several of those signed only in initials, such as B. M. B., remain mysterious.

<sup>52</sup> "Si son discord prend ses accords du ciel." L'Estocart, *Second livres des Octonaires*.

<sup>53</sup> Translation from the Latin by Dr. David Butterfield. L'Estocart, *Premier livres des Octonaires*.

opposites, exemplifies Chandieu's rich use of contradiction to present not merely a simple teaching point or moral, but to inspire reflection on a moral question that has no easy answer.

Mondain, si tu le sçais, di moy, quel est le monde?

S'il est bon, pourquoy donc tant de mal y abonde ?

S'il est mauvais, pourquoy le vas tu tant cherchant ?

S'il est doux, comment donc a il tant d'amertume ?

S'il est amer, comment te va il allechant ?

S'il est amy, pourquoy a il ceste coustume

De tuer l'homme vain, sous ses pieds abatu ?

Et s'il est ennemi, pourquoy t'y fies tu ?

[Worldly One, if you know, tell me, what is the World?/ If it is good, why then does so much evil about there?/ If it is evil, why do you go seeking after it?/ If it is sweet, why therefore has it so much bitterness?/ If it is bitter, how do you find it appealing?/ If it is a friend, why does it have this custom/ Of killing men in vain, beaten under its feet?/ And if it is an enemy, why do you trust it?]

In setting this text, L'Estocart does not pass up opportunities to employ musical figuralism at the first level, such as the ascending and descending lines animate the action of searching ("cherchant", mm. 27-32) in the third *vers*, or the clever pairs of repeating quarter notes to invoke the violence of stomping feet (mm. 73-78) in the seventh *vers* at "sous ses pieds abatu" (see Example 3).

However, it is in L'Estocart's second level of text expression that we see his capacity for crafting a musical setting that goes beyond simple object painting to provoke the kind of contemplation and understanding that might have moral effects, via interactions of music and text. For instance, L'Estocart creates a general feeling of instability across the setting through unexpected melodic shifts that vacillate particularly between B-fa and B-mi and between F-fa and F-mi, again produced through cross-relations. This first emerges in the first *vers*, where the

initial shock comes at the brief cadence on “scais” (m. 4), as the B-mi creates an unexpected, “hard” hexachord before falling back to the B-fa in the next measure (m. 5). The second *vers* presents an almost entirely homophonic texture, where the text questions whether the world is “good.” The first iteration of “S’il est bon” (mm. 14-5) offers a musical hint that the world is not simply “good” but something more complex. This feeling of doubt becomes exaggerated in the repetition of the phrase in the following two measures, as the voice leading moves through an augmented sonority (Eb, G, C#) in m. 16 before arriving at a small cadence on the fifth degree (D). Again, the unusual harmony serves as a warning to the singer that the answer is not going to be an easy yes. The poignant rhythmic shift to a slow, homophonic texture for “s’il est doux” draws out the sweet wonder of the signed Eb triad at mm. 35-39 before breaking the fantasy with a bitter clash (Eb, G#, C#) at “amer-” in m. 47.

In “Toy qui planges ton coeur,” Chandieu’s text centers on the metaphor of a ship in the storm, one of the poet’s favorite images to describe the dangerous instability of the times:

Toy qui planges ton cœur au profond de ce Monde,  
Sais tu ce que tu es? le sapin temeraire  
Qui saute sur le dos de la furieuse onde,  
Eslancé par les coups d’un tourbillon contraire.  
Raison, ton gouvernail est pieça cheut au fond.  
Tu erres vagabond où le vent variable  
De tes plaisirs t’emporte, et qui en fin, il te rompt  
Contre le roc cruel d’une mort miserable.

[You who plunge your heart into the depths of this World,/ Do you know what you are? The reckless ship/ That jumps onto the back of the furious wave,/ Dashed apart by the opposing blows of the vortex./ Reason, which is your rudder fell to the depths long ago:/ You wander

vagabond wherever the wind/ Of your pleasure carries you, and which in the end, breaks you/  
Against the cruel rock of a miserable death.]

L'Estocart matches the episodic flavor of Chandieu's poetry by creating one of the most visual musical settings of the collection, painting a series of somewhat isolated musical events that occur as a sequence of musical images (see Example 4). For example, in the third *vers*, where it describes the reckless ship that gets caught in the vortex of a turbulent wave, L'Estocart creates a musical vortex, with a sudden shift to rapid swirling lines that sweep up and down the texture (mm. 48-51). Then, when the fifth *vers* describes the rudder of the ship that has fallen to the depths of the ocean, the lower voices plunge down to the bottom of the range for each voice part (mm. 80-7). And to illustrate the wind in the sixth *vers* that blows the worldly person off the path of virtue, L'Estocart writes a syncopated rhythm that attempts to blow all but the most confident singers off course (mm. 90-6).

Most interestingly, L'Estocart sets the warning of the seventh *vers* regarding the dangers in store for the worldly person who is carried away by pleasure with a well-recognized musical device for pleasure—a long descending chain of suspensions between the upper two voices (mm. 96-101)—that is particularly striking in the context of a compositional idiom that rarely utilizes such devices. At the arrival of each dissonance in a chain of suspensions, the singer and listener accustomed to this idiom feel the arousal of longing for resolution, always accomplished through an intimate step-wise slide into consonance. The ethical dilemma here is that at the moment that the poetry warns against the danger of being carried away by pleasure, L'Estocart illustrates the text by giving singers and listeners one of his most exquisite moments of musical “pleasuring.”

The *Octonaires*, then, in text and music and image, offered multi-sensory engagement with this neo-stoicist philosophy that in many ways disrupted an easy acceptance of the moral

lesson communicated through the text. Through their poetic style and content, and through their musical settings and accompanying emblems, the *Octonaires* primarily emphasized sound and sight as the primary portals for accessing beauty. In fact, beauty as known and experienced through perception and pleasure becomes accessible primarily through these first two senses. Although the other senses can provide pleasure, it is primarily through pleasures of sight and sound that humans experience beauty. By this logic, one could see that the moral content warns against exactly the kinds of sensual pleasures that are being offered in the beauty of the poetic craftsmanship, the creativity of the visual emblem, and the pleasure of the musical setting. Although all of these musical illustrations of the text can be heard through attentive listening, they are certainly experienced most powerfully through singing and hearing them—a point that appears throughout the prefaces. Thus, these prints emphasize the experience of singing and hearing, as actions, as at the forefront of the moral experience. L'Estocart's musical setting thus crafts an embodied experience for the musicians to reflect more deeply, to learn, but also to explore the philosophy presented in the text.

L'Estocart's settings for No. 5, "La Glace est luisante et belle," offers exactly this kind of sensual experience of the moral lesson that beauty fades (see Example 5):

La glace est luisante et belle:  
Le monde est luisant et beau.  
De la glace on tombe en l'eau,  
Du monde en mort eternelle.  
Tous deux à la fin s'en vont.  
Mais la glace en eau se fond,  
Le monde et ce qui est sien,



S'esvanouit tout en rien.

[The ice is glistening and beautiful./ The world is glistening and beautiful./ From the ice we fall in the water./ From the world into eternal death./ Both of them in the end go away./ But the ice sinks in the water./ The world and what is its own./ Vanishes into nothing.]

L'Estocart's setting strategically leads the singer to a vivid experience of this moral lesson through creative musical choices at the level of harmony and rhythm. He creates an unusual harmonic shimmer in the second verse (mm. 8-9) at "luisant et beau" where the raised C colors the texture with an unexpected brilliance before cadencing on "beau" at D. The musical painting of the dangerously quick slip from the ice into the water in the third *vers* finds rhythmic and melodic illustration in mm. 11-13, as the homorhythmic dotted figure that falls in all voices but the tenor descends melodically into the water, where we are denied a satisfying cadence. The musical reflection of the fall from the world into eternal death that develops throughout the rest of the text is much more subtle, emphasizing that even as it is not perceived in an instant like the slip from the ice, the descent to death is long, subtle, and inevitable. The final *vers* caps off this exquisite setting with a charming return to homophony (mm. 32-3). A brief dotted quarter- and sixteenth-note declamation of "s'esvanouit" leads to four quarter notes that quickly vanish as the piece ends abruptly on the fourth (weak) beat, followed by a rest in all parts. This rhythmic effect thus snatches away the singer's awaited closing formula, leaving a desolately empty final measure in its place.

This deeply sensory musical animation of the moral text brings up the paradox of using a pleasurable, multi-sensory musical setting to communicate a neo-stoic message. Etienne Delaune's corresponding emblem for "La glace est luisante est belle" makes direct reference to the seductive power of the sense of hearing, casting in relief the problem of musical pleasure in projects of moral edification (see Figure 1). In the distant background, Delaune's emblem portrays the frozen pond and people falling into the icy water. A noble couple and their

attendants take up the central focus. As they turn away from the philosopher's warning gesture, the couple gazes into each other's eyes, moving as lovers or as a dancing couple, to the mocking strains of the fiddler who leads them towards the open pit of hell waiting to consume them.

This precarious status of "hearing" as a powerful, yet dangerous sense faculty, emerges clearly in the popular emblem series "Les Cinq Senses," first created by George Pencz around 1544 and then re-imagined by a number of European engravers in the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries. "Hearing" (*Auditus*) in these emblems generally offers a more balanced approach than in Delaune's overwhelmingly negative portrayal of musical hearing in his emblem for "La glace est luisante et belle." The various images for "Auditus" created and circulated during the period of my study, created by Delaune among others, typically portrayed the sense of hearing as a nude or clothed woman with a lute and other instruments (see Figures 2-4). Her face typically shows a look of rapturous contemplation or deep listening as she tunes or plays her instrument. The ambiguous moral effects of this powerful "hearing" can be seen in the stag, or less frequently, a boar, which typically appear with her. The stag symbolized spiritual elevation or sexual ardor, while the boar was associated with the vices of greed or lust.<sup>54</sup> These images encapsulate a view of musical hearing that was simultaneously celebrated for its beauty, pleasure, and power, while also warning against the danger of its sensual persuasion. This and other such allegories of hearing underline the feminization of the senses and underscore its receptivity to a seductiveness of sonic beauty that was also feminized.

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<sup>54</sup> Pollet, "Les gravures d'Etienne Delaune," 762; See also Guy de Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane, 1450-1600: dictionnaire d'un langage perdu* (Geneva: Droz, 1997); Simona Cohen, *Animals As Disguised Symbols in Renaissance Art* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2008); Michel Pastoureau, *Bestiaires du Moyen Age* (Paris: Seuil, 2011); Jacques Voisenet, *Bestiaire chrétien. L'imagerie animale des auteurs du Haut Moyen Age (Ve-XIe siècles)* (Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Mirail, 1994); and Colum Hourihane, *Virtue and Vice: The Personifications in the Index of Christian Art* (Princeton, N.J.: Index of Christian Art, Dept. of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University in association with Princeton University Press, 2000).

Although from Aristotle onward sight retained the position of first sense, followed by hearing, early modern European discussions and portrayals of the senses devoted increased attention to the power of hearing.<sup>55</sup> For some, hearing even moved into a position of primacy as the primary sense, as the most powerful agent in affecting the soul and moving the passions for virtuous or vicious formation. Plutarch, for example, argued as much in his moral writings, which became widely available in French translation during the late sixteenth century.<sup>56</sup> In a section titled, “How it is necessary to hear,” Plutarch argues for the primacy of hearing over all the other senses for their power to arouse the passions for productive or catastrophic results:

Also, I believe that you will be well able to understand what Theophrastus writes touching the ear, that it is of all the five senses of nature that which gives greater and greater passions to the soul: because there is nothing which one sees, nor tastes, nor touches, that causes so great a ravishment outside of oneself, such great troubles, nor such grand fears, as that which enters the soul by means of noise, sound, and voice which come to strike the ear:<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> For more on the sense of hearing from antiquity to the early modern period, see Charles Burnett, Michael Fend, and Penelope Gouk, eds., *The Second Sense: Studies in Hearing and Musical Judgement from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century* (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1991); Mark M. Smith, ed., *Hearing History: A Reader* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004); Carl Nordenfalk, “The Five Senses in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* (1985): 1-22; and Matthew Milner, *The Senses and the English Reformation* (Farnham, England; Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2011).

<sup>56</sup> For more on the influence of Plutarch in sixteenth-century France, see Robert Aulotte, *Amyot et Plutarque: la tradition des moralia au XVIe siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 1965).

<sup>57</sup> “Aussi croy-je que tu feras bien aise d’entendre ce que Theophrastus escrit touchant l’ouye, que c’est celui de tous les cinq sens de nature qui donne plus et de plus grandes passions à l’ame: car il n’y a rien qui se voit, ne qui se goust, ne qui se touche, qui cause de si grands ravissements hors de soy, si grands troubles, ne si grandes frayeurs, comme il en entre en l’ame par le moien d’aucuns bruits, sons, et voix qui viennent à ferir l’ouye:” *Les Oeuvres morales et meslees de Plutarque, Translatees du Grec en François par Messire Jacques Amyot*, (Paris: Michel de Vascosan, 1572), 24v. Note that Pibrac offered a similar warning of the power of hearing in *Quatrains* 71-3.

Plutarch's discussion of hearing goes on to state that, while the vices can enter into the soul by means of many senses, virtue can only enter and take hold of young people through their ears, through hearing. This power of hearing works on the passions but also activates even more the capacity to reason.

But if it is well exposed and well-fitting to the passions, it is even more exposed and well-fitting to reason: because there are several places and parts of the body, which give to the vices entrance in order to pour into the soul, but virtue has only one single entrance into young people, that is the ears.<sup>58</sup>

Plutarch's commentary on hearing offers an important background to more specific discussions of musical hearing in circulation during the late sixteenth century, working alongside the renewal of neo-Hellenic ethical theories of music's particular power to usher in a union between the two parts of the soul, the rational and the sensual.<sup>59</sup>

Within this late-Renaissance framework that valued the sense of hearing as a crucial portal for accessing the passions and shaping moral character, the stakes for vocalizing, playing, and listening to beauty were particularly elevated. As a person experienced music through song, the content of the poetry, the moral message that was at work on the rational side of the soul was brought into direct discourse with the sensual part of the soul. For the expressivity of the text here was not merely a simple kind of representation (for example, the facile device of the wind being represented as upward swirling eighth notes which we find throughout the period). As Aristotle put it in the fifth book of his *Politics*, the musical representation of a text could perform

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<sup>58</sup> "Mais si elle est bien exposee et bien propre aux passions, encore l'est-elle plus à la raison: car il y a plusieurs endroits et parties du corps, qui donnent aux vices entree pour se couler au dedans de l'ame, mais la vertu n'a qu'une seule prise sur les jeunes gens, qui est, les aureilles." Plutarque, *Les Oeuvres morales*, 24v-25r.

<sup>59</sup> See for example, Silvio F. Baridon, ed., *Pontus de Tyard, Solitaire Premier* (Geneva: Droz, 1950), 12-18.

much deeper work, both in imitation and representation of the text. Even more importantly, musical representation could challenge a text, thus activating a kind of tension between text and music that could lead to reflection, greater knowledge, and the ability to comprehend a moral principle or question beyond simplistic understanding.

Aristotle's discussions of the power of representation (*mimesis*), whether in music or other imitative arts, to unite the rational and sensual parts of the soul, was worked out through his under-defined notion of *katharsis*.<sup>60</sup> Although catharsis since Freud has taken on the psychological idea of purging, releasing, or eliminating the emotions, leading classicists such as Stephen Halliwell, suggest that a much more appropriate view of Aristotle's *katharsis* when considered across his oeuvre, centers in the power of mimetic arts to provoke the process of "refining," or "tuning" the emotions to coincide with the rational.<sup>61</sup> This view of Aristotelian *katharsis* thus folds into Aristotle's ethics, and particularly his proposition of virtue as the appropriate mean between two extremes. In this reading, *katharsis* is the refining process that leads a person to have appropriate (virtuous) emotions/dispositions for appropriate things.<sup>62</sup> In other words the pleasure and beauty of experiencing musical representation, led to a visceral kind of understanding of moral principles that shaped and refined the senses in ways that text and words alone could not access.

In his important work on the poetics and on mimesis from Aristotle and after that Renaissance interpreters of Aristotle were not primarily concerned with comprehensively

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<sup>60</sup> For the salient passages on *katharsis*, see Aristotle, *Poetics* and Book VIII of his *Politics*.

<sup>61</sup> Stephen Halliwell concludes that "a reasonable case can be made for an interpretation which moves away from the idea of sheer emotional release (which has been the prevailing view on the subject for the past century) in the direction of a notion of psychological refinement whose implications are in part ethical." Halliwell, "Aristotle's Poetics," in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, Vol. 1: Classical Criticism, ed. George Alexander Kennedy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 164.

<sup>62</sup> Halliwell, "Aristotle's Poetics," 164.

understanding Aristotle on his own terms; rather, they were often blatantly interested in how they could appropriate Aristotle and other classical philosophy into contemporary philosophical, religious, and artistic frameworks. Historians of philosophy and of literature agree that readings of Aristotle in the sixteenth century were overwhelmingly interested in moral/ethical readings and applications of his texts. Some have viewed those moral readings, for example the sixteenth-century interest in the *Poetics*, as useful for ethical debates in the arts, rather than the later interest in following Aristotle's formal concern with the three unities (which became a dominant concern for the development of seventeenth-century theater and opera.) What is striking, however, is that contemporary work on Aristotle's *mimesis* and *katharsis* in fact reveals that these sixteenth-century ethical readings of Aristotle's *Poetics* now can be seen as perfectly plausible (although not the sole possible) readings of Aristotelian ethics and aesthetics.<sup>63</sup>

In this rich philosophical context, we can see that the musical representation offered by composers like L'Estocart in his *Octonaires* settings illustrate moral lessons in truly Aristotelian terms, as an appropriate "mean" between opposite extremes. The tension between the aesthetic pleasure of the poetic form and musical setting, on the one hand, and an advocacy of cautious detachment from the world, on the other, thus appears as a strategic ethical partnership that offers an Aristotelian "tempering" of two competing systems of moral philosophy, neo-stoicism and epicurianism. The presentation of a *vanitas vanitatum* text within poetic and musical forms that provoke a deeply sensual experience of pleasure and beauty pull the moral lesson away from the extremes of a cold neo-stoicism or an indulgent epicurianism.

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<sup>63</sup> For the various interpretations of *katharsis*, from the sixteenth century to today, see Halliwell, *Aristotle's Poetics* (London: Duckworth, 1986), 300ff., also note Appendix 5 "Interpretations of Katharsis," 350-56; and Baxter Hathaway, *The Age of Criticism; The Late Renaissance in Italy* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1962), 205-300.

Simon Goulart's commendatory poem from the superius part of L'Estocart's second collection of *Octonaires*, clearly outlines this ethical work of the beauty and pleasure of the musical settings as a counterbalance to the severity of the textual content:

J'AY pensé, mon PASCHAL, que les honneurs du Monde,  
Ses biens, ses pasetemps, passent l'aile du vent,  
Sechent comme une fleur, vont plus viste que l'onde,  
Et sont un songe vain qui nous va decevant.

Mais je change d'avis tes doux accords oyant:

Et puis, qu'impossible est que ta Musique meure,  
Je maintien que le Monde, en si beaux airs fuyant,  
Honorabile, plaisant, riche, et ferme demeure.

[I thought, my PASCHAL, that the honors of the World,/ Its goods, its pastimes, pass on the wings of the wind,/ Dry as a flower, they go more quickly than the wave,/ And are a vain thought that is going to disappoint us,/ But I am changing my opinion upon hearing your sweet harmonies:/ As it is impossible that your Music will die,/ I maintain that the World, in such beautiful fleeting airs,/ Honorable, pleasant, rich, and firm will remain.]

In this poem, Goulart makes the surprising claim that the rare beauty of these musical settings ultimately has the capacity to challenge the fundamental moral aim of the text. For him, the sheer beauty of these settings demands a reevaluation of music as among one of the world's most enduring, eternal attributes, rather than passing away with the fleeting vanities of the world.

A sonnet, signed B. M. B., also for the tenor part of L'Estocart's second book of *Octonaires*, makes a similar claim that the beauty of the musical setting could inspire a reevaluation of the moral text and its call for complete detachment from the world:

Mais ta Musique, à nulle autre seconde,  
Par sa vigueur et douce gravité

M'arresta court : ce qu'avois proietté  
Plus ne me plait. Au Monde je me fonde.  
C'est assez dit. Si tant doux est son fiel,  
Si son discord prend ses accords du ciel,  
Et si par toy ma tristesse il contente:  
Dy moy, PASCHAL, pourray-je estre accusé  
Comme leger, de m'estre ravisé,  
Et d'avoir pris le bien qui se presente.

[But your Music, has no equal,/ For its vigor, and sweet gravity/ Stops me short: what I had planned/ No longer pleases me. I am guided by the World./ It is enough said. If so much sweetness is his pride,/ If his discord takes his harmonies from heaven,/ And if by you my sadness it heals;/ Tell me, PASCHAL, could I be accused/ Like a shallow person, of changing my mind,/ And to have taken the good that presents itself.]

The poet here reveals a more difficult contradiction for the musical settings of the *Octonaires*. Even as the moral lesson comes across clearly, that the beauty and pleasures experienced in the world cannot be trusted, his powerful encounter with L'Estocart's beautiful music causes him to question the proposition that earthly pleasures (such as music) are morally indifferent or even dangerous. The final *vers* makes it clear that the experience of stately beauty ("vigueur et douce gravité) found in the settings was for him a good ("le bien") in the moral sense. Thus, a musical experience of these neostoicist texts, moved the ultimate moral lesson closer to Aristotle's ethics, where pleasure and beauty have value as goods useful for moral formation.

Both of these poets claim that the musical setting was so persuasive that it went beyond a supporting role as text-expression or animation and instead provoked a change in how they understood the severe neo-stoic message proposed in the text. But perhaps these two poets



overstate the point here. For the overarching theme of the *utile dulci*, so prevalent throughout these prefaces, emphasizes the fruitful balancing of the moral lesson and the pleasurable experience of musical beauty. They are ideally harmonious partners, not combatants, in the work of virtuous training.

The beauty, pleasure, and recognition created through the finely crafted musical setting offers the singer an experience that puts into balance and tempers a strict moral lesson. Morality, as expressed in this way, avoids the flat dogmatism often found in catechism or other didactic literature, and encapsulates an Aristotelian ethics of beauty at play in moral music settings. Perhaps G. Mogné's commendatory poetry for the tenor part of the second collection of *Octonaires* says it in the most simple terms:

PASCHAL, pour y pourvoir et Vertu contenter,  
D'un ton saint-grave-doux nous fait ores chanter  
Et (chantant) mespriser les vanitez du Monde.

[PASCHAL, in order to act against it and to content oneself with Virtue,/ Of a tone holy-grave-sweet makes us hear to sing/ And (singing) despise the vanity of the Monde.]

The celebration of aesthetic beauty in poetry, music, and image pull the neo-stoic moral lesson from the dangerous extreme of utter detachment from the world. This ethics *en musique* demands a mode of ethical reflection, through sensory experience, that refuses to divorce ethical epistemology from the body and its faculties. Through this multi-dimensional, multi-sensory experience, it insists on staying with mundanity, even as it gestures toward transcendence. It is a reflection on the ephemeral nature of beauty and pleasure, made all the more precious and rare as they vanish so quickly.

FIGURES AND EXAMPLES

Example 1: Paschal de L'Estocart, "Le Beau du Monde s'efface," *Premier livre des Octonaires de la vanite du monde*, edited by Henry Expert, 11-12.

IV  
Le beau du Monde s'efface  
*Trio*

NOTATION ORIGINALE

SUPERIUS \*      CONTRATENOR \*\*

Le beau du mon . de      Le beau du mon . de

TENOR \*\*\*

Le beau du mon . de

Soprane \*

Le beau du Mon - de s'ef - fa - ce,

Contralto \*\*

Le beau du Mon - de s'ef - fa - ce,

Tenor \*\*\*

Le beau du Mon - de s'ef - fa - ce,

5

Sou - dain comme un vent qui pas - se: Sou - dain comme on void la

Sou - dain comme un vent qui pas - se: Sou - dain comme on void la

Sou - dain comme un vent qui pas - se: Sou - dain comme on void la

10

fleur, Sans sa pre-mie-re cou-leur: Sou-dain

fleur, Sans sa pre-mie-re cou-leur:

fleur, Sans sa pre-mie-re cou-leur: Sou-

15

comme une onde fuit, De-vant l'autre qui la

Sou-dain comme une onde fuit, De-vant l'au-tre qui la

- dain comme une onde fuit, De-vant l'au-tre qui la

19

suit. Qu'est ce donc-ques de ce Mon-de? Un vent,

suit. Qu'est ce donc-ques de ce Mon-de? Un

suit. Qu'est ce donc-ques de ce Mon-de? Un vent,

26

u-ne fleur, u-ne on-de, u-ne on-de,

vent, u-ne fleur, u-ne on-de,

u-ne fleur, u-ne on-de, u-

32

de, u-ne fleur, u-ne on-de, u-ne on-de.

u-ne on-de, u-ne fleur, u-ne on-de.

- ne on-de, u-ne fleur, u-ne on-de, u-ne on-de.

Example 2: Paschal de L'Estocart, "Tu me seras," *Premier livre des Octonaires de la vanite du monde*, edited by Henry Expert, 3.

3

## II Tu me seras tesmoin

NOTATION ORIGINALE

<p>SUPERIUS * Tu me se - ras tes - moin</p>	<p>CONTRATENOR ** Tu me se - ras tes - moin</p>
<p>TENOR *** Tu me se - ras tes - moin</p>	<p>BASSUS **** Tu me se - ras tes - moin</p>



<p>Soprano *</p>	
<p>Contralto **</p>	
<p>Tenor ***</p>	
<p>Basse ****</p>	
	<p>Tu me se - ras tes - moin, O</p>

<p>6</p>	
	<p>in - con - stan - te Fran - - ce, Qu'au mon - de n'y a</p>
	<p>in - con - stan - te Fran - - ce, Qu'au mon - de n'y a</p>
	<p>in - con - stan - te Fran - - ce, Qu'au mon - de n'y a</p>
	<p>in - con - stan - te Fran - - ce, qu'u -</p>

ta paix est ta guer - re, et ta guerre est  
 ta paix est ta guer - re, et ta guerre est ta  
 ta paix est ta guer - re, et ta guerre  
 ta paix est ta guer - re, et ta guerre est ta

ta paix. Ton plai - sir te des - plait, et ton sou - las  
 paix. Ton plai - sir te des - plait, et  
 est ta paix. Ton plai - sir te des - plait, et ton sou -  
 paix. Ton plai - sir te des - plait,

t'en - nuy - e, et ton sou -  
 ton sou - las t'en - nuy - e, t'en - nuy - e, et ton sou -  
 - las t'en - nuy - e, et ton sou - las, et  
 et ton sou - las t'en - nuy -

- las t'en - nuy - e. Tu crois qu'en te tu -  
 - las t'en - nuy - e. Tu crois qu'en  
 ton sou - las t'en - nuy - e. Tu crois qu'en te tu -  
 e.

\_ ant, Tu crois qu'en te tu \_ ant tu sau - ve - ras, tu sau - ve -  
 te tu \_ ant, en te tu \_ ant, Tu crois qu'en te tu \_ ant tu  
 \_ ant, Tu crois qu'en te tu \_ ant, Tu crois qu'en te tu \_ ant tu  
 Tu crois qu'en te tu \_ ant tu sau - ve - ras,

\_ ras ta vi - - e, Flot - tant  
 sau - ve - ras ta vi - e, Flottant sur  
 sau - veras ta vi - - e, Flot.tant sur  
 tu sau - ve - ras ta vi - e, Flot - tant sur

sur l'in - cer - tain de con - trai - res ef - fects.  
 l'in - cer - tain de con.trai.res ef - fects.  
 l'in\_cer - - tain de con - trai - res ef - fects. Il  
 l'in - cer - tain. Il n'y a

Il n'y a cho - se en toy qui fer -  
 Il n'y a cho - se en toy qui fer.me se main.tie - ne,  
 n'y a cho.se en toy, Il n'y a cho - se en toy  
 cho - se en toy, Il n'y a cho - se.en toy qui

me se main - tie - ne, Et n'as rien  
 qui fer - me se main - tie - - - ne, Et  
 qui fer - me se maintie - - - ne, Et n'as rien  
 fer - me se main - tie - ne, Et n'as rien

de con - stant, que l'in - con - stan - ce tie - - -  
 n'as rien de con - stant, que l'in - con - stan - ce tie - - -  
 de con - - - stant, que l'in - con - stan - ce tie - - -  
 de con - stant, que l'in - con - stan - ce tie - - -

- - - - ne, Et n'as rien de con - - -  
 - - - - ne, Et n'as rien de con - - -  
 - - - - ne, Et n'as rien de con - - -  
 - - - - ne, Et n'as rien de con - - -

- stant, que l'in - con - stan - ce tie - - - - ne.  
 - stant, que l'in - con - stan - ce tie - - - - ne.  
 - stant, que l'in - con - stan - ce tie - - - - ne.  
 - stant, que l'in - con - stan - ce tie - - - - ne.

(\*) Orig. *ronde*.

Example 3: Paschal de L'Estocart, "Mondain," *Premier livre des Octonaires de la vanite du monde*, edited by Henry Expert, 7-11.

III

7

Mondain, si tu le sçais, di moy

NOTATION ORIGINALE

Original notation for Soprano (SUPERIUS), Contralto (CONTRATENOR), Tenor (TENOR), and Bassus (BASSUS). The lyrics are: Mon - dain, si tu le sçais. Mondain, di moy.

Modern notation for Soprane, Contraltie, Tenor, and Basse. The lyrics are: Mon - dain, si tu le sçais, di moy, di moy, di moy, di moy.

Musical score for measures 7-12. The lyrics are: di moy, di moy quel est le Mon - - Mon - dain, si tu le sçais, di moy quel est le moy, di moy, di moy quel est le moy, di moy quel est le Mon - de? quel est le

Musical score for measures 13-18. The lyrics are: Mon - - de? S'il est bon, S'il est bon, pour - - quoy donc Mon - - de? S'il est bon, S'il est bon, pour - - quoy donc Mon - - de? S'il est bon, S'il est bon, pour - - quoy donc



19

tant de mal y a - bon - de? S'il est  
 tant de mal y a - bon - de? S'il est mau -  
 tant de mal y a - bon - de? S'il est  
 tant de mal y a - bon - de? S'il est

25

mau - vais, pour - quoy le vas tu  
 - vais, pour - quoy le vas tu tant cerchant? pour - quoy le  
 mau - - vais, pour - quoy le vas tu tant cerchant? pour - quoy le  
 mau - - vais, pour - quoy le vas tu tant cerchant?

30

tant cerchant? pour - quoy le vas tu tant cer - chant?  
 vas tu tant cer - chant? pour - quoy le vas tu tant cer - chant?  
 vas tu tant cer - chant? pour - quoy le vas tu tant cer - chant?  
 pour - quoy le vas tu tant cer - chant? pourquoy le vas tu tant cer - chant?

35

S'il est doux, com - ment,  
 S'il est doux, com - ment donc, com -  
 S'il est doux, com - ment donc a  
 S'il est doux, com - ment donc a

42

com - ment donc a il tant d'a - mer - tu - me? a il tant d'a - mer - tu - me? a il tant d'a - mer - tu - me?

48

\_tu - me? S'il est a - - mer, com - ment, - me? S'il est a - - mer, com - ment, - tu - me? S'il est a - - mer, com - ment S'il est a - - mer, com -

54

com - ment te va il al - le - chant? te va il al - le - chant? com - ment te va il al - le - chant? te va il al - le - chant? S'il te va il al - le - chant? S'il - ment, com - ment te va il al - le - chant? te va il al - le - chant? S'il

60

S'il est a - my, pour - quoy a il ce - ste cou - est a - my, pour - quoy, pour - quoy, pour - quoy a il ce - est a - - my, pourquoy, pourquoy, pourquoy a il ce - est a - my, pour - quoy, pour - quoy a il ce -

66

- ste cou - stu - me De tu - er l'homme vain, De  
 - ste cou - stu - me De tu - er l'homme vain, De tu - er, De  
 - ste cou - stu - me De tu - er l'homme vain, De tu - er  
 - ste cou - stu - me De tu - er l'homme, De

71

tu - er l'homme vain sous ses pieds a - ba - tu, sous ses pieds a -  
 tu - er l'homme vain sous ses pieds a - ba - tu, sous ses pieds  
 l'homme vain sous ses pieds a - ba - tu, sous ses pieds  
 tu - er l'homme vain sous ses pieds a - ba - tu, sous

76

- ba - tu, sous ses pieds a - ba - tu? Et s'il est  
 a - ba - tu, sous ses pieds a - ba - tu? Et s'il est  
 a - ba - tu, sous ses pieds a - ba - tu? Et s'il est  
 ses pieds a - ba - tu, sous ses pieds a - ba - tu? Et s'il est

81

en - ne - mi, pour - quoy t'y fi - es tu? pour -  
 en - ne - mi, pour - quoy t'y fi - es tu? pour -  
 en - ne - mi, pour - quoy t'y fi - es tu? pour -  
 en - ne - mi, pour - quoy t'y fi - es tu? pour -

86

The musical score consists of four staves, each with a vocal line and French lyrics. The lyrics are: -quoy t'y fi - es tu? pour - quoy t'y fi - es tu? The music is in a minor key and features various rhythmic patterns and accidentals.

-quoy t'y fi - es tu? pour - quoy t'y fi - es tu?

-quoy t'y fi - es tu? pour - quoy t'y fi - es tu?

-quoy t'y fi - es tu? pour - quoy t'y fi - es tu?

-quoy t'y fi - es tu? pour - quoy t'y fi - es tu?



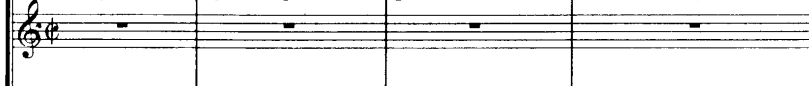
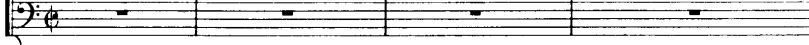
Example 4: Paschal de L'Estocart, "Toy qui plonge," *Premier livre des Octonaires de la vanite du monde*, edited by Henry Expert, 86-91.


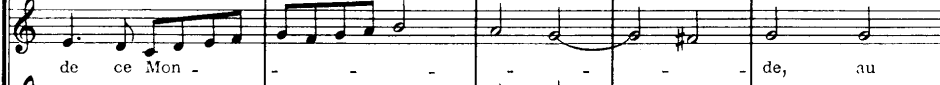
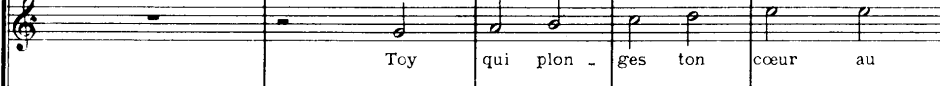
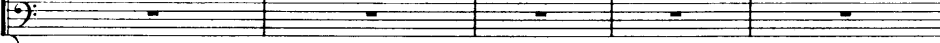
86



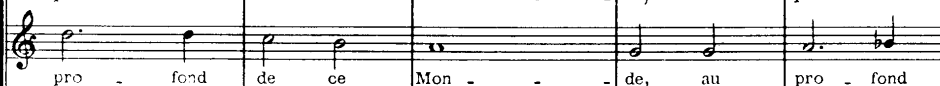
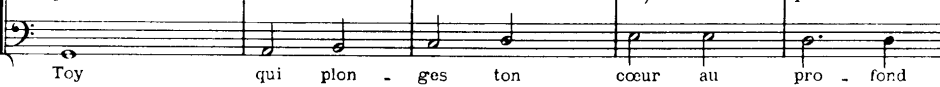
## XXII Toy qui plonges ton cœur

NOTATION ORIGINALE

<p><b>SUPERIUS</b> * Toy qui plon-ges ton cœur</p>	<p><b>CONTRATENOR</b> ** Toy qui plon - ges ton cœur</p>
<p><b>TENOR</b> *** Toy qui plonges ton cœur</p>	<p><b>BASSUS</b> **** Toy qui plonges ton cœur</p>

<i>Soprane</i> *	
<i>Contralte</i> **	
<i>Tenor</i> ***	
<i>Basse</i> ****	

5	
5	
5	
5	

10	
10	
10	
10	

15

au pro - fond de ce Mon - de, Sçais tu ce  
 de ce Mon - de, de ce Mon - de, Sçais tu ce  
 de ce Mon - de, au pro-fond de ce Mon - de, Sçais tu ce  
 de ce Mon - de, de ce Mon - de,

20

que tu es? Sçais tu ce que tu es? le sa - pin te - me - rai -  
 que tu es? Sçais tu ce que tu es? le sa - pin te -  
 que tu es? Sçais tu ce que tu es? le sa - pin  
 Sçais tu ce que tu es?

25

- re, le sa - pin te - me - rai -  
 - me - rai - re, le sa - pin, le sa - pin  
 te - me - rai - re, le sa - pin  
 le sa - pin te - me - rai - re, le sa - pin

31

- re Qui sau - te sur le dos, Qui sau -  
 te - me - rai - re Qui sau - te sur le  
 te - me - rai - re Qui sau - te sur le dos, Qui  
 te - me - rai - re Qui sau - te



58

-cé par les coups, E - slan - cé par les coups  
 -slan - cé par les coups, E - slan - cé par les coups  
 E - slan - cé par les coups, E - slan - cé par les coups  
 par les coups, E - slan - cé par les coups

63

d'un tour.bil - lon con - trai - re. Rai - son,  
 d'un tour.bil - lon con - trai - re. Rai - son,  
 d'un tour.bil - lon con - trai - re. Rai - son,  
 d'un tour.bil - lon con - trai - re. Rai - son,

69

Rai - son, Rai - son, Rai - son, ton gou - ver -  
 Rai - son, Rai - son, ton gou - ver - nail, Rai - son, ton gou - ver -  
 Rai - son, Rai - son, Rai - son, ton gou - ver -  
 -son, Rai - son, Rai - son, ton gou - ver -

75

-nail est pie - ça, est pie - ça, est pie - ça, est pie - ça, est pie -  
 -nail est pie - ça, est pie - ça, est pie - ça, est pie -  
 -nail est pie - ça, est pie - ça, est pie - ça, est pie -  
 -nail est pie - ça. est pie - ça, est pie - ça, est pie -

(\*) Orig. -ça, est pie - ça



81

est pie-ça - - - - - ça - - - - -  
 - - - - - ça cheut au fond, est pie-ça cheut  
 - - - - - ça cheut au fond, est pie-ça cheut  
 - - - - - ça cheut au fond.

86

cheut au fond. Tu er - res va - ga - bond où le vent va - ri -  
 au fond. Tu er - res va - ga - - - - - bond où le vent va - ri -  
 au fond. Tu er - res va - ga - bond où le vent va - ri -  
 Tu er - res va - ga - bond où le vent va - ri -

92

- a - ble, va - ri - a - ble, va - ri - a - - - - - ble  
 - a - ble, va - ri - a - ble, va - ri - a - ble De tes  
 - a - ble, va - ri - a - ble, où le vent va - ri - a - ble  
 - a - ble, va - ri - a - ble, va - ri - a - - - - - ble De

97

De tes plai - sirs t'em - por - - - - - te, et  
 plai - sirs, De tes plai - sirs t'em - por - - - - - te, et  
 De tes plai - sirs t'em - por - - - - - te, et  
 tes plai - sirs t'em - por - - - - - te, et



Example 5: Paschal de L'Estocart, "La glace est luisante et belle," *Premier livre des Octonaires de la vanite du monde*, edited by Henry Expert, 13-14.

13

V

La glace est luisante et belle

NOTATION ORIGINALE

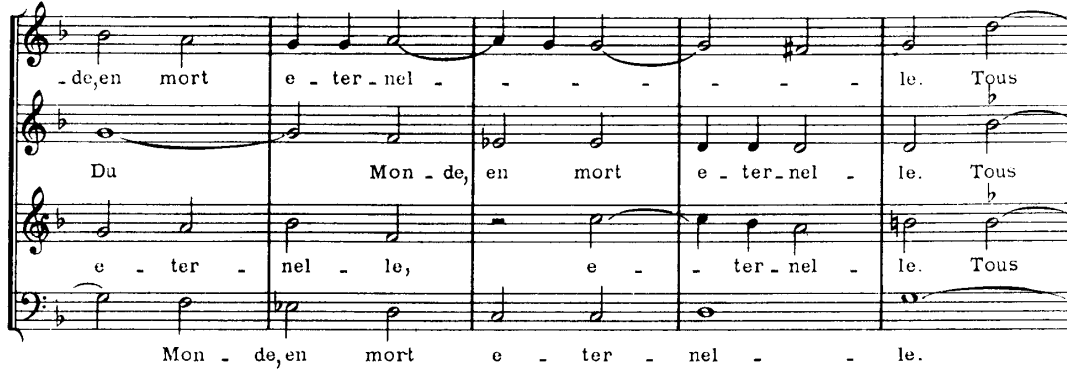
Original notation for Soprano, Contralto, Tenor, and Bassus. Each part is on a single staff with lyrics below. The Soprano part is marked with a single asterisk (\*), Contralto with two (\*\*), Tenor with three (\*\*\*), and Bassus with four (\*\*\*\*).

Modernized notation for Soprane, Contralte, Tenor, and Basse. Each part is on a staff with lyrics below. The Soprane part is marked with a single asterisk (\*), Contralte with two (\*\*), Tenor with three (\*\*\*), and Basse with four (\*\*\*\*).

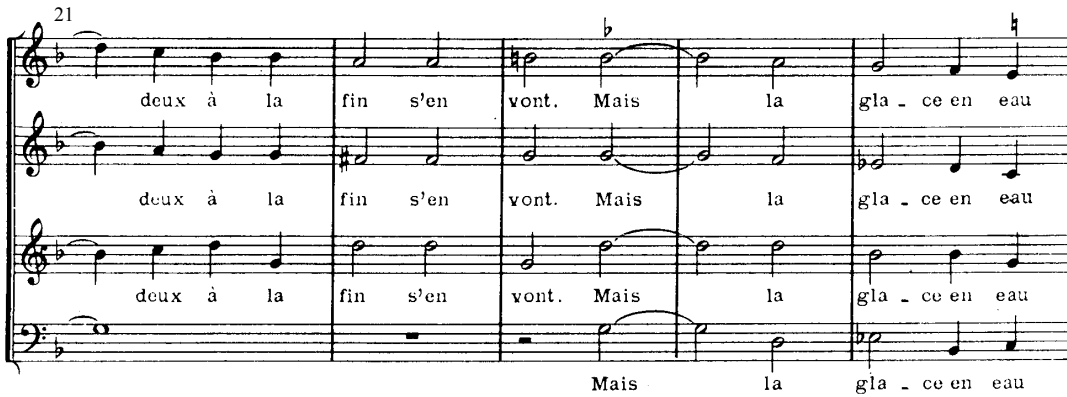
Musical notation for measures 6-10. The lyrics are: "Le Mon.de est lui - sant et beau. De la gla.ce on tom - be, tom - be, tom - be, tombe en l'eau, Du Mon -".

Musical notation for measures 11-14. The lyrics are: "tom - be, tom - be, tom - be, tombe en l'eau, Du Mon - de, en mort".

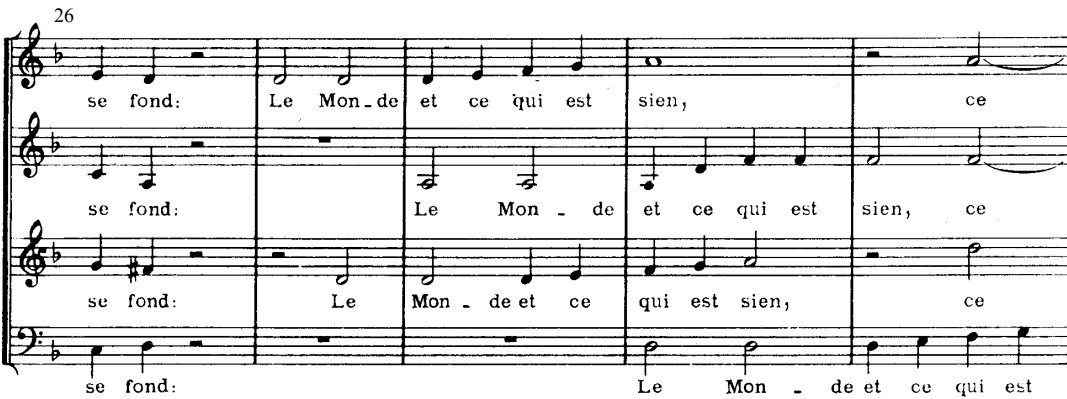
(\*) Orig. *plaisant*



de, en mort e - ter - nel - le. Tous  
 Du Mon - de, en mort e - ter - nel - le. Tous  
 e - ter - nel - le, e - ter - nel - le. Tous  
 Mon - de, en mort e - ter - nel - le.



deux à la fin s'en vont. Mais la gla - ce en eau  
 deux à la fin s'en vont. Mais la gla - ce en eau  
 deux à la fin s'en vont. Mais la gla - ce en eau  
 Mais la gla - ce en eau



se fond: Le Mon - de et ce qui est sien, ce  
 se fond: Le Mon - de et ce qui est sien, ce  
 se fond: Le Mon - de et ce qui est sien, ce  
 se fond: Le Mon - de et ce qui est sien, ce



qui est sien S'es - va.nou - it tout en rien.  
 qui est sien S'es - va.nou - it tout en rien.  
 qui est sien S'es - va.nou - it tout en rien.  
 sien S'es - va.nou - it tout en rien.

Figure 1: Etienne Delaune, Emblem for “La Glace est luisante et belle.” Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des Estampes et de la photographie, Ed. 4. + in-4<sup>0</sup>.



Figure 2: Etienne Delaune, “Auditus,” from the series “Les cinq sens.” Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des Estampes et de la photographie, Ed. 4. a. Rés, in-folio.



Figure 3: "Auditus," recueil by Leu (late 16<sup>th</sup> to early 17<sup>th</sup> c., France). Bibliothèque nationale de France, Gallica.



Figure 4: "Auditus," by Cock (s.d.), Bibliothèque nationale de France, Gallica.





## CONCLUSION

Can you tell me, Socrates, is virtue teachable? Or can it not be acquired by teaching but by practice? Or can it be acquired neither by practice or learning, but comes to mankind by nature or in some other way?

–Plato, *Meno*

In the conflicted period of late sixteenth-century France, Plato's question that opens his *Meno* about the nature of virtue and how it can be acquired took on particular resonance. Across cultural, political, and educational domains, scholars have identified efforts to lay foundations for widespread training in virtue, not merely as a passing vogue, but as an urgent tactic for repairing damaged moral foundations.

To what degree were moral music settings present in the late sixteenth-century repertoire? At this point, the size of this sixteenth-century moral genre in the music repertoire is unknown. Because of the continued power of secular and sacred categories, moral settings have either been subsumed as either sacred or secular, or in many cases ignored in catalogues of either category. Thus, this study has begun with the three most important collections, in order to lay the foundation for a larger study that will attempt to sketch the boundaries (porous as they may be) of the moral repertoire. As can be seen with the three moral collections considered here, even during the period they crossed between sacred and secular realms, and can be found in collections on both side of the divide, and in marked Catholic and Protestant devotional collections. Thus, in order to fully understand the extent to which moral poems were set to music, or moral words were fitted to previous compositions, or were created simultaneously, it is

crucial designate the “moral” as a useful historical category that developed in a space between and beyond the secular/sacred divide.

The slippage of the moral (whether in poetry, music, emblem literature, etc.) into either “spiritual” or “secular” classifications and collections was evidenced during the period. Note, for example, the inclusion of Mathieu’s moral poetry in a Jesuit *chanson spirituelle* collection, or Lassus’s settings of Pibrac’s moral poetry included in an unmarked (normally reads: secular) chanson series. For those in the early modern period to today, the domain of ethics or moral philosophy has not always been easily identifiable for those not versed in these philosophical texts. This slippage of the moral as appearing on both sides of normally discrete bounded realms, in sacred and secular; in Jesuit and Calvinist pedagogy, has made it difficult to identify as a genre. Yet this neutrality, this ability to be accepted and become rooted in otherwise conflicting religious confessions, is the most powerful aspect of these collections.

Scholars working on the broad shifts in the history of ideas and intellectual life have recognized the late sixteenth century as a period where moral philosophy began to transition from its location within Christian thought and theological education, towards a naturalized, secular ethics, a mechanical and scientific view of the emotions and the soul, and ultimately towards modernity and the enlightenment. Although the possible root causes for this slow secularization are multiple and complex, major factors were the birth of humanism, the rupture of Christian unity caused by the Reformation, and the moral damage wrought by prolonged religious war in France as major factors in provoking this late sixteenth-century secularizing impulse. Of course, the church continued to be a powerful force in France after the Wars. However, the permanent loss of ecclesiastical unity challenged the validity of assumptions and

claims to universality (catholicism), which had traditionally offered a pervasive religious adhesive for binding the political, economic, and social spheres.

Thus, one early effect of the Wars of Religion in France was the separation of the civil (a religiously-neutral sphere) from the private, religious sphere. As political gains were made by the Protestants for at least some degree of tolerance for their right to conduct worship in the private sphere, culminating in the Edict of Nantes, 1598, the need for formalizing a distinction between a neutral, secular civil sphere and a private, religious, devotional sphere became paramount. In other words, religion became “particular” rather than universal, something that involved choice and reason (at least theoretically, if not always in fact) for how and if to practice it in daily life.

The secularization of moral philosophy during this same period developed in an inverse tension with the particularization (and privatization) of the Christian religion in France. As leaders and communities across the religious spectrum recognized an urgent need to mend the broken social body, they began to turn towards sources of moral repair that offered a sense of the universality that had been lost by religion. This slow shift moved moral philosophy from its position ensconced within the medieval religious tradition, towards a confessionally-neutral space of ethical inquiry founded on ancient philosophy that ultimately shifted beyond religion altogether.

This dissertation has presented the first steps towards understanding the role of musical settings of moral poetry as a participant in popularizing and working out this process of secularization. For it was in this unique space centered on virtue that Catholics and Protestants shifted moral philosophy to a non-ecclesiastical sphere, thus promoting not only a de facto shared normative ethics that appealed to both confessions, but also eventually opening a pathway

for the complete separation of the moral (as something more neutral/general) from the spiritual (marked as sacred, particular).

Sixteenth-century moral poetry offered a particularly important mode for accomplishing this secularization of the moral. The brief, didactic form of these poetic texts presented moral philosophy in a way that seemed to come from popular wisdom and common sense, rather than from the authority of a particular author or institution. Eric Tournette calls this aspect of moral poetry the “effect of the proverb.”<sup>1</sup> Here the voice of the philosopher and the voice of the people become one through a moral rubric that was learned and repeated as the combined wisdom of the ages.

Universality, therefore, became a key issue at stake in moral poetry. Common sense—although always contingent on culture, time, and place—derives its power of persuasion through the appearance of timelessness and universality. It is for this reason, that I suggest that moral poetry and music was able to cross over across confessional lines and develop as a shared, beloved genre for both Catholics and Protestants, despite the sometimes polemical attitudes of the individual creators or their personal/religious politics. On both sides of the religious conflict, then, the appeal of a more fundamental source of morality, rooted in ancient philosophy, theist in the broadest sense, but most importantly “universal” as applying to and drawing on shared quotidian wisdom that seemed to be delocalized from the current problems of land, monarchy, and church.

Combined with the common sense wisdom presented in the moral texts, the production and use of moral poetry and their musical settings over the following century only served to heighten this sense of timelessness and universality. With each repetition of these texts in speech

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<sup>1</sup> Tournette, “L’effet de proverbe,” 145-159.

or song, with each iteration towards embedding the words into memory, with each voice reciting these short verses, these moral texts developed an aura of collective wisdom that went beyond the bounds or authority of a single author.

The nature of the musical settings complimented this move towards the universal. Using the form of popular music, from simple *vaux de ville* timbres to polyphonic collections of moderate difficulty composed for children and amateur adult musicians, the musical settings continued to virtuously imprint these moral principles beyond the page and into voices, ears, and hearts. Of prime importance for the use of moral music collections were Aristotelian notions of repetition and the ethical experience of beauty, embedded in these prefaces, contents, and musical settings as virtuous practices. The ethical implications of repetition and beauty as transmitted through the Aristotelian and rhetorical tradition, when experienced in song and musical sound, became wedded to an alternate lineage of neoplatonist ethics. The fervent neoplatonist belief in the power of music to shape moral character is well documented in the sixteenth century, yet for the most part our understanding of how exactly the power of music was understood to accomplish ethical work has remained unclear.

Although the generalized doctrine of music's ethical power was widely known and relatively consistent across the period, the contemporary understanding of how ethical effects might be manifested musically was wildly inconsistent and sometimes quite bizarre. For some theorists and composers, for example, the ethical effects of music were activated through large-scale modal ordering, or text/music relationships, while others focused on experimenting with modes that would produce specific emotions or passions. Although they are often fascinating, these propositions of how music produces ethical effects seem to have remained the provenance

of music theorists, composers, and editors who attempted to craft their musical settings according to these parameters.

However, my research reveals that for sixteenth- and seventeenth-century producers and users of moral music settings, the neoplatonist enthusiasm in music's capacity to shape moral character was actively worked out in the practices of everyday music makers, through repeated virtuous action (*habitus*) and the virtuous pleasure of experiencing musical beauty (*doux-utile*). These virtuous musical practices served as moral mechanisms for transforming the daily experience of singers and *amateurs de musique*. Learning and singing musical settings of moral poetry, therefore, was a widespread activity at the intersection of two philosophical approaches to pedagogy and ethics, where the neoplatonist fervor about the power of music to shape moral character was united with the practical neoaristotelian emphasis on repetition and experiences of beauty in musical activity as ethical undertakings.

Repetition and beauty may, at first glance, appear to be incompatible or contradictory virtuous experiences within the moral repertoire. For the strophic and rhetorical repetitions that were embedded in the performance of the moral repertoire may strike some as pedantic and necessarily antithetical to notions of artistic beauty. Were these repetitions merely functional tools, then, solely intended to be morally useful, but perhaps not concerned with aesthetic questions of pleasure and beauty to be found in the experience? As we have seen, the early monophonic editions of the *Quatrains de Pibrac* represent the functional end of the spectrum, in that the attractiveness of the melody seems to be far less important than its mnemonic power activated through the action of repetition. On the other end, we find the settings of the *Octonaires de la vanité du monde* by L'Estocart and Le Jeune, which make clear claims to delighting and ravishing the singer and listener with edifying beauty and pleasure.

Even as there is a notable difference in how producers worked to present these moral music books, we must pause before drawing an opposition between functional repetition and beauty, between the useful and the pleasing, in the moral repertoire. For a passage from Plutarch's influential moral treatise reveals that even the most functional mechanics of repetition was ultimately aimed towards an education in the ability to perceive and value beauty.

In "Comment il fault ouir," Plutarch likens the initially tedious and repetitive process of learning philosophy to the foundational process of learning music. Although learning to play the lute, for example is very tedious ("fort laborieux") and full of difficulty ("pleins de difficulté") in the beginning, with time and little by little as one continues to persevere in practicing, the process becomes comfortable and agreeable ("aisees à la main, et agreables.") It is exactly the same with learning philosophy, he says, a pursuit that seems strange and difficult in the beginning, but with long exposure and persistence this repeated practice develops confidence and pleasure in the pursuit. The persistent repetitions of time, he says:

Brings this familiar knowledge and habituation, which renders in the end pleasant all that in itself is beautiful and decent: because it comes in little time, bringing with it a clarity and great light to what one learns, and engendering an ardent love of virtue."<sup>2</sup>

Plutarch's surprising end point for why one should perseverance in tedious processes of repetition was that only in laying this difficult early foundation can one grow into the pleasurable experience of recognizing the good and beautiful. Thus, even in its most pedantic or tedious early forms, even in cases where beauty was not a driving aim of the musical setting, they were in this light participants in building the capacity to experience beauty. Repetition of either music

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<sup>2</sup> "[que le temps] amene celle familiere cognoissance et accoustumance, qui rend à la fin doux tout ce qui de soy mesme est beau et honneste: car elle viendra en peu de temps, apportant quant et elle une clarté et lumiere grande à ce que lon apprend, et engendrera un ardent amour de la vertu" Amyot, trans., *Les oeuvres morales*, 30r.

or learning philosophy, thus, leads to the sweet pleasure of recognizing and loving the beautiful and good. This pleasure in seeing and hearing beauty serves then as the motivation and the reward for the one who ardently loves virtue.

Even more so were rhetorical repetitions thought to produce pleasure, not merely to provide a functional use. For example, even where rhetoricians such as Quintilian argued against pleasure as an aim unto itself, they saw it as part of the compelling force of persuasion. In other word, the use of rhetorical repetition was not to bore or annoy but was valued as a stylistic means of producing pleasure that would captivate and persuade an audience towards sustained and deepened attention to the content of the discourse. Thus, the rhetorical repetitions utilized so dominantly in the L'Estocart *Quatrain* settings, analyzed earlier, even if viewed as primarily a tool for learning how to live well, did not negate the moral possibilities of beauty and pleasure. All of these repetitions, whether in the musical rhetoric of phrases or in the process of practicing and resinging musical material ultimately served to establish a framework for experiencing pleasure, recognizing and appreciating beauty, and aspiring to live virtuously.

Perhaps then it is possible to see the unique contribution of music to the post-war wave of interest in morality. Musical settings of moral poetry offered the combined power of repetitive action and beauty in one experience. Whether sung to the tune of a simple timbre or in a composed polyphonic setting by of the most renowned composers of the kingdom, the moral experience offered via the performance of these poetic texts went beyond the sum of its parts. For those living a world riddled with death and instability, musical settings of moral poetry offered daily hope for the possibility of virtuous beauty.



## APPENDIX

- A. CLAUDE GRUGET, trans. *Les Diverses leçons de Pierre Messie*. Lyon: C. Michel, 1526.
- B. FRANÇOIS GINDRON. *Les Proverbes de Salomon, ensemble L'Ecclesiaste, mis en cantiques et rime Française, selon la verité hebraique Par A. D. du Plessis. Mis en Musique par F. Gindron*. Lausanne: Jean Rivery. 1556.
- C. NICOLAS MILLOT. *Les Proverbes de Salomon mis en musique à quatre parties*. Paris: Adrian le Roy et Robert Ballard, 1567.
- D. JACQUES AMYOT, trans. *Les Oeuvres morales et meslees de Plutarque, translatees du Grec en François*. Paris: Michel de Vascosan, 1572.
- E. GUILLAUME BONI. *Les Quatrains du Sieur de Pybrac mis en musique à 3, 4, 5, et 6*. Paris: Adrian le Roy et Robert Ballard, 1582.
- F. PASCHAL DE L'ESTOCART. *Cent vingt et six Quatrains du Sieur de Pibrac, Conseiller au Prive Conseil du Roy, et President a Paris, de nouveau mis en musique a deux, trois, quatre, cinq et six parties*. Lyon: Barthelemi Vincent [Geneva: J. de Laon], 1582.
- G. PASCHAL DE L'ESTOCART. *Premier Livre des Octonaires de la vanite du monde, mis en musique a trois, quatre, cinq et six parties*. Lyon: Barthelemi Vincent [Geneva: J. de Laon], 1582.
- H. PASCHAL DE L'ESTOCART. *Seconde Livre des Octonaires de la vanite du monde, mis en musique a trois, quatre, cinq et six parties*. Lyon: Barthelemi Vincent [Geneva: J. de Laon], 1582.
- I. CLAUDE LE JEUNE. *Octonaires de la vanite, et inconstance du monde. mis en musique à 3. et à 4*. Paris: Pierre Ballard, 1606/1611.

J. PIAT MAUGRED. *Airs et chansons a III, V. VI. et VIII. parties, accomodees tant a la voix, qu'aux instrumens*. Douay: Jean Bogart, 1616.

K. JEAN DE BOURNONVILLE. *Cinquante quatrains du Sieur de Pybrac, mis en musique à 2, 3, et 4 parties*. Paris: Pierre Ballard, 1622.

L. JEAN ROUSSON. *Recueil de chansons spirituelles, avec les airs nottez sur chacune d'icelles*. La flèche: Louys Hebert, 1622.

M. ARTUS AUX-COUSTEAUX. *Les Quatrains de Mr Mathieu, à 3 parties selon l'ordre des douze modes*. Paris: Pierre I Ballard, 1636 [identical preface for 1643 edition].

N. CLAUDE LE JEUNE. *Octonaires de la vanité et inconstance du monde. Mis en Musique à 3. et à 4. Parties*. Paris: Robert Ballard, 1641.

O. ARTUS AUX-COUSTEAUX. *Suite de la premiere partie des Quatrains de Mr Mathieu, Mis en Musique à trois Voix, selon l'ordre des douze Modes*. Paris: Robert Ballard, 1652.

A. CLAUDE GRUGET, trans. *Les Diverses leçons de Pierre Messie*. Lyon: C. Michel, 1526.

Selections from Chapter VII, "*Combien la memoire est excellente, et pourquoy ceux qui ont l'esprit aigu, ont la retention debile: et encore pourquoy les hommes ont si bonne souvenance de leur jeunesse*, 479-482, 489-90.

Entre les sentimens interieurs de l'homme, la memoire est la plus excellente, et est le thresorier, et garde de tous les autres. Le bien que Dieu a fait aux hommes, en leur donnant memoire, est si grand, que seulement les loüanges d'icelle et le recit des biens qui adviennent à l'homme par ce

moyen, pourroient consommer grand temps à l'escire et reciter, et y faudroit beaucoup de papier. . . .

Ciceron dit que la memoire est l'argument de l'immortalité de l'ame, et divinité de l'homme.

Pline l'appelle bien extresmement necessaire à la vie: et Plutarque, Antistrophe de divinité, c'est à dire équivalant ou semblable à la divinité, veu que du passé elle en fait le present: pour ce que le temps passé elle en fait le present: pour ce que le temps passé ressemble à celuy qui porte de l'eau courante, mais la memoire le retient, et semble qu'elle y donne resistance avec essence à ce qui n'est point. Autres appellent la memoire, le thresor de science. De là vient que sapience est fille de memoire et d'experience, d'autant que la memoire est un coffre ou cabinet de tout ce que nous apprenons, entendons et voyons. . . .

Nous sommes enseignez en vain (dit Quintilian) si nous oublions ce que nous avons aprins: parquoy lui-mesme commande, que ceste puissance soit souvent exercée, pour ce que l'usage et exercice l'augmente. C'est chose merveilleuse que la mettant en œuvre, et ayant en recommandation, elle se souvient du passé: celuy qui l'a ployé d'affection, est moins capable d'apprendre: et celuy qui en cela s'est donné le plus de peine pour retrouver le passé, se rend plus habile pour l'advenir. Or ceste vertu a deux moyens. Un homme qui a la memoire et preste et prompt à recevoir l'enseignement qui luy est donné, ne le garde pas long-temps, et l'autre qui est de longue apprehension la conserve bien. Sur quoy Aristote nous donne la raison naturelle, disant que les hommes qui ont l'esprit vif et aigu sont de prime face faciles à enseigner, et debiles à la retention, au contraire, les lourds et rudes d'esprit, apprennent et conservent par grand difficulté: mais ils retiennent mieux. Plutarque dit que ces chose adviennent aux hommes,

ainsi qu'il fait aux vaisseaux qui ont bouche et entrée petite, et partant difficiles à emplir: mais aussi ils ne sont pas en si grand danger de se respandre, ne si tost: et dit que les vaisseaux representent les hommes de rude entendement, et que ceux qui ont l'esprit si prompt, sont comme les vaisseaux qui ont grande ouverture d'entrée, lesquels plus facilement on remplit: aussi plus facilement respandent ce qu'ils contiennent. S. Thomas qui n'a rien laissé (ou bien peu, qu'il n'ait fort doctement espluché ou examiné) dit à ce propos, que par les diverses dispositions corporelles, parviennent les diverses promptitudes et operations de l'ame: car comme nous voyons que les choses où on faict quelques impressions et caracteres à peine et difficulté, comme sont les metaux, ou la pierre, conservent plus ces impressions, que ne sont les autres choses, esquelles on imprime plus facilement, comme est la cire, et autres choses molles, aussi la memoire (qui est gardienne de ce que l'on apprend) estant au chef d'un homme de dur entendement, quand elle reçoit quelque chose bien imprimée, elle est mieux conservée en cette dureté qui l'a receuë avec peine et difficulté: mais quant à ceaux qui sont vifs et prompts et qui reçoivent ces choses à moindre travail, ils les laissent aussi tomber de tant plustost. Il y a une autre chose en la memoire, qui est seulement digne de noter, c'est que nous voyons que ce qui s'imprime en ce tendre esprit d'enfance, nous ne l'oublions point devenans hommes. Ancienne livre fix des choses naturelles, dit que cela vient de ce que ceux qui ont l'entendement à repos et sans charge de grands pensemens, ont memoire lus certaine, et pour ceste cause ce que les enfans apprennent en leur grande jeunesse, ils le retiennent par long-temps: car ils ne sont point molestez de pensées et travaux. Toutesfois S. Thomas donne encore une autre raison, selon mon advis, plus valable: c'est que la chose qui est occasion de plus notable mouvement en l'homme demeure plus ferme en sa memoire, comme sont choses fort nouvelles et merveilleuses: par ainsi comme aux enfans toutes choses sont fort nouvelles, et semblent grandes, aussi est-ce la cause

qu'elles s'impriment fermement en leur memoire. Mais laissons l'enfance, et revenons aux hommes, desquels il s'en trouve de tant capable et singulier entendement, qu'il semble estre chose trop merveilleuse. Pline, Solin, et Quintilian en donnent plusieurs exemples. . . .

... tous les Philosophes naturels, et principalement Aristote, font difference entre la memoire, et le souvenir: pour ce, disent-ils, que la memoire peut aussi bien estre aux bestes, comme aux hommes, bien que ce soit imparfaitement: mais le souvenir est en l'homme seulement, qui est se recorder avec discours, et penser la chose, comme en contemplation, discourant du general au particulier, de la circonstance, et du temps, avec consideration, et intelligence: par ce que les bestes se souviennent du lieu où elles sont une fois cheutes: . . . Mais comme nous avons dit, le souvenir de l'homme est plus parfait, avec discours et intelligence, en courant d'une chose en autre. Par ainsi, selon Aristote, celui des hommes qui a l'entendement plus vif, a plus de souvenance, encore que l'autre ait plus de memoire: pour ce que le souvenir est une maniere d'investiguer, qui esveille la memoire à quelque chose pour faire recorder: parquoy le meilleur et plus vif entendement fait donner meilleur moyen, et pour ceste cause il y a meilleurs souvenance.

B. FRANÇOIS GINDRON. *Les Proverbes de Salomon, ensemble L'Ecclesiaste, mis en cantiques et rime François, selon la verité hebraïque Par A. D. du Plessis. Mis en Musique par F. Gindron.* Lausanne: Jean Rivery. 1556.

ADVERTISSEMENT

Au Lecteur.

Lecteur, je t'ay traduit ces livres saincts au plus pres que j'ay peu de la verité hebraique, y corrigeant maints lieux corrompus de la vulgaire translation: Enquoy j'ay souvent usé de necessaires metaphrases, pour t'esclaircir les lieux trop obscurs et difficiles : les mettant outre ce, en forme de cantiques, aucuns exceptez, ou comme non propres à chanter ou par inadvertance ainsi passez. Le tout, tant pour servir à ton goust, que pour te donner plus ample occasion et matiere de louer Dieu et de profiter en toutes fortes. Or n'est l'œuvre tel, qu'il n'y ait encores beaucoup à redire de ma part, mais j'espere que pour le moins y trouveras dequoy me scavoir bon gré de tel labour, lequel je t'offre au nom de celuy qui par sa bonté me fait grace de l'en pouvoir (comme sa poure creature) aucunement honorer : et servir à mon prochain, n'esperant peu de gain avoir fait si le reçois ainsi.

A TRESILLUSTRES ET

Puissans Princes, mes Seigneurs l'Avoyer et Conseil de Berne, François Gindron vostre treshumble sujet. Grace, paix, et felicité par nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ.

Tresredoutez Seigneurs, Alexandre ce grand monarque a bon droit celebré par l'universel monde, a cause de ses hautes et magnifiques vertus s'est acquis renom immortel, non point tant par conquestes et victoires, comme par la faveur, entretien et ayde qu'il donnoit aux sciences et aux gens scavans, lesquels il a aimé et favorisé grandement : car il prevoyoit bien, que l'augmentation de sa renommée et gloire estoit toute evidence en l'exercice de liberalité envers les scavans et lettrez : par autant que les lettrez, singulierement qui ont grace et industrie, sont ceux qui par leurs escrits font la memoire et gloire des Princes immortelle. Il n'y a sain ny entier jugement qui grandement ne loue le fait vertueux de ce grand Roy Alexandre : mais nul

n'approuveroit aucunement la fin ou il pretendoit, en se proposant pour dernier but l'exaltation de son nom en perpetuité de memoire. En quoy non seulement ce noble Prince, mais quasi tous ceux qui aucunement ont esté tenus pour les plus excellens et vertueux, on lourdement failli. Parquoy il restoit pour la perfection de ceste vertu royalle qu'ell fust addressée à son poinct et à sa droite fin : laquelle qui voudra clairement voir et cognoistre, il trouvera un patron protrait au vif en semblable benignité et liberalité que vostre magnifique seigneurie exerce chacun jour. Que dy-je semblable ? mais beaucoup plus grande. Car si l'on met en avant les cent talens, c'est a dire, soixante mil escus que ledit Alexandre a donné a ce grand philosophe Anaparchus pour entretenir son eschole de philosophie : si l'on fait cas de la somptueuse despence qu'il a fourny à Aristote son maistre pour enquerir par mer et par terre la nature des animaux : si l'on alegue plusieurs grandes gratuitez qu'il a fait envers plusieurs autres de semblable qualité : certes je confesse que cela est bien grand chose, si l'on veut peser et estimer icelle sans avoir autre regard. Mais si l'on considere la grandeur et estendue de sa monarchie et des richesses d'icelle, il se trouvera sans difficulté que de la substance et revenu de voz pais et seigneurie, vous en employez beaucoup davantage que ce grand Roy ne faisoit du sien : non point à l'entretien de ceste philosophie vaine qui jadis regnoit, ne en intention de perpetuer vostre renom par un tel moyen : mais à la foulte de grand nombre de heraulx et ambassadeurs portans et annonçans la parole celeste par toutes voz terres : l'entretenement de plusieurs excellens Docteurs qui enseignent en trois langes es escholes par vous establies la Divine et humaine philosophie : et à la nourriture d'une multitude de pures escoliers qui vivent en voz escholes du pain de vostre table sans aucun soucy sinon d'estudier et apprendre sous les bons maistres que leur avez donnez. Je n'omettray les grandes largesses que faites ordinairement à tant de pures chrestiens, lesquels estant foulez et deboutez par les iniques, se sauvent sous les ailes de vostre protection. Et qui

plus est, un chacun voit qu'il n'est possible de mieux rapporter ceste inestimable vertu à son point et à sa droicte fin que vous faites : quant en tout cela vous ne cherchez sinon le bien et salut de voz bien-heureux subjects : ne demandez sinon que ce grand Dieu qui luit en vous plus qu'en tous Princes de la terre, soit servi et obey : ne pretendez sinon qu'au Roy des siecles immortel et invisible soit rendu honneur et gloire à jamais.

Or puis qu'ainsi est qu'il a pleu à vostre benignité de me colloquer au nombre de ceux qui reçoivent beneficence de vous en esperance que je ne devoiroye de vostre intention susdite (comme par la grace du Seigneur j'en ay bien bon vouloir) encore que le talent que j'ay receu de nostre Dieu soit petit, si est-ce neanmoins que tel qu'il est j'ay tousjours désiré et desire de bien bon cœurs l'employer toutes-foys et quartes que l'occasion s'offrira de ce faire, pour servir à l'honneur et louange de ce grand Seigneur que desirez et commandez à voz subjetz de servir en toute pureté et loyauté. Par ainsi, comme peu de temps a, je m'adonnay à mettre en chant de musique quelques Pseaumes qui pour le jourd'huy sont chantez es Eglises de vostre subjection à la louange de no-stre bon Dieu. Aussi voyant que de nouveua un bon personnage proposoit de vous dedier, entre les fruits de ces labeurs, les Proverbes de Salomon, et l'Ecclesiaste par luy mis en rime françoise, j'ay bien voulu y adjouster en semblable le chant de musique es chapitres desdits livres, à fin que par ce moyen le peuple chrestien recevant ceste excellent doctrine celeste, en puisse chanter à son Dieu honneur et louange. Enquoy si j'ay fait chose qui vous plaise avoir à gré et recevoir de tel cœur comme je le vous offre et dedie : je me reputeray à jamais plus heureux, et si sentiray mon courage plus enflambé de desir de mieux employer mon petit pouvoir à vostre service, priant le Seigneur m'en faire la grace, et de conserver et augmenter vostre Magnifique estat. De ~~[something crossed out and written in]~~ ce vingt et cinquieme jour de Septembre, lan mil cinq cens cinquante et six.



[*chanson spirituelle* à 4, Reveillez vous, ô muses chanteresses]

A TRESHAUTS, ET TRES-Redoutez Seigneurs et Princes, Messeigneurs, L'avoyer, grand et petit conseils de Berne, eternelle paix, et prosperité par Jesus Christ.

N'est-ce pas Dieu, qui fait toutes ces choses ?

Qui les vertus et puissances encloses

Tient en sa main, les faisant descouler

Dessus voz chefs, comme l'eau distiller

Sur prez et champs, rendans fruits à largesse ?

N'est-ce pas luy qui fait qu'a vous m'adresse,

J'enten à vous, et dessous vostre nom

A tous Seigneurs ayans mesmerenom ?

Quiconques veut loue les Princes siens.

Quant est de moy je loue les chrestiens,

Enre lesquels, à bon droict, vous honore,

Princes Bernois : car cela vous decore,

Cela vous rend sur tous autres aymez

Au ciel, en terre, et par tout renommez.

Je dy au ciel, ou voz noms sont escrits,

Je dy au ciel, ou voz noms sont escrits,

Je dy en terre, ou sont voz beaux escrits,

Ausquels les faicts et gestes respondans  
Rendent par tout voz honneurs abondans.  
Et ce haut Dieu, qui vous donne sagesse,  
Qui voz conseils, et voz œuvres adresse  
Par sa lumiere entre vous reluisante,  
Par sa parolle en voz citez regnante,  
Monstre tresbien aux grans princes du monde  
N'estre qu'erreur, et bestise profonde  
Tout regne, empire, ou domination,  
N'ayans au ciel telle approbation.  
Quelques grandeurs, ou richesses qu'ils ayent,  
Quelques beaux faits que parfaire ils s'essayent,  
Quelques grans feus que leurs rages desbordent,  
Ils ne sont rien, si au ciel ne s'acordent :  
Ou ce qu'ils sont ce n'est que pour un temps,  
De tous humains vivans les moins contens.  
Car au plus haut de ces terrestres Dieux,  
Luy advenant un changement des cieux,  
Ou l'air troublant quelque triste nuée,  
Voila sa force à coup diminuée,  
De tous ses biens perdra le souvenir  
Au moindre mal qui luy puisse advenir.  
Outre cela voiez l'estonnement

Qu'ils ont au cœur, s'il tonne seulement,  
S'il vient du ciel quelque simple menace,  
Trembler fera toute puissance basse,  
Voire de tous les plus roids et droits.  
D'ou vient cela que ces celestes voix,  
Ces bruits hautains, ces hurlemens de nues  
A cœurs terreux sont terreurs incognues ?  
Et que la fin d'icelles ne sachans  
Craignent le ciel, en terre se cachans,  
N'ayans n'au ciel, en terre se cachans,  
N'ayans n'au ciel ny en terre assurance,  
Fors d'une grosse et barbare ignorance,  
Causant mespris, dont orgueil vient apres,  
L'aveuglement les poursuivant de pres,  
Qui fait tousjours qu'en tenebres cheminent,  
Et que terreurs leurs consciences minent ?  
Que deviendront ces admirables tous,  
Sentans de Dieu la fureur et courroux ?  
Certes sur tels, quand son bras il desploye,  
Incurable est et horrible la playe.

Mais vous, ayans du Pere la defence,  
Point ne craignez que cela vous offence.  
Car par foy vive il assure voz cœurs,

Et de l'estat se moque des moqueurs,  
Lesquels il fait regner comme instrumens,  
Verges, fouets de ses haux chastimens :  
A celle fin que les malins courages  
Contre les bons ne deslient leurs rages,  
Et que la part qui est la mieux aymée  
Par les plus fors ne soit point opprimée :  
Combien que d'eus ne soit l'intention  
De servir Dieu de telle affection.  
Quand il en a beaucoup par eux batus,  
Par luy apres sont sy bas abbatus,  
Que le seul bruit offence les oreilles  
Des escoutans Or qui fait ces merveilles,  
Sinon ce Roy ? ce Prince supernel ?  
Ce grand Monarque, Empereur eternel,  
Qui l'orgueilleux du haut siege depose,  
Ou l'humble et doux en grande paix repose ?  
    Ou est Assur ? La fiere Babylone ?  
Egypte ? Perse ? et Grece ? et Macedone ?  
Ou est le nom de l'Empire Romain ?  
Il fut hier, d'autres seront demain.  
Mais du haut Dieu la force est eternelle,  
Et de tons ceux qui s'appuyent en elle,

Point ne dechet, tousjours est florissante,  
Plus on l'opprime, et plus elle est puissante.

En ces tyrans il n'y a rien de stable.

C. NICOLAS MILLOT. *Les Proverbes de Salomon mis en musique à quatre parties*. Paris: Adrian le Roy, et Robert Ballard, 1567.

#### AU ROY CHARLES VIII.

SIRE, ayant cet honneur de cognoistre combien votre majesté prend de plaisir a la musique, et combien de faveurs, et liberalitez en recoivent ceux qui en font profession pres de vous, retenant, entre tant de vertus, cette grace, et don de Dieu, comme de droit heritage, et legitime succession des Roys voz predecesseurs, j'ay osé sous votre naturelle bonté, et commandement qu'il vous a pleu m'en faire quelque fois mettre au jour, et donner vie à ce mien petit ouvrage, qui vous fera dautant plus agreable, que le sujet en est chaste, saint profitable, et façonné de la bouche d'un grand et sage ROY : feulle occasion qui ma fait plus hardiment entreprendre et continuer ce dessein, que je voüe et sacre aux piedz de votre majesté, m'estimant trop heureux et trop satisfait, Si mon labeur est tant favorisé qu'il vous puisse donner quelque contentement, et apporter quelque plaisir a la grandeur et douceur de votre divin esprit travaillé de tant d'affaires d'importance supliant treshumblement votre majesté le recevoir et le favoriser seulement d'un trait d'œil, n'ayant autre volonté en ce monde que d'employer ma vie et mon labeur a rechercher tous les sujetz et nouvelles inventions de mon art, pour vous faire treshumble et tresobeissant service. A Paris ce vingtneufiéme jour d'Aoust .M. D. LXVII.

Votre treshumble et tresobeissant  
serviteur N. Millot.

Contents.

Propos exquis et profondes parolles,  
Qui ayme la doctrine ayme le chastiment  
Mieux vaut bonne renommée,  
A cri du poure delaissé  
Qui trouverra la femme vertueuse?  
Mon fils, ne te glorifié  
L'homme meschant  
La fausse balance L'homme point n'avance  
C'est gloire à Dieu de celer la parolle

Mieux vaut un morceau de pain sec  
Responce douce appaise grand fureur  
Des eaux la claire liqueur Toutes faces represente  
Le sage enfant reçoit la remonstrance Du pere  
La sapience a basti sa maison  
La sapience efleue haut sa voix  
L'homme en son cœur propose  
Celuy qui du moqueur Veut corriger  
Passant au champ, et autour de la vigne  
N'ensuy le train des malins perissans  
La femme sage edifie en raison Son train et sa maison

D. JACQUES AMYOT, trans. *Les Oeuvres morales et meslees de Plutarque, translatees du Grec en François*. Paris: Michel de Vascosan, 1572.

Selection from Section II, "*Comment il fault nourrir les enfans*," 5-6.

Mais sur toutes choses, il fault exercer et accoustumer la memoire des enfans, pour ce que c'est, par maniere de dire, le tresor de science: c'est pour quoy les anciens poëtes ont faint, que Mnemosyné, c'est à dire, Memoire, estoit la mere des Muses, nous voulans donner à entendre, qu'il n'y a rien qui tant serve à engendrer et conserver les lettres, et le sçavoir, que fait la memoire: pourtant la fault il diligemment et soigneusement exercer en toutes sortes, soit que les enfans l'ayent ferme de nature, ou qu'ils l'ayent foible: car aux uns on corrigera par diligence le default, aux autres on augmentera le bien d'icelle: tellement que ceulx la en deviendront meilleurs que les autres, et ceux cy meilleurs que eulx mesmes: car le poëte Hesiodus a sagement dit,

Si tu vas peu avecques peu mettant

Et plusieurs fois ce peu là repetant:  
En peu de jours tu verras cela croistre,  
Qui paravant bien petit souloit estre.

Davantage les peres doivent sçavoir, que ceste partie memorative de l'ame ne sert pas seulement aux hommes à apprendre les lettres, mias aussi qu'elle vaut beaucoup aux affaires du monde: pour ce que la souvenance des choses passees fournit d'exemples pour prendre conseil à l'advenir.

E. GUILLAUME BONI. *Les Quatrains du Sieur de Pybrac mis en musique à 3, 4, 5, et 6.* Paris: Adrian le Roy, et Robert Ballard, 1582.

A MONSEIGNEUR FILS DE  
FRANCE, FRERE UNIQUE  
DU ROY, DUC DE BRABANT,  
d'Anjou etc. Conte de Flandres etc.

*ORES que d'Enyon la sanglante fureur  
Souille de sang humain ta Belgique province:  
Je viens ce petit don, ô magnanime Prince,  
Offrir devotement aux pieds de ta grandeur.*

*S'il te plaist l'accepter, cela me fera seur  
Combien que l'œuvre mien soit trop bas et trop mince,  
Il ne craindra pourtant des envieux la pince,  
Car targué de ton nom, rien ne luy fera peur.*

*Je croy qu'ainsi iadis les plus grands soulageoyent  
Les travaux de Bellone, et du tout s'adonnoyent  
Au plaisir de la Muse, apres les grands combats:  
De même ta hauteesse es plus insignes gloires  
De tes vertueux faicts et celebres victoires,  
Ici prendre pourra quelques petis ébats.*

A MONSEIGNEUR DE PIBRAC,  
Conseiller du Roy en son conseil privé et Presi-  
dent en sa Cour de Parlement. A Paris.

SONET.

*DOVE' de haute, docte, et vraye cognoissance,  
Tu scais, tu peux, tu viens, en ce siecle dernier,  
De Dieu, de l'homme né, et de ce Monde entier,  
Demonstrer, dire, escrire, au public la puissance:  
Ton ame, vie, et range, aussi a pris essence  
Celeste, illustre, et noble, au signalé quartier  
Des bons, vertueux, grands, lesquels au lieu premier  
De bonté, vertu, grade, admirent ta naissance.  
Par sagesse, science, et par dexterité,  
Pure, eloquente, et joincte à fidelité,  
En conseil, dicts, et faicts, nul autre tu secondes:  
Car ton Espirit, sens, cœur, divin, prudent, et droict,*



*D'heurs, biens, los, tient autant qu'on marque, sent, et voit,  
Au ciel, en terre, en mer, de flambeaux, fleurs, et d'ondes.*

*J. Megnier.*

*ADVERTISSEMENT TOUCHANT L'ORDRE*

OBSERVE EN LA COMPOSITION

De ces Quatrains, par Adrian le Roy.

ENTRE tous les subjects qui concernent tant le pieté Chrestienne, que la police humaine, je tiens que les Quatrains du Sieur de Pybrac, sont autant louables, pour la bonne erudition qu'ils contiennent, qu'admirables, pour la sententieuse brieveté, et dous-coulante veine, qu'on remarque en iceux. Et de vray, les voyant à bon droit si bien receus et prisez d'un chacun, j'ay pensé qu'une musique convenablement appropriée à tel sujet, n'apporteroit moins de profit aux bonnes mœurs, que de plaisir à la recreation honeste de ceux qui sont amateurs de vertu. Parquoy ayant mis peine d'effectuer cette deliberation, je les mets maintenant en public, avec tel agencement, qu'un chacun, prenant plaisir en cet art, pourra juger. Mais afin que l'ordre, que j'ay dressé pour l'usage plus commode d'iceux, soit bien et proprement entendu par ceux qui se delecteront à les chanter: Il faut noter qu'il y a six vingts et six Quatrains, lesquels partis par Douzaines, sont dix Douzaines, et six de reste. Icelles Douzaines sont ordonnees selon l'ordre des Tons, comme les douze Quatrains de la premiere Douzaine, sont du premier Ton: les douze de la seconde Douzaine, sont du second: les douze de la troisième Douzaine, du troisième, et ainsi des autres, jusques à la dixième Douzaine, qui respond justement au dixième Ton. Davantage chaque Douzaine est mi-partie en deux Rangs, chaque Rang contenat six Quatrains, de sorte que les dx

Douzaines font vingt Rangs: Et sont lesdits Rangs composez par telle suytte, que les deux premiers Quatrains du premier Rang, sont à quatre: les autres deux du même Rang, sont à trois: et les deux autres qui restent de ce Rang, sont à cinq. Et consequemment les autres dix-neuf Rangs sont dressez de mesme, combien que cependant les deux Rangs (qui font une Douzaine) ne soyent que d'un mesme Ton, come dict est. Ainsi quand on voudra chercher en la Table, lequel des vingt Rangs on voudra chanter, il n'y sera marqué, que le premier Quatrain qui commencera ledict Rang. Il reste encor six Quatrains, outre les dix Douzaines, ou vingt Rangs, lesquels pour estre finaux, font un Rang à part, et sont composez à volonté, chacun d'iceux à six parties. Voila, ami Lecteur, ce que j'avois à t'expliquer de mon dessein, lequel je desire estre receu de toy d'aussi bon œil, que de pareil cœur il t'est présenté.

F. PASCHAL DE L'ESTOCART. *Cent vingt et six Quatrains du Sieur de Pibrac, Conseiller au Prive Conseil du Roy, et President a Paris, de nouveau mis en musique a deux, trois, quatre, cinq et six parties.* Lyon: Barthelemi Vincent [Geneva: J. de Laon], 1582.

A TRES PUISSANT ET TRES ILLUSTRE

PRINCE, CHARLES DUC DE LORRAINE, BAR, GUELDRES, etc.

Paschal de L'Estocart son tres humble serviteur, Salut.

MONSEIGNEUR, Ayant depuis quelques mois ença mis en Musique les Quatrains du Sieur de Pibrac, et estant sur le point de les faire imprimer: ma pensee s'est incontinent tournee vers vostre Lorraine, me commandant d'y porter ce petit ouvrage et l'offrir en toute reverence aux yeux de vostre Altesse. En cest endroit j'ay eu esgard à la coustume de ceux qui mettent au front

de leurs livres le nom de quelque personne illustre entre les autres, afin d'allonger la vie et augméter le credit de leurs inventions par tel moyen. Mais oultre cela, j'ay conu aussi que je ne pourrois laisser en meilleures mains qu'es vostres ces beaux vers animez d'un air musical tel qu'il a pleu à Dieu me le departir. Car vos pays ayans eu toujours ce bien de vivre en paix sous vostre heureux gouvernement, et se trouvant une infinité de suffisans tesmoins qui publiér de toutes parts combien vous estes soigneux de pratiquer en particulier et en public les sages avertissemens que le docte Pibrac donne aux Rois et aux Princes, j'ay désiré que ma Musique (s'il vous plait la favoriser tant que de la recevoir de bon oeil) en vous resjouissant quelquesfois vous dispose de plus en plus à perseverer en ce bon train auquel le Tout puissant vous entretient, et lequel je prie,

MONSEIGNEUR, qu'il conserve vostre Altesse en longue prosperieté, pour le bien de tous vos sujets. Fait ce premier jour de Fevrier, 1582.

[Superius part]

QUATRAIN. AUX POETES ET MUSICIENS.

Touchant les Quatrains du Sieur de Pibrac mis en musique par Paschal de l'Estocart.

*SI tu ne fais si doctement escrire,*

*Si tu ne peux si doucement chanter,*

*Sois vertueux: c'est pour te contenter.*

*Car faire bien est trop plus que bien dire.*

S. G. S. [Simon Goulart]

[Contratenor part]

SUR LE SUJET DES QUATRAINS, DU SIEUR DE

PIBRAC, MIS EN MUSIQUE PAR PAS  
CHAL DE L'ESTOCART.

*EN ce papier je voy la vertu peinte.*

*Morte vertu! le temps te veut ainsi.*

*Mais si les cœurs n'ont plus de toy souci*

*En vers et sons demeure au moins empreinte.*

D. L. T.

[Tenor part]

AU SIEUR DE PIBRAC, ET A M. PASCHAL  
DE L'ESTOCART.

*QUITTE, Pibrac, la docte - sage Muse.*

*Cesse, Paschal, le doux bruit de tes sons:*

*Puis que vertu ne sert que de chansons*

*Au monde vain qui à tout mal s'amuse.*

Fr. De l'Isle. [Louis Régnier, sieur de La Planche]

[Bassus part]

QUATRAIN, SUR LA MUSE DU SIEUR DE  
PIBRAC, ANIMEE PAR PASCHAL  
DE L'ESTOCART.

*LE, vertueux, lisant, chantant ces vers,*

*De meilleur cœur à son devoir se range.*

*Le vicieux, ici jugé, ne change,*

*Ains chante, lit, et demeure pervers.*

L. Mongart.

G. PASCHAL DE L'ESTOCART. *Premier Livre des Octonaires de la vanite du monde, mis en musique a trois, quatre, cinq et six parties.* Lyon: Barthelemi Vincent [Geneva: J. de Laon], 1582.

A TRESHAUT ET PUISSANT PRINCE GUILLAUME ROBERT DE LA MARCK, DUC DE BOUILLON SEIGNEUR SOUVERAIN DE SEDAN, JAMETS, etc.

MONSEIGNEUR, Il est avvenu, par la providence de Dieu, qu'à mon dernier retour d'Italie pour entrer en France, j'ay esté prié d'un mien ami de mettre en musique quelques Octonaires composez par le Sieur de Chandieu sur l'inconstance et vanité du Monde. Or combine que j'eusse discontinué un tel exercice d'espace de plusieurs années, ayant esté employé à autres affaires toutes fois desirant r'entrer en grace avec les Muses, je donnay air à cinq ou six de ces huitains, qui ayans esté esprovez induisirent cest ami et autres à me presser de poursuivre le rest: ce que je fis au moins mal qu'il me fut possible, et d'assez bonne volonté pour recompense du temps mal employé par ci devant. Depuis, j'ay mis la main à diverses autres pieces, que je publieray ci après, si Dieu le permet. Ce n'est pas à moy de penser, ni de dire, si j'ay bien rencontré: il me suffit d'en laisser le jugement à ceux qui auront bonne oreille. Mais je diray ce mot, que mon désir a esté de presenter une musique grave-douce, et bien accommodee a la lettre : qui est le but, ce semble, auquel ont visé les plus doctes maistres en cest art tant anciens que modernes. Quant à ceux de nostre temps, leurs œuvres sont en lumiere, et est permis aux gens

d'esprit de discerner les meilleurs d'avec les moindres, puis se tenir à ce qui les peut vraiment contenter. On ne sauront pas dire le mesme des anciens, l'artifice desquels est demeuré comme enseveli par la malice du temps. Car ce que Plutarque, Boece, et quelques autres apres eux en ont laissé par escrit, semble engendrer plus de doutes que de resolutions. Tant y a que considerant ce que les histoires recitent des plus excellents d'alors, il sera aisé de voir que l'adresse qu'ils ont eue et aux accords des voix et aux sons des instrumens a eu la douce-grave vivacité reconue et chérie en quelques uns (mais en petit nombre) de nostre aage. On pourra repliquer, que la musique ancienne a esté toute autre et trop meilleure sans comparaison que celle de maintenant, et qu'à peine se trouvera-il jamais homme qui puisse esmouvoir et manier les esprits, comme lon estime qu'aucuns des anciens ont fait. A quoy je respon, encor qu'ainsi soit qu'iceux ayent plus fait que lon n'en dit, qu'ils ont aussi vescu en un temps moins malheureux que le nostre, et ont rencontré plus grand nombre de personnes disposees à bien poser et priser ce qui estoit de valeur. Je ne veux pas dire que maintenant il n'y ait assez d'hommes de haute et moyenne qualité qui respectent les choses bien l'estude des sciences liberales. Vray est qu'on peut remedier à cela, et moyennant qu'il se trouve des Mecenats, ce temps pour encores voir (comme il a ja veu) des ouvrages respondans en quelque sorte à la perfection des anciens. Ceste pensee, MONSEIGNEUR, m'a enhardi de laisser sortir en lumiere ce premier livre d'Octonaires, et mesmes le dedier à votre Excellence, tant pour avoir en vostre Illustre nom un protecteur de mon fait et du bon desir que jay de faire encores mieux ci apres, que pour vous presenter aussi le moyen de recreer par fois vostre esprit, et le rendre tant plus disposé à embrasser et effectuer les charges que Dieu vous a commises. Fait ce premier de Novembre, 1581.

De vostre Excellence

Treshumble serviteur,

PASCHAL DE L'ESTOCART.

PASCALIO LESTOCARTIO

Casto Musarum Sacerdoti,

SACRUM.

Aures tinnitu qui solas pascis inani,

Sonore frustra Musice :

Túque voluptatum insti illans qui dulce venenum

A dulci honestum dividis :

I procul, et sancto Musarum ex numine natum

Polluere nomen desine.

At tu, Musarum, PASCALI, caste sacerdos,

Dulci maritans utile,

Salve. cantantique tibi sua crimina Mundus

Inuitus ipse succinat.

TH. B. V. F. [Théodore de Bèze]

[Superius part]

PASCALI LESTOCARTIO

SUAVISSIMO MUSICO.

Macte noua virtute, chori, PASCHALIS, alumne

Castalidum, citharae quae docuere modos  
Tam dulces, varijs concentibus, atque pudicos,  
Te vatem ut castis vatibus insererent !  
Hinc geminae surgunt circum tua tempora lauri,  
Que doctae et ?astae praemia frontis erunt.  
Hinc Laus Invidia major tibi crescit abunde,  
Quod p[ ]ae fidicen diceris esse lyrae.  
Perge precor, virtus tua quo vocat j pede fausto,  
Et castis pueris virginibúsque cane.  
I. I. B. [Jean Jaquemot]

#### SONET

A LA MUSIQUE, sur l'Anagramme de PASCAL DE L'ESTOCART son excellent nourrisson.

L'ART HA DOCTES PLACES.

MUSIQUE, entre tous Arts le nom d'ART je te donne.

Tu animes vers, et d'un immortel son  
Donnes tousjours à l'ame une neufve façon :  
Transformant, ravissant toute honneste personne.

L'indocte audacieux, qui sur ton nom bourdonne,

Te brouille et fait pleurer par sa rude chanson.

Mais ceux que tu cheris, comprenans ta leçon,

Te font ouir et voir sublime-belle-bonne.

En l'esprit de PASCAL tu fais ferme sejour.



Son art, son air, son heur te fait ferme sejour.

Toy par tes sons en luy nos tristesses effaces.

L'Envie le confesse, et tous à ceste fois

Te voyans en PASCHAL, oyans en luy ta voix,

Disent, en s'esgayant, que L'ART HA DOCTES PLACES.

S. G. S. [Simon Goulart]

[Contratenor part]

PASCALIO LESTOCARTIO,

ARTIS MUSICES PERITISSIMO.

Crediderim doctas inter vixisse sorores,

Indeque tam dulces te didicisse modos,

Queis neque falsorum fanis simulachra Deorum,

Nec Veneris laudes impia turba canit.

Hisce nec incautos iuvenes blandissima Siren

Pellicit, aeterno mergat ut exitio.

Quin Domini potius celebratur gloria, solus

Qui fidis est author Pieridumque pater.

Audet et his aures virgo praeberere pudicas

Impune, et casto se recreare melo.

His simul ad mores animus formatur honestos,

Solvitur et diris sollicitudinibus.

Macte igitur, properant hedera vel cingere lauro

Victrici Phaebus Melpomenéque comam :

Vivat ut extantum Paschalis nomen in aeuum,

Musica nec stygiis haec obruatur aquis.

L. Constans. [Léonard Constant]

A PASCHAL DE L'ESTOCART, RARE

ET TRESEXCELLENT MUSICIEN.

Mon PASCHAL, où prends-tu ceste belle Musique,

Dont tu ravis le cœur à tous tes auditeurs ?

Aprend-on des mortels ces divines douceurs,

Ou si lon en apprend au ciel la theorique ?

Chantres, si vous n'avez le jugement inique,

Si vous ne captivez sou l'envie vos cœurs,

Ou sous un fol courroux, ou sous autres fureurs,

Jugez-vous pas divin tout cest œuvre harmonique ?

J'en suis là, mon Paschal, la musique des cieux

Logea dans ton esprit ses dons plus precieux,

Puis çà bas te transmit de son sejour celeste.

Pour n'estre pas ingrat tu prens un argument

Celeste comme l'art. C'est bien fait : mais il reste

Que telle soit la fin que le commencement.

Jean De Sponde.

[Tenor part]

IN PASCHALIUM LESTOCARTIUM

SACRAE MUSICES ALUMNUM.

PASCHALI, Aonios inter decus addite vates,

Præsens nectareis verba animare modis,

Fœdam alius Venerem mendaci carmine iactet,

Obscœnósque leui condiat arte sales :

Tu diversa sequens famae securus inanis,

Qua pius ingenuae laudis anhelat amor,

Perge viam, Christóque sacros accingere cantus.

Ille tui pretium grande laboris erit.

Hoc duce multa tuis orietur gloria caeptis,

Hoc fine deficiet cassus honore labos.

Quod superest, sic te placidùm tueatur ocellis,

Sic tibi det suavem Callipe a sonum :

Davidicos varÿs aptare canoribus hymnos

Incipe, lent a pium ne morat ardet opus.

Crede mihi) dices, fœcundae semina mentis

Differere haud poteram commodiore solo.

Dominicus Baudius, Flander.

A PASCHAL DE L'ESTOCART

DOCTE MUSICIEN.

D. L. T.

PASCHAL, tes plaisans sons resuscitent le Monde

En ces riches tombeaux maintenant enterré.

Tu animes le vers en beaux quatrains serré

Par le docte Pibrac d'une dextre faconde.

Tu chantes les grands biens qu'à la machine ronde

Le Meßie presente, et d'un pouce asseuré

Du grand David si bien touches le luth doré,

Qu'une harmonie en sort à nulle autre seconde.

O que tu es heureux ! et plus heureux encor,

Si tu reconois bien celui qui tel thresor

T'a commis pour son los, rendant ton ame aprise

A sonner ses bontez ! Pursui donc courageux,

Et puis qu'il n'a besoin de nos presens es cieux,

Par ta Musique esgaye et orne son Eglise.

Tout par accord.

[Bassus part]

PASCHALIO LESTOCARTIO

MUSICO PRAESTANTISSIMO.

Cùm sint funereo dolore mersa,  
Dudum tempora nostra, te canentem,  
PASCALI, rigidus severiore  
Natus sydere si quis haud ferendum  
Forsan dictitet (ut gravis Catonum  
Nil censura solet probare laetum)  
Nae, non is lepide putat nec aptè,  
Aures et numeris tuis negavit  
Scitis, dulciculis, lepore tinctis,  
Blando, inquam gravidis quater lepore,  
Qui sic mellifluo sono soporant  
Mentes, arte noua ligantque sensus,  
Atras tristitiae ut fugare possint  
Nubes, atque ioci referre lucem.  
Non haec apta suis medela morbis ?

A. F.

SONET

A PASCHAL DE L'ESTOCART EXCELLENT

MUSICIEN, SUR SA DEVISE.

PROMPTE ET SUAUITER.

C'est beaucoup, mon PASCHAL, de se monstrier habile

En un ouvrage long, difficile, divers.  
Mais c'est encores plus, bien animer un vers,  
Et dans l'ame loger la Musique gentile.

L'un et l'autre tu fais d'une adresse subtile,  
Ayant en peu de jours d'une infinité d'airs,  
De motets, de chansons rempli nostre univers,  
Qui revere joyeux ton travail doux-utile.

Se vante l'envieux d'en pouvoir faire autant.  
Tandis que sur sa table il ira se grattant,  
Sans rien faire en dix ans que brouiller sa cervelle,

Ou maints chantres fascher de ses ineptes sons :  
Nous, portez par les airs de tes braves chansons,  
Volerons de ce Monde à la Vie eternelle.

Th. D. S. [Thibaut de Sautemont]

H. PASCHAL DE L'ESTOCART. *Seconde Livre des Octonaires de la vanite du monde, mis en musique a trois, quatre, cinq et six parties.* Lyon: Barthelemi Vincent [Geneva: J. de Laon], 1582.

A MONSEIGNEUR LE COMTE DE LA MARCK.

MONSEIGNEUR, Apres avoir achevé le premier livre des Octonaires de la vanité du Monde, ceux qui ont essayé a diverses fois ma musique m'ont exhorté et tellement sollicité de poursuivre: qu'estans tombez en mes mains quelques autres epigrammes ou Octonaires sur le mesme sujet, j'en ay dressé ce deuxiesme livre, d'un air le plus doux et le mieux apropié au sens

de la lettre que j'ay peu. Je say bien que lon y rencontrera des pieces qui seront estimees de plus legere estoffe que celles du premier livre, et qu'on dira avoir esté faites à haste, mesmes entre les douze premiers Octonaires qui font d'un de mes meilleurs amis, qui a esté le principal instrument duquel Dieu s'est servi pour me mettre au train où je suis et en la resolution que j'ay d'appliquer tout ce que puis avoir d'adrese en ma vocation pour le reste de ma vie à choses graves et saintes, comme j'espere que l'auteur de tout bien m'en fera la grace. Donques en ces douze premiers, je me suis acommodé tant au desir de cest ami, qu'à l'air de ses vers qu'il a voulu dresser de ceste façon, les estimant convenables à l'inconstance du Monde. Quant aux douze derniers, qui seront trouvez de plus haute veine et qui m'ont esté donnez par le sieur de la Violette, auteur d'iceux, à l'espreuve on orra si j'ay bien ou mal rencontré. L'affection que j'ay eue de bien faire me contente, et ne porteray jamais envie à ceux qui seront mieux: au contraire, je leur en sauray tresbon gré, et seray tres-aise d'apprendre, n'ignorant pas que la perfection des plus avancez en quelque science que ce soit gist en une droite reconnoissance de leur imperfection, toutes et quantes fois qu'elle leur est decouverte par leurs amis ou mesmes par leurs ennemis. Au rest, MONSEIGNEUR, ayant ouy parler de l'estroite amitié que lon void entre Monseigneur le Duc de Bouillon vostre frere aisé et vous qui le secondez en tous exercices de pieté et vertu: luy ayant dedié le premier livre d'Octonaires, j'ay pensé que ce seroit apropiier les choses à leur poinct, si j'offrois ce second à vostre Excellence, afin qu comme les deux ne se separent, ains demandent d'estre joints ensemble, ainsi ce vous soyent les gages du desire que j'ay de faire humble service à vous deux, tant illustres princes, et de vous voir tousjours si bien unis, que renonçans de plus en plus aux vanitez du Monde, vous avanciez tellement en l'heureux chemin, où vous avez esté introduits des vostre plus tendre enfance, qu'en fin vous receviez la couronne de gloire immortelle. Fait ce dernier jour de Novembre, 1581.

De vostre Excellence

Treshumble serviteur,

PASCHAL DE L'ESTOCART.

[Superius part]

HUITAIN A PASCHAL DE L'ESTOCART EXCELLENT MUSICIEN,

Sur son Anagramme

TA CHORDE C'EST PALLAS.

DU Seigneur tout puissant la Sagesse eternelle,

La celeste PALLAS, loge es humains esprits

De ses amples thresors quelque riche parcelle,

Et les duit à dresser maint ouvrage de pris.

Dans ton nom, dans tes sons ce secret est compris:

Et la sainte PALL as t'orne de grace telle,

Que tous disent (fors ceux que l'Envie a surpris)

Que TA CHORDE, Paschal, C'EST PALLAS l'immortelle.

S. G. S. [Simon Goulart]

A PASCHAL DE L'ESTOCART

GRAVE-DOUX MUSICIEN.

HUITAIN.

PASCHAL , aux doux accords de ta belle Musique,

(Mere de mille biens et plaisirs gracieux)



Mon ame sort du corps, embrasee, ecstatique,  
Sur l'aile de tes airs s'en volant jusqu'aux cieux.

Mais elle redescend soudain en ces bas lieux,

Pour y gouster encor de tes tons la merveille:  
Par ce qu'elle n'entend en ce rond spacieux  
Harmonie que soit à la tiene pareille.

Fr. De l'Isle. [Louis Régnier, sieur de La Planche]

A PASCHAL DE L'ESTOCART

TRESEPERT EN L'ART DE MUSIQUE.

J'AY pensé, mon PASCHAL, que les honneurs du Monde,  
Ses biens, ses passetemps, passent l'aile du vent,  
Sechent comme une fleur, vont plus viste que l'onde,  
Et sont un songe vain qui nous va decevant.

Mais je change d'avis tes doux accords oyant:

Et puis, qu'impoßible est que ta Musique meure,  
Je maintien que le Monde, en si beaux airs fuyant,  
Honorabile, plaisant, riche, et ferme demeure.

Samuel du Lis. [Simon Goulart]

[Contratenor part]

SUR LA MUSIQUE DE PASCHAL DE L'ESTOCART,

HUITAIN.

QUEL mastin voy-je là, qui s'eslance et qui gronde

    Encontre tes accords graves-melodieux,

    Au Monde publians l'inconstance du Monde?

    C'est l'Envie, PASCHAL, monstre trop odieux.

Vuex-tu faire un grand coup ? poursui de mieux en mieux,

    Comme Dieu t'en octroye et le cœur et la vie:

    Lors s'esvanouiront les tristes envieux,

    Car ta muse sera la mort de leur Envie.

L. D. V.

AUX DOCTES DISCIPLES DE MUSIQUE,

HUITAIN.

SUR LES OCTONAIRES DE PASCHAL DE L'ESTOCART.

ON pourra dire, Amis, que la neufue Musique

    De PASCHAL, se bravant de tant de noms divers,

    De tiltres tant exquis, et de tant doctes vers,

    Est un petit logis qui a trop grand portique.

Mais, qui dira cela? Quelque censuer inique,

    Ignorant, envieux, et tendre du cerveau.

    Entrez, oyez PASCHAL, puis dites au critique

    Qu'il aille au loin cacher ses oreilles de veau.

Ph. de la Tour. [Philippe de La Tour]

A PASCHAL DE L'ESTOCART

INSIGNE ENTRE LES DOCTES MUSI-  
CISIENS DE NOSTRE TEMPS.

HUITAIN.

CELUY qui ton adresse en la Musique vante

Adjouste à l'Océan un petit present d'eaux,

Des cailloux à la terre, aux forests des rameaux:

Veut Minerve acoster pour la rendre savante.

Oyant le docte chœur qui tes louanges chante,

Je me tais L'ESTOCART, ou si je veux chanter,

Du doux bruit de tes sons mon ame je contente.

Un impossible cas je ne veux pas tenter.

Eu. du Pont. [Eugène du Pont]

[Tenor part]

A M. PASCHAL DE L'ESTOCART,

SUR LES OCTONAIRES DE L'INCON-  
stance du Monde, ornez de sa Musique.

SONET.

LE Thebain Amphion toucha si hautement

De son luth doux-sonnant les chordes admirables,

Qu'il bastit sans ciseaux, sans marteaux, et sans chables,  
Les murs de sa cité presque en un moment.

Au bruit de ses accords bransloit tout ferrement.

Les forests, les rochers, les rives delectables,  
Fournirent bois, cailloux, chaulx, pierres, eaux et sables,  
Ravis du doux effort de son brave instrument.

PASCHAL, si tes accords n'attirent les montagnes,

Les fleuves, les forests, ni les plattes compagnes,  
D'Amphion toutesfois tu passes la valeur.

De beaucoup il fit peu, son ouvrage est en pouldre.

De rien tu fais un tout, qui dompte le malheur,  
Et de mort et du temps rendra vaine la fouldre.

G. Mogue N.

SUR LES OCTONAIRES DE LA VANITE DU MONDE, MIS EN BELLE MUSIQUE PAR  
PASCHAL DE L'ESTOCART.

HUITAIN.

LES Mondains enyurez d'un doux-aigre breuvage,

Dont le Monde a surpris et troublé leur courage,

N'ont garde de chanter rien qui soit vertueux.

Le sujet de leurs chants c'est l'amour vicieux,

Ennuyeux passetemps ou le mondain se fonde.

PASCHAL, pour y pourvoir et Vertu contenter,

D'un ton saint-grave-doux nous fait ores chanter  
Et (chantant) mespriser les vanitez du Monde.

G. Mogne N.

A M. PASCHAL DE L'ESTOCART.

SONET.

PAR maints escrits on accusoit le Monde  
D'estre rempli de fiel et vanité.  
Sur ce, en mon cœur je l'avois ja quitté.  
Qu'eusse-je fait où tant de mal abonde ?  
Mais ta Musique, à nulle autre seconde,  
Par sa vigueur et douce gravité  
M'arresta court : ce qu'avois proietté  
Plus ne me plait. Au Monde je me fonde.  
C'est assez dit. Si tant doux est son fiel,  
Si son discord prend ses accords du ciel,  
Et si par toy ma tristesse il contente:  
Dy moy, PASCHAL, pourray-je estre accusé  
Comme leger, de m'estre ravisé,  
Et d'avoir pris le bien qui se presente.

B. M. B.

[Bassus part]

A PASCHAL DE L'ESTOCART

SON AMY.

LE Thracien, qui n'eut onc conoissance

Que des faux Dieux, par la seule harmonie

De son doux luth ciel et terre manie,

Et range tout à sa docte cadance.

Il est doué de si douce puissance

Qu'à ses accords sublimes la manie,

L'ire, l'orgueil, le dueil, la felonnie,

Sans repliquer rendent obeissance.

Mais le vrai Dieu, magnifique en ses faits,

Veut que son los dans nostre cœur abonde

En doux accords, en cantiques parfaits.

Arrier donc, ô Lyre THRACIENNE.

Laisse chanter à la PASCHALIENNE

L'heur de l'Eglise et le malheur du Monde.

I. P. L.

A PASCHAL DE L'ESTOCART

DOCTE MUSICIEN.

DU farouche Lyon, enserré dans la cage,

On charme mainteffois la rugissante rage:

On luy fait lascher prise, et en quelque façons

Danser, quand il entend d'une lyre les sons.  
Ainsi le Monde vain, pris de cinquante chaînes,  
Dans sa propre misère et fureur tournoyant,  
Est par toy retenu: car tes accords oyant,  
Paisible il chante ici ses inconstances vaines.

L. Mongart.

A PASCHAL DE L'ESTOCART

EXCELLENT MUSICIEN,

SONET.

LE Pere des accords, tout indigné de voir

Souiller indignement sa sacrée Musique

Par mainte impiété, par maint vers impudique,

Au harpeur Delien commanda d'y pourvoir.

D'obeir promptement Apollon fit devoir:

Communica le fait à la troupe pudique.

Conseil pris, il fut dit : De tout auteur lubrique

Perisse le renom, l'art, l'œuvre, et le favor.

Mais afin que l'honneur de la sainte harmonie

Se conserve immortel: que ceste compagnie.

Orne un gentil esprit d'un stile honneste et doux.

Cela dit, les neuf sœurs, mon PASCHAL, te choisirent,

Et de ce qu'il falloit richement t'ennoblirent,

Pour ton nom immortel faire vivre entre tous.

L. C. [Léonard Constant]

I. CLAUDE LE JEUNE. *Octonaires de la vanite, et inconstance du monde. mis en musique à 3. et à 4.* Paris: Pierre Ballard, 1606/1611.

A MONSIEUR,

*MONSIEVR CONSTANS, GOVVERNEVR POVR*

*LE ROY EN L'ISLE ET CHASTEAV DE MARANS.*

MONSIEVR, L'intention de feu mon frere ayant esté de dedier ses œuvres à ses plus affidés amis, et sçachant, tant par l'obligation qu'il vous avoit, que par l'amitié que vous luy portiés, combien il faisoit d'estat de vous : je ne puis attendre plus long temps à m'acquiter de ce devoir : et partant mets au jour sous vostre nom les Octonaires de la vanité et inconstance du Monde, qu'il avoit mises en Musique peu au paravant sa mort : œuvre petit en aparence, mais grand en effét. Il y a seulement trois pieces de chaque mode, à trois et à quatre parties, esquelles il a non seulement amassé tout ce que la sçience et l'industrie precedente ont fait cognoistre de beau et de rare : mais y a adjousté tant et tant de traits, si nouveaux, si excellents, j'ose dire si inimitables (ce mot me soit pardonné) qu'on jugera par cét eschantillon, combien, s'il eust vescu, la piece entiere eust esté pleine de perfection. Car son intention

n'estoit pas de s'arrester là, mais d'y joindre encore trois pieces de chacun Mode, à cinq et à six parties, dont il avoit projectté les desseins si hauts, qu'il asseuroit que tout ce qu'il avoit fait auparavant de plus beau, ne paroistroit rien au prix. Il n'a pas pleu à Dieu qu'il en soit venu à



bout. Ce pendant, puis que vous ne pouvés plus l'aymer vivant, continués, je vous supplie, à  
aymer et sa memoire et ses œuvres : et aydés à defendre l'un et l'autre de la calomnie des  
ignorans, lesquels (quoy qu'ils puissent dire) y trouveront toujours plus à apprendre, qu'à  
reprendre : et moy, honorés moy de la continuation de vos bonnes graces, et me tenés

MONSIEUR, pour

*Vostre tres-humble servante ,*

CECILE LE JEUNE.

QUADRAIN.

*SUR LES OCTONAIRES DE LA VANITE,*

*MIS EN MUSIQUE PAR CL. LE JEUNE.*

*Les Musiciens de l'ancienne pratique*

*A de beaux mots, donnent biens de beaux sons :*

*Mais on peut voir en ces vaines chansons*

*Qu'un JEUNE seul fait parler la Musique .*

O. D. L. N.

J. PIAT MAUGRED. *Airs et chansons a III, V. VI. et VIII. parties, accomodees tant a la voix,*  
*qu'aux instrumens.* Douay: Jean Bogart, 1616.

A MONS<sup>R</sup> CORDOVAN

DOCTEUR EN MEDECINE.

MAUGRED viura malgré l'Enuie;

Puis que sa douce Melodie

Plait tant au Docteur Cordovan:  
Car tel grand maistre en Poësie,  
Car tel grand maistre en Harmonie,  
Ne peut rien priser s'il n'est grand.

*L. Du Gardin Doct. et Profess.*

*ordin. en Medecine, son confrere.*

A MONSIEUR MONS<sup>R</sup> M. MATTHIEU CORDOVAN DOCTEUR ET PROFESSEUR DE LA  
MEDECINE EN L'UNIVERSITE DE DOUAY.

MONSIEUR, Ce n'est pas une petite charge, qu'entreprend celuy, auquel est recommandé quelque orphelin de bon lieu; et pour ce Ion choisit des Tuteurs de telle condition, qui ayent l'esprit et le moyen d'assister ceux, lesquels privez de l'amiable assistance de leurs geniteurs, ne recevroient le secours necessaire pour estre entretenus, et adressez en qualité qu'il leur appartient. Cest œuvre Musical tient du rang de ceux-là, estant le dernier, qu'a composé ce brave Musicien M. PIAT MAUGRED, que Dieu absolue, tenu entre les premiers de l'Europe, comme il a faict apparoir par diverses siennes compositions et livres imprimez tant en Anvers, qu'à Douay. Et se peut dire de luy ce que les Auteurs des histoires naturelles escrivent du Cigne, que prevoyant sa mart, son naturel luy enseigne de chanter melodieusement: Car selon le tesmoignage de tous ceux, qui ont ouy ces dernieres pieces, ayans l'oreille capable pour en pouvoir juger, elles sont comme un chef-d'œuvre, où il a monstré et l'esprit d'inventer, et une melodie tres-aggreable; avec son artificielle composition, en quoy il passoit plusieurs autres. Or comme je 'estois obligé par promesse saicte avant son trespas, de le faire voir au monde, agencé comme il appartient; je n'ay

pas eu occasion de mettre du temps à penser, où il le falloit adresser; à fin qu'il fut guaranty, et chery comme il convenoit. Dés incontinent que les tristes nouvelles du decez de lauteur nous furent aportees, je vous choisiss pour celuy, qui estoit tres-idoine à ce qui sembloit estre de mon devoir, que de mettre soubz vostre tutelle ce chef-d'œuvre orphelin: Car estant un nourrisson de la race d'Apollon; il estoit question de luy chercher [sic] lieu propre, et Tuteur convenable: ce que je peux dire à la verité avoir fort bien rencontré. Apollon vient d'une source divine; et les anciens appellent les Medecins enfans de Dieux. Et comme on l'estime inventeur des Vers et de la Musique, des instrumens, et de plusieurs beaux secrets de la Medecine: nous voyons aussi, que nulle de ces qualitez ne manque en vous. Le louable et tres-honneste exercice de la Poësie françoise s'est maintenu icy long temps a vostre enhortement et exemple, au temps que n'estiez occupé à chose plus serieuses, avec contentement de l'Academie, laquelle y est dressee. Touchant la Musique et Instrumens, personne n'est ignorant, que n'y soyezdu tout dressé, et versé, et en pouvez donner un jugement tres-assuré. Qui plus est, l'on a ouy volontier et avec applaudissement, l'Oration Quodlibetique, qu'avez prononcé en nostre Université de Douay à la louange de la Musique, au mois de Decembre dernier. Lors que fut confirmé d'avantage le propos, que j'avoy des-ja arrêté. N'estant aussi ignorant, que l'Auteur de cest œuvre vous avoir esté familierement cognu, et amy. Quant à la Medecine, vous en faites entierement profession, et les Cures et Leçons, que l'on entend de vous journallement, monstrent à quelle perfection de cognoissance vous en estes parvenu. Lon a moyen de dire icy, comme symbolisent, la disposition du corps humain avec la Musique; la diversité des complexions, avec les tons divers; et la symmetrie des humeurs, avec la melodie causee par la consonance de diverses voix: que la Medecine soustient les corps et les esprits; de mesme aussi la Musique, *quia animus gaudens et aтем floridam facit*. Comme vous-mesmes avez experimenté, qu'au jour et à l'heure, que la

fièvre quarte, dont aviez esté travaillé quelque espace de temps, devoit reprendre sa place et forces, elle a esté domptée et bannye par la douce harmonie de la Musique du mesme Auteur, et d'autres, chantée en presence de Monsieur Nepueu Docteur et Professeur Ordinaire en Droict, aussi grand amateur et fauteur de cest art, vostre Cousin et familier amy ; par M. Nicolas Marquette, et M. Jean le Maistre, Maistres du chant de deux Eglises Collegiales en Douay, et autres appelez en vostre maison à cest effect esperé. On pourroit monstrier, que ces deux exercices s'accordent fort bien en plusieurs autres poincts: mais pour ne passer les limites ordonnez à une Epistre Liminaire, il se faut arrester, et vous prier avoir pour agreable ceste nostre bonne volonté: et en ce faisant m'obligerez à demeurer,

MONSIEUR,

*En Douay ce 15. Juin 1616*

*Vostre tres-affectionné serviteur*

J. Bogart.

K. JEAN DE BOURNONVILLE. *Cinquante quatrains du Sieur de Pybrac, mis en musique à 2, 3, et 4 parties.* Paris: Pierre Ballard, 1622.

A MONSEIGNEUR, LE PRINCE DE CONDÉ

MONSEIGNEUR,

Ce n'est pas seulement à l'Aigle ou au Milan de s'efforer dans les nuës et y auoisiner de plus pres les astres du Ciel les plus flamboyans; L'Aloüette l'un des plus petits oyseaux a le courage et les forces d'y porter pareillement et ses aisles et son chant melodieux avec un événement autant favorable que celui de ces grands oyseaux. Cette consideration m'affermit le courage, et fait que ma petitesse s'efleue aupres de vostre grandeur qui luisés (MONSEIGNEUR) autour du Soleil de

nostre France comme l'un de ses plus proches et brillantes planettes non seulement en qualité de premier Prince du Sang: mais aussi en excellence d'esprit qui vous a rendu l'un des plus doctes Princes de la Chrestienté. Les aisles qui me haussent si haut sont le desir que j'ay de vous rendre quelque tesmoignage de mon tres-humble service, et la confiance que j'ay en vostre bonté naturelle, laquelle ayant fait l'honneur a ma fille de tenir son enfant sur les fons de Baptesme, ne desdaignera le Pere comme j'espere, en ne regardant pas tant ce peu que je suis comme ce que vous estes (MONSEIGNEUR) pour agréer les Airs de ma Musique que j'anime des vers sententieux et moraux du Sieur de Pybrac, qui favorisera beaucoup mon dessein aupres de vous qui guidé d'un sçavant Apollon cherissés toutes fortes d'honnestes Muzes. Le bon accueil que vous ferés a la mienne luy fervira de rempart contre les attaques de l'enuie ou de la mesdisance, et m'engagerés a des entreprises de plus grande haleine qui ne viseront qu'a contribuer de tout leur possible au progrès de vostre lôs, et a vous faire voir que j'auray accompli l'un de mes plus fervents souhaits quand vous m'advouierés estre,

MONSEIGNEUR,

*Vostre tres-humble et tres-obeissant  
serviteur.*

J. DE BOURNONVILLE.

A MONSIEUR DE BOURNONVILLE,| SUR L'IMPRESSION DE SA MUSIQUE.|

ODE

*Socrate, en tes vieux ans tu apprends la Musique,*

*Et tu en es repris:*

*Mais ton divin esprit dédaigne le Critique,*

*Et le tient à mespris.*

*Tu ne crois meriter le haut tiltre de Sage*

*Sans sçavoir ce bel Art,*

*Et c'est ce qui t'en fait juger l'apprentissage*

*Ne s'en faire trop tart.*

*La Grece en t'imitant croit que la sapience*

*Ne peut reigner chés soy,*

*Si elle ne s'adjoit cette belle science*

*Si chérie de toy.*

*Ainsi elle la prise, elle l'ayme, et l'honore,*

*Et tant qu'elle le fait,*

*Le Grec est recognu jusqu'au lit de l'Aurore,*

*Pour un Sage parfait.*

*Mais lors que le desdain se logea dans son ame,*

*Fatal à sa grandeur,*

*Ce grand bruit s'en alla en fumée et en flame,*

*Par un triste malheur.*

*Les Muses lors, dit-on, abandonnants la Grece,*

*Pour l'Empire François,  
Y vienrent ériger un throsne à la sagesse,  
En ayant fait le choix.*

*Mettants à son costé cette douce science  
Pour la faire cherir,  
Et la recommandants aux esprits de la France  
Pour la faire fleurir.*

*Du depuis la Musique a esté venerable,  
A nos peuples polis,  
Et la France a produit en cét Art si aymable,  
Des hommes accomplis.*

*Tel es-tu de nos jours, ô fameux BOURNONVILLE,  
Qui par tes doux accords  
Peux tirer, tant tu es merueilleux et habile,  
Nos ames de leurs corps.*

ROCH DE BEAU-LIEU.

L. JEAN ROUSSON. *Recueil de chansons spirituelles, avec les airs nottez sur chacune d'icelles.*

La flèche: Louys Hebert, 1622.

DE L'OBLIGATION QUE NOUS AVONS DE SERVIR A DIEU, ET de chanter ses loüanges,  
pages 1-2 of unpaginated preface.

Il est certain, ô Enfans de Dieu, que, La plus belle et meilleure de toutes les sciences que l'Homme puisse sçavoir en ce Monde est, se cognoistre soymesme: Car, celui qui se cognoist creature, recognoist aussi qu'il y a un Createur. Celuy qui se cognoist serviteur, n'ignore pas qu'il y a un Maistre. Celuy qui recognoist qu'un temps a esté qu'il n'estoit rien du tout, ne peut douter qu'un plus grand que luy ne l'ait faict ce qu'il est. Celuy qui aperçoit bien que de luy-mesme ne peut subsister, ne peut aussi ignorer qu'il y en a un autre plus puissant que luy qui le conserve. C'est de là que provient la crainte, l'amour, la Foy, l'Esperance et toutes les autres vertus. Et voila les biens qui, entre plusieurs autres, procedent de la cognoissance de soy-mesme. Le Philosophe Socrates faisoit tant estat de la cognoissance que chacun doit avoir de soy-mesme, qu'il donnoit advis à ses disciples qu'ils se regardassent souvent dans un miroir, à fin que s'ils apparoissoient beaux exterieurement, ils s'efforçassent de l'estre encores plus en l'interieur. Et si, au contraire, leur visage ne se trouvoit beau, ils eussent soin de rendre leurs ames belles. Ancienne conseilloit la mesme chose à ceux qui avoyent la bouche mal faicte: à fin que se voyant ainsi difformes, ils donnassent ordre de coriger et recompenser ceste imperfection par quelques beaux et agreables discours. Le divin Platon disoit aussi que, il n'y a chose plus indigne de l'Homme que de ne cognoistre son Creature et soy-mesme: et que, la cognoissance de Dieu et de soy-mesme est la lumiere de la vie humaine. . . .

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*A TOUS ENFANS DESIREUX de bien-faire*, pages 27-9 of unpaginated preface.



Je say comme le Cygne, (ô enfans et amiables Lecteurs) je chante sur la fin de mon âge et me trouvant proche de la morte. Plaise à Dieu que ma voix ait tant de force qu'elle puisse attirer à la voye du Ciel un grand nombre d'Ames Chrestiennes que le fifilet du diable attire tous les jours és Enfers sous l'appast emmiellé d'une infinité de Chansons prophanes et des-honnestes qu'il met en public pour gaster et corrompre l'innocence puerile. Il sçait bien par experience, que (comme dit S. Paul:) *Corrumpunt bonos mores colloquia praua.*

*Les discours dépravez empoisonnent les cœurs,*

*Les prophanes chansons gastent les bonnes mœurs.*

Telles Chansons font assez cognoistre qu'elles sont issues de la boutique de Sathan puis-qu'elles ne tendent qu'à lubricité et corruption, toutes dediees au diable sous l'adieu d'un Cupidon, d'une Venus et autres folies superstitieuses. Cet esprit d'enfer sçait bien encores que, nostre naturel nous rend enclins plus au mal qu'au bien: de que, quand nous avons prins une habitude vicieuse au temps de nostre jeune âge, il est tres difficile de l'oster. C'est un Prophete qui le dit pour nous en advertir, qu'il est autant difficile d'oster une mauvaise accoustumance comme de faire blanchir la peau d'un More, et le proverbe dit aussi que: *Quod nova testa capit, mueterata sapit.*

*Le vaisseau neuf de terre imbu d'une liqueur,*

*Soit bonne, ou soit mauvaise, en retiendra l'odeur*

Ceux donc qui, à l'instigation du diable, empoisonnent les cœurs des jeunes enfans et de tant de simples filles, par parolles et chansons lascives font mal, et en seront blasmez devant nostre Seigneur, qui les a desia condamnez diqu'on luy attache au col une meulle de moulin et qu'on le jette ainsi au profond de La Mer. Et au contraire, grandes recompenses sont promises et bien asseures à ceux qui remettront les Ames esgarees en la voye de salut.

Si les Poëtes François s'occupoyent à composer des Cantiques spirituels propres à chanter les loüanges de Dieu, et que les Musiciens y accommodassent des Airs convenables, ils meriteroyent beaucoup les uns et les autres: car non seulement ils divertiroyent la Jeunesse de chanter toutes ces vilaines chansons lascives, ains les leur rendroyent odieuses: et seroyent causes que l'on n'entendrait que Chansons spirituelles, en sorte que toutes parts l'Air retentiroit les loüanges de Dieu. Les Bergers gardant leurs troupeaux, les Laboureurs cultivant leurs tertes, les Artisans exerçans leurs metiers, les femmes et filles faisant leurs ouvrages et fillant à leurs quenouilles: si bien que la gloire de Dieu s'augmenteroit, et le regne du diable s'affoibliroit peu à peu.

C'est ceste consideration qui m'a esmeu à dresser ce petit Recuil, quoy que je fois du tout incapable de telles entreprises: mais je considere que peut estre, cecy servira-il d'emulation à quelques uns de ceux qui ont la suffisance, tant Poëtes que Musiciens, et les fera mettre la main à la plume pour faire choses de plus grand merite a la gloire de nostre Seigneur: A quoy je les convie et conjure au nom de Dieu, et autant que m'est possible. Ce qu'attendant j'ay donc colligé ce petit nombre de Chansons de divers Autheurs et les ay adjoustees à un autre petit nombre que j'ay basties grossierement, puis les ay accommodees de chacune un Air, tout le plus populairement que m'a esté possible, à fin que les enfans et toute sorte de personnes puissent les apprendre. Et pour rendre les Airs plus faciles, j'ay mis (à dessein) toutes les Clefs en mesme endroit, afin que le dernier Air soit trouvé aussi facile à chanter comme le premier.

M. ARTUS AUX-COUSTEAUX. *Les Quatrains de Mr Mathieu, à 3 parties selon l'ordre des douze modes*. Paris: Pierre I Ballard, 1636 [identical preface for 1643 edition].

A MONSEIGNEUR Mre. NICOLAS LE JAY, CHEVALLIER, SEIGNEUR DE TILLY,  
MAISON ROUGE, S. FARGEAU, CONFLANS, etc. *Conseiller du Roy en ses Conseils,*  
*Premier President de sa Cour de Parlement, et Garde des Sceaux de ses Ordres.*

MONSEIGNEUR, Outre la recognoissance, le devoir le plus legitime du monde m'oblige à vous  
presenter ce livre, c'est le petit travail d'un homme dont vostre approbation fait toute la gloire, et  
de qui la voix a eu l'honneur de passer agreablement dans vos oreilles. Si je n'avois jetté les yeux  
que sur cette pompe estonnante et venerable dont vous estes environné, qui fait trembler les  
crimes, et qui n'est regardée sans crainte que de l'innocence la plus pure, et la plus averée, mon  
dessein n'auroit pas esté si hardy: mais cette bonté par laquelle il vous plait d'asseurer tout le  
monde, et cet accueil favorable dont vous adoucissez la majesté rude et severe de vostre pourpre,  
m'ont donné le courage de l'entreprendre. Je voudrois avoir autant de voix que la Renommée,  
pour publier dignement tant de hautes et de rares vertus, par qui vous faites un modele de vostre  
incomparable vie, je les employerois toutes, et ne m'en reserverois qu'une, qui suffiroit avec mon  
zelle pour vous témoigner que je suis en toute humilité,

MONSEIGNEUR,

De vostre grandeur,

*Le tres-humble, et tres-obeissant serviteur,*

A. AUX-COUSTEAUX

POUR MONSEIGNEUR//LE PREMIER PRESIDENT.//SONNET.//

*Grand astre qui preside aux interets du monde,*

*Par qui nos fleurs de Lis ont un éclat nouveau,*

*Et dont l'intégrité qui n'a point de seconde,  
Dessus les yeux d'Astrée a remis le bandeau.  
Ta lumière qui vient d'une source profonde,  
Ne s'obscurcit jamais, son lustre est toujours beau:  
Elle est indifférente autant qu'elle est seconde,  
Et tous également partagent ce flambeau.  
Ha! c'est trop (GRAND LE JAY) cette sagesse auguste  
Contre toy seulement te fait paroistre injuste,  
Et ce qui t'appartient tu ne te le rends pas:  
Mais tes hautes vertus n'ayants point de limites,  
Pour toy tout l'Univers seroit un prix trop bas  
Si tu faisois justice à tes propres merites.*

DE BENSSERADDE.

A M. AUX-COUSTEAUX, // SUR SON LIVRE. //

*AUX-COUSTEAUX, tes divins meslanges  
Charment les hommes et les Anges  
Par des accords si gratieux,  
Que bien que les autres se pique,  
Toy seul mets icy la Musique  
Au point qu'elle est dedans les Cieux.  
Ces tons que tu mets en usage,  
Ont dessus les cœurs l'avantage*

*De conduire leur passion,  
Et par ces charmantes merveilles,  
Tu sçays enchanter les oreilles  
D'un Orphée, et d'un Amphion.*

BELOT.

AU MESME.

*La Musique est dedans les Cieux  
Le seul exercice des Anges,  
Le doux accord de ses meslanges  
Est de l'invention des Dieux.  
De qui la sagesse infinie  
Fait naître une juste harmonie  
De tons discordans et divers  
Aux parties de l'Univers.  
Avec mesme proportion,  
AUX-COUSTEAUX verse en nos oreilles  
Un petit monde de merveilles,  
Unique en sa perfection.  
Quelle assez digne recompence  
Luy sçaurois tu donner, ô France,  
Pour des chants si délicieux,  
Que de le mettre au rang des dieux?*

POIRIER.

N. CLAUDE LE JEUNE. *Octonaires de la vanité et inconstance du monde. Mis en Musique à 3. et à 4. Parties.* Paris: Robert Ballard, 1641.

A

MONSEIGNEUR

SEGUIER,

CHANCELIER

DE FRANCE.

MONSEIGNEUR,

*On blasmeroit avec justice ma temerité, si lors que j'ay eu la pensée de presenter cét ouvrage a vostre Grandeur, j'avois osé jeter la veuë sur ce que la nature, le merite, et la fortune vous ont fait estre. Car il est sans doute que l'esclat de vostre illustre naissance, le lustre de vos incomparables vertus, et la splendeur de vostre éminente dignité, m'avroyent peu divertir d'un si hardy dessein.*

*Mais, MONSEIGNEUR, on m'accuseroit avec raison de timidité et d'ingratitude, si connoißant cette bonté infinie par laquelle vous vous abbaïßez pour recevoir, et obliger ceux qui ne peuvent s'e fleuer jusques à vous, et dont feu mon Pere et moy avons senty des effets si puißants, je ne rendois ma reconnoißance publicque, et ne faisais voir aux yeux de toute la France que je vous dois mon honneur, et ma fortune. Je viens donc, MONSEIGNEUR, vous supplier, avec tout le respect que je vous dois ,de trouver bon que je face sçavoir à tout le monde que je ne suis point*

*ingrat, et que je reconnois selon ma foiblesse les obligations infinies dont je vous suis redevable. Je viens publier que vous avez maintenu feu mon Pere contre l'oppression de ses envieux, qu'apres sa mort vous m'avez reçu avec une benignité extraordinaire, et que vous m'avez fait heritier de sa charge, et de ses Privileges. Je ne tiens toutes ces graces que de vostre Grandeur, et pour luy en rendre mes tres-humbles remerciements, et luy tesmoigner ce que je puis en la profession que je fais et en l'office dont il à pleu à vostre Bonté m'honorer, j'emprunte la voix du plus agreable Musicien de son siecle, et fais revivre celuy de tous ses ouvrages que j'ay estimé le plus parfait. Agréé s'il vous plaist, MONSEIGNEUR, qu'il prenne vostre nom auguste pour son Dieu tutelaire, qu'il cherche son azile en l'honneur de vostre protection, et que celuy à qui vous avez permis de vous le presenter, vous assure que la plus forte de toutes ses passions, est celle de vivre et de mourir,*

MONSEIGNEUR,

DE VOSTRE GRANDEUR,

Le tres-humble, tres-obeissant,

et tres-obligé serviteur.

ROBERT BALLARD.

A MONSEIGNEUR

LE CHANCELIER,

Sur sa promotion à l'ordre de Chevalier

du saint Esprit.

*EPIGRAMME.*

*Quelques fameux lauriers que la Gloire dispense,  
A peine a-t'elle un prix esgal a tes travaux ;  
Les honneurs les plus grands, les tiltres les plus hauts,  
Semblent perdre pour toy le nom de récompence.  
Cét Ordre précieux qu'aujourd'hui tu reçois  
Des triomphantes mains du plus Juste des Roys,  
Est moins une faveur, qu'un tribut qu'on te donne.  
Aussi puis-je assurer que ce nouvel esclat  
Ne relève pas tant celui qui t'environne,  
Qu'il acquitte envers toy la Justice, et l'Estat.*

Colletet.

O. ARTUS AUX-COUSTEAUX. Suite de la première partie des Quatrains de Mr Mathieu, Mis en Musique à trois Voix, selon l'ordre des douze Modes. Paris: Robert Ballard, 1652.

A MESSIRE

Mre MATTHIEU MOLÉ,

PREMIER PRESIDENT

AU PARLEMENT

de Paris,

ET

GARDE DES SCEAUX

DE FRANCE.



MONSEIGNEUR.

Les faveurs que j'ay receuës de votre bonté sont en si grand nombre, que je desespere d'en pouvoir jamais reconnoistre la moindre partie. A peine ay-je eu le temps de vous remercier des premieres, que vous m'en faites de nouvelles, et parmy les plus grandes affaires de la France que vous conduisez avec de si prodigieux travaux, vous ne laissez pas de jeter les yeux sur une de vos plus petites Creatures, et de songer aux moyens de me faire vivre. Le dernier Benefice, MONSEIGNEUR, qui m'a esté conféré par votre recommandation, est de telle importance pour ma vie, que je me puis vanter par tout de vous devoir tous les momens que je respireray dans le monde. En ce temps de misere où un million de personnes languissent, Votre GRANDEUR m'a donné la main pour me relever, et m'a fait avoir un loisir honneste et un azile assuré. C'est en ce lieu, MONSEIGNEUR, que je medite tous les jours sur les Graces que j'ay receuës de vous ; c'est où je fais des vœux au Ciel pour votre prosperité et celle de votre Illustre Famille, et où j'ay achevé cet Ouvrage que je prends la hardiesse de vous desdier. Je ne vous donne, MONSEIGNEUR, que ce qui est à vous, et je puis dire veritablement que vous en avez esté le Pere, puisqu'il n'a esté produit que par les moyens que votre bonté m'en a donnez. Ce sont les Quatrains de la Vie et de la Mort que j'ay mis en Musique, et que je vous presente avec autant d'humilité, que vous avez eu de grandeur de courage pour mespriser votre vie et la sacrifier pour l'Authorité du Roy, et pour le salut de la France. Vous avez veu cent fois la mort devant vos yeux avec un visage esgal, et une constance inébranlable, sans autre secours que celuy de votre grand cœur ; Vous avez passé cent fois au travers d'un peuple armé, et animé contre votre Justice. Je prie Dieu, MONSEIGNEUR, qu'il vous fasse la grace d'achever avec joye, ce que vous avez continué avec tant de peine et tant de peril. La France ne doit point douter que le Ciel

ne favorise vos desseins, puisqu'ils sont justes et sincerés, et qu'ils n'ont d'autre but que la gloire du Roy, et la tranquillité Publique, où prend part,

MONSEIGNEUR, [sic]

Celuy qui est

De vostre Grandeur,

Le tres-humble, tres-obeissant,

et tres-obligé serviteur.

A. AUX-COUSTEAUX.

#### ADVERTISSEMENT

#### AU LECTEUR

LECTEUR, je te prie d'agreer cette seconde Partie d'un petit Ouvrage que j'ay donné au Public il y a long-temps : J'ay composé la premiere Partie sur les douze Modes Naturels et Transposez, Harmoniques et Arithmetiques ; Et la seconde aussi sur les douze Modes, mais au Naturel seulement ; je te prie d'en excuser les defauts : J'ay composé cecy pour me delasser de plus grands Ouvrages, et n'ay pas eu dessein de travailler pour les Maistres, mais pour instruire les Escoliers : Ce n'est pas qu'il n'y ait des Maistres, bien que tres-habiles, qui apres avoir Composé sur deux ou trois Modes, ont une entiere satisfaction d'eux mesme, et ne veulent pas travailler sur le reste, soit qu'ils l'estiment inutile, ou qu'ils en soient rebutez par la difficulté : Et quand on leur dit qu'ils n'imitent pas ces Illustres Anciens, Orlande, Claudin le Jeune, du Caurroy, et Bournonville, ils respondent que ce n'est plus la mode, et ainsi la mode du temps nous fait perdre l'usage des douze Modes ; Modes, que nous pouvons appliquer aux passions, comme le Phrigien porteau desespoir, et le Dorien à la douceur, ce qui ce peut voir dans le Solitaire second de

Pontus de Thiard, et dans les escrits du Pere Mercene, pour ne pas parler des Anciens. Je ne sçaurois m'empescher de reciter icy, ce qui m'a esté rapporté d'un grand Maistre de nostre siecle, qui depuis quelque temps ayant entrepris de faire un piece du cinquiesme Mode, que l'on appelle vulgairement quatriesme ton de l'Eglise, y a fait quelque cadence empruntée, ou irreguliere, voulant dire que c'est un Mode abondant, qui reçoit en luy toutes les autres cadences ; Je te prie, LECTEUR, de considerer si cela peut estre, et s'il se doit faire ; Il a esté contraint pourtant de s'en excuser à quelqu'un de ses Auditeurs qui n'y cognoist gueres ; C'est un de ces Admirateurs ignorants, qui apres avoir entendu trois ou quatre belles voix, avec les Luth, les Thuorbes, les Violes, et les autres Instruments bien touchez pour suppléer au defaut de la Musique, s'en vont haussans les yeux et les espales, disant partout, Qu'il ne faut plus rien entendre apres ces merveilles : Ceux qui les croiroient en demeureroient là, et mespriseroient tous les autres Compositeurs : Ils disent pour toutes raisons que la Musique n'est faite que pour contenter l'oreille de ceux qui n'y cognoissent rien ; mais je leur responds que si la Musique mal composée et bien chantée nous plaist, à plus forte raison nous doit plaire et agreer d'avantage, celle qui est bien composée, bien polie, et bien chantée. La Musique se doit faire pour trois fins ; La premiere, pour attirer l'attention des Auditeurs par une belle et agreable harmonie accommodée au sujet ; La second, pour plaire aux Chantres, par des chants qui les puisse animer à bien chanter, non pas comme les Enfans de Chœur, à qui l'on apprend le plus souvent à chanter leur Partie avec des larmes : La troisieme, pour les yeux des Maistres, voyans la Partition d'une piece bien commencée, par un beau devant, un bon present, et un bel apres, et continuée de la sorte jusques à la cadence finale, qui est le verbe du discours. Voila ce que j'ay appris des bons Maistres, qui ne disent pas que la Musique ne consiste qu'en deux ou trois belles voix, qui sont capables de faire passer la plus meschante Musique pour bonne, par les ornemens qu'elles y

apportent ; comme les voix de Messieurs Berthod, Hedouin, le Gros, et plusieurs autres, qui sont esclatter les chants de quelques Maistres du siecle, qui sans eux n'auroient pas tant de reputation ; tels Maistres ne reçoivent d'ordinaire dans leurs concerts que ceux qui n'en sont qu'Amateurs, et non pas cognoissans ; Ils ne trouvent jamais de lieux assez favorables pour faire chanter leur Musique, il y a toujours quelque chose à redire ; tantost l'Eglise est trop haute, la salle est trop basse, ou il faudroit oster la tapisserie : Bref, ils ne savent à quoy s'en prendre, et comme ils ne cognoissent pas leurs deffauts ils aiment tellement leurs Ouvrages qu'ils ne trouvent rien de bon que ce qu'il font, et n'y veulent pas introduire les cognoissans de peur de n'estre pas approuvez. Je n'ay pas entrepris, LECTEUR, de te marquer exactement les fautes de leur Musique afin qu'ils excusent les miennes ; je ne reprens que leur vanité, et me soumetts librement à ta Censure.

A MONSIEUR AUX-COUSTEAUX.

Sur les Quatrains de la Vie et de la Mort qu'il a mis en Musique.

Admirable AUX-COUSTEAUX, miraculeux Genie,

Sur ces Quatrains Moraux, ta charmante Harmonie

Par un mesme moyen fait un contraire effort ;

Tu monstres tout d'un coup le jour et les tenebres,

Et par tes Chants divins et doctement funebres,

Tu donnes à la fois et la Vie et la Mort.

BEYS.

A MONSIEUR AUX-COUSTEAUX,

Sur les Quatrains de la Vie et de la Mort.

AUX-COUSTEAUX, rare esprit, dont la belle methode

Traite icy doctement les cadences du Mode,

Tu nous as temperé les aigreurs de la Mort ;

Si bien, que ta douceur tient nostre ame ravie,

Et personne ne peut, s'il ne se plaint à tort,

Assurer que la mort est contraire à la vie.

F. GOUGEON.

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