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A SOUND DOCTRINE: EARLY MODERN JESUITS AND THE SINGING OF THE CATECHISM

The musical activities connected with the teaching of Christian doctrine in the early modern era have failed to attract substantial scholarly attention. In fact, the noteworthy and by no means obvious association between singing and catechism is a longue durée phenomenon, and one of the most ubiquitous and characteristic elements of Catholic sonic cultures in the period 1550–1800. Interconnected as these practices are with many different aspects of early modern culture, their study raises questions and offers insights not only on musical issues, but on problems of interdisciplinary relevance. The present essay discusses their role in the pastoral work of early modern Jesuits and, conversely, the role of the Society of Jesus in the development of this tradition. Three different phases are examined: the export of the method from Spain to Italy in the sixteenth century; its adaptation to the French environment in the early seventeenth century; its further development in the golden age of popular missions.

INTRODUCTION

Partly because of their limited aesthetic value, the musical activities connected with the teaching of Christian doctrine in the early modern era have failed to attract substantial scholarly attention. The topic falls, typically, in a grey area between the main interests of different disciplines. If musicologists have sometimes taken this phenomenon into consideration, and found traces of a surprisingly wide dissemination,¹

The research for this article is part of a larger project on ‘The Soundscape of Early Modern Catholicism’ I have conducted at the Jesuit Institute of Boston College in 2012–14. Related papers have been read during various seminars held at Boston College in the academic year 2012–13. I wish to thank T. Frank Kennedy, SJ, director of the Jesuit Institute, Michael Noone, and Alfonso de Vicente for their friendly advice. I am also grateful to Kate van Orden and Alexander Fisher for reading previous versions of this article; to Luca Di Donato for his bibliographic help; to Céline Drèze for sharing bibliography and unpublished material; and to the staffs of the following libraries: John J. Burns Library (Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Mass.), Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris), Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (Rome), Biblioteca Federico Patetta (Università degli Studi di Torino, Turin), for providing me copies of documentary material. All translations are mine, unless otherwise noted.

¹ See e.g. T. F. Kennedy, ‘Some Unusual Genres of Sacred Music in the Early Modern Period: The Catechism as a Musical Event in the Late Renaissance – Jesuits and “Our Way

the use of versified and sung catechisms still tends to be regarded as little more than a curiosity: entire handbooks on the history of catechism ignore this aspect or dedicate to it a couple of footnotes, or at most a brief diversion.

In fact, as I came to realise in the course of a research project on ‘The Soundscape of Early Modern Catholicism’, sung catechism was one of the most ubiquitous and characteristic elements of Catholic sonic cultures in the period 1550–1800. Even though the various methods that used singing and music to teach doctrine, conceived as alternatives to more intellectual catechetical approaches, were aimed especially at children, women and simple people, they often had an impact on a more diverse audience: in rural areas, for instance, and in general in every context where sound worked particularly well as a didactic and pastoral tool.

Interconnected as these practices are with many different aspects of early modern culture, their study can raise questions and offer insights not only on musical issues, but on problems of interdisciplinary relevance. In the present essay, I will discuss their role in the pastoral work of early modern Jesuits and, conversely, the role of the Society of Jesus in the development of this tradition. I will focus in succession on three different moments and settings:

1. An early phase, around the third quarter of the sixteenth century, when Spanish Jesuits exported these methods from the Iberian Peninsula to Italy. This period culminated in the publication of Diego de Ledesma’s influential *Modo per insegnar la dottrina christiana* (1573).

2. A later phase, in the early seventeenth century, when French Jesuits such as Michel Coyssard and Guillaume Marc adapted the method in various ways, interacting with the surrounding musical environment and facing the challenges of secular culture and inter-confessional confrontation.

3. Finally, we will see how, in the mid- and late seventeenth-century golden age of popular missions, Italian Jesuits such as Paolo Segneri

of Proceeding”, in K. M. Comerford and H. M. Pabel (eds.), *Early Modern Catholicism: Essays in Honour of John W. O'Malley, S.J.* (Toronto, 2001), pp. 266–79; G. Rostirolla, D. Zardin and O. Mischiati, *La lauda spirituale tra Cinque e Seicento: Poesie e canti devozionali nell'Italia della Controriforma*, ed. G. Filippi et al. (Studi, Cataloghi e Sussidi dell'Istituto di Bibliografia Musicale, 6; Rome, 2001); K. van Orden, ‘Children’s Voices: Singing and Literacy in Sixteenth-Century France’, *Early Music History*, 25 (2006), pp. 209–56; A. de Vicente, ‘Música, propaganda y reforma religiosa en los siglos XVI y XVII: Cánticos para la “gente del vulgo” (1520–1620)’, *Studia Aurea: Revista de Literatura Española y Teoría Literaria del Renacimiento y Siglo de Oro*, 1 (2007), <http://studiaurea.com/article/view/v1-vicente>; C. Drèze, ‘Le Chant du catéchisme chez les jésuites de la province flandro-belge (XVI^e–XVII^e siècles)’, in Martin Dumont (ed.), *Musique et religion* (Paris, forthcoming).

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senior and Innocenzo Innocenzi continued this tradition and maximised its influence on popular strata.

FROM SPAIN TO ITALY

The use of vernacular poetry and singing as tools for the teaching of the catechism has roots that stretch back to the late fifteenth century. The main source of these practices was Spain.² Since the Middle Ages, Spanish councils, synods and individual bishops enjoined clerics to teach the fundamental principles of Christian doctrine to their flock, and especially to children. Beginning at the end of the fifteenth century this task was implemented with renewed impetus and new methods. This initiative often led to the establishment of regular weekly lessons, usually taking place on Sundays, that comprised not only catechism, but a basic form of schooling, focused on reading and writing (the former rather more than the latter). In documents of this period we find the first mentions of singing in this connection,³ and around 1526 there appeared in Toledo, under the imprint of Miguel de Eguía, the *Cartilla para mostrar a leer a los moços. Con la doctrina christiana que se canta amados hermanos* (A primer to teach children to read. With the sung Christian doctrine [entitled] ‘Amados hermanos’):⁴ it is the

² As already suggested by M. Scaduto, *L'epoca di Giacomo Lainez, 1556–1565: L'azione* (Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia, 4; Rome, 1974), p. 616; M. Turrini, “Riformare il mondo a vera vita christiana”: Le scuole di catechismo nell'Italia del Cinquecento’, *Annali dell'Istituto Storico Italo-germanico in Trento – Jahrbuch des Italienisch-Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Trient*, 8 (1982), pp. 407–89, at p. 427; A. Guidetti, *Le missioni popolari: I grandi gesuiti italiani. Disegno storico-biografico delle missioni popolari dei gesuiti d'Italia dalle origini al Concilio Vaticano II* (Milan, 1988), p. 113. For recent literature, see below, n. 4.

³ In the acts of a synod held at Alcalá de Henares in 1480, every parish priest is requested to have an assistant (another cleric or a sacristan), ‘able to teach reading and writing and singing’, in order to educate the children of his parishioners. Fray Hernando de Talavera, archbishop of Granada from 1493 to his death in 1507, ordered the residents of Albaicín to ‘send their children to the churches in order to learn to read and to sing, or at least [to learn] the prayers’: J. S. Herrero, ‘La enseñanza de la doctrina cristiana en algunas diócesis de León y Castilla durante los siglos XIV y XV’, *Archivos Leoneses: Revista de Estudios y Documentación de los Reinos Hispano-Occidentales*, 59 (1976), pp. 145–84, at pp. 159 and 173 (my translation and emphasis). See also José Sánchez Herrero, ‘Catequesis y predicación’, in Bernabé Bartolomé Martínez (ed.), *Historia de la acción educadora de la Iglesia en España*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1995), i, pp. 204–33.

⁴ Partially edited in Herrero, ‘La enseñanza de la doctrina cristiana’, pp. 177–83. See also M. J. Framiñán de Miguel, ‘La “Doctrina cristiana” de Gregorio de Pesquera (Valladolid, 1554): Esbozo de análisis y contextualización histórico-literaria’, *Críticón*, 96 (2006), pp. 5–46, at pp. 10–11; de Vicente, ‘Música, propaganda y reforma religiosa’, pp. 4–5; L. Resines, *San Juan de Ávila: ‘Doctrina Cristiana que se canta’* (Madrid, 2012), p. 132; and especially V. Infantes, *De las primeras letras: Cartillas españolas para enseñar a leer de los siglos XV y XVI* (Salamanca, 1998), pp. 72–7, with full-size facsimile in attachment. A reproduction of the *cartilla* is now available

first printed document relative to this practice. It is beyond the scope of this essay to analyse the ‘Amados hermanos’ and other early examples of sung doctrine.⁵ Suffice it to mention some relevant characteristics: the association of singing with concise formulae (hence with the process of memorisation); the adoption of metrical or quasi-metrical verse, with occasional rhymes; the use of the first person plural, which highlights the collective character of this activity.

If the roots of this phenomenon are distinctly Spanish, the contribution of the Jesuits was to be decisive for its international dissemination and its inclusion in a systematic pedagogical strategy. Let us see how.

Among the most distinguished and influential catechists of the period was John of Ávila (Juan de Ávila, 1500–69),⁶ a preacher and founder of schools and colleges across Andalucía. The oldest extant edition of his catechism dates back to the mid-1550s (*Doctrina christiana que se canta. Oydnos vos por amor de Dios* (Valencia, 1554)), but it is more than probable that previous versions existed and circulated.⁷ As the title itself makes clear, Ávila’s methods too involved singing. Among the sections in (not always metrical) verse, presumably meant for singing, there is a preliminary exhortation, ‘Oydnos vos / por amor de Dios’ (‘Listen to us, for the sake of God’s love’),⁸ featured also in the title of the whole work, to which we will return shortly.

Ávila’s numerous disciples apparently made free use of his materials and disseminated them in multiple ways. If some of his followers

online in the digital collection of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, which holds the only extant copy: see <http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0004/bsb00043561/images/> (accessed Sept. 2014).

⁵ I plan to give a detailed historical account of these practices in a forthcoming study.

⁶ Beatified by Leo XIII in 1894, canonised by Paul VI in 1970, proclaimed Doctor of the Universal Church by Benedict XVI in 2012. For his catechetical methods, see especially L. La Rosa, ‘Dalla Spagna alla Sicilia: La catechesi di Juan de Ávila’, *Itinerarium*, 4/7 (suppl.) (1996), pp. 1–52; J. de Ávila, *Obras completas*, ii: *Comentarios bíblicos; Tratados de reforma; Tratados de menores; Escritos de menores*, ed. L. Sala Balust and F. Martín Hernández (Nueva ed. crítica; Madrid, 2001), pp. 753–7; Resines, *San Juan de Ávila: ‘Doctrina Cristiana que se canta’*.

⁷ F. Santolaria Sierra, ‘Una edición no conocida de la “doctrina cristiana” de san Juan de Ávila, incluida en la compilación de Gregorio de Pesquera: “Doctrina cristiana y Espejo de bien vivir” (Valladolid, 1 de mayo de 1554)’, *Hispania Sacra*, 57/116 (2005), pp. 491–558, at p. 493. For modern editions, see Ávila, *Obras completas*, ii, pp. 811–32 and Resines, *San Juan de Ávila: ‘Doctrina Cristiana que se canta’*, pp. 173–258; a facsimile edition is included in Infantes, *De las primeras letras*. It should be noted that the 1554 print is anonymous, and the textual tradition of the work, as amply discussed by Resines, is extremely intricate.

⁸ See Resines, *San Juan de Ávila: ‘Doctrina Cristiana que se canta’*, pp. 183 ff.

continued and developed his work in Spain, others had broader horizons. As is well known, Ávila played a fostering role in the nascent phase of the Society of Jesus, and many of his former pupils became Jesuits (among them, Francisco de Borja, Diego de Guzmán and Gaspar Loarte). It has been proposed that the very 1554 edition of the *Doctrina* was a Jesuit enterprise. If that supposition rests mainly on the presence of the monogram 'IHS' in the title page, a later edition issued in 1574 was indisputably promoted by the Jesuits: its colophon reads 'Esta doctrina fue ordenada por los Padres de la Compañía de Jesus' ('This doctrine was edited by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus').⁹ Of more consequence for our narrative, however, is Ávila's Jesuit reception outside Spain: the export of his catechetical legacy to Italy marked a turning point in the diffusion of these practices.¹⁰

Copies of Ávila's *Doctrina* of 1554 were soon sent to the Jesuit headquarters in Rome. The book was immediately judged worthy to be translated into Italian. The translation was then sent to Naples, to be printed there, as explained in a letter from Rome to Cristóbal de Mendoza, rector in Naples, of 15 September 1555: 'Here attached is a Christian doctrine, that we would like to be printed in Naples: it is the one by Master Ávila, in verse, in Italian, for the children, so that they can learn it better.'¹¹ A companion letter sent on the same date from the Roman headquarters to Jerónimo Vignes, then in Naples, gives further practical details:

We are sending there to Fr Mendoza a Christian doctrine, made by a friend of the Society, known to the said Fr Mendoza, so that it be printed. Your Lordship should see if it is possible to help him, making some arrangements. This booklet was judged good for the children; therefore a student of ours translated it into Italian, and there will be no need to indicate the name of the author. We will take

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

¹⁰ See Scaduto, *L'epoca di Giacomo Lainez*, pp. 614–21; Resines, *San Juan de Ávila: 'Doctrina Cristiana que se canta'*, pp. 35–43. For a general description of the catechetical policies of the early Jesuits, see J. W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993), pp. 115–26. See also Javier Burrieza Sánchez, 'Los ministerios de la Compañía', in T. Egidio López, J. Burrieza Sánchez and M. Revuelta González (eds.), *Los Jesuitas en España y en el mundo hispánico* (Madrid, 2004), pp. 107–50 at 137–45 (§'La Compañía, escuela de catecismos').

¹¹ 'Qui si manda una dottrina xpiana [*a common abbreviation for christiana*], quale vorriamo si stampasse in Napoli, et è quella di M[aes]tro Avila fatta in versi, italiana, per li putti, acciò meglio la imparino.' *Monumenta Ignatiana, ex autographis vel ex antiquioribus exemplis collecta. Series prima* (Madrid, 1903–11), ix, pp. 623–4. The letter continues: 'Your Reverence should see, together with Master Hieronimo [Vignes], that it be printed; at our own expense, if preferable, or otherwise we will take 200 or 300 copies, paying for them, and those there will take the rest' ('V.R. procuri insieme con M[aes]tro Hieronimo [Vignes], che si stampi, et si vorranno a nostre spese, o veramente noi pigliaremo 200 o 300 pagandole, et di là piglieranno le altre').

200 or 300 copies, paying for them, or otherwise we will pay for 500 copies and take them all; but it would be better if those there would consider using it; if some of them do not agree, it would be enough to print the 200 or 300 copies I have mentioned.¹²

The project did not come to fruition, as explained in a letter from Rome to Diego de Guzmán (then in Florence) of November 1555:¹³ Giulio Pavesi, the vicar-general of Naples, had not authorised the publication, judging the verse to be clumsy ('perché le rime le parsino un poco goffe'). Then, another Jesuit, Jerónimo Doménech, brought the manuscript of the translation to Sicily, in order to have it printed there. On 20 December 1555, Doménech wrote to Ignatius from Messina:

The Christian doctrine is being printed, and I hope it will be useful, because His Excellency [the Bishop] ordered that all the children, in every parish, should gather on Sundays and other feasts, and that one of ours should teach them the Christian doctrine. So we are thinking of having them learn *this one, which is in verse*. Once it is printed, we will send up to ten or twelve copies. I hope the result will be satisfying: a well-printed booklet for the children.¹⁴

As documented in other two letters sent from Rome to Diego de Guzmán,¹⁵ in February 1556 the book, now unfortunately lost, was printed. Some copies were sent from Sicily to Rome, and at least one of them, probably with some annotations added, was forwarded to the same Guzmán in Florence.¹⁶ A letter by Fr Giovanni Filippo Casini to the new General of the Jesuits, Diego Laínez, of 11 January 1557 attests the diffusion of this practice in another Sicilian city, Siracusa: 'The most distinguished children, the children of barons and gentlemen, attend our schools: they learn the doctrine in Italian verse and go around the

¹² 'Una dottrina xpiana, fatta per uno amico de la Compagnia, qual conosce il P. Mendoza, si manda costà per stampare ad detto P. Mendoza. V[ost]ra S[igno]ria veda si potrà aiutarlo, dando qualch'ordine. Si è reputato buono per li putti questo libretto, et perciò l'ha tradotto uno scolaro nostro in italiano, et non occorrerà mettere nome de auctore. Si pigliarano 200 o 300 volumi pagandoli, o vero la spesa de un 500 si farà a nostro conto, pigliandoli tutti noi; ma sarà meglio si di là pensano adoperarla; si parte non vogliono, bastarebbe stampare li 200 o 300 che ho detto.' *Monumenta Ignatiana. Series prima*, ix, pp. 624–5.

¹³ *Ibid.*, x, pp. 105–6.

¹⁴ 'La dottrina xpiana si fa stampar, et spero serà utile; perché soa Ex.za ha ordinato que le domeneche et feste in ogni parrocchia si habbiano di giontar tutti gli figlioli, et che uno de li nostri gli insegni la dottrina xpiana. Et così si pensa di far imparar *questa, che è per rime*. Stampata che sia, si mandaranno fin a 10 o 12. Spero che contentarà, per estamparsi in bona forma per li figlioli.' *Epistolae mixtae, ex variis Europae locis ab anno 1537 ad 1556 scriptae* (Madrid, 1898–1901), v, p. 133. Emphasis mine.

¹⁵ *Monumenta Ignatiana. Series prima*, x, pp. 597–8 (1 Feb. 1556) and 657–8 (8 Feb. 1556).

¹⁶ From the letter of 8 Feb.: 'Qui mando la dottrina xpiana, stampata in Sicilia, *mutate alcune cose*.'

city singing it in public, instead of other idle songs.¹⁷ (Notice two aspects, to which we will return repeatedly: the public repercussion of this teaching method ('they go around the city singing it in public') and the role of the doctrinal songs as substitutes for secular ones ('instead of other idle songs').)

In less than two years, thanks to the dynamism of the Jesuit network, the versified doctrine travelled from Spain to Rome, was translated into Italian, was sent to Naples and then to Sicily, was printed there, sent back to Rome, and forwarded to Florence.

MS Institutum 109 of the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI)¹⁸ is a crucial testimony to the process of appropriation of Ávila's methods by the Jesuits – a process that involved, characteristically, a more advanced pedagogical reflection and a careful adaptation to local needs. The relevant section of the miscellaneous manuscript (dating mostly mid-1560s–early 1570s) contains two texts that represent some stage of the translation of Ávila's *Doctrina* made by Italian-based Jesuits. The two texts are the 'Preamble to the Christian Doctrine' ('Proemio della Dottrina christiana'; fol. 169^v) (see Figure 1) and a series of 'Advice for teaching Christian Doctrine' ('Avisi per insegnar la Dottrina christiana'; starting at fol. 166^r); the second title has a significant addition: 'derived from a Doctrine brought from Spain, that I think is by Fr Ávila' ('cavati da una Dottrina portata di Spagna, la qual penso essere del P. Ávila'). The 'Preamble to the Christian Doctrine, to be sung in the streets with two children, in order to call the kids together, or draw them with the others' ('Proemio della Dottrina christiana per poter cantare con doi putti per le strade per convocare o tirare li fanciulli con gl'altri') is a faithful translation of the above-mentioned 'Oydnos vos / por amor de Dios' (see the comparison in Table 1), and the Italian translation of Ávila's *avisos* is as literal.¹⁹

It is noteworthy that in MS Institutum 109 the two translations from Ávila are framed by other materials, a separate series of notices ('Avisi per li nostri prencipalmente. Del modo de insegnare la dottrina christiana alli nostri scolari et al popolo'), put before those derived from Ávila (fols. 163^r–165^v);²⁰ and a brief Christian doctrine in

¹⁷ 'Sono nelle nostre schole li figliuoli più principali, come figliuoli di baroni et gentilhomini: imparano la dottrina christiana in versi italiani et la vanno cantando pubblicamente per la città in loco d'altri canzone vane.' *Litterae quadrimestres ex universis, praeter Indiam et Brasiliam, locis* (Madrid, 1894–), v, pp. 56–9.

¹⁸ See La Rosa, 'Dalla Spagna alla Sicilia'; Ávila, *Obras completas*, ii, p. 755.

¹⁹ See Resines, *San Juan de Ávila: 'Doctrina Cristiana que se canta'*, pp. 255 ff. and 261 ff.

²⁰ Ávila's advice is, as a matter of fact, introduced as 'Alcuni altri avisi . . .' ('Some further advice . . .') on fol. 166^r.

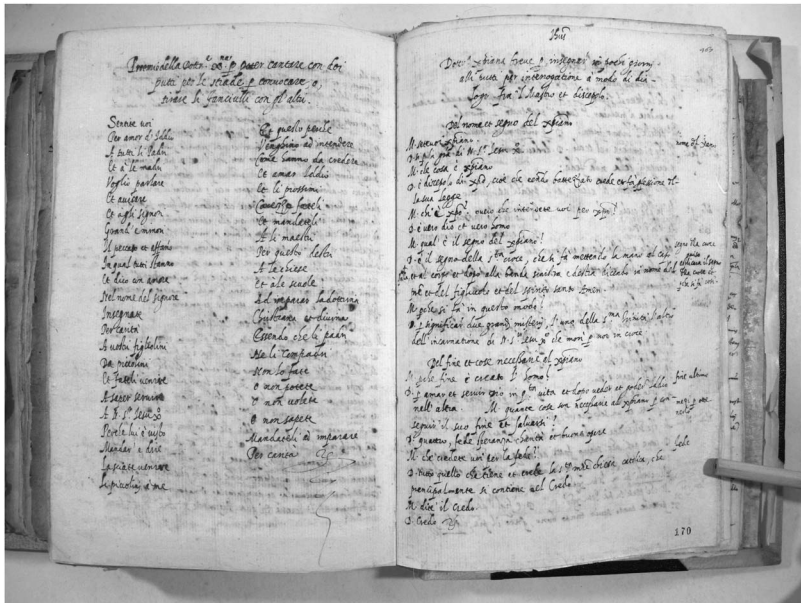


Figure 1 MS ARSI, Institutum 109, fols. 169^v–170^r: *Proemio della Dottrina christiana* and *Dottrina christiana breve* (Courtesy of the Society of Jesus – Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu)

dialogue form ('*Dottrina christiana breve . . . a modo di dialogo*', fols. 170^r–174^v).²¹ The importance of this transmission and adaptation of texts and methods from Spain to Italy becomes fully evident when we realise that these very materials will form the basis for two of the most influential Jesuit catechetical works of the sixteenth century. This section of MS Institutum 109 is nothing but an advanced (and anonymous) draft of what will become Diego de Ledesma's *Modo per insegnar la dottrina christiana* (Rome: Heirs of Antonio Blado, 1573) and his widespread and frequently translated *Dottrina breve*.²²

²¹ Another manuscript at ARSI, Institutum 38a, contains a clean copy of these texts (except the *Dottrina breve . . . a modo di dialogo*, and with the addition of a translation of Ávila's introductory verse on the sign of the cross, 'Todo fiel christiano . . .') at fols. 116^r–128^r.

²² On Ledesma (1524–75), theologian and pedagogist, see G. Aranci, 'Le "dottrine" di Giacomo Ledesma S.J. (1524–1575)', *Salesianum*, 53 (1991), pp. 315–82; L. Lukács, 'Ledesma, Diego de', *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús* (Rome and Madrid, 2001), iii, pp. 2318–19; G. Rostirola, 'Laudi e canti religiosi per l'esercizio spirituale della Dottrina cristiana al tempo di Roberto Bellarmino', in *La lauda spirituale tra Cinque e Seicento*, pp. 291–314. See also O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, ad indicem, and Kennedy, 'Some Unusual Genres of Sacred Music'; a recent synthesis in English about Ledesma is to be

Table 1 *The Preamble of Ávila's Doctrina christiana que se canta and its Italian translations*

[Ávila,] <i>Doctrina christiana que se canta. Oydnos vos por amor de Dios</i> (1554)	ARSI, MS Institutum 109	Ledesma, <i>Modo per insegnar la dottrina christiana</i> (1573)
Oydnos vos, por amor de Dios. A todos los padres y a las madres quiero hablar y auisar, y a los señores, grandes y menores, el peligro y affan en que todos estan. Y digo con amor en el nombre del Señor: enseñad por charidad a vuestros higitos desde chiquitos y hazeldos venir a saber servir a nuestro Señor Jesu Cristo ...	Sentite voi per amor d'Iddio. A tutti li padri et a le madri voglio parlare et avisare, et agli signori, grand'e minori, il peccato et affanno in qual tutti stanno, et dico con amore nel nome del Signore: Insegnate per carità a vostri figliolini da piccolini et fateli venire a saper servire a N[ostro] S[igno]r Iesù Ch[rist]o ...	Deh, per amor de Dio, udite il parlar mio, voi che sete padri, insieme con le madri; et ancho i signori, i grandi et i minori; perché vi vo' insegnare e da vero avisare in quanto malo stato et in che gran peccato tutti coloro stanno li quali hora non sanno ch'è d'uopo per salvarsi et convien impararsi. Vi prego per amore di Dio nostro Signore, e poi per charità, c'habbate gran pietà de' vostri figliuolini, che è da piccolini farli al ben venire perché possino servire il nostro Creatore et nostro gran Signore ...

Ledesma included the Preamble as ‘Some lines that are sung in the street, to invite people to come and hear the Christian Doctrine’ (‘Alcuni versetti che si cantano per la strada, invitando a venir a sentire la Dottrina Christiana’; *Modo per insegnar la dottrina*, §31, pp. 51 ff.). A comparison shows that he revised and improved the previous translation, expanding it and giving it a more regular metrical construction.²³ Besides revising the preamble, and even more importantly, Ledesma developed the advice already sketched in MS Institutum 109. A further revised and enlarged version of Ávila’s *avisos* came, thus, to form the basis for chapters 12–14 in Ledesma’s *Modo per insegnar la dottrina*, which are among the most substantial and pedagogically sensible sections of the treatise (some ideas derived from Ávila’s *avisos* appear in other chapters as well).

Ledesma’s *Modo* is invaluable reading for those interested in sixteenth-century catechism – this is no novelty, at least since Giancarlo Rostirolla’s essay of 1986,²⁴ although we still lack a systematic study of the text as well as of Ledesma’s other catechetical writings. What needs to be emphasised here, pending further research, is that Ledesma did not invent the ‘method for teaching Christian doctrine’ from scratch: he reworked an existing tradition, improving and integrating it with a distinctive pedagogical attentiveness.²⁵

Let us now briefly examine the actual sonic practices that Ledesma describes in his *Modo*. He makes clear that catechism classes featured a

found in E. Østrem and N. H. Petersen, *Medieval Ritual and Early Modern Music: The Devotional Practice of Lauda Singing in Late-Renaissance Italy* (Turnhout, 2008), pp. 57–67, but it is largely derivative of Rostirolla and O’Malley. For Ledesma’s pedagogical writings, see A. P. Farrell, *The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education: Development and Scope of the Ratio Studiorum* (Milwaukee, 1938). For a bibliographic description of the *Modo*, see Rostirolla, ‘Laudi e canti religiosi’; Rostirolla described what he thought to be a unicum, but meanwhile other copies have surfaced at the Biblioteca de Catalunya (available on <http://books.google.com/> as of Sept. 2014) and in various Italian libraries (see *Edit16*, Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo, <http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it/>).

²³ In Table 1 I reproduce the beginning of the text by Ávila as edited in Resines, *San Juan de Ávila: Doctrina Cristiana que se canta*, pp. 183–4. The other texts are transcribed from ARSI, MS Institutum 109, fol. 169^v, and from Ledesma, *Modo per insegnar la dottrina christiana*, fol. 51^{r–v}, respectively.

²⁴ Reprinted as Rostirolla, ‘Laudi e canti religiosi’.

²⁵ As historian Federico Palomo has remarked, ‘Plutôt que par leur capacité à introduire des véritables “nouveau-tés” dans la pratique de la catéchèse, leur [scil. the Jesuits] apport a surtout été celui de savoir conjuguer, systématiser et mettre en circulation des techniques de diffusion du message doctrinale, qui avaient été largement éprouvées pendant la première moitié du XVI^e siècle et qui demeureront des outils efficaces du travail apostolique tout au long de la période moderne’: F. Palomo, ‘La Doctrina mise en scène: Catéchèse et missions intérieures dans la Péninsule Ibérique à l’époque moderne’, *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 74/147 (2005), pp. 23–55, at p. 28.

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combination of reading, asking questions, making exhortations, repeating and singing:

The method that we consider the most convenient to teach especially . . . youngsters, children, ignorant and unrefined people, countrymen, women and common people, and the populace, which needs it the most, and at the same time to give spiritual food to all the others who have greater capacity . . . will be reading, asking questions, exhorting, repeating, singing, and so on.²⁶

The alternation of singing songs, versets, or incisive formulae and commenting on them was the essence of the whole method.²⁷ According to §§7.4–7.6, the teacher

will have the children repeat the same words all together: first, he will speak, then he will have them repeat the same all together; then he could ask one or two of them to say it aloud, with a clear voice, so that everybody can hear. Then he will instruct his listeners to repeat what he says, singing word by word, or line by line: and starting with the Creed or the Lord's Prayer, they will answer him on the same tone; then he will have someone repeat aloud what was sung before; and it will also be useful that the first time two specially instructed children sing the entire prayer together, without any repetition. In case there should be no children, he should sing it himself, so that they learn the tone; and if they make mistakes with the tone, he himself should correct them. After singing, he will repeat the lesson once more, in short form, and the children will answer all together.²⁸

On the basis of Ledesma's *Modo*, but also considering the Spanish-Italian tradition and its successive developments as a whole, we realise that there was an entire range of possibilities, not always distinguishable: from formulaic patterns to regular pieces,²⁹ from quasi-psalmodic recitation

²⁶ 'Quello [*scil* il modo] che riputiamo più conveniente per insegnare principalmente . . . a giovanetti, a putti, & ignoranti, rustici, gente roza, a donne, & altre persone idiote, & al popolo, che n'ha più bisogno; & insieme dar cibo spirituale a tutti gli altri di maggior capacità . . . sarà leggendo, interrogando, essortando, ripetendo, cantando, & altre cose.' *Modo*, §3.4.

²⁷ See also L. Resines, 'La Summa de la Doctrina Christiana de Alonso Martínez de Laguna', *Berceo*, 142 (2002), pp. 93–132, at pp. 103–4.

²⁸ 'farà dire quell'istesse parole a tutti i putti insieme, dicendo egli prima, e facendo che loro tutti insieme rispondano il medesimo; & potrà poi dimandarli ad uno o due da per sé, che lo dicano ad alta & chiara voce, sì che tutti l'intendano. Da poi instruirà gli uditori, che dicano, come egli dice, cantando parola per parola, o per versetti: & cominciando il Credo, o Pater noster, gli altri tutti risponderanno l'istesso al medesimo tuono; & da poi farà recitare ad uno con alta voce quel medesimo che s'è cantato; & anco sarà expediente che la prima volta due de' putti, instrutti per questo, cantino insieme tutta l'oratione intiera, senza che niuno risponda. Et se non vi fussero putti, egli stesso lo faccia, acciò essi sappiano il tuono; et il medesimo sia quello ch'haverà da correggere detto tuono, quando quelli errassero. Finito di cantare, se gli ridirà la lettione un'altra volta con brevità, rispondendo tutti insieme i putti.'

²⁹ The *Lodi, et canzonette spirituali* published in Naples in 1608 by Tarquinio Longo contain, for instance, an appendix with an interesting method for the formulaic intonation of catechetical texts: see L. M. Koldau, "Dare un honesto & santo trattenimento à tutte le sorti di persone": Didaktisches Prinzip und Musikalisierung des Gebets in einem italienischen Andachtsbuch von 1608', *Die Musikforschung*, 53 (2000), pp. 40–56, at pp. 54–6. Ledesma too

to polyphonic singing,³⁰ from an *alternatim* of sung versets and spoken explanations to other forms of individual and collective vocal interaction.

'Songs' (and I use this term in the most general sense) could fulfil different functions within the catechetical activities and have different contents:

1. Some songs were an integral part of the process of teaching, but their texts did not convey, strictly speaking, a doctrinal content. The 'Proemio della Dottrina christiana', for instance, that, as we have seen, Ledesma had derived from the previous tradition, framed the didactic activities: it was sung (unfortunately, Ledesma does not explain how) not only in the classroom, at the beginning of each class, but also in the streets before and after classes, marking the public character of the whole enterprise.

2. Other songs were conceived as veritable didactic tools. In this case, what was sung could be either one of the prayers used as a foundation for teaching (*Credo*, *Pater Noster*, *Salve Regina*, *Ave Maria*),³¹ often in vernacular translation and sometimes in a metrical paraphrase; or any other text that conveyed a doctrinal content. The songs could be used as a basis on which to comment (as suggested in Ledesma's chapter 7), or vice versa as a summary of what had been previously explained. Regarding the latter case, Ledesma (p. 62) explains that there are 'other kinds of poems . . . regarding Christian doctrine' ('altre sorti di rime . . . a proposito della Dottrina Christiana'), and these rhymes are of two kinds. Those of the first kind 'contain the same substance as the previous teaching' ('contengono la sostanza istessa di quel che all'hora s'ha insegnato'). For example, 'after explaining the articles that regard the Son according to his humanity, you can sing' ('esplicato gli articoli che s'apertengono al Figliuolo secondo la humanità, si potrà cantar'):

Fu il Figliuolo generato
per Ispirito d'amore;

The Son was conceived
by the power of the Spirit of Love;

explained that the polyphonic setting of the *Ave Maria* included in his *Modo* could be adapted in order to sing different texts, in a manner similar to what happened with the falsobordone (by means of flexible reciting tones and synchronised cadences: see *Modo per insegnar la dottrina christiana*, fol. 54^{r-v}). Longo's and Ledesma's practices are compared in Østrem and Petersen, *Medieval Ritual and Early Modern Music*, pp. 61–4.

³⁰ A Florentine adaptation of Ledesma's short *Dottrina* uses such terms as 'per salmeggiare', 'salmeggiata a cori': see Aranci, 'Le "dottrine" di Giacomo Ledesma', pp. 323–5.

³¹ See the four-voice Latin-texted setting of the *Ave Maria* included in Ledesma's chapter 32 (Rostirolla, 'Laudi e canti religiosi', pp. 303–6 and Østrem and Petersen, *Medieval Ritual and Early Modern Music*, pp. 61–2).

A sound doctrine

et della Vergine nato	and born of the Virgin
patì morte con dolore.	he suffered death with pain.
All'inferno [<i>sic</i>] il Redentore	The Redeemer descended into hell
scese & risuscitò;	and rose again;
et al cielo se n'andò,	and he went to heaven,
poi fia Giudice & Signore.	then became Judge and Lord.

Those of the second kind do not contain, strictly speaking, the *substance* of the teaching, but 'something else, but apropos of it' ('altra cosa, a proposito però di quello'). They belong to the next category.

3. Other songs, as is often the case with the Italian laude published in countless Jesuit-inspired collections,³² did not fulfil a primarily didactic function. Ledesma, for instance, suggests that 'after explaining the Sacrament of Eucharist, and exhorting to adore it and receive it' ('havendo esplicato il Sacramento della Eucharistia, & essortato ad adorarlo, et pigliarlo') the class could sing:

Christo vero huomo e Dio,	Christ, true man and God,
sotto specie di pane t'adoro io . . . ³³	I adore you under the species of bread . . .

In this case, the song works as a bridge between the catechetical explanation of the Eucharist and the acts of adoration that the Sacrament requires. More generally, songs could be introduced for the sake of communal prayer and pious entertainment, or to give voice to other aspects of Christian experience, of interior life and community life. Consequently, their texts could have a spiritual content of virtually any sort.

As T. Frank Kennedy has observed, 'Part of the Society's success was in the method of borrowing and redefining in practical ways the apostolic initiatives from earlier traditions'.³⁴ The fact that Ledesma's *Avvisi* derive from Ávila's doctrine highlights a remarkable continuity, in method and substance, between the earliest Spanish tradition and the Jesuit practices of the late sixteenth century. Ledesma's clever pedagogical reworking of this imported tradition paved the way for its subsequent multi-directional diffusion.

IN FRANCE

Fr Michel Coyssard, SJ (Besse-en-Chandesse, 1547–Lyons, 1623) was a key figure in the adoption of poetry and singing as catechetical tools

³² See Rostirolla, Zardin and Mischiati, *La lauda spirituale tra Cinque e Seicento*, *passim*.

³³ For this lauda, see *ibid.*, *ad indicem*.

³⁴ T. F. Kennedy, 'Music and the Jesuit Mission in the New World', *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*, 39/3 (2007), p. 16, <http://ejournals.bc.edu/ojs/index.php/jesuit/article/view/4011>.

in France.³⁵ He occupied important positions in Jesuit colleges first in Paris, then in Avignon, Lyons and other minor centres of southern France. He was also in Antwerp for a certain period between 1594 and 1603, during the temporary banishment of the Jesuits from the French kingdom. His innovative methods as a catechist and educator, in which music, as Kate van Orden has shown,³⁶ ‘was part of an educational technology linking print, sacred texts, reading and memory’,³⁷ are reflected in a long list of publications, dating from the early 1590s on, some of them frequently reprinted in the following decades.³⁸

Coyssard’s most substantial methodological reflection on the subject is his *Traicté du profit que toute Personne tire de chanter en la Doctrine Chrestienne, & ailleurs, les Hymnes, & Chansons spirituelles en vulgaire: & du Mal qu’apportent les Lascives, & Heretiques, controuuees de Satan* (Treatise of the profit that everyone derives from singing, in the [classes of] Christian doctrine and elsewhere, hymns and spiritual songs in vernacular; and of the damage produced by the lascivious and heretical songs fabricated by Satan).³⁹ The treatise was printed at the end of his *Sommaire de la Doctrine chrestienne . . . avec les Hymnes & Odes spirituelles* (Lyons: Jean Pillehotte, 1608).

Coyssard’s aim in the treatise (some fifty pages long in the original edition) was to defend himself and the use of singing in catechism classes against ‘the enemies of the singing of Christian Doctrine’, the ‘Ennemis du chant de la Doctrine Chrestienne’ (TP, 51). In countries such as Italy and Spain, the introduction of metrical versions of the catechism and the recourse to singing during classes apparently did

³⁵ For bio-bibliographic details and literature, see A. De Backer and C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Brussels and Paris, 1890–1932), ii, coll. 1598–1607; J.-C. Dhôtel, *Les Origines du catéchisme moderne, d’après les premiers manuels imprimés en France* (Paris, 1967), *passim*; G. Pau, ‘De l’usage de la chanson spirituelle par les Jésuites au temps de la Contre-Réforme’, in J.-M. Vaccaro (ed.), *La Chanson à la Renaissance: Actes du XX^e Colloque d’études humanistes du Centre d’études supérieures de la Renaissance de l’Université de Tours, juillet 1977* (Tours, 1981), pp. 15–34; D. S. Packer, ‘Collections of Chaste Chansons for the Devout Home (1613–1633)’, *Acta Musicologica*, 61 (1989), pp. 175–216; D. Launay, *La Musique religieuse en France du Concile de Trente à 1804* (Paris, 1993), pp. 119–36; F. Dobbins, ‘Coyssard, Michel’, *Grove Music Online*; G. Botterau, ‘Coyssard, Michel’, *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, ii, p. 992; B. Dompnier, ‘Les Cantiques dans la pastorale missionnaire en France au XVII^e siècle’, in S. Nanni (ed.), *La musica dei semplici: L’altra Controriforma* (Rome, 2012), pp. 73–106, at pp. 78–84.

³⁶ See van Orden, ‘Children’s Voices’ (on Coyssard, especially pp. 225–6 and 228–31).

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 230–31.

³⁸ See De Backer and Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*; Launay, *La Musique religieuse en France*, pp. 131–2.

³⁹ Hereafter cited as TP. A reproduction of the treatise is now available online in the digital collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Gallica): see <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k56681339> (accessed Sept. 2014).

not meet with much overt criticism. When the problem of the appropriateness of this practice had been examined during the First General Congregation of the Jesuits, in 1558, General Laínez, invited to define the question, had answered Solomonically that ‘it was indeed appropriate wherever it seemed to work’.⁴⁰ This answer was almost literally in line with the precepts that can be read in Ávila’s advice and in its first Jesuit translation in MS Institutum 109;⁴¹ Ledesma, however, added a penetrating remark in his treatise of 1573:

although, where the heretics sing similar things, and it is forbidden by the superiors to sing them, it is necessary that Catholic singing be done for the edification of Catholics and with the superiors’ permission, so that they do not seem to side with the heretics.⁴²

In France – as is well known – vernacular spiritual songs had been extensively used by the Protestants as a doctrinal vehicle and a sonic sign of belonging. In the long-term perspective of harsh inter-confessional confrontation, every pastoral method vaguely similar to Huguenot practices was deemed suspect. The question foreseen by Ledesma continued to be a delicate one, and Coyssard was well aware that satisfactory justifications for his enterprise were indispensable. He explicitly advertised his role as a pioneer in this field, but putting it under the aegis of his fellow Jesuit Antonio Possevino, a diplomat and respected theologian, whose recommendation for the 1592 version of Coyssard’s book is placed at the beginning of the *Sommaire*. Possevino praises Coyssard’s ‘catechismus gallice tetrastichis dispositus’ (‘catechism in French quatrains’) by which its author has opportunely introduced in France (‘in Gallias opportune invexit’) a most useful method of teaching the Catholic catechism (‘perutilem docendi Catholici catechismi rationem’), worthy of imitation by other nations as well.⁴³

Not only was Coyssard adequately informed about the current pastoral practices implemented by various orders in different European countries (in a typically Jesuit cosmopolitan fashion), but he knew the historical precedents remarkably well. This enabled him to sketch, here and there in the treatise, a surprisingly accurate retrospective, in

⁴⁰ O’Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p. 122.

⁴¹ See Resines, *San Juan de Ávila: ‘Doctrina Cristiana que se canta’*, p. 258 and La Rosa, ‘Dalla Spagna alla Sicilia’, p. 45 respectively.

⁴² ‘benché dove gli heretici cantano cose simili, & è proibito da superiori il cantarle, bisogna che il cantar de Catolici si faccia con edificatione de Catolici, et consenso de superiori, per non parere di simbolizare con gli heretici’. *Modo*, p. 20.

⁴³ *Sommaire de la Doctrine chrestienne*, p. 2: ‘R[everendi] P[atris] Antonij Possevini Societatis Iesu / Theologi, de hoc Libro Iudicium’.

which he referred to Spain, to Italy and to Francis Xavier's missions in Asia. His competence often rested on a first-hand knowledge of the sources: in his prolific career as a translator and lexicographer,⁴⁴ he would revise the French version of Torsellini's biography of Xavier (Lyons, 1611)⁴⁵ and translate Roberto Bellarmino's *Dottrina cristiana breve* – a standard brief catechism that, after its publication in 1597 and the official endorsement by Clement VIII in 1598, went through countless editions and translations.⁴⁶ And of course he read his Ledesma too (quoted in the marginalia to *TP*, 8).

Leaving aside other aspects of Coysard's self-defence and self-promotion, it is worth examining here his treatment of the specific utility of music in the catechetical enterprise. Coysard makes ample use of old and recent *auctoritates* in delineating it, and is remarkably consistent with the tradition of previous apologists of these practices.⁴⁷ According to him, music is useful for the teaching of Christian doctrine basically for four reasons:

1. Music makes the process of learning, memorising and retaining the doctrine in memory easier. ('Ainsi chante l'on és Assemblées de la Doctrine Chrestienne . . . pour beaucoup de raisons pertinentes . . . L'un desquelles est affin que les Auditeurs apprennent plus facilement par coeur, et retiennent mieux'; *TP*, 8.)

2. Music entices the children to participate, encourages them to stay in the class and offers delight. ('Item pour faire que les Enfants demeurent plus ioyeusement en la Doctrine durant le temps qu'ils sont convieés à ioüer les Festes'; *TP*, 8.)

3. Music enhances the public dimension of catechism and is a powerful tool for the diffusion of the doctrine in informal contexts, reaching out to those who do not attend classes. ('Tiercement, à celle

⁴⁴ See Botterau, 'Coysard, Michel'.

⁴⁵ As recently pointed out by Dompnier, 'Les Cantiques dans la pastorale missionnaire', p. 81.

⁴⁶ On Bellarmino see for instance P. Braidò, *Lineamenti di storia della catechesi e dei catechismi: Dal 'tempo delle riforme' all'età degli imperialismi (1450–1870)* (Leumann, 1991), pp. 82–4; R. Librandi, 'Indottrinare in un continuum di varietà', in G. P. Clivio and R. Longo Lavorato (eds.), *De vulgari eloquentia: Lingua e dialetti nella cultura italiana* (Language, Media & Education Studies, 45; New York and Ottawa, 2010), pp. 25–44, at pp. 27–8 and *passim*. Coysard's translation, *Brieve doctrine chrestienne: Composee par le commandement de nostre saint Pere le Pape Clement VIII. Par l'Illustrissime Cardinal Bellarmin, de la Compagnie de Iesus. Traduit fidelement de l'Italien, par le R. P. Michel Coysard de la mesme Compagnie*, was published in Lyons in 1622; significantly, some of Coysard's *Hymnes spirituels* are printed in an appendix.

⁴⁷ For an earlier Spanish example, see P. M. Cátedra, *La 'Doctrina cristiana del Ermitaño y niño' de Andrés Flórez, O.P. (Valladolid, 1552)* (Salamanca, 1997), pp. 58–9.

fin que ceux qui ne peuvent ou ne veulent venir à la Doctrine l'entendans chanter par les rues, ou par les boutiques & maisons, la puissent apprendre; ce qu'il feront plus aisement que s'il la lisoient en leur particulier'; *TP*, 9.)

4. The fourth reason is the function of Catholic songs as antidotes against the poison spread by the Protestants (with their heretical songs) and libertines (with their lascivious ones). If the devil inspired the Protestants to teach their dogmas by means of songs ('Le mesme Ennemi de Nature a instigué les Heresiarques à mettre leurs dogmes en Chansons, pour les mieux faire apprendre'; *TP*, 37), Catholics must react, as shown by Artus Desiré with his pioneering *Contrepoison de cinquante-deux chansons de Marot* (*TP*, 39–40).⁴⁸ The same can be said of unchaste songs: they must be replaced ('If the Council of Trent . . . prohibits the reading of erotic books, should we listen without scruples to indecent songs, [that are] a hundred times more dangerous, as one can see from what we have said about the power of music?').⁴⁹ Coyssard reports a laudatory letter from his fellow Jesuit Giles Schoondonck of 6 February 1601:⁵⁰

Your Reverence's elegant hymns are so appreciated here that noble young men and maidens, *discarding erotic and amatory songs*, started singing them, with voices and string instruments, in various family houses here in Antwerp, with the utmost pleasure for the ears and for the souls. What will happen, then, there in Besançon, and elsewhere in France, where [French] is the native language?⁵¹

Thus, for Coyssard music helps learning and memory, and offers enticement and delight (in other words, it serves the purposes of instruction and consolation: *TP*, 13–14); it enhances the public dimension of catechism and facilitates its diffusion; moreover, it works as an antidote against 'bad' songs.

In order to build up a repertory that could serve these purposes, early modern catechists implemented two solutions: creating (or commissioning) new compositions, and recycling pre-existing musical

⁴⁸ For Desiré, see Launay, *La Musique religieuse en France*, p. 90.

⁴⁹ 'Si le Concile de Trent . . . prohibe la lecture des Livres d'amours, escouterons nous sans scrupule de conscience les chansons impudiques, cent foy plus dangereuses, comme on peut voir de ce qu'avons dict de la force de la Musique?'; *TP*, 35.

⁵⁰ For Schoondonck and his role as a promoter of musical education in Jesuit institutions, see P. Leech and M. Whitehead, "In Paradise and Among Angels": Music and Musicians at St. Omers English Jesuit College, 1593–1721', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 61 (2011), pp. 57–82.

⁵¹ 'Ita hic commendantur R. V. elegantes Hymni, ut excussis eroticis ac venereis cantilenis a nobilibus adolescentibus ac virginibus voce fidibusque hic Antwerpiae in variis familiis summa voluptate aurium et animorum cani coeperint. Quid isthic Vesontione, alibique in Gallia futurum credam, quibus est hic sermo natus?'; *TP*, 50–1. Emphasis mine.

structures, in the long-established fashion of parody, contrafactum, *cantasi come* (sing to the tune of another piece), etc. Coyssard – invoking the endorsement of none other than Louis de Granada, the Dominican author of many sixteenth-century spiritual best-sellers – fully approved the practice of spiritual parody, defining it ‘a true way to win to God both the depraved libertines and the least stubborn heretics, hiding the true and supreme remedy of Salvation *under the tasty bait of what they like most*’.⁵² The image of music as a bait to capture souls was another topos of early modern writings on this subject, famously used by the Oratorians of Philip Neri, for instance in the dedication of the *Terzo libro delle laudi spirituali* (‘quest’esca del canto’).⁵³ Such a bait could, of course, hide the hook of God, but also that of the Devil, as suggested in a famous letter by another Jesuit catechist, Edmond Auger (on which below).

The solution of retexting pre-existing songs had its own risks and problems, but it presented at least three major advantages: (a) if famous tunes were chosen, they not only added to the allurement of the school, but were also easier to learn, being already known to many; (b) there was no need to print the music in the catechism books (which saved money and labour); (c) the author could suggest which tunes to use, but ultimately left the choice open, bypassing the problem of changes in musical fashion and allowing for a broader (and lasting) circulation and use of the texts themselves.

Coyssard’s own approach was apparently a mixed one, relying now on original compositions, now on reworkings and spiritual parodies: his *Traité*, frustratingly, does not provide concrete details on this subject, but we can gain an insight by indirect means.

First of all, what is the *function* of songs in Coyssard’s method? The texts of his *Sommaire de la Doctrine chrestienne* (the first part of the diptych of 1608) belong to the second of the categories described in the previous section of this essay: their content *is* the doctrine. The different units are organised in dialogic form: the short questions of the Master are written in prose, while the answers of the Pupil are in quatrains. The *Hymnes & Odes spirituelles*, on the other hand, fall somewhere in the middle between our categories number 1 and 3: the title page makes it clear that the songs have a ‘structural’ function, to

⁵² ‘un vray moyen pour gagner à Dieu & les Mondains dissolus, & les Heretiques moins opiniastres, que de cacher *sous la friande amorce de ce qu’ils ayment le plus*, le vray & souverain remede du Salut’; *TP*, 41.

⁵³ See *Il terzo libro delle laudi spirituali* (Rome, 1577), dedication.

be sung before and after catechism ('pour chanter *devant & après* la Leçon du Catechisme'), and some of them paraphrase the profession of faith and the fundamental prayers, thus providing useful didactic material. But they are also meant to connect the teaching of the doctrine with the unfolding of the liturgical year, and to convey other spiritual contents: 'Thus we should sing at the beginning of the Doctrine' – declares Coyssard in *TP*, 48 – 'and also at the end, in order to thank God for the favours He will have done to us and to our listeners' ('Ainsi faut-il chanter au commencement de la Doctrine comme à la fin aussi, pour remercier Dieu des faveurs qu'il nous aura faictes, & à nos Auditeurs'). Kate van Orden has remarked upon the didactic significance of this practice: 'Singing before and after catechism was a double-impression method that reinforced memorised Latin prayers with French paraphrases and used music to help students learn to read long printed texts.'⁵⁴

As to the concrete *sonic realisation* of the songs, the *Sommaire . . . avec les Hymnes & Odes spirituelles* contains neither notated pieces nor *cantasi come* indications. However, in his letter *Au devot lecteur*, placed before the *Hymnes & Odes spirituelles*, Coyssard suggests that one could use the *airs* included in his previous publications: the *Paraphrase des Hymnes et Cantiques* of 1592 and *Les Hymnes sacrez et Odes spirituelles* of 1600 (*Au devot lecteur*, p. 5). Those books presented four-voice homorhythmic settings of hymns and other songs, some of which paraphrased the corresponding plainchant melodies in the top voice.⁵⁵ But Coyssard leaves open the possibility of using other 'beaux airs'.

It is clear, thus, what to do with the hymns and odes, but what about the *Sommaire* and its torrent of doctrine-filled quatrains? In spite of its title, this 'compendium' is indeed prolix (it occupies roughly 350 pages in the 1608 print) and it does not resemble other 'short catechisms' set to verse and music during the early modern era. It was probably meant as a flexible tool, a repertory of resources for the catechists, who could choose and decide what the pupils should read, recite by heart, or sing.

⁵⁴ van Orden, 'Children's Voices', pp. 230–1. For an interesting account of the different functions and styles of the catechetical songs in the practice of Flemish-Belgian Jesuits, see Drèze, 'Le Chant du catéchisme'.

⁵⁵ See Launay, *La Musique religieuse en France*, pp. 121–4. According to Launay, the main musical collaborator of Coyssard was Virgil Le Blanc; in the same year and at the same publishing house of Coyssard's *Les Hymnes sacrez et Odes spirituelles*, Le Blanc published under his own name a book of *Airs composez . . . sur quelques Paraphrases des Hymnes du R.P. Michel Coyssard*.

An example from a slightly later collection, featuring doctrine-related French songs with text and music, may help us to envisage the sonic realisation of Coysard's method. *Les Rossignols spirituels* (1616)⁵⁶ was conceived by another Jesuit catechist, Fr Guillaume Marc (or Marci; 1574–1637 or 1638), who availed himself of the musical collaboration of Peter Philips, an English priest, composer and organist based at Brussels.⁵⁷ Immediately after a short Christian doctrine in versified dialogue (but without music; pp. 16–19), the *Rossignols spirituels* presents a piece on the three theological virtues ('De la Foy, Esperance et Charité'; from the lower part of p. 18 to p. 23) and the commandments of God and of the Church. As in Coysard's *Sommaire*, the short questions posed by the teacher are in prose, while the answers are in verse. The questions have no music, while the answers are set to a tuneful, and in all likelihood pre-existing, melody (with a bass line added by Philips).⁵⁸

The following dialogue, to be sung on the same melody, comes after the text included in Example 1:

Qu'est-ce que tout Chrestien doit croire & sçavoir?
 Je croy en trois personne,
 Une Divinité:
 Iesus vray Dieu, vray homme,
 Qui nous a racheté.
 Iesus fils de Marie,
 Mort et resuscité,
 Qui iuge nostre vie,
 Comme elle a merité.
 Qu'y at-il de meilleur, &c.

⁵⁶ *Les Rossignols spirituels. Liguez en Duo, dont les meilleurs accords, nommément le Bas, relevent du Seigneur Pierre Philippes, Organiste de ses Altezes Serenissimes* (Valenciennes: De l'imprimerie de Jean Vervliet, à la Bible d'or, 1616). The book was reprinted in 1621 and again, in a revised and altered edition, in 1647. Digital reproductions are available on Google Books as of Sept. 2014.

⁵⁷ See C. Cappliez, *L'École dominicaine de Valenciennes au seizième siècle* (Geneva, 1971); Packer, 'Collections of Chaste Chansons'; Launay, *La Musique religieuse en France*, especially pp. 191–201; John Steele, 'Philips, Peter', in *Grove Music Online*; M. Desmet, 'Les Métamorphoses de l'air de cour dans "La Pieuse alouette" (Valenciennes, Jean Vervliet, 1619–1621)', in G. Durosoir (ed.), *Poésie, musique et société: L'air de cour en France au XVII^e siècle* (Liège, 2006), pp. 245–62; van Orden, 'Children's Voices', pp. 231–2. On Philips, see now D. J. Smith and R. Taylor (eds.), *Networks of Music and Culture in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries: A Collection of Essays in Celebration of Peter Philips's 450th Anniversary* (Farnham, 2013).

⁵⁸ A performance of this dialogue is included in the CD *La Semaine Mystique: Chants de dévotion du règne de Louis XIII*, Faenza and Marco Horvat, Alpha, 2006 (Alpha 103). I wish to acknowledge the inspiration I have drawn from this recording and its cleverly conceived programme.

A sound doctrine

Qui est vray Chrestien & Catholique?
 Celuy est Catholique
 Qui baptizé estant
 Ne suyt nul heretique,
 Nul erreur pestilent:
 Mais en mesme doctrine
 Et en un mesme esprit
 En l'Eglise Romaine
 Professe Iesus Christ.
 Qu'y at-il de meilleur, &c.

Example 1 *Je croy en trois personne* from *Rossignols spirituels*, 1616

Superius

Bassus

1. Je ne suis hy-po - cri - te, En la foy que ie

5 tien; Ces - te le-çon pe - ti - te Vous le mons-tre-ra bien, Par

10 la foy tou-te cho - se Je croy en mon es-prit Que l'E-gli-se pro-

15 po - se, Es - crit ou non es - crit. Qu'y at - il de meil-

19 leur Qu'a - voir Dieu en son coeur, qu'a - voir Dieu en son coeur?

Then, after further questions on the Church, Hope and Charity:

Dites les Commandemens de Dieu.

1. Un seul vray Dieu adore,
 2. Ne iure vainement;
 3. Feste & Dimanche honore,
 4. Sois pere & mere aimant;
 5. Tu ne tu[e]ras personne,
 6. Tu n'adultereras,
 7. A larcin ne t'addonne,
 8. Faux tesmoing ne seras;
 9. Ne convoite le femme,
 10. Ny les biens du prochain.
- Qui garde ainsi son ame
Viendra à bonne fin.

Somme tout.

Aymer Dieu plus que soy,
Son prochain comme soy,
Voilà toute la Loy.

The text is similar to many others in contemporary catechisms, and it is not difficult to find parallel passages in Coyssard. See, for instance, the following excerpts from *Sommaire*, pp. 27–8 and 35–6:

CHAPITRE PREMIER, DE LA FOY

LE MAISTRE: *Declarez nous, que c'est que Foy, & les qualités d'icelle, puis que c'est le fondement qu'il faut ietter en premier lieu.*

L'ENFANT: La Vertu de la Foy nous est du Ciel infuse
Par laquelle, en esprit, l'Immortel nous voyons,
Et bien que la raison quelquefois s'y abuse
Tousjours, ce nonobstant, fermes en luy croyons.

...

LE MAISTRE: *Qui appelez-vous Crestien?*

L'ENFANT: Celuy qui, baptisé, croit, & suit la Doctrine
De IESUS-CHRIST, Dieu-homme, en son Eglise estant,
Et les opinions contraires abomine,
Et confesse sa foy d'un courage constant.

...

LE MAISTRE: *Le Symbole (où la Foy sommairement est contenue) est aussi comme la livrée pour encores cognoistre le Chrestien; pource, recitez-le nous.*

L'ENFANT: 1. Je croy, ferme, en un Dieu, le Pere tout-puissant
Createur du haut Ciel, & de la Terre basse.
2. En IESUS-CHRIST aussi, de Dieu l'unique Enfant,
Nostre divin Seigneur par nature & par grace . . .

Or this rendition of 'Les Commandemens de Dieu':

1. Adore un Dieu souverain,
2. Son saint Nom ne iure en vain,

A sound doctrine

3. Au iour de Feste repose,
a pies oeuvres vacquant,
Ton Createur invoquant,
Et louant sur toute chose.
4. Honore, recognoissant,
Pere & mere en bon Enfant,
Et la celeste Iustice
Te secourira tousiours.
Et prolongera tes iours
Sur terre pour tel service ...

The French urban contexts in which Coyssard and Marc operated as catechists and for which they conceived their works posed specific challenges. They could not avoid the competition and confrontation with the psalms of the Huguenots, nor with the fashionable love songs of ‘libertine’ inspiration: indeed, they embraced it as an opportunity.⁵⁹ As early as 1563 the French Jesuit Edmond Auger had envisaged this necessity. In an often quoted letter, he wrote to General Laínez from Lyons about a French translation of the psalms for the Catholics, that he wished to be done by Pierre Ronsard:

for singing at home, in shops and while traveling – against those which the adversaries go around mumbling. For the French love singing very much (*a li francesi il canto piace molto*), and with this bait (*con questa amorza*) the devil has deceived a whole world of them . . . Everyone who sees the situation of the times judges it necessary to cure opposites with opposites (*ut contraria contrariis curentur*). . . . It is not fitting that these be sung in church, or anywhere except in private places – as other songs are sung.⁶⁰

Since Auger’s time, the huge success of Italian laude (of which Coyssard was well aware⁶¹) had demonstrated that it was possible to build a repertory of spiritual songs that combined artistic simplicity, solid doctrine and pastoral versatility. These contextual elements help explain why Coyssard’s and Marc’s efforts were aimed not exclusively at children, women and simple people, but also at adults, provided sometimes with a certain degree of musical literacy and gusto.⁶² During the seventeenth century (and beyond), French Jesuits made

⁵⁹ See Desmet, ‘Les Métamorphoses de l’air de cour’, pp. 246–9.

⁶⁰ I use the translation given in T. D. Culley and C. G. McNaspy, ‘Music and the Early Jesuits (1540–1565)’, *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 40 (1971), pp. 213–45, at p. 231, with some changes and additions. See also T. F. Kennedy, ‘Jesuits and Music: Reconsidering the Early Years’, *Studi Musicali*, 17 (1988), pp. 71–100, at pp. 82–3.

⁶¹ See *TP*, 8, where he refers to the books for the Christian doctrine printed in Rome, Venice, Parma, Genoa and Turin ‘avecque la Musique forte facile des chansons spirituelles pour tous les Dimanches & Festes de l’Année’.

⁶² Launay, *La Musique religieuse en France*, pp. 119–20.

abundant use of songs even in rural areas: the blessed Julien Maunoir is probably the most interesting case.⁶³ But in order to study how the Jesuits used catechetical songs during their itinerant missions in the countryside, we will now return to Italy.

IN ITALIAN POPULAR MISSIONS

As I have already mentioned, although many Jesuit-inspired and catechism-related collections of laude were published in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Italy, the new 'spiritual songs' (an ever expanding repertory) were not necessarily meant to convey the contents of the doctrine, but rather to fulfil complementary functions. The tendency to include songs whose subjects covered the feasts of the liturgical year in a systematic way (as in *Lode e canzoni spirituali, accomodate a tutte le feste & domeniche dell'anno . . . per cantar insieme con la Dottrina Christiana*: Turin, 1579) and songs that featured dialogic and quasi-representative interaction reflects a progressive institutionalisation of the system, based on the activities of urban schools, often connected with Jesuit colleges. The renewed emphasis on rural missions during the seventeenth century, however, apparently revived the methods that were deemed suitable especially for 'i putti . . . i rozi d'ingegno, rustici, & le donne' (to quote again from Ledesma). In the works of two Jesuit missionaries active in Italy in the second half of the seventeenth century we find versified compendia of the catechism which continue the tradition outlined above.

Paolo Segneri⁶⁴ senior (1624–94) was one of the most famous and indefatigable missionaries of the early modern era.⁶⁵ His methods are described in detail in a book published in Venice in 1714: *Pratica delle missioni del padre Paolo Segneri della Compagnia di Gesù . . . continuata dal P. Fulvio Fontana*, edited by M. A. Franchini, a former collaborator of Segneri and Fontana. In this remarkable manual, which gives us a sort of 'behind the scenes' view of a mission by Segneri and his fellows, we find the oldest extant printed version of the *Laude spirituale, nella quale si contengono le parti principali della Dottrina cristiana, usata nelle sue missioni dal Padre Paolo Segneri della Compagnia di Gesù* (Spiritual

⁶³ See H. Pérennès, 'Quelques auteurs de cantiques bretons: Le vénérable Père Maunoir', *Diocèse de Quimper & de Léon – Bulletin diocésain d'Histoire et d'Archéologie* (1925), pp. 87–96; Launay, *La Musique religieuse en France*, pp. 382–92; Dompnier, 'Les Cantiques dans la pastorale missionnaire', pp. 74–6 (with up-to-date literature).

⁶⁴ Pronounced as a proparoxytone: Ségneri.

⁶⁵ See at least G. Mellinato, 'Segneri, Paolo (senior)', *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, iv, pp. 3547–8, and the literature listed there.



Figure 2 *Laude spirituale*, title page, from *Pratica delle missioni*, 1714, i, pp. 110–11 (Jesuitica Collection, John J. Burns Library, Boston College)

lauda, which contains the principal parts of Christian Doctrine, used by Fr Paolo Segneri of the Society of Jesus in his missions):⁶⁶ a compendium of the doctrine consisting of a long series of quatrains, to be sung with a simple melody (given in the appendix to the manual). See Figures 2–4.

The text of the *Laude spirituale* is divided into two sections: the first one deals with fundamental Christian truths (God as creator, the Trinity and Unity of God, etc.) and the Sacraments of Eucharist and Confession; the second one with the characteristics of sin and the Four Last Things, plus a Marian coda. The metrical structure of the about a hundred stanzas follows a scheme that is not uncommon in Italian popular lyric: three seven-syllable lines rhymed *abb* plus a closing five-syllable (sometimes four-syllable) line that rhymes with the first line of the

⁶⁶ *Pratica delle missioni*, i, pp. 111–18. The *Laude spirituale* was printed in the same year (but without the music) also in Segneri's *Opere* (Parma, 1714), i, pp. 656–9. These editions were not known to Bernadette Majorana, whose account of the sounds of Jesuit rural missions in Italy is nevertheless commendable: see B. Majorana, 'Musiche voci e suoni nelle missioni rurali dei gesuiti italiani (XVI–XVIII secolo)', in *La musica dei semplici*, pp. 125–54. On the *Laude spirituale* see also Librandi, 'Indottrinare in un continuum di varietà', pp. 36–8.

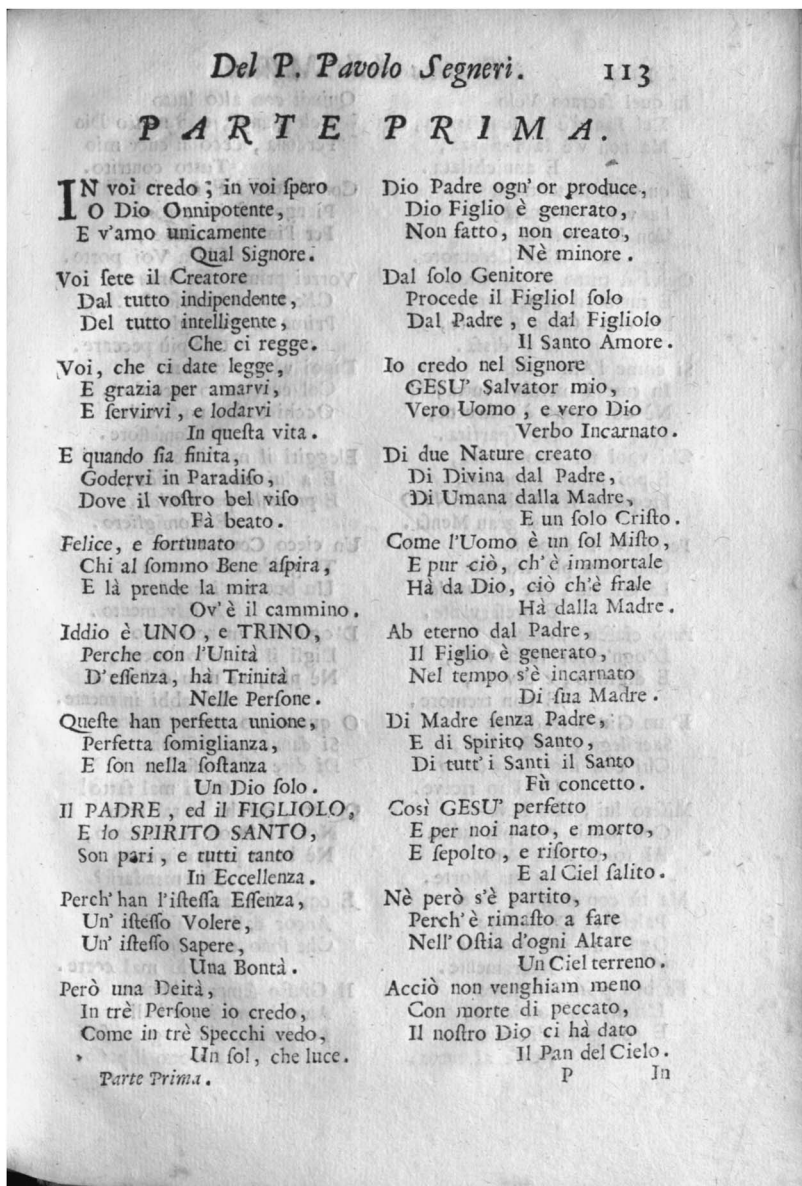


Figure 3 *Laude spirituale*, first page, from *Pratica delle missioni*, 1714, i, p. 113 (Jesuitica Collection, John J. Burns Library, Boston College)

§. XXXII. 97

Tuono con cui si cantano le Litanie di Nostra Signora, la Laude,
& i Salmi, nelle Missioni de PP. della Compagnia di Giesù.

NEL PRIMO INGRESSO

Quando la Processione viene ad incontrare la Missione si cantano à
vicenda dal Clero, e dal Popolo le Litanie di Nostra
Signora, come qui segue.



San cta Ma ri a o ra pro no bis.

OGNI GIORNO DOPO PRANZO

Allorché si adunano i Popoli per assistere alle funzioni si canta la
Laude Spirituale a vicenda da gl' Uomini, e poi dalle
Donne, come qui segue.



In voi cre do, in voi spe ro
o Dio on ni po ten te
e v amo unicamente
qual Si gno re.

Parte Seconda. Na OGNI

Figure 4 *Laude spirituale*, music, from *Pratica delle missioni*, 1714, ii, p. 97 (Jesuitica Collection, John J. Burns Library, Boston College)

Example 2 *In voi credo, in voi spero* from *Pratica delle missioni*, 1714

In voi cre-do, in voi spe-ro, o Di-o on-ni-po-ten-te, In voi ten-te, e
v'a-mo u-ni-ca-men-te qual Si-gno-re, e qual Si-gno-re.

following quatrain (*abbc*₅ – *cdde*₅, etc.).⁶⁷ The first stanzas are transcribed below, and Example 2 reproduces the melody printed in 1714.⁶⁸

In voi credo, in voi spero,
O Dio onnipotente,
E v'amo unicamente
Qual Signore.

Voi sete il Creatore
Dal tutto indipendente,
Del tutto intelligente,
Che ci regge.

Voi, che ci date legge
E grazia per amarvi,
E servirvi, e lodarvi
In questa vita.

E quando sia finita . . .

As explained in the *Pratica*, the missionaries made sure that some people 'with a good voice and a good ear' would learn the song in advance, in order to support the communal singing. Every day the congregation sang the lauda while the different groups gathered for the daily instruction. Since most of the people could not read, the missionaries adopted a very practical performing technique, having different choirs alternate: the men sang the first stanza, then the women repeated it (while a secular priest gave out the words line

⁶⁷ In this metre, variously defined as *oda* or *zingaresca*, the third and fourth line of the stanza may be seen as a hendecasyllable with internal rhyme (the last line has five or four syllables depending on whether a synalepha with the previous line is possible or not); see P. G. Beltrami, *La metrica italiana*, 5th edn. (Bologna, 2011).

⁶⁸ The presence of notated melodies in the *Pratica* has already been pointed out by M. Römer, *Schriftliche und mündliche Traditionen geistlicher Gesänge auf Korsika* (Wiesbaden, 1983), pp. 77–9, and subsequently by F. Facchin, 'Un esempio tardivo di canto fratto? I gesuiti e la musica nelle missioni rurali', in M. Gozzi and F. Luisi (eds.), *Il canto fratto: L'altro gregoriano* (Rome, 2006), pp. 171–84.

by line), and so on.⁶⁹ Despite, however, the low literacy rate, Segneri handed out booklets with the *Laude spirituale*, literally in thousands, if contemporary accounts are to be trusted:

So many copies of these laude were given out, that besides those distributed for free by the Fathers, a young layman said that he had sold no fewer than fifteen thousand copies. This song, gracefully arranged in verse, was being learnt by heart by almost everybody, in spite of having about a hundred stanzas. It was sung with great joy by the women at the cauldron for silk production, at their looms, on the threshing floor, or while they led the cattle to pasture, and during their other duties. The same song was sung by the men, young and adult, at home, in the streets, and in the fields. In this way they put those fundamental truths into their hearts: otherwise, they would never have thought of it.⁷⁰

The metrical structure (with short lines and intertwined rhymes) and the simple and catchy melody all helped memorisation. It was an easy, entertaining and community-building way of learning or reviewing the contents of the doctrine. Moreover, as suggested by Segneri's biographer in the quotation above,⁷¹ the song entered the 'popular' repertory, and the people sang it in the streets, in their homes, in the fields, assimilating the doctrine and spreading it further in the informal context of daily life.

Another Jesuit missionary, Fr Innocenzo Innocenzi (1624–97), was the author of a widespread *Dottrina cristiana spiegata in versi* (Christian doctrine explained in verse; see Figures 5–6).⁷² First published as an anonymous booklet probably in the 1660s, Innocenzi's versified doctrine went into many editions in the following decades.⁷³ It was sometimes included in larger works, as in the case of his fellow Jesuit

⁶⁹ See *Pratica*, ii, §VIII.

⁷⁰ 'di cotali laude se ne smaltiron tante le copie, che oltre a moltissime donate da' Padri, un giovane secolare diceva di haverne vendute sol di sua parte niente manco di quindici mila. Questa Canzone dunque distesa in gentilissima rima, benché contenesse circa d'un centinaio di stanze, veniva imparata a mente quasi da ogn'uno. Questa cantavano con grande allegrezza le donne alla caldaia della seta, a' telari del tessere, su l'aia del grano, nel condurre al pascolo gli armenti, e negli altri lavori lor propri. Questa medesima si cantava dagli huomini, e piccoli e grandi, nelle case, per le strade, per la campagna, mettendosi così nel cuore quelle verità tanto importanti, che per altro non sarebbono mai né pur venute loro in pensiero.' G. Massci, *Breve ragguaglio della vita del P. Paolo Segneri* (Venice, 1701), p. 100. See also Majorana, 'Musiche voci e suoni nelle missioni rurali', p. 151.

⁷¹ This is, however, a recurrent topos in missionary literature, which can be traced back at least as far as the letters of Francis Xavier from India in the late 1540s.

⁷² See Guidetti, *Le missioni popolari*, p. 113; Librandi, 'Indottrinare in un continuum di varietà', p. 38; M. Barbera, 'Catechismo in versi popolari', *La civiltà cattolica*, 94 (1943), pp. 287–91.

⁷³ The main text seems to have been fairly consistent, but changes and additions were made, especially in the last section, and further devotional materials were sometimes added. The editions I have been able to identify are:

(1) *Dottrina cristiana, spiegata in versi, cavata dalle Scritture e da dottori* (Florence: All'insegna della stella, 1669). No extant copies. (According to Michela Catto, it was censored

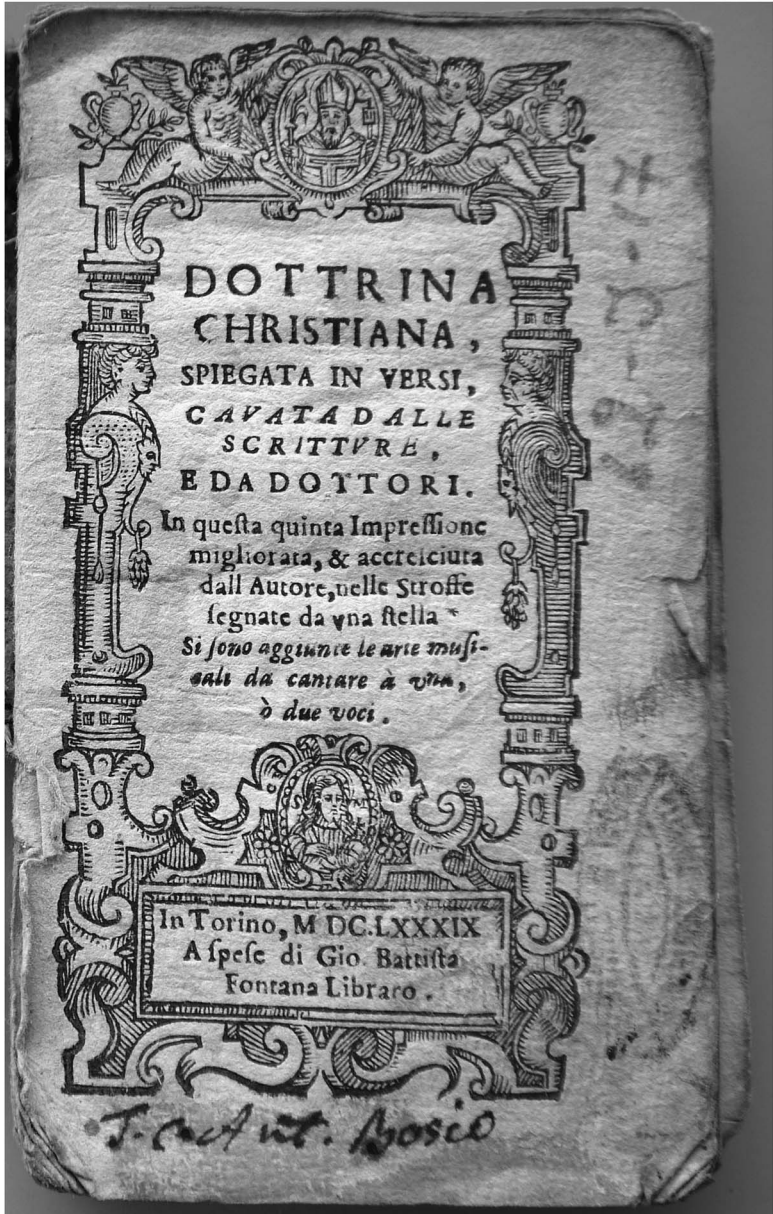


Figure 5 *Dottrina christiana spiegata in versi*, 1689, title page (Courtesy Biblioteca Patetta – Università degli Studi di Torino – Fondo Patetta)

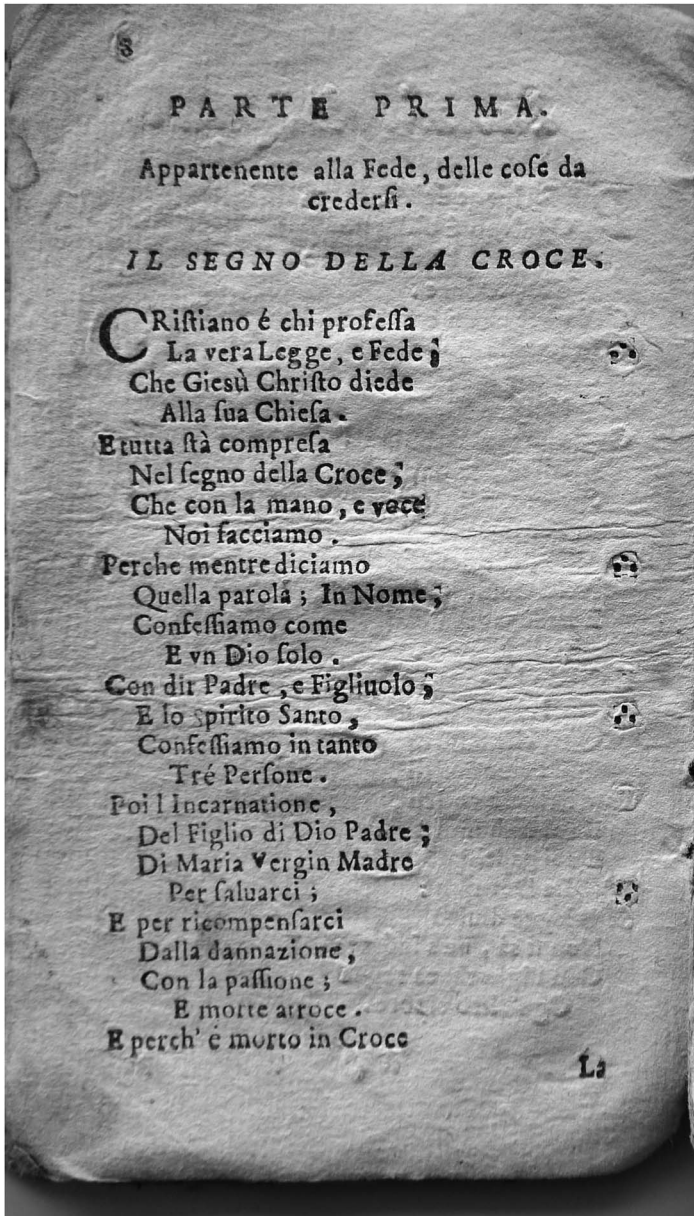


Figure 6 *Dottrina christiana spiegata in versi*, 1689, p. 8 (Courtesy Biblioteca Patetta – Università degli Studi di Torino – Fondo Patetta)

Pietro Maria Ferreri's *Istruzioni in forma di catechismo per la pratica della dottrina cristiana spiegate nel Gesù di Palermo*,⁷⁴ where we find an explicit attribution ('dal⁷⁵ P[adre] Innocenzio Innocenzi della Compagnia di Gesù'; p. 597) and a revealing complement to the title: 'Per utile delle Scuole della Dottrina, e delle sante Missioni, etc.' ('For the benefit of the Schools of Christian doctrine and of the holy Missions, etc.').

As an eighteenth-century chronicler reports:

For the benefit of the holy Missions and the good of all the schools of Christian doctrine, [Fr Innocenzi] started to compose a Christian doctrine, explaining it in verse, in an easy and popular style, so that he could make it, by its simple style, at the same time palatable to everybody and fruitful for every disposition . . . To make it more singable, he gave it a metrical structure very easy to memorise . . . I can testify myself that I heard this Doctrine sung in the fields, around the countryside. To see how popular it has been and still is, suffice it to mention that its newest edition, recently printed in Piacenza, is the twentieth.⁷⁶

by the Holy Office: see M. Catto, *Un panopticon catechistico: L'arciconfraternita della dottrina cristiana a Roma in età moderna* (Rome, 2003), p. 256.)

(2) *Dottrina christiana, spiegata in versi, cavata dalle Scritture e da dottori. In questa quarta Impresione migliorata, & accresciuta dall'Autore, nelle Stroffe segnate da una stelletta * Si sono aggiunte le arie musicali da cantare à una, ò due voci* (Turin: Per Gio. Sinibaldo, Ad istanza dell'Agilio, 1672). With notated music. A copy at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

(3) *Dottrina christiana spiegata in versi cavata dalle scritture e da dottori. E di nuouo ristampata, e ricorretta, con nuoua aggiunta* (Macerata: Nella Stamperia del Pannelli, 1677). A copy at the Biblioteca Nazionale, Rome.

(4) *Dottrina christiana spiegata in versi, cauata dalle scritture, e da dottori. In questa quinta Impresione migliorata, & accresciuta dall'autore [sic], nelle Stroffe segnate da una stella * Si sono aggiunte le arie musicali da cantare à una, ò due voci* (Turin: A spese di Gio: Battista Fontana Libraro, 1689). With notated music. A copy at the Biblioteca Federico Patetta, Dipartimento di Scienze Giuridiche dell'Università degli Studi di Torino, Turin.

(5) *Dottrina christiana spiegata in versi, cauata dalle Scritture, e da' Dottori. In questa quarta [sic] impressione migliorata, & accresciuta dall'autore. Si sono aggiunte le arie musicali da cantare a una, o due voci* (Milan: Nelle stampe dell'Agnelli, 1689). With notated music. A copy at the Biblioteca Universitaria di Genova, Genoa.

(6) *Dottrina cristiana spiegata in versi cauata dalla sacra scrittura e da ss. Dottori . . . Decimasesta, & ultima impressione di nuouo ricorretta* (Naples: per il Bonis stampatore arcivesc., 1694). A copy at the Biblioteca statale del Monumento nazionale di Montecassino, Cassino.

(7) *Dottrina cristiana spiegata in versi. Cavata dalle scritture e da' dottori. In quest'ultima Impresione diligentemente corretta* (Milan: nella Stampa di Giuseppe Marelli, 1726). A copy at the Biblioteca nazionale Braidense, Milan.

⁷⁴ Second edition (Palermo, 1737), iii, pp. 597–620; republished also in a subsequent edition, issued in Bassano in 1768.

⁷⁵ In reference to 'spiegata in versi': 'explained in verse by'.

⁷⁶ 'Per utile delle sante Missioni e per bene di tutte le dottrine cristiane, [il p. Innocenzi] prese a comporre e spiegare in versi la Dottrina Cristiana, ma in istile facile e popolare per renderla egualmente colla semplicità dello stile saporita ad ogni palato, e profittevole ad ogni temperamento . . . Per farla più cantabile, le diede un metro da tenersi facilissimamente a memoria . . . Io medesimo son testimonio d'aver udito nel Contado pe' campi cantare questa Dottrina. Per vedere quanto ella sia stata e sia tutt'ora in uso, basti sapere che l'ultima impressione è la ventesima, come apparisce in quella

Some elements of this contemporary account deserve our consideration: it underscores the simplicity of style as a key factor in making the doctrine palatable for everybody (notice the gustatory metaphor, another ubiquitous topos in this literature); it links almost automatically singability, metrical structure and memorisation; and, interestingly, while it takes up the *locus communis* of the songs resounding ‘in the fields’, emphasising it with the immediacy of personal testimony, it assesses the editorial success of Innocenzi’s work in a very concrete way.

The most remarkable aspect of Innocenzi’s *Dottrina* is that it follows almost exactly the content, structure and internal division of Bellarmino’s *Dottrina cristiana breve*.⁷⁷ If Coyssard, as mentioned above, translated Bellarmino’s doctrine into French, Innocenzi rendered it in Italian verse.⁷⁸ Thus, following the model of his fellow Jesuit and future saint, Innocenzi organised his versified *Dottrina* in six sections, preceded by a preamble; the following topics are covered:

1. Faith (*Delle cose da credersi*)
2. Hope (*Delle cose da sperarsi, e da domandarsi da Dio*)
3. Charity (*Delle cose da farsi*)
4. The Holy Sacraments (*Che son mezi per acquistare la grazia, e per osservare i precetti di Dio*)
5. Virtues and vices
6. The Four Last Things

In fact, Innocenzi adds a seventh section, not present in Bellarmino’s doctrine, entitled ‘Delle occasioni de’ peccati che han da fuggirsi’ (On the occasions for sin that one should avoid): it features lengthy warnings, some of them in dialogic form, against the moral dangers of bad company, of licentious love affairs, of balls and parties and of card games. This last section differs from the preceding six in its theme, metre and its moralising rather than doctrinal approach, and is less stable in the different editions. Other prayers or devotional materials are added in some editions (for instance in Turin 1672 and 1689).

ultimamente fatta in Piacenza.’ G. A. Patrignani, *Menologio di pie memorie d’alcuni religiosi della Compagnia di Gesù* (Venice, 1730), sub 2/2/1697, p. 39.

⁷⁷ There are some minor changes in the second part (regarding Hope), where Innocenzi includes the *Salve Regina* and other prayers and devotions after the *Pater noster* and *Ave Maria*. He also treats the mysteries of the Rosary in this section, whereas Bellarmino places them at the very end of his doctrine.

⁷⁸ The frontispiece of Ferreri’s *Istruzioni* of 1737 (see above) highlights the correspondence between the two texts: ‘Coll’aggiunta . . . della Dottrina Breve del Bellarmino, e dell’istessa spiegata in versi’ (‘In addition . . . the short doctrine by Bellarmino, and the same doctrine explained in verse’; emphasis mine). Innocenzi’s text is printed in the appendix, immediately after Bellarmino’s doctrine.

As a result of its following in detail the model of Bellarmino, Innocenzi's doctrine is far longer than Segneri's *Laude spirituale*, but more systematic and more clearly organised. Both adopt, however, the same metrical form (except for Innocenzi's seventh section in octosyllables) and interestingly some quatrains recur in identical or slightly modified form in both works, in sections whose content is similar. Table 2 gives an example of these intertextual relationships (italics highlight the differences).

It is possible, as proposed by Barbera in 1943,⁷⁹ that Innocenzi was inspired by Segneri's *Laude* and decided to rework it substantially and systematise its doctrinal content. Other intertextual connections are evident: the paraphrase of the *Salve Regina* incorporated in Innocenzi's doctrine (*Dio vi salvi, Regina*) has been attributed, apparently on a firm basis, to another contemporary Jesuit, the Neapolitan-based saint Francesco di Geronimo (1642–1716).⁸⁰ The systematic character of Innocenzi's project makes it likely that he could have reorganised pre-existent materials, while the opposite process seems less probable; only further research and new documents will clarify the relationship between these texts. It is also noticeable that Innocenzi's 'Proemio all'opera' contains echoes of the 'functional' and introductory texts of previous sung doctrines: the appeal to fathers and children, for instance ('Do your duty: you, children, learn the Doctrine; you, fathers, teach the Doctrine'; 'Fate l'offizio vostro, / E voi figli imparate, / E voi padri insegnate, / La Dottrina') recalls to one's mind Ledesma's own 'Proemio'. This aspect does not derive from Bellarmino: it belongs specifically to the tradition of sung doctrine, where the performative and the public were crucial elements.

We do not possess any 'complete' set of notated music for singing Innocenzi's *Dottrina*. Some of the editions, however, include 'arie musicali da cantare' for one or two voices. The editions printed in Turin in 1672 and 1689 have four 'arie',⁸¹ in rudimentary woodcuts, each one with a caption that points to a specific section of the text:⁸²

- 'I Dieci Comandamenti di Dio' ('The Ten Commandments of God'; see Figure 7, from 1689, upper half; transcribed in Example 3)
- 'I Quattro Novissimi' ('The Four Last Things'; see Figure 7, lower half)

⁷⁹ Barbera, 'Catechismo in versi popolari', p. 290.

⁸⁰ See F. M. D'Aria, 'Intorno all'autore d'un celebre inno mariano', *La Civiltà Cattolica*, 92 (1941), pp. 300–7; id., *Un restauratore sociale: Storia critica della vita di san Francesco de Geronimo da documenti inediti* (Rome, 1943).

⁸¹ On pp. 82–3 and 81–2 respectively.

⁸² The arie, probably intended for a combination of men's and boys' voices, have a notation as crude as the woodcuts themselves; their treble-dominated texture is characterized by awkward voice-leading in the lower part and, at times, ungainly dissonances.

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Table 2 *Comparison of two excerpts from Segneri's Laude spirituale and Innocenzi's Dottrina christiana*

Segneri	Innocenzi
Per fuggir tanto errore, Pensa al tuo fine eterno, Morte, Giudizio, Inferno, E Paradiso.	<i>Se tu non vuoi peccare, Pensa al tuo fine eterno, Morte, Giudizio, Inferno E Paradiso.</i>
La morte all'improvviso Ti priverà di tutto; E i tuoi piaceri in lutto Finiranno.	La morte all'improvviso Ti priverà <i>del</i> tutto; E i tuoi piaceri in lutto Finiranno.
Morrai forse quest'anno E tu stai festeggiando, E scherzi, e salti andando Al tuo supplizio!	Morrai forse quest'anno; <i>Qual vivi, tal morrai, E in morte non farai La penitenza.</i>
...	...
Al suon d'orribil tromba Ogn'un risorgerà, E attonito starà Nel gran giudizio.	<i>Tutti morti saranno; E al suon d'orribil tromba Sorgeran dalla tomba Al gran giudizio.</i>
Ogni segreto vizio Palese apparirà; O Dio, chi soffrirà Tanto rossore?	Ogni segreto vizio Palese apparirà; O Dio, chi soffrirà Tanto rossore?
La notte d'ogni cuore, Ch'or non ha chi la veda, Converrà ben che ceda Al Sol divino.	<i>Il brutto d'ogni errore E d'ogni cuore il fondo Farà vedere al mondo Il Sol divino.</i>
Guai a te, poverino, Che taci il tuo peccato, O quanto svergognato Allor sarai.	<i>O guai a te meschino Che taci il tuo peccato, O quanto svergognato Allor sarai.</i>

- 'Contro i Balli, e le Veglie licenziose' ('Against Dances and licentious Parties'; see Figure 8, from 1689, upper half)
- 'Il Deus, qui pro redemptione Mundi' (see Figure 8, lower half)⁸³

⁸³ This text, the Italian translation of a popular Latin prayer, is part of the additional materials included in this edition.

Example 3 Recitation formula from *Dottrina christiana spiegata in versi*, 1689

Que - sti die - ci pre - cet - ti Da Dio fu - ron già da - ti,
E per an - dar al Cie - lo Son ve - ra e u - ni - ca vi - a:

Da Chri - sto con - fer - ma - ti Nel Van - ge - lo.
Chi da que - sta tra - vi - a Va nel - l'In - fer - no.

Example 4 *Dio ti salvi, Regina* from *Istruzioni in forma di catechismo*, 1737

Adagio

Di - o ti sal - vi Re - gi - na, e Ma-dr'u-ni-ver - sa - le, per cui fa-vor si
sa - le al Pa - ra - di - so, per cui fa-vor si sa - le al Pa-ra-di - so.

In Ferreri's *Istruzioni*, only the *Dio vi salvi, Regina*⁸⁴ is notated, within the description of the order of catechism classes at the Church of the Gesù in Palermo (p. 591; see Example 4).

Considering also the length of Innocenzi's *Dottrina*, it seems plausible that an alternation of reciting and singing was implemented, and that different melodies were used for the sake of variety (as well as to accommodate the different metre of the last section). It also seems likely that other melodic formulae similar to that of Segneri's *Laude spirituale* (or even the same, given the identical metre) could be used. It is worth noting another point, which helps clarify the fluid nature of this repertory: the fourth 'aria' in the 1672 and 1689 editions is nothing but a two-voice version of the music usually associated with the ancient lauda *Spirito Santo amore*. The melody in the top voice is faithful to the one first published in *Lodi e canzoni spirituali per cantar insieme con*

⁸⁴ Here with the variant 'Dio ti salvi, Regina'.



Figure 7 *Dottrina christiana spiegata in versi*, 1689, p. 81 (Courtesy Biblioteca Patetta – Università degli Studi di Torino – Fondo Patetta)



Figure 8 *Dottrina christiana spiegata in versi*, 1689, p. 82 (Courtesy Biblioteca Patetta – Università degli Studi di Torino – Fondo Patetta)

la Dottrina Christiana (Milan: P. da Ponte, 1576) and then reprinted in the Turinese *Lode e canzoni* of 1579 (quoted above) as well as in many other collections of laude promoted by the Jesuits.⁸⁵ Melodies travelled in time and space and, despite a privileged but by no means exclusive association with a text, they could revert to the status of mere recitative formulae one century after their first appearance in print. This further confirms that the borders between apparently distinct practices such as the singing of laude and the intoned recitation of catechetical texts were often blurred.

The preface in prose to Innocenzi's *Dottrina cristiana spiegata in versi* presents once again a justification for the use of verse and singing in catechesis. Although well established and never perceived as particularly problematic (at least outside the areas at risk of Protestant influence), these practices still required some kind of official explanation, even if a perfunctory one. As late as the eighteenth century the Holy Office was censoring some versified catechisms, blaming simplifications and doctrinal errors that indirectly derived from the constraints of the literary form.⁸⁶ The tone of Innocenzi's text is more confident and less polemical than that of Coyssard, and the argumentation much more concise: but its topoi clearly indicate that it belongs to a coherent literary tradition, entwined in the tradition of sung doctrine itself.

The combination of solid doctrine with easy and sweet singing ('La necessità e sodezza della Dottrina, unita con la facilità e dolcezza del canto') produces a good alloy and a suave harmony ('fa una lega sì buona e un'armonia sì soave . . .'). That is why the idea of seasoning the truth in pleasant verse ('condire il vero in molli versi') was adopted in the Judaeo-Christian tradition: the subsequent mention of the Psalms of David and the ecclesiastical hymns is de rigueur. A quotation from St Basil, extolling the didactic and mnemotechnical merits of verse and music, introduces a reference to the patristic habit of countering the poison of paganism ('il veleno del Gentilesimo'), spread through mellifluent verse, by means of hymns and songs, as in the case of St Gregory of Nazianzus, who gave to his spiritual children the bread of Christian doctrine broken in song and sweetened in the milk of sacred rhymes ('il pane della Dottrina Cristiana . . . spezzato in

⁸⁵ See Rostirolla, Zardin, and Mischiati, *La lauda spirituale tra Cinque e Seicento*, pp. 572–3, 589–90 and *passim*; transcription at p. 584. For the text of *Spirito Santo amore* and his attribution to the 15th-c. poet Leonardo Giustinian, see Leonardo Giustinian, *Laudario Giustiniano*, ed. Francesco Luisi, 2 vols. (Venice, 1983).

⁸⁶ See Catto, *Un panopticon catechistico*, 256–7.

canto e raddolcito in latte di sagre rime'). Edmond Auger had made a similar reference to the Church Fathers in another sentence of the letter to Laínez I quoted above, and parallel passages for all these points are to be found in Coyssard's treatise.⁸⁷

The mention of the Horatian precept 'Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci' is also remarkable: the ideal of *miscere utile dulci*, mixing the sweet with the useful, was often invoked in this connection during the early modern era, most notably by the Oratorians of St Philip Neri.⁸⁸ The final point touches on another topos: if in these *lodi dottrinali* the sweetness and seasoning of art ('la dolcezza e 'l condimento dell'arte') are scant, the spiritual hunger and devotion of the people and the didactic zeal of their curates and teachers will compensate for them. For this aspect too, there is no lack of precedents among early modern authors of doctrinal or devotional *poesia per musica*:⁸⁹ to put it with Coyssard,

La chose ne veut estre ornée,
se contentant d'estre enseigné.⁹⁰

Clearly, the modest musical and literary quality of much of this corpus is the result of a conscious (if sometimes inevitable) aesthetic choice.

CONCLUSIONS

This survey suggests that the noteworthy and by no means obvious association between singing and the teaching of the catechism is a *longue durée* phenomenon of the early modern era, and needs to be studied as such.

The Jesuits played a unique role in the development and diffusion of these practices. Other groups and organisations devoted themselves to the teaching of the catechism and (more or less formally) established local or national networks: for instance, the Colegios de Niños de la Doctrina in Spain,⁹¹ the confraternities of Christian doctrine

⁸⁷ Coyssard, for instance, quotes exactly the same passage by St Basil: see *TP*, 20–1.

⁸⁸ See G. Stefani, *Musica Barocca 2. Angeli e Sirene* (Milan, 1988), p. 193; D. V. Filippi, *Selva armonica: La musica spirituale a Roma tra Cinque e Seicento* (Speculum Musicae, 12; Turnhout, 2008), pp. 33–4.

⁸⁹ For the paradigmatic case of the Oratorian Giovanale Ancina, see C. Bianco (ed.), *Il tempio armonico: Giovanni Giovanale Ancina e le musiche devozionali nel contesto internazionale del suo tempo* (Lucca, 2006), and Filippi, *Selva armonica*, pp. 216–20.

⁹⁰ A quotation from the Latin poet Manilius: see Coyssard's 'Letter to the devout reader', printed before the *Hymnes sacrez*, pp. 3–4.

⁹¹ See Franiñán de Miguel, 'La "Doctrina cristiana" de Gregorio de Pesquera'; F. Santolaria Sierra, 'Una carta impresa del maestro Ávila en un compendio de uso escolar de 1554', *Hispania Sacra*, 60/121 (2008), pp. 173–80.

in Italy,⁹² the Doctrinaires in France.⁹³ What distinguished the Jesuits was the international nature of their network. It is to a large degree thanks to the peculiar dynamism of the Jesuit network – owing to the interchange of experiences and the historical awareness it promoted – that these practices found a large-scale and long-lasting diffusion, with a remarkable mix of tradition and innovation. Thus, they became standard both in Europe and in the extra-European missions. (The latter, not discussed here, deserves further study:⁹⁴ in fact, the catechetical methods that involved dialogues, recitation and singing were worked out within a fruitful interaction between experiences on European soil and experiences in the extra-European missions. The Jesuit missionary par excellence, Francis Xavier, had already exported these practices from the Iberian peninsula to the Asian missions in the early 1540s, and became in turn a model for European catechists.)

The reasons why Jesuit catechists adopted singing or other sonic practices as preferred methods in certain contexts are clearly stated in treatises and paratexts, with notable consistency: the didactic and mnemotechnical value of songs; the delight caused by music, in the perspective of *miscere utile dulci*; the enhancement of the collective and public dimension of the catechism; the role of doctrinal songs as antidotes against ‘bad’ songs, part of an ongoing campaign against immoral entertainments, but which in areas exposed to Protestant influence took on a distinct anti-heretical hue. Moreover, the songs often served as a hinge between doctrine and prayer, and provided a connection between the fixed content of the catechism and the specific character of the different moments in the liturgical year.

If the motivating principles remained substantially constant, the method was flexible enough to adjust to different situations: in rural areas it could be based mainly on formulaic recitative tones and

⁹² See Turrini, ‘Riformare il mondo a vera vita christiana’; P. F. Grendler, ‘The Schools of Christian Doctrine in Sixteenth-Century Italy’, *Church History*, 53 (1984), pp. 319–31.

⁹³ See Dhôtel, *Les Origines du catéchisme moderne*, pp. 107 ff. The role of the Franciscans should also be taken into account: see e.g. Dietz-Rüdiger Moser, *Verkündigung durch Volkslied: Studien zur Liedpropaganda und -katechese der Gegenreformation* (Berlin, 1981); Fabien Guilloux, ‘“Sur l’air du père Honoré”: La circulation des cantiques de mission dans les recueils capucins du XVIII^e siècle: Premières approches’, in M. D. Leclerc and A. Robert (eds.), *Chansons de colportage* (Reims, 2002), pp. 191–205.

⁹⁴ See, e.g., P.-A. Dubois, *De l’oreille au cœur: Naissance du chant religieux en langues amérindiennes dans les missions de Nouvelle-France, 1600–1650* (Sillery, Québec, 1997); P. Castagna, ‘The Use of Music by the Jesuits in the Conversion of the Indigenous Peoples of Brazil’, in J. W. O’Malley et al. (eds.), *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences and the Arts, 1540–1773* (Toronto and Buffalo, 1999), pp. 641–58; Kennedy, ‘Music and the Jesuit Mission in the New World’; E. Ros-Fàbregas, ‘“Imagine All the People . . .”: Polyphonic Flowers in the Hands and Voices of Indians in 16th-Century Mexico’, *Early Music*, 40 (2012), pp. 177–89.

insistent strophic repetitions, while in urban contexts it could produce a more elaborate repertory, open to diverse performing solutions (involving polyphonic rendition and instrumental accompaniment), and not immune from a sense of competition with the other songs on the market.

The study of this tradition spotlights aspects of the often debated relationship between the Jesuits and music⁹⁵ that have not yet received enough scholarly attention. The members of the Society realised, for instance, the importance of communal singing and its effectiveness for expressing participation and shaping collective identities; thus, also in consideration of its utility as a disciplining tool, they carefully designed methods for implementing it. As the case of French Jesuits makes clear, besides recognising the powers of music (or, on a more generic and less sophisticated level, of sonic stimuli), they sensed that the rise of musical amateurism and the private or semi-private consumption of songs fuelled by music printing were phenomena that anybody interested in moulding mentalities and guiding behaviours (to use modern terms) should take into serious consideration: those media had a huge potential for the diffusion of ideas, doctrines and behavioural codes. Future research will have to situate these practices more precisely in the thriving scene of early modern devotional singing: apart from a few case studies and sometimes vague general inferences, the role of the Jesuits and their network in this field (from popular genres to the loftiest forms of the spiritual madrigal)⁹⁶ is still far from assessed.

More generally, the non-conventional repertory associated with the teaching of Christian doctrine needs to be studied in the context of the early modern Catholic soundscape. The participation in (or at least the exposure to) these practices was one of the most characteristic sonic experiences available in the everyday life of Catholics, and it helped shape personal as well as collective beliefs and identities. Even though some of these sonic phenomena may seem almost pre-musical

⁹⁵ See at least T. D. Culley, *Jesuits and Music: A Study of the Musicians Connected with the German College in Rome during the 17th Century and their Activities in Northern Europe* (Sources and Studies for the History of the Jesuits, 2; Rome, 1970); Culley and McNaspy, 'Music and the Early Jesuits'; Pau, 'De l'usage de la chanson spirituelle par les Jésuites'; T. F. Kennedy, 'Jesuits and Music: The European Tradition 1547–1622' (Ph.D. diss., University of California, 1982); Kennedy, 'Jesuits and Music: Reconsidering the Early Years'; J. I. Tejón, 'Música y danza', in *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, iii, pp. 2776–89; T. Jež, 'The Social Functions of Music', in id., *Kultura muzyczna jezuitów na Śląsku i ziemi kłodzkiej: (1581–1776)* (Warsaw, 2013), pp. 515–26.

⁹⁶ For the latter genre, see D. V. Filippi, 'Earthly Music, Interior Hearing, and Celestial Harmonies: Philippe de Monte's First Book of Spiritual Madrigals (1581)', *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 3 (2011), pp. 208–34, esp. 211–15.

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when compared to the highest products of early modern musical culture, they are nevertheless part of a spectrum. A significant part indeed, whose interplay with different aspects of that soundscape, that culture and that society has much to reveal not only on ‘musical’ matters, but on other relevant historical issues of the early modern era: the mass diffusion of catechesis, of course, but also the problem of children’s and adult education, the impact of performative media, the role of religious networks, the interaction between the European scene and world missions.

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