

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

POPULAR SONG, REVOLUTION, AND DEVOTIONAL CULTURE IN THE
FRENCH PYRÉNÉES, 1780-1850

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF MUSIC

BY

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

DECEMBER 2017

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AD	Archives Départementales (Departmental Archives, include Communal Archives)
AD-PAB	Archives Départementales, Pyrénées-Atlantiques, Pôle de Bayonne et du Pays Basque (at Bayonne)
AD-PAP	Archives Départementales, Pyrénées-Atlantiques, Site de Pau (at Pau)
AN	Archives Nationales
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
BibDioc	Bibliothèque Diocésaine de Bayonne
MediaB	Médiathèque de Bayonne
MuBa	Musée Basque Library
UTPau	Usine des Tramways, Pau – Archives de l'Agglomération Pau, Fonds Patrimoine

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I first traveled to St. Jean-de-Luz and the Basque coast many years ago, and I have my amazing parents and family to thank for allowing me to discover the joys and beauty of France's regions. It has been an ongoing love affair since, with so much cheese involved.

No one, least of all me, could hardly have imagined my writing a dissertation on the Basques, the Bearnese, and their music. But so many wonderful people have made it all greatly worthwhile. On the France side, I thank first of all Denis Laborde and Philip Bohlman for organizing the 2013 Université d'été conveniently in Biarritz, which got me launched on my research. Denis also graciously vouched for and supported my work during my year in the region. Marie Hirigoyen Bidart and her family – Pantxix, Pagoa, and Antton – were the most generous hosts one could wish for, and Marie offered kind initial encouragement and research guidance. Numerous hosts during my stays in the region have offered fabulous company, traveling relief, quiet spaces to work, delicious meals, and heartwarming encouragement.

Thank you: Juliette Castaing, Vincent and Françoise, the Castéret family, Christiane Mousquès, and family and friends in Paris – Renan, Kin, François, Marylène, Katia, Christophe, Norbert, and Marcelle. Christiane's generosity and knowledge of Ossau culture was an inspiration, and the Castérets offered valuable perspectives on Bearnese culture. Regine Etcheverry was a constant source of positive energy and spirits. And Maitena Duhalde De Serra and her family continue to amaze me with their generosity of spirit and friendship. I cannot thank the radiant Maitena (and her Aita Gabi) enough.

During my research stays in Bayonne, I benefited from the helpful support of the research center IKER – *mila esker* to Ricardo Etxepare, Anne-Marie Benarab, Jean-Philippe Talec, Karim Ait-Alouache, Eztitxu Albistur, and Xarles Videgain. Librarians and staff at the

local archives were welcoming, patient, and willing to help. At the library of the Musée Basque, Marie-Hélène Deliard and Audrey Farabos; at the Médiathèque of Bayonne, Marie-Andrée Ouret and staff at the heritage section; at the diocesan library, Annie Mazetier was always happy to open the stacks for me during their repair work and packing. Coralie and Marie-Juliette were great companions there, too. At the Archives départementales located in Bayonne, Nathalie Rébéna has always been especially helpful and receptive to my project.

In Pau, the encouragement and assistance from Anne-Marie Molier, Nathalie Martin, and others at the Usine des Tramways archives and library have been heartwarming from the start. The staff at the Archives départementales at Pau were always helpful, especially Elisabeth, Jacques, and Caroline, even when certain preservation conditions made their work more difficult. Likewise, numerous other librarians, archivists, scholars, and colleagues in France (and Spain) offered their invaluable aid: Jon Bagüés at Eresbil, Geneviève Marsan at the Musée d'Ossau, Agnès Mengelle at the Musée Pyrénéen, Jaume Ayats, Maria Gembero, Xavier Bisaro, Philippe Canguilhem, Christian Desplat, Fanny Gribenski, John Romey, and Xabier Itçaina. I especially thank Xabier Itçaina for his generous help and conversations on Basque dances and religious feasts. In Paris, Sébastien Greppo at the Chicago Center was always a great aid, and the staff at the BNF and the Archives Nationales kindly helped steer me in the right directions. Charlotte Goodwin and Arnaud Roujou de Boubée were wonderful at the Fulbright center in Paris.

My encounters with local religious have been a truly rewarding aspect of my research in the region, and I thank them warmly: at the Benedictine monastery of Belloc, Frères Vincent Lalalle and Ignace Etchehandy; in Lourdes, the Soeurs Auxiliaires who hosted me; at Our Lady of Bétharram, Pères Jean-Dominique Delgue, Gabriel Verley, Michel Vignau, Pierre Leborgne,

Philippe Hourcade, and Emile Garat; at Our Lady of Refuge, Sisters Gracianne, Germaine, and especially H  l  ne Higu  .

My multiple stays in France would never have been as amazing without the loving support of French friends and family, old and new. I hope I can slowly repay their hospitality, wherever I end up! Warm hugs to Diane Ennuyer, Brigitte Barthe, and especially, my extended Rohannais clan – the Rouaults, Gobrien and the Le Pottiers, Agn  s and Michel, Fanch and Fred, Michela, Alain and Monique and the Guillaume family, the Le Norcys, the Maugeais, Bruno, Glenn, and Jacques Le Pottier. Thank you also to Jeanine and Jean-Jacques, Catherine, and Camille Gillard, and especially to Manoue, my own wonderful grandma research assistant.

I have had the fortune of receiving the following grants and fellowships to support my research: the Alvin H. Johnson Dissertation Fellowship from the American Musicological Society, the Fulbright U.S. Student Award, and from the University of Chicago, the Kathy Holmes Travel Fund Award and the Fran  ois Furet Travel Grant. I also benefited greatly from the stimulating community of the Martin Marty Center as a Junior Fellow in 2015-16. I must also thank my many language teachers, starting decades ago with the foundational French instruction of Jane Anderson, and more recently, Amaia Gabantxo, Diana Palenzuela, Lurdes, and Sophie.

On the States side, many stimulating and interesting conversations with gracious people have helped me along my path: thanks to professors Eric Drott, William Washabaugh, Ralph Locke, Melvin Butler, and Glenda Goodman. At the University of Chicago, professors Phil Bohlman, Larry Zbikowski, and Steve Rings in the Music Department have always been of invaluable help and inspiration; Larry Norman, Ryan Coyne, Bruce Lincoln, and Robert Morrissey have offered their insights. The wonderful staff of the Music Department, especially Melanie, Peter, and Emily, have always dealt with the important details so well. James

Kallembach, Dean Elizabeth Davenport, and my choir mates have provided me with some of my most treasured moments of singing in the Rockefeller Chapel Choir. My trusted friends and colleagues have offered support, laughter, inspiration, motivation, happy distractions, and companionship (especially on the third floor of the Reg library): Maria Welch, Ana Sanchez-Rojo, Rehanna Kheshgi, Cesar Favila, Chaz Lee, Chloe Blackshear, Sarah Iker, Abigail Fine, Nancy Murphy, Jess Peritz, Dan Wang, Patrick Fitzgibbon, Patrick Kaufman, Siel Agugliaro, Lauren Eldridge, Meredith Aska McBride, Tomas Gueglio, Phil Taylor, Marcy Pierson, Lindsay Wright, George Adams, Devon Borowski, Barbara Dietlinger, Pierce Gradone, and many others. Living and working here in Hyde Park surrounded by your smiling faces has been a delight.

My dissertation committee has been consistently patient, supportive, and inspiring. Paul Cheney got me started again on the French Revolution and has always offered valuable and thoughtful advice. I was grateful to have him rooting for me in Paris while I was also in France conducting research. Kaley Mason has always demonstrated his enthusiasm for this project and given me helpful encouragement. I know that Martha Feldman's perceptive comments, research guidance, and writing advice will continue to influence my work for years to come. And Robert Kendrick, my trusted advisor, has always offered prompt feedback, astute critiques, and endless, dependable support. Thank you for all your work, patience, and encouragement, Bob.

Finally, my family, my life's rock – thank you. My parents, Manuel and Connie, you have always been a constant source of support and inspiration, in your own ways. My awesome siblings Mariana, Diego, and Paulina give me so much to brag about, and I especially thank Pau for her great help in editing my work. Thanks also to Adrian and Emilia for all their hugs and humor, and to Natalie and the Valenzuelas for their unfailing support always. Marie-Paule

Gillard still gives me a hand every once and a while from heaven, as do my magnificent grandparents. Brother-sister Simon makes life fresh and exciting.

My dearest Marc, my biggest fan and cheerleader, I have gotten through this “slow but steady,” thanks to you.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation research analyzes the impact of the French Revolution on the popular song and religious cultures of the Basque and Bearnese peoples of southwest France. It traces the ways in which lay spiritual and musical practices were rebuilt by local communities in the nineteenth century. Using the interplay between contemporary memory, ethnography, and archival evidence to understand the popular devotional and musical history of this region, my work examines how music-making and song culture formed an important, emerging source of local political culture. I examine how musical practices mobilized a powerful, yet multifaceted, sense of communal identity in this southwest border region, at a time when centralizing revolutionary-era pressures posed grave challenges to everyday life.

Musical scholarship on the French Revolution and Restoration eras has long tended to focus on Paris, leaving much to explore about the construction of a universalized French identity and the continual resistance and alternative shaping from France's heterogeneous regions. In addition to providing a rare critical history of numerous Basque and Bearnese musical traditions, my dissertation connects important studies in French cultural and religious history to long-ignored musical aspects. I engage with the musical material culture present in local and national archives as much as with archival records as varied as municipal account books, trial testimonies, French Revolutionary festival reports, and confraternity papers in order to study this undervalued regional perspective. These varied sources illuminate what piety looked and sounded like during the turn of the nineteenth century, helping us understand the complex social processes of the politicization of musical and religious practices and their early role in regional identity formation.

INTRODUCTION

Early in the morning of January 21, 1798, the bells ringing and the military drums beating, the people of Bayonne were directed to participate in the civic ceremony honoring the “anniversary of the just punishment of the last king of the French.”¹ By ten o’clock, members of the municipal administration and the Executive Directory, as well as numerous military officers, were making their way in procession behind the drummers and musicians playing patriotic songs and wartime marches. After the coup d’état of 18 Fructidor that restored power to the Jacobin Directory, a renewed emphasis was placed on the proper celebration of national feast days. The Bayonnais, however, had lost much interest in the Republican holidays by 1798. Still, this particular feast day had mobilized an amateur club of singers and their instrumental accompaniment. Moreover, the official record preserves parts of a hymn composed for the occasion, with the refrain reading: “Misery for all time to the perjurer!/
Who, to manipulate humanity,
By the guiltiest imposture/
insults Divinity!”² After an oath-swearing ceremony and a long invocation to the Supreme Being, city officials even managed to host an evening spectacle of revolutionary songs performed by local lyrical artists.

This moment shows one starting point for the issues in this dissertation, around the question of how common people in this remote southwest corner of France supported, adapted to, or resisted revolutionary measures, and how they rebuilt their lives at the start of the nineteenth century. Though these questions are fascinating in themselves, I have sought to

¹ See Pierre Hourmat, *Histoire de Bayonne, Tome II, La Révolution 1789-1799*, Publication de la Société des Sciences Lettres et Arts de Bayonne (Bayonne: Imprimerie du Labourd, 1992), 319. “L’anniversaire de la juste punition du dernier roi des Français” [*All translations mine unless otherwise indicated.*]

² Documents divers, Fêtes révolutionnaires à Bayonne, Mss 172, No. 1, Fonds Patrimoine, MediaB. “Malheur à jamais au parjure!/
Qui, pour tromper l’humanité,
Par la plus coupable imposture,
Outrage la Divinité!”

understand more specifically what role(s) popular musical practices, and especially, devotional musical practices, played in these processes of contestation and restoration. How did locals go from singing to their town's patron saint, to singing hymns denouncing the royalty, and perhaps back to praising a Catholic saint after 1801? What was changed after those radical transitions? What roles did ritual and music play in this region after 1800?

Popular singing practices of southwest France in particular have long captured the imagination of local admirers, scholars, and travelers alike. The region's musical culture has developed into a powerful symbol of local identity. In the early twentieth century, music from this region formed a fertile creative resource for French composers, such as Maurice Ravel,³ who were looking for an exotic or Spanish influence in their compositions. Local musical traditions continue nowadays to stimulate regional discourses on culture, community, and religious practice. Yet there was a significant moment of rupture in this musical lineage around 1790, when the centralizing measures of the French Revolution abolished provincial autonomies and imposed dechristianizing measures that left a long-lasting influence on local society. My dissertation analyzes the impact of the French Revolution on the popular song and religious cultures of the Basque and Bearnese people in southwest France and explores the ways in which lay spiritual and musical practices were slowly rebuilt by local communities in the nineteenth century. I examine how musical practices mobilized a powerful, yet multifaceted, sense of communal identity in this southwest border region, at a time when centralizing revolutionary-era pressures posed grave challenges to everyday life.

In tracing a history of these sacred musical practices, my dissertation makes the case for popular devotion to be studied as culture, at the same time as it posits this region as a

³ Ravel, born in Ciboure on the Basque coast in 1875, was undoubtedly influenced by his mother's Basque and Spanish heritage and his many trips back to this southern coast. See Etienne Rousseau-Plotto, *Ravel, portraits basques*, Empreinte (Anglet: Séguier, 2004); Christian Laprérie, *Histoire de la musique basque* (Biarritz: Atlantica, 2010), 77–80.

fascinating, understudied instance of the variety of responses to the onset of modernity in Europe. In researching what piety looked and sounded like on the ground during the turn of the nineteenth century, I aim to elucidate complex social processes of the politicization of musical and religious practices and their early role in regional identity formation. This research thus proposes that traditional musical practices not only mobilized a new sense of local identity, but that those practices also reinforced the ties between devotional and political culture that became an important basis for later nationalist discourses.

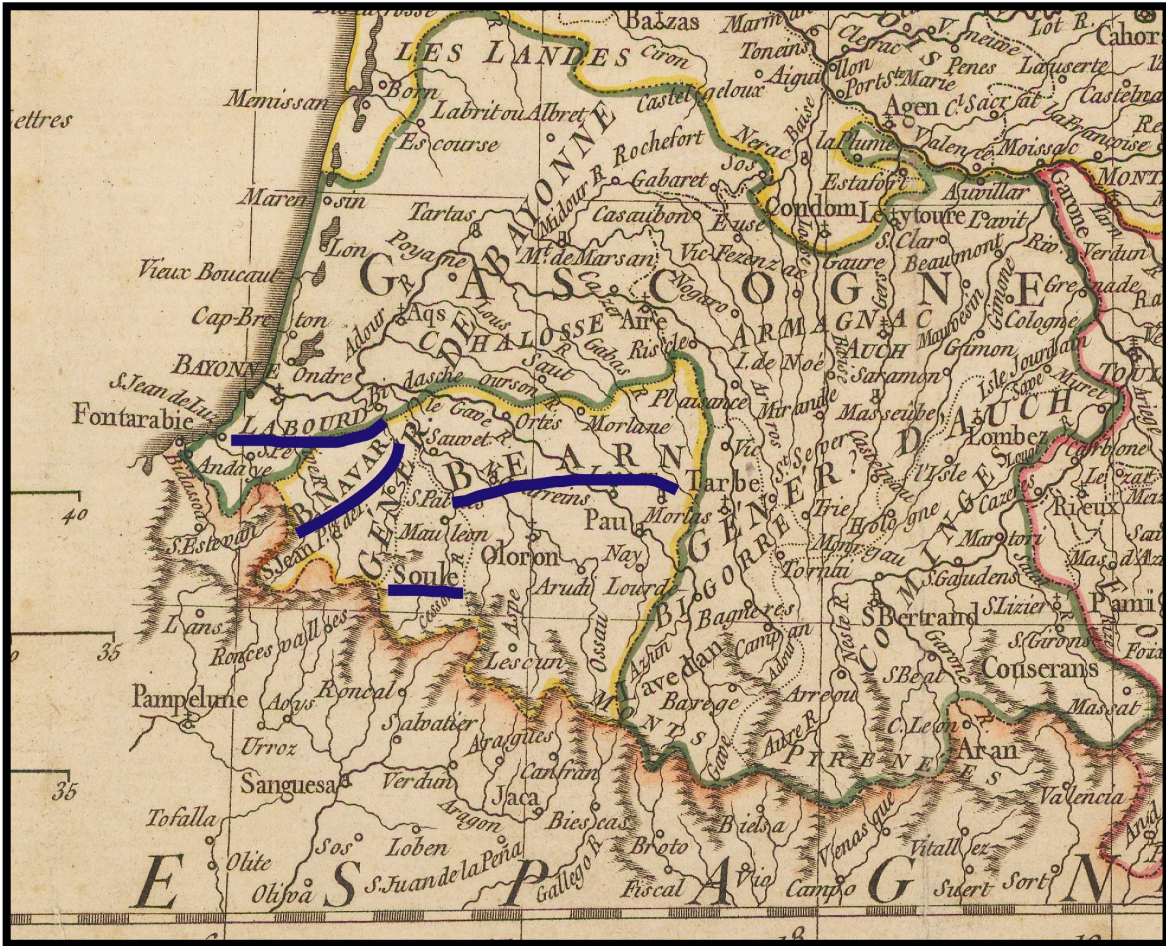
A UNIQUE REGION OF FRANCE

Nestled among the verdant Piedmont hills, the towering Pyrénées, and the crashing blue waves of the Bay of Biscay lies the southwest region of France, which came to be known as the Basses-Pyrénées (and much later, renamed the Pyrénées-Atlantiques in 1969). It became this newly-formed *département* – the French administrative “state” – during the territorial re-mappings of the French Revolution in 1790, after much debate. This is because within this region, several autonomous provinces had long defended their own rights and agreements with the French Kingdom (see Maps 0.1-0.3).⁴ To the west, along the Atlantic coast and south of the Adour River, the three historic Basque provinces had each maintained a certain autonomy since the Middle Ages: Labourd (Lapurdi),⁵ Basse-Navarre (Nafarroa beherea), which was long

⁴ Maps excerpted from Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d’Anville and G. de la Haye, “La France divisée en provinces et en généralités” ([Paris? Académies rles. des inscriptions et belles-lettres et des sciences], 1773); P.-G. Chanlaire, “Carte de la France, divisée en ses 83 départemens” (Paris: Se vend au Bureau de l’Atlas national de France, 1790); J. G. Bonisel, “Carte de l’Empire français, divisée en 108 départemens: et en arrondissemens communaux, les chef lieux de préfectures et de cantons et ses 26 divisions militaire [sic], comprenant aussi la République d’Hollande, divisée en 14 départemens, une partie des Cercles d’Allemagne, en deça du Rhin et de l’Angleterre, les États du Roi de Sardaigne, en terre ferme, la République italienne et État de l’Église, avec les frontières d’Espagne, soumise aux dernières observations” (Paris: Chez l’Auteur, 1805), respectively.

⁵ Where appropriate and after first mention, I will give Basque or Gascon-language name variants in parentheses, such as for important people, towns, and other geographical markers.

attached to the Estates of Béarn, and Soule (Zuberoa). To the east, the Béarn sovereignty was incorporated into the Kingdom of France only in 1620, after the crowning of the Navarrese King Henri III as Henry IV of France.⁶ The Bearnese continued to maintain special provincial rights, however, including their Parliament of Navarre.



Map 0.1: The Historic Provinces of the Basses-Pyrénées, underlined, 1773
 (Source: University of Chicago Map Collection, see note 4)

⁶ The Bourbon kings from then on took the title of King of France and of Navarre.



Map o.2: Outline of the Département within France, New Administrative Divisions of 1790
 (Source: University of Chicago Map Collection, see note 4)



Map 0.3: Close-up of the new Département des Basses-Pyrénées, from 1805 French Empire map (Source: University of Chicago Map Collection, see note 4)

Many have argued that the Revolution brought an end to these autonomies, but the actual extent of this transformation is difficult to measure.⁷ The centralizing monarchy of the Old Regime had already done much to reorganize and reform the region's administrative and judicial institutions. In some senses, then, the revolutionaries were merely concluding the region's administrative reorganization. But it brought to light the tensions and fractures of a dominant democratic project that viewed an egalitarian society as possible only through uniformity and unity.⁸ The abolition of all provincial privileges would continue to represent the uneven power dynamic of the hegemonic center (Paris) versus the peripheral provinces, and it became symbolic of the last chance for Basques and Bearnese to demarcate their own territory.

The Basque region is an ambiguous territory to delineate, depending on whether historical, geographical, or linguistic markers are considered. The territorial Basque map has historically been organized into seven provinces: four on the Spanish and three on the French side of the Pyrénées.⁹ One way in which the Basque region and people are often identified is through differentiation from their close neighbors, the Gascons and the Bearnese. Gascon is considered a dialect of Occitan used in the Aquitaine region, while Bearnese refers to the official Gascon language of the historic Principality of Béarn. Bearnese uses the same variants as Gascon, in other words, but further identifies a specific region and history. Interestingly, the words Gascon and Basque have the same etymology, stemming from *Vascon*. In many villages

⁷ As is discussed and questioned by Manex Goyhenetche, *Histoire générale du Pays basque Tome IV La Révolution de 1789* (Baiona Donostia: Elkar, 2002), 18.

⁸ Goyhenetche explains, for example, how the governing body (*Biltzar*) of Labourd viewed the project of a democratic nation as one of a federation of provinces, which would reinvigorate and reform the local governing institutions. See *Ibid.*, 184-187. The Third Estate of Labourd argued that the "concept of citizenry in no way excluded the bonds with the group, the society, the collectivity, the patrimonial heritage." *Ibid.*, 186. "Leur conception de la citoyenneté n'excluait en rien les liens avec le groupe, la société, la collectivité, l'héritage patrimonial."

⁹ On the Spanish side, the historic Basque provinces are: Araba (Álava in Spanish and English), Bizkaia (Vizcaya in Spanish, Biscay in English), Gipuzkoa (Guipúzcoa in Spanish), and Nafarroa (Navarra in Spanish, Navarre in English). Today, the Basque Autonomous Community (or Euskadi) is formed of Araba, Bizkaia, and Gipuzkoa, while Navarre is its own autonomous community.

and towns both Gascon and Basque coexisted, with Basque often the oral and Gascon the official written language. Today, both the Basques and the Gascons are recognized European minorities, striving for linguistic and cultural recognition.¹⁰

Though it has rarely known a unified political statehood, the Basque Country (Euskal Herria) is also known as such in both French and Spanish (*Pays basque*, *País vasco*). This cross-border community shares a common cultural heritage, ethnicity, and history, though highly influenced of course by the separate and related histories of Spain and France as well. It also shares a common language, which nonetheless is transformed throughout the Basque Country into numerous local variants and dialects, like Souletin and Labourdin. This fascinating language of *Euskara* is considered a language isolate, not belonging to the Indo-European family of languages and related in no way to any other language, for that matter. The Basque language is thus often seen as the main point of common identity among its speakers, so much so that a Basque person (Euskaldun) is called a speaker of Basque.¹¹

These southwestern Pyrénées remain one of the most culturally and linguistically diverse and marginalized regions of France. Unlike other outlying parts of France, such as Brittany, this relatively small territory is rare in that it contains several distinctive cultural-linguistic population groups. Focusing on this border region affords both a glimpse into the institutional, cultural, and political diversity of Old Regime France and a comparative viewpoint of varied resistance to the centralizing measures of the new nation, a viewpoint that most historical and musical scholarship has long ignored. Yet, in contrast to modern nationalist discourses focusing on cultural-linguistic divides and the exceptionalism of these linguistic

¹⁰ Although the political stakes for each are very different. A great map of their linguistic territories could be found at: <http://www.eurominority.eu/version/eng/maps-other.asp> (accessed on April 26, 2014). As of July 2017, however, only the Basque map could be found, and unfortunately it seems the site has been significantly diminished.

¹¹ See Paddy Woodworth, *The Basque Country : A Cultural History*, Landscapes of the Imagination (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 18.

minorities, I aim to understand the processes of conservation and renewal of sacred vernacular singing practices across these linguistic borders and in light of what contemporaries felt they represented. My aim is to get close to the lived experience of these devotional and musical practices, before they become too self-consciously nationalist or regionalist.

This dissertation could have easily focused on one or the other of these groups, the Basques or Bearnese. For the Basques especially, this would have allowed a deeper foray into questions of trans-border identities and language. For the Bearnese, perhaps the legacy of Protestantism and the Wars of Religion would have taken a larger place in understanding local religious culture. But I chose to attempt a balanced study of the two, in order to highlight the particularities of each. Moreover, their histories and heritage are intertwined more than is often acknowledged, not just because they both formed the Basses-Pyrénées department. Both groups share common Catholic religious customs and a vibrant trade position along the Spanish border. By exploring their distinctive vernacular variants in comparison, however, I am better able to maintain a critical distance from anachronistic nationalist interpretations and to analyze claims to exceptionalism from either cultural group.

SINGING AS A PRACTICE OF CULTURE

Besides establishing human rights and leaving behind legacies of violent upheaval, the French Revolution probably intrigues people most for its elaborate patriotic machinery of massive festivals and rituals that worked towards the permeation of the symbolic order. Everywhere around the country, crowds gathered to plant the Tree of Liberty in their town squares, to sing the latest patriotic song, and to hear their town officials swear allegiance to the new order. But for all that has been written about the pervading iconicity of the Revolution –

from the tricolor cockade ribbons and Phrygian bonnets to the Republican calendar – scholarship on the soundscape of this turbulent era remains rather limited to Paris-centered cases, French-language patriotic songs, “high art” famous marches and military music of known composers such as Grétry, Méhul, and Gossec, and learned musical genres such as opera.¹² Little has been done to elucidate singing’s role in provincial contexts of patriotism and protest, or to trace regional communities’ uses and transformations of song culture throughout diverse turns in political events. Moreover, singing in studies of the Revolution tends to be treated as an isolated political practice, without reference or relation to other daily practices of work, devotion, family gatherings, or education that also involved musical expression.

This study takes singing as a pervasive and important expression of the many facets of a group’s culture. A song inhabits an interwoven musical, poetic, historical, social, and sometimes political lexicon of ideas and practiced habits. Though this dissertation also addresses the broader musical traditions in which many songs coexist with other instrumental genres, its continued focus is on songs as an expression of popular culture, in all its diversity. Scholarship on popular culture has significantly reoriented the meaning of the terms “popular” and “culture” towards an examination of *how* objects of culture are used and thought of, or what function they hold in society.¹³ Instead of focusing on any number of limiting, dichotomizing traits given to cultural objects a priori – high or low, elite or popular, central or peripheral – cultural historians work to uncover the social life of objects, materialities, practices, and traditions in

¹² See the studies by Jean Mongrédien, *La musique en France, des lumières au romantisme: 1789-1830*, Harmoniques Série La Musique en France (Paris: Flammarion, 1986); Jean-Rémy Julien, Jean-Claude Klein, and Jean Mongrédien, *Orphée phrygien: Les musiques de la Révolution*, Librairie Du Bicentenaire de La Révolution Française (Paris: Editions du May, 1989); Adélaïde de Place, *La vie musicale en France au temps de la Révolution* (Paris: Fayard, 1989); Mark Darlow, *Staging the French Revolution: Cultural Politics and the Paris Opéra, 1789-1794*, The New Cultural History of Music (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

¹³ See Peter Burke’s introductory discussion in his *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 3rd ed. (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2009); and Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, Bicentennial Reflections on the French Revolution (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991); Roger Chartier, *Inscription and Erasure: Literature and Written Culture from the Eleventh to the Eighteenth Century*, Material Texts (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

order to understand the diversity of functions and meanings these held in a given community, or across communities. In my study of songs and singing of this era, my goal is to write a social history of these objects and practices, asking: what did different practices of patriotism, protest, devotion, music-making, singing, writing, collecting mean to the diverse and particular people who executed them? What were their various reasons and interpretations for these practices? How might a song, song text, or tune have “lived” (or created meaning) among different practitioners, different times?

Indeed, these inquiries get deeply at what it means to sing, and how singing can be a meaningful practice. My approach will consistently aim to take the cultural artifact “song” as intimately tied to its practice or action of singing. Thus, this is a people-and-practice-centered social history of music more than it is an object-centered cultural history, for reasons that will be detailed further on in my methodological considerations. What place and significance, then, did singing have in Basque and Bearnese cultures? What different and perhaps conflicting functions did it hold, and in different sectors of society?

The common pitfall has been to understand local song cultures solely through the influential lenses of late nineteenth- and twentieth-century collectors, musicologists, and folklorists. As more recent scholarship has shown for Basque society, these later collections and studies of local song repertoires and practices had the intent purpose of proving a particularism or exceptionalism, and an antiquity, of Basque musical culture.¹⁴ By proving that “Basque song”

¹⁴ See Marie Hirigoyen’s useful overview of musicological studies and analyses of “le chant Basque” / Basque song starting in the late nineteenth century. Marie Hirigoyen Bidart, “Relation entre dénomination et analyse dans l’étude des ‘musiques traditionnelles’: L’exemple du chant basque,” *Lapurdum Basque Studies Review* [Online] 17 (2013): 77–90. Not to mention that the interest in proving an ancient oral tradition for different European peoples was part of an erudite vogue gaining ground in mid-nineteenth century, after such hits as the Gaelic epic of Ossian published by James Macpherson. Several of these types of spurious Basque epics were “discovered” and published in the nineteenth century, including: “Le Chant de Lelo” published in Berlin in 1817 by philologist Bascophile Wilhelm von Humboldt and the “Chant d’Altabiscar” that narrated the famous Roland Roncevaux battle (published by Eugène Garay de Monglave in 1834). See Natalie Morel Borotra, “Qu’est-ce que ‘Le chant basque’?”

existed, early musicologists like Charles Bordes were working to prove the uniqueness and sovereignty of a Basque people.¹⁵ The vast collections of such folklorist priests as Resurrección María de Azkue and Jose Antonio Donostia nonetheless contributed greatly to bringing much of this oral culture into a written repertory. But the shared motivation of many of these early twentieth-century studies was to show the intimate connection between *singing* and *being* Basque, as if song was the ultimate originary marker of the people.¹⁶ Any historical work teased out in these discussions aimed to prove a connection between Basque music and the general, historical strokes of Western music, such as modal plainchant or even ancient Greek monody. The implicit goal was a (re)inscription of Basque music, especially song, into a narrative highlighting the most valued facets of European music history of the time (its antiquity, expressiveness, sacredness).¹⁷

Unfortunately for us, a close and critical look at local socio-historical contexts, beyond the veneers of timeless epics or the folkloric nineteenth century, is altogether missing from these Basque musicological studies.¹⁸ While they may certainly be valid endeavors to bring a marginalized community's music into the broader historical narrative, these studies subsequently essentialize and simplify all Basque music history as proof of an innate (and

petite histoire d'une notion changeante, des premières années du XIXème au début du XXème siècle," accessed July 21, 2017, <http://www.euskonews.com/0138zkbk/gaia13804fr.html>.

¹⁵ With all the contemporary essentialist discourse linking songs to characteristics defining the people, or a "biologization of a Basque music," as Hirigoyen puts it. Hirigoyen Bidart, "Relation entre dénomination et analyse dans l'étude des 'musiques traditionnelles': l'exemple du chant basque."

¹⁶ See for example the work of Englishman Rodney Gallop, who asserted that in Basque Country everyone sang, Rodney Alexander Gallop, "La chanson populaire basque," *Bulletin du musée basque* 8 (1928): 1–25. Or the influential title of Jean Ithurriague's study, Jean Ithurriague, *Un peuple qui chante: Les basques* (Paris: Edimpress, 1947). Natalie Morel Borotra demonstrates that the broader notion of and specifically musical interest in "Basque song" does not take off until the mid-nineteenth century, placing song gradually as a particular Basque cultural trait. Natalie Morel Borotra, "Le chant et l'identification culturelle des basques (1800-1950)," *Lapurdum Basque Studies Review [Online]* 5 (2000): 351–81.

¹⁷ And in fact, studies that take a historical approach to Basque music continue this trend today – such as Laprérie, *Histoire de la musique basque*.

¹⁸ J.A. Arana Martija, eminent Spanish Basque musicologist, for example, in his 1976 book on Basque music, peppers the broad strokes of Western music history with examples of Basque-born composers and traditions that fit into the themes and canons of European history

timeless) Basque musicality. How can we start to know what a song or a singing tradition meant, say, in the eighteenth century, if we do not know about its function in a community, its connections to other modes of expression, its circulation (in print or otherwise), or its reception among practitioners or listeners? Little scholarship has been done to answer these basic questions for the period that concerns us here. In great part, this is due to a dearth of sources, as I will explain further on. But there is also this persistent issue, as Natalie Morel Borotra has demonstrated, that while studies since the nineteenth century have sought to prove a unique Basque musicality, Basque singing in the eighteenth century was actually largely unexceptional in the broader French context.¹⁹ Though the poetic use of vernaculars differed in Basque singing from French, of course, *many* diverse peoples of France sang, for all occasions.

Nevertheless, the mere fact that everyone was singing, not just the Basques, does not make the musical practice any less significant, especially at this critical time period. The fact that the Basques continued to sing into the nineteenth century, inspiring studies of their singing particularities that argued for a cultural identity, can actually point us to clues as to how singing may have changed for them in this critical historical juncture and why its social role was transformed. For while other French peoples adopted many urban song genres emanating from Paris, starting with the Revolution, and gradually lost their local popular singing traditions, the Basques continued to nourish their popular repertoires, supplementing them with national tunes and patriotic lyrics. Thus, to better understand how song and music were later used to prove the existence of a distinct Basque culture, we must first understand the roles they played in Basque society *before* the exceptionalism that allowed them to gain such a prominent cultural position.

¹⁹ Morel Borotra, “Le chant et l’identification culturelle des basques (1800-1950),” 352–53. Borotra actually argues that Basque dancing, rather than singing, receives more attention in early travel accounts.

The same phrase of “a people that sing” can be, and has been, used for the Bearnese. In fact, in many ways, the Bearnese had maintained a stronger written lineage of vernacular singing repertoires than the Basques at the turn of the nineteenth century.²⁰ This may in part have been due to the more active printing culture centered in Pau,²¹ and was also in large part due to several famous Bearnese poet-singers, including Cyprien Despouirins (1698-1759) and Xavier Navarrot (1799-1862). As historian Christian Desplat notes, literacy rates in Béarn were much higher than in the neighboring Basque country in the eighteenth century, which would help explain the Bearnese printing boom as well.²² Among the popular collections continuously re-printed in the mid-eighteenth century were those of Bearnese noëls, especially by the priest Henri d’Andichon (see Chapter 1).

Yet, singing these noëls and “bergeries” (pastoral songs) by Despouirins already meant something different for diverse sets of people in Béarn at the turn of the nineteenth century, as different sectors understood the use of Bearnese and its cultural significance differently. Thus, the question of what singing meant as a practice becomes a thorny one not just diachronically, but synchronically through the variety of practitioners. Whose practice and whose culture is being encompassed and expressed in song? For while Despouirins wrote verses about the beloved Bearnese mountains and valleys, like many pastoral poets, he was also of noble birth, and not himself a lowly shepherd. And as noble parliamentarians in Pau entered into evermore frequent conflict with royal power in the latter half of the eighteenth century, they sought to motivate popular support with their conservative Bearnese verses. By the last heated

²⁰ Borotra notes that the Bearnese were more well known nationally for their singing at the beginning of the nineteenth century than the Basques. *Ibid.*, 370.

²¹ Especially starting with Émile Vignancour’s publications of “Poésies béarnaises” in the 1820s, the tunes of which he collected himself. See Émile Vignancour, ed., *Poésies béarnaises*, 1827. (Consulted at the Musée Pyrénéen in Lourdes, B 080, Bibliothèque Baquerisse.)

²² Christian Desplat, *La vie en Béarn au XVIIIe siècle*, *La vie au quotidien* (Pau: Cairn, 2009), 256–57. Desplat cites that at the eve of the Revolution in 1789, 71% of Pau husbands, and 28% of Pau wives, signed their own marriage contracts, and that even in some of the remote valleys literacy was high – in the valley of Barétous, the highest literacy rate was 89% for men, 7% for women. Unfortunately, Desplat’s sources are not clear.

parliamentary crisis in Pau in 1788, it was not clear whose use of Bearnese verses was being mobilized for what. The use of vernacular singing had been maintained throughout these revivals, but for whom and what purposes? The ever-popular myth of Henri IV, Bearnese king before French royal, was continuously used in song to legitimize the special sovereignty of Béarn, but for whom, which Bearnese? Nobles and bourgeois, craftsmen and shepherds – Bearnese verses were used as much for popular, intimate entertainment as for promoting certain social and political thinking throughout the region.

These questions become more fraught of course with the social and political upheavals of the Revolution. It does seem, however, that even before the clash of 1789, and consistently thereafter, Bearnese nobles, bourgeois, and commoners alike were drawn to the sheltering, otherworldly imaginary of the Pyrénées Mountains, as expressed through tales, proverbs, and song. These steep mountains afforded a certain escape from the hardships of everyday urban or rural life, and isolation from the rest of the world, but they would also continue to dominate in later folkloric discourse of the nineteenth century and to invigorate Romantic notions of Béarn and its people. Again, it is difficult to parse how much Pyreneism was imposed later as an ideal-type of the Bearnese culture, and how much of this geophysical interest actually stemmed from local popular culture. It is interesting to note, nonetheless, that already at the turn of the century, the local printer Vignancour was issuing studies on Pyrenean natural history, well before mid-century mountain tourism in the region.²³ Thus, these early valorizations of the geophysical space in Béarn would be an important source for cultural expression through song, just as they would be reflected in nineteenth-century marketing of song collections for the

²³ Louis Lacaze, *Les imprimeurs et les libraires en Béarn (1552-1883)*. (Ribaut, 1884), 188.

outsider (Parisian), under such titles as *Souvenirs des Pyrénées* and *Chants pyrénéens*, associating both Basque and Bearnese cultures with these mountains.²⁴

THE REVOLUTION AND SINGING POLITICAL CULTURES

Though this dissertation focuses on *devotional* culture and singing traditions, in studying this period of revolutionary upheaval, one cannot separate the political from considerations of the socio-religious. Practicing devotion *was* often political, especially after 1792. (See Chronology in Appendix 2.2.) Moreover, inhabitants of this region were variously involved in political, civic, and religious activities, and musical practices as well as practitioners were often shared among these activities. For example, a schoolmaster may have led his schoolchildren in the latest patriotic hymn at the town festival, but he could have also led the singing of a processional hymn for a religious feast day a few years before. Often, the same musicians were hired to accompany a religious occasion and a civic one. Not to mention that revolutionary festivals worked to instill an aura of sacred devotion around new symbols of the Republic. But more importantly, the Revolution, with its overwhelming apparatus of festivals and civic participation, not only strove to model a new unified, egalitarian society, but it watered the seeds of a new civic consciousness that likewise influenced social domains of devotion.

Scholarship in art history and cultural history has shown the complexities of using festivals to propagate Revolutionary and Republican ideologies. Studies of the musical component of these orchestrations have been slower to follow, however, and have mainly considered the hit military musical works of the time, especially in the context of Parisian civic

²⁴ Morel Borotra, "Le chant et l'identification culturelle des basques (1800-1950)," 369-70.

events. A few anthologies of Revolutionary music from the twentieth century attest to the wealth of hymns and patriotic songs of this time,²⁵ but these have yet to contribute to a larger cultural historical discussion including regional variants. Studying the many festivals programmed and produced throughout the revolutionary decade, Mona Ozouf has famously investigated the continuous role they played in defining a new French social identity.²⁶ In fact, as Ozouf illustrates, the political culture demonstrated in festivals borrowed certain elements from Old Regime devotional culture, as much as it tried to efface and replace others. This dissertation aims to illuminate the diverse borrowings and influences from the political domains of social life to the religious and vice versa, in order to complicate the secularism narrative, which asserts that the former eventually eroded the influence of the latter. In this region, political and devotional cultures transformed each other in ways that would prove to have different results for the Basques and Bearnese in the nineteenth century, when nationalist and regionalist discourses gained ground.

Popular singing practices – whether contrafact protest songs, noëls and hymns, or patriotic tunes – played an important role in connecting the disparate elements of religious practice and civic life. Laura Mason studies popular song culture in the Revolution and addresses its significant performance contexts and aspects of performativity, but her analysis is limited to singing in secular political contexts of Paris.²⁷ Scholarship on singing practices

²⁵ Constant Pierre, *Les hymnes et chansons de la révolution. Aperçu général et catalogue avec notices historiques, analytiques et bibliographiques*, Ville de Paris. Publications relatives à la révolution française (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1904); Pierre Barbier and France Vernillat, *Histoire de France par les chansons*, 1956; Ginette Marty and Georges Marty, *Dictionnaire des chansons de la Révolution: 1787-1799* (Paris: Tallandier, 1988).

²⁶ Mona Ozouf, *La fête révolutionnaire, 1789-1799*, Bibliothèque des Histoires (Paris: Gallimard, 1976). English version: Mona Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, trans. Alan Sheridan (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988).

²⁷ Laura Mason, *Singing the French Revolution: Popular Culture and Politics, 1787-1799* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996). For example, though Mason asserts that, “during the final decade of the eighteenth century, songs overleapt boundaries between politics, entertainment, and the market, to become one of the most commonly used means of communication of the French Revolution,” she is missing here other contexts of song performance such as work and (clandestine) worship that offered other avenues of communication, 2.

during these revolutionary years should acknowledge that a person, or even a group, who sings had a potentially boundary-less repertory of sacred, secular, political, romantic, working, drinking, and entertainment song tunes and texts in their memory bank. Taking a more holistic approach to a singer's repertory (not to mention an approach not centered on Parisian society) can give a fuller account of the richly meaningful and diverse practice of singing, and the borrowings or perhaps double meanings that certain performance contexts could encompass.

The revolutionary decade, and even the difficult years before it, prompted many in the Basque country and Béarn to take to the streets and protest, often partly in song. In fact, a few of the Republican "traitors" in this region who were tried and condemned to death were convicted due to a counter-revolutionary song. At the same time, singing at Republican festivals, for example, mobilized civic patriotism and a sense of community, or in some cases, it could provide an occasion to discreetly critique authorities with a twist of lyrics or an underhanded allusion. These diverse meanings and uses of song of course depended much on its performance and on a shared lexicon of tunes and lyrics with which performers and audiences alike could play.²⁸ And although we often no longer have access to a closer eye-witness (or ear-witness) account of these moments of singers' creation of revolutionary culture, we underestimate the political importance of song culture at our peril. Moreover, I argue that the transformation of song culture through the revolutionary years would impact singing practices in the ensuing years of restoration, further linking popular political to devotional cultures through singing.

But what was this new political culture that was developed through the years of the Revolution, and what forms did it take in the Basses-Pyrénées? How fully new was it and how

²⁸ As Laura Mason rightly underlines in her study: "More than that of any other genre, the meaning of a song was as much dependent on appropriation and contexts of performance as it was upon content, format, or presumed authorial intent." *Ibid.*, 3.

did it continue to affect the ways in which the region rebuilt itself in the nineteenth century? One of the specificities of this region that will be examined in answering these questions is its key geographical position in the wars against Spain, both during the Revolution and after, under Napoleon's expansionist agenda. (See Appendices 2.2 and 3.1 for timelines of events.) The harsh particularities of war, military occupation, and local conscription tensions need to be considered in such an analysis of local political movements. And certainly, the particularity of the languages used in this region will color any study of how people engaged politically. This dissertation will explore how practices of political culture that were developed during the revolutionary years continued to influence the musical and devotional cultures of the region during the early nineteenth century. The Revolution forever transformed singing practices into articulate critiques of society and legitimate engagements with politics, through which fragmenting groups of society could voice divergent and competing discourses.

THE TOLL OF DECHRISTIANIZATION ON DEVOTIONAL CULTURE

The dechristianizing measures of the French Revolution had a definitive impact on religious life in the Basses-Pyrénées, as elsewhere in France. Scholars have studied the role of religion and the Church in the French Revolution,²⁹ as well as the effects of the Revolution on the Church and the nineteenth-century religious revival in France.³⁰ I seek to understand what

²⁹ Suzanne Desan, *Reclaiming the Sacred: Lay Religion and Popular Politics in Revolutionary France*, Wilder House Series in Politics, History, and Culture (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1990); John McManners and Church Historical Society (Great Britain), *The French Revolution and the Church*, Church History Outlines, 4 (London, S.P.C.K. for the Church Historical Society, 1969); Timothy Tackett, *Religion, Revolution, and Regional Culture in Eighteenth-Century France: The Ecclesiastical Oath of 1791* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986); Dale K. Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution: From Calvin to the Civil Constitution, 1560-1791* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996); Michel Vovelle, *Religion et Révolution la déchristianisation de l'An II*, Le Temps et les hommes ([Paris]: Hachette, 1976).

³⁰ Yves Krumenacker, *Religieux et religieuses pendant la Révolution (1770-1820): Actes du colloque de la faculté de théologie de l'Université Catholique de Lyon (15-17 Sept. 1992)*, 2 vols., Histoire (Lyon: PROFAC, 1995); Jacques-Olivier Boudon, *Religion et politique en France depuis 1789*, Collection Cursus. Histoire (Paris: Armand Colin, 2007);

“new” trends of popular piety and religious sentiment developed during the nineteenth century in this southwest region. Was this renewed devotion *just* a backlash from the impieties of the Revolution? How was popular devotion transformed after the Revolution’s repression? How did lay people participate in the restoration of their religious practices? The local renewal of missions, the reemergence of lay groups and confraternities, and the reestablishment of certain sites of pilgrimage provided numerous new occasions for the expression of a renewed popular piety through song. How might musical practices of the revolutionary period have influenced the rehabilitation of religious rituals?

In her book *Reclaiming the Sacred: Lay Religion and Popular Politics in Revolutionary France*, Suzanne Desan pulls together impressive archival research to tell the story of parishioners in the Yonne département and their lay activism in taking back their religious rights.³¹ Desan’s analysis of particular confrontations with secularization shows the ways in which beliefs and lay worship practices were “transferred” during challenging times towards other social endeavors. Following Desan’s lead, I seek to illuminate how the revolutionary heritage of civic activism and participation also worked to reestablish lay devotional practices and activate charitable social work in the southwest Pyrenean region.

Joseph F. Byrnes, *Catholic and French Forever: Religious and National Identity in Modern France* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005); Gerard Cholvy, *Être chrétien en France au XIXe siècle 1790-1914*, vol. 3, 4 vols., *Être chrétien en France* (Paris: Seuil, 1997); Alain Corbin, *Les cloches de la terre: paysage sonore et culture sensible dans les campagnes au XIXe siècle* (Paris: A. Michel, 1994).

³¹ Desan, *Reclaiming the Sacred: Lay Religion and Popular Politics in Revolutionary France*, 219. Though anchored in evidence from this specific region, her broader claims are worth citing at length: “The revolutionary decade was a unique and pivotal period for lay expression and for the metamorphosis of French Catholicism. Despite, or perhaps because of, its hard-hitting attack on Christianity, the Revolution created an opening, a moment of crucial and influential choices for the laity. Although the critiques of the *philosophes* throughout the eighteenth century had already set religion on the defensive, the revolutionary era marked the first time that Christianity was challenged to its very core. The revival of the 1790s in some ways set patterns of possible response, resistance, and accommodation, for although nineteenth-century Catholics would not have to struggle against the legal constraints that had curtailed and enclosed Catholic practice during the Revolution, they would continually face the challenge of expressing and cultivating their religiosity in an increasingly secular age and in an atmosphere in which religious devotion had become a political issue.”

Answering questions about the restoration of Catholic devotional practices and the legacies of the Revolution's repressions for this region is not a straightforward endeavor, however. Hanging heavy in the air are the words and studies of numerous committed clergy who, starting in the nineteenth century, interpreted the Revolution as martyrdom for Catholics. These militant analyses are especially prominent among Basque histories of the period, less so for the Bearnese. The variety of opinions and reactions to measures of the Revolution invariably gave rise to a great diversity of interpretations, and eventually even myths, in the telling of its history.³² As Manex Goyhenetche has acknowledged, a historian of the Revolution faces the constant risk of being misguided by controversial interpretations and heavily biased analyses, especially when it comes to questions of dechristianization. This is because most, if not all, early Basque historians of the Revolution were priests or religious.³³ In the perspective of the nineteenth-century Church from which most of these were writing, then, "the Revolution became a target of theological, moral, and catechismal preaching."³⁴ One such historian, Pierre Haristoy, left a copious, conservative *oeuvre* that rejected all aspects of the Revolution. However, Haristoy also did valuable research incorporating numerous archival documents that are no longer available to us today.

It is easy to understand the early clerical rejection of the Revolution in the Basque country as an important root of Basque nationalism, underlining devotional fidelity as an

³² One famous example is that of the martyrdom of Madeleine Larralde, who came to be depicted as a fifteen-year-old devout Catholic, killed for fleeing to Spain in defense of her faith. In reality, as Goyhenetche has shown, the documentation points to her being much older and having been condemned for emigrating and contraband, not for religious reasons. See Jean Goyhenetche, "Deux cas historiographiques des guerres de la convention: L'évacuation des communes du Labourd et l'exécution de Madeleine Larralde," in *La Révolution française dans l'histoire et la littérature basques du XIX^e siècle: Actes du colloque international de l'URA 1055 du C.N.R.S. (Université Michel de Montaigne-Bordeaux III), tenu à la faculté pluridisciplinaire de Bayonne, les 28 et 29 Juin 1993*, ed. Jean-Baptiste Orpustan (St. Etienne de Baïgorry, France: Editions Izpegi, 1994), 163–88. (Note: Jean and Manex Goyhenetche are the same person. I have reproduced the first names used for each publication reference, but will refer to him as Manex otherwise.)

³³ Goyhenetche, *Histoire générale du pays basque tome IV, La Révolution de 1789*, 8.

³⁴ Ibid. "...la Révolution devint un objet de prédication théologique, morale et catéchétique."

inherent Basque trait that requires safeguarding.³⁵ This interpretation works well within the alienating paradigm of the center vs. the peripheries in France, in which the center is aligned with modernity and progress, but also secularization, and the peripheries with conservatism and backwardness, but also tradition and religion. Within the context of Revolution historiography, however, such a paradigm ignores the many figures that participated in the struggles toward democracy and egalitarianism in this region, and leaves out important local pro-revolutionary narratives.³⁶ It passes over the failings in society, politics, and Church that had accumulated in the eighteenth century in order to idealize a pre-revolutionary autonomous community of believers. Rather than relegate studies of devotional life to the “backwardness” of the peripheries and perpetuate a devalorizing script that has resulted from decades of these controversial, one-sided interpretations of the Revolution, I propose to engage with all the messiness of diverse perspectives and contributions on what it meant to live through the Revolution and rebuild one’s life after it. I seek not to undervalue the religious aspects of these narratives, but to ask instead what they represented for people during and after the Revolution, how devotional practices may have functioned for local societies, and to what possible benefits and detriments for their communities.³⁷

³⁵ Xabier Itçaina talks about this interpretation of the relationship between religiosity and nationalism, citing the notable influence of works like Roland Moreau’s *L’Ame basque* in establishing an essentialist portrait of the religious Basque, or *euskaldun-fededun*. Xabier Itçaina, *Les virtuoses de l’identité: Religion et politique en pays basque*, Collection Sciences des Religions (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2007), 16–18. Moreau’s work actually re-situates the Basques within Catholic Church history, as purveyors of some of the most influential ecclesiastics, and a population that has a high rate of religious practice. See Roland Moreau, *L’âme basque esquisse historique préf. du cardinal Roger Etchegaray, ... postf. de A.-M. Carré*, Reprise (Anglet: Atlantica, 2003).

³⁶ Such as the notable Republican figure of Augustin Chaho (1811-1858). Goyhenetche, *Histoire générale du pays basque Tome IV, La Révolution de 1789*, 10–13.

³⁷ Of course, these remain subjective evaluations to some extent, and we cannot ignore the idea of cultural hegemony here. Both the French revolutionary Republic and the Catholic Church had extensive influence on popular culture. It will thus be important to constantly place subjects of study in their social context – i.e. whether they are part of a bourgeois or popular class, or clergy – to try to better understand and tease out filiations of influence involved in the dynamic power play of culture.

In Bearnese historiography, these questions of religious persecution and revolutionary legacies have not cultivated such polemical ideologies. Historians have focused more on the province's loss of autonomy and its doomed Parliament of Navarre, than on a sense of oppressed local devotion. Perhaps this has partly to do with the higher rate of priests' compliance with the constitutional oath in the Béarn region (as compared with the Basque area), and with the eventual shift of ecclesiastical power to a sole diocesan seat in Bayonne (see Chapter 3). The use of Bearnese in parochial affairs was also not as pervasive or as indispensable as the use of Basque in certain areas, since bilingualism was more common in Béarn.³⁸ This meant that parish life was possibly less associated with a linguistic identity, and thus less tied up in matters of nationalist or regionalist identity, which, in the Basque case, contributed to ideological narratives about the Revolution and religion.

This does not discount, however, the important gains to be made from seeking to understand the transformations to devotional culture over the turn of the nineteenth century in Béarn. Not only does it provide a useful point of comparison with Basque trends, and a broader check on nationalist interpretations, but it also provides another marginalized view of the Catholic restoration in the nineteenth century. In studying what social values became prioritized, what practices had a rebirth, how the Church responded to local needs, we can better understand the role of religion in this region's social reconstruction. Moreover, we can better trace the social significance of certain devotional music practices, and how these eventually become anchored in a Bearnese cultural identity.

Revolutionary political culture did not reject all that was tied to religion or its practices. Republicans also sought to organize meaningful patriotic festivals, and relied on adapting certain aspects of devotional ritual. With the establishment of the new revolutionary calendar,

³⁸ Desplat, *La vie en Béarn au XVIIIe siècle*, 272–74.

the need was voiced to create a consistent system of festivals to mark seasons in the year and to give some kind of rhythm and uniformity to local practices.³⁹ The Feast of the Supreme Being was intended to make a firm distinction between a God of the priests and a natural God, denouncing the former and praising the latter, but it continued to rely on very precisely calibrated celebration instructions and an engineered piety.⁴⁰ Revolutionaries were perpetually anxious to purge festivals of older religious symbols of social hierarchy, but also eager to instill a sacrality of community. Though this dissertation does not focus on analyzing the ritualistic sides of revolutionary culture, it should be noted that religious and political cultures were not just opposing forces during this time. Indeed, I argue that they both contributed to mobilizing civic voices in the nineteenth century.

THE LANGUAGE QUESTION, THE NATIONALIST ISSUE, AND ALTERNATIVE PATHWAYS OF HISTORY

These investigations into the interplay of political and religious cultures have so far tiptoed around the question of how *language* played a role in cultural identity in this region, in singing practices, and in the repressive politics of the Revolution. It is very difficult to ascertain what role language played in the minds of eighteenth-century inhabitants of this area, especially considering the diversity of Basque or Bearnese speakers, and the varieties of language diglossia or multilingualism within communities. Bayonne, for example, was a polyglot city at this time, and the surrounding coastal towns also had populations that could switch from one language to another. As the traveling statesman Guillaume de Malesherbes

³⁹ Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, 106.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 111–12. Emile Durkheim's argument that religion serves the social purpose of creating solidarity clearly applies here in the objectives of the Festival of the Supreme Being to bring together town members from all trades and ranks in a display of social harmony and unity. Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, trans. Carol Cosman, Oxford World's Classics (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

remarked on his journey through the region in 1767, inhabitants of St. Jean-de-Luz and Ciboure, “spoke all kinds of languages, French, Spanish, patois Gascon, Basque...”⁴¹ French was already being seen here as the official state language. Though local official documents had long been written in Gascon in Bayonne, beginning in the sixteenth century most of these records had to be written in French.⁴² By contrast, Béarn in the eighteenth century witnessed a renaissance of Bearnese use in elite and governmental spheres.⁴³ While Bearnese continuously held a privileged position among the elite, some parishes showed resistance to the imposed use of the vernacular as they strove toward a legitimizing, equalizing French literacy.⁴⁴

To complicate this multiplicity of language uses and opinions, certain Basque revolutionary elites expressed dismal views of the language in their plans to develop the region along the lines of national objectives. For example, the committed Republican Pierre Dithurbide wrote in 1794 to the abbé Henri Grégoire, who was then conducting a nation-wide study on regional languages, that only education in the French language and the eradication of Basque would bring Basques fully into the Republican fold.⁴⁵ Dithurbide did not hide his admiration for the Basques and their language, however; he even translated numerous national

⁴¹ Qtd. in Pierre Tucoo-Chala, *Les voyages de monsieur de Malesherbes: le regard d'un homme exceptionnel sur l'Aquitaine du XVIIIe siècle* (Pau: Ed. Cairn, GN impr., 2013), 87. “Ces gens-cy parlent toute sorte de langue, françois, espagnol, patois gascon, basque.”

⁴² In 1539, François I issued the Ordinance of Villers-Cotterêts, which made French the mandatory language for official acts and legislation. In practicality, however, the central government did not always enforce a French-only policy, and in the case of Béarn, for example, the French state never prohibited the use of Bearnese in government documents.

⁴³ Christian Desplat, *Cultures en Béarn*, Colleccion “Radics” (Pau: Princi Negue, 2001), 240–41. The Estates of Béarn had officially deliberated in Bearnese since the Middle Ages, until 1710, when they decided to abandon the use of their language. But this only lasted until 1718, when Bearnese was again employed as the official state language. As Desplat argues, however, Frenchification and bilingualism was gaining ground in the eighteenth century, as ideas of national equality were also gaining importance. And along with this French influence, the Bearnese language seemed to undergo increasing bastardization.

⁴⁴ Desplat, *La vie en Béarn au XVIIIe siècle*, 273–74. Desplat gives the examples of the parishes near Orthez resisting the sole use of Gascon for the children’s instruction under the impression this was degrading to the peasants, and similarly of the villagers of Gurs suing their priest for only using Bearnese in the schools.

⁴⁵ Bernard Oyharçabal, “Les documents recueillis lors des enquêtes linguistiques en Pays basque durant la période révolutionnaire et le premier empire,” in *La Révolution française dans l’histoire et la littérature basques du XIXème siècle*, Izpegi, Actes du colloque international de l’URA 1055 Du CNRS, 1994, 69. A copy of Dithurbide’s letter is also included in the Annex 1, p. 108-110.

decrees and instructions into Basque at the beginning of the Revolution in order to bring revolutionary ideas to his people. But he nevertheless saw the Basque language as an eventual impediment towards the people's progress. Other elites, by contrast, notably in Béarn, rallied around the use of local languages to bring legitimacy to their conservative political agendas while they still could (see Chapter 1).

Thus, before the onset of repressive revolutionary ideologies, it is difficult to get a sense of language particularism in the minds of Basques or Bearnese, or of how much language was sensed to be a part of identity. Certainly, as Chapters One and Three will explore, there were Old Regime publications in Basque and Bearnese of noëls, cantiques, catechisms, spiritual exercises, and the like for religious use, and in Béarn especially, where literacy rates were higher, Bearnese poetry and plays had reached a wide range of the population.⁴⁶ In the French Basque country, little pointed to a common thinking of Basque language as a marker of identity in the eighteenth century. Moreover, the diversity of Basque dialects even among different towns may have largely precluded any sense of a greater Basquephone membership. By contrast, Spanish-side Basques had already started to defend the value of their language, not as a marker of an exceptional Basque identity, but rather, as an indicator of legitimate, and even originary, Iberian status.

In 1729, the Jesuit Manuel de Larramendi published a Basque grammar in response to Spanish philologists' slanderous characterization of the language as a barbaric, bastardized derivative.⁴⁷ As the Spanish crown sought to centralize the state, debates on regional status and language purity assumed heavy political meaning. With the creation of the Royal Spanish Language Academy, Castilian had been given superior status among the numerous languages

⁴⁶ Desplat, *Cultures en Béarn*, 113–14.

⁴⁷ Jacqueline Urla, *Reclaiming Basque: Language, Nation, and Cultural Activism*, The Basque Series (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2012), 24–25. Larramendi's grammar was cunningly titled *El imposible vencido* (The Impossible Conquered), answering to critiques of the language's highly difficult and supposedly faulty grammar.

of Iberia. Basque language apologists, notably Larramendi, fired back in defense of their language, arguing for its complexities, sophistication, and ancient origin. Larramendi in particular defended this last trait, and went as far as to argue the older, originary status of Basque over Castilian in the Iberian Peninsula.⁴⁸ But rather than seeing the language as setting Basques apart, as a claim to Basque exceptionalism in a separatist sense, Larramendi was anchoring Basque language as a legitimate and even originary element of Spanish identity, cementing the centrality of Basques in Spanish history.⁴⁹

The extent to which Larramendi's work and the Spanish linguistic debates were known in French Basque country is hard to discern, and in any case the broader Iberian context would have been incongruous.⁵⁰ Likewise, it is difficult to ascertain the French-side reach of the Real Sociedad Bascongada de Amigos del País founded in 1765 in Bergara (Guipuscoa), A Basque Academy of sorts which even held performances of Basque-language opera-comiques.⁵¹ Like the Royal Academy of Pau of the eighteenth century (see Chapter 1), these were local forays into Enlightenment discourse, but they were limited to elite and upper bourgeois social circles. However, this did not impede later nineteenth-century ideologues and language apologists from reclaiming these earlier valorizations of the local languages as evidence of a continuous exceptionalist thinking.

⁴⁸ In his *De la antigüedad y universalidad del bascuence en España* of 1728. See *Ibid.*, 26. Of course, this type of argument had important political and religious ramifications during this period of debate over legitimate Spanish (and Christian) origins. As Urla writes: "The genealogy of a language was one of the more powerful ways that a collectivity could make or contest a claim to being Old or New Christians," 26. See also Pierre Bidart, *La singularité basque: généalogie et usages*, 1. éd., *Ethnologies* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2001), 15.

⁴⁹ Urla, *Reclaiming Basque*, 27. Larramendi was also arguing, however, that as the descendants of the ancient Spaniards, Basques were entitled to their special rights within the kingdom. Contrary to many older interpretations of Larramendi as a nationalist precursor, though, recent scholarship such as Urla's emphasizes his defense of the Basque language as one arguing for legitimate status within the Spanish state, not as one of alterity or separatism.

⁵⁰ Larramendi was assigned as confessor to the widowed Spanish queen Maria Anna of Neuburg, who was exiled in Bayonne, for a few years (1730-1733), and thus he would have been in contact with clergy in that city.

⁵¹ Jon Bagüés, *La música en la Real Sociedad Bascongada de los Amigos del País*, vol. 1, 2 vols., *Ilustración musical en el País Vasco* (Donostia: Real Sociedad Bascongada de los Amigos del País, 1990). This Royal Basque Society of Friends of the Country was founded in great part under the influence of the Count of Peñafiorida, Xavier Maria de Munibe e Idiáquez, who had already been leading salons and performances of his musical works, now lost.

When it did come to implementing revolutionary reforms in this French region, the diversity and status of these regional languages drew attention. One of the early major disagreements in constituting a department that brought together the Basque and Bearnese territories was based on their differing languages.⁵² Later, as the commissioner to the new department remarked, the Basque language “made their neighbors strangers, as if communication between them were of the utmost difficulty.”⁵³ Still, attempts at communication between the two previous provinces was not a new endeavor; Bearnese and Basques had been accustomed to dealing with the particularities of their respective languages,⁵⁴ and some valley townspeople even conversed in both. But it is during the revolutionary years that the language politics of republicans like the abbé Grégoire started taking hold, relegating all minority languages to the backwardness and dangers of the periphery, and promoting the universalization of a central French language. Thus, this centralizing legacy of the French Revolution then became a rallying point for emergent notions of language and national identity in the nineteenth century. For the Basque country, these notions were developed even more fully, across borders, in reaction to centralizing measures implemented after the Carlist Wars in Spain (especially in 1876), whereas for the Bearnese, who eventually did join larger literary movements to valorize the Occitanian languages,⁵⁵ a nationalist project never really took hold.

Throughout this dissertation, it has been important to keep in mind the shifts in language ideology that happened through these centuries,⁵⁶ and not let contemporary views of

⁵² The Basque representatives to the National Assembly (the Garat brothers especially) argued vehemently that the difference in languages between Basques and Bearnese would inhibit any departmental assembly. See Goyhenetche, *Histoire générale du Pays basque Tome IV, La Révolution de 1789*, 200–202.

⁵³ Qtd. in Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, 222.

⁵⁴ The Parliament of Navarre, for example, ordered the use of Basque translators whenever necessary, since 1670. Desplat, *Cultures en Béarn*, 22.

⁵⁵ Most notably, the Félibrige association founded in mid-nineteenth century to recuperate Provençal, which Bearnese poets, like Simin Palay, later joined. It is perhaps telling that the newly instated region of Occitanie does not include Béarn (as of 2017), which remains part of the Aquitaine region along with the Basque country.

⁵⁶ As Urla argues in *Reclaiming Basque*.

language loyalism and their ties to national identity overshadow my analysis with their common tendency to see a continuous tradition of struggle for recognition. My project does not try to argue for one position on nationalism or another, or even for a particular idea of regional or language exceptionalism. Instead, I try to stay close to my attempts to trace vernacular musical traditions throughout this historical period, and continuously ask what these may have represented for the people practicing them. My research does point to emerging markers of shared cultural identity – as in the attachment to geographical locations and histories, to certain repertoires and customs like dancing, to certain traditions of devotional life. But I also aim to be cautious about arguing for any kind of protonationalism in the political sense of the term – the diversity of practitioners, communities, and fracturing social groups in the region during this time period should give ample pause about making any such universalizing argument.

OTHER METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

ORAL CULTURES AND WRITTEN HISTORIES

How did singing participate in the increasingly intertwined domains of the political and the religious? Song culture provided an effective means of communicating news and opinions, and a variety of forms for expression with which large portions of society were familiar. As Laura Mason and others have argued, songs, due in great part to their portable, quotidian, and oral nature, were some of the most influential, widespread, and useful tools of revolutionary political culture. But Mason has also shown the diversity and fragmentation of song culture throughout the revolutionary decade, and the legacy that a revolutionary singing culture left behind: “Henceforth, singing did not simply entertain or express anonymous complaint; it

evoked a concrete political heritage and a set of claims for a more equitable and inclusive polity. This is a legacy to which worker-poets and elite songwriters alike would turn in the nineteenth century.”⁵⁷

We can understand, thus, that for a politicized citizenry, singing had garnered new symbolic authority. But what about other traditions of singing that had perhaps been overshadowed during the revolutionary years? How and why did people revive older repertoires – pastoral songs, cantiques, noëls, mythical origin tales, and romances? In actuality, it is near impossible to tell whether these traditions ever stopped during the decade of revolution, but certainly, one can posit with Mason that singing no longer had the same valence after these years of turmoil. How had these repertoires changed?

The nineteenth century – bracketing the years of Napoleonic wars – was full of restoration projects. As Katherine Bergeron has skillfully shown, restoration was as much a creative project of reconstruction, with an altogether idealized vision of the historic past, as it was one of preservation or of bringing something back to its functional use.⁵⁸ This drive to preserve was extended to the collection of traditional, or folk, songs, and in fact, took form in various national, centralized projects. Probably the most notable of these collection projects was that proposed by Hippolyte Fortoul, Minister of Public Education and Worship, in 1852, aiming to collect popular and folk poetry of all regions of France. Napoleon III himself signed the order to gather these popular poems, in actuality popular songs, before their imminent disappearance. Such a collection of popular music was of utmost political significance: not only would it contribute important sources of national history, as Napoleon III himself

⁵⁷ Mason, *Singing the French Revolution: Popular Culture and Politics 1787-1799*, 11.

⁵⁸ Katherine Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments: The Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes*, California Studies in 19th Century Music 10 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998). Bergeron first elaborates on the famous example of the reconstruction of Notre-Dame Cathedral by the architect and historical restoration maven, Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, before delving into the restoration project of Gregorian chant at Solesmes. Interestingly, Viollet-le-Duc also worked on the neo-Gothic castle of Abbazia on the Basque coast in the 1860s-70s.

acknowledged, but it would bring all the diversity of France's regions under one unified, collective cultural history.⁵⁹

In fact, the *Recueil général des poésies populaires de la France* was never published. It remains in manuscript volumes at the Bibliothèque nationale. But its many instructions and studies laid the groundwork for ethnomusicological methods in the study of French traditional musics.⁶⁰ And although the repertoires collected for the Basque country and Béarn were of little historical value,⁶¹ the national project gave a wider impulse to the local trend of song collection. As underlined above, these projects carried their own ideological agendas about a Basque or Bearnese history and identity. Thus, while nineteenth-century song collections can offer some valuable views into the musical repertoires of the region and the ideologies of preservation, they should be used with caution in any historical analysis. In trying to get back to a sense of the oral cultures in these communities, mine is a constantly shifting, flexible work of imaginative reconstruction that needs to consider both the oral medium and the written trace.

SOURCES

Whether buried in the papers of court trial evidence, printed in local editions of diocesan catechisms, or mentioned in accounts of pilgrimage journeys, songs leave discreet but important traces in the archives and libraries of this region. Some of my most difficult work has been to bring these traces together, mining various repositories throughout the region, and setting them into or against various narratives of the region's history. Primary musical sources

⁵⁹ Denis Laborde, *La mémoire et l'instant: Les improvisations chantées du bertulari basque* (Donostia: Elkar, 2005), 158–59.

⁶⁰ Luc Charles-Dominique, "Traditional Music and Its Ethnomusicological Study," in *The Cambridge Companion to French Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 265.

⁶¹ Including the spurious ancient hymn of the "Chant d'Altabiscar" "collected" (but actually written) by Garay de Monglave.

for the time period in this region are very scarce and scattered. Most of the songs I have identified make only passing reference to a tune, “air,” or “timbre” of the melody to be used, if at all. Many sources I use have to be passed through the filters of later collection histories, with the aim of regaining a glimpse of the orality within them. But just because the lineage between oral and written histories in this region is not always clear does not mean there is nothing to learn from attempts to recreate the lineage. The ahistoricism of France’s peripheries has been perpetuated long enough.

With these challenges in mind, my research necessarily employs cross-disciplinary perspectives and methods and a wide time frame. Though primary sources from the turn of the nineteenth century have not always survived the numerous political conflicts and archival fires, many of the religious and musical practices that interest me here have survived as part of oral history and traditions. For instance, municipal records of Corpus Christi processions in Bayonne show the increasing prominence of urban artisan confraternities throughout the eighteenth century, but most musical material from these processions is absent. Thus, later collections of oral traditions contribute key elements to this regional history. Even if they advance their own ideological agendas, they nonetheless reveal how these traditions are perceived and lived in later times. In some cases then, my own contemporary ethnographic work offers a fuller understanding of the politicization of religious and musical practices, a perspective on preservation concerns, and insight on performance practice issues. Though I use these understandings, perspectives, and insights to inform some of the social processes involved in the reconstruction of musical traditions, I am careful not to confuse these contemporary views with the historical evidence available. For example, much of Chapter Four is enriched by my own experiences of Corpus Christi processions and liturgical celebrations, and I have gained valuable insights from some local interlocutors throughout this research – religious, lay

members, archeologists, historians, and musicologists. Drawing from French music and cultural history, I use historical methodologies and complement them with ethnography to write a kind of sociology of religion through the lens of musical practice.

GEOGRAPHIES – THE RURAL, THE URBAN, THE INTERNATIONAL

In asking how music was used to renew religious devotion after years of war and persecution, I face the methodological challenges of studying urban and rural contexts that do not always fall within conventional institutional boundaries of church or state, much less of music.⁶² By using a wide lens that encompasses musical practices outside of the institutionalized church liturgy, however, and focusing on these rural, local-scale parish lives, we can better come to understand the renewed influence and role of religious practice in these societies. Moreover, it is these regional practices that have a significant influence on parochial life, and that participate in the broader nineteenth-century societal challenges to the Catholic Church. Much as religious historians of this period have increasingly turned towards studying the parochial, grassroots charity movements of the nineteenth century, music historians should be taking such local, micro-approaches into account as well. Often, their contributions to oral traditions continue to make an impact on both contemporary sacred and secular musical practices.

The two main urban centers of this new Basses-Pyrénées department were Pau and Bayonne, with Pau being chosen as the administrative capital. Historically, the region had had three diocesan cathedrals at Bayonne, Oloron, and Lescar during the Old Regime. Under the

⁶² From a historian's perspective, the challenges of studying this region also include the amount of lost archival evidence (owing to several archival fires). Sources continue to be in part inaccessible due to precarious conservation issues. Thus historical narratives continue to depend much on ecclesiastical historians of the turn of the twentieth century, who often had conservative, counter-revolutionary agendas of their own. On this, consult Manex Goyhenetche, *Les Basques et leur histoire: Mythes et réalités* (Donostia: Elkar, 1993).

Revolution and the Concordat of 1801, these were consolidated into one diocese, first with a seat at Oloron, and then at Bayonne. Bayonne was thus an important port and trade town, military base, and ecclesiastic center. Pau had been the historic capital of Béarn since the fifteenth century, with its castle and Parliament of Navarre. The majority of historical sources available for this time period concern these two urban centers, and yet, the urban lifestyle could differ much from the rural experience at this time. Thus wherever I have been able, I have tried to also include perspectives from more rural parishes in both the Basque country and Béarn.⁶³

Moreover, I have kept in mind the geographical positioning of these linguistic and ethnic groups and sought to make connections with the history of alliances made (and broken) with closeby Spanish neighbors. While this dissertation makes an intervention in the enduring dialectic of center versus periphery in France, it also proposes other interrelational models. For this region, it makes sense to consider trans-border and trans-valley relationships and to explore what the neighboring “other” meant to these populations. I am not just arguing, therefore, for a decentralization of the historical narrative, but for an expansion of traditional relational framings, for the use of a more creatively expansive relational network within a more minutely detailed geographical frame.

OVERVIEW

By examining the collective years of the Revolution and Restoration as a key turning point in these local histories, a point *before* the institution of nationalistic discourse in the region, my dissertation argues that traditional musical practices not only mobilized an

⁶³ Many communal archives in this region are incomplete for this time period, and not all are deposited with the departmental archives, making historical work for smaller rural communities much more difficult.

emergent sense of local identity, but also reinforced a changing sense of popular piety. My first three chapters follow a chronological organization, from just before the Revolution, through the revolutionary decade, and into the beginning of the nineteenth century. Chapters Four and Five take on a more historiographical perspective, examining the reprisal of devotional rituals involving movement. Throughout, I study both Basque and Bearnese cases in comparison, focusing on the main urban centers of Bayonne and Pau, but also rural towns such as Hasparren and Bétharram.

Chapter One, “Old Regime Musical, Religious, and Social Performances, 1770-1789,” introduces and compares these diverse communities of practice, both musical and religious, and the revolutionary changes that began to occur in this region. Chapter Two, “Songs of Social Unrest, Revolutionary Spirit, and Religious Resistance, 1789-1799,” explores how revolutionary events and ideals affected the region and how songs were used to express social and religious dissent during the Terror. By examining archival sources like anti-revolutionary satires and festival records, as well as criminal court trials, I show the local reactions to dechristianization and give nuance to the later nationalist idealization of such popular resistance narratives. My third chapter studies examples of how lay devotion was restored within the wider context of nineteenth-century trends in burgeoning social services, the idealization of folk traditions, and the feminization of the cult of worship. I compare French, Basque, and Bearnese catechism and cantique editions of the beginning of the century to examine changing religious repertoires and the role of education at this time.

Chapters Four and Five analyze musical movement and ritual in the forms of processions, pilgrimages, and dancing that reappeared and reclaimed spiritual territories through their sound, music, visibility, and call to participation. While Chapter Four focuses on mainly on Basque celebrations of Corpus Christi, Chapter Five explores Bearnese pilgrimages

to local Marian shrines. Using historical and ethnographic case studies, I argue that these mobile musical practices not only helped to reconsecrate urban and rural spaces, but also conversely worked toward the congealing of distinct communities of practice.

In grappling with tensions between religious traditions and Enlightenment modernism in this de-centered context of a French province, I show how music enables the expression of dissonance and fractured contention as much as of community. By developing a more textured understanding of lay spirituality and the history of this region, my dissertation adds a voice to the diversity of lived religious experience in France during this period.

CHAPTER 1: OLD REGIME MUSICAL, RELIGIOUS, AND SOCIAL PERFORMANCES, 1770-1789

In the 1780s, the general prosecutor of the Parliament of Navarre was keeping busy issuing arrests and calling on the accused to answer for their crimes – engaging in cabaret fights or excessive carnival season debauchery, stealing, participating in noisy protests or *charivari*, and more. Buried among the more common crimes, a few rare accusations are listed, for “disturbing the Divine Office” or “scandal in the parish church.”¹ On a Christmas Day in 1786, for example, the liturgy was interrupted with the eruption of a public scandal at the parish church of Orthez. A month later, the general prosecutor ordered the arrest of several culprits and requested that others come in for questioning.² What kind of scandals could these have been? Were they personal affairs between townspeople that unraveled inside the church, like an earlier case between two women in St. Jean Pied-de-Port?³ The judicial records give little further detail, but one can imagine such a sonorous disruption in the midst of the familiar, bustling Mass setting. One cannot but think of the many graver upheavals that were to come in a few years’ time and that would eventually bring these parish churches to absolute silence.

Judicial documents from this time period of the 1770s-1780s reveal that, gradually, singing songs in public forums and gathering up a racket became increasingly tied to social protest.⁴ Though most singing cases concerned a personal matter,⁵ one could say that the sonic

¹ For example, scandals in the parish church were reported in November 1785 in St. Esteben and in February 1786 in Bentayou (2 culprits were arrested). “Parlement de Navarre, Arrêts criminels,” 1784-1787, Cours et juridictions, B5439, AD-PAP.

² Ibid. The scandal was registered on 13 January 1787, and the arrest warrants issued on 24 January 1787.

³ “Parlement de Navarre, Arrêts criminels,” 1779-1782, Cours et juridictions, B5436, AD-PAP. The case between the two women causing a scandal in the church was reported on 2 June 1779.

⁴ As will be seen especially with cases of *charivari* further on.

landscape⁶ of towns in this region seemed to reverberate with the growing social frictions of the time more generally – with noisy protests or “atroupements,”⁷ banging drums, satirical songs, and loud bells. Both the Béarn region and the Basque country were experiencing a troublesome mixture of food shortages, heavy taxing, stifling trade competition, and, as we will explore further on, new social and political ideas, that increasingly sparked these clamorous revolts. Before studying a few examples of these confrontations on the eve of the Revolution in 1789, I will first introduce more broadly the different types of social musical practices of this region in the eighteenth century, many of which marked religious and civic events. These sonic social performances with which protesters, revelers, and magistrates would have been familiar, formed a significant and recurring part of the urban and rural soundscape. More importantly, these performances solidified the “communities of practice”⁸ – whether religious communities, secular youth, or other social groups – that would eventually fracture and come together again in different ways under the stresses of the Revolution.

⁵ Like the case of Louet vs. Giron, where Jeannette Louet accused Pierre Giron of writing and distributing a defamatory song about her. Procès intenté par Jeannette Louet à Pierre Giron, commis de Claverie, négociant, pour une chanson diffamatoire, 1789, E Depot Bayonne FF 278, AD-PAB.

⁶ Or “soundscape.” I use soundscape in the historical sense that Alexander Fisher describes, as a “totality of perceived sounds in a given space and time, some of which command immediate attention, others of which are habitual sounds that are invested with cultural meaning, and still others of which recede into the background as constant acoustic phenomena.” In Alexander J. Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda: The Soundscapes of Counter-Reformation Bavaria*, New Cultural History of Music Series (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 9. Of course, there is no space here to detail all of the acoustic phenomena of this region, whether “constant” or invested with cultural meaning. I leave out much of the sounds involved with the many kinds of work done in the region, which are meaningful to both the agrarian and proto-industrial societies of this province in the eighteenth century – the sounds of sheep-herding and its annual migrations (songs, mountain calls, whistles, bells), harvesting sounds and songs and even ritual rogations through the fields, sounds of the forges and shipbuilding yards near Bayonne, songs of the fishermen and foresters, of women doing laundry, cries of the fishmongers and saleswomen, etc. etc.

⁷ The word used in many judiciary cases, meaning “crowds.”

⁸ I take this expression from a stimulating conversation with Patricia Heiniger-Castéret, social anthropologist at the University of Pau, on 9 December 2014 – although our discussion was more about the broader, overlapping *community* of practices, as in the shared practice of pastoral plays between Basques and Bearnese.

OLD REGIME MUSIC-MAKING IN THE SOUTHWESTERN PYRÉNÉES

Old Regime society in this remote region closely observed the Catholic Church calendar of liturgical seasons and feast days. Along with political and military celebrations, they marked consistent occasions when musicians were called to provide accompaniment and music for dancing. Each diocese and town also had its own set of local patron feast days, for which several days of festivities, dancing, processions, and feasting were prepared. Added to that were the patron saint feasts of each trade corporation and confraternity, which held their own celebrations. In a list from 1731, twenty-five processions were counted for that year in Bayonne alone, though of varying size and importance.⁹ As the eighteenth century wore on, several bishops tried to restrict the number of official feast days and reign in the amount of popular festivities taking over each town. They also attempted to rid processions of instrumental accompaniment, to no avail.¹⁰ In mid-century, Bishop Guillaume d'Arche of Bayonne, for example, ordered all confraternities to obtain official episcopal approval for their patronage and feasts in an attempt to curb the number of lay group festivities in each parish.¹¹

⁹ Pierre Hourmat, *Histoire de Bayonne*, vol. I (Bayonne: Société des sciences, lettres et arts de Bayonne, 1986), 522. Some processions took place only inside convent or cathedral cloisters, but most included the town magistrates in full robes.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, I: 574. Important processions such as for Corpus Christi brought many onlookers from out of town, thus bringing in significant profits, with which authorities could hardly compete. These feast-limiting trends paralleled Counter Reformation efforts throughout Europe, including the Habsburg's attempts to reign in popular rituals in both Austria and Italy around this time. See for example, Charles W. Ingrao, *State and Society in Early Modern Austria* (West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press, 1994).

¹¹ Bernard Goïty, *Histoire du diocèse de Bayonne* (Bayonne: Secrétariat de l'évêché de Bayonne, 2007), 205.

Although sources that tell about more formalized singing and music-making within church during the Old Regime are sparse for this region, a significant amount of cantique and Noël collections were printed in the eighteenth century in both Basque and Bearnese (see Chapter 3 and Appendix 3.2). Thus, singing in the vernacular was also a part of weekly church attendance, Sunday catechism lessons, and, less often, local missionary campaigns.¹² Population growth in the Basque country rose substantially throughout the seventeenth century, and many town parishes were established and church buildings expanded at this time.¹³ One of the distinctive architectural features of these expansions was the addition of two or three galleries along the side and back walls of the church. Though it is not certain when the practice started, male parishioners would eventually sit in these high-perched galleries while the women and children would stay in the nave, thus

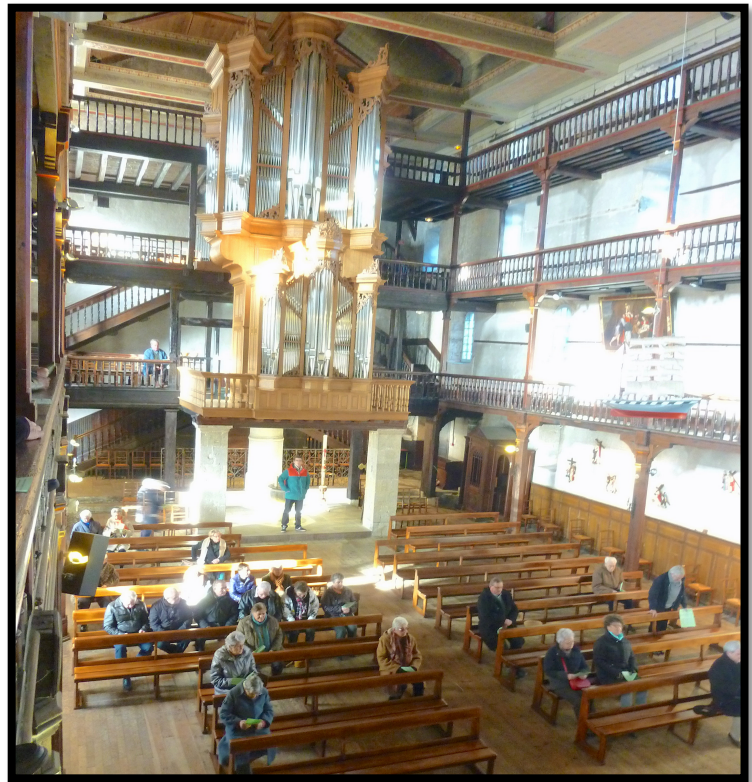


Figure 1.1: The galleries of Ciboure's parish church, St. Vincent, on the patron feast day, January 25, 2015

¹² As some of the titles of these collections state, these were intended for parish missionary retreats. See Appendix 3.2 for a list of Cantiques. Some of the early eighteenth-century Basque language cantique prayer books, like the *Othoitce eta cantica espiritualac* of 1734, are organized by daily prayer schedules, as well as Sunday Mass events and feast days.

¹³ In fact, some parishes in the Labourd province were founded starting in the late sixteenth century, as Goyhenetche writes. Manex Goyhenetche, *Histoire générale du Pays Basque*, vol. 3 (Donostia: Elkarlanean, 1998), 115. But as Sicard's study on organs in the Bayonne Diocese reveals, many of the churches' galleries were built in the mid-seventeenth century at the same time as their organs – such as those in the parishes of Cambo (1650), St. Jean-de-Luz (whose galleries were rebuilt in 1672), Urrugne (1709), and Ciboure. See Pierre Sicard, *Les orgues du diocèse de Bayonne, Lescar et Oloron*, 1 vols. (Lyon: Editions Omni-presse, 1964).

creating a spatial (and gendered) division of singing roles in responsorial hymn settings (see Figure 1.1).¹⁴

For a smaller population, singing was part of daily life in the convent. In this region, several mendicant orders were established starting in the Middle Ages, including the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians. The area also saw the rise of confraternities and lay *donats* (brothers “given” to Christ) that were dedicated to the hospitality services connected with the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela, which passes through the Basque country.¹⁵ By the 1780s, however, under Louis XVI, pilgrimages out of the country were no longer allowed, and laws were decreed against vagabonding and mendicancy. This spelled the end of communities devoted to hospitality in the region, including the donats, and the few local hospices left were closed.¹⁶ Some of the more influential orders such as the Capuchin fathers, the Ursulines, and the Visitandines founded their establishments in Bayonne starting only in the early seventeenth century. The Jesuits were never able to establish themselves in Bayonne, even though their founders were Basque. In Pau, nonetheless, their presence was important, with the founding of their Collège Royale in the seventeenth century, until their suppression in 1763 by King Louis XV.

The Ursuline order, which had founded a convent and school for girls of the nobility and rich bourgeoisie in Saint-Esprit in 1621 (across the river from Bayonne), prided itself on the singing talents of its religious. Records list the accomplishments of these religious women, who hailed from the illustrious families of the region, like the Gramonts and the Eschaux, and highlight their virtues and, sometimes, their musical talents. A certain Sister of St. Alexis was

¹⁴ Jean-Jacques Castéret and Patricia Heiniger, “Le chant basque à l’église: Nature du couplet, culture du refrain,” in *Kantuketan: L’univers du chant basque* (Bayonne: Elkar, 2002), especially 189–94. Unfortunately, Heiniger and Castéret’s study on the matter does not trace a history of this practice past the twentieth century.

¹⁵ Leroy, *Histoire du Pays basque*, 62. On the donats, see Clément Urrutibéhéty, *Les communautés basques des donats* (Biarritz: Atlantica, 2002).

¹⁶ Urrutibéhéty, *Donats*, 209–214.

praised in the books for her beautiful singing voice and choral direction; she often sang noëls for the Christmas season and motets for Mary on her feast days.¹⁷ Another sister, Catherine de Lafourcade, was noted for teaching plainchant. The Ursulines also established a convent and school in St. Jean-de-Luz in 1643, forming another center of women's education and leadership until it was forced to close in 1791.¹⁸ Girls from the region could thus receive an elite education with the Ursulines, and/or join the religious order, though social hierarchies were maintained in the kinds of spaces and roles the girls and women were allowed to inhabit. One of these roles was as a "soeur de chœur," or choir sister, revealing that the convent fostered a daily musical devotion.

Royal and military events, such as crownings, births of royalty, battle victories, and treaty signings also called for town-wide musical celebrations, often commencing at the church with a *Te Deum* led by the parish priest and ending with a public ball in the town square. The music, dancing, and decorations for these more secular occasions could reach various levels of pomp and extravagance, depending on the means (and the demands of a central administration). Since Bayonne and the coastal Labourdin towns were strategic "gateways" into Spain, the French and Spanish monarchies had several important meetings and exchanges in the area, most remarkably the marriage of King Louis XIV and Maria Theresa of Spain in 1660, and the passing of the Count of Artois (future King Charles X) through Bayonne to Spain in 1782.¹⁹ The passage of royalty and important government figures also prompted lavish civic ceremonies. Along with colorful and noisy processions and dances, cannon fire and military salutes were common, as were fireworks and illuminations at night. Each evening of festivities

¹⁷ "Couvent de Saint-Ursule de Saint-Esprit," 1605-1791, AD-PAB. Her secular name was Plaizance du Verdier, daughter of a bourgeois merchant of Bayonne.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ For which there was organized the Bayonne *pamperruque* dance, detailed below. See René Cuzacq, *La pamperruque : danse bayonnaise* (Bayonne, 1942), 79–80.

offered differing dancing possibilities, with circle and open-chain dances often being the most common forms of social dancing, though these were losing ground in the eighteenth century to couple's dances like the farandole and the contradance.²⁰ The dancing was most frequently accompanied by hired musicians, but some forms were still accompanied by singing, especially in the Bearnese valleys.²¹

Finally, both Pau and Bayonne had exclusive institutions of musical performance at various points in the eighteenth century where the elite nobility and rising bourgeoisie classes could enjoy more cosmopolitan musical repertoires. However, it seems these did not last long enough to establish an enduring, elite musical culture in the area, in contrast to the myriad local popular traditions. A figure like the famous Bearnese tenor Pierre Jéliote (or Jélyotte, 1713-1797) is telling: at the height of his career premiering opera roles in Paris, he was also well-known for singing requested Bearnese airs to King Louis XV.²² Jéliote came back to retire in his home region of Béarn, but his operatic success seemed to have made little inroads on local musical initiatives or tastes. Bearnese traditional airs could be familiar favorites of the French king, but courtly operatic standards could barely take root in the province.

BAYONNE AND THE BASQUE COUNTRY

The current study of musicians in the Basque Country during the early modern period owes much to the work of Xabier Itzaina, who has spent years in the local archives searching through municipal budgets and administrative records to find traces of hired musicians. But as

²⁰ Jean-Michel Guilcher, *La tradition de danse en Béarn et Pays Basque français* (Paris: Editions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 1984), 47–49.

²¹ Ibid., 29–30. Xabier Itzaina, “Danse et chant en Pays basque nord,” in *Kantuketan: l'univers du chant basque* (Donostia: Elkarlanean, 2002), 210–11.

²² Henri Lassalle, *Notre Dame de Bétharram: un sanctuaire béarnais* (Pau: G. Lescher-Moutoué, 1941), 189. Jéliote also taught voice to the king's daughters.

Itçaina himself indicates, these sources are far from indicative of the whole story of musicianship in this region. Official records do not mention informal musicking practices such as those for carnival, private events, work, or other common occasions – unless, of course, these practices get out of hand and must be restricted. Public records also fail to give account of musical events that were organized by other, non-governmental institutions, such as youth groups or trade corporations.²³ Thus, while these records can give an initial sketch of the musical life of the region, they by no means paint the whole picture.

The city of Bayonne's patron saint is St. Leo, whose feast day was celebrated every March 1st with a grand procession led by the powerful confraternity of St. Leo, carrying the coffer containing the ninth-century bishop-martyr's relics. This procession of his relics would also reoccur on Pentecost, and often for the feasts of St. Joseph, St. Marc, and Palm Sunday as well (see Chapter 4).²⁴ In the coastal town of St. Jean-de-Luz, the feast day was on St. John's day, June 24th, and festivities often lasted several days. But curiously enough, St. Jean-de-Luz also had an important winter holiday with major processions, on Epiphany. Because of the fishing and shipping economy, much of the male population would leave St. Jean for the summer months, and so the town had long petitioned the diocese to hold a winter feast when their families were reunited.²⁵ The festivities on January 6th thus had much of the pomp and splendor of the June festivities elsewhere. The neighboring town of Ciboure celebrated its feast day in January for St. Vincent. For these holidays, as for many others, records show the towns

²³ Xabier Itçaina, "Les ménétriers dans la société d'ordres en Labourd: quelques hypothèses à partir des données lacunaires d'Ancien Régime," *Actes du 1er séminaire annuel en ethnomusicologie de la France, SFE-Inòc Aquitània*, forthcoming, 2.

²⁴ Renée Mussot-Goulard and Hourmat, Pierre, *Saint Léon de Bayonne* ([Bayonne]: Société des sciences, lettres, et arts de Bayonne, 1994), 68–69.

²⁵ According to Joseph Nogaret, *Saint Jean de Luz: des origines à nos jours*. (Bayonne: Imprimerie du Courrier, 1925), 77–78. This Epiphany feast was authorized by the Bishop of Bayonne to replace, in a sense, the Corpus Christi procession of late May/early June, and thus it became known as the "Corpus-Christi of the Fisherman" / "Saint-Sacrément des pêcheurs."

consistently hiring tambourine and violin players, and sometimes drummers too.²⁶ Some cities, like St. Jean-de-Luz, employed town drummers year-round for civic and religious proceedings.²⁷ The local militia would also usually be asked to fire cannons and provide artillery salutes.

Dances for the local feast days in the Basque country, as Itçaina and Guilcher have shown,²⁸ were important opportunities for social cohesion and for demonstrating both solidarity among neighboring groups and their competing social hierarchies. On some occasions, especially for the visit of an honorable guest, music and dancing was provided as a kind of escort around the town for the noble procession. Skilled dancers were sometimes hired by the municipal administration, as in the case of the royal wedding in St. Jean-de-Luz in 1660, and their costumes were paid for.²⁹ But social dynamics were mainly played out in the chain dancing and formal ceremonial dancing that took place at many of these festivities, whether religious or civic. This is because many Basque towns celebrated patron feast days by neighborhood, and thus a certain number of families were expected to hold precedence over the dancing and festivities, or in some cases, to exchange these privileges with other

²⁶ Such as throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth century in the records of St. Jean-de-Luz, for the feast of St. Jean. These “tambourines” actually consisted of one musician playing both the *xirula* flute and the string drum *ttun-ttun*. Itçaina, “Les ménétriers dans la société d’ordres en Labourd: quelques hypothèses à partir des données lacunaires d’Ancien Régime,” 7. One of the earliest accounts of musicians and their instruments in the area comes from the Inquisitor Pierre de Lancre (1553-1631), who conducted a witch hunt in Labourd and Basse-Navarre at the turn of the seventeenth century. De Lancre describes four main instruments – the small tambourine, flute, string drum, and violin – and also provides an early account of the dance types in Basque country, namely the rare couple’s dances, the most common closed chain dancing, and the long open chain dance. See Pierre de L’Ancre, *Tableau de l’inconstance des mauvais anges et démons, où il est amplement traité des sorciers et de la sorcellerie... par Pierre de Lancre...* (Paris: J. Berjon, 1612); Also Guilcher, *La tradition de danse en Béarn et Pays basque français*, 18, 46.

²⁷ Their wages were included in yearly municipal budgets. See also Itçaina, “Les ménétriers dans la société d’ordres en Labourd: quelques hypothèses à partir des données lacunaires d’Ancien Régime,” 7.

²⁸ Especially most recently in Itçaina, “Les ménétriers dans la société d’ordres en Labourd: quelques hypothèses à partir des données lacunaires d’Ancien Régime;” and Guilcher, *La tradition de danse en Béarn et Pays Basque français*.

²⁹ For the royal wedding, St. Jean-de-Luz also brought a group of oboe musicians of the Capitouls of Toulouse to play, along with the regular tambourine and violin musicians. See Luc Charles-Dominique, *Les ménétriers français sous l’ancien régime*, Domaine musicologique (Toulouse: Klincksieck, 1994), 133.

neighborhoods every year.³⁰ The position and precedence of town members when dancing certain numbers (especially in starting the dance) were important social distinctions, and families or groups could be offended if these hierarchical roles were not respected. Some rather violent fights that broke out between rivaling neighborhoods attest to these delicate designations and the social importance assigned to dancing roles. As Itçaina explains, several court trials throughout the eighteenth century illustrate the violent extremes of these social tensions, which work to “illustrate the function of dance as an instrument of symbolic regulation of the relationships between different political spaces (neighborhoods and parishes) that make up the region.”³¹

In some cases, disputes were caused by competing dancing groups from different towns, which had discordant ideas of who should open the ceremonial dance, following or challenging past protocols based on reciprocating invitations.³² In other cases, the hierarchy of different neighborhoods within the same town were challenged.³³ Even within these ranks by town and neighborhood there was a hierarchy to be respected. Each dance was led by the firstborn heirs of the households, followed by their cadets. Thus, even “the society of households, bedrock of the political and economic order, is performed through the dance protocol.”³⁴ Furthermore,

³⁰ Guilcher, *La tradition de danse en Béarn et Pays Basque français*, 405–7. Guilcher gives several examples here of the different dynamics between neighborhoods and patron feast distribution – some towns celebrated separate feast days for each neighborhood (like for each of the three neighborhoods of Ustaritz, and the three neighborhoods in Saint-Pée-sur-Nivelle), while other towns celebrated one common feast day, bringing several districts together (like Itxassou). Moreover, town feast days were also the occasion for families (and curious friends) from communities further away to travel into town for the celebrations, as was the case of this early tourism to Bayonne for its feast day in March, and other celebrated events in the city.

³¹ Itçaina, “Les ménétriers dans la société d’ordres en Labourd: quelques hypothèses à partir des données lacunaires d’Ancien Régime,” 11. “...mettre à jour une fonction de la danse comme instrument de régulation symbolique des relations entre les différents espaces politiques (quartiers et paroisses) composant le pays.” Each of the three cases Itçaina discusses were for homicide and were brought to the court of appeals of the Parliament of Bordeaux.

³² As in the case of the patron feast of Saint-Pée in 1710, when neighboring village dancers fought over the opening dance. *Ibid.*, 12. From archives B 6302-20, AD Gironde.

³³ As in the case of rival neighborhoods of Cambo in 1727 for the feast of Pentecost, *Ibid.*, 11-13. From archives B 6306-51, AD Gironde.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 13. “La société des maisons, socle de l’ordre politique et économique, se met en scène au travers du protocole dansé.”

these ceremonial occasions, which in many ways flaunted youthful dancing talent, were also ripe for plain competition among dancing troupes, even those coming from the same town. In the eighteenth century, these dancing troupes were made up exclusively of men, and they could be hired out to different towns as well. Often, it was accompanying musicians who found themselves stuck in the middle of these competing factions.

Bayonne had its own famous version of these ceremonial dance numbers in the eighteenth century called the *pamperruque*.³⁵ This itinerant dance spectacle alternated between processional dancing that moved through the city and the *dabe-dabe* dance that would be performed in front of the homes or residencies of important guests or patrons and in the town squares.³⁶ Bayonne civic authorities organized the costly pamperruques only for the grandest national events, such as the Peace of Utrecht in 1713 or the visit of the Count of Artois to Bayonne in 1782.³⁷ The dancers – generally seven men and six women – were chosen from the best families in town. Though social rank was important, the youth also had to be talented dancers.³⁸ No cost was spared for luxurious costumes, military escorts, and the Venetian lanterns, illuminations, and special torches that lit up this nocturnal dance spectacle. Indeed, though the spectacle had its official, ceremonial, and aristocratic elements, it also involved the participation of the crowds that followed it and popular elements such as fireworks, wine

³⁵ The origin of the name is still up for debate. Cuzacq offers several possibilities: from the “pan-pan” of accompanying drums in the streets, or the Gascon “per les arrues”/ “perruque” meaning through the streets, or related to the Gascon word for parakeet, or from the old Gascon “pampe” or “pamparre” for pretty doll and “uque” for public cry/shout – thus a noisy cry of the dolled-up ladies. Cuzacq, *La pamperruque*, 95–97.

³⁶ Guilcher, *La tradition de danse en Béarn et Pays Basque français*, 47. This alternation between processional “chain” dance and a couples’ dance (the “dabe-dabe”) was one of the basic social dance combinations in the Basque country, also known as the “farandole” (for the chain dance) and the fandango or “sauts basques” (“Basque leaps,” for the stationary dancing).

³⁷ Cuzacq, *La pamperruque*, 48–55. Cuzacq suggests that a pamperruque may have been organized as early as 1700, for the welcome reception of Philip V, but the accounts of the 1713 pamperruque seem to treat it as a novelty. In all, about a dozen pamperruques were performed during the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century, occurring as late as 1814.

³⁸ Indeed in many cases, notable local leaders of the dance would soon leave their honorary rank to let more talented youth take over the dancing. *Ibid.*, 15.

fountains, illuminations, and closing balls.³⁹ And on a couple of occasions, the Jewish community of Saint-Espirit (across the river from Bayonne) organized its own pamperruque, like the one depicted in an engraving of the festivity in 1781 celebrating the birth of the Dauphin (see Figure 1.2).⁴⁰



Figure 1.2: “Pamperruque in the Square of Saint-Espirit of Bayonne” (1781), (Source: Euskomedia)

Unfortunately, no detailed descriptions of the music, no tunes, and no instructions of the dance itself remain, but some limited accounts, such as this engraving, reveal that the dance was executed mainly to the sound of drums, or sometimes pipes and drums. It is possible that the drums would accompany with lively marching beats for the processions, and other musicians and /or singers may have performed for the stationary dances, or the rondeau-like

³⁹ Ibid., 13.

⁴⁰ “Fiestas de la pamperruque en la plaza de Saint Sprit de Baiona, según grabado de 1781. :: Multimedia gallery :: Euskomedia,” accessed May 26, 2017, http://www.euskomedia.org/galeria/A_33849. Cuzacq refers to this engraving often in his work, but unfortunately he does not give any details about its provenance.

dabe-dabes.⁴¹ In this 1781 image, the couples are dancing in a round, holding on to a connecting garland, while the lead dancer, or “king” of the dance, conducts with a baton.⁴² The spectator crowds are being kept back by a military guard, shown on horseback, and the dancers are escorted by soldiers as well, often from the bourgeois militia guard of the city.

In addition to these occasions for popular participation in music-making festivities and ceremonies, elite society in Bayonne also had encounters, albeit limited ones, with more cosmopolitan musical performance. When the widowed Spanish queen Maria Anna of Neuburg was exiled in Bayonne from 1706-1738, she patronized an orchestra, which she lent for town concerts and balls on several festive occasions, such as for the birth of the Dauphin in 1729.⁴³ Not much is known of theater and concert life in the city before the Revolution, except that the town council made attempts to police the theater and its productions in the 1780s, examining and censoring the pieces to be performed, regulating the printing of spectacle posters, and sending guards to police the theater hall. In 1786, a series of regulations set schedules for the performances and enforced attendance by actors and musicians.⁴⁴

These series of regulations seemed to extend to dance as well during this time period, and both municipal administrations and religious authorities voiced their suspicions of these popular gatherings. In February 1766, for example, the Count of l’Hospital, who was lieutenant general of the royal army stationed in Bayonne, sent out a letter attempting to address conflicting opinions on the appropriateness of dancing:

I am instructed, Sirs, that dances in public squares to the sound of the tambourine have been the longstanding custom in your land and that a rumor was circulating that I wanted to prohibit this sort of entertainment; far be it that I disapprove of this recreation, so innocent in itself. I think on the contrary that these dances should continue to entertain your residents and to prevent them from succumbing to boredom and laziness, the causes of all vice, provided nonetheless that the

⁴¹ Cuzacq, *La pamperruque*, 33–35.

⁴² Oddly, the painting depicts the spectacle in the daytime, not with the usual illuminating torches of nighttime.

⁴³ Hourmat, *Histoire de Bayonne*, Vol. I, 379, 445.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, 575. Actors were also prohibited from inciting scandals against each other, and a rule was established that a performance had to be tried at least three times if the noise in the hall was drowning it out.

pleasure be had with the decency that is suitable, that it cease especially during the different Divine Offices and during times of reverence and penitence... and that there be no dispute about the precedence of the dance, as has occurred sometimes, and that each neighborhood take its turn and according to the custom of the Parish...⁴⁵

Thus, dancing was acceptable to, and even encouraged by, Bayonne's military leaders, as long as religious observances were respected and parish priests approved of them. But by 1783, musicians were prohibited from playing for any balls in St. Jean-de-Luz or Ciboure without express municipal authorization, at the risk of imprisonment.⁴⁶ This seemed to be happening in the context of religious officials and municipal officers who were increasingly in conflict over the leadership of their towns. In Bayonne, a municipal report from 1782 reprimanded a Capuchin priest for his incendiary sermon against the abuses of power by city leaders. The priest, preaching on the feast day of St. Peter, was forced to publicly repent and retract his defiant comments.⁴⁷

One priest who left a long-lasting legacy in the region exemplified the ambivalent relationship between the clergy and popular culture, especially regarding music and dancing. Jean Daguerre (1701-1785) founded the Larressore seminary in 1733, with the encouragement of Bishop La Vieuxville, to counter the Jansenist teachings of the seminary in Bayonne, which

⁴⁵ Lettre de M le Comte de l'Hospital au sujet de la danse, 6 February 1766, St. Jean-de-Luz Administration communale, E Depot St. Jean-de-Luz 1 BB 12/2, AD-PAB. See also a second letter reiterating the precedence of the clergy, and especially of the bishop, on the matter of dancing: Lettre de Mgr le Comte de l'Hospital Commandant de Bayonne, 20 February 1766, St. Jean-de-Luz Administration communale, E Depot St. Jean-de-Luz 1 BB 11/6, AD-PAB. "Je suis instruit, Messieurs, que les danses en place publique au son du tambourin ont été d'usage de tout temps dans votre pais et qu'on avait fait courir le bruit que je voulais défendre cette sorte d'amusement; bien loin que je désapprouve cette récréation si innocente par elle-même. Je pense qu'au contraire qu'il convient que ces danses soient continuées pour amuser vos habitans et les empêcher de tomber dans l'ennuy et l'oisiveté cause de tout vice, pourvu toutefois que le plaisir soit pris avec décence qu'il convient qu'il cesse surtout pendant divers offices divins et dans les tems de recueil et de pénitence... qu'il n'y ait point de dispute sur la préséance de la danse, comme il est arrivé quelques fois et que chaque quartier fasse à son tour et suivant l'usage de la Paroisse..."

⁴⁶ In response to reports that public assemblies with musicians of all sorts were gathering in St. Jean-de-Luz and Ciboure without permission and that they were being incited by all of the foreign workers congregating in the area. Ordonnance publié pour deffendre les assemblés et instruments, de Jean-Baptiste de Caupenne, Marquis d'Amou, Lieutenant pour le Roi au Gouvernement de Bayonne et des Pays adjacents..., 25 January 1783, St. Jean-de-Luz Administration communale, E Depot St. Jean-de-Luz 1 BB 12/6, AD-PAB.

⁴⁷ The city council had attended the feast day ceremonies at the Cathedral in full robe, so the priest's sermon was sure to make an effect on the gathered notables. Procès verbal au sujet de certains propos tenus en chaire le jour de St. Pierre par le P. Gaillat Cordelier contre Messieurs les Magistrats, 29 June 1782, Communautés religieuses de Bayonne, E Depot Bayonne GG 199, AD-PAB.

was run by the Brothers of the Christian Doctrine.⁴⁸ Before then, however, he had already led local missions and preached sermons in which he often condemned the corrupting influence of popular minstrels and inappropriate dancing. In 1732, he infamously stopped minstrels from performing for his sister's wedding celebrations.⁴⁹ And yet, Daguerre approved of certain dance traditions – notably those that showed off a youth's athletic talents and were important to the ceremonial rituals of local feast days. He picked his battles with parishioners and made sure that participants fulfilled their liturgical duties first.⁵⁰ Daguerre's "Abrégé des principes de morale..." for priests administering the sacrament of penance (originally published in 1763) was still used by priests during the nineteenth century to guide them as they restored their parishes.⁵¹ His intolerance of certain popular dance forms and musical practices thus continued to stand as a significant example of the tenuous position of some musical practices in Basque parish society.

PAU AND BÉARN

Patron saints' feast-days were also well celebrated all across Béarn. In 1783, the new bishop of Oloron, Jean-Baptiste-Auguste de Villoutreix de Faye, renewed initiatives given by

⁴⁸ Goïty, *Histoire du diocèse de Bayonne*, 180. Hourmat, *Histoire de Bayonne*, Vol. I: 517–19. By the 1770s, the Bayonne seminary was closed after decades of losing support from the diocese.

⁴⁹ C. Duvoisin, *Vie de M. Daguerre: fondateur du Séminaire de Larressore. Avec l'histoire du diocèse de Bayonne, depuis le commencement du dernier siècle jusqu'à la Révolution française* (Lamaignère, 1861), 67–69.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 355–56. Daguerre's main opposition was against any licentiousness, as could occur in couples dancing mainly, and so his main ongoing antagonism was against the village musicians or minstrels.

⁵¹ Goïty, *Histoire du diocèse de Bayonne*, 292. Jean Daguerre, *Abrégé des principes de morale et des règles de conduite qu'un prêtre doit suivre pour bien administrer le sacrement de pénitence* (chez J. Félix Faulcon, 1763). As part of the examination of conscience set out in this "summary," Daguerre had parishioners ask themselves whether they had danced with members of the opposite sex and writes: "one must interrogate on the results and the motives of these sorts of dances that, in many, lead always to some violation of modesty." / "il faut interroger sur les suites et les motifs de ces sortes de danses, qui, dans plusieurs, donnent toujours quelque atteinte à la pudeur," 111. Further on (p. 337, in a section on dance), Daguerre specifies under what circumstances dancing is permissible: when intentions are good, it is not a time or day of religious restriction, it does not take up too much time, dancers maintain their modesty, and dancing is for sole and all-around modest recreation.

his predecessor to celebrate the feast of St. Grat, the patron saint of his diocese.⁵² The confraternity of the Holy Sacrament in Laruns, a small town in the Ossau valley, for example, was to continue celebrating the holy feast day by singing the *Pange Lingua* and the *Ave Maris Stella*.⁵³ The other Old Regime diocese of Béarn in Lescar celebrated St. Julien at the end of August, in honor of the first bishop of this Gallo-Roman town.⁵⁴ Popular dances like the branle, or *branlou bach* (low branle), similar to the chain dancing in the Basque country, would also take over the public squares for these occasions.⁵⁵ Many of these branles were accompanied by singing, and they were popular components of the carnival season as well.

Yet, perhaps to an even greater extent than in the Basque country, noëls for the Advent and Christmas season were a widespread singing practice in Béarn. Numerous collections and multiple editions of Noël texts and music date from the eighteenth through the twentieth centuries in Béarn. These anthologies often contained texts in both French and Bearnese, sometimes with some influences from Gascon, and occasionally a few noëls in Basque. In most of the older printed collections from the eighteenth century, only the poetic text was given and the air merely indicated, such as in the many editions of the priest Henri d'Andichon's collection.⁵⁶ Musically, Bearnese noëls often adopted the local call-and-response dialogue forms

⁵² See List of Bishops in Appendix 2.3. Saint Grat was a sixth-century bishop who founded the Diocese of Oloron. As Desplat explains, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Oloron bishop had undertaken an inventory of the relics of St. Grat to investigate and control any superstitions, and this reform actually had the effect of reinforcing the cult to the founding bishop (now given authenticity and parameters by the Church). Desplat, *La vie en Béarn au XVIIIe siècle*, 231.

⁵³ "Confrérie du Très Saint Sacrement de Laruns," 1763-1909, Eglises paroissiales d'Oloron, G 352/3, AD-PAP.

⁵⁴ Lescar was the old seat of the Béarn kingdom before its eventual move to Pau in the fifteenth century (in Antiquity, Lescar was known as Beneharnum – some argue, the origin of "Béarn"). The bishop of Lescar was historically the president of the Estates of Béarn and first counselor of the Parliament at Pau. The Albret royal family of Navarre has its sepulcher in the former Lescar Cathedral of Our Lady of Assumption.

⁵⁵ This branlou bach, counter-intuitively, is the ceremonial, serious version of the dance, reserved for feast days and marriages. See Guilcher, *La tradition de danse en Béarn et Pays Basque français*, 40–41.

⁵⁶ Henri d'Andichon, *Noëls choisis, corrigés, augmentés, et nouvellement composés sur les airs les plus agréables, les plus connus, et les plus en vogue dans la province de Béarn* (Toulouse: impr. de A. Henault). Consulted on Gallica: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k54692070> (Accessed April 24, 2014). As collections were edited in the nineteenth century, however, some prints gained illustrations and notated music, along with piano accompaniment, more in line with the bourgeois home salon culture. See for example P. Darricades et al., *Noëls et*

used in other Bearnese popular songs, such as the festival songs sung in turns by two groups, common in the valley of Ossau. A recurring example of this form is in noëls that have the angel(s) singing in French, calling out to the shepherds, who respond in Bearnese.⁵⁷

Noëls were sung at home, on the streets, and especially at Midnight Mass on Christmas, during the Offertory. They were so popular, sung so widely, and printed in so many collections, that every *oustàu*, or home, had to have its collection of Noël texts, even if they came from bad quality prints.⁵⁸ Though most compositions were anonymous, Jean-Baptiste Laborde gives a few suggestions as to the types of Noël authors that existed in Béarn: popular local poets, zealous missionaries who were taking cues from Protestant missionaries, and old priests in love with the old languages.⁵⁹ In his early twentieth-century studies of the genre, Laborde describes important eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century sources by priests like Henri d'Andichon, Michel Garet, and Jean Bonnacaze. Laborde's comparisons of different nineteenth- and early twentieth-century editions, as well as a few earlier or undated collections, showed that though some of the same noëls reappeared consistently, none included the entire corpus of Bearnese noëls, and many added new compositions from their time.⁶⁰ Though the selection of song tunes and the quality of prints was aimed toward a more popular readership, members of the rising class of skilled professions in the eighteenth century, such as the writer-lawyers Pierre

Français populaires dans les Pyrénées, Piano accomp. by Mm R. Bailot, et al. Ed. P. Darricades (Paris: imp. Mansard et Villin, 1875).

⁵⁷ Two examples from the Andichon collection: "Chers pasteurs que d'allégresse... Ey aquère la noubéle" and "Un dieu vous appelle... Léchem droumi" (also republished in the Rivarès collection, see note 68).

⁵⁸ This is what Laborde tells us in his preface to *Noël et noëls béarnais*, 19.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 11, and also Laborde, *Nouveaux noëls béarnais*, Etude suivi d'un ancien Noël 'Noeyt de salut.' (Pau: imp de Vignancour, n.d., after 1911).

⁶⁰ See the list of collections he used in *Noël et noëls béarnais*, 19-22, and the list of Bearnese noëls he compiled (both printed and manuscript/transcribed), 23-25.

Hourcastremé and Bonnacaze, also cherished these local collections, sometimes copying from them to practice Bearnese.⁶¹

Henri d'Andichon's early collection dating back to the eighteenth century, and which consists of fifty-three noëls, still survives in various undated and nineteenth-century editions.⁶² The poet, born in 1712, was a priest at Lembeye and member of the lesser nobility. According to the preface in his collection, his aim in choosing these joyous noëls was to "banish the pitiful noëls that we sing from the churches. We see in them not only deficiencies, but also heresies."⁶³ Instead of these sad tunes, Andichon selected the cheerful pastoral melodies and fashionable songs of his day. He wrote further: "Remove all lugubrious and languishing songs. The gayest airs were those which seemed to me the most adequate. Let the sinner rejoice, says Saint Leo, because he is invited to receive forgiveness for his sins..."⁶⁴ Thus, Andichon adapted his new lyrics to these rustic tunes, representative of the popular Bearnese melodies of his time. In total, the collection includes forty-nine noëls in French and six in Bearnese.

During the time of Andichon's noëls, the famous song tunes of Bearnese poet Cyprien Despourrins (1698-1759) were extremely popular and continually reused and adapted to new lyrics.⁶⁵ Andichon thus indicated several of Despourrins's melodies as the tunes to his noël texts, but though Despourrins's airs originally had Bearnese lyrics, they were reused by Andichon for French-text noëls. Other melodies indicated in the collection include romances and popular song tunes of the time, some which have been forgotten since. Though Andichon's

⁶¹ Desplat, *Cultures en Béarn*, 32–33. Desplat describes the types of tunes included as coming mostly from local traditional songs, songs in Bearnese, and very few from sacred music hymns and opera airs (i.e., one each).

⁶² See for example: Andichon, *Noëls choisis*; and Pascal Lamazou et al., *20 Noëls français sur des airs béarnais et basques par M. Henri d' Andichon,.... Année 1756*, Ed. by Pascal Lamazou. Piano accompaniment by D. F. E. Auber, et al. (Paris: chez Pascal Lamazou, 1873).

⁶³ Henri d'Andichon, "Preface" in *Noëls choisis*, 3. « (Mon dessein est de) bannir des églises les pitoyables Noëls qu'on y chante. On y voit non seulement des pauvretés, mais encore des hérésies. »

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 3. « Loin d'ici tout chant lugubre et languissant. Les airs les plus gais m'ont paru les plus convenables. Que le pécheur se réjouisse, dit saint Léon, parce qu'il est invité à recevoir le pardon de ses péchés... »

⁶⁵ The singer Pierre Jéliote also made them nationally famous when he sang them at the royal court. See footnote 22.

noëls were subsequently reproduced in many collections, most of these (if not all) printed only his texts. Thus, a wide, comparative search through various sources for the indicated tunes is needed to establish the melodies for these noëls. It is this challenging reconstitution of texts and melodies that Laborde was able to achieve in a 1914 *Nadau, Nadau!* anthology, with the help of various local collaborators.⁶⁶

Andichon's Noël XLVII is described as being in "half French and Bearnese, in the form of a dialogue, to the tunes: *Nou podi pas fairé ce qué bos, Pastou*, or *Du haut en bas, etc.*"⁶⁷ The tune is included as the noël's "ancient air"/"air ancien," according to the 1914 anthology. Its title, as it appears often in reprints, is taken from the first lines of dialogue: "Un Dieu vous appelle... Lechem droumi" (see Appendix 1.1 for remaining verses):

⁶⁶ For example, Laborde received leads on unpublished noëls from: P. Mignou, abbé J-B Béziade, Miquéu Camelat, père Abbadie, and the regional historian, abbé Dubarat. Some of Laborde's correspondence and notes for this project are at the departmental archives of the Pyrénées-Atlantiques in Pau, 1 J 200/ 15. *Nadau, Nadau ! Recueil de noëls béarnais et gascons anciens et modernes*, Bouts de la Terre (Pau: G. Lescher-Moutoué, 1914).


⁶⁷ Andichon, *Noëls choisis*, 75. « Noël XLVII, Moitié Français et Béarnais, En Forme de Dialogue, Sur les airs: *Nou podi pas fairé ce qué bos, Pastou*, ou *Du haut en bas, etc.* »

Angel:



Un Dieu vous ap-pel-le, Le-vez-vous, pas teurs! Cou-rez av-ec zè-le Vers vo-tre Sau veur. Le

9




Dieu du ton - ne-rre Pro-met dé-sor mais, La fin de la gue-rre, La paix_ pour ja mais.

17 Shepherd:




Lè-chem drou- mi, lè-chem drou- mi, Noum ben-gos trou-bla la cer - be - lo,

25



Lè-chem drou- mi, Lè-chem drou- mi; Tiro en da-ban, sec toun ca - mi; N'ey pas be

34



soun de sen-ti - ne-llo, Ni n'ey que ha de ta nou - be-lo, Lè-chem drou- mi!_____

Example 1.1: “Lechem droumi” Noël by Andichon

L'Ange

Un Dieu vous appelle,
Levez-vous, pasteurs;
Courez avec zèle
Vers votre Sauveur:
Le Dieu du tonnerre
Promet désormais,
La fin de la guerre,
La paix pour jamais.

The Angel

A God calls you,
Arise, shepherds;
Run with zeal
Towards your Savior:
The God of thunder
Has promised from now on,
The end of war,
Peace for all time.

Le Pasteur endormi

Lechem droumi,
Noum bengos troubla la cerbelo,
Lechem droumi,
Tiro en daban, sec toun camì;
N'ey pas besoun de sentinello,
Ni n'ey que ha de ta noubelo,
Lechem droumi.

The Sleeping Shepherd

Let me sleep,
Do not come bother my brain,
Let me sleep,
Keep walking ahead, follow your path;
I don't need a sentinel,
Or your news,
Let me sleep.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ The French and Bearnese texts are copied as they appear in Andichon, *Noëls choisis*, 75-78. The English translation is mine, based on the translations of the Bearnese to French in Frédéric Rivarès and Despourrins, *Chansons et airs populaires du Béarn, Recueillis par Frédéric Rivarès* (Pau: E. Vignancour, 1844), 140-144.

This dialogue Noël touches on several recurring themes in Noël literature. As in the other angel/shepherd mixed-language Noël preceding this one in Andichon's collection, "Chers pasteurs, que d'allégresse... Et aquéro la noubelo," this Noël highlights the disbelief that the Savior was born in a lowly stable as a key moment. After the shepherds express their confusion, their acceptance of such incredible reports makes the news of salvation that much more personal. (He was born to *their* lot, not to kings!) This acceptance happened with a bit less resistance in other Noëls of this genre, however. In this longer "Un Dieu vous appelle," the shepherd is quite defiant, and even reacts a bit aggressively to the news brought by the angel. In addition to the confusion caused by Jesus's humble birth, and by the appearance of angels in general, these angels were speaking in a different language! Laborde interpreted this in a regionalist way: "The shepherd, tucked away warmly in his wool cape, isn't going to be bothered by this foreigner who doesn't have a Gascon accent..."⁶⁹ Laborde lovingly identified the Bearnese characteristics of these Noël-repertory shepherds: their dress, their names, their gifts to the Christ-child, their preoccupations, fears, and requests. In this Noël example, even the exclamation, "crouts de paillo!" is typically Bearnese. According to Laborde, "The authors of our Noël compositions gave the shepherds at the manger a certain allure and Bearnese customs, and this is what makes them unique."⁷⁰

This Noël fits in line with the intentions stated by Andichon in his forward: to bring the good news to people in joyous tunes. At the very end of his preface, the author notes: "I have composed them in honor of the shepherds."⁷¹ It should indeed be happy news that "A charitable God/ Has come to break your chains," and bring "Peace for all time." And it is telling that

⁶⁹ Laborde, *Noëls et noëls béarnais*, 29. « Le berger, roulé bien chaudement dans sa cape de laine, ne va pas se déranger pour cet étranger qui n'a pas l'accent de Gascogne... »

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 34. « Les auteurs de nos compositions noéliques ont donné aux bergers de la crèche une allure et des mœurs béarnaises et c'est là leur originalité. »

⁷¹ Andichon, *Noëls choisis*, 4. « Je les ai composés en faveur des bergers. » Meaning his Noëls and cantiques.

Andichon gave the first people to hear this news, the humble shepherds, a chance to respond in their own local language. In addition to two bilingual examples, Andichon's collection also included three other angel-shepherd dialogue noëls which were entirely in French. Although each one deals with the theme of disbelief that a savior should be born in such a lowly place, this last example of "Un Dieu vous appelle" is the most resistant one; it is even feisty. The grumpy Bearnese shepherd does not even want to wake up to hear the news and is skeptical from the start. Though it was rather commonplace in Noël literature, this particular treatment of the shepherd story, using the local language, seems to be directed very personally at Andichon's parishioners. It was also one of his most reprinted noëls, found in many later collections of the nineteenth century.

As Desplat points out, the Noël literature in Bearnese also had some characteristics in common with the broader social customs of singing protests such as the charivari.⁷² Both traditions gleaned tunes and texts from collective memory, had a dialogue form, were "staged" to some extent, and could be adapted to different tunes; though, of course, carnival practices were much more aligned than noëls with the satirical nature of the charivari. Charivaris in France date from at least the medieval practice⁷³ and were rowdy, mock serenades to denounce and intimidate couples who had transgressed accepted marriage mores – for example, in the case of a widow/widower marrying for a second time, or marrying a much younger partner.⁷⁴

⁷² Christian Desplat, *Charivaris en Gascogne: la "morale des peuples" du XVIIe au XXe siècle*, Collection "Territoires" (Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1982), 24.

⁷³ The fourteenth-century Roman de Fauvel includes an illustration of a charivari.

⁷⁴ The priest Jean Bonnezeze gives a late eighteenth-century description of charivaris: "The charivari is a chaotic sound, tumultuous and offensive, of an assembly of people (men) who shout in a foolish manner and create an uproar with pans, cauldrons, horns and drums, to create a sort of disruption to those who marry for the second time. ... In these nocturnal assemblies, one declaims a thousand sins, slanders, and indecent, shocking, atrocious speeches, with all of the coarseness of which a rustic man is capable.../These scandalous assemblies caused riots and fights in Béarn; for this reason, there were decrees of arrests and imprisonments and galley convictions..." Qtd. in Desplat, *Charivaris en Gascogne: la "morale des peuples" du XVIIe au XXe siècle*, 101–2. "Le charivari est un bruit confus, tumultueux et désagréable, d'une assemblée de gens qui crient d'une manière bouffonne, et font du tumulte avec des poêles, chaudrons, des cors et des tambours, pour faire quelque sorte de confusion à ceux qui se

Though the insults hurled at the couple were meant to shame them, much in the way of upturning social standards during carnival, the ultimate goal of a charivari was actually a conservative one of maintaining communal equilibrium.⁷⁵ Throughout the eighteenth century, the Parliament of Navarre heard cases filed by couples against these disruptive, sometimes violent, serenaders, and starting in the 1770s, the Parliament's arbitrations seemed to get more frequent.⁷⁶ While magistrates and ecclesiastics showed hostility towards these practices, both they and the raucous charivarists sought to preserve the same morals and social hierarchies.

Most plaintiffs complained of “nocturnal gathering of crowds under the pretext of charivari” and some added mention of “insults,” “disorders and excess.”⁷⁷ The general uniformity of case descriptions gives the sense that these were often very similar, but as Desplat indicates, the later formula of “under the pretext of charivari,” which started to be used in the 1760s, though it placed emphasis on the nocturnal disruption, actually generated an official denial of the charivari custom itself.⁷⁸ In one 1776 case from Jurançon, near Pau, the judgment against the charivari held to humiliate Marc Degaux and his fiancée was in strict terms and more specific than usual. The court declared that municipal officers in Jurançon

mariant en secondes noces. ...Dans ces assemblées nocturnes, on déclame mille iniquités, calomnies, paroles indécentes, choquantes et atroces, avec toute la grossièreté dont un rustique est capable... / Ces assemblées scandaleuses ont causé des émeutes et des bâteries en Béarn; pour raison de quoi, il y a eu des décrets de prise au corps et d'imprisonnements et des condamnations aux galères.”

⁷⁵ Thus, the charivari is more of a moral sanction than a social spectacle of “release” like carnival. See the brief comparison in *Ibid.*, 233–34.

⁷⁶ A cursory search of “charivari” in the departmental archives (before 1790) shows judgments on charivaris from the Parliament of Navarre in 1732, 1735, 1746/47, 1763/64, and 1776; but a more detailed search of the judgments and records of the Parliament show several, frequent deliberations on charivaris each year from at least 1784–1787. Desplat explains that charivaris make up less than 6% of the moral cases brought before the Parliament of Navarre from 1713–1776, and only 47 cases total from 1700–1790 before the criminal court. (As compared to say, illegitimate pregnancies which make up 70% of cases.) But Desplat also sees an increase in cases after 1765, which he thinks is more reflective of the increased activity of judicial authorities than of a strict increase in criminality, though unstable social factors (i.e., food shortages) did contribute to this as well. *Ibid.*, 103. I was able to track down 8 cases in the two-year period of 1784–1786.

⁷⁷ As in the cases found in “Parlement de Navarre, Arrêts sur rapport,” 1775–1776, *Cours et juridictions*, B 4974, AD-PAP; and “Parlement de Navarre, Arrêts criminels,” 1784–1787, *Cours et juridictions*, B 5439, AD-PAP. “atroupements (sometimes spelled atroupemens) nocturnes sous prétexte de charivary” and “injures,” “désordres et excès.”

⁷⁸ Desplat, *Charivaris en Gascogne : la “morale des peuples” du XVIIe au XXe siècle*, 110.

would enforce that: “The court inhibits and forbids all sorts of persons from forming crowds, neither assembling by day or by night, in order to make any noise, nor to deliver any couplets or songs in front of Degaux’s or his fiancée’s door, nor to conduct any charivary...”⁷⁹ A decade later, in a case from St. Jean in Navarre, the accused charivarists were forced to pay 200 livres in damages by the criminal court.⁸⁰ Another case was brought to the court in 1785 by Jacques Lajous, a farmer from Bentayou, who was marrying Jeanne de Nabias, a daughter of nobility from Montaner. In this case, Lajous’s townsmen seemed to denounce such a misalliance of social classes, with: “crowds by night and by day, noise from the drum and other tumultuous instruments, insulting, injurious, and scandalous speeches, under the pretext of charivary.”⁸¹

These raucous gatherings usually involved around a dozen townsmen or less, usually young men, and many of the court cases summoned each accused suspect to come testify before the Parliament’s public prosecutor. Suspects in these records are sometimes designated by name, profession, and even rank; as in whether or not the man is the “eldest”/”ainé” (or heir) of the family or the cadet, whether he is from nobility, etc. Many presumed culprits, however, were from the set of younger cadets or servants; the dependents of a household, who were also relatively free from social responsibilities.⁸² Most other suspects were from skilled artisan or learned trades such as cobblers, carpenters, jurists, or clerks, and often solidarities were built,

⁷⁹ “Parlement de Navarre, Arrêts sur rapport,” B 4974, fol. 143. “Que la cour fait inhibitions et défenses à toute sorte de personnes, de s’attouper, ny assembler de jour ny de nuit pour causer aucun Bruit, ny débiter des couplets [sic] ou chansons devant la porte dudit Degaux ou de sa fiancée, ny de faire aucun charivary...”

⁸⁰ “Parlement de Navarre, Arrêts criminels,” 1784-1787.

⁸¹ Ibid., 8 July 1785, Bentayou. “des attroupe-mens de nuit et de jour, bruit de la caisse et autres instruments tumultueux, propos insultans, injurience et scandaleux, sous pretexte de charivary, au sujet du mariage du plaignant et de ladite Nabias...” Desplat also mentions this case, *Charivaris en Gascogne: la “morale des peuples” du XVIe Au XXe Siècle*, 110. Of course, the case documentation itself does not develop the motivations of such charivaris—the case records I consulted are mostly very brief.

⁸² Desplat indicates that valets were the most represented category in the judged cases, making up 8.9% of suspects. Ibid., 120. Some of the cases I consulted, however, mentioned a few cabaret owners, who would have been held to a higher degree of responsibility for town chaos.

at least for the night, between members of a neighborhood.⁸³ Though many charivarists were left unidentified in the records, one can posit that the communities forged during these chaotic upheavals mirrored many trends in Bearnese civil society.⁸⁴ And one might also begin to compare the movements of these groups across confraternity participation and artisan guild membership, and even musical trades, when we consider that many town musicians also doubled as skilled artisans.⁸⁵ Although religious authorities continuously expressed their disapproval – such as Oloron Bishop de Revol’s 1771 reiteration to parish priests to denounce such disruptive popular traditions – social communities of confraternities, of pilgrimages, and of charivaris continued to flourish in much of the same region of Béarn.⁸⁶

While these popular customs persisted, the nobility, and increasingly the urban merchants and bourgeoisie, took no part in them.⁸⁷ Instead, at least in Pau, the upper classes cultivated other social entertainments, even if only for a time. In 1718, the Royal Academy of Pau was founded, and became a center for concerts, conferences, an annual scholarly essay competition, and even the first regional public library, which opened in 1744.⁸⁸ At first, the Academy was dedicated to weekly concerts for musical amateurs. In the Academy regulations of 1735, each member paid 50 livres a year and could attend the weekly concerts on Thursdays, and starting in 1737, members could also participate in monthly conferences on literature on

⁸³ Ibid., 122.

⁸⁴ Indeed, Laborde asserts that: “The society constituted by the charivarists was in reality a more or less faithful image of the civil society in Béarn in the eighteenth century.” / Ibid., 123. “La société constituée par les charivariseurs était en réalité l’image à peu près fidèle de la société civile en Béarn au XVIIIe siècle.”

⁸⁵ As Itçaina, “Les ménétriers dans la société d’ordres en Labourd: quelques hypothèses à partir des données lacunaires d’Ancien Régime,” 9, was able to trace for some musicians in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, they were also textile workers, tailors, millers, carpenters, and innkeepers, among other trades.

⁸⁶ Desplat, *Charivaris en Gascogne: la “morale des peuples” du XVIe au XXe siècle*, 108.

⁸⁷ As Desplat and Guilcher and others have noted, the nobility – which used to partake in public spectacles, almost as a kind of public service – began to desist from feasts and events starting at the end of the seventeenth century (according to Desplat, Ibid., 124.). The bourgeoisie soon followed their lead.

⁸⁸ Desplat, *Cultures en Béarn*, 13, 116. See also François Lesure, “Pau,” in *Dictionnaire musical des villes de province* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1999), 244. The Académie was founded first as an academy of music, by seven members of the Parliament of Navarre and a Lescar canon. Besides the parliamentarians and local nobility, members also included heads of religious orders such as the Jesuits, local clergy, some lawyers and doctors, and military notables, as seen in Académie Royale de Pau, *Délibérations des académiciens, 1718-1788*, D 13, AD-PAP.

Saturdays.⁸⁹ The director of the Academy had limited tickets to distribute to any foreigners to the city, and ladies could accompany members as guests for these events. Records show the hire of a first violinist, several singers, and various instrumentalists, but they also show a few challenges the Academy had in retaining them.⁹⁰ A few inventories of musical works and instruments by the various presidents of the Academy include: various operas, seemingly by composers like Lully, Destouches, and Campra, French cantatas (one by Clérambault), books of violin sonatas by Michele Mascitti and Marais, motets by Campra, sonatas by Corelli, and some manuscript pieces; and a harpsichord, bass viols, and violins.⁹¹ By 1744, however, the weekly concerts gave way to academic debates in the field of humanities. It seems the cost and recruitment of musicians was too onerous, and the nobility's interests began to lean more towards philosophical topics of social improvement and utilitarianism.⁹²

PRE-REVOLUTIONARY BÉARN AND PAU

On the eve of the Revolution, Pau as the Bearnese capital was in upheaval as the Parliament of Navarre struggled to maintain the region's autonomy, issuing a series of remonstrances in political opposition to the Old Regime government. The last of these

⁸⁹ "Reglemens de l'Académie de Pau," May 18, 1735, Académie Royale de Pau, D 13, AD-PAP, Article 10, p. 111, Art. 14, p. 112, p. 122.

⁹⁰ Ibid., as when a violinist was dismissed for disrespecting a noble family. All instrumentalists had to be approved and dismissed by Academy members, and the director of musicians especially.

⁹¹ "Inventaire des livres de musique qui appartiennent à Monsieur le Président de Gassion," in Académie Royale de Pau, Délibérations des académiciens, 1718-1788, D 13, AD-PAP. The list of operas only includes the titles and no authors, hence my presumption of possible composers. Given the limited resources and few hired singers, it is likely concerts included select arias from these operas to perform intermixed with instrumental pieces, as was the custom in eighteenth-century concert programs. The name attributed to a volume of violin sonatas is nearly incomprehensible, but Lesure's article on Pau mentions works by Michele Mascitti, which seems to fit the scribble on the sonatas. Mascitti greatly popularized Italian string music in France with his career in Paris and publications of his work.

⁹² Desplat, *Cultures en Béarn*, 180, 194.

remonstrances was proclaimed on June 26, 1788, defending the provincial *fors* (or *fueros*) and customs, but heated debates on Béarn's sovereignty continued right through the call for deputies to the Estates-General, convening in May 1789. Added to these pressures on local autonomy were mounting issues about the representation of the Third Estate. The nobility that ran the Parliament of Navarre began to recognize that there was a fine line to walk between public support of the region's sovereignty and growing demands for greater representation from the Third Estate. If the nobility's reserve on their role in the Estates-General sought to preserve Bearnese sovereignty, it was most likely also intended to guard from dangerous revolutionary currents in the lower classes.⁹³

The last remonstrances from June 26 describe how the Bearnese people from all social classes protested the forced dissolution of their Parliament. On June 19, a crowd of people gathered before the King's lieutenant de Lons, demanding to reconvene the Parliament: "All of a sudden, during the calm of the upset, rose up around us the frightening signs of desperation. The populace became agitated, tumultuous shouts were heard, these cries invoked justice; the great crowd rushed to Your Majesty's commissioner, demanding the Palace be reopened... The tumult grew, the ordinary police was powerless."⁹⁴ When the members of Parliament finally reconvened, the registers recorded that the court "found the main door partly shattered; that of

⁹³ As Frédéric Bidouze writes: "The Bearnese nobility was conscious of the danger inherent in a challenge to the society of orders, not only for its own particular privileges, but also for the regional autonomy founded at the provincial Estates on the preeminence of the first two orders." Frédéric Bidouze, "Le Béarn, entre sujets et citoyens," *Un testament politique de l'Ancien Régime: les remonstrances du parlement de Navarre* (Pau: Cairn, 1999), 60. "La noblesse béarnaise était consciente du danger que supposait une remise en cause de la société d'ordres, non seulement au nom de ses privilèges particuliers mais également au nom de l'autonomie régionale fondée aux Etats provinciaux sur la prééminence des deux premiers ordres."

⁹⁴ Frédéric Bidouze, Ed. *Les remonstrances du parlement de Navarre au XVIIIe siècle* (Biarritz: Atlantica, 2000), 12. "Tout à coup, au calme de la consternation ont succédé autour de nous les signes effrayants du désespoir. Le peuple s'est agité, des cris tumultueux se sont fait entendre, ces cris invoquoient la justice; la foule s'est précipitée chez le commissaire de Votre Majesté, réclamant l'ouverture du palais... Le tumulte croissoit, la police ordinaire étoit impuissante."

the chambers open; the entire palace filled with citizens of every state...⁹⁵ Along with the Parliament of Rennes, that of Navarre was the only other sovereign court to reconvene illegally during this time due to local popular demand.

Patriotic singing in the city of Pau thus had a longstanding attachment to celebrating Béarn's sovereign institutions, especially the Parliament of Navarre. A collection of printed pamphlets from this period, bound together as

"Brochures relatives au Béarn entre 1788-1789,"

evokes the popular effervescence in Pau in the summer of 1788 with numerous songs, speeches, odes, and various accounts of these events. The pamphlets are bound alongside the King's edicts,

the Parliament's remonstrances, and the Lescar bishop's decree to recognize the King's orders with sung *Te Deums*. Among this diverse group of

brochures detailing this tumultuous time, one small-sized pamphlet entitled the "Excerpts from Silvandre and Mirtil's Collection of Follies"⁹⁶

contains French and Bearnese songs in honor of the Parliament of Navarre, which were collected and "edited" by members of the "Troupe joyeuse" of

entertainers at Pau (see Figure 1.3). Of the twelve songs included in this pamphlet, half are written in Bearnese and half in French. Typical of this genre of pamphlet-songs, a known air

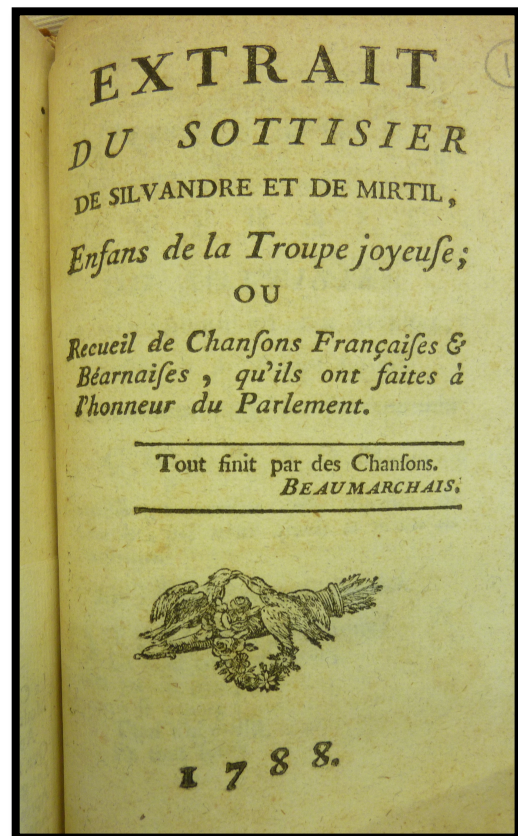


Figure 1.3: Title Page from the 1788 "Follies" Pamphlet, (Source: Fonds Patrimoine, F425 R, UTPau)

⁹⁵ AD-PAP, B. 4572, fol. 135, Qtd in Bidouze, Ed. *Les remonstrances*, 13. "a trouvé la porte principale en partie brisée; celle de toutes les chambres ouvertes; le palais entier rempli de citoyens de tous les états..."

⁹⁶ *Extrait du sottisier de Silvandre et de Mirtil*, 1788, Chançons Béarnaises, F 425 R, Fonds Patrimoine, UTPau. This may imply that there were many more of these songs, if these are just excerpts from a larger collection.

(or timbre) is indicated, to which the new poetry is sung. Of these indicated tunes, only a few employ Bearnese-language songs, while most refer to French airs. Although French-language timbres are often given for a new Bearnese retexting, no Bearnese-language airs are assigned to French retextings, only to other Bearnese poems.

The first song in this collection sets the tone for rejoicing among the newly arriving magistrates. The title heading of this song suggests the urgency with which these verses were composed, reading: “Song, composed a moment after the arrival of the post, which told us of the reprise of Parliament.”⁹⁷ Yet, though the text is exclamatory in its celebration of the return of Parliament, it is set to be sung to an air written originally by Grétry for his opéra comique *L’amant jaloux* (1778), “Tandis que tout sommeille,” which is in a minor key and rather somber. The tune thus gives a sobering effect to these new lyrics, which nonetheless point to the hopeful days to come. The contrast created between the ominous tune and the hope-filled verses dissipates as the last verses pronounce the respect due to the incoming magistrates and the summoned resilience against any scheming, mal-intentioned parties. The song ends: “Nevermore, will destroying men/ risk, in their fury,/ denigrating the illustrious Senators,/ Friends of justice.”⁹⁸ (See the full lyrics and translation in Appendix 1.2.) The melody appropriately peaks at a long-held high note on “Amis” (mm40-42), before descending and concluding at “de la justice,” and one can almost hear this as a boastful tenor’s closing rallying cry amidst the city’s gathering crowds:

⁹⁷ Ibid., 3. “Chanson, composée un moment après l’arrivée du courrier, qui nous apprit la rentrée du Parlement.”

⁹⁸ Ibid., 4. “Jamais, des hommes destructeurs,/ N’oseront plus dans leurs fureurs,/ Noircir d’illustres Sénateurs,/ Amis de la justice.”

Rece-vez nos hom - mages, Mag-i- strats, en ce___ jour___ Que du plus ten-dre a-
 11 mour___ Ils de-vie-nnent les ga-ges. Ah! des mé - chans en ces mo mens, Crai-
 21 - gnons_ moins la ma - li - ce. Ja-mais des ho-mmes de-struct-eurs, N'ose
 31 ront plus dans leurs fu - reurs, Noir -cir d'ill- ust - res Sé - na -
 38 teurs, A - mis_____ de la jus - ti - - ce.

Example 1.2: Second verse from the first song in *Silvandre and Mirtil's Collection*, to a tune by Grétry

The following song, in Bearnese and dedicated to the “Citizens of Pau” (“Cansou, Aüs bous Citouyens de Paü”), ends with the verse: “Under the wings of Parliament, / We shouldn’t fear for one moment, / Neither hail, nor rain, nor wind.”⁹⁹ The reference to inclement weather could well have evoked for many of the city dwellers the famine spreading in this region for the several years preceding when this song was written. Because in addition to the heated representational debates, the meager cereal harvests of the years 1787-1788 were increasing the general economic disparity and social unrest of the region. In the spring of 1789, popular uprisings sprang up in Bearnese towns like Navarrenx, Orthez, Saliès, and others, and in May of that year, the Pau municipality started a bread distribution plan for its poor. The mayor and his municipal officers agreed to participate, dividing up the various neighborhoods, after it was

⁹⁹ Ibid., 5. “Debat l’ale deü Parlamen, / Om nou deü pas cragne û moumen, / Ni grèle, ni plouye, ni bén.”

reported that, "...the parliament, touched by the public misery occasioned by the excessive cost of grains, has determined to come to the rescue of the poor inhabitants, to which effect it will create a fund of twelve thousand *livres* destined to distribute bread to them every week..."¹⁰⁰

The Estates of Béarn, who at the same time were dealing with intense political debates, attempted to offer reassurance and to dispel alarmist rumors that newly shipped grains were spoiled, and that the neighboring cities of Bayonne and Toulouse were not suffering the shortage, by publishing a public announcement in mid-June 1789.

The eighth song, "Lou retour deü Parlamen," is set to a famous air by the eighteenth-century Bearnese poet Cyprien Despourrins: "Roussignoulet qui cantes/ The nightingale that sings." Versions of this original poem and its music consistently reappeared in nineteenth-century Bearnese song collections. The tune is also often re-used for different text settings, like for noëls. Considering that this new song was set to a well-known melody, and that it forms part of a collection for patriotic celebrations, it may be that it circulated quite widely in 1788 among the people of Pau and its surroundings, since its subtitle also specifies it is a song "of the citizens of Gelos,"¹⁰¹ an adjacent town to the south of Pau. The refrain, sung both after the first verse and at the end of the song, enjoins to "Come with joy, / Back my plan; / At every hour of the day, / Let us sing to the Parliament."¹⁰² The call to public rejoicing is clear; perhaps the slip to public demonstration is not far? (See song transcription in Appendix 1.3.)

The call for communal support of the reconvened Parliament is made explicit in the next two songs included in the collection, each dedicated to a "patriotic" and "public" festival.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ Excerpt from BB 23, fol. 24, Archives communales de Pau, In Claude Laharie, *La Révolution dans les Basses-Pyrénées* (Biarritz: Adpa, 1989), 92. "...le parlement touché de la misère publique occasionée par l'excessive cherté des grains, a déterminé de venir au secours des habitans pauvres, a l'effet de quoi il va faire un fonds de douze mille livres destine à leur faire distribuer du pain toutes les semaines..."

¹⁰¹ "Cansou, deüs citouyens de Gelos," *Extrait du sottisier*, 12.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 12. "Bieneth d'ab allégrie, / Ségoundat moun dessén; / A cade ore deü die, / Cantem lou Parlamen."

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 13 and 15. "Chanson, pour la Fête Patriotique," and "Ronde enta la Heste Publique"

The first hymn, in French, reprises another Grétry opéra-comique melody that had remained famous for years, “Où peut-on être mieux qu’au sein de sa famille? / Where is one better than in the bosom of one’s family?” and retexts it as, “Où peut-on être mieux qu’au sein de sa Patrie? / Where is one better than in the bosom of one’s homeland?”¹⁰⁴ Both the tune and the sentimental opera remained popular with audiences across France since its premiere in 1769, speaking to many about the issues of social inequity.¹⁰⁵ With a much livelier pace and tone, the song in Bearnese is meant as a dance round for the public festivities. It calls out to the “shepherdesses and shepherds” to come join the dancing and “From the juice of the barrel, / Let us refresh ourselves, the *canou*.” The meaning of *canou* is given in a footnote, as the comical term adopted by the Troupe Joyeuse to denote the young ladies.¹⁰⁶ The poem continues in a flirtatious manner, repeating the call to drink and be festive.

This small nineteen-page pamphlet is one of few extant documents to include Bearnese-language texts during this period, but one can imagine that these easily-learned tunes and new, relevant texts could have played an important role in the frequent public gatherings during the spring and summer of 1789. Its printed format points to a wider circulation, but its small size could also indicate mobile or portable usage. The public effervescence preceding the national events of the summer of 1789 paints a nuanced vision of what worries and debates the local Bearnese brought to the national stage. Yet at the turn of events following the August 4th decree, which abolished all previous feudal privileges including Bearnese sovereignty, divisions

¹⁰⁴ From Grétry and Marmontel’s opera *Lucile* of 1769.

¹⁰⁵ This melody was later a sort of unofficial national hymn for the royal family during the Restoration, 1815-1830.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 15. “E dëu yus de la barrique, / Arresquem-nous lou *canou*.” It is unclear in the footnote whether the *Canou* in the song’s refrain should refer to the young ladies called by that name or the Troupe Joyeuse itself, which uses the name and is perhaps known by it too? Regardless, this song gives a sense of group belonging and local exclusiveness.

in Béarn society hardened.¹⁰⁷ The loss of Bearnese sovereignty was the “tribute” to be paid to the French nation as Béarn fully joined in the reform projects of the National Assembly.

PROTESTS IN BAYONNE AND THE BASQUE PROVINCES

Bayonne and the Basque provinces each dealt with similar disputes over their own provincial autonomy, and the political unrest was likewise exacerbated by spreading famine and popular uprisings. In Bayonne, pillaging and fighting broke out at the end of April in 1789. In the following days, the neighboring countryside had joined the tumult, as described in a letter by the King’s prosecutor to the Province minister: “Thursday (May 2nd), the mob was even more intense because women from neighboring regions, attracted to the market, joined the inhabitants, and this unbridled crowd beg[an] the assaults by hacking down with an ax the doors of houses where grain was suspected [to be stored].”¹⁰⁸ As in other parts of France, women led the acts of protest. Another letter from the prosecutor to the mayor and city officers dated several days before the protest offers more detail:

This day the 30th of April the widow Belair took a drum and made her way to Pannecau Street; she gathered around her a considerable crowd, aided by two other women, one of whom was also beating a bass drum. They came upon the grain market and caused such a racket that the market was interrupted and that one cannot tell to what extreme the effervescence and intoxication will drive this senseless mob.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ As Jean-Paul Jourdan explains: “The Pau crisis of October 1789 opposed the popular enthusiasm for the Revolution against the timidity of a large part of traditional elites. Yet the people and the elites in Béarn had up to this point met eye-to-eye, especially during the Parliamentary crises of 1765 and 1788. 1789 marks thus a rupture in the local society.” Michel Peronnet and Jean-Paul Jourdan, *La Révolution dans le département des Basses-Pyrénées, 1789-1799* (Le Coteau: Horvath, 1989), 93. “La crise paloise d’octobre 1789 avait opposé à l’enthousiasme populaire pour la Révolution la timidité d’une large partie des élites traditionnelles. Or peuple et élites s’étaient en Béarn jusque-là rencontrés à l’occasion notamment des crises parlementaires de 1765 et de 1788. 1789 marque donc une rupture dans la société locale.”

¹⁰⁸ E Depot Bayonne BB 91, fol. 22, AD-PAB, Qtd. in Goyhenetche, *Histoire générale*, 91. “Jeudi, l’attroupement fut beaucoup plus considérable parce que des femmes des environs attirées par le marché se joignirent aux habitants; et cette troupe efrénée commençant les voyes de fait en abbattant à coup de hache les portes des maisons où elles soupçonnaient du grain.”

¹⁰⁹ E Depot Bayonne FF 522, Art. 30, AD-PAB, In Pierre Hourmat, *Bayonne et le Pays Basque au temps de la Révolution: Choix de documents*, Tome 1 (Bayonne: Publication de la Société des science, lettres et arts de

Similar to measures taken in Pau, the Bayonne municipal officers looked to wealthier citizens to help with the distribution of subsistence grains for the poorest residents. Yet even with national measures taken towards the provision of grain supplies, the scarcity continued through the summer months.

The grain shortage greatly affected a more interior town in Basse-Navarre, Labastide Clairence, where more than half of the population lived from artisanal work. On May 2, 1789, over 300 women gathered in Labastide to decry the bread shortage. Towns such as these depended on provisions coming from the ports on the Adour River, either at Bayonne or Dax.¹¹⁰ But deteriorating roads and the general scarcity in the region, not to mention the illicit trade and overbidding these incited, made situations in these smaller towns highly precarious. Larger Basque towns such as Hasparren also had to confront the scarcity of grains and maize, and in May of 1789 the town assembly met to organize urgent shipments, set up loans to subsidize the cost of bread, take inventories of local stock and inspect mills, and establish measures against fraud.¹¹¹ In a collection of Basque verses of the period, an anonymous poet poignantly wrote: “The corn cannot germinate in arid land / Hunger wears out the poor family.”¹¹²

All across towns in Labourd, Soule, and Basse Navarre, popular uprisings were signaling social unrest, and just at this time, town leaders were dealing with national calls for reform. As communities were called to air their grievances in the Cahiers de doléances, some

Bayonne, 1990), 115. “Ce jour 30 avril la veuve Belair a pris le tambour et s’est rendue dans la rue Pannecau; elle a rassemblé une foule considérable aidée de deux autres femmes dont l’une battait aussi de la caisse. Elles se sont portées sur le marché aux grains et y ont causé un tumulte si considérable que le marché en est interrompu et qu’on ne peut prévoir encore jusqu’où l’effervescence et l’esprit de vertige peut conduire cette foule insensée.”

¹¹⁰ Goyhenetche, *Histoire générale*, 91.

¹¹¹ Marie-Louise Engelhard-Grosjean, “Hasparren à l’époque de la Révolution,” *Revue d’Histoire de Bayonne, du Pays Basque et du Bas-Adour*, No. 146 (Bayonne: SSLAB, 1990), 263.

¹¹² Qtd in Goyhenetche, *Histoire générale*, 93. His translation to French: “Le maïs ne peut germer en terre aride / La faim épuise la pauvre famille.” Basque original: “Leyhorreco lanetan ecin sor arthoa / Gosez hingatcen hari maiñada gachoa.”

groups of the Third Estate complained about the hierarchic and exclusionary administration of their towns and demanded a more equal participation in municipal affairs. Conflicts arose in the port city of St. Jean-de-Luz, where the lower classes' objections to the elitism of municipal power were left out of the final Cahier of the province. Similarly, in Bayonne, heated debates arose between the city administration and the artisanal corporations, which protested that an exclusive circle of bourgeois families had over the years "usurped for themselves exclusively the right to elect among themselves the magistrates and officials to the great detriment of the police and of the imprescriptible right of the artisans who represent the urban community."¹¹³ As Goyhenetche describes, these protests underline the long trend towards elitism in the actual practice of politics in these places. And the response made by these political elites in the case of St. Jean-de-Luz, where the elites had nonetheless followed Enlightenment ideas, further underscores these social tensions: "It is natural to name the Magistrates from among the most distinguished inhabitants of the city. For their authority to be respected, they have to have a certain education, an ability to represent. Because how could men who do not know neither how to read nor write correspond with the Ministers, the leaders of the Province, [when the] delegation does not know the French language."¹¹⁴ As Goyhenetche points out, these representational debates also reveal the long process of French-language domination over Basque in governmental affairs.

The representative assembly of the province of Labourd, called the Biltzar, met in Ustaritz to draft the region's grievances and elect their deputies to the Estates-General in April

¹¹³ E Depot Bayonne, HH 184, AD-PAB, Qtd in Goyhenetche, *Histoire générale*, 30. "s'arrogèrent exclusivement le droit d'élire entre elles les échevins et jurats au grand préjudice de la police et du droit imprescriptible des artizalats (sic) qui représentaient la commune."

¹¹⁴ E Depot St Jean de Luz, BB2, Art 6, Fol 161, AD-PAB, Qtd in Ibid., 29-30. "Il est naturel de nommer les Magistrats parmi les habitants les plus distingués de la ville. Il faut pour que leur autorité soit respectée qu'ils aient une certaine instruction, qu'ils puissent représenter. Car comment des hommes qui ne savent ni lire ni écrire pourraient-ils correspondre avec les Ministres, les chefs de la Province, avec une députation ignorant la langue française."

of 1789. An anonymous witness to these events left an account of the vivid debates within the Third Estate. The account reveals the predominantly rural and peasant population that participated in this assembly of the people, describing: “a lot of time was wasted in the applauding that the peasants never fail to dispense to the one yelling loudest, to the most vehement speaker, and to the brouhaha that followed the rarely deserved applause.”¹¹⁵ Yet this rowdy Third Estate was also portrayed as divided and made up of various factions, supporting diverging interests and different candidates for the Estates-General. In a poem by a poet-priest (a character who we will meet in more detail in Chapter 2), this election of the Third Estate deputies represented what Basque people would contribute to improving the national economic and political struggles. The verses, in Basque, probably circulated in advance of the elections at the Biltzar, calling the favored candidates the “flowers of the Basques” because they had obtained separate representation for the province of Labourd to the Estates-General. A few verses reveal the opposite of a representational complex, where Basque-language use or culture is synonymous with the inability to earn respect or represent a province, as in the elite’s commentary cited above. Instead, some strong political opinions are voiced:

Estatua eri dela banatu du berria;
 Bainan ezagutuz geroz gaitzaren iturria,
 Askiko da duda gabe, haren sendarazteko,
 Zenbait menbro pikatzea bertzen kontserbatzeko.

He (the King) had it published that the State is ill;
 Yet once the source of harm is known,
 It would undoubtedly suffice to heal,
 To cut off some members to save the others.

...
 Mendi idorren oinetan ontzen ditugun lurak

...
 If the lands that we cultivate at the feet of the arid
 mountains

Bere ganik ez balire diren bezain agorrak,
 Ez zen agertuko nihon eskaldunen parerik
 Parte on bat jasaiteko estatuko zorretik.

Were not in themselves as sterile as they are,
 Nowhere would there be shown men equal to the Basques
 In taking on a sizeable part of the State debt.

Ez dire beti beharrak emanez sokorritzen
 Diruzko laguntzen orde gortearen argitzen
 Ariko den erromesak askotan gehiago
 Lagunduko du Errege aberatsenek baino.

It is not always by gifts that we meet all needs,
 Often, the poor, who instead of financial aid,
 Will illuminate the Court, will bring to the King
 An aid far larger than the most rich.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ Qtd in Goyhenetche, *Histoire générale*, 133. “beaucoup de temps y a été aussi perdu dans les applaudissements que les paysans ne manquent jamais de prodiguer au grand crieur, au discoureur le plus véhément et au brouhaha qui a suivi les applaudissements rarement mérités.”

¹¹⁶ Salvat Monho, “Garat Gaztanean eta Ithurbidentzat,” in Pierre Lafitte, Ed and Trans., *Poèmes basques de Salvat Monho* (Bayonne: Ikas, 1972), 56-58. Translation from the Basque aided by Lafitte’s French translation.

Though the poem is one of a few texts without an indicated tune, the Basque verses follow a regular rhythm of fifteen syllable-lines with a rhyme scheme of AABB. These verses may have packed a dense amount of current information about the two candidates, as well as overt royalism and loyal ideals about the Basques, but one could imagine them being easy to declaim, perhaps even memorize, amidst the debates at the Biltzar.

Singing in both Bearn and the Basque country was thus a powerful instrument of community and protest, one that would be marshaled during the ensuing tumultuous years of the Revolution in different ways and for different purposes. But the soundscape had been peppered with these vocal protests throughout the century, and the communities that practiced these traditional musical customs had already begun to fracture, rebuild, and rethink their practices in diverse ways.

CHAPTER 2: SONGS OF SOCIAL UNREST, REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT, AND RELIGIOUS RESISTANCE, 1789-1799

In the summer of 1794, Basque soldiers of the French Revolutionary Army were called to invade the towns of northern Spain, just across the border. The men were commemorated in the song: “We Basque fighters / Were three battalions, / We had to capture, / *Tun tun tuntuluntun*, / Irun and Oiartzun, / *Tun tun* and always *tuntuluntun*.”¹ The song’s refrain “tuntuluntun” works as an onomatopoeic icon of the local *ttun-ttun* instrument, a type of psalterium, or string drum. It highlights the type of local musical accompaniment that colored the marching troops’ invasion into the Spanish Guipuscoa province and offers a glimpse into the local adaptation of patriotic hymns. The sad irony of the invasion is that these were Basque-speaking soldiers forced to attack Basque towns across the border, which caused grave problems of desertion from the French army, and eventually resulted in a dramatic local episode of the Revolution, the Basque internment crisis.²

The Basque Hunters song, or “Eskualdun xasurretatik,” was transcribed and published by Father José Antonio Donostia in the twentieth century.³ Donostia collected this song from oral tradition in Sare, a small town on the French Basque side, not far from the scenes of invasion and war. The short, two-verse song is sung to a haunting minor-key marching tune in

¹ “Eskualdun xasurretatik./ The Basque Hunters.” See Appendix 2.1 for the full two verses in Basque and English and the song tune. This version is taken from the Appendix in Manex Goyhenetche, *Histoire générale du Pays Basque, La Révolution de 1789*. Tome IV. (Bayonne: Elkar, 2002.) n. pag. “Eskualdun xasurretatik / *Baginen iru batallun*, / *Artu bear gintuela*, / *Tun tun tuntuluntun*, / *Irun eta Oiartzun*, / *Tun tun eta beti tuntuluntun*.” Translation mine with help from the French translation in Goyhenetche. The original song was transcribed from oral tradition by José Antonio Donostia in the early twentieth century, see Note 3.

² In which the Basque border towns of Sare, Itxassou, Ascain, and others were evacuated of their inhabitants, for fear of collusion with the Spanish enemy, and hundreds of families were relocated further north indefinitely and under harsh conditions. See Goyhenetche, *Histoire générale*, 290-302.

³ Père Donostia, Ed., “Eskualdun xasurretatik,” in *Gure Herria*, (Bayonne: 1931).

triple meter. Perhaps by the time it was recorded in the twentieth century, its other verses had been forgotten, because as it is known today the tune lends itself to an endless, repetitive telling of a nonetheless intriguing narrative. Though we cannot be perfectly certain of the song's origin, it can still provide a clue to the more precise local flavor of patriotic singing. Musical occasions in the Basque country, like town festivities, dances, and religious processions, were usually accompanied by a basic trio of musicians since at least the sixteenth century: a violinist, a musician playing the *xirula* flute and the string drum *ttun-ttun* simultaneously, and a drummer.⁴ Because it features the *ttun-ttun* in the refrain, the song implies that the wave of French national acculturation through patriotic feasts and military presence did not suddenly wipe out local musical traditions.

The decade of the French Revolution brought religion and politics into a merciless confrontation. In the Basses-Pyrénées, the more heated conflicts died down by 1795, when freedom of worship was restored and the war with Spain had ended.⁵ But the years of the Terror (1793-94), even in this remote region, put many convictions to the test, and historians from the nineteenth through the twentieth centuries have highlighted these tensions in their construction of a Basque or Bearnese regional identity story. Aside from local particularities, though, much has already been studied about the Revolution and its measures of dechristianization. The debates about the clash between religion and politics, even within regional and village-level contexts, seem overspent.⁶ Yet the broader discussion on dechristianization during the French Revolution still tends to underline the strict dichotomy

⁴ Xabier Itçaina, "De la marginalité sociale à l'emblème identitaire: La découverte incomplète du ménestrier en Pays Basque français," (Lorient Presentation, long version, 18 March 2011), 2. Itçaina writes that this trio is common from the XVI-XIXth centuries.

⁵ See Appendix 2.2 for a Timeline of Events from 1789-1795.

⁶ Suzanne Desan has fascinatingly demonstrated how lay people in the département of Yonne took religious practice back into their own hands, adopting principles from revolutionary political culture to make their demands heard. In this way, Desan shows how practices from political culture were applied to other forms of social association, such as lay groups, and vice versa. Suzanne Desan, *Reclaiming the Sacred: Lay religion and popular politics in revolutionary France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990).

between pro-revolutionary Enlightenment visions of France and counter-revolutionary Catholic experience.⁷ It is, rather, the different interactions between the pious and the patriotic practices, between religious and Enlightenment revolutionary views, and between different forms of social associations – civil, religious, musical – that deserve a closer examination if we are to understand the complex process by which the Revolution incited a powerful sense of marked identities in this region.

At the same time, the Revolution put unprecedented pressure on the Provinces to conform linguistically and ceremonially to the French Republican national ideal.⁸ The abbé Grégoire's national survey of local languages (or *patois*) eventually led to his advocating in 1794 for the eradication of all dialects and the imposition of French as the sole national language.⁹ As many of the representatives on mission to the provinces remarked upon their arrival from Paris, local dialects were dangerous vehicles of dissent and counterrevolution. In his report to the Committee of Public Safety in January of 1794, Bertrand Barère de Vieuzac famously declared: "Federalism and superstition speak low-Breton; emigration and hatred of the Republic speak German; the counter-revolution speaks Italian, and fanaticism speaks

⁷ See for example Joseph F. Byrnes, *Catholic and French forever: religious and national identity in modern France*, (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005). For a reexamination of Enlightenment identity formation in France and an argument against this dichotomizing historical view, see Jeffrey D. Burson, "The Crystallization of Counter-Enlightenment and Philosophe Identities: Theological Controversy and Catholic Enlightenment in Pre-Revolutionary France," *Church History* 77:4 (December 2008): 955-1002.

⁸ Not to mention the pressure put on the provincial citizenry to provide material contributions. With the declaration of war against Great Britain and Holland in Feb. 1793 and against Spain in March 1793, the National Convention decreed the drafting of 300,000 men in late February. The Convention also set the maximum price of grains and tried to regulate their distribution, and fixed maximum wages – all with the aim to regulate the food supply. In the Basque country, with its proximity to the war with Spain, food and supplies requisitions were made of practically every town. See Goyhenetche, *Histoire générale*, 273-281. On the centralizing ambitions of the Republic and pushback from the Provinces, see Alan Forrest, *Paris, the Provinces and the French Revolution*, (London: Arnold, 2004). Linguistically - before 1792 – policies were more conciliatory towards linguistic difference, and many national decrees were also translated and published in local languages.

⁹ Michel de Certeau, Dominique Julia, and Jacques Revel, *Une politique de la langue: La Révolution française et les patois: l'enquête de Grégoire*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1975), 12-13. Grégoire sent a list of questions to the départements about the local languages and usage starting on August 13, 1790.

Basque. Let us break these instruments of damage and error.”¹⁰ Moreover, Barère’s report underlined the role of the Basque-speaking clergy in fanaticizing and turning the Basques against the Republic.¹¹ And yet, both Basque and Bearnese had long upheld the use of their languages in administrative and governmental roles throughout the Old Regime. As reforms were drafted at the eve of the Revolution, Basque clergy had included the requirement that local parish priests know the language of their parishioners. And forward-thinking Basque representatives had become involved in the translation of revolutionary decrees to their language. Local linguistic reinforcement thus did not necessarily exclude Republican ideals. But the increased intolerance of religious freedoms around the years 1793-1794, in addition to the climate of war and of political Terror, went hand-in-hand with the growing suppression of linguistic difference.

Examining these two intersecting tensions – between politics and religion (and the move toward dechristianization) and between centralized power and local expression – this chapter focuses on the diverse local reactions and involvements with the revolutionary agenda. It studies how musical practices reveal local responses to the ways the new universalizing revolutionary regime was being imposed, and the consequences on political and religious practices. Through music-making and other communal associations, we can more clearly see the distinctions, alliances, and divisions *internal* to this provincial context and *internal* even within its religious practitioners.

¹⁰ The Barère Report, *Rapport du Comité du salut public sur les idiomes*, session of 8 pluviôse an II (27 January 1794), in *Ibid.* 326. “Le fédéralisme et la superstition parlent bas-breton; l’émigration et la haine de la République parlent allemand; la contre-révolution parle l’italien, et le fanatisme parle le basque. Cassons ces instruments de dommage et d’erreur.” All translations mine from the French unless otherwise indicated.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 324. Barère’s report says the Basques must learn French, because, “despite the language difference and despite their priests, they (the Basques) are devoted to the Republic which they have already defended with valor along the Bidassoa and on our squadrons.” / “...malgré la différence du langage et malgré leurs prêtres, ils sont dévoués à la République qu’ils ont déjà défendue avec valeur le long de la Bidassoa et sur nos escadres.” See also Bernard Oyharçabal, “Les documents recueillis lors des enquêtes linguistiques en Pays basque durant la période révolutionnaire et le premier empire,” in *La Révolution française dans l’histoire et la littérature basques du XIXème siècle*, (St Etienne de Baïgorry, France: Izpegi, 1994). 63-119.

Written musical evidence like the Basque Hunters song, even if it is collected much later, is relatively scarce for this time period of the Revolution, although clues of a broader oral culture abound. This means demonstrating any kind of broad, popular musical opposition to the Revolution in this region is limited by the small number of extant musical sources. One research approach would be to trace, as Itçaina has begun to do, the activities of musicians and how they were hired by town administrators in order to explore how they reacted to new repertoires and musical regimes.¹² This approach, in addition to exploring Basque- and Bearnese-language songs written for events during the Revolution, would contribute to a better sense of the *musical* regional particularities of some of the national forms of civic occasions. My approach has been to examine local records of revolutionary festivals, songs handed down from oral traditions, and accounts of confrontations between diverse groups of people to explain how local musical experiences were shaped by revolutionary measures, and to suggest ways in which musical cultures may have challenged the Revolution's nationalist agenda.

The multiplicity of oral traditions and practices in this region – varying from personal protests in song form to adaptations of revolutionary hymns to handed-down stories that became historical myths – provides important nuance to both the social and individual experiences of the Revolution. Looking at how people participated in these festival, ritualistic, and musical practices and their changing significance reveals much about the interactions and dynamics at play between social groups and what these practices may have meant to them. These interactions suggest a dynamic fluidity of communal association that had not yet crystallized into nationalist identities. Moreover, music-making, for its particular associative

¹² In Itçaina's communication with me on March 31, 2015, we discussed his forthcoming study on the social history of Basque celebrations and rituals. Specifically, by tracing the social status of local musicians, he was able to find that in Ustaritz some of the town musicians, like the *txistularis* (or traditional Basque flute players), were hired for both religious and revolutionary festivals during the same period.

aspects, is an especially rich terrain for studying the ways in which piety and patriotism intersected in the Basses-Pyrénées during these revolutionary years. By focusing on musical and ritual practices as forms of broader political culture during the Revolution, we are taking a step back from assigning too much importance to the melody or tune, to the written musical substance that later gets enlisted in nationalist ideologies.

Few contextual studies have been conducted on the music of the French Revolution outside of Paris, and most musicological work of this period in France focuses on the “high art” marches and festival hymns written by composers like Gossec and Méhul who knew how to adapt to political circumstances.¹³ Some studies have explored the uses and development of popular revolutionary songs, but always within the context of the turbulent capital.¹⁴ And yet, thanks in large part to the revolutionary *fêtes*, musical pieces - even as “high art” as those Parisian hymns and marches could be considered - reached out to wide circles of society, spreading their political messages and seeping into people’s hometown squares everywhere.

This chapter will first examine the festive musical aspects of the Revolution in several towns of the region - Bayonne, Pau, Saint-Pée, and a few others. Music that was used for a carefully planned national feast day could include the ringing of bells, marches, hymns (both old and newly composed for the occasion), patriotic songs, processional music and drums, and lyrical revolutionary arias performed by professionals. These could be considered official, state-sanctioned musical pieces and practices, especially since they served to mark the public holiday. Yet the decade of revolutionary conflict saw many other types of music-making, both official

¹³ François-Joseph Gossec (1734-1829) and Étienne-Nicolas Méhul (1763-1817) both somehow managed to remain in the good graces of the changing political powers in France. See Adélaïde de la Place, *La vie musicale en France au temps de la révolution* (Paris: Fayard, 1989) and Jean Mongrédien, *La musique en France, des lumières au Romantisme: 1789-1830* (Paris: Flammarion, 1986).

¹⁴ See Laura Mason, *Singing the French Revolution: popular culture and politics, 1787-1799* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996). Also the study on opera and theater songs at the Paris Opera during the Revolution by Mark Darlow, *Staging the French Revolution: cultural politics and the Paris Opéra, 1789-1794* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

(or sanctioned) and not. In addition to these national holidays, music was an important element of local festivities, town political club gatherings, religious feast days, and later, revolutionary cult celebrations. Focusing on these urban musical spaces and occasions for music-making, we will see how musical performance was both highly controlled by the revolutionary government and manipulated by dissenting voices.

Music was in fact used to express opposition to local revolutionary changes, in political pamphlet songs, musical theater, satirical songs, and ballads. Some of these reached printed form, such as in pamphlets, but many remained in manuscript form, for personal use, or are documented through official accounts without the music. It is very difficult, therefore, to trace the circulation of such songs, and undoubtedly many more examples are lost to us today. A few notable cases originating especially in the Basque country, however, show powerful instances of musical protest and sketch the dangerous resistance these voiced during the onset of dechristianization, which will be explored in the second part of this chapter.

EARLY REVOLUTIONARY FESTIVALS, 1790-91

The revolutionary *fêtes* – or festivals, often state-organized and imposed national holidays - were seen as an effective tool for creating a unified society which lawmakers could then govern.¹⁵ The *fête* can thus be seen as the performance of both revolutionary political changes (and their breaks with the past) and at the same time of the newer status quo. It is perhaps this performative aspect of the multiplicity of revolutionary *fêtes* which led to their eventual demise,

¹⁵ Mona Ozouf, *La fête révolutionnaire, 1789-1799* (Paris: Gallimard, 1976), 16: "...the legislator writes the laws for the people, but it is the *fête* which makes the people for the laws." / "Car le législateur fait des lois pour le peuple, mais c'est la fête qui fait le peuple pour les lois."

along with the Revolution itself. For *fêtes* need performers, and not all performers were in agreement as to the cause of celebration.

Though it is easy to see the link between the ultimate failure of the Revolution with a capital R, and the end of its grandiose national festivals (the story of this “revolutionary festomania” as Mona Ozouf observes, “is the story of an immense disillusionment”¹⁶), the smaller occasions for civic festivities render nuance to the portrait of the revolutionary changes occurring in diverse French societies. Of course, provincial cities and towns were marked by the more elaborate yearly festivals happening across the country, but civic performance could also take the form of local *decadi* celebrations (marking the end of the 10-day week), patriotic society participation, protests, and theater productions. As many scholars of the French Revolution and popular culture have argued, this civic participation across various forms, often termed as political culture, was an important and innovative tool in the construction and education of a new citizenry. It simultaneously worked to give coherence to the national, lived experience of “the Revolution”¹⁷ and allowed for the multitudinous diversity of such experience. Lynn Hunt calls these forms of political culture “symbolic forms of political performance,” explaining, “Such symbols did not simply express political positions; they were the means by which people became aware of their positions. By making a political position manifest, they made adherence, opposition, and indifference possible. In this way they constituted a field of political struggle.”¹⁸

Studying these forms in the provincial context of the Basque country and Béarn in their markedly different languages offers a unique, unexplored terrain of “political struggle.” From a zoomed-in, town-level view, the musical tactics and performative practices used during this

¹⁶ Ibid. 19. “La festomanie révolutionnaire est l’histoire d’une immense déception.”

¹⁷ As Lynn Hunt argues in *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 14.

¹⁸ Ibid. 53.

time period for various civic festivals and occasions reveal a strain on the local social fabric and its constant fragmentation. From a national perspective, studying the musical and performative practices of local political culture with its Basque and Bearnese particularities brings to light the regional disparities in revolutionary political thought and practice. On both scales, the *fête* and these symbolic forms of local political culture also become a tool in engaging the question of inclusion and exclusion, raised since Michélet and taken up again by Ozouf, asking whether “in the revolutionary *fête* there is a communion of an entire people?”¹⁹

On the reception of these ceremonies, my interest lies in identifying, as well as possible with the few resources available, how local people reacted and adapted to these official musical ceremonies. The problem is that historical records tend to leave out the voice of the masses.²⁰ Still, through an acute awareness to the choices made, and of the absences themselves, we may gain a glimpse of (and hypothesize about) working-class people’s opinions about these civic events in Bayonne, Pau, and other towns. Moreover, in asking more broadly how several types of civic and religious events cohabited at the same time in these towns during moments of political transition, we may gain a better understanding of the complexities of local civic engagement. How might the festivals and events inspired and imposed by revolutionary officials have transformed, little by little, the local citizenry’s political practice and their relationship to other rituals? And what did these changes mean to local struggles for power? Though official, state-organized festivals are the main focus of this section, I will also address the dissenting reactions and local adaptations to these public events.

How did the newly formed département of the Basses-Pyrénées set about commemorating and instilling revolutionary values? Even amidst the growing social friction in

¹⁹ Ozouf, *La fête*, 42. “...y a-t-il dans la fête révolutionnaire la communion d’un peuple entier?”

²⁰ As Ozouf notes herself about the unmarked absence of the *peuple* in festivals of the Federation, *La fête*, 73-74.

both Béarn and the Basque provinces, social rituals and practices retained their power throughout the early years of the Revolution. The festival symbolism during these initial years continued to include elements from Old Regime ceremonies. Civic occasions were still punctuated by *Te Deum* singing after Mass celebrations, thus maintaining an active role for the region's clergy. In Pau, for example, the news of the storming of the Bastille was observed with the singing of a *Te Deum* at Mass and the illumination of the city, as was the custom for any significant national event, like the birth of a royal.²¹ Up until the Terror and the War with Spain starting in 1793, the region maintained a moderate political climate. The main exceptions to this relative stability were the contentious establishment of the administrative *département* borders and the implementation of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. We have already considered the implications of the former in the introduction, and the latter issue will be the focus of the second part of this chapter. Still we may ask, what were the social changes in the early years of the Revolution and how did music participate in these changes?

LA FÊTE DE LA FÉDÉRATION

Possibly the most famous revolutionary festival is the first *Fête de la Fédération*, which marked the anniversary of the storming of the Bastille and forms part of the “least contested” moments of the Revolution for several reasons. It was a national undertaking, involving the whole country at the same time, and it reinforced the ideal of fraternity. As Ozouf explains, “the inception of the federations was seen as the birth of French patriotism, as a product, according to Michélet, of France’s wedding with itself, which seemed to have abolished local and regional

²¹ Michel Peronnet and Jean-Paul Jourdan, *La Révolution dans le département des Basses-Pyrénées, 1789-1799* (Le Coteau: Horvath, 1989), 93.

differences; the federations, Michélet said, were ‘the death of geography.’”²² On the one hand, elected members of all of the regional National Guard militia were to convene in Paris for a grand oath-swearing ceremony alongside the regular military, and on the other, each town in the provinces held its own celebration and conducted its own oath-swearing ceremony at the same time as the one in Paris on July 14, 1790. Ozouf further expounds: “Simultaneity, topographical equality, dynamic image of unity, and also perhaps, as Jaurès suggested, a revolutionary ferment injected into the ranks of a regular army not particularly favorable to the Revolution: it was in these ways that the Federation left a durable imprint on the national imagination.”²³ It was through this *Fête de la Fédération* that cities like Pau and Bayonne, but also smaller towns such as Nay and Saint-Pée, enacted full civic participation in the building of a French nation.

This first *Fête de la Fédération* in provincial towns followed many older ceremonial patterns, such as the celebration of Mass, a singing of the *Te Deum*, and the delivery of official speeches, but each town leader and municipal officer also pronounced a civic oath, repeated by the gathered assembly. The novelty of the ceremony was in the varied amalgamation of festive traditions,²⁴ which were ultimately meant to symbolize the message of liberty and equality. In Pau, like elsewhere around the country, these formal events were followed by town festivities including dancing, banquets, and decorative illuminations. In Nay, a small town southeast of Pau, even the priest joined in the dancing of the *farandole*: “the sir priest, equally eager to bear

²² Ozouf, and Jules Michelet, Qtd. in, *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1989), 65.

²³ Ibid. 72.

²⁴ Ozouf, *La fête révolutionnaire*, 66, describes it as a veritable, “mixing of disparate elements. A verbal and visual syncretism...” / “le brassage d’éléments disparates. Un syncrétisme verbal et visuel...”

witness to his patriotism, came and danced the farandole and thus everyone ran around the whole town with the drums and all the music.”²⁵

Pau was also celebrating the recomposition of its local militia, called the “Gardes du berceau d’Henri IV/ Guardians of Henry IV’s Cradle.” After months of civil conflict between factions of this local militia as well as between the local bourgeoisie and the working class in Pau, the national assembly approved and reinforced these new militia troops backed by the Pau municipality. On June 27, 1790 (ahead of the national celebrations), a solemn festival gathered all of the national militias of the département of the Basses-Pyrénées, who along with the “Cradle Guardians” swore the federal oath of allegiance. A day such as this called for solemn pomp, as well as festivities and dancing for the common townspeople. Even before sunrise, cannons announced festival preparations, and trumpets and drums were heard, calling everyone to participate.²⁶ After the processions and speeches, a large orchestra played “brilliant symphonies” and “airs appropriate to the holiday” to the utmost joy of everyone present.²⁷ After the swearing of the oath, the tricolored flags led more processions accompanied by loud and beautiful music. But it seems most of all that public joy was manifested in this grand occasion through dance:

As joy erupted in this way everywhere within the walls of the city, the Patriotic Ball was opened in the middle of Bayard Court, the pathways were flooded with people; the gaiety that reigned in everyone’s hearts was painted on everyone’s faces; the dance was animated by an excellent orchestra: the dancing continued until nine o’clock.²⁸

²⁵ Qtd in Jourdan, *La Révolution*, 106. “le sieur curé également empressé de rendre témoignage de son patriotisme s’y rendit et dansa la farandole et on courut ainsi toute la ville avec les tambours et toute la musique.”

²⁶ In Claude Laharie, *La Révolution dans les Basses- Pyrénées* (Biarritz: Adpa, 1989), 155. From “Recit de la Federation du 27 juin 1790,” Bibliotheque Municipale de Pau, EE 1912/8 (now probably in Archives Communales de Pau at the Usine des Tramways)

²⁷ Ibid. 156. “symphonies brillantes, et des airs analogues à la Fête. La joie étoit peinte sur tous les visages...”

²⁸ Ibid. 156. “Tandis que la joie éclatoit ainsi de tout part dans l’enceinte de la Ville, on fit l’ouverture d’un Bal patriotique au milieu du Cours-Bayard, les allées étoient inondées de monde; la gaieté qui régnoit dans tous les coeurs se peignoit sur tous les visages; la danse étoit animée par un excéente Orchestre: on dansa ainsi jusques à neuf heures.”

But no sooner had the crowds dispersed than they were called back by the sound of drums and music leading a huge multitude:

Everyone rushes over once more, shouts of joy are heard, people show up at their windows, the streets are filled, everyone asks, each finds out for him/herself, and one learns that the subject of such general happiness is the Cradle of Henry IV that they have just fetched from the patriotic altar and that is being marched in triumph through all the streets. [After it is taken to the Castle,] there was dancing for the rest of the night; all the Castle's rooms were filled with people, the ball was magnificent until six in the morning.²⁹

One cannot help but wonder who was actually participating in this “public joy,” and whether the following 14th of July festivities were quite as grand.

In Bayonne, the *Fête de la Fédération* was celebrated outside the city walls, among the different military regiments, marine troops, and local militias. The militia even demanded that the town musicians stay in Bayonne for the festival, though they had been summoned to perform for the ceremonies in Dax.³⁰ As in the rest of France, the local militia swore allegiance before the municipal officers and the town clergy. The festivities included a banquet organized by the militia, dancing, and illuminations. Besides the clear roles of the military and the religious, accounts stay silent about the participation of the rest of the urban population.

SAINT-PÉE'S NATIONAL FEAST DAY

By the time another year had passed and it was time to commemorate the 14th of July again, several towns had installed official patriotic altars where the first *Fête de la Fédération* had taken place, or left the original altars in place. In the Basque town of Saint-Pée, this *Fête de la Nation* of 1791 brought into play several elements of festival organization and newer

²⁹ Ibid. 156. “L'on accourt de nouveau, des cris d'alégresse se font entendre, l'on sort aux fenêtres, toutes les rues sont garnies, l'on demande, chacun s'informe, et l'on apprend que le sujet de ce contentement général, est le Berceau d'Henri IV qu'on venoit de chercher sur l'Autel de la patrie, et que l'on promenoit en triomphe dans toutes les rues. (...) L'on dansa pendant le reste de la nuit; toutes les Salles du Château étoient remplies de monde, le bal fut magnifique jusques à six heures du matin.”

³⁰ Pierre Hourmat, *Histoire de Bayonne*, (Bayonne: Société des sciences, lettres et arts de Bayonne, 1986), 46.

ceremonial aspects for which detailed municipal records have survived. Again, the local National Guard played the main role, leading the procession from the church, around the local castle, to the town's altar to the *Patrie*.³¹ Yet the records also show the active participation of the clergy, not only in leading the Mass and *Te Deum* at the open-air patriotic altar, but also in leading the speeches about civic duty. The local priest, Salvat Marithoury, was described as being "the first perhaps in all of France to have sworn the oath prescribed by the public functionaries..."³² His civic speech was constantly interrupted by approving applause and tears of emotion. According to these local records, the Saint-Pée clergy, then, was at the time an example of the civic alliance between the Church and the State.

Besides the military, the clergy, and the municipal officers, however, the records show no other participants.³³ Though these formal celebrations could very well have been an exclusive affair of the convoked military, religious, and municipal council, a few disparate accounts give brief glimpses of townspeople's involvement. In the case of the 1791 festival at Saint-Pée, a song published in the nineteenth century can reconstitute the roles some of the townspeople would have played in these public festivities, or at least help us perceive some possible reactions to these revolutionary events. Known as "Nazioneko Besta Semperen" (National Feast Day at Saint-Pée), this satirical song by an unknown author was first published in February of 1845 by Augustin Chaho in his weekly newspaper, *Ariel: Courrier des Pyrénées*.³⁴ It uses a thirteen-syllable line structure with coupled rhymes throughout thirteen stanzas but has no indicated

³¹ Manex Goyhenetche quotes these municipal records extensively, *Histoire générale*, 257-259.

³² Ibid. 258. "le premier peut-être de toute la France qui ait prêté le serment prescrit pour les fonctionnaires publics..."

³³ As Goyhenetche observes, "...the question is knowing to what extent these festive demonstrations reflected any compliance from the local population." Ibid., 259. "...la question est de savoir dans quelle mesure ces manifestations festives reflétaient l'adhésion de la population locale."

³⁴ Augustin Chaho, "Poésie Cantabre," *Ariel*, 9 February 1845. Consulted on 18 Feb. 2015, <http://bibliotheque.numerique.mediathèque.bayonne.fr/collection/120-ariel/?n=19>. Unfortunately, all that is included with the song is a note stating it is from half a century ago (then), and that Chaho used the standard Basque spelling he and Antoine d'Abbadie had adopted. The song was reprinted in various later historians' works on the period, but no version contains any more information. The tune is never indicated either.

song tune. Though this mixing of lowbrow Basque poetry form with less common, varied rhymes could indicate a learned author, as Jean Haritschelhar and others have suggested,³⁵ the author's unknown identity unfortunately obscures any definitive reading of the poem. But in a sense, we do have multiple ways to read it as satire.

Though the first verse is the only one to provide specific identifiable information – the time (big national feast day) and place (Saint-Pée) – the song paints a vivid picture of town characters' engagement in the festivities. This first verse also introduces the character of the town priest, who invites everyone to come celebrate the holiday. In the second verse, we learn that this invitation was only met by the town's old women: "Some crooked old ladies (*atso*), dressed in their finest,/ Met in the town square, on (previous) agreement,/ Finding it empty,/ They left for the bar with heavy hearts."³⁶ The song goes on to describe how these women try to recover a sense of patriotic festiveness: first by sharing a meal and many drinks at the bar, accompanied by shouts of "Biba nazionea! / Long live the Nation!" then by striking up some lively dancing, and finally by returning to the town square. Yet when the old women arrive in the square, this time full of people, they are met with ridicule: "The dancing done, the ancients/ Made their way outside, their pockets empty;/ As they arrived in the square, their faces red,/ The whole crowd burst out in laughter."³⁷ The square is now full of people, but again, are those townspeople, or just the military and the officials?

³⁵ Jean Haritschelhar, "Nazioneko besta: 'La fête de la Nation'," *1789 et les Basques: Histoire, langue et littérature* (Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 1991), 211-218.

³⁶ I use the versions included in Haritschelhar, *Ibid.*, and also in Pierre Haristoy, *Les paroisses du Pays Basque pendant la période révolutionnaire* (Pau: impr. de Vignancour, 1895), 281-284. "Atso zahar batzuek, ongi apaindurik,/ Plazara bildu dira, elgar aditurik,/ Ikusi dutenean han etzela deusik,/ Ostatura joan ziren, bihotzak ilunik." Both Haritschelhar (p. 212) and Haristoy (p. 283) explain that "Atso" is a unique Basque derogatory term for old ladies. Haritschelhar points out that "atso zahar" is a contemptuous redundancy that is often seen in satirical poems, perhaps a kind of stock character.

³⁷ "Dantzatu direnean, arbaso zaharrak/ Kanporat ilki dira, husturik sakelak;/ Plazan arribatzean, bisaiak gorririk,/ Mundu guzia zagon irriz zabaldurik." Haritschelhar notes that the choice of "arbaso," meaning "ancestor," increases the level of irony here in referring to these women, who moreover have just finished dancing vigorously and have probably gained a few years, 213-214.

The second main movement of the song presents a “grotesque dance,” as Haritschelhar labels it, led by the town priest. When the old women arrive at the square, the priest timidly invites them to resume their dancing, offering to join them. They respond: “We need you to guide us! / The clumsy weight concedes to being the head dancer, / To lead all the old ladies.”³⁸ This is when the satire turns towards the grotesque, because the head dancer (*aintzin gidari*) is usually associated with being the best dancer, the most agile, and the most elegant. And here, the priest is described as a “clumsy weight” (*trunkoa* meaning, literally, “trunk”). He is moreover put in the position of guide (*gidari*) for these (probably equally clumsy) women. As Haritschelhar writes:

The word *gidari* makes us smile when we think that in the Christian community, the priest is usually the spiritual “guide,” and that for the National Holiday he has been assigned the role of “guide” or dance leader. Spiritually leading the flock or herd is part of his duties; the downward spiral happens in his leading the dance.³⁹

The awkward dancing priest, the old drunk ladies – the cast of characters here has clearly been downgraded to caricatures. And yet even these caricatures show a satirical hierarchy; for in the next verse, the old women are the first to ridicule and laugh at the dancing priest. The situation continues to degenerate, as the song describes the women’s husbands raging with anger at not finding them at home, and rushing to the town square. But the priest very quickly makes peace, inviting the men to take a drink and toast to the Nation on this festive day. As a further caricature of his role as spiritual leader, he bids everyone to drink up and “go in peace.” Haritschelhar observes this as a “sort of ‘Ita misa est’ of a patriotic liturgy for which he was the high priest.”⁴⁰

³⁸ “Zu beharko zaitugu oren gidari! / Emaiten da trunkoa aintzin-gidaritzat, / Atso zahar guzien gobernatzaleztat.”

³⁹ Haritschelhar, “Nazioneko besta,” 214. “Le mot *gidari* prête à sourire quand on songe que dans la communauté chrétienne le prêtre est normalement le « guide » spirituel et que pour la fête de la Nation on lui assigne le rôle de « guide » ou de meneur de danse. Conduire spirituellement les ouailles ou le troupeau est dans ses attributions, la dérivation se fait dans la conduite pour la danse.”

⁴⁰ Ibid., 216. “sort d’ « Ita misa est » d’une liturgie patriotique dont il était le grand prêtre.”

“Nazioneko Besta” thus offers several views of a Basque town festival. It builds a lively picture of the kinds of reactions people in a small town like Saint-Pée would have had to a “grand festival / *besta* haundia.” If taken at face value, we can note that only old women (those freer to spend their time not working, perhaps?) were attending the event with excitement, while the men resentfully joined in only after a hard day’s work. Even then, the song posits that groups of people (the women) could form and celebrate in their own way, dancing at the local pub, for example, even when there was no timely, wider consensus. We can imagine that some sort of music was being provided for so much dancing, and that quite a bit of drinking was happening. And we can also picture the sort of teasing, sometimes ridiculing, camaraderie that developed between groups, and between these groups and the clergy. A clergy, furthermore, that was making efforts to connect with the people, perhaps to show them how things were changing in this new Republic.

It is surprising that the military never enters as a character in the song, nor is even mentioned. Yet it played the main role in the municipal accounts of the event, and considerably so, given its size for a small town like Saint-Pée: “The National Guard of Saint-Pée, numbering nine companies of fifty men each...”⁴¹ Four hundred fifty men would have been processing around town starting at ten in the morning. It is an image that is hard to reconcile with the empty square the old ladies find, even if the time is never precisely given. Could this be a clue to the close contemporaneity of the song, written in a pre-Terror time when ridiculing a revolutionary clergy was still relatively safe, but lambasting the military was too risky? Or on the contrary, is this a later account that had already forgotten the military presence? Perhaps this satirist had simply chosen as his/her main objective to mock the new revolutionary spirit endorsed by the old women (who could stand in for any ridiculed scapegoat) and the clergy. As

⁴¹ Qtd in Goyhenetche, *Histoire générale*, 257. “La garde nationale de Saint-Pée, au nombre de neuf compagnies de cinquante hommes chacun...”

we shall see, many Basques' vehement dissent to dechristianizing measures during the Terror gravely tainted their views of revolutionary liberal ideals.

PATRIOTIC POPULAR SOCIETIES

The period of the Legislative and Conventional assemblies (1790-1792) also saw the rise of political clubs and *sociétés populaires* all throughout France. As Goyhenetche observes: “[they] took over from ancient structures of sociability (confraternities, corporations) and served as the political framework.”⁴² In Bayonne, the “Société des Amis de la Constitution de Bayonne” gathered for the first time in June of 1790. Their goal, according to the petition written to the Municipal board on November 26, 1790,⁴³ was “to always propagate in this region the purest patriotism.”⁴⁴ Yet this push towards patriotism, even then, was not without its naysayers. In a petition signed that same day in November 1790, the Society denounced the pamphlet “Le courrier de Paris avec 83 Départements” as libelous against it and the citizens of Bayonne. The Society demanded the author be made known, considering “that it is time finally to reprimand the insolence of these criminals, who seek to mislead the people by slandering the good citizens” and deciding to “denounce to Msrs. the Municipal Officers this incendiary writing, whose impetus seems to come from our surroundings.”⁴⁵ To the members of the

⁴² Goyhenetche, *Histoire générale*, 250. “..qui prirent le relais des anciennes structures de sociabilité (confréries, corporations) et servirent d’ossature politique.”

⁴³ See Josette Pontet, “La société des Amis de la Constitution de Bayonne, Juillet 1790-juillet 1793,” *Annales du Midi* 208 (1994): 425-449.

⁴⁴ “Pétition de plusieurs citoyens de la ville pour prévenir le corps de leurs assemblées sous le titre d’Amis de la Constitution,” 26 Nov. 1790, Société des Amis de la Constitution to Messieurs les officiers municipaux de la Ville de Bayonne, E Depot Bayonne 2 I Art. 3, AD-PAB. “notre unique but tiendra toujours à propager dans ce pays le plus pur patriotisme”

⁴⁵ “Pétition de la Société des Amis de la Constitution formée à Bayonne avec le libelle imprimé y attaché” (libel pamphlet not extant), Société des Amis de la Constitution to Messieurs les officiers municipaux de la Ville de Bayonne, 26 Nov. 1790, E Depot Bayonne 2 I Art. 3, AD-PAB. “qu’il est temps enfin de reprimer l’insolence de ces scélérats, qui tachent d’égarer le peuple en calomniant les bons citoyens” “(a unanimement arrêté de denoncer à M.M. les officiers municipaux cet écrit incendiaire dont l’impulsion semble venir de nos environs.” See also Pontet,

Society, the patriotism of Bayonne's citizens was clearly at stake. In a later petition, the Society further detailed its mission: "of knowing the new laws well, which establish and assure the liberty of all Frenchmen and regenerate all the parts of public organization..."⁴⁶ Yet again, maligning rumors critiquing its practices prompted the members' decision to open up its sessions to all citizens of Bayonne once a week.⁴⁷

These early versions of local patriotic societies were organized by enthusiasts of the new liberties being promoted - lawyers and administrators as well as priests.⁴⁸ In Bayonne, merchants and the commercial sector of society were the most represented in the list of the Society's members taken at the end of 1791, making up about forty percent of the approximately 150 members total.⁴⁹ Military officers, and even regular soldiers from the regiment based in Bayonne, joined the Society enthusiastically and added another hundred or so members, though they were not admitted until later in May 1791 and were only accorded a secondary status within the society.⁵⁰ Other members came mainly from health professions, intellectual professions (such as writers and notaries), and food professions (such as bakers). Yet notably, as historian Josette Pontet writes: "For merchants, one can estimate that about one in three still adhered to the Society in December 1791. This commitment is significant for a social group that often passes for being uninterested in politics. Apparently, in Bayonne, things are different."⁵¹ Among these merchant-trade Society members, a diversity of wealth and status

"La Société," 445. The accusations were that practically all the Bayonnais were full of the "venom" of counter-Revolution, that they welcomed numerous foreigners/Spaniards living in flamboyant luxury.

⁴⁶ Petition de la Société des Amis de la Constitution, 18 April 1791, E Depot Bayonne 2 I Art. 3, AD-PAB, fol. 1. "...de bien connoitre les nouvelles Loix qui etablissent et assurent la liberte de tous les Francois et regenerent toutes les parties de l'organisation publique..."

⁴⁷ Ibid. fol. 2.

⁴⁸ See also Jourdan, *La Révolution*, 102.

⁴⁹ Josette Pontet, "La Société," 427-428. This accounted for approximately 10% of the active citizens in Bayonne, who were counted in 1789-1790.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 426.

⁵¹ Ibid. 429. "Pour les négociants, on peut estimer qu'environ un sur trois adhéraît à la Société encore en décembre 1791. Cet engagement est tout à fait considérable pour un groupe social qui passe souvent pour ne pas s'intéresser

was represented, ranging from modest to affluent. Despite this relative diversity, the membership fees were not negligible, however,⁵² and this probably accounted for the low participation rate of the city's peasants and poor classes. The Bayonne Society was also composed of rather young members, with the average age not quite reaching forty.⁵³ After the summer of 1791, original members of the Society started to disappear from the records, as new recruits and a strong military participation took over. At the start, the Society's mission was to "defend until the last drop of our blood the Constitution decreed by the National Assembly and sanctioned by the King,"⁵⁴ but following the king's failed attempt to escape Paris in 1791, positions began to harden. By the spring of 1792, the club which had started as a constitutionalist institution began to show deeper Girondist colors.

Like many other patriotic societies, Bayonne's Society initially met three to four times a week, and it met even more frequently as the king's failed escape and the turn of events that year intensified political debates. Members partook in smaller committees to address local and national issues. One of the most influential committees of the Society before its radicalization was that of Correspondence. This committee maintained and contributed to a large network of similar societies all over France in its exchange and circulation of information, and helped develop public opinion.⁵⁵ Societies across France also put pressure on each other through their

à la politique. Apparemment, à Bayonne, il en va autrement." Pontet thinks that most Bayonnais merchants had the common interest of maintaining the port's *franchise* (tax exemption), which united them across the board and probably motivated their participation in the Society.

⁵² Around 15 *livres* according to Ibid. 431.

⁵³ Ibid. 431.

⁵⁴ Qtd in Ibid. 437. "Défendre jusqu'à la dernière goutte de notre sang la constitution décrétée par l'Assemblée nationale et sanctionnée par le Roi."

⁵⁵ Pontet notes that between July 1790 and August 1792, the Society of the Friends of the Constitution in Bayonne corresponded with at least 85 different cities, especially in the southern provinces and the East, p. 441-442. As Pontet argues, "This correspondence, which built a vast dialogue across a large area of the kingdom on the current issues of debate and the fundamental problems of the political process, was essential. It created a collection of references shared by all of the societies, it reinforced the notion of national belonging and of membership in the revolutionary process." / "Cette correspondance, qui nouait un vaste dialogue à travers une bonne partie du royaume sur les questions d'actualité qui se posaient, sur les problèmes de fond du fonctionnement politique, a été

correspondence, regarding controversial national issues such as the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, the issue of emigration, and the declaration of war. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy sparked initial debate and division, but the Society went on to support the oath and the constitutional clergy and made substantial efforts to promote this renewed religion.

These efforts often required an adaptation of national decrees and ideologies to the Basque language to be able to promote them among the local population, which was largely resistant to the new measures. The Society patronized the printing and distribution of a local revolutionary catechism in both French and Basque – reaching over a thousand copies total – sent out to members of the Society, the military, and the surrounding Basque parishes, but its influence was very limited in the region’s general refractory climate.⁵⁶ Nonetheless, Bayonne had to consider its strategic geographical position in its role in promoting new political ideas and educating the citizenry. Though it did deal in part with local practical issues like poverty and bread prices, the Bayonne Society focused most of its debates on the pressing questions of the religious and ideological reorganization of society, the restructuring of functions in local government, elections, and the army stationed in the city.⁵⁷ As these debates surged across the country, the Society enabled the learning of political practice through voting and debating these current issues. It instilled a “political sociability” as well, though it did less to promote

essentielle. Elle créait un fonds de références commun à l'ensemble des sociétés, elle renforçait le sentiment d'appartenance nationale et d'adhésion au processus de la Révolution.”

⁵⁶ Ibid. 446-447. “Dans une région de contact comme Bayonne, le handicap de la langue pour la pénétration des idées nouvelles a été bien perçu par la Société, d'où ses efforts pour diffuser les nouveaux catéchismes en basque, d'où encore le projet de traduire en basque la constitution, projet qui n'eut pas de suite. Mais, vue de loin, Bayonne paraît surtout en contact avec l'Espagne: sa proximité explique les inquiétudes sur une possible attaque des Espagnols; mais elle explique aussi...la considéraient comme le point de départ de la diffusion des idées révolutionnaires en Espagne...” / “In a high-contact region like that of Bayonne, the language obstacle in the advancement of new ideas was acutely perceived by the Society; hence its efforts to diffuse the new catechisms in Basque, or the project to translate the constitution to Basque, a project which did not see fruition. Yet, seen from afar, Bayonne appears to be a point of contact especially with Spain: its proximity explains the concerns about a possible attack from the Spanish; but it explains also... [that Bayonne was] considered a point of departure for the diffusion of revolutionary ideas into Spain...”

⁵⁷ Ibid. 448.

civic festivals and celebrations.⁵⁸ Perhaps this explains the formation of a derivative group, called “sons of active citizens,” whose club organized forms of entertainment for the city.

By the end of the year 1791, after much debate, the Society formed among its numerous other special committees a kind of surveillance committee as had appeared throughout France. In Bayonne, it was named the “Comité de confiance” and was made up of six, then twelve, elected members of the most involved and radical citizens. Its main functions were to survey matters of public order, such as the wearing of the tricolor cockade, to enforce discipline, to hear denunciations, and to transmit these to the governmental authorities.⁵⁹ Not until the fall of 1793, however, did a more radical political society take over, the Republican Society of the Sans-Culottes of Bayonne, in which a surveillance committee held a more prominent role.

A patriotic society was likewise founded in Pau in December 1790, also called the “Amis de la Constitution,” but the two societies had no particularly significant contact or correspondence. Many of the most influential members of the Society in Pau came from the ranks of the constitutionalist Benedictines of St. Maur who ran the College de Pau up until the Revolution. Among these professor-priests, who often gave rousing speeches in both the private sessions of the patriotic society and the official civic ceremonies, were the newly elected constitutional bishop Dom Barthélémy Jean-Baptiste Sanadon and his vicar-general Dom Augustin Sordes. Unlike in Bayonne, where the influence of juring constitutional priests was minimal, the revolutionary patriotic society of Pau was initially under the strong influence of these educated religious.⁶⁰ They even proposed reforms to the educational curriculum to elevate and develop new revolutionary critical thinking. According to historian Jean-Baptiste

⁵⁸ Ibid. 449.

⁵⁹ Ibid. 436

⁶⁰ See Part II of Jean-Baptiste Laborde, “Un club féminin pendant la Révolution: La Société des Amies de la Constitution de Pau,” (Pau: Lescher-Moutoué, 1911), 6.

Laborde, it was the particular mission of Father Sordes to harness the influence of women in the propagation of this new revolutionary spirit. Sordes felt strongly that:

The opinion directed by women will designate the center, where all the rays must come together. It will sully the detractors of our laws, who still lament the ridiculous trifles of their pride, and it will prepare a new generation in which the children, sucking a love for the new constitution along with their milk, will have no choice but to live for the greater public interest.⁶¹

Yet, since its founding in 1790 to its dissolution almost a year later, the men's *Club des Amis* refused to admit women. So Sordes set out to organize a group of women who would learn and embody new theories of liberty, equality, and civic duty and at the same time become "apostles" of these political concepts. He must have found that Pau already had a growing group of organized women, or at least interested women, who would later come to be called the corresponding "Amies de la Constitution."

Though certainly not exceptional - many women's patriotic clubs sprung up all around France at this time - Pau's Société des Amies de la Constitution is seemingly the only one of its kind to have left an impact on this region. The unfolding story (of which the Society is just the initial part) of women's roles in the political culture of Pau paints a representative picture of the national views of female political participation. Formed likewise in 1790 and disappearing a year later along with the men's Society, the female *Amies* of the Constitution made waves in the political life of the département when they organized a civic commemorative feast on the 7th of August, 1791, gathering hundreds of female citizens to pledge their civic oath of loyalty to the Constitution. The *fête* was first proposed during the club's session on July 15, 1791, as a "Fédération du 7 août" commemorating the previous year's abolition of privileges. However,

⁶¹ Qtd in Ibid. 33, from Sordes's "Discours prononcé après la Messe que les Citoyennes firent célébrer le Dimanche 7 du mois d'Août sur l'autel de la Patrie." "L'opinion dirigée par les femmes... va désigner le centre, où tous les rayons doivent aboutir. Elle flétrira les détracteurs de nos loix qui pleurent encore les ridicules hochets de leur orgueil, et préparera une nouvelle génération dont les enfants suçant avec le lait l'amour de la constitution nouvelle, ne pourront plus vivre que dans l'élément du grand intérêt public."

the Society came into conflict with Pau's municipal leaders over this celebration,⁶² and so we have records of this relatively early instance of gender conflict in the formation of civic roles.

The women's "Feast of the Federation" of August 7, 1791 was a success, despite rain and the municipality's disapproval. Its ritualistic events unfolded in an environment of calm "fraternity" and patriotism. Escorted by the National Guard, the female citizens dressed in white and tricolored ribbons followed their liberty banner to the sounds of marching music. These "four hundred" women, marching between two lines of young students, were joined by members of the district and departmental administration and members of the male patriotic society.⁶³ The printed report which describes these ceremonial details notes that, "However easy it is to describe the order with which this procession made its way to the patriotic altar, it is equally difficult to express the sweet emotions felt by the sensitive souls in this gathering, which announced the coming reunion of all spirits and all hearts in the bosom of the homeland."⁶⁴ According to this report, the patriotism of the women was felt keenly by all. After a Mass celebrated by the abbé Sordes, the patriotic women gathered swore their civic oath.

By the fall of 1791, both *Sociétés* in Pau had closed down. It took a year to reorganize the patriotic citizens into a new club, called the "Société des Amis de la Liberté et de l'Egalité," in December of 1792. By 1793, this club was renamed the "Société républicaine et montagnarde," and just like the Republican Society of the Sans-Culottes of Bayonne, these patriotic societies reflected the increasing political radicalization that had started since the summer of 1792. In Pau's Republican Society, women were invited to attend the club meetings, sitting apart in a special, reserved section. It was a tricky matter to balance women's civic participation with the

⁶² Laborde, "Un club féminin."

⁶³ Ibid. 30. Qtd from the printed, "Rétation d'une fête civique célébrée par les citoyennes de la ville de Pau le dimanche 7 du mois d'août, la troisième année de la Liberté."

⁶⁴ Qtd in Ibid. 30. "S'il est facile de décrire l'ordre avec lequel tout ce cortège se rendit à l'autel de la patrie, il est difficile d'exprimer les douces émotions qu'éprouvèrent les âmes sensibles, par ce rapprochement, qui annonçoit la réunion prochaine de tous les esprits et de tous les cœurs dans le sein de la patrie."

gender roles that remained entrenched in society. In the later Jacobin ideology, males represented the strong citizen defending the nation and Republic, while females balanced the virility of the leadership with important feminine virtues. Their role was to “soften and educate” the hearts of men:

...[in Jacobin views] the real danger represented by the *Société des citoyennes républicaines révolutionnaires* was that it would turn ‘citoyennes’ into heartless and virilized caricatures of ‘citoyens,’ who would abandon the sweet feminine virtues of domestic life. Should this happen, ‘citoyens’ would be deprived of the domestic tranquility, intimacy, and affection that are a condition of their ability to act virtuously in the public sphere.⁶⁵

Accounts in the Society’s records of fights breaking out over the intrusion of men in the women’s reserved seats or of women’s dubious conduct also indicate a growing disdain for female participation in public political life.⁶⁶ By October 30, 1793, the Paris Committee on Public Safety outlawed the participation of women in patriotic popular societies. The committee also brought back censorship in theater and the arts, as well as in patriotic clothing and expression. In the radicalized emphasis of the Jacobin years on equality and a homogenized revolutionary culture, uniformity was key and communal political participation was again conjugated male.

Records of the region’s patriotic societies demonstrate this radicalization in the years 1793-1794. The daily entries almost all begin with some variant of, “The session opens with some patriotic singing...”, as in the meeting on Fructidor 2, year II: “The singing of hymns of

⁶⁵ William H. Sewell, Jr. “Le citoyen/la citoyenne: Activity, Passivity, and the Revolutionary Concept of Citizenship,” in *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture, Vol. 2: The Political Culture of the French Revolution*, (New York: Pergamon Press, 1988), 119.

⁶⁶ Sewell explains further in *Ibid.* 120: “Public virtue, which the Jacobins coded as masculine, was the essence of the republic, but public virtue was impossible to sustain without private ‘moeurs,’ which the Jacobins coded as feminine. In the Jacobins’ eyes, women’s participation in politics threatened to denature women, which would destroy private ‘moeurs,’ which in turn would undermine public virtue. Outlawing popular societies of women therefore was necessary to the preservation of the republic.”

liberty, and the repeated cries of *vive la République* announce the opening of the session...”⁶⁷

The communal, choral participation of singing enacted for many of these patriots their belief in social homogeneity. By the years 1793-1794, however, this social homogeneity was exclusionary and restrictive, and used to reinforce the increasingly radical Terror agenda.

Patriotic popular societies thus held different roles of influence and created different opportunities for participation in the political culture of the region. Though about thirty-four clubs were registered at any given time in the département, probably around a hundred of these societies sprung up during this time, though most had an ephemeral existence.⁶⁸ These societies not only offered their members an important education in the political culture of democracy; they also propagated that culture out to the broader society through their organization of patriotic feast days. By late 1793, these popular societies, singing their patriotic hymns at each gathering, were working closely with the *représentants en mission* and the local revolutionary government, lending these new, more extreme directives their “popular” and unanimous support.

By 1795, the departmental representative Izoard ordered the closure of all patriotic societies in both the Hautes- and Basses-Pyrénées. The printed decree considers that a large part of the population was in the army, in a public service job, or working in the fields, and also that, “the popular societies, for these different motives, could become an arena of furious demagogues once more, and the hotbed of intrigue or extravagance. That already in one of the Societies, the cry of seditious factions was dared, wanting to destroy the national

⁶⁷ “Registre des procès verbaux de la société de Bayonne,” 1793, E Depot Bayonne 2 I 15, AD-PAB. “La séance s’ouvre par des chants Patriotiques...” “Les chants des hymnes à la liberté, et les cris répétés de vive la République annoncent l’ouverture de la séance...”

⁶⁸ Laharie, *La Révolution dans les Basses-Pyrénées*, 175.

convention...”⁶⁹ Clubs were closed, and records and keys were to be handed over to the municipality. As Laborde describes with the participation in women’s clubs (albeit with a certain bias), the popular patriotic clubs had increasingly gathered the most fanatical of citizens. Indeed, Laborde had an interest in seeing, by reading between the lines of the Society’s records, that generally most people, and most women, of Pau, “Despite the violence, the momentum, the fines, and the guillotine... did not let go of either their religion, or their religious feasts.”⁷⁰ He argued that the “good sense, moderation, intellectual and moral stability, prudence and just aspirations, all characteristics which define the Bearnese temperament, got the upper hand of these revolutionary violences.”⁷¹

So what did the rest of these more moderate locals do as the climate of the Revolution turned to Terror? How did most of these women continue to practice their religious rituals during the period of dechristianization? The next section will explore these questions, focusing on particular cases of musical resistance to measures of dechristianization and the Terror.

A DOCTOR, A PRIEST, AND AN ANGRY CROWD: MUSICAL REACTIONS TO DECHRISTIANIZATION

The first part of this chapter has given a view into how certain specific sectors of town society participated in civic education and political culture through their involvement in revolutionary festivals and patriotic popular societies. Music and singing in these cases served

⁶⁹ “Fermeture des Sociétés Populaires des Basses-Pyrénées,” 1795, E Depot Bayonne A 117, AD-PAB. “les Sociétés populaires, par ces differens motifs, pourroient redevenir une arène de demagogues furieux, et le foyer d'intrigue ou de l'extravagance. Que déjà dans une des Sociétés, on a osé élever le cri de la sédition des factieux qui ont voulu détruire la Convention nationale...”

⁷⁰ Laborde, *Un club féminin*, 53. “Malgré les violences, l'entraînement, les amendes et la guillotine, la population paloise ne se détacha ni de sa religion, ni de ses fêtes religieuses.”

⁷¹ Ibid. 54. “Le bon sens, la mesure, l'équilibre intellectuel et moral, la prudence et la justesse des aspirations, toutes ces caractéristiques du temperament Bearnese, eurent raison des violences révolutionnaires...”

the functions of rallying communal participation, ordering marching processions, teaching revolutionary values, and drawing crowds. Though fewer extant examples remain, songs in some cases also provided opportunities to voice discontent, mock revolutionary patriotism, and critique the changing revolutionary regime. As intolerance grew during the Jacobin years of the Revolution, and agents of the Terror tightened control over all aspects of public life, a few remnants of private musical lives reveal the local struggle to resist oppression.

THE CIVIL CONSTITUTION OF THE CLERGY IN THE BASSES-PYRÉNÉES

The Civil Constitution of the Clergy (CCC) was arguably the single most disruptive and divisive revolutionary measure to hit this region. Desperate conditions of famine and scarcity continued through the revolutionary decade, made worse by the war with Spain, and the years of the Terror brought extreme, incendiary decrees, restrictions, accusations, and purges of any anti-revolutionary agents. But the CCC was at the root of a majority of local conflicts since its implementation in January and February of 1791.

At that point, the Church in France had already lost much of its power, property, and privileges through measures passed by the National Constituent Assembly. But the CCC meant a clear schism from papal authority and had the effect of creating two competing sets of clergy: one who would swear allegiance to the Constitution and be under command of the state, and one who would refuse to swear allegiance to secular powers and thus live in increasing peril from ensuing dechristianizing acts. This choice imposed by the government could be an extremely personal and dangerous one for some, as Timothy Tackett describes; different from any previous revolutionary commitments: “Far from the earlier ritual communions of patriotic affirmation, the ecclesiastical oath staked out a real and deadly serious obligation, wherein a

failure to conform entailed a clergyman's ejection from his functions and his ostracism from the community of the Revolutionary nation."⁷² But as Goyhenetche writes, it was also a decision that would have widespread social repercussions:

It is true that viewed from up close, the new measures imposed a pared-down religion, but they led to rifts in social customs and provoked... confrontations within communities which had otherwise been favorable to the revolutionary cause. A type of civil war settled in between two churches, each with its partisans and its faithful. The impact of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was double-sided: it took a weight off the popular working classes, but it also represented a deep social division in the practices of the population.⁷³

As we shall explore, communities in the Basses-Pyrénées were torn apart by their allegiances to either the state-supported constitutional juror priests or the old refractory order. For many, especially devout women, this issue was the decisive factor which pushed them towards an anti-revolutionary stance.

The CCC made several practical reforms of the Church as well. Dioceses were to encompass the newly formed territories of the départements, so that each département would have only one diocese. In the Basses-Pyrénées this meant that among the three main dioceses of Lescar, Oloron, and Bayonne only one larger diocese would remain, with its episcopal seat at Oloron. Furthermore, parish districts were redrawn, and many smaller parishes eliminated.⁷⁴ The system of electing bishops and appointing priests also changed, giving the power of selecting clergy to the lay departmental and district electoral assemblies. No longer did the pope have any say in appointing his ministers in France. In this way also, priests became salaried public servants, answering to their départements and the state. Finally, all clergy

⁷² Timothy Tackett, *Religion, Revolution, and Regional Culture in Eighteenth-Century France: The Ecclesiastical Oath of 1791* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986), 3.

⁷³ Goyhenetche, *Histoire générale*, 238-239. "Certes, à regarder de près, les nouvelles mesures imposaient une religion dépouillée, mais elles entraînaient des déchirements dans les habitudes sociales, et provoquèrent...des affrontements au sein des communautés pourtant gagnées à la cause révolutionnaire. Une espèce de guerre civile s'installa, entre deux Eglises, chacune ayant ses partisans et ses fidèles. La portée de la Constitution civile du clergé était à double tranchant: elle soulageait le fardeau des couches populaires, mais représentait aussi une rupture sociale profonde dans les pratiques de la population."

⁷⁴ "Circonscription des paroisses," (Pau: Vignancour, n.d.), Serie L, 1 L 26, AD-PAP.

(bishops, parish priests, clerical teachers) had to swear allegiance to the constitutional law, the nation, and the king to maintain their positions. Clergy had one week from the publication of the law in their local towns to conform to it or be replaced.⁷⁵ They were to declare their oath after Mass on a Sunday, in front of their parishioners.

At the beginning of the year in 1791, Béarn had a higher acceptance rate of the Constitutional Oath than the national average.⁷⁶ Only about one-fourth of the clergy in Béarn refused to swear the oath, fifty-eight out of 216 priests. Thirteen agreed to swear but added their own alterations or restrictions to the oath, while 145 swore it without any recorded restrictions.⁷⁷ In the former diocese of Lescar, a little over half the clergy swore allegiance.⁷⁸ In the Basque country, on the other hand, the massive refusal to swear the oath was evident from the very first months of swearing ceremonies. In Ustaritz, the new district capital, for example, only three out of the forty-three ministers took the oath by the fall of 1791. Of the total 180 clergy in the Basque provinces, only twenty-six priests swore allegiance, meaning about eighty-five percent became nonjuring or refractory priests.⁷⁹ This created obvious problems of ecclesiastical organization, not to mention that after Pope Pius VI's condemnation of the oath appeared later in the spring of 1791, many priests retracted the oath they had previously sworn. Replacements had to be found for the numerous abandoned parishes, using the new system of district elections.

⁷⁵ Tackett, *Religion, Revolution, and Regional Culture*, 22.

⁷⁶ Jourdan, *La Révolution*, 109.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 109.

⁷⁸ Tackett, *Religion, Revolution, and Regional Culture*, 349. No information on the diocese of Oloron, which would have been about a third of the departmental diocese.

⁷⁹ Jourdan, *La Révolution*, 109. Tackett includes different statistics for the old Diocese of Bayonne: of the total 133 parish clergy, only 12 took the oath, 9%. No College professors (of 10) swore the oath.

During the debates on the CCC, the bishop of Clermont, one of the more outspoken opponents of the Constitutional Oath sitting on the National Assembly's Ecclesiastical Committee, indicated a restriction to the oath he swore himself: "...in recalling what I must render unto Caesar, I cannot forget what I must render unto God... I make an exception in my oath for everything which concerns spiritual questions."⁸⁰ Many priests likewise added clauses of exception to the oath, which stated that their sworn allegiance to the state did not extend to matters of spirituality, to which they claimed special authority. In Bayonne, for example, Father Darralde added such a phrase to his oath at the end of January in 1791:

I swear to watch over the faithful who have been entrusted to me with care, to be faithful to the Nation, the Law, and the King, and to maintain with all my power the Constitution determined by the National Assembly and accepted by the King, *formally excepting any subjects pertaining essentially to the domain of spiritual authority.*⁸¹

In the letter which accompanies this rewritten oath, Darralde explains that he and his colleagues are too patriotic not to agree with professing their *civic* duties. Yet given the protests coming from church leaders throughout the kingdom, they feel they must follow these initiatives to leave out any promise of obedience in matters of spiritual authority.⁸²

Even as the National Assembly modified the stricter measures of the CCC policy (notably extending the period of toleration towards nonjuring priests to remain in their parishes until their replacement), the eventual scrutiny of popular clubs and municipal administrators over the validity of oaths, along with the pope's revealed antagonism, and most importantly, the election of new constitutional bishops, all brought into stark relief the decision to support or at least tolerate the Revolution. Even as clergymen attempted to make exceptions in their oaths,

⁸⁰ Qtd. in Tackett, *Religion, Revolution, and Regional Culture*, 20.

⁸¹ "Correspondance de Darralde, curé de Bayonne, relative au serment civique que lui-même et ses vicaires s'apprêtent à signer," Manuscript letter, 1791, Culte en période révolutionnaire, E Depot Bayonne 5 P 4, AD-PAB. "Je jure de veiller avec soin sur les fidèles dont la conduite m'est confiée, d'être fidèle à la Nation, à la Loi et au Roi, et de maintenir de tout mon pouvoir la constitution décrétée par l'assemblée Nationale et acceptée par le Roi, Exceptant formellement les objets qui dépendent essentiellement de l'autorité spirituelle." My emphasis.

⁸² Ibid. fol. 1.

Tackett writes: “Soon the acid test distinguishing the constitutionals from the refractories was less one’s oath per se than one’s willingness to accept the new bishop and read his pastoral letters during holy services.”⁸³ In the newly formed Diocese of the Basses-Pyrénées, Jean-Baptiste Sanadon (1727-1797) was elected constitutional bishop on March 2, 1791, and his election soon forced priests to clarify their positions with respect to the revolutionary agenda.

Sanadon, along with some of his colleague professors at the Collège de Pau, embraced the new reforms and liberal ideas at the beginning of the Revolution. They had even proposed an educational reform at the Collège that would incorporate studies of rhetoric based on examples from skilled legislators at the National Assembly and philosophical examinations of the Declaration of the Rights of Man.⁸⁴ Sanadon had to face widespread rejection from the clergy in his diocese, who refused to accept his authority, calling him an “intruder” in the diocese and a “schismatic” and illegitimate leader. At the head of these critiques was the former bishop of Lescar, Marc-Antoine de Noé, who delivered a lambasting mandate on May 10, 1791. According to Bishop Noé, Sanadon declared himself a “public sinner” by his consecration under the Civil Constitution. Noé rejected the way in which Sanadon was elected, stating that only ecclesiastical superiors could have ordained him bishop, according to canon law.⁸⁵ Thus, Sanadon’s position was not only irregular, having been conferred by secular electors, but also schismatic, since the episcopal seat he was occupying was not vacant. Finally, Noé ends his declaration with the denunciation that would perpetuate the ecclesiastical and parochial divisions in the region:

That the brother Sanadon, having never received his mission from the Church, has no power of jurisdiction in our diocese, and that all the acts of jurisdiction that he will wield here will be radically

⁸³ Tackett, *Religion, Revolution, and Regional Culture*, 32.

⁸⁴ Laharie, *La Révolution dans les Basses-Pyrénées*, 158.

⁸⁵ According to canon law, since Sanadon was installed as bishop by civic authority, he had no apostolic authority, and any priests ordained by him were likewise devoid of apostolic authority.

null; that the powers of the priests he will institute in the parishes, and the priests he will approve, will likewise be null.⁸⁶

Regardless of the opposition Sanadon faced, even from his former friends and colleagues, as constitutional bishop he was coerced to follow certain restrictive departmental measures in his role as public servant, even as he practiced a relative toleration towards refractory priests.

In practical terms, before the more severe measures of the Terror targeted these nonjuring priests, the division of the Church into Constitutional and Roman Catholic factions meant that parishioners were divided in their loyalties. Replacements had to be found for abandoned parishes, and often members of former religious orders stepped in. This was a time for career advancement, or at least a stable job, for many opportunistic clergy. Especially in the Basque country, where a majority had rejected the new ecclesiastical order, clergy and parishioners alike continued to follow the old lead of refractory priests. When replacement clerics tried to take over these parishes, they were met with resistance and even harsh rejection from parishioners. Conflicts grew even between juror priests who refused to cooperate with the “intruder” replacement priests within their own parishes.⁸⁷ At the same time, nonjuror priests continued to hold secretive Masses and other sacraments, sometimes even in the same parish church where they had been replaced.

By January 1792, refractory priests who had been replaced were ordered to leave their old parishes or risk imprisonment. Six months later, these nonjurors were ordered to leave the country within eight days or risk deportation. In this region, most of those who could not hide left for Spain. Because of its border with Spain, the region of the Basses-Pyrénées had particularly high rates of emigration. As tensions mounted in the summer of 1792, refractory

⁸⁶ Qtd, in Laharie, *La Révolution dans les Basses-Pyrénées*, 159. “Que, le frère Sanadon n’ayant reçu aucune mission de l’Eglise, n’a aucun pouvoir de juridiction dans notre diocèse, et que tous les actes de juridiction qu’il y exercera seront radicalement nuls; que les pouvoirs des curés qu’il instituera dans les paroisses, et des prêtres qu’il approuvera, seront également nuls.”

⁸⁷ See also Mona Ozouf, “Dechristianization,” in *Critical Dictionary*, 25.

priests were the first group suspected of anti-revolutionary sentiment. The former bishop of Bayonne, Etienne-Joseph de Pavée de Villevielle, exiled in Spain, endeavored to lead from afar an anti-constitutional church, having catechisms and pastoral instructions printed and distributed to his former parishes underground. It became increasingly risky for anyone, however, to take sides with the anti-constitutional church.

THE DOCTOR: LABADIE AND HIS SATIRICAL SINGING

Of course, it was not only the clergy who expressed their disagreement with the new usurping Church order, and they were not the only ones to lead actions against it. As stated earlier, parishioners also became involved. In one case, for example, the General Council of Bayonne arrested and tried Guillaume Gachiteguy and Jean Breu (a merchant draper and the valet to the former Bishop Villevielle, respectively) in September 1792 for corresponding with the emigrated bishop and distributing his “incendiary writings.”⁸⁸ The constant movement across the border to Spain would have a significant impact on the implementation of Terror tactics and wartime measures after the declaration of war with Spain in March of 1793.

Even before the war started with Spain that spring, decrees against emigrants and their families made life difficult for those who stayed behind in France. By September of 1792, emigrants’ property was confiscated and sold, and emigrants themselves were banished forever and threatened with the death penalty if they returned to France.⁸⁹ Relatives of emigrants were affected by high taxes and barred from public office, and soon anyone who helped emigrants at all, by sending them money, for example, risked their lives.

⁸⁸ “Procédures du tribunal criminel du département, 46: Contre Guillaume Gachiteguy et Jean Breu de Bayonne, accusés d’avoir propagé des écrits séditieux,” 1792, Série L, 97 L 36/46, AD-PAP, fol. 2. “écrits incendiaires” One of the bishop’s letters discusses the upcoming ordination of a French priest by the bishop of Pamplona, and how these desperate times of persecution call for unusual ordination measures.

⁸⁹ Jourdan, *La Révolution*, 127-128.

In September of 1792, a surgeon named Jacques Labadie and a woman named Claire Belsunce were brought to trial before the Criminal Tribunal of the District of Saint Palais. They were accused of embezzling the property of the emigrated Belsunce family, but soon Labadie found himself accused of collusion with an emigrant and of spreading anti-revolutionary propaganda.⁹⁰ A forty-eight-year-old surgeon from the town of Méharin, Labadie was placed into custody at the local prison in the district capital of Saint Palais for collaboration with an enemy of the state. When Directory members began investigating him, they found one witness who claimed to have heard Labadie singing an anti-civic song, while another said he heard him publicly singing various songs ridiculing the constitutional bishop.⁹¹ When asked, “if it isn’t true that he made anti-civic remarks both in the place of Méharin and elsewhere, with the intention to inspire contempt for constitutional laws and to bring discouragement to the people’s spirit,” Labadie denied having spread any anti-revolutionary sentiment.⁹² Though Labadie further denied having made any public announcement that the Old Regime would be reestablished, or having corresponded with any emigrant partisans of the Old Regime, he did admit to saying enemy armies had begun to enter the kingdom.

In fact, among the evidence submitted in Labadie’s court dossier, two copies of the Brunswick Manifesto were included, one in French and the other in Basque.⁹³ This royalist pamphlet by the Duke of Brunswick was meant to intimidate French citizens and threatened them with retribution if the French royal family was harmed; though in Paris, it had the adverse effect of inciting people to action in defense of the Republic. During his first

⁹⁰ “Procédures du tribunal criminel du département: 108-Belsunce à Méharin,” 1793, Série L, 97 L 50/108, AD-PAP. Sometimes spelled Labbadie.

⁹¹ Ibid. Interrogatoire No. 5.

⁹² Ibid. “s’il n’est pas vrai, qu’il a tenu des propos inciviques tant au lieu de Meharin qu’ailleurs, dans l’objet d’inspirer le mépris des lois constitutionnelles et de porter le découragement dans l’esprit du Peuple.” (“A répondu qu’il ne le croit pas.”)

⁹³ Copies of this royalist proclamation by the Duke of Brunswick were widespread in France. “Déclaration que son altesse sérénissime le Duc regnant de Bronsvic et de Lunebourg...Adresse aux Habitans de la France,” (Coblence: July, 25, 1792) (printed copy).

interrogation, Labadie admitted to being given three copies of the manifesto, though he contested to having publicized the incendiary pamphlet or distributed copies. He did admit, however, to reading the pamphlet aloud at the funeral in the D'Etchart family home in Méharin and at the local cabaret. The court scolds him, saying that he thus took advantage of these situations to spread bad thoughts. Moreover, since the text is translated into Basque, the court adds, there was the intention of making the Basque Country susceptible to enemy designs.⁹⁴ In this first interrogation, Labadie denied such an intention.

It is not until the following day that witnesses from the town of Méharin mentioned any kind of singing. Three witnesses out of ten recalled Labadie singing anti-patriotic songs, and one of them said it was a song translated into Basque. Another witness states that these uncivic songs were printed and ridiculed the constitutional bishop.⁹⁵ The only song included in the court file, however, is not printed but handwritten, and no French version can be found. It does nonetheless lambast Sanadon, the new constitutional bishop of Oloron. At the top of the small page is written, “Coupletac oloroneco aphezpicu berriaren arrivançari / Verses for the arrival of the new bishop of Oloron.” Included here is a rough translation into English:

ondicots heldu çarela
aphezpicu falsia
cer eguin duçu Caputchua
Fraide ar negatia
ah! nonda; ah! nonda
Jincouaren Beldurra

Unfortunately, you have arrived
The false bishop !
What are you doing Capucin,
Juror monk ?
Ah! Where is it; Ah! Where is it,
The fear of God?

Eskumikia ondotic
hor çabilça fierric
arthaldea çureganic
urundia Jadanic
arçaïna, arçaïna
Barnez otso Çarena

Close to excommunication,
You are there, haughty.
The flock has already
Drawn away from you.
Shepherd, Shepherd,
You, a wolf on the inside.

Burlatcen çare Eliçaz
nola aita Saindiaz
uste duçu nasqui Borçaz
Jabe gure bihotçaz

You mock the Church
Like you mock the Holy Father.
You think you can forcefully
Possess our hearts.

⁹⁴ “Procédures: 108,” No. 5, Fol. 3r.

⁹⁵ Ibid. Directory Investigation, No. 7.

aguian, aguian
ez orai, ez Seculan

Badugu guidari asco
on eta cucenesco
guehiena çurepeco
Bilçarra omenduco
chumena, chumena
ez deçaqueçu mana

Çure beharric eztugu
ahal çohasque çalhu
Baquea othoi içuçu
içanenduçu diru
herrian, herrian
cerga bilcen denian

Jaincuac argui çaitçala
eta conberti onsa
bihur çaitte comentura
çure baithan Sartzera
nigarrez, nigarrez
çaude han çure crimez

Emandautçuten carguko
Jeus ez tuçu balio
çu berriz ez ikhusteco
ihes eguin guinio
adio, adio
Seculacots adio, AMEN

God willing, God willing,
Not now, not ever.

We have many guides;
Good ones and more upright.
The superior under your orders
Paying respects to the Biltzar.
The most humble ones
You won't be able to command.

We do not need you,
You can leave quickly.
Leave us in peace, please.
You will have money
In the city, in the city,
When taxes are collected.

May God illuminate your path,
And may he convert you well.
Return to your convent-
Enter by yourself.
Crying, crying,
Stay there for your crimes.

For the position you've been given,
You are not worthy.
I would flee
To never see you again.
Adieu, adieu,
Forever, Adieu, AMEN.⁹⁶

The small, single-sheet manuscript fits all seven verses, but no song tune is indicated. The song's regular rhythmic meter and rhyming pattern along with the repeated refrain couplet at the end of each verse most likely points to an original composition in Basque rather than a translation from the French (as one of the witnesses suggested). At the very least, its repeated complex triple-meter rhythm and refrain would have lent itself easily to being sung, and even danced. Not only does the author of this poem dive immediately into expressing a great disdain for the new "false" bishop, but the refrain structure - with its repetition, suspension, and reveal forestalled until the last line - also heightens the element of insult. For example, the refrain in verse four ("chumena, chumena/ ez deçaqueçu mana") makes the listener

⁹⁶ Ibid. Evidence piece, No. 9. Generous help from Maitena Duhalde and Xarlès Videgain translating from Basque into French.

think “chumena/tiny one” is an insult meant for the bishop, but the resolution actually indicates that even the most insignificant priests are above the bishop, for they have resolved never to take orders from the imposter.

Though Labadie was on trial at first for anti-revolutionary comments and spreading musical propaganda, the focus of his trial as months go by becomes his involvement with the emigrant Belsunce family and the property they left behind in Méharin. He is mainly accused of selling Belsunce furniture and property and allowing the rest to fall into ruin before the municipality was able to make a full inventory and sell it themselves, following the decrees against emigrants issued that year. According to Labadie’s son, who wrote a petition to the District Directory denouncing the illegal imprisonment and unjust treatment of his father, Labadie was selling Belsunce property at the request of the Belsunces themselves, as a favor to them. At one point in Labadie’s interrogations, he excused himself by saying he did not know French very well, and so he may not have understood all the questions. We can therefore imagine that this was a case of small-town rivalries, where language becomes a barrier, or perhaps a demarcator, of diverging views on the developing measures of the Revolution.

THE PRIEST: SALVAT MONHO AND HIS “FUGITIVE” SONGS

In a song called “Distrikerat” (“To the District”), a refractory priest named Salvat Monho (1749-1821) derides a flirtatious excursion by the ladies of his town of Bardos to the district capital of Bayonne.⁹⁷ Dressed in their Sunday finest, the ladies had gone to meet with a lawyer to denounce their local priests. Monho is not shy about naming them in his verses and pointing

⁹⁷ Technically the district capital was Ustaritz, but all the administrative and judicial offices were soon moved to Bayonne. Salvat Monho, “Distrikerat,” in Pierre Lafitte, Ed and Trans., *Poèmes basques de Salvat Monho* (Bayonne: Ikas, 1972), 34-35.

out their inanities. His last verse mocks their self-importance – wouldn't they have loved to return from their excursion escorted by the militia's archers?

What is rendered a harmless spectacle in this song did in fact deteriorate into a scandal before the district court, with nearly the whole town of Bardos divided between followers of the oath-swearing church leaders and the non-juring Catholic priests. Well known in Basque literature, Monho's song collection "Pièces fugitives," which includes the song "Distrikerat" and fifteen others, has nonetheless never been adequately contextualized in light of the ensuing trial and Monho's own arrest in 1792. Using criminal court records from the departmental archives and several of Monho's songs, I will reveal the previously unknown connections between Monho's lyrics and his trial.⁹⁸ Bardos's dangerous town rivalries evident in Monho's case colorfully illustrate the local religious and political conflicts that arose after the swearing of the 1790 Civil Constitutional of the Clergy. By listening closely to the songs of this small-town Basque priest, we can better understand both the inner and outer struggles of religious conviction during the French Revolution.

Monho was the second vicar to the main parish priest Martin Delissalde in the town of Bardos at the time of the Constitutional Oath. When his turn came to swear on February 7, 1791, Monho refused the oath, as his superior Delissalde had done just the day before. But the other parish vicar, Jean Mentaberry, did swear the oath and was appointed the main parish priest later that year by the new constitutional bishop, Sanadon. Both Delissalde and Monho became refractory priests, soon subject to deportation. Delissalde reappeared briefly as an exiled refugee in Oyarzun, Spain, and is known to have died in that region in 1798; whereas

⁹⁸ "Procédures du tribunal criminel du département, 62: Contre Delissalde ancien curé de Bardos, Monho son vicaire, les anciens maire, officiers municipaux et procureur de la commune, les deux premiers accusés d'exercice illegal de leurs fonctions, les autres des les avoir soutenus," 1791-93, Serie L, 97 L 39/62, AD-PAP.

Monho all but disappeared from historical record until after the Revolution in 1803, when he reappeared as parish priest in Ainhoa and later Irissary, before retiring to Bardos in 1819 and dying there in 1821.⁹⁹

Pierre Lafitte's modern publication of Monho's poems in 1972, which includes the sixteen "Pièces fugitives," brought to light this much of the priest's biography. And though most of these "Pièces fugitives" allude to the events of the Revolution and the tense situation in Bardos, much less is known about what happened to Monho after he refused to swear the Constitutional Oath. Court documents show that both Delissalde and Monho actually stayed in Bardos for at least another year, through April of 1792 if not longer, where they celebrated Masses and continued their functions as priests in parallel to the Constitutional Church headed by Mentaberry. These parallel services (which the nonjuring priests chose to distinguish as "Roman Catholic") were likely tolerated at first in most communities, especially before a replacement priest was found. But in the case of Bardos, the Constitutional Church was swiftly taken over by the leadership of Mentaberry, but the town leaders clearly chose to support the opposing refractory priests. The mayor and municipal officers of Bardos attended only the Roman Catholic services and frequently threatened participants of the Constitutional Church. It was not long before the situation burst into a full-blown town conflict.

In a letter addressed to the Directory administrators of the District of Ustaritz, dated January 29, 1792, Jean Mentaberry and a list of other Bardos citizens wrote to complain about the Bardos municipality's infringements on their liberties. They began by describing how the municipality obstructed the establishment of a Society of the Friends of the Constitution in the

⁹⁹ See Introduction in Lafitte, *Poèmes basques*, 7-16. And also Jean-Baptiste Orpustan, "Un poète basque au temps de la Revolution: Salvat Monho (1749-1821)," *1789 et les basques: Histoire, langue et littérature*, Bayonne Colloquium, 30 June-1 July 1989 (Talence: Presses universitaires de Bordeaux, 1991), 240-241.

town, until members obtained a departmental ordinance to allow the sessions to take place.¹⁰⁰

This moment of conflict is depicted in one of Monho's songs, "Bardotzen Glub"/ "A Club in Bardos," where the priest declares that a political club in Bardos would be "at the cost of peace!"¹⁰¹ The second verse reveals that the "Club in Bardos" was nothing but Mentaberry's crazy idea, and further on, the poet explains that no good can come from a club that recruits the least reputable members of society.

Set to the French tune of "De tout un peu," with verses structured in a round-refrain form, the song achieves a playful tone with its repeating refrain line. The repetitive structure allows for the first verses to express outrage at the idea of a club in Bardos, and as the song continues, it displays a growing desperation at the popularity of such a club. Monho's opinion is clear: as he lists members' names in two verses, and admits the increasing influence of the new Constitution, he maintains a tone of derision throughout, ridiculing the cockade-wearing militants with repetitions of "Kokardekin!"/ "With their cockades!" in the final verse. The following are verses one, four, seven, and nine of Monho's nine-verse song:

Bardotzen glub!
Bakearen gostuz badere
Bardotzen glub
Egin nahi dute batzuke!
Ser ari dire balakite,
Egin nahi ote lukete
Bardotzen glub?

Herri huntan
Balinbada gizon galantik
Herri huntan
Ez ahal dire glub hortan!
Hor sartu direnek segurik
Ez dute halako famarik
Herri huntan.

Oraikotik
Konstituzione berriak
Oraikotik
Baitu adixkide onik!

A club in Bardos!
At the cost of peace
A club in Bardos
Some want to do it!
If they knew what they were doing,
Would they then really want
A club in Bardos?

In this town
If there are good people
In this town
I hope they are not at the club!
At least it is sure those who are
Do not have the best reputation
In this town.

From now on
The new Constitution
From now on
Has loyal friends!

¹⁰⁰ Accusation Letter, in "Procedure 62," 29 Jan. 1792, 1.

¹⁰¹ "Bardotzen Glub," in Lafitte, *Poèmes basques*, 30-33. First line: "Bardotzen glub!/ Bakearen gostuz badere!"

Haren etsai diren guziak
Garraituko ditu Frantziak
Oraikotik.

Kokardekin
Harozetxe eta Gazarran
Kokardekin
(Ez otoi irrik egin!)
Agertzen badire frunteran
Bere musketak soin-gaineran
Kokardekin!

Everyone who is its enemy
France will defeat
From now on.

With their cockades
If Harozetxe and Gazarran (last names)
With their cockades
(Don't laugh please!)
Appear at the border
A musket at the shoulder
With their cockades!¹⁰²

Several other songs by Monho express the clear disdain he has for his rival Mentaberry, including “Erromako Gortetik”/“From the Court of Rome” and “Mentaberriren Posesionetan Sartzearen Okasionean”/“At the Occasion of Mentaberry’s Take-Over.”¹⁰³ Referring to Pope Pius VI’s letters in the spring of 1791 excommunicating juror priests if they failed to retract their oath, the “Court of Rome” song depicts - more than a sense of revenge towards the juring Mentaberry - a sort of astonishment at how far the battle over spiritual authority had come. Rebuking Mentaberry for his false messages and unfounded opinions, Monho declares that the rising new priest is well aware of the lies he is telling and warns against creating a new faction placing the king above the Church, as had occurred in England.

Monho continues to comment on the “false church” in his song about Mentaberry’s church take-over, mentioning for the first time the role of the “false bishop” Sanadon (the Constitutional bishop) in establishing his troop of renegade priests. In the last four verses, Monho describes the clear schism that has opened up between the Constitutional and the Roman Catholic Churches. To his eyes, as to those of many refractory priests, despite the outer resemblance, the new church was divested of all its true sacramental powers:

¹⁰² Ibid. All following translations of Monho’s songs have been translated with the aid of Lafitte’s French translations.

¹⁰³ “Erromako Gortetik,” in Lafitte, *Poèmes basques*, 26-29. And “Mentaberriren Posesionetan Sartzearen Okasionean,” Ibid., 30-31. Both songs are written to the Basque tune of a “Belsunce air,” which I have not been able to trace so far. Perhaps their similar structure and tune indicate that these were written at the same time? They do seem to be two versions of similar ideas.

Otoitzeko etxea
Ohoinen gerizea
Orai da bilatu.
Pontifo legezkoak,
Artzain egiazkoak,
Dituzte exatu,
Ardiak hastandu.

The house of prayer
Has become at present
The refuge for thieves.
We have thrown out
The legitimate pontiffs,
The true shepherds,
And driven away the sheep.

Satanek asmatua,
Hartaz gobernatua
Den eliza hori
Ez da katolikoa,
Ez da Erromanoa:
Ez du horrek Petiri
Izan aintzindari.

This church
Invented by Satan
And governed by him
Is neither catholic
Nor Roman
Nor did it have Peter
As its head.

Eliza modakoa
Ez da lehenekoa,
Iduria gatik.
Itxura berak dire,
Zeremoniak ere;
Bainan ez apezik
Boterez jauntzirik.

The church in fashion
Is not the ancient one
Despite the resemblance.
Appearances are the same,
The ceremonies also;
But no priests
Vested with powers.

Hekin indar eskasak
Beti bekatorosak
Tu hobendun uzten.
Konfesaturik ere
Ez dituzte batere
Arimak garbitzen,
Bainan bai tronpatzen.

This deficiency
Will always leave sinners
In their error.
[The priests] might well confess
They do not purify
Whatsoever the souls,
But instead mislead them.¹⁰⁴

This schism between the nonjuring and juring clergy was at the root of the conflicts in Bardos that come to light in revolutionary court documents, including accusations, testimonies, and investigations.

In the same accusation letter of January 29, 1792, Mentaberry and the other petitioners explained that the obstacles to forming their patriotic club were just the beginning of tensions, and that the municipality had actually helped establish a separate church:

It [the municipality] conceived of establishing a chapel in the barn of the Salha house, to have Mass sung there, and Vespers, and other Offices by the Sirs Delissalde and Monho, former priest and vicar of this parish, refractory priests who took the liberty, and continue to do so each day, to conduct

¹⁰⁴ Verses 4-7, "Mentaberriren Posesionetan Sartzearen Okasionean," *Ibid.*, 30-31.

burials, baptisms, weddings, publish marriage declarations, preach sermons, and ultimately conduct all the public functions they used to do formerly in the parish church.¹⁰⁵

Furthermore, the municipal officers were accused of attending *only* these church services in the Salha barn and insisting the rest of the town do the same. To make matters worse for the constitutionalists, the municipality threatened those who attend the Constitutional Church with prison, and, the accusers wrote, five people had already been imprisoned without a knowable cause. The departmental administration was thus asked to step into this tense situation, especially considering that refractory priests had been mandated to leave their former parishes (and stay at a distance of at least four leagues). The writers of the letter stressed that the municipality was only enforcing the laws with which they agreed.

In response, the district officers decreed that: the municipal officers of Bardos be suspended from their duties and replaced by four citizens elected by the district, Delissalde and Monho be arrested, and the municipal officers and the two priests be taken to trial before the departmental criminal court.¹⁰⁶ The Directory of the Basses-Pyrénées département added in March 1792 that as a matter of public safety, the administrators had to intervene and resolve the discord in the town. Moreover, the barn chapel was to be opened and all its sacred, liturgical objects returned respectfully to the parish church after an inventory. The new municipality was to keep watch that no new secret liturgical services reoccur, and they were to use troops to execute these measures if necessary.¹⁰⁷

Monho's song "Distrikerat" hints perhaps at the legal battles to come, and it is possible that the women he names in the song were also among those who testified against him in

¹⁰⁵ Accusation Letter, in "Procédure 62," (29 Jan. 1792), 1-2. "...elle a imaginé / deriger (sic) une grange de la maison de Salha, en chapelle, et d'y faire chanter la messe, vepres, et autres offices par les Sieurs Delissalde et Mounho cy devant Curé et vicaire de cette paroisse, pretres Refractaires qui se sont permis, et qui se permettent chaque jour de faire des enterrements, des baptemes, des mariages, des publications des bans, de precher, et enfin de faire toutes les fonctions publics qu'ils faisaient cy devant dans l'Eglize de la paroisse."

¹⁰⁶ District Reply, in "Procédure 62," 17 Feb. 1792, 5-6.

¹⁰⁷ Directory Reply, in "Procédure 62," 14 March 1792, 9.

February of 1792. But it is Monho’s song “Eskandala”/“Scandal” which expresses the full impact of the divisions in town. In the thirty-three verses and changing refrains of the song, Monho describes the “awful scandal” (“eskandala izigarria”) that has “divided and mixed up” all of Bardos.¹⁰⁸ The poem is set to the well-known Noël tune of “Atzar gaiten, atzar lotarik,” which enjoins its listeners to “awake, get ready,” tonight a Savior is born unto us. The intertextual meaning is clear: Monho defends his righteous, Roman church against the delusions of the new fad led by Mentaberry. In one particular verse (#22), Monho alludes to the accusations brought against him in court:

Hainitzak gordeak daudela,	That many hide themselves,
Bertze batzu joan ihesi...	That others flee...
Bai zeren zin-egilen gerla	Yes because they cannot suffer
Ez baitezakete sofri!	The war inflicted on them by the jurors! ¹⁰⁹

The following refrain, starting always with the words “eskandala izigarria,” but changing throughout the song, hints at the very personal and vindictive nature of this scandal:

Eskandala izigarria!	Awful scandal!
Zer nahi du Mentaberrik	Doubtless Mentaberry wants
Sasiatu bere egarria	To satiate his thirst
Hekin odola edanik? ¹¹⁰	By drinking their blood?

Verse 25 actually mentions Mentaberry’s accusation before the court, and the song continues with descriptions of the mean and “lying” witnesses at the trial in Bayonne. The most violent of his songs, “Eskandala” expresses Monho’s view of the religious and political conflict playing out in Bardos in no small terms. His was not the only scathing view of the new order of Mentaberry; Father Delissalde was also said by one witness to have preached: “...until now, there was no question of heretics among the Basques, but’ he added, indicating with his hand the citizen Mentaberry who was present, ‘I don’t know what monster Hell has vomited, to

¹⁰⁸ “Eskandala,” in Lafitte, *Poèmes basques*, 36-45. For the first five times, the refrain repeats the same words of Mentaberry dividing the village, “Mentaberrik dauku herria/ Partitu eta nahasi.” After that, the refrain retains the same beginning line, “Eskandala izigarria,” but changes the rest of the text.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. 41.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. 41.

come disturb my people...”¹¹¹ Witnesses also testified that Delissalde and Monho considered confession to a juror priest null, similar to confessing to a wall, and that the constitutional priests were from hell.

At a certain point in the proceedings, the court considered giving more of a symbolic punishment to the accused, probably understanding the difficulties of the situation. The trial seems to have brought out the worst, though, in the townspeople, whose reactions were much more severe. Names are listed in Monho’s songs, personal retributions detailed - even the parish church “housekeeper” seems to have gone mad from keeping track of loyalties.¹¹² Monho and Delissalde were brought to testify before the court on April 23, 1792, but their answers only reaffirm their views on the schismatic Constitutional Church. One month later, at the vote to accuse the priests in front of the departmental court, both priests had already fled to Spain. The trial before the departmental criminal court was dismissed in January of 1793 in their absence.

Though we know little about Monho in the years after this ordeal,¹¹³ we seem to know even less about him as a poet. The notebooks given to Pierre Lafitte, which form the content of the modern edition, hold little clues as to when Monho’s poems were written, and if they were ever circulated, sung, or known during his lifetime. By putting together the evidence of the Bardos trial and the content of his songs, we can make a few speculations as to the roles these songs could have played in Monho’s time. The trial testimonies make clear that the conflict in the town of Bardos was quite violent and rowdy at times. In the investigation statement made by the Directory in March of 1792, the municipal officers were accused of inciting townspeople

¹¹¹ Déclaration des témoins, in “Procédure 62,” 20 Jan. 1793. “jusqu’alors il n’avoit pas été question d’hérétiques parmi les basques, mais ajouta-t-il, en indiquant de la main le citoyen Mentaberry qui étoit présent, Je ne scai quel monstre l’Enfer a vomé, pour venir troubler mon peuple...”

¹¹² The “benoîte” is mentioned in both Monho’s songs (“Eskandala”) and the court papers as having “lost it.”

¹¹³ His name appears on the emigrant lists of 1799 according to Haristoy, *Les paroisses*, 317. This possibly indicates a second migration from France to Spain.

to make noise outside the constitutional priest's services: "...they even authorize tumultuous gatherings around the parish church while the constitutional priest fulfills his duties."¹¹⁴ Other witnesses had added that on Sundays and feast days, large crowds would gather to make noise and chaos in the church square, and the municipal officers did nothing to stop them.¹¹⁵ Moreover, one witness claims that Delissalde's servant boy patrolled the town, insulting revolutionary patriots, and anyone who supported the constitutional priest.¹¹⁶

Could these noisy occasions have been a chance to air the new Monho satires? If so, it seems highly unlikely that anyone would have known who wrote them, for the songs, or any singing at all, never appear in the documents of the trial. The incendiary, insulting, and name-dropping verses of these songs would have been prime evidence against the refractory priest. But it seems no witness mentioned them or alluded to their content.¹¹⁷ Yet Monho clearly wrote the poems to be set to their song tunes, and as Lafitte says, these poems are meant to be sung.¹¹⁸ It is possible, then, that these pieces are indeed "fugitive" - as in, they were written when Monho was fleeing France.

Lafitte indicates that the copies of the songs he published titled this second set of poems "Pièces fugitives" with a heading reading, "Second notebook February 5, 1819."¹¹⁹ Could it be possible that Monho did not write these poems until his retirement to Bardos in 1819? Or was it only until then that he sat down to copy them, or have them copied? The latter seems more likely, given that the order of the poems in this "copy" do not follow a chronological order of

¹¹⁴ Directory Reply, in "Procédure 62," 14 March 1792, 8. "...qu'ils autorisent encore des rassemblemens tumultueux a l'entour de l'église Paroissiale, pendant que le curé constitutionnel y fait les fonctions curiales."

¹¹⁵ Investigation, in "Procédure 62," 9 Feb. 1792, 6. "...que presque tous les Dimanches, et fêtes, il y a beaucoup de train dans la place de Bardos, toujours causé par des partisans du cy devant curé et quoique les officiers municipaux s'y trouvent quelques fois, ils ne dissipent pas comme ils devraient les attroupemens qui s'y font..."

¹¹⁶ Ibid. 10. "...qu'elle a oui dire que le garçon dy cidevant curé est toujours et souvent a faire la patrouille, insultant les amis de la Constitution, et tous ceux qui sont du parti du curé constitutionnel..."

¹¹⁷ A few parts of the witness testimonies are written in a rather illegible hand, unfortunately.

¹¹⁸ Lafitte, *Poèmes basques*, 21.

¹¹⁹ Ibid. 18. "Second cahier 5 février 1819"

events or of people referenced. Perhaps this 1819 version is a combination of both a copyist's work and a retiree's effort to express, once more, the pains of the revolutionary years.

Towards the end of this collection, a poem called "Memories"/"Orroitsapenak" stands out. Written to the tune of an Old Regime march, the "marche du Régiment de Perche," the song hearkens back to the dark and difficult moments of the Terror in Basque Country. Describing the bloodthirsty reign of Jacques Pinet, the Jacobin representative sent to the District of Ustaritz, and his superior, Robespierre, whom he calls "enemies of humanity," the first eight verses paint a picture of the horrors that struck the region as it became militarized and waged war against Spain. In verse nine, with the wind "coming from the East" (referring to Napoleon), allowing his "ship" to finally reach its safe harbor, Monho states: "Let us forget these sorrows."¹²⁰ He seemed to struggle with this, though, in verses that continue to express the wish for revenge on those who committed such atrocities. Yet in his final two verses, Monho reiterates the common motifs of collective remembrance, pardon, and healing:

Ordu da egin dezon leku
Tristeziak gozoari:
Nigar karatsak baditugu
Aski luzaro ixuri.
Denbora da ganbiatu:
Terroristak kargutarik
Apartatuak jadanik
Begitarteak ilunik
Doluan dire sartu.

Orroit zaitetze, Lapurtarrak,
Zenbat duzuen sofritu
Baldin terroristei indarrak
Ez balitzaizkote kendu
Sekulan zuen nigarrak
Ez zirela xukatuko
Gauza horren frogatzeko
Ez dut urrun joan beharko,
Badaki bat bederak.

It is time that sadness
Cede its place to joy:
If we have shed these bitter tears
Long enough,
The time has changed:
The terrorists, driven out
Of their public positions,
With their somber faces,
They are now in mourning.

Remember, Labourdins,
How much you suffered.
If the terrorists
Had not been divested of their powers
Never would your tears
Have dried.
To prove it
I don't have far to look,
Each of us knows.¹²¹

¹²⁰ "Orroitsapenak," in *Ibid.* 64-67. Verse 9, line 5: "Eigun penen ahantzerat."

¹²¹ *Ibid.* 67 (verses 12-13).

Knowing more about the extent of Monho's involvement in the turmoil of his town brings an added depth to those last ringing words: "each of us knows." Perhaps Monho added this last reflection to his copies in 1819; or as Jean-Baptiste Orpustan proposes, he could have written it in the first years of the Consulate, around 1803, when Monho reappears in the parish of Ainhoa.¹²² Whether it was shared or not, a song such as this allows us a window into Monho's own interior history, so deeply influenced by the horrors of war and conflict.

TERROR IN BÉARN – OR – WHEN SINGING EARNS YOU THE GUILLOTINE

Thus far, the main revolutionary measure discussed has been the CCC, though some emigration laws and measures against refractory priests have also been mentioned. But the province's exposure to measures of the Terror widened considerably with the arrival in Pau and Bayonne of the *représentants en mission* – Jean-Baptiste Benoît Monestier (du Puy-de-Dôme) and Jacques Pinet (respectively). Moreover, the declaration of war with Spain on March 7, 1793, brought on increasingly restrictive measures and heavy economic and social burdens to the people of the region. The Terror representatives were sent in in large part to deal with these serious burdens of war: Pinet and two others (Cavaignac and Féraud) were assigned to survey and manage the Army of the Pyrénées-Occidentales as well as one Basque district each (Ustaritz, Saint-Palais, Mauléon). Though these imported Terror representatives stayed little over a year, their actions imposed a heavy climate of fear and chaos on the region.

By purging local administrations of their more moderate members, the representatives Pinet and Monestier aimed to radicalize local governance along Jacobin views. Municipal leaders and town mayors were changed, shuffling the positions of authority from the wealthy

¹²² Due to the specific references to Napoleon in the poem. Orpustan, "Un poete basque," 250.

bourgeoisie classes into the hands of enterprising commercial, artisanal, and agricultural workers.¹²³ As we have seen, popular patriotic societies also became radicalized starting in the fall of 1793, with the establishment of surveillance committees and their increasing dependence on and support of the Terror administration. Besides investigating and hearing denunciations, these patriotic surveillance committees also reinforced laws on military conscription, emigration, refractory priests, and rationing and war supplies.¹²⁴ By the year of the Terror (1793-94), the membership of these societies had been greatly transformed from their bourgeois origins, and low attendance at the frequent meetings was common, despite efforts to liven up the sessions with music and singing.¹²⁵

Among the most extreme tactics of terrorism to take hold at this time everywhere in France was the judicial persecution and execution of enemies of the Republic, symbolized for centuries to come by the guillotine. Two extraordinary justice commissions were established in Bayonne and Pau in the spring of 1794 to try these suspects in a more extreme and efficient way than in the regular criminal courts, and although they were both closed just a few months later (June 1794), they managed to sentence several dozen people who became local victims of the Terror.¹²⁶ Bayonne's military tribunal and other local courts also participated in the judgment of political crimes during this tense time, as in the cases of Labadie and Monho. As the territory closest to the scene of war, the Basque provinces seemed to suffer more from these extreme measures of political and religious persecution than Béarn. Though emigrants and refractory priests were the initial suspects of this intolerant regime, suspicion soon turned on

¹²³ Jourdan, *La Révolution*, 119.

¹²⁴ Ibid. 120.

¹²⁵ Ibid. 121. See also section on "Patriotic Popular Societies," above, p. 24-25.

¹²⁶ Ibid. 122. Numbers vary in the count of death sentences in the Basses-Pyrénées – Jourdan writes that the Bayonne revolutionary court issued 60 death sentences and Pau's court 10 (p. 122), but later says there were 50 death sentences and executions in the département, 26 through the Bayonne special commission and 9 through the Pau commission (p. 128). Laharie, *La Révolution dans les Basses-Pyrénées*, 219-226, includes a list of 50 condemned and executed persons in the département, noting that the number was much smaller than in neighboring southwest départements of the Gironde, Haute-Garonne, and Lot-et-Garonne.

“...those who took arms against [the state], on troublemakers and panic starters, on speculators and agitators, on those who had done nothing for the Revolution, on those who expressed regrets for the Old Regime or who one imagined could regret the monarchy.”¹²⁷ Thus, not only were refractory priests and the aristocracy top suspects, but anyone who worked for them as well, or who could express any kind of sympathy with them and possibly be their informants.

This was probably one of the underlying reasons in the trial of Pierre Montagnac (called Lombez). Montagnac, a locksmith and father of seven young children, was condemned and guillotined on April 21, 1794, in Pau, for having copied and peddled an anti-revolutionary song. Yet, relating the events and transcribing the trial documents, his grandson later wrote that he felt Montagnac had been denounced for having inquired after the Baron of Idron and thus expressing his sympathy for the aristocratic class.¹²⁸ The actual reason behind Montagnac’s trial may be obscure, but the record of death sentences issued by the extraordinary commission in Pau shows that two other unfortunates were linked to this anti-revolutionary song, and all three men were guillotined for it. Bernard Guichot, bailiff to the justice of the peace in Nay and father to three sons fighting in the war, was accused of copying, singing, and distributing this anti-revolutionary song and killed on April 4, 1794. Likewise implicated in the circulation of this song was Jean-Jacques de Nays, also from Nay, guillotined on April 10th.¹²⁹ Three victims, of the nine people total who were condemned by the

¹²⁷ Ibid. 122. “... À ceux qui prirent les armes contre elle, aux fauteurs de troubles et semeurs de panique, aux spéculateurs et agioteurs, à ceux qui n’avaient rien fait pour la Révolution, à ceux qui manifestaient des regrets pour l’Ancien Régime ou que l’on imaginait regrettant la monarchie.”

¹²⁸ Anonymous, “Procès Montagnac,” in *Quelques pages d’un manuscrit sous la Terreur en Béarn, 1793-1794*, Documents inédits des Archives des Basses-Pyrénées, pub. by Joseph Lochard, (Nîmes: Lacour, 2001 reprint), 62-63.

¹²⁹ Laharie, *La Révolution dans les Basses-Pyrénées*, 223-224.

extraordinary commission in Pau and guillotined in April of 1794, were all sentenced for a song. (See Figure 2.1 below.)¹³⁰

Unfortunately, the song was not preserved in any trial documents, the way it was for Labadie. The historian Laborde seems to suggest that the song was again a satire on the bishop Sanadon.¹³¹ However, in the long accusation decree printed by the representative Monestier calling Guichot to trial, Guichot was accused of denigrating the National Convention in a “repugnant song,” and Monestier gave more details about this “abominable” piece of music:

...in five couplets, on the air of the *carmagnole*, against the National Convention and its members, against the revolutionary laws, and especially against the tax law and the imprisonment laws, threatening even the representatives of the people with being put to death... the same song aiming moreover to give the people, the good inhabitants of the countryside, worries about their subsistence in bread and meat.¹³²

It is a bit odd that Monestier should give so much detail about an incendiary song, for in the trial the song seems to be used to represent an acute moment of anti-patriotism that served as an excuse to try suspicious members of society. Clearly, nearly two years after Labadie’s trial, the mood was no longer tolerant of any satire.

¹³⁰ In “Jugements rendus par la commission extraordinaire (imprimés),” *Germinal an II, Administrations et juridictions de la période révolutionnaire*, 1 L 24, AD-PAP.

¹³¹ Jean-Baptiste Laborde, “B. Guichot et J. de Nays, guillotines pour une chanson en 1794,” *Bulletin de Sciences, Lettres et Arts de Pau* (1921):161-176, and (1922): 21-24. Laborde mentions Montagnac’s trial and accusation in the 1922 article, but does not associate his singing with the other two, as do the documents in Laharie, *La Révolution dans les Basses-Pyrénées*, 225. Like the grandson, Laborde does not see the association with the same song in the documents for Montagnac’s trial and accusation, (1922), 23.

¹³² Qtd. in Laborde, “B. Guichot (1921),” 166. “une chanson abominable, en cinq couplets, sur l’air de la *carmagnole*, contre la Convention nationale et ses membres, contre les lois révolutionnaires, et notamment contre la loi de la taxe et la loi de réclusion, menaçand même les représentants du peuple d’être mis à mort...la même chanson tendant encore à donner au peuple, aux bons habitants des campagnes des inquiétudes sur leurs subsistances en pain et en viande.” The “Carmagnole” was a very popular song sung during the Revolution, starting in 1792. Its tune is upbeat and rowdy and meant to accompany festive dancing, and its repetitive verse-refrain structure lends itself well to recomposing new lyrics to the popular tune.

A U N O M

DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE.

J U G E M E N T R E N D U PAR LA COMMISSION EXTRAORDINAIRE,

Etablie dans les Départemens des Hautes & Basses-Pyrénées, en vertu de l'Arrêté des Représentans du Peuple, en date du 12 Germinal, l'an second de la République Française, une & indivisible.

Qui condamne *BERNARD GUICHOT*, originaire de Bruges, canton de Nay, district de Pau; (ci-devant huissier au tribunal de la monnoie de la ville de Pau,) à la peine de mort; comme convaincu, d'avoir écrit & fait propager une chanson contre-révolutionnaire, tendante à avilir la représentation nationale, à faire mépriser les loix sur la taxe & sur la réclusion, comme aussi d'avoir eu des intelligences, même des correspondances avec des prêtres émigrés.

Séance du 15 germinal, an second de la république française, une & indivisible.

LA Commission extraordinaire assemblée; dans le lieu de ses séances à Pau, ont été présens les Citoyens *BRIVAL* président, *Chevrant*, *Rabaly*, *Pallacio*, & *Rupé*, membres de ladite Commission, & *Crozat* faisant les fonctions du ministère public.

La Commission a mandé venir de la maison d'arrêt un homme, qui sur l'interpellation qui lui en a été faite a dit s'appeler *Bernard Guichot*, originaire de Bruges, âgé de 45 ans, huissier près le juge de paix du canton de Nay, (ci-devant huissier au tribunal de la monnoie de la ville de Pau.)

Lecture faite, tant de l'arrêté des représentans du peuple, en date du 13 de ce mois, portant dénonciation contre ledit *Guichot*; d'une chanson écrite par ledit *Guichot* & par lui envoyée au sieur de Nays, recevoir du droit d'enregistrement à Nay, & d'une lettre écrite par *Daugar*, curé de Boslarros, prêtre émigré, audit *Guichot* & trouvée chez lui.

Il est résulté du tout que ledit *Guichot* est accusé d'être contre-révolutionnaire, d'avoir par une chanson infame écrite de sa main & par lui propagée ainsi qu'il en a convenu, avili la représentation nationale, fait mépriser les loix salutaires sur la taxe & sur la réclusion, comme aussi d'avoir eu des intelligences, même de correspondance avec des prêtres émigrés.

Ledit *Guichot* interrogé publiquement à l'audience, après l'avoir entendu dans sa défense: ouï le citoyen *Crozat*, faisant les fonctions du ministère public.

La Commission extraordinaire, convaincue que ledit *Guichot* entretenoit des intelligences avec les ennemis de la république, ainsi qu'il conste par la correspondance qu'il avoit avec un prêtre réfractaire & émigré.

Qu'il a écrit de sa propre main, distribué & porté une chanson infame qui attaque directement la souveraineté du peuple, en cherchant à avilir la convention nationale, en calomniant ses opérations, en essayant de soulever le peuple contre les loix salutaires de la taxe & de la réclusion, en menaçant les représentans du peuple d'être égorgés.

Convaincue enfin que ledit *Guichot* est complice des émigrés & un vrai contre-révolutionnaire. D'après les dispositions des loix, condamne ledit *Bernard Guichot* à la peine de mort; confisque ses biens au profit de la république; & ordonne que le présent jugement sera exécuté à l'instant, imprimé, publié & affiché, le tout à la diligence du citoyen faisant les fonctions du ministère public.

Ainsi fait & prononcé, à Pau, en séance publique, les jour, mois & an susdit.

Signés, *Brival* président; *Rabaly*, *Chevrant*, *Pallacio*, *Rupé*, membres de ladite Commission, *Crozat*, faisant les fonctions du ministère public; & *Richard*, greffier.

Pour copie collationnée, *Richard*, greffier.

A PAU, chez *DAUMON*, Imprimeur National du Département des Basses-Pyrénées, rue des Droits de l'Homme.

Figure 2.1: Printed verdict for the trial of Bernard Guichot, (Source: Revolutionary-era Administration, 1 L 24, AD-PAP)

The representatives on mission implemented Terror policies decided in the Parisian Committee of Public Safety and the National Convention that endeavored to further radicalize the local population. Earlier that spring, before the onset of death sentences, the vilified Pau representative Monestier had instituted the Cult of Reason. (He had, in fact, officially abolished all practice of Catholicism in November 1793.) The inauguration of the Temple of Reason in Pau, in the former St. Martin church, took place on March 10, 1794. In a way, this revolutionary cult capped a long succession of dechristianization measures in the region, starting from the effects of the CCC, but also moving through a series of material destructions of churches, sanctuaries, requisition of bells and silver and gold ornaments, and the de-frocking of priests. Though the Basque provinces also felt this material seizure and destruction of church properties perhaps more acutely, given their greater involvement in the war with Spain, the region as a whole was not one of the provinces that underwent the most violent acts of dechristianization in France. Nevertheless, the replacement cult of Reason, as it was celebrated in its inauguration in Pau and elsewhere in the region, was an event of pomp and an occasion for musical celebration. A procession of fifty maidens dressed in white, leading lady Liberty and followed by banners, the representative Monestier surrounded by workers and military officers, and municipal authorities, serpented through the streets of Pau under a triumphal arch and ended at the patriotic altar, and finally, the Temple of Reason. The ceremony consisted of vehement anticlerical and patriotic speeches and the burning of religious emblems and articles. All the while these were accompanied by the singing of patriotic hymns.¹³³

¹³³ Jourdan, *La Révolution*, 131-132. And see also G. B. Lagrèze, *La société et les mœurs en Béarn depuis 1791*, (Nîmes: Lacour, 2001), 390-395. The same festival of Reason was celebrated in Bayonne on February 28, 1794, in the cathedral. The cult of Reason had been established in Paris since August of 1793, however, leaving one to wonder whether the same efforts to celebrate the revolutionary cults and denigrate any remaining Christian practices would have been launched without the intervention of the representatives on mission, Monestier and Pinet.

In June of the same year, the Feast of the Supreme Being was celebrated all over the region. Even in Sarrance, a small pilgrimage town in the Bearnese Aspe valley which we will come back to in Chapter Five, the Feast of the Supreme Being was celebrated with processions and patriotic music.¹³⁴ But by the fall of Robespierre in July 1794, and the recall of the Terror representatives back to Paris, the momentum of the terrorizing fury had died down in the Basses-Pyrénées. Patriotic popular societies were closed, and the war with Spain ended in 1795. By the later years of the revolutionary decade, officials had a difficult time rallying public participation in civic feasts and patriotic processions. One has to wonder what memories surged back to participants as they sang hymns to the Supreme Being only a few years later, in celebrations such as the one in Bayonne in January of 1798 that opened the introduction.

CONCLUSION

Urban musical practices of the Revolutionary era, whether they served to rally participants in a civic festival, mobilize citizens to protect their rights, or circulate conflicting political and religious opinions, were an important part of popular engagement in the swift political and social changes happening not just in Paris, but in outlying provinces as well. These musical expressions offer multiple views into townspeople's involvement in and reactions to national events, even as these slowly became familiar social practices. As such, they form the basic models of the kinds of "performance practice" that were employed to express ongoing contention, protest, and dissent throughout these turbulent times.¹³⁵ The use of local languages and of song tunes from local popular culture emphasizes the full social impact made

¹³⁴ "Egalité et Liberté: Proclamation des officiers municipaux pour la fête dédiée à l'Être Suprême," In Microfilms, Fonds des archives conservées à l'abbaye de Sarrance, 1 Mi 161, AD-PAP, liasse 2.

¹³⁵ See Charles Tilly, *Contentious Performances* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

by these changing, centralized policies. Vernacular songs highlight the strong potential and likely possibilities that arose for local protests or expressions of solidarity, inside and outside of religious practices. They offer a localized understanding of how revolutionary decrees were applied in these remote towns of Bayonne, Pau, Saint-Pée, Bardos, and others, and how people took certain liberties back into their own hands.

CHAPTER 3: RESTORING PRACTICE, REBUILDING DEVOTION, 1800-1850

In the small coastal fishing village of Ciboure, townspeople complained daily to the mayor about having to house and maintain the army troops stationed there since the war with Spain had ended a few years back. Writing in late August of 1801, the mayor appealed to have these troops moved, describing that:

...for a long time now this community has been overburdened with troops, and that the miserable inhabitant who can barely subsist on the meager fishing he does is not only crushed by the expense incurred by the lodging of military troops, but moreover the majority are forced to go without their basic needs to be able to furnish the wood and candles that the military needs... this community is at its limits, especially making it through the season which we will enter, [it cannot] keep maintaining a troop that would bring on ... the most awful miseries.¹

Less than ten years later, the region would again be faced with the passing, stationing, pillaging, and fighting of troops with the onset and end of the Peninsular War. The Ciboure municipal records again show the devastation it caused them; the main route in and out of town was completely destroyed by the incessant passage of troops and military materials, with no repairs in sight. Everywhere in the region, where soldiers had stationed, locals complained of flattened fields and ruined crops.² Many from Bayonne, Anglet, and Guéthary fled north of the Adour river to put some distance between themselves and the destructive armed forces, returning later only to find their homes burned to the ground or their natural resources, like

¹ "Commune de Ciboure, Registres," 12 fructidor, An 9, Archives communales, Ciboure 1D1, AD-PAB. "...depuis longtemps cette commune se trouve surchargée de troupes, et que le malheureux habitant qui peut à peine subsister du peu de pêche qu'il fait est non seulement écrasé par la dépense que leur occasionne le logement des militaires, mais qu'encore la plus part sont obligés de se priver de leur nécessaire pour fournir à ces militaires le bois et chandelles dont ils ont besoin, ... cette commune en peut plus, sur tout passer la saison où nous allons entrer, garder une troupe qui les mettrait...dans la plus afreuse des misères."

² Manex Goyhenetche, *Histoire générale du Pays basque Tome V Le XIXe siècle, 1804-1914* (Baiona [i.e. Bayonne] Donostia (Espagne): Elkar, 2005), 34–35.

the forests of Anglet, destroyed. This was life at the vulnerable border during the Napoleonic conflicts. (See Appendix 3.1 for a timeline of events post-Revolution.)

Churches had to be rebuilt too, both structurally and spiritually, in this first decade of the nineteenth century. Once the Bayonne cathedral was turned over to the faithful to be used in both religious and civic ceremonies, reparations of the grand edifice began. The church had been used as a warehouse to store feed and furnishings for the army, and with no regular maintenance and repairs over the years, its degradation was an urgent matter. As early as 1798, funds were raised from parishioners to begin reparation work.³ Churches all over the region were in similar states resulting from the passage of troops, the fighting with Spanish forces, and their general abandon. In Hasparren, parishioners were forced to reconstruct their church twice in a short time span, when in 1818 their newly restored bell tower was burned down by lightning.⁴ The vandalism that had occurred in certain churches during the Terror and the disappearance of much of the interior furnishings, including most ornaments, linens, and sacred vases, left many parishes at the beginning of the century scrambling to restore a minimum of order in their church ceremonies. Clergy were furthermore faced with resuscitating abandoned devotional practices and teaching these to a “lost generation” of young Catholics.

Two generations later, this southwestern province – the scene of Napoleon’s draining war against Spain and its allies, of economic hardship and a shift away from agrarianism, of continual exchange with its Spanish neighbor – would slowly enter the consciousness of the Parisian and foreign elite. These would “discover” the Pyrénées in the nineteenth century, consume their thermal water sources, and admire the Basque Atlantic coast.⁵ Starting in 1858,

³ Hourmat, *Histoire de Bayonne*, 346–47.

⁴ Secours et subventions pour la construction et la réparation des églises, Diocèse de Bayonne, F/19/647, Archives Nationales (AN), p. 4.

⁵ Biarritz, for example, rose to popularity thanks to the visits of Eugénie de Montijo and later Napoléon III in 1854.

all throughout France and then the world, devout and hopeful pilgrims journeyed to experience the miracles of the Virgin at Lourdes, shifting local devotional practices on to an international stage. Before this arrival on the international scene, though, how did local populations practice their faith? How were religious and musical practices restored in the wake of the Revolution and its ensuing wars? And what did the local faithful sing?

Music played an important role in the informal pious practices that regained popularity in the early nineteenth century. The exploding local market for cantique and religious hymns publications attests to this. (See Appendix 3.2 listing vernacular cantique collections.) Cantiques in Basque and in Bearnese (or Gascon) were used throughout various missions in the diocese, to the dismay of some who criticized that they set holy words to whimsical, secular tunes. As I explain below, marching tunes and hymns framed the Corpus Christi celebrations that began anew (see Chapter 4), and pilgrimage hymns united pilgrims as they made their way to newly restored sites at the foot of the Pyrénées, bringing pious singing to the rural soundscape (see Chapter 5). Though musical practices mobilized renewed devotional traditions, and even made them a public affair in this southwestern region of France, their largely oral and popular nature pose particular methodological challenges to the study of their impact.

Scarce documentary evidence complicates the reconstruction of a history of ecclesiastical musical practices in this diocese. In general, musical resources in the cathedral and other important parishes were very poor. At the start of the century, the fabrique (or parish council) of the Bayonne cathedral could barely afford one organist and the two cantors in the *bas-choeur* in charge of leading chant.⁶ In a letter to the Emperor during his stay in Bayonne in

⁶ Hourmat, *Histoire de Bayonne*, Vol. III, 130. The fabrique wanted the municipality and the départements to pitch in with costs, but no funds seemed to come in from any of the départements comprised within the diocese since 1801 (Basses-Pyrénées, Hautes-Pyrénées, and Landes). Then the continuing war with Spain deferred the matter when the cathedral was once more asked to store army supplies. The Chapter of the Cathedral was also meant to help with the costs or management of a choir, as would have been customary during the Old Regime, but it also

1808, Bishop Loison complained of “A sacristy devoid of ornaments and sacred vases and an abandoned choir.”⁷ The bishop wanted the various départements that made up the diocese and the Bayonne municipality to step in with some of the major repair costs and debts, in order to free the fabrique to pay for the expenses of hiring a musical corps. But war again intercepted these plans, and even if some support was sent from the Ministère des cultes starting in 1813,⁸ neither a maîtrise nor a bas-choeur tradition was ever able to take hold. And while occasional festive or commemorative diocesan orders call for the singing of a *Te Deum*, for example, nowhere is there much evidence of a stable, formal musical institution.⁹ Records exist only at Bétharram, with its seminary school from 1812-1833, where there were accounts of students performing music regularly in the chapel to the delight of pilgrims (see Chapter 5).

We can therefore mostly speculate as to the state of music in many of these parishes, and rely on some sparse documents that indicate when certain musicians were hired to perform specific moments of musical effervescence for feasts and special occasions. By examining some examples of vernacular cantique collections and the broader context of regional missionary efforts in this first half of the century, I will nonetheless show how, in the non-institutionalized localities of rural and urban environments, beyond the walls of the parish church, and with the reinforcement of vernacular languages, musical and religious practices together helped forge

had meager means at the beginning of the century. The Chapter canons were only paid 1000 Fr, and later 1500 Fr, often without funding from all the départements. The bishop could not count on the canons to remain in attendance in Bayonne, since most had to resort to living with their families. See *Ibid.*, Vol. III, 41.

⁷ Hourmat, *Qtd* in 130. “Une sacristie dépourvue d’ornements et de vases sacrés et d’un chœur désert.” This struggle to maintain a choir at the cathedral was not new. Marie-Bernadette Dufourcet has explored similar instabilities from the sixteenth through seventeenth centuries. See Marie-Bernadette Dufourcet, “La maîtrise de la cathédrale de Bayonne du XVIIe siècle au milieu du XVIIIe siècle,” in *Maîtrises et chapelles aux XVIIe & XVIIIe siècles*, ed. Bernard Dompnier (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses universitaires Blaise-Pascal, 2003), 167–82. Dufourcet shows that the Bayonne cathedral had a difficult time maintaining any kind of permanent choir or choir school, but that it mostly resorted to hiring musicians *ad hoc* for various feasts and occasions (from local towns, but also from as far as Toulouse). But the source evidence for this period is also very sparse.

⁸ In the national budget, Bayonne was given an annual fund of 4,000 francs total. Cultes: Etablissements ecclésiastiques diocésains, Maîtrises et bas chœurs des cathédrales, Archives Nationales, F/19/3945.

⁹ There is also a dire lack and loss of sources for this period. This situation is exacerbated by the fact that the diocesan archives are not consultable, and that several archival fires destroyed much of the prefectural archival collections concerning religious affairs and the diocese.

strong cultural identities for the Basques and Bearnese. But first, I will examine how the turbulent conflicts in the southwest Pyrénées during this turn of the century influenced the ambiguous relationships between trans-border Basque populations and how certain songs help us understand a complex, often ambivalent narrative of regionalism within this context of national conflict.

WAR IN THE PYRÉNÉES AND ITS MUSICAL ECHOES

The period of the First Empire was full of turmoil for this diocese, owing mainly to the wars with Spain. We have already mentioned the ruinous passing and stationing of troops, and the Peninsular War launched by Napoleon, but the emperor himself also came to stay in Bayonne in 1808.¹⁰ How did these events affect musical and religious practices? The continual fighting at the turn of the nineteenth century on the Spanish-French Pyrenean border often pitted Basque neighbors against each other, and made border allies into reluctant enemies. Local song traditions collected later on by folklorist priests like Resurrección María de Azkue and José Antonio de Donostia highlighted the tense interactions among French and Spanish Basques, describing low fighting morale and unwelcome refugees – from the French perspective. On the Spanish side, patriotic political songs blasted the French invaders, Napoleon, and his brother Joseph, the newly-crowned King of Spain. Yet civic and religious feasts in the region continued on as before, marked by even more military parades, music, and

¹⁰ Napoleon stayed in Bayonne from April 14 to July 21, 1808, where he convoked the leaders of Spain, forced the abdication of both rulers, Charles IV and his son Ferdinand VII, appointed his brother Joseph Bonaparte King of Spain, and helped create a constitution that centralized the Spanish state.

dancing.¹¹ These militia-inspired musical aspects would have a lasting effect on certain Basque traditions, such as the pastore plays and the Corpus Christi processions, studied in Chapter 4. Finally, affected by war and siege, populations of this region were in dire need of the aid that a few charitable organizations were scrambling to offer. This led later to a flourishing of local charitable and missionary societies, which points to the establishment of a more socially active religious practice in the region.

The notion of a definitive geopolitical border in the Pyrénées is rather recent – it was only started to be traced in 1853. In fact, extensive economic and human relations developed among these territories for centuries. Henri Cavaillès made the image of a unified, singular Pyrenean state well known when he published an article on the Old Regime Pyrenean Federation in 1910.¹² Indeed, Pyrenean valleys long maintained certain autonomy and upheld local treaties spanning state lines, and more recent historians such as Jean-François Soulet, Patrice Poujade, and Peter Sahlins have worked to illuminate the complexities of trans-border relations between the multiple Pyrenean communities. Most significantly, even though gradual French and Spanish centralization had eliminated the autonomy of trans-border valley communities, these continued to uphold their local treaties, called “lies et passeries,” with their own trade and political clauses.¹³ The treaties worked to maintain pastoral agreements, mostly

¹¹ As Maria Gembero shows, in French-invaded Pamplona, civic-religious feasts continued with the participation of the municipal leaders mostly as before, with the addition of French military authorities on some occasions. A few French celebrations were added, such as the Feast of St. Napoleon on August 15th or King Joseph I's patron saint day, with varying resistance from the Pamplona civic authorities. See María Gembero Ustárruz, “Relaciones musicales entre franceses y españoles durante la Guerra de la Independencia (1808-1814): el caso de Pamplona,” *Revista de musicología* 20, no. 1 (1997): 451–66.

¹² H. Cavaillès, “Une fédération pyrénéenne sous l'Ancien régime. Les traités de lies et de passeries,” *Revue Historique* 105, no. 1 (1910): 1–34.

¹³ Jean-François Soulet, *Les Pyrénées au XIXe siècle: l'éveil d'une société civile* (Editions Sud Ouest) (Bordeaux: Sud Ouest, 2004), 48–52. Soulet explains that it was not until 1856 that France and Spain finally delimited the border and abolished these local treaties. But these provisions were so unpopular, that in 1859, both states recognized the border municipalities's rights to continue to make their own passeries, provided they were set for a maximum of five years and approved by the appropriate state authorities. Poujoude explains that the terms “lies et passeries” can be interpreted to come from the occitan *ligas e patzerias*, meaning roughly, “ties and peace.” But the Spanish *pacerías* and Navarese *facerías* lend more emphasis to the pasturing aspects of these treaties, wherein agreements

on the usage of trans-border pasturelands, but also concerning foresting and water. They established commerce, migration, and trade agreements, and they confirmed peace alliances that superseded any national conflicts and protected these areas' neutrality.¹⁴

In a letter from 1806, the secretary from the valley of Baztan, on the Spanish side, proposed a meeting with the nearby French communities of Itxassou, Sare, Aïnhoua, and Espelette to come to an agreement about the passage and protection of sheep herds from one territory to another.¹⁵ Notably, these were also the same communities that had seen disastrous desertion of soldiers in the war campaigns of 1793-95 and would continue to resist conscription in the Peninsular War. When the revolutionary representatives had condemned these towns' populations in 1794 for collusion with the enemy, many had fled across the border to Spain.¹⁶ One of the few extant songs referencing these difficult times was published in the late nineteenth century by the historian Pierre Haristoy. Called "The Lament of the Sare Fugitives," it gives a rare account of the exchanges between French refugees and their Spanish neighbors:¹⁷

are made to allow the peaceful usage and sharing of border pasturelands. See Patrice Poujade, *Identité et solidarités dans les Pyrénées essai sur les relations humaines, XVIIe-XIXe siècle*, Aldus (Aspet: Pyrégraph, 2000), 142-43.

¹⁴ Poujade, *Identité et solidarités dans les Pyrénées essai sur les relations humaines, XVIIe-XIXe siècle*, 143, 163. This neutrality meant that treaty signers were responsible for warning each other about coming armies and offering certain protections. Ibid., 164. As Cavaillès first observed, written traces of these agreements date back to at least the fourteenth century, if not earlier, like the treaties between same-side valleys of the twelfth century. Cavaillès, "Une fédération pyrénéenne sous l'Ancien régime. Les traités de lies et de passerries," 10-11. Gradually, for various reasons including measures of centralization and emigration from these regions, by mid-eighteenth century, the passerries came to stand only for the guaranteed protection of pasturing livestock.

¹⁵ "Lettre du secrétaire de la vallée de Bastan au maire d'Itxassou..." 8 May 1806, Archives privées, Fonds Poupel, E Depot Bayonne 8 S 173, AD-PAB.

¹⁶ The decree by Representatives Pinet and Cavaignac of March 3, 1794, forced the inhabitants of several Labourd towns along the border, including Sare, to leave their homes and migrate a distance of at least 20 leagues from the border. See Chapter 2.

¹⁷ "Sarako Ihesliarren Kantua," verses and tune in Antonio Zavala, *Frantzia'ko iraultza eta konbentzioko gerra bertsoan: (bertsoak)*, Auspoa liburutegia (Donostia: Etor, 1989), 95-96. Translation aided from the French version in Pierre Haristoy, *Le martyre d'un peuple ou internement des basques sous la terreur, suivi de chants antirévolutionnaires* (Pau: impr. Vignancour S. Dufau, 1894), 31. Unfortunately, neither source details where or when they collected this song.



"No-rat zoa-zte hor gai - ndi, ar-di na-ha - si - ak?" "Es -pai -nia-ra go - a - zi
7
doi-doi-a bi - zi - ak. Jau na, a- hantz be - ki - tzu guk e-gin gai - zki-
12
ak, go - sez hil ez gai - te - zen, men-di-an gu - zi - ak."

Example 3.1: "Sarako Ihesliarren Kantua" / "Lament of the Sare Fugitives"

"Nora zoazte hor gaindi, ardi nahasiak?"
"Espainiara goazi, doi-doi biziak.
Jauna, ahantz bekitzu guk egin gaizkiak,
Gosez hil ez gaitezen mendian guziak."

"Where are you going like that, poor lambs?"
"To Spain, barely saving our lives.
Lord, may our faults fall into oblivion,
That we may not all starve to death amidst the mountains."

Emazteak ikaran senarra bilatzen,
Gizonak emaztea orori galdatzen.
"Zer egin zare, ama? Non da ene aita?"
Horra urragarri den haur gaixoen pleinta.

The wife seeks out her husband,
The husband cries out for his wife.
"Mother, what have you become? Where is my father?"
Thus is the cry of the poor children.

Etxelarren heldu-ta, oi, gure lastimal!
Lurrean sartu zuken nork bere arima.
Nihork ez du leihorrik, ez norat arrima,
Zenbat baikira bizi, hainbertze bitima!

Arriving at Etchelar (Spain), oh, what misery!
Each one would have wanted to disappear underground.
No one has a roof, nor a place to hide away,
Much as we are still living, we are still victims.

Koko beltzak ez gaitu segur urrikari,
Xixpaz eskaintzen dio frantses gizonari.
Eskualdunak bakarrik demagu janari,
Ongi eginaz, Jauna, zuk emozu sari. ...

The black Castilian has no pity for us,
He points his gun at the French man.
Only the Basque gives us to eat,
Lord, reward him for the good he has done for us. ...

Four more verses follow, deploring Sare's constitutional priest who denounced the villagers and invoking God's aid. The lilting, major-mode melody forms a chilling contrast to the text, and it is indicated in later sources as the tune of the popular song "Charmegarria zira."¹⁸

Though we may not know much about the provenance of this song, it does offer a view of the urgency and precariousness of the Revolution's refugees, and the length to which the French

¹⁸ In Euskomedia's Basque songbook, as "Sarako Ihestiarak," accessed August 5, 2017, <http://www.euskomedia.org/cancionero/3840>. The tune is also transcribed in Zavala, *Frantzia'ko iraultza eta konbentzioko gerra bertsoetan*, 95–96.

Basques were willing to go to avoid fighting in the national conflict. It also gives a glimpse of the solidarity practiced among Basque speakers on both sides of the mountains.

Nonetheless, it is difficult to parse out the complexities in relations between both sides of the border during these times of national conflict. Even though, officially, French occupation and the war with Spain had ceased with the Peace of Basle in July of 1795, and trade between the two countries had been reestablished, trans-Pyrenean relations remained tense through the turn of the century. In July of 1798, for example, Charles IV King of Spain ordered French emigrants to leave Spanish territory, and many flooded back into towns like Bayonne only to be later persecuted by continued revolutionary policing on the French side.¹⁹ And while the Spanish held these emigrants suspect, French revolutionaries, such as members of the Société populaire of Pau, continued to denounce the corruptive religious influences from Spain and “Spanish fanaticism.”²⁰ All the while during the conflicts in the region, contraband commerce across the border with Spain was one of the most dangerous economies of the Basque country that flourished in the early nineteenth century.²¹

Desertion and resistance to conscription remained high in this region, especially from populations closest to the Spanish border, even when extraordinary efforts were made to

¹⁹ Hourmat, *Histoire de Bayonne*, Vol. II, 315. By this point, France and Spain were allies against Britain, and it is probable, as Lebourleux suggests, that this decree was issued under pressure from the French Directory, which wanted to control any anti-revolutionary elements this close to the border. The decree cites the inflammatory and ungrateful protests of the French emigrants as too dangerous to keep harboring. See André Lebourleux, “Les prêtres du diocèse de Bayonne émigrés dans le diocèse de Calahorra pendant la Révolution Française,” *Kalakorikos: Revista para el estudio, defensa, protección y divulgación del patrimonio histórico, artístico y cultural de Calahorra y su entorno*, no. 15 (2010): 244–245.

²⁰ As in a speech to the Society, around 1794, entitled, “Discours sur les maux que le Fanatisme a causés par l’influence des prêtres,” Sociétés populaires de Pau, AD-PAP, 29 L 3.

²¹ Soulet, *Les Pyrénées au XIXe siècle*, 52. Patrice Poujade, *Le voisin et le migrant: hommes et circulations dans les Pyrénées modernes, XVIe-XIXe siècle*, Histoire (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2010), 37. Poujade writes how the wars still made commercial relations difficult and the border region especially dangerous due to deserting soldiers-turned-bandits, sometimes known as “Miquelets” (although it seems the word originally referred to Catalan insurgents).

recruit troops for a special “Company of Basque Hunters.”²² In a rare manuscript letter from 1809, the sub-prefect wrote about his displeasure to the mayor of Itxassou, a small town near the Spanish border, concerning deserter militia troops from that town that were still at large. While acknowledging the amount of pressure the mayor must have been receiving from his disgruntled townspeople, the sub-prefect nonetheless enjoined him to arrest these fugitives and anyone who aided them before the approaching army made them all pay an even heavier price.²³ At the same time, Basques nonetheless maintained a long-standing reputation as loyal, fierce soldiers. Some were able to claim honor and social status for their families through military promotion, especially during the Napoleonic wars, and military heroes like General Jean Isidore Harispe left a profound mark on rural social and cultural history.²⁴

Several songs illustrate these ambivalent and contradictory attitudes towards the fighting of the two wars. Similar to the song of the Basque Hunters cited in Chapter Two, a song such as the following praised the valiant fighting of Basque soldiers from all three French Basque provinces:²⁵

²² Goyhenetche, *Histoire générale du Pays basque Tome V Le XIXe siècle, 1804-1914*, 50. See the song of the Basque Hunters that opens Chapter 2, and Appendix 2.1.

²³ “Lettre du sous-prefet de l’arrondissement au maire d’Itxassou, relative à la poursuite des déserteurs de sa commune,” 9 August 1809, Archives privées, Fonds Poupel, E Depot Bayonne 8 S 179, AD-PAB.

²⁴ Jean Isidore Harispe (1768-1855), from Saint-Étienne-de-Baïgorry, made a distinguished military career in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, eventually becoming Marshal of France in 1851. Harispe was captain of the Basque Hunters battalion during the revolutionary battles that invaded Hondarribia, San Sebastian, and Bilbao. Later, during the British-Spanish-Portuguese offensive that pushed into France starting in 1813, Harispe’s troops fought back in Basse-Navarre and in the battles of Orthez, Tarbes, and Toulouse. “Jean Isidore Harispe,” *Euskomedia*, accessed April 7, 2017, <http://www.euskomedia.org/aunamendi/58319>. Goyhenetche, *Histoire générale du Pays basque Tome V Le XIXe siècle, 1804-1914*, 26.

²⁵ Zavala, *Frantzia’ko iraultza eta konbentzioko gerra bertotan*, 135, 139. Translation aided from the French version in Francisque Michel, *Le Pays basque: sa population, sa langue, ses moeurs, sa littérature et sa musique* (Paris: Firmin Didot frères, fils et cie, 1857), 420–21.

La-pur - di, Ba-sa - Na - fa - rre, Zu-be - ro - a gu-re - ki, Ger-la - rat jo-an be-har gi - ra gu
7
zia - k el - ga - rre - ki, Ma - dri - lle - ko plaza - raino, gu - zi - ak le - rroz
12
lerro, Kan - ta - tzen du - gu - la - rik: "Han bego fran-tzesa li - bro."

Example 3.2: "Lapurdi, Basa-Nafarre, Zuberoa..." Song

Lapurdi, Basa-Nafarre, Zuberoa gureki,
Gerlarat joan behar gira guziak elgarreki,
Madrilleko plazaraino, guziak lerroz lerro,
Kantatzun dugularik: "Han bego frantzesa
libro."

Labourd, Basse-Navarre, Soule with us,
We must go to war all together,
Till we reach the center of Madrid, marching in rows,
Singing: "Let the French pass freely."

Armadetan bestak handi, etsaia dantzan ari,
Frantzia'ko nazionia ooren soñulari.
Pompak joiten atabala, artilleriak xirula:
Españolak eginen du heiekin karmañola.

For our armies it's a grand celebration to make the enemy dance,
With the French nation as the musician for all,
Bombs serve as drums, artillery as *xirula* (flutes):
The Spanish will dance the Carmagnole.

Frantsesak eta españolak egun eta bizian
Elgarreki konpontzian ukanen dik aski lan:
Gisa hortan, zer bizi modu izan behar zeruian?
Frantsesak ezteitek nahiko español hilen artian.

Now and in future the French and Spanish
Will have to work hard for a treaty:
In this way, how should one live in heaven?
The French will not want to be among the dead Spanish.

Donibanen apez batek kantu hau eman ditu,
Eskual herrietan kantatzen behar ditugu aditu;
Frantzia'ko erregeren dire laudorioetan,
Eskualdunen ohoretan, españolen laidioetan.

A priest from Saint-Jean gave these verses,
That we must hear sung in all the Basque country;
They are in praise of the King of France,
In honor of the Basques, in shame for the Spanish.

Though the song was collected by Father Azkue in the early twentieth century, and the text appears in Francisque Michel's 1857 study, again, it is impossible at this time to trace its provenance with more certainty. The last verse mentions that it was written by a priest from Saint-Jean-de-Luz, and according to Azkue it was sung by Harispe's troops, but it also remains rather vague whether this song was intended for the first Revolutionary wars, or for the later Peninsular War under Napoleon. For either of these contexts, the King of France would no longer have been in the picture. And yet the song depicts what had long been a stereotype of

Basque soldiers: their fierce loyalty to the French crown. The song paints a picture of uncomplicated unity among the Basque fighters in common hatred against the Spaniard (though nothing is said about the Spanish Basque), and in solidarity with the French army's conquering mission. Moreover, the conquest of Spain is performed here through dance and music, to the tune of the famous French patriotic song "La Carmagnole" (verse 2).

Paradoxically, the Carmagnole tune was often re-used by the Spanish themselves to convey diverse political messages that ranged from anti-French to pro-Bonapartist sides.²⁶

Unlike the Basque Hunters song from Chapter Two (see Appendix 2.1), however, the "Lapurdi" song relays a much more celebratory French patriotism and confident belligerence against the Spanish. No longer is there mention of neighboring Basque towns falling to French troops; rather, the target is Madrid. The simple, sprightly G-major tune contrasts sharply with the minor-mode, haunting melody of the Basque Hunters song. Despite the out-of-place royalist impulse of the last verse, this is nonetheless a rallying cry for support of the French campaign. This song was meant to recruit troops to support leaders like General Harispe. In contrast, the Basque Hunters song reveals a reluctance to go to war. (The second verse reads: "That war had to hit us/ we have never doubted." See Appendix 2.1.) Moreover, while the "Lapurdi" song rallies fighters in the present tense, the past-tense verses of the Basque Hunters song lend a lamenting air to these difficult times. Both of these songs, however, do not address the possible factor of language and cultural *difference* among French officers and their Basque-speaking soldiers, for example. In other words, their Basque lyrics take their Basque-ness for granted; their stories are internal to the language community.

²⁶ María Gembero Ustárriz, "La música en España e Hispanoamérica durante la ocupación napoleónica (1808-1814)" (Cortes y revolución en el primer liberalismo español: actas de las "Sextas Jornadas sobre la batalla de Bailén y la España Contemporánea", organizadas por el EXCM. Ayuntamiento de Bailén, Universidad de Jaén, 2006), 187-88, <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=2521359>.

One rather exceptional case where a Basque difference does come to the fore occurs in the novel *Peru Abarka* by Juan Antonio de Moguel y Urkiza, a Spanish Basque from the Biscayne province. Moguel completed the novel in 1802, but it was kept in manuscript form at the Franciscan monastery of Zarauz until it was first published in 1880.²⁷ The penultimate episode in the dialogue novel introduces a French Basque refugee who sings about the unwilling soldiers waging war against the Spanish. This gives Moguel the opportunity not only to highlight the prejudices felt against this French “foreigner” by the Spanish Basque characters, but also to reveal the disparities between Basque-speaking soldiers and French commanders and show how a French Basque might have viewed his own position within this conflict. The French refugee was from the town of Baïgorry, which was infamous for its soldiers and especially for its Basque general, Harispe. Knowing this, the Spanish characters ask him if he had fought in the war that had just ended. The refugee, a priest, replies that that was why had fled from France, to avoid the war. He then proposes to his new Biscayne friends to listen to the song that the Baïgorry soldiers would sing during those terrible times:

Gerlara ethorri ginean
Gure bizien perillean,
Gure agintariak frantzez:
“Allons, chasseurs, avancez,”
Guk euskara erantzutea,
“Diabriak eramen bazintzez.”

When we came to the war
At the risk of our lives,
Our French commander:
“Let’s go, hunters, forward,”
Our response in Basque:
“[If] the devil take you!”

Biba Nafarroako bolontarioak,
Asanblean dezuiez kontrarioak;
Egin zaizue gerla biotzez ta gogotik;
Gu ere elduen gera zuen ondorendik.

Long live the volunteers of Navarre!
You have opponents in the assembly;
Put your heart and mind into going to war;
We will also follow after you.

Asto-bizkarmendi mendi famoso,
Españiarra an dago beti sendo sendo;
Frantzesia ioaiten bada geldo eta manso,

The mount of “donkey’s back,” a famous mountain,
The Spanish are always there, strong-strong;
If the French advance slowly and calmly,

²⁷ “Peru Abarka,” *Euskomedia*, accessed April 18, 2017, <http://www.euskomedia.org/aunamendi/47482>. The full original title is: *Peru Abarka, Basarte-ko Ikastetxe andiko Euskal-irakaslea edo Euskaldun baserritar bakarti baten eta Maisu Juan izeneko bizargin kaletar baten arteko autuak* (Peru Abarka, Professor of the Basque language at the University of Basarte (Farmhouse/ Countryside), or Dialogues between a solitary Basque rustic and a streetwise barber named Maisu Juan). Before it was published, the novel circulated among Bascophile ecclesiastics in copy form. First it was published in a Catholic political daily of Bilbao called *Beti-bat* in 1880, and then in book form in Durango, 1881.

Koko ezur andiak etorriko franko.

The big-boned “Cocos” (Spanish) arrive in masses.

Otsondoko mendian “Nor bizi, nor bizi,”
Ustez asanblearen, joan ziren ihesi.
Mutuia izan eta itz bat ez bihurtu
Urdaxuri-aldeko behorak izutu.

On the mount of Otsondo, “Who lives, who lives!”
Thinking [they were] in the assembly,²⁸ they flee.
But it was mute and didn’t reply one word
The mares on the slopes of Urdaitz took fright.

Eguberri-eguna, eguna bai triste;
Ezkenduen guk beintzat alakorik uste;
Mezaren entzuteko libertade gabe,
Fusilak arturikan zentinelan daude.

Christmas Day, a sad day indeed;
We never believed it would be like this;
Without the liberty to hear Mass,
They took their rifles and stood guard.²⁹

The bilingual refrain (underlined here) portrays the strong opposition between French commanding officers and the Basque soldiers’ covert resistance. This insult against the French authority relies on the incomprehension of the “insurrectionary” Basque language.³⁰ Moreover, the last verse highlights the religious repression that the Revolution ushered in, prohibiting the Basques from celebrating Christmas Mass. This song thus reveals a great disparity between Basque-speaking soldiers and their French commanders, and it also portrays how both a French Basque, and a Spanish one (Moguel, the author) – both priests! – may have viewed their trapped position within this international conflict.

This episode of the Baïgorry soldiers’ song stands out in Moguel’s novel as a key moment in which the Spanish Basque characters from Biscay confront not only a “foreign” Basque dialect but a residual effect of the revolutionary wars as well. The rural Peru Abarka lectures the skeptical urbanite Maisu Juan for his initially cold reaction to the “foreigners” (the French priest and his friend, a Guipuzcoan), saying: “He who is too patriotic must have blind

²⁸ Orpustan interprets the “assembly” as the gathering of Spanish troops. See Jean-Baptiste Orpustan, “De l’histoire à la littérature: L’épisode de Joanis et le chant des soldats de Baïgorry dans le Peru Abarca (1802) de Juan-Antonio Moguel,” in *La révolution française dans l’histoire et la littérature basques du XIX^{ème} siècle* (St Etienne de Baïgorry, France: Editions Izpegi, 1994), 30.

²⁹ Basque version from Juan Antonio de Moguel y Urquiza, *Peru Abarka*, trans. Resurrección María de Azkue, 2nd ed. (Bilbao: Editorial “La Gran Enciclopedia Vasca,” 1970), 117; translation aided by Azkue’s Spanish version and French version in Jean-Baptiste Orpustan, ed., *La Révolution française dans l’histoire et la littérature basques du XIX^{ème} siècle: actes du colloque international de l’URA 1055 du C.N.R.S. (Université Michel de Montaigne-Bordeaux III), tenu à la Faculté pluridisciplinaire de Bayonne, les 28 et 29 juin 1993*, Collection “Recherches” (St Etienne de Baïgorry, France: Editions Izpegi, 1994), 267–68.

³⁰ As Barère de Vieuzac would famously imply about minority languages in 1794. See Chapter 2. As Orpustan notes, this Basque invective could not have been directed at Harispe, who spoke fluent Basque from Baïgorry. See Orpustan, “De l’histoire à la littérature: L’épisode de Joanis et le chant des soldats de Baïgorry dans le Peru Abarca (1802) de Juan-Antonio Moguel,” 30.

eyes; or at least eyes that are cloudy and full of sleep.”³¹ The Spanish Basque characters show a typical prejudice against the French. Ultimately though, as the French priest describes, those French Basque soldiers who sang this song would have preferred to stay at home rather than kill their Spanish neighbors. And presumably, his own exile was now permanent; moreover, he says that he now understood the Biscayne dialect like his own.³² The French priest’s song works to reinforce Moguel’s message that once one works through the initial, superficial differences in Basque dialects, the language is all the richer in its diversity.

Moguel incorporates song texts and proverbs throughout the dialogues of his novel, among Peru, Maisu Juan, and various other colorful characters – all intended to persuade Maisu Juan, and the readers, of the eloquence, relevance, and vigor of the Basque language and culture. Through these numerous literary illustrations – among them a song about linen-weaving and a versed fable about the town mouse and the country mouse – Peru paints a convincing picture of the idealized rural and patriarchal lifestyle, one that would persist in nineteenth-century Basque literature.³³ Though the French priest’s song includes no notated music or indicated tune, and though it may well be an erudite writer’s fabricated folklore, it nonetheless forms a central part of a novel that advocates for a “universal,” idealistic appreciation of Basque culture, in all its diversity, and in spite of conflict-ridden historical contexts. Moreover, in line with Moguel’s ethnographic view of a rural lifestyle, the pivotal placement of this musical expression within the novel confirms the importance of singing (and oral) culture on both sides of the Pyrénées.

³¹ Moguel y Urquiza, *Peru Abarka*, 115. “Errikoiegia danak, begi itsuak eukiko ditu; beintzat bai erdi geundu ta leusotuak.” At issue is also the suspicion Maisu Juan has of the Frenchman’s Christianity and fidelity to the Revolution, as noted in Orpustan, “De l’histoire à la littérature: L’épisode de Joanis et le chant des soldats de Baïgorry dans le Peru Abarca (1802) de Juan-Antonio Moguel,” 21.

³² Moguel y Urquiza, *Peru Abarka*, 118.

³³ Orpustan, “De l’histoire à la littérature: L’épisode de Joanis et le chant des soldats de Baïgorry dans le Peru Abarca (1802) de Juan-Antonio Moguel,” 19.

THE DIOCESE OF BAYONNE AND THE STATE OF RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS DURING THE CONSULATE AND EMPIRE, 1800-1815

The newly formed Diocese of Bayonne encompassed the three départements of Basses-Pyrénées, Hautes-Pyrénées, and Landes and included territories of at least six former dioceses: Bayonne, Dax, Aire, Lescar, Oloron, and Tarbes. In 1801, this vast domain contained one million faithful and 1,560 ecclesiastics.³⁴ During the Restoration, in 1821, the separate dioceses of Aire and Tarbes were created, leaving that of Bayonne to contain only the department of the Basses-Pyrénées.³⁵ Even in this reduced form, the new diocesan order faced unique challenges owing to the linguistic and cultural diversity of its populations. Appointing priests in the first months of the Concordat was especially complicated, owing not only to the delicacy of avoiding old revolutionary-era town conflicts, but also to the linguistic barriers particular to this region.³⁶ With the Bearnese and Bigourdains in the east, and the Basques in the west, town priests ideally had to be able to communicate in these local languages; the shuffling of former refractory and constitutional priests was somewhat limited.

When Jean-Pierre Saurine was installed as Constitutional Bishop in 1800, his speech at the Oloron cathedral already highlighted reconciliation among the diocese's divided clergy. (See Appendix 2.3 List of Bishops.) Of course, his view condemned the schism created by those refusing constitutional allegiance, proclaiming that, "Despite their errors we love them like our brothers. We pray to God that He illuminate them on the dangers of the ultramontane doctrine that they follow all too blindly, and which inspires in them so many injustices and defamations,

³⁴ Hourmat, *Histoire de Bayonne*, Vol. III, 38.

³⁵ Goity, *Histoire du diocèse de Bayonne*, 261. This still included the old dioceses of Oloron and Lescar, folded thereafter into that of Bayonne.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 272.

so many attacks and poisoned traits.”³⁷ Only two years later, the new Concordat Bishop of Bayonne, Joseph-Jacques Loison, made his appeal towards diocesan unity, calling on his fellow priests, to “be here our dignified and faithful cooperators in the salvation of souls: unify your efforts to ours in raising the ruins of this interior Jerusalem, so overturned by impiety in our time, by the scandals that ravage Christianity. Let us be what we are: men of God, lieutenants of Jesus Christ...”³⁸ The new bishop underlined the importance of the Prefect’s support in “making religion and state prosper”³⁹ in his vast diocese, an alliance of Church and state that would continually be manifested in civic and religious celebrations, starting with this, Loison’s formal installation ceremony at the Cathedral of Bayonne on Christmas Day, 1802.

Municipalities in Bayonne and Pau also had to maintain a hold on the public social order, even as the département of the Basses-Pyrénées underwent administrative changes. Bishop Loison himself viewed his role as one of close collaboration with local government (as mentioned above), and he rather seamlessly aligned state celebrations, such as the imperial crowning of Napoleon or various army victories, with Church devotional displays.⁴⁰ Yet crowd control remained a concern of local government, and public dancing and the wearing of masks

³⁷ “Discours prononcé à la cathédrale d’Oloron par le citoyen J-P Saurine...” (Pau: 1800), in Don Soulice, “Révolution et début Empire, Affaires religieuses (1790-1806),” n.d., Religious affairs, 1 J 13/6, AD-PAP. “Malgré leurs torts nous les aimons comme nos frères. Nous prions Dieu de les éclairer sur les dangers de la doctrine ultramontaine qu’ils suivent trop aveuglement, et qui leur inspire tant d’injustices et de calomnies, tant d’attaques et de traits empoisonnés.”

³⁸ “Discours adressé par le citoyen castellane, Préfet du Département des Basses-Pyrénées, À M. l’Evêque de Bayonne, lors de son installation dans l’Église Cathédrale. Réponse de M. l’Eveque au Préfet - Discours prononcé par M. d’Alincourt, commissaire nommé à cet effet par M. Le Métropolitain - Réponse de M. l’Evêque au commissaire métropolitain. (Bayonne: Duhart-Fauvet, 1802),” accessed February 21, 2017, <https://www.abebooks.com/Discours-adress%C3%A9-citoyen-Castellane-pr%C3%A9fet-d%C3%A9partement/6939856044/bd>. “...soyez ici nos dignes et fidèles coopérateurs dans le salut des âmes: unissez vos efforts aux nôtres pour relever les ruines de cette Jerusalem intérieure, de nos jours si renversée par l’impiété, par les scandales qui ravagent le christianisme. Soyons ce que nous sommes: les hommes de Dieu, les lieutenants de Jesus-Christ...”

³⁹ Ibid., 4. “faire prospérer la religion et l’état”

⁴⁰ The paramount example would be the nationwide celebrations of St. Napoléon on August 15th, ordered by Bishop Loison starting in 1806 according to the “Mandement de Mgr. l’évêque de Bayonne [Loison], qui ordonne que le 15 août de chaque année, jour de l’Assomption, et époque de la conclusion du concordat, la fête de S. Napoléon sera célébrée. Paris, le 1er mars 1806.” (Bayonne: Cluzeau, 1806).

was repeatedly forbidden.⁴¹ Moreover, the strong military presence in towns such as Bayonne often led to friction with civil and religious authorities trying to diminish societal vices such as gambling and prostitution.⁴² And the regulation of migrating populations, whether travelers or refugees, was a constant preoccupation of municipal police.⁴³ Though the Republican calendar continued to be used in the early years of the Consulate, and much of the Republican feast symbolism was maintained, the *décades* (ten-day weeks) were abandoned in 1802, and Sunday was declared a day of rest.⁴⁴

While the local Church recommenced some external displays of religiosity, such as the Corpus Christi processions discussed in Chapter Four, departmental and municipal administrations continued to proceed cautiously in the years of the Empire. In 1807, the Prefect of the *département* addressed a letter to the Pau mayor informing him of the imperial order to allow bishops to conduct visits to “the establishments dedicated to public instruction in their dioceses.”⁴⁵ The imperial religious ministry had sent orders for bishops to verify that chapels assigned for worship and religious instruction were in a decent state, that religious rituals followed established rules, that chaplains fulfilled their duties, and that students were taught proper religious principles according to the published diocesan catechism.⁴⁶ Later in 1809, a letter from the departmental administration exhorted municipal authorities to prohibit all

⁴¹ Hourmat, *Histoire de Bayonne*, Vol. III, 10. A decree from February 3, 1802 (14 pluviôse an X) prohibited the wearing of masks, the forming of masquerades without authorization from the mayor, the dancing of farandoles in the streets, and the beating of drums on the streets, cited in Hourmat. This decree was renewed on Jan. 18, 1803. Thus, both times this decree was intended to prohibit such activities during Carnival season.

⁴² Under the reform leadership of the Bayonne mayor, Laborde-Noguez, starting in 1803. *Ibid.*, 81.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 81.

⁴⁴ Napoleon reinstated the Gregorian calendar on January 1st, 1806, after over twelve years of using the Republican calendar.

⁴⁵ Lettre du Général de Brigade, Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées, au Maire de Pau, 2 avril 1807, Police du Culte, 1P3, UTPau, fol.1. “...dans les établissements consacrés, dans leurs diocèses, à l’instruction publique.”

⁴⁶ Lettre du Ministre de Cultes [Portalis] à Monsieur le Préfet du Département des Basses-Pyénées, sans date [1807], Paris, Police du Culte, 1P3, UTPau, fol. 2r-v.

missions in their city and arrest any itinerant, predicating priests.⁴⁷ Priests returning from exile were under surveillance by the prefecture and municipalities, who made sure that parish appointments were approved by both ecclesiastical and government authorities. Some authorities continually expressed the wish to have the diocesan seat moved to Pau for its more central location, and perhaps also for its easier supervision by the département, but this proposal never succeeded.⁴⁸

Perhaps the Pau municipality had reason to be vigilant of fanaticizing missionary efforts, though it was more likely only following imperial policy on the banning of internal missions. Despite the ban, in the early years of the Empire, a former refractory Capuchin who had led religious services in hiding and had gained a certain reputation in the region of the pilgrimage site Bétharram was able to publish a collection of cantiques as part of his efforts to reestablish a missionary society. Father Joseph (Jean Sempé) had recruited a few priests to help him re-evangelize the populations around the Pau plains and encourage new pilgrimages to Bétharram. By 1810, he and his followers had been all but ousted from the Bétharram establishment, but not before leaving behind this collection of “Cantiques spirituels, pour les missions, à l’usage des nouveaux Missionnaires de Bétharram” – the only extant example of early missionary efforts in the region that used vernacular cantiques.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Lettre du Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées au Maire de Pau, 9 octobre 1809, Police du Culte, 1P3, UTPau, fol. 3verso. The imperial Minister of Police had observed that, “these men, foreigners to the regions where they come preach along their way, the important ministry of the Word, almost always call attention by their fanatical and extravagant preaching, which only tends to discredit the Pastors, sow uncertainty in consciences, and provoke persecutions.” Further, the government only recognizes appointed bishops, priests, vicars, and canons and no other ministers, 3 recto. “...ces hommes étrangers au pays où ils viennent exercer en passant, l’important ministère de la Parole, se font presque toujours remarquer, par des prédications fanatiques et extravagantes qui ne tendent qu’à discréditer les Pasteurs, à jeter de l’incertitude dans les consciences et à susciter des persécutions.”

⁴⁸ Hourmat, *Histoire de Bayonne, Vol. III*, 129.

⁴⁹ *Cantiques spirituels, pour les missions, à l’usage des nouveaux Missionnaires de Bétharram. [Written in the dialect of Béarn.]* (Pau: Veronese, 1810). It is curious that this collection was printed by the Prefectoral printer Veronese, at a time when missions were *not* encouraged. I have not been able to find any information on Veronese that would shed light on this matter. A digital copy is available at: <https://play.google.com/books/reader?printsec=frontcover&output=reader&id=r61bAAAACAAJ&pg=GBS.PP1>. The only extant physical copies I have been able to trace are in the British Library and at UTPau.

The printed collection includes many cantiques in French, especially to prepare and participate in the local missions, and a few in Gascon, to be sung to indicated tunes. Indeed, this was a quick and simple way to reignite interest, especially in the surrounding towns of Bétharram, which had participated zealously in Republican festivals and had strayed from religious practices.⁵⁰ Yet Joseph's detractors were quick to criticize the use of profane tunes to sing sacred texts. In the preface to the collection, the author acknowledges that the cantiques included were purposefully chosen to be easy to sing, preferring more common tunes and simple, intelligible verses to more refined poetic arts. The target audience was clear:

It is for so many poor people who are ignorant of their Religion, and who risk being damned by this ignorance, the easiest means available to educate oneself (in this religion); ...that working people can through singing sanctify their day, and pray in a manner often more agreeable to God, than if they were to leave their activities to go to Church; that it is the means to keep at bay so many temptations that are found, either in the speech we use ordinarily, or in the profane Songs that we sing, or even in the thoughts that preoccupy us.⁵¹

And though half a dozen cantiques are included in what the preface describes as the “vernacular,” Gascon, for accessibility, about three times as many cantique texts in both French and Gascon are set to secular melodies (roughly half of the 66 total cantiques). It seems the compiler did not fear that the tempting profane songs would be of concern if they were used as vehicles for sacred lyrics. Cantiques such as one for Pentecost were to be sung to the tune of “Il pleut, il pleut Bergère” (“It’s raining, it’s raining Shepherdess”), and the one for learning how to properly recite the Rosary to the tune of “Avec les jeux dans le village” (“With the games in the

⁵⁰ Bétharram's town of Lestelle had remained rather anti-revolutionary, possibly due to the influence of the Capuchin priests who were refuged there at the beginning of the Revolution, but the surrounding towns of Montaut, Bruges, Coarraze, Igon, Nay, and others had priests who had taken the Constitutional Oath and were towns that followed revolutionary decrees with some patriotism. See Lassalle, *Notre Dame de Bétharram*, 270-271.

⁵¹ *Cantiques spirituels, pour les missions, à l'usage des nouveaux Missionnaires de Bétharram. [Written in the dialect of Béarn.], 2 Avertissement.* “...c'est pour tant de pauvres gens qui ignorent leur Religion & qui risquent d'être damnés par cette ignorance, le moyen le plus facile qu'ils puissent avoir pour s'en instruire...que les gens du travail peuvent par là sanctifier leur journée, & prier d'une manière souvent plus agréable à Dieu, que s'ils quittaient leurs occupations pour aller à l'Église; que c'est le moyen d'éloigner tant de tentations qui se trouvent, ou dans les Discours qu'on tient ordinairement, ou dans les Chansons profanes qu'on chante, ou même dans les pensées dont on s'occupe.”

village”).⁵² A cantique in Gascon asking for forgiveness before the Holy Sacrament indicates the melody as “Adichatz tous de Cauterez” (“Greetings all from Cauterets”). The collection is clearly still in the tradition of eighteenth-century cantiques *sur timbre*, with no particular critical regard as to the choice of timbres.

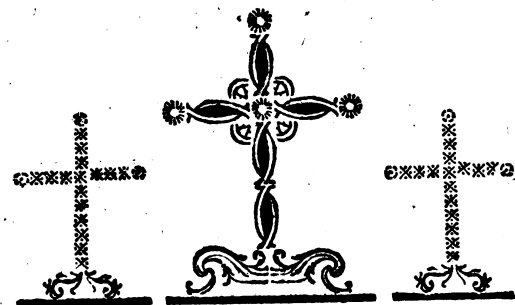
Though many of the texts highlight the preparation for the missions and (re-)learning of pious practices, no cantiques in this collection specify a particular devotion to Our Lady of Bétharram or to the Calvary site which Father Joseph was working so hard to reconstruct.

Indeed, the title page is the only place that mentions Bétharram, decorated with three

Calvary crosses (see Figure 3.1). Some cantiques are about the Holy Cross, the mission cross, and the Virgin Mary, generally. Cantiques to “invite the people to the mission” and “on the necessity of returning to God” indicate the clear, general missionizing intent of the collection.⁵³ Perhaps any more direct mention would have sparked suspicion from the administration. In any case, few, if any, other publications at this time of war and regional chaos contributed to a renewal of cantique singing during the imperial period.⁵⁴

CANTIQUE
SPIRITUELS,
POUR LES MISSIONS,
A l'usage des nouveaux Missionnaires
de Betharram.

Juvenes & Virgines, Senes cum Junioribus laudens nomen Domini. Pl. 148.
Que les Jeunes Gens & les Vierges, les Vieillards & les Enfans louent le nom du Seigneur.



A P A U,
Chez P. VERONESE, Imprimeur de la préfecture.

Figure 3.1: “Cantiques spirituels” (circa 1810), Title Page, (Source: Google books)

⁵² Cantiques LVII, 83, and LVIII, 85.

⁵³ *Cantiques spirituels*, I and II, 3, 5. “Pour inviter le peuple à la mission” and “Sur la nécessité de revenir à Dieu.”

⁵⁴ Jean-Baptiste Laborde mentions the reissue of *Cantiques en gascon par les Capucins, en province de Guyenne*, from Pau: Veronese, 1804, but I have not been able to locate it. And Vinson points to a couple of early publications:

RELIGIOUS ORDERS – THE FOCUS ON EDUCATION AND HOSPICE

Congregational orders in France exploded in numbers in the nineteenth century, even though religious orders with solemn vows were still banned under the Consulate and Empire.⁵⁵ Groups of both men and women, such as confraternities and congregations with hospitality and educational missions, slowly resurged starting in 1804.⁵⁶ By the end of the century, over 400 new female religious orders had been established in the country, and male active orders had also grown markedly.⁵⁷ These nineteenth-century religious orders (male or female) were distinct from those dating back to the Old Regime, however, for their vocations dealing with secular society, and in their active versus contemplative missions: “instead of being cloistered behind convent or monastery walls with a primary function of prayer, members lived and worked in local communities, where they provided social services from teaching to nursing to charity work of all kinds.”⁵⁸ Based on reference models such as the Frères des Écoles Chrésiennes and the Filles de la Charit , the rare secular orders that had survived from the Old Regime, new orders in the nineteenth century made education and active charity their primary missions.

Cantiques pour le temps de la mission. (Bayonne: Duhart-Fauvet, s.d., c. 1805), a small in-12 pamphlet of five Basque cantiques; and *Cantica izpiritualac. Canta Jaun-goicoari cembeit cantica berri. Psal. 97.* (Bayonne: Fauvet jeune, 1804). Translates to: *Quelques nouveaux cantiques   chanter   Dieu.* Julien Vinson, *Essai d’une bibliographie de la langue basque*; (Paris, 1891), 217–18.

⁵⁵ The Constituent Assembly abolished regular orders on Feb. 13, 1790, permitting only “useful” / active orders dedicated to education and hospital care. As early as November 2, 1789, religious property had been nationalized. By 1809, Napoleon had authorized numerous active congregations, but reaffirmed the revolutionary prohibition of monastic solemn vows, which forced religious to give up their property and inheritance. In this way, Napoleon maintained the Enlightenment view that contemplative orders did not serve society and the revolutionary opposition to congregations amassing property wealth. See Sophie Hasquenoph, *Histoire des ordres et congr gations religieuses en France du Moyen  ge   nos jours* (France: Champ Vallon, 2009), 1001–4.

⁵⁶ With Napoleon’s decree of June 22, 1804, the old revolutionary prohibition of any religious corporation was repealed. From then on, congregations had to have their statutes authorized by the government, but many also continued their charitable work illicitly, without any authorization. See *Ibid.*, 999.

⁵⁷ Sarah Ann Curtis, *Educating the Faithful: Religion, Schooling, and Society in Nineteenth-Century France* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2000), 8.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.

Primary education, above all, became one of the most durable and pervading ways in which these Catholic congregations were able to rechristianize urban and rural societies. Under Napoleon's rule, funding for primary education was left to local initiatives.⁵⁹ This meant that communities had to figure out the most cost-effective way of providing this education, which often meant entrusting schools to congregational teaching orders. As Sarah Curtis notes: "...the congregations had certain organizational advantages over lay school teachers: advocates in the form of parish priests, a central organization to negotiate terms and send appropriate teachers, and, most critically, access to charitable funding."⁶⁰ But while the government officially recognized certain active congregations such as the Frères des Écoles Chrétiennes starting in 1804, it drew a distinction between such orders of "public utility" and older, contemplative monastic orders. Certain monastic models were eventually tolerated more than others, but ultimately only the authorized, active secular communities received any government funding from the Ministry of Religion.⁶¹

In the diocese of Bayonne, one of the earliest congregations to regain recognition in its mission to educate young women was the Ursuline order, even though it had been a monastic order in the past.⁶² The Ursulines were reestablished in Saint-Esprit, across the Adour river from Bayonne, in 1806, and in Pau that same year. Bishop Loison approved their statute to educate young women in the Christian faith, on the condition that they accept a number of poor

⁵⁹ Ibid., 31.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 26.

⁶¹ Hasquenoph, *Histoire des ordres et congrégations religieuses en France du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, 1001. Often, this funding helped with the establishing of the congregation, and in the case of congregations doing educational or hospice work, these funds were essential. Government support for congregations was maintained until 1880.

⁶² The Ursuline order, founded in 1535 in Brescia, Italy, was not originally a monastic order, but in 1568, Charles Borromeo introduced the order in his diocese in Milan as a cloistered community dedicated to the education of young women. The first Ursulines to be established in France were in Provence in 1596. The convent of St. Ursule was founded in Bayonne (actually in St. Esprit across the river) in 1621 under the rule of St. Augustine, in order to educate the elite and bourgeois girls of the region. The order was recognized by Napoleon in 1806 for its educational mission. See also Gaston Duchet-Suchaux and Monique Duchet-Suchaux, *Les Ordres religieux: guide historique* (Paris: Flammarion, 2000), 287–88.

students at no cost.⁶³ But unlike many of the newer educational congregations that would flourish later in the century, the Ursulines mainly educated the daughters of the local elite and bourgeoisie, and they remained within the convent walls.

Even before the reestablished educational orders, the first congregation to be officially recognized for its work caring for the sick and the poor was the Sisters (or Daughters) of Charity, summoned to run the civil hospital in Bayonne in 1805.⁶⁴ In actuality, the Filles de la Charité had continued their work serving the poor and sick throughout the revolutionary decade. In 1805, after some pressure from the pope, Napoleon officially authorized the congregation and placed it under the patronage and protection of his mother.⁶⁵ In addition to providing hospice and medical care in Bayonne, this order also served the city's *Depôt de Mendicité* (a kind of poor house) and was reestablished in Pau, Orthez, and Oloron as well. In Pau, the Dames de la Charité were helping administer the city's hospital for the poor by the end of the Empire.⁶⁶

Yet the general instability in this region during the First Empire meant that few other educational initiatives or newer missionary congregations established themselves at this time. Towns continued to look to their parish priests for moral leadership, and in most cases, catechismal instruction fell to them as well. In the coastal town of Guethary, for example, the municipality made a list of responsibilities for the newly hired town priest in August of 1815. He had to: say Mass twice on Sundays; preach every first Sunday of the month and give a blessing after the sermon; teach the catechism every Sunday; confess when needed; conduct

⁶³ Hourmat, *Histoire de Bayonne*, Vol. III, 125. Their statute was approved in 1808 by Loison. (But just because they had a statute with the diocese, this did not mean they were officially authorized by the government.)

⁶⁴ Ibid., And Goïty, *Histoire du diocèse de Bayonne*, 350. The Bayonne hospice was housed since the seventeenth century in what has now become the Basque Museum.

⁶⁵ Hasquenoph, *Histoire des ordres et congrégations religieuses en France du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, 1000.

⁶⁶ "Compte général de la recette et dépense que rend... le trésorier... des pauvres honteux de la ville de Pau," *Hopital de Pau, Bureau d'administration des pauvres honteux, Pau, Cultes, GG 255, UTPau.*

baptisms, marriages, and burials; and lead the processions that were customary to the parish.⁶⁷ Local priests were called upon to lead formal rituals and reestablish rites of passage in these towns, in a sense, to lead these communities toward social stability once more. The restoration of the diocesan seminaries was paramount, in order to meet the shortage of these local leaders. The Bayonne seminary buildings were recuperated from the military in 1805, and the Bétharram and Dax seminaries were soon reestablished as well.⁶⁸ By 1810, the Lenten collect had raised money to help the 526 student clerics in the diocese.⁶⁹

The foundation to any basic, primary education at this time was the learning of the catechism. Later educational laws would reinforce the role of religious study in the basic nationwide curriculum even in secular public schools.⁷⁰ Thus, Napoleon sought to ensure that one uniform catechism be taught across the empire and commissioned an imperial catechism that was published in 1806. Napoleon's 1802 law concerning public worship included not only the Concordat with the Roman Church, but also the "Organic Articles" that mandated, among other things, that "There will be but one liturgy and one catechism for all of the Catholic churches in France."⁷¹ Though the imperial catechism took only a few years to be produced, the liturgical unification project never took off. The Church in France was continuing to show its fractures and protested these government directives. Nevertheless, in 1807, Bishop Loison ordered the new catechism's local publication as the sole version to be used in his diocese, and

⁶⁷ In Soulet, *Les Pyrénées au XIXe siècle*, 134. From Municipal Records, Guéthary, 27 aout 1815, 1D1, AD-PAB.

⁶⁸ Hourmat, *Histoire de Bayonne*, Vol. III, 126–27.

⁶⁹ "Diocèse de Bayonne, État des sommes reçues en conformité du mandement de Mgr l'Évêque de Bayonne, sur l'abstinence du carême de l'année 1810, destinées aux réparations, constructions des bâtimens, et supplément de pensions des élèves du séminaire diocésain." Bayonne: Cluzeau Frères, 1810, Culte Catholique, E Depot Bayonne IP2, AD-PAB.

⁷⁰ The Guizot Law of 1833 and the Falloux Law of 1850 both emphasized that primary schooling had to include moral and religious instruction.

⁷¹ Qtd. in André Latreille, *Le catéchisme impérial de 1806; études et documents pour servir à l'histoire des rapports de Napoléon et du clergé concordataire*, Annales de l'Université de Lyon (Paris, Société d'édition Les Belles lettres, 1935), 1. Article 39: "Il n'y aura qu'une liturgie et un catéchisme pour toutes les églises catholiques de France."

translations in Basque Labourdin and Souletin soon followed (see Figure 3.2).⁷² This sole imperial catechism would replace the nine separate versions inherited from the various former dioceses which now comprised Loison's domain.⁷³ In his opening mandate to the new catechism, Loison highlighted the importance of its validation by the pope (a point which would later be contested after the fall of Napoleon),⁷⁴ and he enjoined educators and parents to dutifully model this religious education.

As children learned reading and writing along with the catechism, they also practiced singing simple hymns that reinforced the meaning of their lessons. Though the French version of the Imperial Catechism did not seem to include such hymns,⁷⁵ the Basque translations inserted a couple of short cantique texts of two verses each, to be sung before and after the

⁷² Julien Vinson references these Basque dialect translations in his Vinson, *Essai d'une bibliographie de la langue basque*, 260–67. Goity also mentions them, along with a double French-Basque version dating from 1812, in *Histoire du Diocèse*, 290. In Labourdin, the catechism is: “Francesen Imperadorearen eremuetaco eliza gucietacotz eguina-den catichima: J.J. Loison, Bayonaco Jaun Apezpicuaren manuz imprimatua, haren diocesan bakharric iracatsia icateco.,” Text, <http://www.kmliburutegia.eus/Record/16634>, (Bayonne: Cluzeau, 1807). It was reissued in 1812 by Cluzeau under the same title, which translates roughly to: “Catechism issued for all the Churches of the lands of the Emperor of France.” In Souletin, an abridged version of the catechism was printed as: “Doctrina khristia haurren instruccionetaco, idequiric hitcez hitz Franciaco eliza ororen usageco catichimati,” (Bayonne: Cluzeau, 1812), translating as: “Christian doctrine for the instruction of children, taken word for word from the Catechism for use by all the Churches in France.” The imperial catechism was written in large part based on the writings of Bossuet, with some aid from d’Astros, who would later succeed Loison as Bishop of Bayonne. Curiously, as Vinson remarks on p. 262, no Bearnese or Gascon translation of this catechism was issued for the diocese, even though there had been a lineage of Bearnese-language catechisms in the 18th century. However, a version in Spanish was issued, for the new subjects of Napoleon’s expanding empire – “Catecismo para el uso de todas las Iglesias del Imperio frances. Aprobado por el Cardenal Caprara, legado de la Santa Sede: y mandado publicar por el Emperador Napoleon,” (Madrid: imp. de Villalpando, 1807).

⁷³ Hourmat, *Histoire de Bayonne*, Vol. III, 121. The bishop’s mandate at the beginning of the 1807 catechism in French reads: “Mais qu’il eût été pénible pour nous et pour nos coopérateurs l’enseignement des élémens de notre Religion sainte; qu’il eût été embarrassant pour les maîtres et les élèves, les pères et les enfans, si nous avions dû conserver les Catéchismes de neuf diocèses, dont se compose celui de Bayonne.” *Catéchisme à l’usage de toutes les églises de l’Empire français* (Bayonne: Cluzeau frères, 1807), B052, Musée des Pyrénées, ii-iii.

⁷⁴ The catechisms included a foreward notice from Cardinal Caprara, the papal legate, giving the pope’s approval of this imperial version, but it later became clear that the pope was not favorable to this version of the teachings. See Hourmat, *Histoire de Bayonne*, Vol. III, 289.

⁷⁵ Vinson suggests on p. 262 that there is one page of cantiques in the French version, but no tunes or cantique verses are to be found in the version I have consulted. Instead, there are two prayers for before and after the catechism which are not in verse form.

catechism, to the tune of “Adoratcen çaitut humilqui” / “Adore the Lord, Humble Ones.”⁷⁶ It was more common to include these as prayers, as is seen in the French catechism, but these rhyming, rhythmic verses show a clearer, pedagogical purpose.

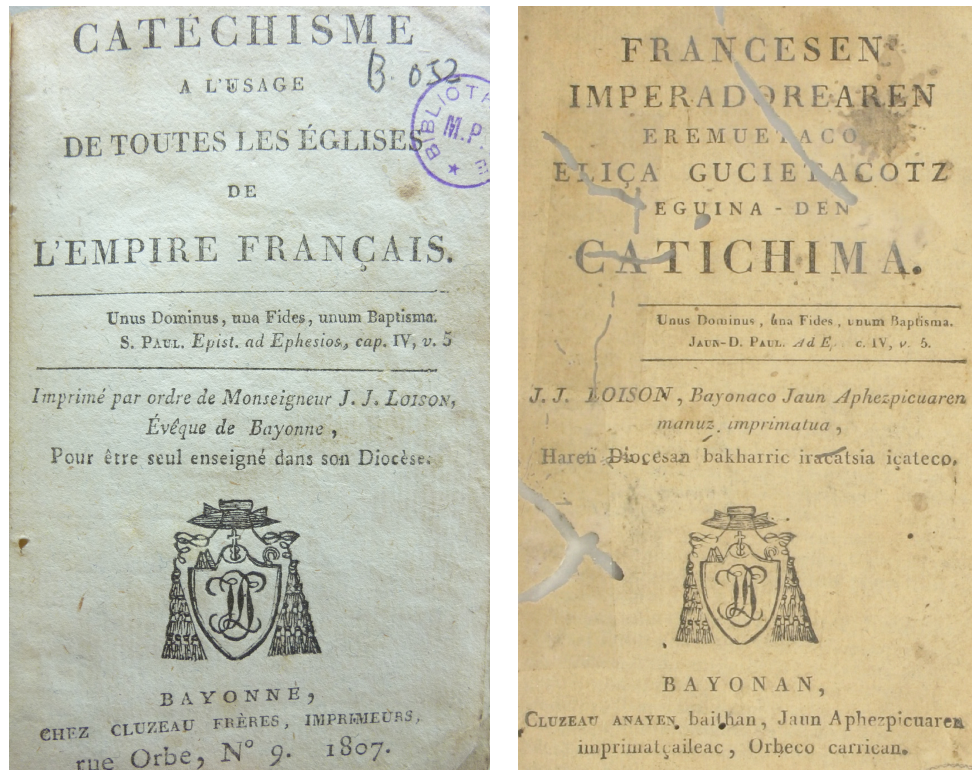


Figure 3.2: Bayonne Diocese Imperial Catechism Title Pages, with Bishop Loison’s Coat of Arms, (Sources, left to right: B052, Musée des Pyrénées and Koldo Mitxelena Liburetegia, digital library)

One of the required catechismal lessons on the Fourth Commandment became quite controversial over time.⁷⁷ The lesson taught love and obedience for Napoleon the 1st, “our

⁷⁶ “Franceesen Imperadorearen eremuetaco eliča gucietaçotz eguina-den catichima,” 20. This cantique tune appears in 18th-century Basque cantique repertories, such as the manuscript in the Abbadié collection discussed below (note 101).

⁷⁷ The Fourth Commandment is “Honor your father and your mother,” and it includes teachings on the duties of civil authorities, of civilians, and on responsible governance.

emperor,” because God himself had established him as emperor. More particularly, Napoleon was:

...he whom God had chosen during the difficult circumstances to reestablish the public cult of our fathers’ holy religion, and to be its protector. He brought back and preserved the public order with his profound and active wisdom; he defends the State with his powerful arm; he has become the anointed one of the Lord through the consecration he received from the sovereign pontiff, head of the universal Church.⁷⁸

Thus, the catechism reinforced the civic order and mandated dutiful respect and obedience to the constituent authorities. As new, shorter versions continued to be issued after 1812, with the changing tides of Napoleon’s empire these elaborations grew increasingly suspect. The change in political events in 1814–1815 thus brought about the withdrawal and condemnation of the Imperial Catechism, and, like in many regions, the reissuing of Old Regime catechisms from the former dioceses, with Basque and Bearnese translations.⁷⁹ Loison wrote in the foreword of these re-issues that he regretted having ever supported the Imperial Catechism, and that these Napoleonic versions were now prohibited from use in the diocese.

⁷⁸ Qtd. in Vinson, *Essai d’une bibliographie de la langue basque*, 264, from the original 1807 Bayonne edition. “...celui que Dieu a suscité dans les circonstances difficiles pour rétablir le culte public de la religion sainte de nos pères, et pour en être le protecteur. Il a ramené et conservé l’ordre public par sa sagesse profonde et active; il défend l’Etat par son bras puissant; il est devenu l’oint du Seigneur par la consécration qu’il a reçue du souverain pontife, chef de l’Église universelle.” Both Basque dialectical versions also include translations of this lesson, though the 1812 Souletin translation is a shorter, condensed version. The lesson on honoring Napoleon was replaced with honoring “our Catholic monarch” in the Spanish translation of the catechism. As Vinson notes (p. 267), translations of the catechism to Breton, Catalan, Flemish, German, and Italian were issued within France, but Vinson is not certain other versions adapted to conquered territories (ie, Holland, Naples) were also published.

⁷⁹ These reissued catechisms came from the version of the former diocese of Oloron. In Basque, this was the *Catichima edo fediaren eta guiristino-eguien explicacione laburra...* (Bayonne: M Cluzeau, 1815); and in Gascon/Bearnese: *Catechisme a l’usadge deu dioces d’Aulourou*. Imp par ordre de Villoutriex de Faye. (Bayonne: Cluzeau, 1814).

CANTIQUES UNDER THE RESTORATION AND BEYOND, 1815-1855

The publication of cantique collections flourished during the Restoration, when the political turn of events allowed for a freer expression of religiosity. (See again, Appendix 3.2, List of Cantique editions.) Though various editions of French-language cantiques made their way to local seminaries and schools, including collections issued for use by the *Écoles Chrétiennes* or the *Filles de la Charité*, both Bayonne and Pau printers continuously published mostly Basque-language cantiques throughout this period. Cantiques in Gascon or Bearnese were rarer at this time, but were published more frequently starting in the 1850s, in large part due to the folklorist impetus of Emile Vignancour.⁸⁰ In this Restoration period, the frequently reissued Basque cantique collections were intended mainly for diocesan missions. In this respect, the collections followed a well-furnished lineage of “*Cantico izpiritualac, Missionetaco eta berce demboretac haiñitz abantaillossac... / Spiritual Cantiques, very advantageous for Missions and other times...*” from the eighteenth century.⁸¹ While many were reissues of the same mission cantique texts, others, such as one edition from Cluzeau in 1844 and another from Fauvet jeune with an unknown date, offered newly composed poetry.⁸²

The published cantique tradition in the Basque language dates even further back to the collection by Joanes Etxeberri entitled *Noelac eta berce canta espiritual berriac...* (Noels and other new spiritual songs...) and published in Bordeaux in 1631.⁸³ A priest from the coastal town of Ciboure, Etxeberri wrote mostly in verse, and it is possible his accessible hymn verses were

⁸⁰ Who took over the family printing business in mid century and issued various folksong collections.

⁸¹ See Vinson, *Essai d'une bibliographie de la langue basque*, 214–18.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 216.

⁸³ The full title is “*Noelac eta berce canta espiritual berriac Iesus Christoren biciaren misterio principalen gañean eta sainduen ohoretan besta buruetacotz / Noels and other new spritual songs on the principal mysteries of the life of Jesus Christ and in honor of the saints, for the main feasts.*” See Amaia Serrano Mariezkurrena, “Joanes Etxeberri,” *Euskomedia*, 2012, <http://www.euskomedia.org/aunamendi/150>.

meant to help him in his mission with the local sailors. In any case, Etxeberri's collection was published multiple times throughout the seventeenth century in Bordeaux and Bayonne, a sure sign of its popularity.⁸⁴ It was part of the burgeoning vernacular literature being published for rural missions throughout the regions of France at this time of Counter Reformation, with cantiques in particular being used for popular evangelization.⁸⁵ The fact that these are indicated as "new" spiritual cantiques in the title suggests that this collection participated in a vibrant oral tradition of this time. Many of Etxeberri's cantiques were then included in the succeeding *Cantico izpiritualac* collections that took off in the mid-eighteenth century and that soon replaced his editions, further demonstrating that these were not just literary texts, but that they had an enduring practicality as songs for devotional practice.⁸⁶

Cantique collections in Bearnese or Gascon had a relatively later publication history, with most collections of the seventeenth century remaining in manuscript form.⁸⁷ It seems that certain ecclesiastical families in the region, notably in the old Oloron diocese, had favored Basque publication over Bearnese in those days.⁸⁸ Nevertheless, by the eighteenth century, cantique collections in Gascon were also being printed, especially for use in rural missions

⁸⁴ Serrano Mariezkurrena mentions editions from Bordeaux in 1645, and from Bayonne in 1697 and 1699, along with several other undated Bayonne Fauvet editions, *Ibid.* But Vinson writes that no extant copy remains for the 1630/31 edition (even though ecclesiastical approvals exist for this earlier date); the earliest extant version is from 1645. The Fauvet editions could have been published into the early half of the eighteenth century, according to Vinson, *Essai d'une bibliographie de la langue basque*, 68–73.

⁸⁵ For example, in Brittany through the Breton cantiques by Jesuit Julien Maunoir; see Bernard Dompnier, "Les cantiques dans la pastorale missionnaire en France au XVIIIe siècle," in *La musica dei simplici. L'altra controriforma*, ed. Stefania Nanni, vol. 6 (Rome: Viella, 2012), 73–105. Another studied example of mission cantiques is the vast collection by Louis-Marie Grignon de Montfort, who used them in missions in the West of France and Brittany. See also Amédée Gastoué, *Le cantique populaire en France; ses sources, son histoire*, On cover: Bibliothèque de l'art musical religieux (Lyon: Janin frères, 1924), 203–5.

⁸⁶ "Introduction" in Gabriel Lerchundi, *Kantikak, cantiques basques, anciens et modernes* (Bayonne: Abbaye Notre-Dame de Belloc, 1948), xvii–xviii.

⁸⁷ It was not until the 18th century that cantiques in Gascon began to be published more consistently, see Jean Eygun, "L'occitan dans la pastorale catholique aux XVIIIe et XVIIIe siècles: premières recherches dans les diocèses gascons," *Lengas* 31 (1992): 49.

⁸⁸ For example, under the de Maytie family of bishops in the 17th century, who came from Soule, *Ibid.*, 57. But the dioceses of Dax and Bayonne also saw more Basque publications than Bearnese/Gascon even into the 18th century. See the brief comparison Eygun conducts on the multi-lingual dioceses, *Ibid.*, 56–58.

throughout the region. Besides the Jesuit missions conducted in more eastern Pyrenean provinces, many of these Gascon cantiques were used for missions by the Capuchins of the Guyenne Province and by the local missionaries of Bétharram (who will be discussed in Chapter 5).⁸⁹ The cantiques composed by Augustinian priest Barthélemy Amilia (or Amilha) in the seventeenth century, first published in 1673, had many later adaptations and reissues, and were widely influential in the Gascon-speaking missions.⁹⁰ Some of the Gascon cantiques reprinted early on in the nineteenth century were still directly inherited from the eighteenth-century mission cantique collections by the Capuchins.

Taking my cue from the limited comparative work on cantiques, especially that of Jacques Cheyronnaud,⁹¹ I have set out to study a few representative examples of the Basque-language cantique collections and the French-language editions issued during the years of missionary activity in the nineteenth-century Bayonne Diocese, as well as a couple of the rare Gascon-language collections, mainly from mid-nineteenth century. The following table gives some detail of my selected corpus of collections, organized by language (and rough chronological order):

⁸⁹ Two late eighteenth-century collections exist for the pilgrimage to Bétharram that I have not been able to find. But both Eygun and Jean-Baptiste Laborde cite them, as well as numerous editions throughout the latter half of the eighteenth century of the *Cantiques spirituels pour les missions, à l'usage des RR. PP. Capucins de la province de Guyenne*, which include some cantiques in Gascon. See “Cantiques d’église en béarnais et en basque,” in Jean-Baptiste Laborde, “Laborde Papers,” n.d., Fonds privés, I J 200/15, AD-PAP.

⁹⁰ Barthélemy Amilia, *Le tableau de la bido del parfet crestia que represento l'exercici de la fe... per le P. A. N. C. reg. de l'ordre de S. Aug. (Amilha)* (Toulouse: per J. Boudo, 1673). See also Eygun, “L’occitan dans la pastorale catholique aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles: premières recherches dans les diocèses gascons,” 50; and Gastoué, *Le cantique populaire en France; ses sources, son histoire*, 214–20.

⁹¹ Jacques Cheyronnaud, “Quand ses défauts sont les qualités du genre: le cantique (1870-1920),” *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'Ouest* 98, no. 2 (1991): 247–59. Cheyronnaud laments the lack of sociographical work on cantique collections and on their spread and circulation. I hope to at least address some small aspect of this for the Pyrénées-Atlantiques region. His analysis also addresses a later period than my research does.

Table 3.1: Nineteenth-Century Cantique Collections in Basque, French, and Gascon

<i>Title</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Description</i>
<i>Cantico izpiritualac, Dembora [gncietaco] hainitz abantaillossac; guehienac erreberituac, eta hurren eçagutuac etcirenez emendatuac.</i> (Bayonan: Fauvet Gastea, 1815). ^a	<i>Spiritual Cantiques, very advantageous for all the seasons, the principle ones renewed and augmented, and others that were nearly unknown.</i> (Bayonne: Fauvet Jeune, 1815)	In-8, 80 p., text only - all Basque, some tunes indicated (some French and some Basque), 42 cantiques, 15 Rosary mysteries, 13 noëls. (Fonds Lafitte 257, MediaB)
<i>Cantico Izpiritualac, Lehen eçagutuei hanitçac iratchiquiac, artha, eta ohartçapenequin cantatuz, Jaincoa, eta gure salbamendua ganaco, orhoitçapenean haguitz lagunduco gaituztenac.</i> (Bayonan: Cluzeau, 1824). ^b	<i>Spiritual Cantiques, many added to the ones previously known, and, in singing them with care and attention, that will greatly aid us in remembering God and our salvation.</i> (Bayonne: Cluzeau, 1824)	In-18, 56 p., text only – all Basque, tunes indicated (French and Basque), 16 cantiques (non-numbered). Printed by Vignancour in Pau for Cluzeau. (EE1117, UTPau)
<i>Cantiques gascons, a l'usatge dou puble de la campagne, per les missions. Nabère édition.</i> (Pau: Vignancour, 1818).	<i>Gascon cantiques, for use by the people of the countryside, for missions. New edition.</i>	In-12, 95 p., text only, Invitation and Parts I-IV texts in Gascon, Part V in French, 80 cantiques (65 in Gascon, 15 in French), most tunes indicated - mostly from religious themes, from French and Gascon (and one Latin) songs. (Bibliothèque municipale de Toulouse, online Rosalis)
<i>Extrait du nouveau recueil de cantiques spirituels, à l'usage des Écoles Chrétiennes des Filles de la Charité.</i> (Montpellier: A. Seguin, 1818).	<i>Excerpt of the new collection of spiritual cantiques, for use by the Christian Schools of the Daughters of Charity.</i>	In-12, about 116 p., text only, French prayers and 72 cantiques, some tunes indicated, mostly from religious themes. (BibDioc 482)
<i>Nouveau recueil de cantiques spirituels à l'usage des missions.</i> (Auch: Vve. Duprat, 1822).	<i>New collection of spiritual cantiques for use by the missions.</i>	In-8, 180 p., text only, French prayers and 90 cantiques to p. 156, some tunes indicated; about 10 cantiques in Gascon, almost no tunes indicated, alphabetical index of incipits. (Bibliothèque Universitaire de Toulouse, Online Tolosana)
Lambillotte, Louis. <i>Choix de cantiques sur des airs nouveaux pour toutes les fêtes de l'année...</i> (Paris: Poussielgue frères, 1880). ^c	<i>Selection of cantiques on new tunes for all the feasts of the year...</i>	In-18, 504 p., text and notated music, all French, 180 numbered cantiques, alphabetical index of incipits. (BibDioc 481)

Table 3.1, continued

Paravel, H. <i>Recueil de 25 cantiques dont 18 français et 7 Béarnais, à l'usage des écoles et congrégations, paroles de MM V. Bataille et l'abbé Garet...</i> (Pau: Vignancour, 1849).	<i>Collection of 25 cantiques, of which 18 in French and 7 in Bearnese, for use by schools and congregations, texts by Mr. V. Bataille and Father Garet...</i>	In-8, 48 p. text, 36 p. notated music, most in French, 7 in Bearnese. (Réserve Manescau 955, UTPau)
<i>Cantiques dou petit Catéchisme</i> , 3e Ed. (Dax: Herbet, 1855). ^d	<i>Cantiques of the little Catechism.</i>	In-18, 23 p., text only – all in Gascon, some tunes indicated (French), 8 cantiques. (Gas130, UTPau)

^a The same collection is reprinted as *Cantica Izpiritualac, Dembora gucietao hanitz abantailosac, guehienac erreberituac, eta oraino eçagutuac etcirenez emendatuac*. (Bayonan: Cluzeau, 1844); except without the bishop's forward since this is by Cluzeau.

^b The same collection is reprinted for Cluzeau by Vignancour in 1826.

^c The edition present at the Bayonne Diocesan library was from Paris: Poussielgue-Rusand, 1845. Another comparable volume, which also includes notated music, would be *Nouveau choix des cantiques de Saint-Sulpice, avec tous les airs en musique. cantiques de Saint-Sulpice*. (Paris: Poussielgue-Rusand, 1842).

^d The edition consulted had an inserted gathering of p. 15-22 of 7 more cantiques both in French and Gascon, from around 1860.

All but two of these collections were found in the local municipal libraries at Bayonne and Pau or in the Bayonne diocesan library: the *Cantiques gascons* from 1818 found at the municipal library of Toulouse,⁹² and the Auch 1822 collection, though a similar publication from the same printer was present at the Bayonne diocesan library.⁹³ Most of these had numerous reeditions throughout the century, some reissuing the same collection several times, others adding new cantiques, but what I have retained here for an initial comparison are the collections that were still physically present in local libraries. What is revealed by a cursory glance is both the diversity of make-up between local vernacular-language collections and those in French (material and thematic), and the overall catechismal and focused, paraliturgical character of the cantiques in Basque and Gascon.

More work would need to be done to provide a fuller diachronic comparison of cantique collections in each of the Basque and Gascon traditions, highlighting any changes to the

⁹² But this edition is cited by Laborde and was printed in Pau, see Laborde, "Laborde Papers," AD-PAP.

⁹³ And also at Eresbil, the Basque music library in Errenteria, Spain: *Chants Divers, pris de l'église d'Auch*, imprimés par ordre de Mgr. J-François de Montillet, archeveque d'Auch. (Auch: Vve. Duprat, 1819).

repertory in the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, few eighteenth-century editions of cantique collections in Basque and Gascon survive. I have been able to locate only a handful in Basque, and none of the Gascon-language collections. Indeed, the Basque cantique collection of Fauvet from 1815 is almost an exact reissue of both the 1783 and 1786 versions for “Missions and other times,” including the same hymn texts, airs, and indications.⁹⁴ The Cluzeau collection from 1824, on the other hand, comprises a whole other repertory of cantiques on similar themes, but perhaps with more of a thematic emphasis on turning away from worldly temptations. Whereas older collections, such as one series called “Othoitce eta cantica espiritualac” / “Prayers and spiritual cantiques” (1734, 1748)⁹⁵ and a 1776 manuscript collection owned by Antoine d’Abbadie,⁹⁶ offer a wider array of hymns to local patron saints and for everyday prayer, the Basque cantique collections of the nineteenth century seem to focus more on fundamental matters of faith and final judgment. In this sense, many of these nineteenth-century cantique collections aligned more closely with immediate goals of instilling a Catholic catechism than with maintaining a local devotion.

In a cross-language comparison, examining these few prominent nineteenth-century examples with several of their French contemporaries points to some of the particularities of regional, vernacular-language singing practices. One general commonality across languages is that these collections tend to be small, meant for easy manipulation and circulation, though the

⁹⁴ “Cantico izpiritualac, missionetaco eta bertce demboretaco hainitz abantaillossac, guhienac erreberituac, eta hurren eçagutuac etcirenez emendatuac.” (Bayonan: Fauvet-Duhart, 1783), Koldo Mitxelena Kulturunea Liburutegia. And “Cantico izpiritualac, missionetaco eta bertce demboretaco hainitz abantaillossac, guhienac erreberituac, eta hurren eçagutuac etcirenez emendatuac.” (Bayonan: Fauvet-Duhart, 1786), KM Kulturunea Liburutegia. It appears a 1774 edition from Fauvet-Duhart located at the BNF has a slightly different ordering of the cantiques than these and does not include the last few Easter hymns included in these later versions.

⁹⁵ “Othoitce eta cantica espiritualac, Çubero herrico.” (Pauven: Jean Dupoux, 1734), Koldo Mitxelena Kulturunea Library, <http://meta.gipuzkoakultura.net/handle/10690/1769>. Another Pau edition from 1748 is cited by Vinson, *Essai d'une bibliographie de la langue basque*, 180 - which I believe is the version in the Lafitte collection at the Bayonne Mediathèque. Interestingly, these “Othoitce” collections, written in the Souletin dialect, do not reference any tunes for the cantique texts, like later collections do.

⁹⁶ “Recueil de cantiques et sermons, en guipuzcoan (1776), suivi de méditations pieuses,” n.d., Collection Antoine d’Abbadie, Celtique et Basque 156, Manuscripts, BNF Richelieu.

French collections are notably thicker. The Gascon-language catechismal collection of 1855 even suggests that its conveniently small size allows children to sew it into their catechisms.⁹⁷ However, only the longer, French-language collections include an index of incipits for ease of use, while the later Basque one does not even number its cantiques. Though it has often been remarked how redundant cantique texts may be, the Basque repertoires here are notably self-referential. The Fauvet 1815 edition, for example, suggests a tune (“Itçu, hadi, itçu bekhatorea”/ roughly, “Return, sinner”) for several cantique texts but also includes this tune as its own cantique in the collection.⁹⁸ The themes treated in these hymns and lyrics may be repetitive, but most make reference to other religious tunes, in both Basque and French, forming in these Basque collections somewhat of a “closed circuit” of sacred texts and tunes – but unique to each edition. The Fauvet and Cluzeau editions, while treating similar religious themes, do not comprise the same cantiques and melodies.

These Basque collections, as well as the 1818 and 1855 cantiques in Gascon, though perhaps not as clearly organized, have similar pedagogical aims as those in French. But Auch’s 1822 collection is the most “combative” missionary cantique collection of those selected here. It provides an early example of what Cheyronnaud has described as a shift away from the cantique-vaudeville model towards a tendency to borrow tunes from political or Revolutionary hymns, in a politicization of the missionary intent of these cantiques.⁹⁹ The Auch collection includes a wider mix of secular and sacred tune references than the Basque booklets, including even some Gascon tunes for French lyrics, but it also suggests a critical stance through the

⁹⁷ Forward by P. -M. Montauzé, in *Cantiques dou petit catéchisme*, footnote 1. “Le format in-18 permettant aux enfants de les coudre avec leurs catéchismes, les exposera moins à les égarer.” / “The in-18 format, permitting children to sew them together with their catechisms, will risk them losing it less.”

⁹⁸ *Cantico izpiritualac*, Fauvet, 1815. Cantique XX, p. 29. This seems to be a rather popular tune dating back to at least the eighteenth century because it is one of a few that is repeatedly referenced in the 1776 Abbadie manuscript, and it also appears in a Souletin version (“Utçu adi, utçu, Bekhatoria”) in the “Othoitce” collection of 1734, p. 47-48.

⁹⁹ Cheyronnaud, “Quand ses défauts sont les qualités du genre: le cantique (1870-1920),” 251-252.

juxtaposition of tunes such as the “Air militaire du drapeau,” “Air du champ du départ,” and “Vive la nation” to the cantique texts of “Resolution de quitter le vice,” “Triomphe de l’Eglise,” and “Cantique à l’honneur de la foi Catholique,” respectively.¹⁰⁰ The *Cantiques gascons* edition of 1818 meanwhile offers an interesting blend of religious-themed tunes from both Gascon and French repertoires, but also adds a concluding section (Part V) of cantique texts solely in French that includes two hymns composed in 1794 to more combative airs, such as “Mourir pour la Patrie”/ “To die for the homeland.”¹⁰¹ Thus, while the Gascon-language cantiques remain within an older lexicon of missionary and catechismal texts and hymns, the seemingly added French section in this collection points toward a politicization of the Christian singing practice.

Perhaps it was collections of the more contentious kind such as these that helped spark some resistance in the region to missionary activity. In 1819, Bishop Loison ordered a mission in the diocese of Bayonne, to be conducted by the Missionnaires de France, in order to incite religious fervor and strengthen devotional practice.¹⁰² The Bayonne mission, which opened officially on March 21, 1819, was held in three churches throughout the town, including the cathedral, and extended activities to public squares and streets.¹⁰³ Critics decried the Missionnaires de France, however, for their luxurious habits, hypocritical practices, and the

¹⁰⁰ These are: “Military Air of the Flag,” “Air of the Departure Field” – although this could actually refer to Méhul’s famous “*Chant du Départ*”/“Song of Departure,” and “Long live the nation.” To be used to the lyrics of “Resolution to leave vice behind,” “Triumph of the Church,” and “Cantique in honor of the Catholic faith.”

¹⁰¹ These are the last cantiques in the collection, XIV, p. 91, and XV, p. 93. They both indicate that they were composed in 1794 – the first is about the current persecution of Christians, and the second is a call to arms to resist such persecution. “Cantiques gascons, a l’usatge dou puble de la campagne, per les missions...: nabère édition” (Pau: Vignancour, 1818), 91–95, Bilbiotheque Municipale de Toulouse, <http://www.occitanica.eu/omeka/items/show/3152>.

¹⁰² The Missionnaires de France was a congregation founded in 1815 by the abbé Rauzan and the abbé Liautard from Paris, which conducted missions throughout different regions of France. See Ernest Sevrin, *Les Missions religieuses en France sous la Restauration, 1815-1830. 1, Le Missionnaire et la mission*, Les missions religieuses en France sous la Restauration (Saint-Mandé: Procure des prêtres de la Miséricorde, impr. de Durand, 1948).

¹⁰³ Goïty, *Histoire du diocèse de Bayonne*, 293.

divisions they caused within families with their unapologetic, hard-line sermons.¹⁰⁴ Opponents highlighted the large profits missionaries made from their stay, especially from merchandise such as rosaries, crosses, and especially cantique books.¹⁰⁵ Though local booksellers tried to peddle their own copies of these cantiques, the missionaries condemned any version without the Bishop's seal of approval.¹⁰⁶ In a collection from 1820 found in the diocesan library, *Recueil de cantiques à l'usage des missions de France*, the French cantiques are set to the same patriotic tunes as the Auch collection discussed above, such as the "Air du drapeau." Critics protested the secular and political influence of these cantique tunes.¹⁰⁷ They were not only a far cry from any Gregorian tradition; they were also far removed from any of the sacred Basque hymns offered by local printers.

Only a year later, under the new Bishop Paul-Thérèse-David d'Astros,¹⁰⁸ plans were discussed to establish a local missionary society in Hasparren, in order to better prepare the Basque parishes for the bishop's pastoral visits. In 1823, these parish missionaries were established as the Priests of the Sacred Heart, trained under the bishop himself, and serving

¹⁰⁴ As recounted rather vividly in *Histoire des Missionnaires dans le midi de la France. Lettres d'un marin à un hussard* (Paris: Plancher, 1819). The seaman's letters include various examples of local protests that were sent to both the missionaries and the Bishop, describing the severity and hypocrisy practiced by the overzealous, "foreign" missionaries. Sevrin also mentions that the mission in Bayonne was characterized by a rather lively pamphlet war that lasted even after the mission was over. See Ernest Sevrin, *Les Missions religieuses en France sous la restauration. 2, Les missions (1815-1820)* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1959), 405.

¹⁰⁵ *Histoire des Missionnaires dans le midi de la France. Lettres d'un marin à un hussard*. See especially the magistrate's letter quoted on p. 63. But on the other hand, Sevrin cites Bishop Loison's straightforward accounts of the finances of the mission, and argues that all the pious objects (candles, rosaries, and crosses) were sold by merchants for their own profit, not the missionaries', and that any cantique books sold by the missionaries ultimately made no profit. Sevrin, *Les Missions religieuses en France sous la restauration. 2, Les missions (1815-1820)*, 411; Sevrin, *Les Missions religieuses en France sous la Restauration, 1815-1830. 1, Le Missionnaire et la mission*, 139, 146-48. Poor documentation, divisive opinions, and the vehemence of both sides of this pamphlet quarrel make it difficult to ascertain the extent or reality of any such abuses.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 15.

¹⁰⁷ Sevrin, *Les Missions religieuses en France sous la restauration. 2, Les missions (1815-1820)*, 406. One of the first pamphlets to be issued against the luxurious lifestyle of the missionaries (among other critiques) also mentioned the "weak" effect of having cantiques sung on "tender and lascivious tunes" in place of the Gregorian chants.

¹⁰⁸ Bishop of Bayonne, 1820-1830

parishes without priests as well as providing missions.¹⁰⁹ The local priest Jean-Baptiste Garat-Pikasarri led several fellow missionaries in this work around the Basque country until 1830.¹¹⁰ A dearth of sources from this period unfortunately prevents us from knowing what kinds of cantiques and musical practices were used in these local missions, but the rather steady reissue of Basque cantique collections at this time could suggest their practicability for these missions. Moreover, not only do the catechismal themes of many of these cantiques fit with mission exercises, but the 1815 Fauvet collection also includes a cantique to be sung expressly during missions or retreats.¹¹¹ Around this time, Bishop d'Astros also published a new diocesan catechism, including a version in Basque, to replace the five older reissues in use throughout the region.¹¹² These new catechisms no longer included cantique tunes to their catechismal prayers, however.

By exploring the local productions and reprints of cantiques in this region and comparing them to more widely circulated collections in France, we can begin to get a fuller picture of the local singing practices in this early restoration of the Church and a unique regional perspective to the often centralized narrative of this period.

¹⁰⁹ Paul Droulers, *Action pastorale et problèmes sociaux sous la Monarchie de Juillet chez Mgr. d'Astros, Archevêque de Toulouse, censeur de la Mennais*, Bibliothèque de la Société d'histoire ecclésiastique de la France (Paris: J. Vrin, 1954), 34–35.

¹¹⁰ Goïty, *Histoire du diocèse de Bayonne*, 307–8.

¹¹¹ *Cantico izpiritualac*, Fauvet, 1815, 56, Cantique 42: “Missionne, edo erretretetako demboran.”

¹¹² This new 1823 catechism had a similar format and style as the Imperial Catechism (without the undue reverence to Napoleon), because d'Astros had also largely written that imperial version. In 1827, d'Astros reestablished the Auch Liturgy as the uniform diocesan liturgy by publishing a *Breviarum ausitanum*, which was a turn towards the Gallican/Parisian rite. The Bayonne Diocese did not revert to a Roman liturgy until 1857. See Dubarat, Victor Pierre, *Le bréviaire de Lescar de 1541; réédité avec une introduction et des notes sur nos anciennes liturgies locales* / (Pau: L. Ribaut, 1891), 180, 208–12.

SOCIAL RESTORATIONS AND LOCAL TENSIONS

According to Bishop Loison's (perhaps self-serving) accounts at the turn of the century, harmony was restored to the diocese in only a couple of years.¹¹³ The Catholics of the diocese of Bayonne slowly regained a reputation as fervent, devout Christians, proud of their cultural religious heritage and their practice of religion. It was not always a unanimous, smooth transition back to religious practice, however, and persistent conflicts and resistance nuanced this transitional period of restoring the local Church. As early as on December 28, 1800, a fight broke out in the Cathedral of Bayonne, interrupting the liturgical service and leaving a sacristan severely injured.¹¹⁴ The vehement speeches against the fanaticism of the Church from members of the Popular Societies in places like Pau were seared into popular memory.¹¹⁵ Later, with the start in 1819 of spiritual missions in the diocese, criticism raged against the Missionnaires de France, who were perceived as coming from outside the region to sow discord among local families. As the effects of war dissipated, however, and the region regained some stability leading into the July Monarchy, the local Church had to face the intensifying social challenges of inequality and poverty. New religious congregations sprouted to deal with these growing social problems. But the ideologies of the Revolution continued to play a prominent role in social critique in the region, and in the ways in which these communities were viewed. Religion and politics would forevermore be inextricably linked in this region, wound around questions of education, and expressed in song.

¹¹³ Loison wrote to Portalis in 1804 to say that unity in Bayonne was complete. Goïty, *Histoire du diocèse de Bayonne*, 276.

¹¹⁴ Hourmat, *Histoire de Bayonne*, III, 37.

¹¹⁵ See for example, "Rapport fait à la Société Montagnarde et Régénérée de la Commune de Pau" by Romarin Dulaut, fils, 4 Juin 1794 (Pau: Imp Daumon et Toumiu), in Serie L: Administrations et juridictions de la période révolutionnaire, Sociétés populaires, 29 L 3, AD-PAP.

Under the leadership of Bishop d'Astros, seminaries and educational institutions for girls expanded. The Filles de la Croix were established in Igon, near Pau, in 1825 and later in Bayonne (1828) and Ustaritz (1829) in the Basque country, in order to address a growing need and interest in educating young girls. By 1840, the Filles de la Croix had 15 schools in the diocese.¹¹⁶ These burgeoning Christian schooling congregations were filling the void left by the many religious orders that were not reestablished in Bayonne until later in the century, that is, not until the 1860s.¹¹⁷ The catechism continued to form the foundation of the curriculum, along with biblical history, and to a lesser degree, the singing of hymns. Though students may not have been formally instructed in singing or music,¹¹⁸ the teaching of basic hymns was thought to inspire and improve participation in Sunday Mass. As one priest praised the musical teaching of the Frères Maristes (who had a school in St. Jean-de-Luz): "... by the teaching of singing, your brothers render a great service to parish priests; it awakens and renews the piety of the faithful; it attracts a great number of people to services, and it gives children the love and taste of church ceremonies."¹¹⁹ Schools also instilled in students, and increasingly in girls, not just a Christian education but also the skills and behavior needed to adapt to an industrializing society.

Even though the Revolution had done its part to suppress minority languages, a national survey done on elementary education in 1833 showed that the takeover by the French language was far from complete. Though the Guizot education law of 1833 sought to ban the use of any other language other than French in the classroom, in places such as the Pyrénées

¹¹⁶ Goïty, *Histoire du diocèse de Bayonne*, 345. Michel Garicoïts and other priests of the Bétharram seminary were also instrumental in helping the Filles de la Croix get established in the region, see Chapter 5.

¹¹⁷ Including the Augustinians, Visitandines, Dames de la Foi, and Clarisses (among others), which were never reestablished in Bayonne, and the Capuchins, which only returned in 1866. *Ibid.*, 350.

¹¹⁸ In Pau, at least, there did exist a communal music school starting as early as 1837, which contained among its music books the bound volume of Lambillotte's *Choix de cantiques* and other religious repertoires. "Instruction publique, Ecole de musique et de chant," Inventory, 1837-1851, 1 R 4/2, UTPau.

¹¹⁹ Quoted from a letter to the Maristes' founder, from before 1856, in Curtis, *Educating the Faithful*, 91.

and Basque country, local languages persisted.¹²⁰ Although it comes from a biased view, the *Memorial des Pyrénées* from February 26, 1835, (printed in Pau) outlines the sad state of French literacy in the Basque country. But it would be useless, it argues, to ban all Basque in the elementary schools, “for the very simple reason that the majority of teachers barely know any more French than the students they are in charge of instructing.”¹²¹ Teachers in the Basque country could teach their classes well enough using Basque-language publications such as the catechisms and cantique booklets discussed above.¹²² And in fact, the clergy strongly encouraged the use of the vernacular. As one sub-prefect from the Mauléon district (in Soule) wrote to the departmental prefect in 1838:

Two instructors only, in my district, teach how to read in French and make their students speak in that language... Everywhere else, in the rural communities, there is a formal opposition from the parents; I didn't know how to account for it, until I found out that it is expressly dictated by our priests, given, they say, that we should not teach children to read bad books.¹²³

Thus, strains appear in the relations between civic and ecclesiastical authority on the matter, even, as the article in the *Memorial* shows, between centralized departmental opinions coming from local authorities in Pau and Bayonne. As communities across the region struggled to establish and provide elementary education, the diversity of language, religious, and political opinions influenced debates and local decisions on training, accessibility, and curriculum.

¹²⁰ Soulet, *Les Pyrénées au XIXe siècle*, 523–24. Soulet cites statistics from the Ministry of Public Instruction showing that even by 1863, 79% of the communities in the départements of Ariège, Hautes-Pyrénées, and Basses-Pyrénées are considered as not speaking French, and that one third of students aged 7–13 years in the four Pyrenean départements do not write or speak French.

¹²¹ “Département des Basses-Pyrénées. Pau. État de l'instruction primaire dans le pays basque,” *Le Mémorial des Pyrénées: politique, judiciaire, industriel et d'annonces*, February 26, 1835, Imp. de E. Vignancour edition, No. 25, 3, <http://www.pireneas.fr/fr/recherche/presse-ancienne>. “...par la raison bien simple que la plupart des instituteurs ne savent guère plus de français que les élèves qu'ils sont chargés d'instruire.” The article proposes to increase the number of allocated scholarships for Basque country instructors to attend the teacher training school, funds which at the time were insufficient.

¹²² Which, to the author of the article above, do not seem to count towards the learning of literacy or orthography.

¹²³ Quoted in Soulet, *Les Pyrénées au XIXe siècle*, 526. “Deux instituteurs seulement, dans mon arrondissement, enseignent à lire en français et font parler cette langue à leurs élèves... Partout ailleurs, dans les communautés rurales, il y a opposition formelle de la part des parents; je ne savais à quoi l'attribuer, lorsque j'ai appris qu'elle est très expressément commandée par nos prêtres, attendu, disent-ils, qu'il ne faut pas enseigner aux enfants à lire des mauvais livres.”

One vehement point of discord arose in Bayonne in the 1840s between a liberal Basque reformer, Augustin Chaho (or Agosti Xaho),¹²⁴ and a local priest who had started a school and sanctuary for destitute girls, Father Louis-Édouard Cestac. It seems the Filles de la Croix in Bayonne could only do so much for local girls' education, and Cestac had seen a need to attend to the growing number of homeless girls and prostitutes in the town. In 1837, the Bayonne municipality ceded to Cestac the use of a large house that had been a school run by the Filles de la Croix; the town authorities took a great interest in letting Cestac continue his social work schooling these destitute girls at no public cost.¹²⁵ By 1838, however, Cestac had invested in a large terrain in what is now Anglet, about five kilometers outside of Bayonne, near the pine-tree groves that had been decimated by the military earlier in the century. He and his sister, Elise Cestac, along with the help of other religious like Gracieuse Bodin, founded there the Servantes de Marie, who took in and educated poor young girls, and later in 1846, the Bernardines, former prostitutes who converted to a religious life.¹²⁶ Notre-Dame de Refuge, as the new locale was called, would become the site of considerable social services (which exist to this day) through the Servantes de Marie, and of significant agricultural developments through the efforts of Cestac and his religious community. For Cestac also considered the teaching of profitable skills, including fieldwork, an essential part of his congregation's Christian training.

¹²⁴ Chaho (1811-1858) was a journalist, philologist, and radical politician who is often credited with being a proto-nationalist, inventor of the Basque nationalist slogan, "Zazpiak bat" / "Of the seven (provinces), one." See "Joseph Augustin Chaho," *Euskomedia*, accessed May 2, 2017, <http://www.euskomedia.org/aunamendi/26887>.

¹²⁵ Yves Chiron, *Louis-Edouard Cestac* (Perpignan: Artège, 2012), 96-97. The girls' elementary school run by the Filles de la Croix had moved within the city walls. Later, Cestac would consult with the founder of the Filles de la Croix (Jeanne-Elisabeth Bichier des Ages) for advice on the mission and education of abandoned girls, and he would maintain good relations with the order, which had a convent in Ustaritz. *Ibid.*, 98-99.

¹²⁶ At first, only the "penitents" – girls rescued from prostitution – and the Servantes who cared for them were transferred to the new Anglet locale of Notre-Dame du Refuge. In 1838, there were 30 orphans (staying near Bayonne) and 17 young women under Cestac's care. Cestac had wanted to establish a separate location for the young women where they could partake in outside, intensive labor, such as on a farm, to regain their lives. By 1846, the number of penitents had grown to 130. See *Ibid.*, 106-107, 124-25, 157, 162.

Cestac's initiatives did not receive unanimous support, however. Critics, municipal authorities, and even the bishop questioned the priest's controversial "rescue" of both orphans and former prostitutes. Even when the penitents were moved to the countryside, the Bayonne press questioned the legitimacy, necessity, and authorization of such a project.¹²⁷ In 1846, in his anticlerical, Republican newspaper *Ariel: Courrier des Pyrénées*, the politician Chaho began to publish defamatory critiques of the priest and his congregation, and the mockery continued for several years. At issue were Republican suspicions of the congregation's moral education curriculum, especially as radical views gained ground during and shortly after the 1848 Revolution in Bayonne. But the rise to power of Napoleon III and the Falloux education law of 1850 ushered in a conservative reaction, which again encouraged religious schooling for girls.¹²⁸

Cestac's congregation continued to grow regardless, and it began to establish several other congregational schools for girls in the region in 1851. The mission of the rural congregational schools became clear: to educate young girls of the poor countryside to become "pious and intelligent farmers" and the foundations of their Christian families.¹²⁹ Reading and writing was taught through religious instruction, but manual skills, such as embroidery, were also accompanied by singing cantiques.¹³⁰ Moments of celebration and the welcoming of new members were marked by singing, though unfortunately not much is known of other musical aspects of this community. Though Cestac himself was a talented violinist and even taught

¹²⁷ Ibid., 111–12, 138–39. Chiron quotes the *Le Phare de Bayonne* article of October 1839 which critiques the legality of such an institution, even if the bishop had authorized it. Cestac replied in a letter published by the same newspaper the next day, explaining all of the steps he took with the Prefect and the Ministry of the Interior to declare his work of social service and describing the social utility of such a ministry. These critiques would be renewed a few years later; the congregation took some time to become completely authorized under the government, but it was tolerated.

¹²⁸ Curtis, *Educating the Faithful*, 24.

¹²⁹ Qtd. in Chiron, *Louis-Edouard Cestac*, 187. "des fermières pieuses et intelligentes"

¹³⁰ Cestac, with the aid of one of the sisters, created a "Syllabary" method that taught reading and writing through moral lessons: *Syllabaire de la nouvelle méthode de lecture dite de Notre-Dame à l'usage des écoles dirigées par les Servantes de Marie approuvé par Mgr l'évêque de Bayonne* (Pau: Imp. de E. Vignancour, 1852).

some music in his early years, his directives and letters concerning the congregation mention nothing specific about music-making. However, a small collection of hymns and litanies written mostly by Cestac, some in three-part harmony, reveal what was likely part of the singing practices at the regular chapel services for the students and penitents.¹³¹

Moreover, though Cestac was conversant in Basque and Gascon, all written traces of the organization and running of the schools are in French, as well as most of the hymns and cantiques from the extant collection (a couple are in Latin). Given the population of poor, rural students who attended his establishments, it is hard to know whether French was successfully imposed, at least in these early years.¹³² Of the hymns that have been gathered, most texts are written by Cestac himself, but it remains unclear who may have written the harmonizations. One hymn to Mary remains in the repertory even today, and it happens to have a similar melodic tune to a couple of Basque cantiques, as Gabriel Lerchundi pointed out in the 1940s.¹³³ Cestac's "Esperance d'Israël" continues to be sung at funeral services and wakes among the Bernardines.¹³⁴

Espérance d'Israël,
Conduisez-nous tous au ciel,
Et quand notre heure dernière
Viendra sonner pour toujours,
Accourez, ô tendre Mère,
Venez à notre secours.

Hope of Israel,
Lead us all to heaven,
And when our final hour
Comes to ring for all eternity,
Hurry, O tender Mother,
Come to our aid.

¹³¹ I consulted this collection of loose-leaf hymns and manuscript sketches at Notre-Dame de Refuge in Anglet on June 30, 2015, but the Sister (Soeur Hélène) in charge of the library could not ascertain whether these sketches were Cestac's, or transcribed by a Sister(s). A note included with the collection (from 2006) states these are a mix of both, coming from the congregation's old song books (mostly in manuscript form), with a number of modern transcriptions included as well.

¹³² Perhaps some of the resistance which Elise Cestac's and her brother's letters sometimes reveal about the young girls also had to do with their forced adoption of the French language? Nothing to that effect is explicitly stated, but it seems plausible since the majority of the population attending these institutions spoke Basque. Interestingly, Cestac seemed to have struggled in his own first year of French schooling at the Aire seminary, but he soon adapted and excelled at school. Perhaps this experience influenced his own teaching philosophy later on.

¹³³ Gabriel Lerchundi, "Le cantique basque Zer Dire Gure Egunak et le cantique du P. Cestac Esperance d'Israel," Handout, signed 1962, in "Les compositions musicales du Père L.E. Cestac," Archives, Notre-Dame du Refuge.

¹³⁴ Thank you to Sister Hélène Higué for this information about the hymn. Hélène Higué, conversation with the author, Notre-Dame du Refuge, Anglet, June 30, 2015.

The Basque cantique with the same tune, though not with the same rhythm, “Zer dire gure egunak?” is also meant for funerals; for contemplating how one has lived life. And, it seems, in a return of influence, the cantique sung for after missions, “Missionen ethortzeaz,” also reprises Cestac’s tune.¹³⁵ Though the dating of both Basque texts is indefinite, it is likely that Cestac knew at least the “Zer dire” tune and used it to inspire his Marian hymn. Thus, though French was increasingly becoming the language of education and social improvement in the region, small clues such as this tune point to a living and local oral culture that persisted.

¹³⁵ In Lerchundi, *Kantikak, cantiques basques, anciens et modernes*, nos. 18 and 355. Lerchundi writes in the handout cited above that “Zer dire” was likely inspired by the French Cantique des Mariniers to Notre-Dame de la Garde, which dates from at least 1716.

CHAPTER 4: THE FEAST OF CORPUS CHRISTI AND THE DISPLAY OF DEVOTION

On a beautiful Sunday morning in June of 2015, in the small town of Mendionde in French Basque country, men, women, and children process downhill from the church in two lines, ahead of the brass ensemble and the costumed military dancers bearing muskets and swords. The procession serenades the decorated canopy, under which the local priest carries the radiant monstrance displaying the Holy Sacrament. Everyone sings along to the various verses of the Basque religious hymns, which they know by heart. As the group makes its way to the town square, it stops several times for the dancers to repeat their elaborate steps to lively musical interludes. Two weeks later, the nearby town of Espelette also produces a procession for the feast of Corpus Christi, but the traditional Basque dance tunes played by txirulas and drums are missing, and the costumed soldiers featured in the procession are not the skilled dancers of Mendionde. Still, numerous prominent homes along the procession route hang decorated white sheets from their balcony windows, and the town square is strewn with colorful flower petals. In 2015, as throughout the entire history of this Church feast, the politics of religious tradition and cultural display are played out differently in each town's celebrations. The feast of Corpus Christi, as it has been celebrated throughout the Catholic Atlantic, has long been the occasion for the negotiation and reaffirmation of Catholic Church power.

The feast of Corpus Christi, or feast of the Holy Sacrament, was instituted in the thirteenth century to be observed on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday during Eastertime. It celebrates the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, also known as the doctrine of

transubstantiation.¹ In this theologically important and joyful affirmation, public figures, nobles, and political authorities were called on to participate and given prominent roles in the public procession. But the common laity was also summoned to this awe-inducing celebration of the sacrament, an occasion that marked the triumph of the saving body of the divine. As Miri Rubin writes, this Holy Sacrament was at the center of a medieval conception of social relations, and “an ethical world was constructed through this language [of religion], with the final sanction that reception of the Eucharist could be experienced beneficially only by those who lived in a certain type of virtue, or who made amends for trespasses through the penitential system of the church.”² The feast was, then, both a confirmation of this blessed Christian miracle and of the power the Church wielded in its administration.

In many parts of Europe and the Americas, the Corpus Christi feast joins together high solemnity with popular local customs, marrying ecclesiastical pomp with parishioner folklore. The Church in Latin America encouraged lavish triumphal festivities in which all sectors of society participated, reaffirming political, military, and ecclesiastical victories over local belief systems.³ In late medieval England, mystery plays commonly accompanied the celebrations.⁴ In different regions of Spain, dancing was central to the occasion, most notably in the Cathedral of Seville, where local church and municipal authorities long endorsed the lavish liturgical dances

¹ The religious feast dates back to the 13th century, when Saint Julienne of Cornillon had visions of a missing feast day to honor the Holy Sacrament. The Bishop of Liège instituted the feast in 1246, and Pope Urban IV established the feast for the universal church in 1264. Theologian Thomas Aquinas wrote the official liturgy of the Mass and the Office for the feast. See Jean-Pierre Delville, “Julienne de Cornillon à la lumière de son biographe,” in André Haquin (Ed) and Jean-Pierre Delville (Ed), *Fête-Dieu, 1246-1996.*, vol. v. 19, Publications de l’Institut d’études médiévales. Textes, études, congrès; (Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut d’études médiévales de l’Université catholique de Louvain, 1999). Vol I, p. 30-36.

² Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 1.

³ See, for example, in the case of Cusco, Peru: Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the body of Christ: Corpus Christi in colonial Cusco, Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999).

⁴ Mervyn James, “Ritual, Drama, and Social Body in the Late Medieval English Town,” *Past and Present* 98 (1983): 3-29.

of the choirboy *seises*.⁵ In France, the feast became known as the Fête-Dieu, and in many regions, feast day processions also took up theatrical and popular elements, including jousting *intermèdes* performed in Aix-en-Provence starting in the fifteenth century.⁶ Along the Catalan Pyrénées, processions involved elaborate costumed characters, including giants, Turks, a dragon, and a giant eagle.⁷ The fluidity between performers and audience members during this preeminent holiday worked to instill a sense of religious devotion and civic pride through a mixed media event focused on sensory delight. Indeed, for a long time after Reformation criticisms, the Corpus Christi feast was used in an important sense as a “spiritual defense” of the Catholic faith against Protestant detractors,⁸ even though by the eighteenth century most theatrical and dance elements of the feast had been tampered down by the Counter Reformation and its reconsideration of the symbolic order. Lay piety was given increased prominence instead through the strong role of confraternities and guilds that participated in the feast-day processions.

Processing has been a constant element in both Bearnese and Basque Corpus Christi traditions, but Basque villages also developed a particular dance repertory for the feast, and this repertory has lasted in the central regions of the inland Labourd and Basse-Navarre provinces to this day (see Map 4.1). In Basque, the feast of Corpus Christi was called the *Besta Berri*, or New Feast, since it was newer than most other liturgical celebrations. It was one of the sole moments when dancing inside the church was permitted and sometimes even celebrated, but

⁵ Lynn Matluk Brooks, *The Dances of the Processions of Seville in Spain's Golden Age*, (Kassel: Ed. Reichenberger, 1988).

⁶ Gaspard Grégoire, “Explication des cérémonies de la Fête-Dieu d’Aix en Provence: Orné de figures du Lieutenant de Prince d’Amour, du Roi & Bâtonniers de la Bazoch, de...,” (Aix: Chez Esprit David, 1777). *HathiTrust*, accessed September 4, 2016.

⁷ Also starting in the 15th century, Violet Alford, *Pyrenean Festivals Calendar Customs, Music and Magic, Drama and Dance* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1937), 57, 66.

⁸ See Brooks, *Dances of the Processions*, and her quoting of contemporary (seventeenth-century) observer Alonso Sánchez Gordillo, 44. See also the discussion on the Reformation debates on the Eucharist in Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 347-357.

this also made the Basque celebrations a focal point of local tensions between civic order, popular festivity and dancing, and ecclesiastical authority.

During the Empire and the Restoration, Corpus Christi processions took on added political meaning. While the Church sought to use these processions to increase its visibility “in the streets,” many resisted a return to Old Regime practices – and both sides defended their rights to religious freedom.⁹ Once religious rituals such as the Corpus Christi processions were put into practice again in the nineteenth century, what influences might the Revolution’s civic festivals have left? How did these celebratory practices adapt or change in this new century, having passed through the displays of public patriotism and obligatory municipal commemorations? It is likely that the same musicians served the festivities of both older, religious regimes and the revolutionary civic order within a short span of years.¹⁰ Moreover, the religious underpinnings of local celebrations had never been totally lost. For better or for worse, the role of the clergy remained important in the Basque provinces, even after the revolutionary turmoil of the 1790s. The Bearnese seem to have been even less affected by revolutionary religious chaos, especially since they were more protected from the ongoing wars with Spain; but perhaps for this very reason, recovery of a local religious identity was tepid. Clergy here, as in many regions of France, never fully regained their Old Regime influence.¹¹

As religious institutions struggled to reestablish their influence in the region (as shown in Chapter 3), liturgical music was not the highest priority. Rather, it was lay traditions that demonstrated the power of popular devotional music as the primary site of musical worship in

⁹ Philippe Martin, “Entre religion et politique. Les processions en France,” in *L'église dans la rue: les cérémonies extérieures du culte en France au XIXe siècle: actes du colloque des 23-24 mars 2000 à Limoges*, ed. Paul D'Hollander (Limoges: Presses universitaires de Limoges, 2001), 15–29.

¹⁰ See the work done by Xabier Itçaina, especially “Les ménétriers dans la société d'ordres en Labourd : quelques hypothèses à partir des données lacunaires d'Ancien Régime,” *Actes de la Société française d'ethnomusicologie de Pau*, forthcoming.

¹¹ As generally evidenced by the declining numbers of local seminarians and the closing of seminaries in the region.

this region. Corpus Christi processions, patron saint feast days, and local pilgrimages all rebuilt notions of community and reestablished popular ownership of religious traditions through music, singing, dancing, and movement. These were vastly different manifestations of popular devotion: processions such as those for Corpus Christi tended to be urban, public displays of piety, while pilgrimages to ancient sites of devotion took place in rural settings with often more intimate, votive intentions. In a sense, by leading an ornate procession through a neighborhood or organizing a day trip to a holy site, parishioners' diverse devotional practices were slowly reclaiming spiritual territories and sacred spaces that had been abandoned during a decade of upheaval. In tracing the changing significations of these pious practices, both to the people who performed them and those who observed, we can learn about shifting mentalities and attitudes toward devotion and how these interacted with claims of local and communal identity.

Corpus Christi celebrations and processions still hold particular significance for a number of towns in the Basse-Navarre and Labourd Basque provinces, as Jean-Michel Guilcher notes in his famous study on the dance traditions of Béarn and the French Basque country (see Maps 4.1-4.2).¹² This, according to Guilcher, is in large part because these towns and villages have maintained the important practice of dancing during the religious solemnization of this feast.¹³ Other aspects of the feast, such as the decoration of the village and the participation of local youth dressed in military uniform, are common to a wider regional practice, but it is the rarer element of dance, both in the religious and the profane celebrations, that has continued to

¹² The map for the celebrations that took place in 1972 (Figure 4.1) is reconstituted from Guilcher, *La tradition de danse en Béarn et Pays Basque français*, 416. The towns in red marked the feast with dancing and processing that year, 1972, and the towns in blue still had people in 1972 who remembered the tradition occurring in their towns, but it had since ceased. The map showing celebrations in 2015 and 2017 (Figure 4.2) shows the main towns publicizing their festivities on the internet for those years, but it is certainly not exhaustive. According to Itçaina, one would have to also add the towns of Beyrie-Orsanco, Macaye, Louhossoa, Armendaritz, Bidarray, Saint-Pée sur Nivelle, and Domezain to the list of more recent celebrations. Interestingly, though there has been a significant decrease in the towns that celebrate the feast with dancing each year, these have gradually shifted west and include towns in the Labourd province (such as Cambo and Espelette) that had not traditionally maintained the custom.

¹³ Guilcher, *La tradition de danse en Béarn et Pays Basque français*, 417-419.

distinguish this feast from others.¹⁴ The instrumental accompaniment to this dancing, interspersed with devotional hymns, forms the musical backbone of the feast's procession. As a ritual of communal movement that has a long and varied history, the Fête-Dieu remains a public performance of commitment to shared values and beliefs. Before observing how the feast and procession maintain their importance in some towns of the Basque country today, I will first explore how the revolutionary period affected this public devotional practice.



Map 4.1: Corpus Christi Dancing Celebrations
(red: in 1972, blue: in living memory, occurring before 1972)

¹⁴ There are, of course, several other famous examples of Corpus Christi feasts featuring dance: the sword-dancing of Basque Guipuzcoan parishes described by Juan Ignacio de Iztueta; and the dancing of the *seises* of Seville, as detailed in Lynn Matluk Brooks, *The Dances of the Processions of Seville*.



Map 4.2: Corpus Christi Dancing Celebrations, June 2015 (green) & 2017 (purple)

A HISTORY OF CORPUS CHRISTI PRACTICES

PRE-REVOLUTIONARY TIMES

The establishment of the feast of Corpus Christi in the thirteenth century was followed by the development of three main practices in its honor: the display of the Host outdoors, the procession celebrating the feast, and the establishment of confraternities of the Holy Sacrament.¹⁵ The first two practices involving the Host and the procession were often related, and they developed together. Both practices further encouraged the later comparable ritual of the Forty-Hour devotion, though it is not clear when the latter took hold in Pyrenean parishes.

¹⁵ Guerard, Louis, "Quelques notes sur l'origine des processions et des confréries du Saint Sacrament dans les Diocèses de Bayonne et de Tarbes," in *VIe Congrès de l'Union Historique et Archéologique Du Sud-Ouest*, ed. Union historique et archéologique du Sud-Ouest Congrès (VIe congrès de l'Union historique et archéologique du sud-ouest, Tarbes, 1918), 102–10.

The last practice of forming confraternities can inform our views of who participated in such events and how. Many of the surviving archival documents about the Corpus Christi feast are actually about the various local confraternities – their budgets, participation, and administration, and their hierarchical order in procession.

The oldest extant document mentioning the Fête-Dieu processions in Bayonne dates from the fifteenth century. An ordinance given on May 17, 1483, and recorded for the town administrators in Gascon, nominates eight candle-bearers for the feasts of Fête-Dieu and Pentecost and their processions.¹⁶ Already, it seems the civic authorities and municipal magistrates regularly took part in these yearly celebrations, since half of the recorded candle-bearers are identified as “juratz,” or magistrates.¹⁷ In Béarn, in the then Kingdom of Navarre, a list of the extraordinary expenses of King Antoine de Bourbon from 1557 notes a “torch for the king at Corpus Christi.”¹⁸ Yet, by 1563, Antoine’s wife Jeanne d’Albret, now converted to Protestantism, forbade the processions under penalty of death.¹⁹ Catholic processions before and after this period of religious conflict were thus laden with symbolic and political power. Even in Bayonne, where city officials defended Catholicism during the wars of religion, the procession of the “Sacre” (as it was also called) was a tense moment of testing the confessional waters.²⁰ These visible Catholic practices slowly came back after the reestablishment of Catholicism as Béarn’s state religion in 1599. By 1655, the Parliament of Navarre was taking part in the processions of Corpus Christi,²¹ and the following year, Pau account records show a

¹⁶ Communal Administration Papers, 1481-1489, E Depot Bayonne BB 4, AD-PAB, n.pag.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ “Antoine de Bourbon, roi de Navarre,” Record of receipts and expenses of the royal family of Navarre, 1557, Courts and Jurisdictions, B 7, AD-PAP, “torche pour le roi à la Fête-Dieu.”

¹⁹ For a detailed discussion of this ban and the Navarre Estates’ reaction, see Victor Pierre Dubarat, *Le protestantisme en Béarn et au Pays basque, ou observations critiques sur l’histoire de l’église réformée d’Osse de M. le pasteur A. Cadier*. (Pau, 1895), 71–79.

²⁰ Guerard, “Quelques notes.”

²¹ “Comptes des recettes et dépenses du fisc de Béarn,” 1655, Courts and Jurisdictions, B 381, AD-PAP, “frais de présence du Parlement aux processions de la Chandeleur et de la Fête-Dieu.”

“distribution of torches” for the Parliament members to carry at the same event.²² Nevertheless, even at the end of the seventeenth century, local cathedral chapters were still debating the hierarchical ordering of each participant in the feast processions. The order of procession, in other words, held great symbolic power in each town society, as it did across the Catholic Atlantic.²³

Lay Confraternities of the Holy Sacrament arose everywhere in the region, with one of the earliest instituted at the Bayonne cathedral in the sixteenth century, at least.²⁴ The Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament of the Cathedral of Bayonne kept a book of expenses with regular entries starting in 1717.²⁵ Around this time, its main expenses were for sermons, organists, and cantors for the two Fête-Dieu Masses (including the octave).²⁶ Starting in the 1780s, the confraternity also had an expense budget allocated to give to the sick and the poor associated with the confraternity, and it was also around this time that payments were made to the “guards” of the city – indicating that by the 1780s they had perhaps already become an important part of the procession.²⁷ In addition to paying for these Masses, the confraternity pitched in for the organist, the bells, and the children of the choir, even at other feasts

²² “Chambres des comptes de Pau et de Nérac,” 1656, Courts and Jurisdictions, B 3920, AD-PAP, “Distribution de flambeaux au Parlement pour les processions de la Fête-Dieu et de la Chandeleur.”

²³ As one local example, in 1694, the Bayonne cathedral chapter received a response from the Oloron cathedral about their processional customs. Oloron’s processions for the Fête-Dieu were exclusive to the ordained clergy, or at least the main honorable sections of the procession were. Even cantors were excluded from mixing with this clerical group, and according to the respondent, “we should not permit lay people [to] mix with the ecclesiastics at the procession.” The Oloron clergy conceded, however, that they did not have to worry about positioning governors, or their servants, or any marshals of France, the way that a military capital such as Bayonne had to in their processions. See “Actes et documents dans l’ordre chronologique,” June 1694, Episcopal Chapter of Bayonne, G 152, AD-PAB. “...on ne doit pas souffrir que les laïques se meslent à la procession avec les ecclesiastiques.”

²⁴ Guerard, “Quelques notes,” 107.

²⁵ Though some records date back to the late seventeenth century.

²⁶ “Confrérie du Saint-Sacrement: Enregistrement des recettes et dépenses,” 1717-1793, E Depot Bayonne GG 222, AD-PAB.

²⁷ “Confrérie du Saint-Sacrement: Enregistrement des recettes et dépenses,” 1661-1793, E Depot Bayonne GG 258, AD-PAB. Annual expenses also noted went to pay for the services of the army, the service of the “Suisse” and the marguillier (or churchwarden).

throughout the year. One of the last records in 1790 acknowledges payment to the baker for his cakes, and then the confraternity's expenses dwindled until the record stops in 1793.

Despite the economic influence of the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament in the festivities of the Fête-Dieu (or perhaps because of it), it reached out to members of the Bayonne cathedral parish in 1742, asking them to donate to the building of a new festive canopy for the processions. In a printed pamphlet titled, "Projet pour un Dais, à l'Usage des Processions du St. Sacrement qui se font dedans et hors l'Eglise Cathedrale les jours de la Fête Dieu, de l'Octave et autres Fêtes Solomnelles à Bayonne," the author gives specific details on the dimensions, quality, and construction of this new canopy. The "pressing need" for such an important element of the feast, the author offers, is visible to everyone and needs no explanation. But the pamphlet also adds: "The foreigners especially, who rush to come see our Solemnities for this feast, cry out each time at the misery we suffer in using the same (canopy) for now more than a hundred years, the back of which one can no longer make out."²⁸ This campaign for donations reveals that by the mid-eighteenth century, the festival processions of the Fête-Dieu in Bayonne were already attracting a great number of foreign tourists.

The Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament was not the only one to be involved in Corpus Christi preparations and processions, however. Other, sometimes older, confraternities of the Bayonne cathedral also took pride in holding their ranks in the procession of this "new" feast. In 1717, the members of the seamen's Confraternity of St. George wrote a letter to the mayor and municipal officers of Bayonne explaining the recent difficulties the old confraternity was

²⁸ "Projet pour un Dais, à l'Usage des Processions du St. Sacrement qui se font dedans et hors l'Eglise Cathedrale les jours de la Fête Dieu, de l'Octave et autres Fêtes Solomnelles à Bayonne," 1667-1742, in *Confrérie du Saint-Sacrement*, E Depot Bayonne GG 224, AD-PAB, 2. "Project for a Canopy, for usage during the Holy Sacrament Processions that are conducted in and outside the Cathedral Church for Corpus Christi, its octave, and other Solemn Feasts in Bayonne." "Les Etrangers sur tout, qui accourent voir nos Solemnités à cette Fête, se recrient chaque fois sur la misère qu'on souffre à celuy dont on se sert encore depuis plus de cent ans, & duquel on ne sauroit distinguer le fonds."

having in maintaining a numerous enough membership to fill the ranks of candle-bearers at the Fête-Dieu procession. After describing the efforts the confraternity was undertaking to revive its membership, the letter requests the support of the civil authorities in retaining its dignified position in the procession and its ancient privileges. This was accorded by the city, which wrote that the confraternity's rank in the procession would be maintained, among the company of ship-builders, and defended against any other confraternities' complaints.²⁹ Likewise, the Confraternity of St. Leo, Bayonne's patron saint, was also a regular participant in Corpus Christi processions, as will be discussed shortly.

By the eighteenth century, the town council of Bayonne had considerable say over who processed with the Holy Sacrament, and in what order, but it also issued ongoing critiques of the exaggerated expenses and preparations that were deemed inappropriate for the feast. The municipal administration records note in May of 1715, for example, that the companies of wine-growers, tenant farmers, herdsman, and other laborers were paying exorbitant amounts for the feast of Fête-Dieu and its octave, and hosting extravagant feasts during the whole week in different neighborhoods. The town council decided to forbid such excessive spending, limiting the expenses by neighborhood, and imposing a hundred-livre fine on the company patrons for any excess over the set limit.³⁰ In addition to the traditional confraternities, Corpus Christi also involved the participation of companies of different professional trades, who marched with their banners and their trade emblems. By mid-eighteenth century, synod statutes issued by the Bishop of Bayonne aimed to limit, among other things, the too-frequent exposition of the Holy Sacrament.³¹

²⁹ "Confrerie de St. George," 1654-1717, E Depot Bayonne GG 219/ 9, AD-PAB.

³⁰ "Délibérations du Corps de Ville," 1715-1718, E Depot Bayonne BB 40, AD-PAB.

³¹ Hourmat, *Histoire de Bayonne*. On p. 522, Hourmat also lists the 25 processions in Bayonne that took place in 1731.

In Pau, several confraternities also took on the duties and expenses of celebrating Fête-Dieu. For example, in the mid-eighteenth century, the revenue accounts of the Penitents Bleus of St. Jerome often cite fees paid to carry a candle or the cross in the Corpus Christi procession. In 1754, the confraternity's expenses list 24 *sols* paid for laying out branches in front of the chapel walls for the feast's procession.³² The Penitents Bleus also had a section of *confreresses*, female members, who attended all processions veiled and carrying a candle. At Corpus Christi, they would process six by six, right after the canopy, and at each procession, they would be escorted by two city guards, hired by the company for the occasion.³³ The *penitents* made a memorable impression in these processions, covered from head to toe, dressed in specific-colored hoods according to confraternity.³⁴

As in Bayonne, professional trade guilds, congregations of artisans, and the bourgeois of the city also played specific roles in these processions. In 1742, the Parliament of Navarre even allowed the University of Pau to attend the Fête-Dieu processions, specifying that:

it should gather at the King's chapel next to the sanctuary of the St. Martin church before and after the procession, and that it should march as one body immediately before the clergy, the law professors in black robes with a red hood trimmed in ermine fur and a square cap, the doctors in black robes with a black hood, trimmed also with ermine, the rector of the said University and the professor of arts in the order and form which they are accustomed to observing for public ceremonies...³⁵

³² "Confrérie des Pénitents Bleus, comptes des recettes et dépenses," 1722-1754, Pau municipal archives, GG 208, UTPau.

³³ In 1733, the company decided to write out the confreresses' specific adaptations to the confraternity guidelines. The resulting document gives a few clues as to how this lay group of women was to present itself in public devotional life. For example, women were to wear a blue taffeta veil-like headpiece not only to take Communion, but also to any public ceremony, including any processions. While attending the Office, they were to remain in their own assigned tribune, contributing to the singing of hymns only on public occasions. "Règlements particuliers pour les confreresses, Confrérie des Pénitents Bleus," 1733, Pau municipal archives, GG 207, UTPau, 1v, 3v.

³⁴ Indeed, the Pénitents bleus filed a lawsuit against the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament in 1717, when the latter wanted to be called the Pénitents blancs and use a similar hooded costume. See M. F. Rivarès, "Les Pénitents bleus et les pénitents blancs à Pau en 1717," *Bulletin de la Société des sciences, lettres et arts de Pau*, Serie 2, Vol. 14, (1884-1885), 153-169.

³⁵ Parliament of Navarre, Judgements from 8 Jan- 3 July 1742, Courts and Jurisdictions, B 4856, AD-PAP. "... la Cour ordonne qu'elle se rassemblera dans la chapelle du Roy à côté du sanctuaire de l'église Saint-Martin avant et après la procession, et qu'elle y marchera en corps immédiatement avant le clergé, les professeurs de droit en robe noir avec l'épitoge rouge bordée d'hermine, le recteur de ladite Université et le professeur des arts dans l'ordre et dans la forme qu'ils ont accoutumé d'observer aux cérémonies publiques..."

Thus, the academicians also served a role in the public hierarchical showcase of the processions.

One of the more influential lay confraternities was the Congregation of the Bourgeois and Artisans of the City of Pau, founded by impetus of the Jesuits in 1693, disbanded at the removal of the Jesuits in 1763, and reestablished by the Bishop of Lescar Marc-Antoine de Noé in 1779 under the direction of the Benedictines.³⁶ In 1784, the Congregation had a Liturgy of the Hours printed that included prayers and hymns and a “Spiritual Exercise for the Adoration of the Very Holy Sacrament.”³⁷ In the same year, the statutes and regulations of the congregation were also printed. Among other rules, the statutes included the guidelines for choristers. Ten to twelve members were to be chosen to fulfill the duties of the choir, namely, to sing and lead the Liturgy of the Hours under the direction of a prefect.³⁸ Included also was the processional order for both Corpus Christi and Holy Thursday, presented to the Bishop of Lescar, but originally dating from the regulations of 1718. In the end,



Figure 4.1: The Seal of The Congregation of Artisans and Bourgeois of the City of Pau, (Source: Pau municipal archives, EE 2669, UTPau)

the order that was retained for both processions was: first the Confraternity of St. Jacques leaving from their own chapel, then the Pénitents Gris, followed by the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament (or Penitents blancs), the Congregation of Bourgeois and Artisans, and finally

³⁶ M. l'abbé Bortedarrère, “La confrérie du saint-sacrement et des Pénitents blancs de Pau (1630-1904),” *Bulletin de la Société des sciences, lettres et arts de Pau*, Series 2, vol. 32, (1904), 219-220. “Statuts et Réglements de la Congrégation des Bourgeois et Artisans de la ville de Pau,” (Pau: J.P. Vignancour, 1784), Pau municipal archives, EE 2669, UTPau, 62-64.

³⁷ “Heures à l’usage de la congrégation des Bourgeois et Artisans de la ville de Pau,” (Pau: J.P. Vignancour, 1784), Pau municipal archives, EE 2669, UTPau, 528. “Exercice Spirituel, Pour l’Adoration du Très-Saint-Sacrement.”

³⁸ “Statuts et Réglements,” 29.

the Pénitents Bleus.³⁹ Though no specific mention of the feast's music is made, one can surmise that each confraternity contributed to the singing of the Latin hymns, examples of which will be discussed in the following section. Conflicts over imitating hooded robes and establishing a formal hierarchy for the processions show that each confraternity had its position and influence to consider within the religious social dynamics of Pau.⁴⁰

Leading up to the revolutionary conflicts, small towns in the Basque region continued to celebrate the Fête-Dieu processions with the usual musical troop of fiddle, drums, and the “tambourine” ensemble of *txirula* flute and string drum, often played by the same person. These musicians accompanied the processional marches throughout the village, and they would also accompany the dancing that would often occur afterward. An account of the expenses paid by the mayor of Macaye (or Makea in Basque) for the feast of Corpus Christi reveals the major components of the celebration in a small Basque village in 1786:

The abbot-mayor of this place says: wanting to procure a *Tambourin*, he went to the place of Itxassou to the house of one that he hired to come at the price of six *livres*, and in fact said *Tambourin* came, and played during the procession and the rest of the day, according to the customs of this place. - Three *livres* for the Drummer of said day of Fête-Dieu - Provided and paid eleven soldiers who attended the said procession, to each ten *sols* for the powder that they used. - According to the customs of this parish, he paid for the dinner of said Fête-Dieu six *livres*. ... Signed: Pierre d'Ouharasquy mayor-abbot.⁴¹

³⁹ “Requête Présentée à Monseigneur l’Evêque de Lescar, aux fins de l’exécution du Règlement de 1718, transcrit sur les Régistres anciens de la Congrégation, qui règle la marche des Processions du Jeudi-Saint & de la Fête-Dieu” in “Statuts et Réglements,” 5-6.

⁴⁰ As mentioned above, Catholic processions were banned in Béarn during the Protestant reign of Jeanne d’Albret, and so older, established confraternities had been discontinued. The Confraternity of the Very Holy Sacrament had been re-established in 1630 in Pau, in the newly reclaimed parish of St. Martin. Though there could be potential overlap between members of different confraternities, and especially before the Congregation of the Bourgeois and Artisans of Pau was reinstated, the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament was strict about its members adhering only to its own group. Members would have to choose one confraternity with which they would process on feast days, regardless. See “Statuts et Réglements,” 29.

⁴¹ Qtd. in Xabier Itzaina, “Ezpatata eta iguzkia: Itsasuko Besta Berriak atzo eta egun,” (June 2014), 14-15. “Le Maire abbé de ce lieu a dit:/ - voulant procurer un Tambourin, il fut au lieu d’Itxassou chez l’un qu’il engagea d’y venir moyennant six livres et de fait ledit Tambourin s’en étant venu, et ayant joué pendant la procession et le reste de la journée, suivant l’usage de ce lieu./ - trois livres au Bateur de Caisse dudit jour de la Fête Dieu/ - Fourny et payé à onze soldats qui assisterent à ladite procession, à chacun dix sols pour la poudre qu’ils employeront./ - suivant l’usage de cette paroisse, il a payé pour le diné de ladite Fête Dieu six livres... Signé: Pierre d’Ouharasquy maire abbé.” See also the accounts for a year later, also signed by the mayor Pierre d’Ouharasquy, “Fête-Dieu Musiciens, Macaye,” 1787, Archives communales de Macaye, Macaye CC 38/ 116, AD-PAB.

From this list of expenses, it seems that the main investment in producing the feast, in terms of time, effort, and money, was in securing the “tambourin” musician, a much sought-after performer in the festivities. The particular skill required was not easily found in every village – the mayor of Macaye had to go hire one in Itxassou. In addition to the customary musical participants, the list also points to the prominent role of the soldiers in the procession, and of their firing muskets. Finally, the festive occasion is marked by a village dinner offered by the mayor.

These are the more remarkable aspects that would have been written down in town bookkeeping records, but much of the feast’s music would have been sung by participants for free, in the form of well-established hymns – hymns sung, perhaps, even with improvised harmonies, or fauxbourdon. The discovery of some added music to a Gradual owned by a Bayonne confraternity can give us some tentative clues as to the prominence and use of such hymns.

THE HYMNS OF CORPUS CHRISTI

Latin Hymns

Several versions of liturgies for the “new” feast of Corpus Christi came to be written as the feast was established throughout Europe beginning in the thirteenth century.⁴² The most widespread and influential liturgical texts were those widely held to be written by St. Thomas Aquinas, starting with the antiphon *Sacerdos in aeternam*. This version became the official

⁴² The first “original” version is by Juliana de Cornillon and is identified as “Animarum cibus;” the second is known as “Sapiencia aedificavit,” possibly written by St. Thomas Aquinas, and was the first version to be used in the papal chapel; and the third, more definitive version is known as “Sacerdos in aeternam” and is widely regarded as the work of Aquinas. See Barbara R. Walters, Vincent Corrigan, and Peter T. Ricketts, *The Feast of Corpus Christi* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 51. Pierre-Marie Gy, “Office liégeois et office romain de la Fête-Dieu” in André Haquin (Ed) and Delville, *Fête-Dieu, 1246-1996.*, 119.

Roman Office and included: the hymn for Matins of Corpus Christi “Sacris solemnibus,” with its famous last two stanzas often set apart as the “Panis Angelicus”; the hymn for Lauds and for the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, “Verbum supernum prodiens,” which includes the last verses “O Salutaris Hostia” often sung separately when the tabernacle was opened or the monstrance was placed on a throne of display; and the Vespers hymn “Pange lingua gloriosi,” also sung at Mass at the departure of the procession of the Holy Sacrament. This last hymn includes the verses starting with “Tantum ergo,” which could also be sung separately at the Benediction. Though the texts to these hymns were standardized fairly quickly in liturgical practice, the melodies, which had been taken from previous chants for other feasts, continued to vary.⁴³ For the Mass of Corpus Christi, Aquinas is also commonly credited with the text of the sequence “Lauda Sion,” set to a sequence melody for “Laudes crucis” in the earliest sources, but reconfigured under many later melodic settings.⁴⁴

Bayonne’s Confraternity of St. Leo Sings the Hymns of Fête-Dieu

One of the only extant pre-Revolutionary sacred music manuscripts of this region is a large, bound Gradual of notated Mass Ordinary chants dating from the late eighteenth century. This volume belonged to the Confraternity of St. Leo, one of Bayonne’s most influential confraternities. As the city’s patron saint, St. Leo has always been much celebrated, since at least the eleventh century.⁴⁵ The confraternity itself dates back to at least the fifteenth century, and was instrumental in maintaining a devotional cult to the martyred bishop who had evangelized the Basque country. In the seventeenth century, the Confraternity of St. Leo received papal indulgences, and it also maintained its own chapel in the quarter called St. Léon,

⁴³ Vincent Corrigan in Walters, Corrigan, and Ricketts, *The Feast of Corpus Christi*, 83–85.

⁴⁴ John Caldwell, “Lauda Sion,” *Grove Music Online*, n.d. This was one of four sequences retained in the liturgical reforms of the Council of Trent.

⁴⁵ Renée Mussot-Goulard and Hourmat, Pierre, *Saint Léon de Bayonne* ([Bayonne]: Société des sciences, lettres, et arts de Bayonne, 1994), 57. See also Chapter 1.

outside the city walls. This seemed to be a time of renewed fervor for this cult to the first bishop of Bayonne. Even the medieval coffer containing his relics was replaced with a silver-worked one, financed in part by the townspeople of Bayonne.⁴⁶ Yet this effervescence sometimes caused conflict with the cathedral canons, who complained that the confraternity disrespectfully sang Mass at their chapel at the same time that the Bishop held Mass at the cathedral.

By the end of the seventeenth century, however, the confraternity's chapel had been destroyed under fortification projects, and the relics of St. Leo and other ornaments were moved to the cathedral. The confraternity recruited membership from all sectors of society, but they were increasingly criticized by the cathedral chapter for excluding Bayonne's bourgeoisie and favoring an artisan majority. By the eighteenth century, many members were from the working and artisan class, and in 1773, for example, the patron of the society was a carpenter.⁴⁷ Not only did the confraternity lead festivities in honor of the town's patron saint on March 1st every year, but, as mentioned, members also participated actively in other religious feasts and processions, including the Fête-Dieu.

Not much is known about the Gradual or its provenance, now kept in the departmental archives,⁴⁸ but it contains a few curious chant notations that concern the feast of Corpus Christi, added to the flyleaves of the bounded manuscript. It does not include a title page or dedication (the only indication is a note on the inside cover reading "Pour la frairie de St. Léon de Baionne"), but its large parchment folios display the monophonic chants of the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei in neat, black mensural notation. The four parchment folios of

⁴⁶ Ibid., 64.

⁴⁷ M Laborde, as appears in the confraternity records, 1773-74, E Depot Bayonne GG 220/2, AD-PAB. See also Hourmat, *Saint Léon*, 66.

⁴⁸ "Confrérie de St. Léon: Graduel, notation de plein-chant," 1700, E Depot Bayonne GG 220/1, AD-PAB. Though the archive notes the date as 1700, these manuscript pages are likely from the latter half of the eighteenth century.

the Gradual itself were probably extracted from a larger collection, since it seems the newer binding was redone. There are also tears close to the binding, indicating missing pages preceding the first Kyrie.⁴⁹ The Kyrie chant is from the Mass on the First Tone by Henri Du Mont (1610–1684), originally published in 1669.⁵⁰ By the eighteenth century, Du Mont’s Masses had been copied in numerous sources throughout France.⁵¹

On thinner paper folios added to the front and back of the volume, several chants are written in a less professional hand in white mensural notation, usually used to hastily notate plainchant. These include: on the front flyleaf, a priest incantation prayer of “Panis Candidissime,” and on the back flyleaf verso, continuous music to both “Panis Angelicus” and “Tantum ergo.” On the recto of the back flyleaf is the incomplete text to “O Salutaris Hostia” without music. These last three hymns are for the feast of Corpus Christi, and the first clerical prayer invokes the sweetness of the Holy Bread. Thus, they could have been added to be used by the confraternity in the celebration of that feast. Though recorded hastily and somewhat sloppily, the text settings and tunes generally fit with the plainchant trends of the latter half of the eighteenth century.⁵²

The first added chant appearing on the front flyleaf gives no title, but starts with the words “Panis... candidissime” (see Figure 4.2). The text is part of the “Prayers of St. Ambrose before Mass for each day of the week,” in this case, for Saturday. The Latin and English translation of the prayer is the following (in parenthesis are parts of the prayer text that have been left out of the chant):

⁴⁹ Thanks to Nathalie Rébéna, archivist at the Archives Départementales in Bayonne, for confirming these remarks on the Gradual with me in September 2016. Could these have been the sole pages rescued from the Revolution, and perhaps rebound in the early nineteenth century?

⁵⁰ From the *Cinq messes en plain-chant*, the “Messe du Premier ton.”

⁵¹ Thanks to Xavier Bisaro for these specifications on the Kyrie, email message to author, October 24, 2016.

⁵² A similar (but printed) collection of plainchants or “Motet(s) pour l’Elévation” (Hymns for the Elevation of the Holy Sacrament) are found in *Principes pour apprendre le plainchant, avec divers chants très-utiles & propres pour s’y exercer*. (Avignon: chez la veuve Niel, imprimeur-libraire, rue de la Balance, 1758), 64–69, http://archive.org/details/bub_gb_hPL4WYntOEYC.

Panis candidissime,
(Habens omne delectamentum et omnem saporem,
Qui (nos) semper reficis, et numquam in te deficis:
Comedat te cor meum,
Et dulcedine saporis tui repleantur viscera animae meae.

O purest Bread,
(Having all delight and all savor,
Which ever refreshes (us) and never failest, Let
my heart feed on Thee
And may my inmost soul be fulfilled
with the sweetness of Thy savor.⁵³

Underneath the notated melody are the words: “Sancte panis vive sana munda panis munde / veni veni in Cor meum.” These are partly the continuation of the same prayer, and the inclusion of an added “panis” at the very end of the notation indicates that this would be a new verse of text to be sung to the same melody. A translation of the full second verse would be thus: “Holy Bread, O living Bread, O pure Bread, Who camest down from heaven and givest life unto the world, come into my heart, and cleanse me from all defilement of flesh and spirit.”⁵⁴ This prayer was part of the daily private devotions of a priest, but could have also been used by the laity.

Of the three chants added to this Gradual, this one has the most stepwise, straightforward melody. Bar divisions are drawn to align each word with its notation,⁵⁵ and rhythmic note values align nicely with word stress. The d-minor music is notated in fourth-line C-clef (tenor clef), and has a relatively moderate range of less than an octave from C₃ to B_{b3}. The overall effect of this sung prayer is rather declamatory, with rare brief flourishes of ornamental melismas, such as on the word “dulcedine.” The original manuscript is shown below:

⁵³ “Orationes Sancti Ambrosii Ante Missam Singulis Hebdomadae Diebus Distributae,” accessed July 20, 2016, <http://www.preces-latinae.org/thesaurus/AnteMissam/OrationesSAmb.html>.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Although, as pointed out to me by X. Bisaro, some bars are longer than others, marking the ends of phrases. Email message to author, October 24, 2016.

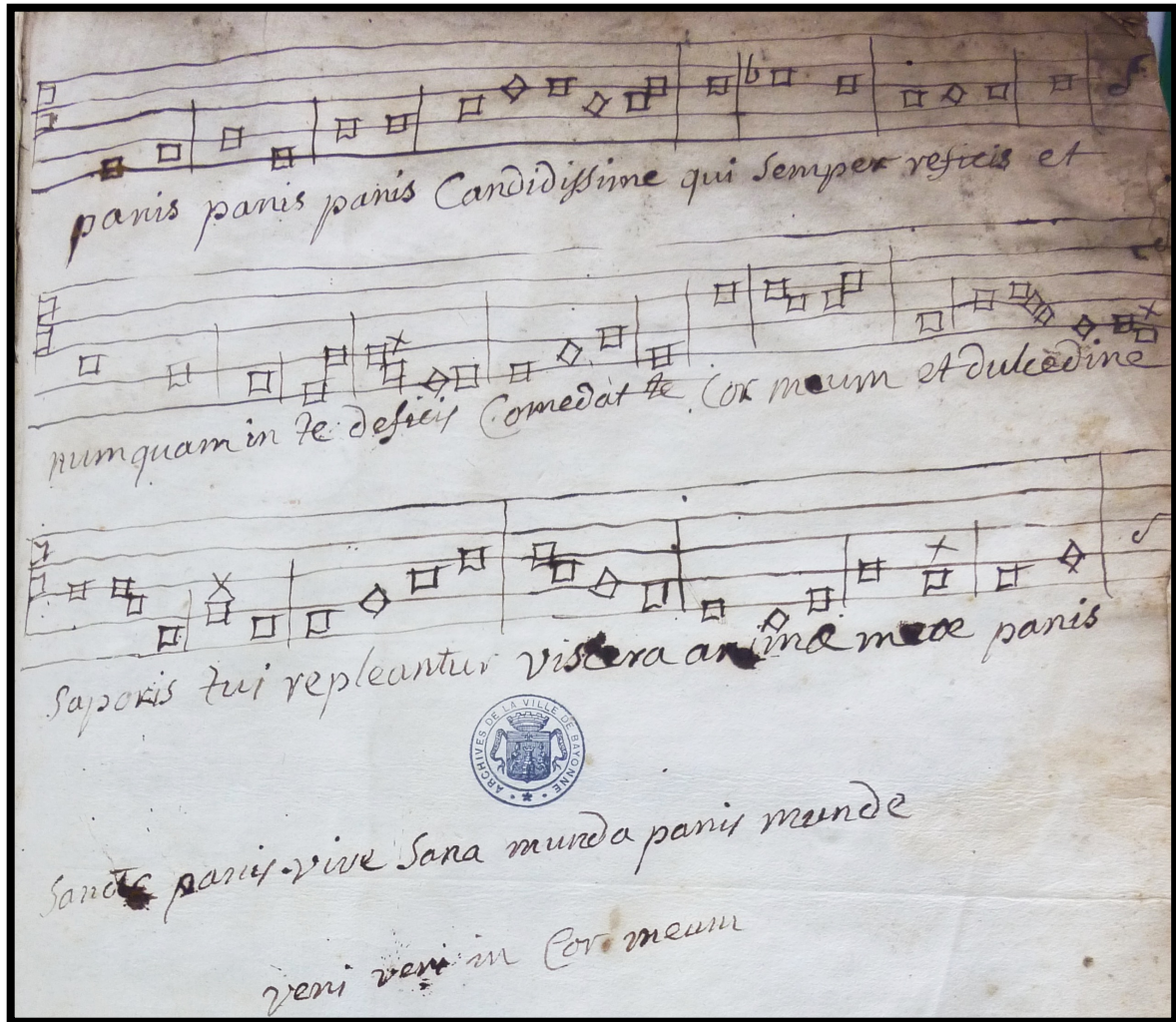


Figure 4.2: "Panis Candidissime" in the St. Leo Gradual,
(Source: Bayonne municipal archives, GG 220/1, AD-PAB)

Though notated in a rapid and even incomplete manner, the repeating entry on "panis," the notation of trills, and the careful division of bar lines nonetheless portray a certain musicality for a plainchant representative of eighteenth-century trends. In the above image, one can make

out the added flat sign above “semper,” and the “x”s above several notes indicate a trill, or “tremblement.” I have transcribed the chant below:⁵⁶

8 Pa - nis, pa - nis pa-nis candi-di-ssi- me, qui sem per re-fi-cis, et
...san cte, pa - nis vi - ve, sa-na mun - da Pa - nis mun - de

9 numquam in te de - fi - cis: co-me-dat te cor me - um, et
ni, ve - ni, in cor me- am.]

18 dul - ce - di - ne sa - po - ris tu - i re - ple - an - tur

22 vi - sce - ra a - ni - ma me - ae. Pa - nis...

Example 4.1: Transcription of “Panis Candidissime”

⁵⁶ My transcriptions for this chant and the following two hymns in mensural notation use halved note values, where the *lunga* = a whole note, a *breve* = half note, and a *semi-breve* = quarter note. I have also kept the ornamental eighth- and sixteenth grace notes as they appear in the manuscript.

As shown above in the image and transcription, there is also the matter of an implied repetition of the included second verse text. The text verse written out, however, is not long enough to fit the whole set melody, or even if it were, there would still be the problem of ending on an E and not a D, the tonic, as occurs before the implied repetition. Perhaps the text given would repeat the melodic line only until the first-verse “deficis,” thus concluding on a tonic D. This seems to align the provided abbreviated text well with the first line of melodic material, as shown in Example 4.1.

What can we surmise about the precipitous addition of this sung prayer? At the very least, it is an interesting exteriorization of what is usually a cleric's private devotional moment. By the time it was recorded in the latter half of the eighteenth century, the confraternity's chapel would have already been destroyed, and members would have most likely been gathering to pray and celebrate Mass in the side chapel of the cathedral cloister dedicated to St. Leo. Like many confraternities, a priest would have led the Office and Mass. Thus, it is possible this sung prayer was meant for the use by the confraternity's chaplain. On the other hand, since it was recorded in this larger gradual, it was probably no longer meant solely for private devotion. Perhaps the confraternity members sang it, too. One can then begin to understand how these devoted lay members were often in conflict with the cathedral chapter around this time. Not only were they conducting Mass at times that conflicted with those of the cathedral, but they may have also been more actively participating in prayers that had originally been meant for priests.

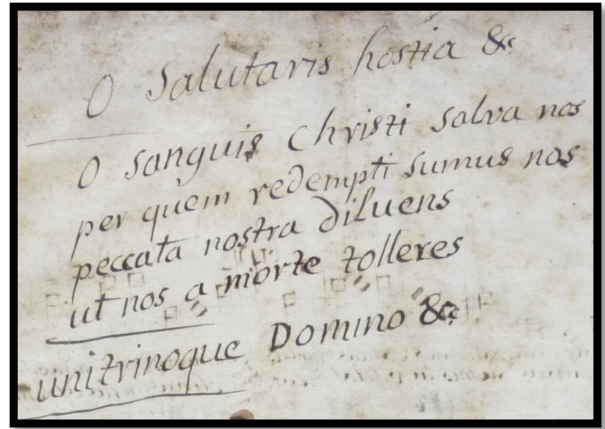


Figure 4.3: “O Salutaris Hostia” Verse Texts,
(Source: Bayonne municipal archives, GG 220/1,
AD-PAB)

On the last flyleaf page, a text with no music appears. It consists of the incipits of “O Salutaris Hostia” and of “Unitrinoque Domino,” and interjected in between these, a separate prayer on the Blood of Christ (see Figure 4.3). “O Salutaris Hostia” and “Unitrinoque Domino” were such common verses that just the incipits sufficed here, whereas the interjected verse was much less common and thus written out in full.⁵⁷ This short text points to the confraternity's participation in some form of adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, and even adds a further

⁵⁷ These verses would have all been sung to the same tune. Bisaro, email message to author, October 24, 2016.

devotion to the Blood of Christ.⁵⁸ The verso side of this last flyleaf presents two notated hymns written in seeming succession, with no heading or titles (see Figure 4.4).



Figure 4.4: “Panis Angelicus” and “Tantum Ergo” in the St. Leo Gradual, (Source: Bayonne municipal archives, GG 220/1, AD-PAB)

The “Panis Angelicus” hymn, as mentioned, consists of the last two verses of the longer hymn “Sacris solemnibus” sung for Matins on Corpus Christi. It appears the scribe had first meant

⁵⁸ A broader attention to devotion of the Precious Blood, however, did not take off until later in the 18th-19th century, with St. Gaspar, founder of the Society and Missionaries of the Precious Blood.

to score the piece in C clef, as had been done for the “Panis candidissime.” (It seems to be the same scribe for these pieces, though the text of the “Panis Angelicus” is crammed in more tightly in order to fit in two verses.) However, the top line of the staff has been left off, leaving only four lines instead of five. The C-clef is crossed out and an F-clef is given on the third line down. Perhaps the scribe was worried about having enough space on the page, or realized that the chant was meant for a lower vocal range. This is a sloppier, perhaps more hurried, recording of the chant than the other examples. It also has a somewhat strange melody, alternating between disjunct interval leaps and a general stepwise descending motion to the tonic. The d-minor melody has a vocal range of a full octave from A₂ to B₃, and some # signs above the notes actually indicate a trill. The writing does show a measure of musicality with its appoggiaturas, careful phrase structure, and ornaments. I have transcribed it as follows:

Pa - nis an - ge - li - cus_ fit pa - nis_ ho - mi - num;_ dat
 Te, tri - na Dei - tas_ un - a - que, po - sci mus;_ sic

7
 pa - nis cae - li cus fi - gu - ris ter mi num; O res mi - ra - bi - lis!
 nos tu vi - si - tas, si - cut te co - li - mus; per tu - as se - mit - tas

14
 man - du - cat Do__ mi num man - du - cat Do - mi - num,_
 duc nos quo ten - di - mus, duc nos quo ten - di - mus,_

18
 pau - per, ser - vus, et hu - mi - lis_ et_ hu - mi - lis.
 ad_ Lu - cem_ quam in - ha - bi - tas._ A - men_

Example 4.2: Transcription of “Panis Angelicus”

The leaping chant melody of the “Tantum Ergo,” by contrast, is the most peculiar of these hymns. Here, the scribe goes back to a fourth-line C-clef, and again, the chant is in d-minor mode. A few bar lines have been corrected to fall in line with the Latin words.⁵⁹ This last hymn, sung often during the Corpus Christi procession, has more flourishes or short melismas on certain words than the previous two (as in “antiquum,” “documentum,” and “ritui”), but a closer look at these figures (especially on “sensum”) reveals that these are more likely bass figures, and that this chant is therefore missing one or more voices added over the bass.⁶⁰ The chant’s disjunct line, with several octave leaps, requiring more substantial vocal flexibility than for the others, confirms this idea. Had the scribe run out of time, or were the other parts familiar enough they did not warrant recording? I have transcribed the piece below:

Tan-tum er - go sa - cra-men-tum ve - ne - re - mur cer - nu - i, et
 7
 an - ti - qu-um Do - cu - men - tum no - vo ce - dat ri - tu - i:
 12
 prae - stet fi - des su - ple - men - tum sen - su - um (de -) fec - tu - i.

Example 4.3: Transcription of “Tantum Ergo”

⁵⁹ X. Bisaro also remarked that this was the only notated hymn with all bar lines of equal length (not with some short and long, as in the others.) Email message to author, October 24, 2016.

⁶⁰ Thanks to Bisaro for this observation, email message to author, October 24, 2016.

Neither the “Panis Angelicus,” nor the “Tantum Ergo” added on this final flyleaf show any melodic similarity with the official Roman liturgical chants.⁶¹ A 1784 printed collection of chants in Gascon also includes several chants for Corpus Christi, but none that seem to echo the tunes here or the Latin hymn texts.⁶² Nor are these chant tunes found in a *Vesperale* of Toulouse, reissued in 1780.⁶³ But this is perhaps not all that surprising, considering that in 1753, the bishop of Bayonne had a breviary published that closely followed the Auch provincial, Gallican-influenced chant.⁶⁴ Therefore the melodies possibly follow more of an Auscitan repertory. In any case, though the hymns are in Latin, their distinctive melodies and inclusion in the manuscript reveal the local particularities of this celebration. One could also surmise that each confraternity such as this could have had its own repertory of feast hymns. Unfortunately, there is no clear indication as to the provenance of these particular chant melodies. The hastily written hymns are meant for low voices, but the “Tantum Ergo,” at least, requires some musical skill, with all of its unprepared leaps. Why and how they were preserved along with the incomplete Gradual hymns remains a mystery – but they were at least important enough to warrant being saved from the destruction of the Revolution. These hymns point to the significance of the Fête-Dieu in the musical life of this confraternity, which was not even a confraternity especially dedicated to the Holy Sacrament. Their inclusion in the confraternity’s Gradual perhaps suggests the importance of the Fête-Dieu feast in the broader religious ceremonial calendar of Bayonne.

⁶¹ As compared with the transcriptions in Walters, Corrigan, and Ricketts, *The Feast of Corpus Christi* and in the *Liber Usualis*.

⁶² *Canticos noubels sur la naissance de nostre-seigné Jesus-Christ* (Toulouse: Jan-Jousep Douladouro, 1784), 29–34.

⁶³ *Vespérale de Toulouse, complet et noté...* (Toulouse: Joseph Dalles, 1780), 295.

⁶⁴ Dubarat, Victor Pierre, *Le bréviaire de Lescar de 1541; réédité avec une introduction et des notes sur nos anciennes liturgies locales /*, 195–98.

FÊTE-DIEU PRACTICES DURING THE REVOLUTION

Lay groups and confraternities were officially banned by a law issued on August 18, 1792, and, of course, any and all signs of worship were prohibited by 1793.⁶⁵ Before then, processions for the Fête-Dieu were held in both Bayonne and Pau, and in other smaller towns and villages, sometimes under the guidance of newly-professed constitutional priests. Perhaps mounting social tensions inspired the issue of municipal orders in 1789, and again in 1790, to tidy up the streets of Pau for the upcoming Fête-Dieu processions, and to make sure to decorate the facades of buildings along the processional route.⁶⁶ Owners and renters of these buildings were enjoined to hang tapestries or sheets to cover the facades, to sweep their streets, and to remove any construction materials, obstructing branches, and other rubble from the path, or risk being fined.

In Bayonne, the first years of revolutionary tensions did not impede the usual processional practice. Participants were still processing in the order given by tradition: pilgrims, then many different trade guilds, followed by the confraternity of the Holy Sacrament, then religious orders, then the bishop and canopy followed by municipal and military authorities, all before the ordinary crowd. Each trade guild marched to the sounds of the flute and drums with its own set of flags and trade instruments representing its profession.⁶⁷ The colorful, festive occasion drew large crowds of out-of-town onlookers.

At the beginning of the Revolution, however, certain trade guilds, such as the silversmiths, had begun to refuse participation in the Fête-Dieu processions despite threats from the municipal government. Rising tensions with the urban aristocracy and within the

⁶⁵ “Loi relative à la suppression des Congrégations Séculières & des Confrairies. Du 18 Août 1792, l’an 4e de la Liberté.”

⁶⁶ The fine for not complying was twenty *livres* to be paid to the police. “Registres des jugements et ordonnances de police, des proclamations des maires et officiers municipaux à partir du 26 nov 1790,” 1786-1793, Pau municipal archives, FF 30, UTPau.

⁶⁷ Jean B. Bailac, *Nouvelle chronique de la ville de Bayonne par un Bayonnais* (Duhart-Fauvet, 1827), 122-124.

town's dominating bourgeois merchant class were not just social and visible but moral and invisible as well.⁶⁸ Once conflicts over the Constitutional Oath were added to tensions over non-participation, processing in the Fête-Dieu became a morally contested issue. Parishioners felt they could not follow the leadership of an "impostor" bishop. When the Constitutional Bishop Barthélemy Jean Baptiste Sanadon was installed in March of 1791, he set out to conduct his first pastoral visits. Sanadon arrived in Bayonne on June 21, 1791, two days ahead of the Fête-Dieu festivities. The Bayonnais were ordered to decorate their homes along the procession route from Grand Bayonne through Petit Bayonne, or otherwise risk the 50 *livre* fine.⁶⁹ When it came time for Sanadon to celebrate the feast at the Cathedral and lead the procession, it became apparent that several of the religious communities would not cooperate. The Visitandine nuns, for example, refused to place their traditional altar alongside the convent wall, and the Capuchins did not march in the procession.⁷⁰

The travel accounts of German writer Christian-August Fischer to the southwest of France and northern Spain from 1797 to 1799 highlight several interesting observations of Bayonne and its inhabitants. Among the papers of the local historian Charles Bernadou (1841-1901), a transcribed version of Fischer's translated accounts include an excerpt headed "1791 Bayonne: Procession, Corpus Domini, ou Fete Dieu," in which the author describes the festive procession but does not mention the drama of Sanadon's visit.⁷¹ This transcription differs from a later printed edition of Fischer's account, where the details of the Corpus Christi feast in fact

⁶⁸ Josette Pontet-Fourmigué, *Bayonne: un destin de ville moyenne à l'époque moderne (fin du XVIIIe siècle - milieu du XIXe siècle)* (France: J&D Editions, 1990), 654.

⁶⁹ Hourmat, *Histoire de Bayonne*, Vol. 2, 71-72.

⁷⁰ Ibid, 72; Bernard Goïty, *Histoire du diocèse de Bayonne* (Bayonne: Secrétariat de l'évêché de Bayonne, 2007), 229.

⁷¹ Bernadou papers, "Extrait du voyage en France, en Espagne, dans les années 1797 et 1798, de Chretien Auguste Fisher," Mss 325, (s.d.), MediaB.

match up with the feast in Bilbao.⁷² In Bernadou's transcription (on Bayonne), Fischer noted that after the sounding of all the city bells the night before, the streets were filled by six in the morning with people coming from all kinds of different places, including tourists nicknamed "couziots" by the locals. The townspeople were busy readying the altars that served as stations for the procession of the Holy Sacrament. By eight o'clock, the "bourgeois" were decorating the facades of their homes with white linens, and at nine, everyone worked to cover the path of the procession in a carpet of flowers and grass. The procession left the cathedral at ten, and an immense crowd of people filled every side street, balcony, and possible space along the procession route to observe.

The procession was headed by the Swiss Guard in full costume, carrying the first cross. Then followed two lines of men from the Confraternity of St. Jacques, in pilgrim costumes. The Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament marched next, with a group of musicians at its center playing the "Basque tambourine" and two violins. These men were followed by a cloud of numerous little angels, young boys and girls dressed in the finest costumes, wearing angel wings and causing a stir from the admiring crowd. After them came all the different confraternities, carrying their patron saints' statues sculpted of wood or iron and dressed in velvet and silk, followed by a second chorus of musicians and clouds of incense and flowers thrown before the monstrance of the Holy Sacrament.⁷³

Eventually, both Confraternities of the Holy Sacrament in Pau and in Bayonne were forced to disband. In Pau, the vicar general restricted the confraternity's privileges and closed its chapel in 1792. When resisting members tried to overtake the chapel one Sunday, the vicar

⁷² Christian August Fischer, *Voyage en Espagne, aux années 1797 et 1798: Faisant suite au voyage en Espagne, du Citoyen Bourgoing* (Paris: Duchesne et Leriche, 1801), Tome I, 105. The two accounts are very similar, but Bernadou's has more details about the procession itself, whereas Fischer's printed version focuses more on the angels and the bull fighting afterwards.

⁷³ Bernadou excerpts of Fischer, *Voyage en Espagne*. The printed 1801 version does not include as much description of the procession hierarchy or of the musicians, but does discuss the impressive young "angels," 106-107.

general called a municipal officer to evacuate it.⁷⁴ After the Revolution, it was discovered that the sacristan of the confraternity had submitted all of the confraternity's ornaments and religious objects to the revolutionary government.⁷⁵ Likewise in Bayonne in 1793, the confraternity's council of directors conceded their ornamental silver pieces to help finance the war.⁷⁶

When the first Feast of the Supreme Being was celebrated in Bayonne and Pau in June of 1794, were participants thinking of the previous years' pomp in honoring the Holy Sacrament? How did onlookers now view the all-powerful civic authorities, the representatives on mission, leading the ceremonies, and how did they view themselves in this reorganization of social hierarchies? The splendid contrast between this new ceremony and the time-honored feast of Corpus Christi that had long allied ecclesiastical, civic, and popular authority had to have been striking. Yet, even in a smaller town such as Itxassou, which had previously lent out its "tambour" player for the neighboring Fête-Dieu processions in Macaye, these new revolutionary festivals still retained their older, familiar soundscape. In a list of expenses for Itxassou in 1792, the Feast of Sans Culottes was celebrated with wine, dinner, and the musical accompaniment of the *tambourin* lasting two days.⁷⁷ It is probable, then, that the same musicians such as this *tambourin* served the festivities of both the older religious regime and the newer civic order within a short span of years.

⁷⁴ Bortedarrère, "La confrérie du saint-sacrement," 359.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 362-363.

⁷⁶ "Confrérie du Saint-Sacrement de la cathédrale de Bayonne, 1661-1793," 1793, G 258, AD-PAB, 85.

⁷⁷ Itzaina, "Ezpata eta iguzkia," 15.

POST-REVOLUTION AND RESTORATION

On June 12th and 19th (the octave), 1803, Fête-Dieu processions once again made their way through the streets of Bayonne after over ten years of absence.⁷⁸ These renewed Corpus Christi celebrations, however, now took on a marked military and civil character as well as a restored religious solemnity. The Bayonne mayor encouraged his town to “cooperate with all their means, in this time when all Christians were making efforts to rekindle the religion of their fathers,” and to “reestablish these ancient practices which in the past made this day an occasion of joy and religious *recueillement* (contemplation).”⁷⁹ But at the festive Mass, religious authorities were joined also by a large number of administrative, judiciary, military, and marine authorities, all in official costume.⁸⁰ These pillars of civic, judicial, and military authority formed the new processional order, marching in parallel before the religious entourage of the Holy Sacrament. A few weeks later, the celebration of the National Feast Day on July 14th was first consecrated by a Mass at the cathedral in Bayonne, effectively reuniting the alliance between church and state for this important patriotic celebration as well.⁸¹

As the diocese reorganized, parishioner confraternities were gradually reestablished, and the Confraternity of the Very Holy Sacrament was reinstated in Bayonne Cathedral in April 1806 by Bishop Loison.⁸² The diocesan rearrangements that occurred with the Concordat also divided Pau into two parishes in 1803. Thus, the vicar general, after meeting with the parish council in early June of 1805, issued a statement that Pau would only hold one Corpus Christi procession at a time. The Parish of St. Martin would take turns with that of St. Jacques

⁷⁸ Hourmat, *Histoire de Bayonne*, 45.

⁷⁹ Qtd. in *Ibid.*, 45. “à y coopérer de tous leurs moyens, en ce temps où tous les chrétiens s’efforçaient de faire reflleurir la religion de leurs pères... de rétablir ces usages antiques qui en faisaient autrefois un jour de joie et de recueillement religieux.”

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 125.

to host the first procession or that of the octave.⁸³ Processions would either leave after the solemn Mass or in the evening after Vespers from one of the parishes, and clergy from all the churches were convoked to participate in each procession, regardless of its starting point. That following June 16, 1805, the Fête-Dieu procession left from St. Martin after Vespers: the Vicar General Lallemand carried the host and the parish council members hoisted the canopy while members of the St. Jacques parish processed with candles. A sketch included at the bottom of the 1805 procession decree details the order of the participants (see Figure 4.5).⁸⁴

⁸³ “Reglementation pour la procession de la Fête-Dieu à Pau (Juin 1805)” Transcribed and commented by Jacques Staes, in “Documents pour servir à l’histoire du département des Pyrénées-Atlantiques,” Vol. 3, 1896, BIB U 157/2, AD-PAP Biblio, 118-120.

⁸⁴ A reproduction of the sketch found in the transcribed document, *Ibid.*, 120.

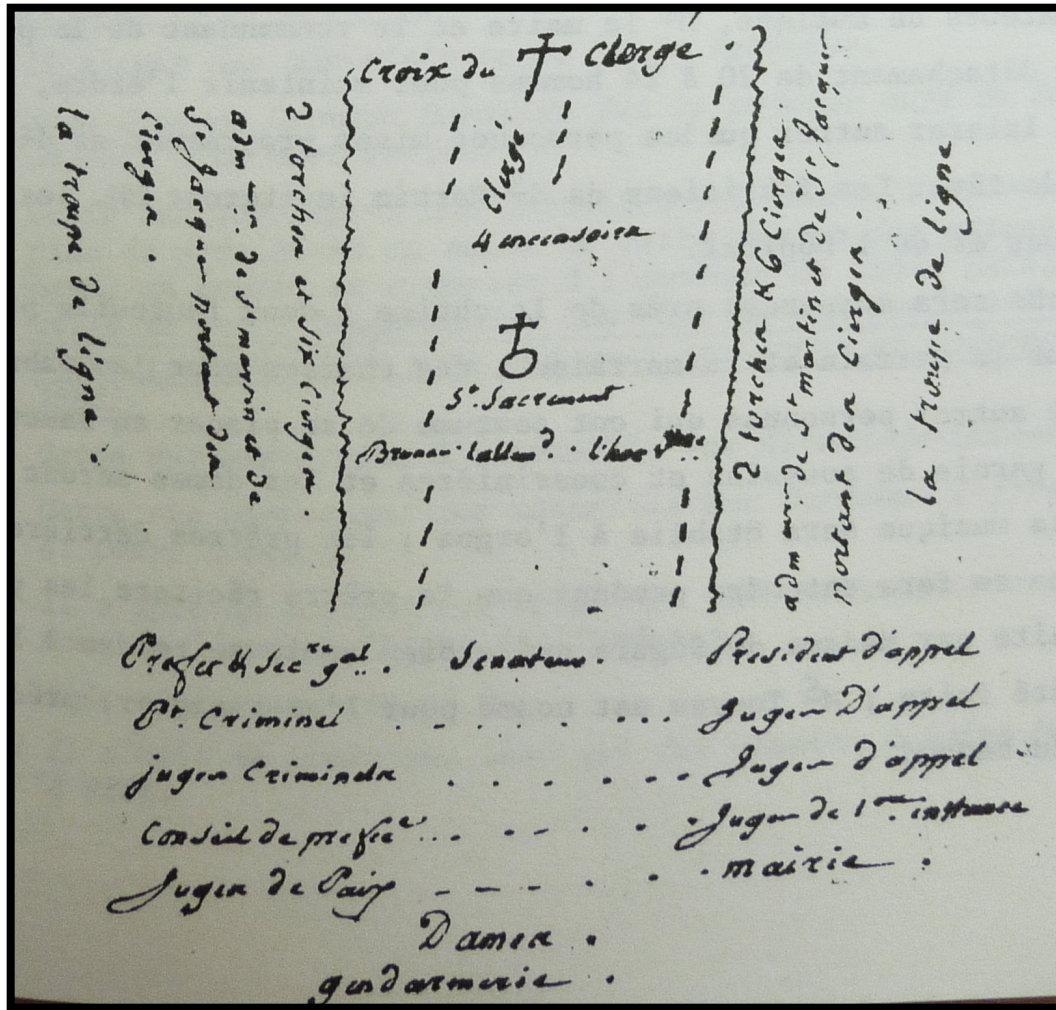


Figure 4.5: Sketch of Procession Participants from 1805 Decree, (Source: Staes, "Documents," AD-PAP Biblio, see note 93)

While the canopy was surrounded by ecclesiastical authorities and parish council members, it was closely followed according to the sketch by the prefect and the judicial establishment, then the city government, and lastly the women and the final guards.⁸⁵

The Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament in Pau was already recognized in 1804, when the papal legate of Pius VII granted its members various plenary indulgences.⁸⁶ Its statutes and

⁸⁵ A letter from Lallemand to the mayor of Pau in 1809 suggests that the parish council members of St Martin were upset with this arrangement and wanted to make some changes, but the bishopric denied those changes and upheld the decision of 1805. "Police du culte: Cérémonies et processions... Modification du parcours des processions," 1809, Pau municipal archives, 1 P 3, UTPau.

regulations were printed and approved by Bishop Loison in 1806. The newly reestablished confraternity particularly emphasized its role as a society of piety and charity. The 1806 statutes declared that “the confreres and confreresses of the Holy Sacrament will take care to permeate themselves with the principal goal of their saintly association, which is to practice, each within his/her own state and according to his/her means, works of piety and charity, as it is declared in the brief of Our Holy Father, the Pope.”⁸⁷ Confraternity members were called to take care of the sick, reconcile disputes peacefully, and live a dignified life devoid of scandal.⁸⁸ Thus, as Fête-Dieu processions were reinstated and organized among the two Palois parishes, this confraternity probably held some importance as representatives of the St. Martin parish. By 1808, participation in the processions was even more markedly visual, for the confraternity had decided to reinstate their white hooded tunics.⁸⁹ The hooded tunic became a contentious and divisive issue between an increasingly extremist, yet somewhat superficial, group of members, and those who did not see the importance of wearing and displaying their piety. In addition to the two processional feasts of Corpus Christi and the Assumption that the confraternity now celebrated after the Concordat, the lay group was also sometimes called to mark national or royal events.⁹⁰ This participation in marking civic events showed the confraternity’s cautious allegiance with civic powers, for the confraternity was much more willing to mark civic festivities for the restored Bourbon royals than for imperial milestones under Napoleon.

⁸⁶ Borededarrère, “La confrérie du saint-sacrement,” 370-371.

⁸⁷ Qtd/transcribed in *Ibid.*, 372. “Les Confrères et Confréresses du Saint-Sacrement auront soin de bien se pénétrer de la fin principale de leur sainte association, qui est de s’exercer chacun dans son état, et selon ses moyens, à la pratique des oeuvres de piété et de charité, comme il est porté dans le Bref de N. S. P. le Pape.”

⁸⁸ And of course, confess and take communion regularly, *Ibid.*, 218.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 260-261.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 336.

By mid-century in Béarn, the pious devotion displayed for Corpus Christi seemed to regain its splendor, minus some important participants. In a local gazette, *L'écho des vallées*, the feast day was described as it unfolded in 1853 in the town of Bagnères-de-Bigorre:

The eyes were charmed and the soul moved, in seeing the immense population lined up in two queues, bareheaded, with a book in hand, making the tunes of religious chants ring out... The Holy Sacrament was carried by Monsieur the Priest, assisted by two professor-priests of the school, eight incense-bearers, and as many florists chosen among the youngest students of the school, scattering the flowers and throwing before the Holy Sacrament the perfumed vapors of the incense, forming by their swaying the most gracious designs. The canopy was escorted by a brigade of civil guards, after which followed the cantors, followed then by an innumerable crowd of people that processed in silence throughout our streets decorated with white drapes and greenery. The procession was only interrupted by three stations in front of the repositories, each rivaling the other in elegance and beauty.⁹¹

The main participants described are from the usual sectors of town society: the townspeople, the clergy, the school (both instructors and students), and the civil militia. What is missing is any description of trade guilds or confraternities, even though, as we have remarked, these would have made a strong visual impression distinguishing them from the general crowd of parishioners. The trade guilds would have had their patron statuettes and the confraternities their hooded cloaks. Absent as well is any description of musical instruments, apart from the vocal chanting of religious hymns. Though the ecclesiastical, military, and popular lay forces came together once more for this feast, the procession seems from this description to lack any local particularity such as dancing, or any prominent role for the local town council.

It could be that these lay confraternities, much like the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament in Pau, had lost their fervor and local impact after the initial years of the Concordat. Besides the scattered waves of increased female participation, the reestablished fervency in 1806

⁹¹ Qtd. in Jean-François Soulet, *Les Pyrénées au XIXe siècle: l'éveil d'une société civile* (Bordeaux: Sud Ouest, 2004), 182. "Les yeux étaient charmés et l'âme émue, en voyant une immense population rangée sur deux lignes, tête nue, un livre à la main, faisant retentir les airs de chants religieux. ... Le Saint-Sacrement était porté par Monsieur le Curé, assisté de deux prêtres professeurs au collège: huit thuriféraires et autant de fleuristes choisis parmi les plus jeunes élèves du collège, repandant les fleurs et jetant au-devant du Saint-Sacrement les vapeurs odorantes de l'encens, formaient par leurs évolutions les figures les plus gracieuses. Le dais était escorté par la brigade de gendarmerie, après laquelle venaient les chantres, suivis d'une foule innombrable de peuple qui a défilé en silence à travers nos rues tendues de blanches draperies et semées de verdure. La marche n'a été interrompue que par trois stations devant les repositoires, qui rivalisaient d'élégance et de beauté."

of the confraternity in Pau had petered out. A regional gazette from June 15, 1875, describes the lost luster:

The first, the most noble by its goal in the parish congregations, became the least brilliant in actuality, and the least flourishing, despite the zeal and the piety of its members. It was indeed the *pusillus grex*, the small, the humble flock of faithful and devoted sheep. ...At the time of the solemn processions of Fête-Dieu, one saw that handful of pious bodyguards escorting the King of Kings, and asked oneself how this elite troop of the Christian militia was so modest and so few in number. Many had the same thoughts, but no one acted upon them.⁹²

The pious journalist went on to enjoin its male readers to reinvest in their prestigious confraternity, and make it a membership worthy of the days when the group included magistrates from the Parliament of Navarre.

Just as the early revolutionary festivals had brought together a united display of ecclesiastical, civic, and military power, so did these three elements of local authority continue to play a role in the Corpus Christi feast during the nineteenth century. But its pious participants had changed from the visible confraternity or guild organizations in a medieval model of lay piety, to a more general lay public based on a modern civic model; or in the case of the Basque provinces where the dance tradition was revived, a local youth civic group. (Women, though always relegated to the back of the procession, were now even less markedly visible as confraternity participation dwindled.) During the region's occupation by Napoleonic troops, the military was especially called upon to play a prominent role in these processions. This is not to say that before the Revolution the militias had played a lesser, minor role; in fact, it seems that the militaristic aspect of the feast has always been a constant.⁹³ I would suggest, however, that the decrease in confraternity and guild visibility in exchange for participation from a civic laity opened the way for a stronger civic-militaristic presence that demonstrated

⁹² Qtd. in Boredarrère, "La confrérie du saint-sacrement," 364. "La première, la plus noble par son objet des congrégations paroissiales, était devenue la moins brillante par le fait et la moins florissante, malgré le zèle et la piété de ses membres. C'était bien le *pusillus grex*, le petit, l'humble troupeau des brebis fidèles et dévouées...Lorsque dans les processions solennelles de la Fête-Dieu, on voyait cette poignée de pieux *Gardes du Corps* escorter le *Roi* des rois, on se demandait comment cette troupe d'élite de la milice chrétienne était si modeste et si peu nombreuse. Beaucoup avaient ainsi pensé mais personne n'agissait."

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 25.

piety in a way that was particular to this region in the nineteenth century. This alliance, embraced mainly in the youth sector of society, fostered the military-inspired dance and march tunes that accompanied the processions.

Perhaps this is partly why, especially in Basque towns not far from the Spanish border, the nineteenth century brought with it a renewed interest in incorporating the National Guards in the Corpus Christi procession. In the expense records for the beginning of the century in the town of Itxassou, we see the consistent presence of the guards:

June 3, 1809 paid to make a part of the path near the presbytery house to have the procession pass by 2 #. June 4, 1809 paid 4 men of the National Guard for the procession 3#. ... 1810: Paid to 4 men of the National Guard and to a drummer for the procession of the Holy-Sacrament 6# (...) June 20, 1813: paid to the National Guard and to the drum 9# and 1# of gunpowder 3#6 for the procession of the Holy-Sacrament 12#6.⁹⁴

Likewise in Cambo-les-Bains, a neighboring Basque town, the National Guards appear in the expense records of 1818, paid for their participation in the procession, their gunpowder, and their gracious entertainment.⁹⁵

By mid-century, disputes had arisen in the election of guard officers in various towns, and this sometimes interfered with their ceremonial roles in the Corpus Christi processions. In 1863, the sub-prefect of Bayonne wrote a letter to the mayor of Itxassou, reminding him of the disturbances that had occurred the year before, and warning him that the National Guards held above all a symbolic function, not a militaristic one, and that their internal disputes had no place in a religious ceremony:

You would do well to have them [the guards] understand that the procession will lose nothing of its majesty if it is not encircled by its escort of honor, and that it will suffice to have the participation of the true faithful who are exempt from vain preoccupations and who are animated only by pious sentiments. This is the most beautiful radiance of a procession. You would do well

⁹⁴ Qtd. in Itzaina, "Ezpatata eta iguzkia," 27. "3 juin 1809 payé pour faire un morceau de chemin près de la maison presbytère pour faire passer la procession 2# / 4 juin 1809 payé à 4 hommes de la Garde nationale pour la procession 3# / (...) 1810: Payé à 4 hommes de la Garde nationale et à un tambour pour la procession du Saint-Sacrement 6# / (...) 20 juin 1813: payé à la Garde nationale et au tambour 9# et 1# de poudre 3#6 pour la procession du Saint-Sacrement 12#6."

⁹⁵ Ibid., 27.

then to oppose any armed reunion that would try to appear to accompany the procession and that could once more become an element of disturbance.⁹⁶

Though the National Guard was disbanded in 1872, the Fête-Dieu processions continued to hold an important militaristic aspect, and this eventually became the responsibility of each town's local youth groups. When feast day costumes were renewed in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Napoleonic soldier's uniform became a popular mainstay for processing youth dancers.⁹⁷

The gradual takeover of the role of the National Guard in the festivities of the Fête-Dieu was often met with disapproval from the local Church. Some years, local town disputes did interfere with the organization of processions and festivities. In the twentieth century especially, parish priests went back and forth on whether arms (such as muskets) or dancing should be allowed in the church. These common town disputes and disturbances, such as the one described above in Itxassou, reinforced the clergy's growing admonitions to celebrate this feast with inward devotion instead of outwardly pomp.⁹⁸

INSTRUMENTAL ACCOMPANIMENT AND PROCESSIONAL MUSIC

Throughout the nineteenth century, this increasingly influential military role in the Fête-Dieu processions was also manifested in the changes in instrumental accompaniment. Absent the musically prominent roles of the large confraternities and numerous clergy from

⁹⁶ Qtd. in Ibid, 28. "Vous voudrez bien leur faire comprendre que la procession ne perdra rien de sa majesté pour n'être pas entourée d'une escorte d'honneur, et qu'il suffira du concours des vrais fidèles exempts de préoccupations vaniteuses et qui ne sont animées que de pieux sentiments. C'est là le plus bel éclat d'une procession. Vous voudrez donc bien vous opposer à toute réunion armée qui tenterait de se former pour accompagner la procession et qui pourrait de nouveau devenir un élément de désordre."

⁹⁷ Xipri Arbelbide attributes this popularity of the Napoleonic costume to just plain flashiness – each town organization committee would choose the costumes to their liking. Xipri Arbelbide, conversation with the author, Bayonne, September 12, 2016. See also Xipri Arbelbide, *Besta Berri* (Ostoa, n.d.); Guilcher, *La tradition de danse en Béarn et Pays Basque français*, 425–27. Guilcher discusses the different ways the costumes were made, loaned, and preserved to be handed down.

⁹⁸ As in the personal papers of the abbé Dop of May 31, 1885, qtd. in Itzaina, "Ezpata eta iguzkia," 29.

before the Revolution, the processing militias slowly took over the musical agenda with marching music that alternated with parishioners' hymns. By mid-century, military bugles had a noticeable place in the festivities, gradually overtaking the violin and *ttun-ttun* accompaniment.⁹⁹ Slowly, the church procession and liturgical celebrations were increasingly accompanied by bugles, drums, clarinets, and eventually trumpets and brass. Often, in these cases, the traditional instrumental accompaniment of the *txirula* and drums would be reserved for the dancing celebrations after Mass in the town square.¹⁰⁰

These processional musical interludes were thus taken from a mix of military marches, traditional dances, and versions of the local *kaxkarot* march, to accompany the dancing that occurred both inside and outside the Basque churches on this feast day. The march melodies were often inspired by earlier dance airs, such as Scottish or contredance tunes, and even old cantiques. Such is the case with this well-known processional air transcribed in the twentieth century, but which was possibly inspired by the mid-nineteenth-century cantique, "Triomphez, reine des cieux":¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Xabier Itçaina, "El día de Corpus Christi en Ipar Euskal Herria," *Euskomedia*, 2008, <http://www.euskomedia.org/aunamendi/150001>.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* The txirularis were often the best keepers of dance and musical traditions in each town and would teach the younger generations.

¹⁰¹ Guilcher, *La tradition de danse en Béarn et Pays Basque français*, 442. Guilcher writes that Pierre Lafitte is the one who suggested the similarity between the processing tune and cantique No. 70 in Dupanloup's collection of cantiques of 1843. Indeed, the melodic contours are very similar.

Example 4.4: Procession tune transcribed by J-M Guilcher

Another well-known processional tune from at least the early twentieth century was played for the entrance of the militia parade into the church in Itxassou. It also exhibits the playful, strong duple-meter repetitiveness of the previous example:¹⁰²

Example 4.5: Church entrance and processional tune, from Airs de la Fête-Dieu, MuBa

Both tunes exhibit a strong marching beat as well as a lilting rhythmic quality with their dotted eighth notes and triplets, suitable for the embellished dance movements of the marching cortege. The melody in Example 4.5 from Itxassou carries the parading movement forward, moving seamlessly from G major to C major, and one could easily conceive the tune

¹⁰² In Itzaina, “Ezpata eta iguzkia,” 3.

continuing forward in a progression of fifths. In the cantique-inspired Example 4.4, the tune lends itself instead to seamless cyclical repetition, moving as it does from tonic to dominant and back, which could also make it a useful accompaniment for a long processional sequence. The airs are festive and cheerful, marking the solemn feast with an altogether joyful though martial tone.

And it is this military-inspired, and later, youth-driven, aspect of the celebration that blends so dynamically with the devotional hymns sung by choirs and parishioners even today. Just as the confraternities seemed to have had their own Corpus Christi melodies to sing before the Revolution, so have parishioners in the twentieth century participated in singing Basque-language hymns based on the same thirteenth-century texts. One such hymn, “Sakramendu Handi Huni,” translates the Latin veneration of the Holy Sacrament of “Tantum Ergo.” I have transcribed the popular hymn tune below:¹⁰³

Sa-kra-men-du han-di hu-ni a-hus-pez gau-zki-o - la, Gau-za sain-du gu-zi-
 Jai-nko Ai-ta Se-me - e - ri kan-tu - ta boz-ka-ri - o, Hei-er a - gur, os-pe,
 6
 e - ri hau na - gu - si da - di - la, si - ne - ste - ak ar - gi
 in - dar, es - ker - ta a - mo - di - o; e - ta bi - en Go - go -
 10
 be - za gu - re be - gi a - hu - la. A - MEN_
 a - ri o - ro - bat lau - do - ri - o.

Example 4.6: Basque Hymn “Sakramendu Handi Huni”

¹⁰³ The lyrics are taken from a liturgical pamphlet, “Besta Berri” (Mendionde, June 7, 2015); and the melodic transcription is mine from memory and using “Sakramendu handi huni,” YouTube video, 1:32, from Chorales paroissiales de Mouguerre, Briscous, Villefranque, et Hasparren, *Igandetako Bezperak* (Agorila, 2004), posted by “IDOL”, November 30, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vd0F53wwt5Y>.

Sung at the Benediction of the Sacrament and also during the procession after Mass, this simple and tuneful hymn lends itself to ornamentation and improvised harmonizing by more confident members of the parish.

Having explored the early nineteenth-century changes to this feast, the next section further discusses the form this celebration has taken in more recent times. Though my ethnography of the feast is still quite limited, this brief glimpse at the modern manifestations of Corpus Christi provides a wider view of the social importance this feast has retained and how it has been refashioned, even as it is practiced in an ever-decreasing range of small Basque towns. (See again, Maps 4.1-4.2).

BESTA-BERRI IN FRENCH BASQUE COUNTRY TODAY

On the morning of June 7, 2015, Xabier Itçaina picked me up at the bus station in Cambo-les-Bains in his tiny red car and sped us over to the town of Mendionde and its Corpus Christi festivities, here called *Besta-Berri*.¹⁰⁴ As we made our way through the winding, verdant country roads of the Nive valley, between the provinces of Labourd and Basse-Navarre, we talked excitedly about the ceremony about to unfold. Itçaina was anxious to get us there on time to see the procession enter the church for Mass.

As we arrived in Mendionde and climbed up the hill to the fifteenth-century church in the Lekorne neighborhood,¹⁰⁵ we realized most of the procession had already entered the church. A few musicians and soldiers at the end of the column were still playing their music and dancing their steps outside the nave, in the covered porch of the church. We climbed up the

¹⁰⁴ This occasion is the source of my opening vignette for this chapter.

¹⁰⁵ Lekorne is also the Basque name of the town, called Mendionde in French.

stairs to the third gallery along the side wall of the church; the nave and lower galleries were already filled with people. From here we had a bird's-eye view of the ceremonial Mass as it played out. In the front pews of the nave, the young catechumens stood dressed in white: the young girls carrying small baskets of flower petals on the left, and the young boys with their red sashes and their small batons called *makilas* on the right. The mood was joyful, yet solemn, and the church was filled with a variety of old folks, families, youngsters, locals, and out-of-town visitors like us. Everyone sang the numerous hymns in Basque, with a few singers adding their improvised harmonies; all were singing with gusto.

At first, I was surprised to hear the brass musicians playing their lively marching tunes. Itçaina informed me that it is very common to hear brass accompaniment for this feast, even though traditionally, the trio of *txirula*, violin, and *ttun-ttun* were the instruments of choice. At different commands during the Mass, the costumed officers of the ceremonial procession lifted their arms, a sword or a musket, kneeled, or stood at ease. The two companies of youth dressed as soldiers were each given their own commands, in French, while the Mass went on entirely in Basque. At important points in the liturgy, particularly during the consecration and elevation of the Eucharistic host, specific soldiers broke into a ceremonial dance, accompanied by the joyful brass music. The Elevation of the Host was also punctuated by the young girls throwing their flower petals.

At the end of the Mass, the soldiers danced a few more steps and then filed out of the church in procession. We hurried downstairs to get in formation ourselves, ahead of the official procession of soldiers, the catechumens, and the clergy and canopy. We walked down the hill towards the town square, on a path of grass and hay that had been laid out as an aisle for the priest to process with the Holy Sacrament under the canopy. We walked slowly, with the children leading the singing with a verse, and the rest of the procession joining in the refrain.

No one seemed to be reading from a program (as I was) – these were familiar hymns. After every set of verse-and-refrain, the brass would pick up a livelier marching tune, and the soldiers would dance their steps as everyone turned around to admire them.

When we arrived at the square, the procession made a lap around the square, and the clergy made their way to the outdoor altar, adorned with colorful flowers, which had been set up at one end of the square. The priest placed the monstrance at the altar and led a litany of prayers in Basque with those gathered around. When this was finished, the host was taken back under the canopy and back up the hill in a singing procession to the church, and, after another solemn blessing, the host was put away in its tabernacle. The military regiment and the musicians then left the church once more in procession, made another tour of the town, and arrived again at the town square to perform their dances. Different officer characters had their specific dances, and some had more important dancing roles than others, but one of the highlights was watching the baton-twirling soldiers dance and fling their *makilas* high in the air and catch them on the way down. The *sapeurs*, or sappers (military demolitions specialists), with their tall hats and decorated aprons, also performed some of the main dancing.

Later that afternoon, we attended a Vespers service in a nearby town called Hélette. Here, Itçaina assured me, the festive, skilled dancing had long attracted many tourists. The tone of the church service was much more relaxed than at the morning Mass. Fewer people attended, and the costumed militia looked worn out. One young catechumen was going through the dance steps by herself, as she waited for the procession to file into the central aisle. How much, I wondered, is this feast and its dancing and music ingrained into the local town culture? When Vespers ended, the dancers and musicians processed out of the church and to the main town square, where they then circled around numerous times to their dance steps and were joined by the young girls and boys of the town.

Much to our disappointment, however, no dances followed this procession. We waited to see if any dances were requested or initiated, but to no avail. Itçaina in particular was sad to see that in a town so well-reputed to have the best dancers, none of that fervor was still evident. The performances seemed to depend on the atmosphere around the dancers and musicians. People had to motivate the extra dancing, to call out to the musicians. But as we waited, we realized that not many townspeople were there to encourage the dancers. Families had gone back to their regular Sunday routines. After years of town fame that brought busloads of avid tourists, we seemed to be witnessing a marked decline in interest to preserve Besta-Berri dancing traditions. Even though little girls were imitating the dance steps perfectly and little boys were dressing as their favorite militia character, were these towns coming to an end of a practice keeping these traditions alive?

THE FESTIVE PARTICULARITIES OF THE BESTA-BERRI

The colorful processing and dancing I witnessed in Mendionde and Hélette are of course modern-day versions of this feast as it was transformed starting in the 1850s during the Second Empire and the Third Republic. Thanks to the ethnographic studies conducted by Guilcher starting in the 1960s, and his remarkable historical research on the subject, we can trace some of the aspects of this ceremony back to the nineteenth century. In what follows, I will describe the salient features of this tradition as it still appears today, and as it was continuously revived in the twentieth century.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ As Guilcher notes, the feast was often stopped and revived in certain locales due to varying circumstances: sometimes due to a priest's insistence, or to war, or to disagreements between youth leaders. Likewise, certain locales "adopted" the tradition that had not been originally practiced there. See Guilcher, *La tradition de danse*, 419.

Participants and Characters

The involvement of the male youth of a town in performing the Corpus Christi celebration is particularly noteworthy. The procession is made up of costumed military troops known as the “National Guard,” and include the following characters: the two “roosters”, the Swiss guard, the six sappers, the drum major, the flag bearers, the captain and the lieutenant, the sergeants, two lancers, the armed soldiers, infantrymen, and two police officers. Not every village uses the same number or types of military characters, and costumes also tend to vary. These are largely inspired by Second Empire uniforms even to this day. As Guilcher rightly warns, however, the appearance of these Second Empire military costumes belies a long or permanent duration of this tradition. These uniforms have seen constant reinventions of their mythicized characters.¹⁰⁷ Traditionally, unmarried men were the recruits for these positions, but more recently, participation has been extended to married men, younger boys, dancers from other towns, and even occasionally women – really anyone who can dance well.¹⁰⁸ Some could argue that the emphasis seems to have shifted from the communal, social aspect of preparation and celebration, to a greater focus on performance, and even performance for the outsider. Nonetheless, others could perceive in these shifts in participation a reflection of changing attitudes and practices of a social community. These diverse and coexisting meanings of the feast continue to be discussed, as villages maintain their celebration and adapt it year to year.

¹⁰⁷ Guilcher, *La tradition de danse*, 425-426. Guilcher explains that the choice of the Second Empire hunter uniforms was due to a personal decision by the priest of Iholdy, who chose the style for how spectacular it looks. Later, Guilcher notes: “Autant le souci esthétique est vif chez tous les membres de la communauté, autant celui de fidélité historique leur est étranger. La garde nationale n’imite rien, pas même son propre passé. Elle perpétue, sans doute, des habitudes anciennes, mais surtout elle répond aux goûts de la population et se modifie avec eux,” 427.

¹⁰⁸ Fernand Franchisteguy shares this in an interview with Guilcher in “Suite de l’enquête de Jean-Michel Guilcher en Pyrénées-Atlantiques en 1964 et 1967, Besta Berri ou Fête-Dieu,” 1967, Audio recordings, MuCEM Sound archives, 5 NUM 1 art. 440, AD-PAB.

Each National Guard character has a specific role, costume, movement, and choreography throughout the processions, liturgy, and the ensuing festivities. The military troops form two columns in procession throughout the ceremony, and several figures, such as the sappers and the captain, have their place standing guard at the altar. The first ones to enter the church are the two “roosters.” Each carries a decorated staff crowned with a wooden carved rooster in his hand. Itçaina’s interpretation is that these roosters call up the “sun” – the Holy Eucharist in its golden sun-like monstrance. Along with the lancers and their ribboned lances, the roosters “beat” the rhythm of each march with their staffs, without ever actually hitting the ground and making a noise. Likewise, the flag bearers also sway and twirl their flags in rhythm. (The second downbeat of the cut $2/4$ time is always emphasized, with either subdivided beats or a swirl of the flag.)¹⁰⁹

The Swiss Guard, with his wide-plumed hat, is in charge of directing the civil authorities to their seats and leading the priest and his “guards” to and from the altar. The drum major, or *makilari* in Basque, usually precedes the musicians, twirling his *makila* and dancing with skill, all the while directing the musicians at several points in the liturgy. The flag bearers follow next, and their decorated flags vary from town to town. As Itçaina explained, the choice of including different flags such as the Basque flag or the parochial flag has caused much local controversy. The most common are the tricolor French flag and the Basque flag, though earlier generations had standards with religious images imprinted on them for the sacred ceremony. The Captain and the Lieutenant shout out orders for their respective soldiers – the Captain first for the guards at the altar, and the Lieutenant second for those stationed all along the central aisle.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ Guilcher, *La tradition de danse*, 429.

¹¹⁰ Throughout the Mass, for example at the Offertory, and particularly at the Consecration and Elevation, the soldiers are given orders to stand on guard and brandish their arms. The marching music comes back at these

The celebrant priest, other clergy, and altar servers also serve their roles in this feast, in some senses cooperating with the directives of the Swiss Guard and the ceremonial solemnities of the soldiers. The musicians play throughout the processions and the liturgy, taking turns with the regular church organist and the parishioners singing hymns. And finally, the parishioners themselves participate in the singing and responses, and they process as well with the Holy Sacrament as it is taken to the outside town altar.

The alternation of marching tunes played by the militia instrumentalists and Basque hymns sung by lay participants thus provides ample musical opportunities for different members of the parish community to participate in the festive celebration. The feast becomes a unifying, public display of piety and community, produced by different lay groups in a civic model of participation producing a whole effect, rather than through a medieval model of distinct lay groups of trade guilds and confraternities vying for visibility. Yet, as seen throughout moments of social tension, and especially during the revolutionary period, this highly symbolic feast has also been the site of social fractions and disagreements. And even today, numerous aspects of the celebration and its protocol become the focus of lengthy and sometimes heated debate.

While the dechristianizing efforts of the Revolution had the concrete effect of eroding multiple lay pious affiliations, the Revolution's imposed civic festivals also had a lasting influential effect on later forms of popular participation. The increased military pomp, martial musical (and dance) influences, and broad civic participation seemed to have transferred gradually to the renewed religious institutional feast of Corpus Christi.

moments as well, and the same beating or dancing movements are reprised. At the Elevation of the Host particularly, the movements from flag-bearers and soldiers are slower, more solemn, and the drum major executes his skilled *makila* twirling.

Moreover, in the smaller town communities that defied dechristianizing measures in the Basque country (especially) and in Béarn, Corpus Christi processional traditions in the nineteenth century continued to develop, and parish ties remained strong. By contrast, in cities like Bayonne, where church practices were under stricter surveillance during the revolutionary years, practices such as the Fête-Dieu processions seem to have lost much of their communal vigor. Historian Pierre Hourmat describes, for example, how in Bayonne in 1885, Corpus Christi processions were permitted only around each parish church and no longer throughout the city streets.¹¹¹ The tie between civic and devotional celebration was no longer strong enough in a bigger urban center like Bayonne. The towns that Guilcher and later Itçaina describe, which continue to have lively Corpus Christi celebrations in the twentieth century, seem to require not only a closely-knit socio-religious fabric to maintain this devotional communal practice, but the parallel support of civic pride as well. These two aspects feed into the third element of sensory display and delight, creating a civic-religious spectacle in which spectators are also performers and participants observe their social and devotional roles in the community. As the nineteenth century saw the changes in devotional practices of the Fête-Dieu and in broader civic participation, but before the twentieth century brought a new vernacular form of lay participation, the Corpus Christi feast remained an important, continual site of local, rural articulations of religious and civic values.

¹¹¹ Hourmat, *Saint Léon de Bayonne*, 91. The processions of the octave were banned, and from then on, the bishop decided to not allow the processions outdoors.

CHAPTER 5: SACRED GEOGRAPHIES – PILGRIMAGE AND THE MARGINS OF RELIGIOUS CULTURE

“Around the Pass of Cize is the Basque country, with the city of Bayonne on the north coast. The language spoken here is incomprehensible. The terrain is woody and mountainous with a serious shortage of bread, wine and other food supplies, except for plenty of apples and cider and milk.

This region – near the Cize Pass and the towns of Ostabat and Saint-Jean and Saint-Michel-Pied-de-Port – has some truly vicious toll collectors...

The Basque Country has the highest mountain on the Camino. It's called the Pass of Cize and is both a gateway to Spain, and a commercial route where important goods are carried from one country to another.

The mountain is eight miles up, and eight miles down the other side, and seems to touch the sky. Climb it and you'll feel you could push the sky with your hand...

- *Codex Calixtinus*, Book V: A Pilgrim's Guide, Chapter VII, 12th century¹

“Aquères mountainhes, qui tan hautes soun, m'enpèchen dé bédé mas amous oun soun.” (Those mountains, so high, prevent me from seeing where my lovers are.)

- Song by Gaston Fébus, 14th century²

Two medieval accounts, set in the mountains that separate France and Spain, open this chapter's exploration of the Pyrenean region's liminality and placement within a long-contended sacred geography. The first is from one of the oldest tour guides of Europe, and it paints a dire picture of the Basques (and Navarrese) that would unfairly taint their image for a long time to come. This “Pilgrim's Guide” book of the *Codex Calixtinus* manuscript, written and compiled in the 12th century, also happened to include a brief lexicon of early (post-Roman) Basque words and phrases. It is a now-infamous example of the type of encounter during the St.

¹ This English translation is from “Chapter VII. The Lands and Peoples along the Camino de Santiago. - Pilgrim's Guide,” accessed July 25, 2016, <https://sites.google.com/site/caminodesantiagoproject/chapter-vii>; the compilation of the *Codex Calixtinus* happened around the 1130s-1140s, most likely by the French scholar Aymeric Picaud. A modern facsimile edition is edited by Walter Muir Whitehill and Germán Prado, *Liber Sancti Jacobi, Codex Calixtinus*. (Santiago de Compostela, 1944). For a French translation, see Aimery Picaud, *Le guide du pèlerin: Codex de Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle*, ed. Fidel Fita, trans. Michel Record, 1 vols., Références ([Bordeaux] Toulouse: Éd. Sud-Ouest Association de coopération interrégionale Les chemins de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle, 2006).

² Also included as song number 33 in Frédéric Rivarès, *Chansons et airs populaires du Béarn, recueillis par Frédéric Rivarès* (Pau: E. Vignancour, 1844), 67–68.

James pilgrimage. The Basques and Navarrese likely left a marked impression on pilgrims due to their unique language and lifestyles. The Pilgrim's Guide perpetuated the story of the Pyrénées people as isolated, marginalized, and rustic,³ but also showed them benefiting from an important cross-border commercial exchange. These very mountains not only separate and create a border; they also empower the trade merchant as well as the pilgrim.

The second opening quote is from what is quite possibly the most famous song in Béarn, sung at every festive occasion in full-throated, harmonizing voices. It is said to have been written by the fourteenth-century Gascon king, Gaston Fébus (sometimes spelled Phoebus, reigned 1343-1391), who pines for his faraway loves behind the mountains in Spanish Navarre.⁴ In a later verse, the very tall mountains lower themselves to reveal the far-off lovers on the other side. The famous song portrays both the mobility of the mountains, their capacity to both hide and reveal the desired other, and the environment of delimitation, demarcation, and liminality.

Looking at the spiritual movement of pilgrims in these Pyrenean mountains, and understanding pilgrimage on the local scale of this region, illuminates a very different notion of pilgrimage than that with which we are more familiar: the pilgrimage of international repute, or of cross-cultural solidarity, or of social and/or political contestation. Here, our focus on the local, centuries-old traditions tied to the Bearnese sites of Sarrance and Bétharram will instead reveal the significant *rootedness* in location, in geographical and cultural place, that these experiences afford.

³ If we read it with a generous eye, otherwise it also does a good deal to villainize the people.

⁴ This song is found in numerous collections and variations, and is still sung today, even as the unofficial Occitania anthem in a version called "Se Canta." Recently, it was sung in harmony by a men's chorus at the Feast of the Cross, celebrated at the top of the Mount Calvary in Bétharram on September 11, 2016. Lespy's Bearnese dictionary mentions these verses as attributed to Gaston Phoebus, under "Dounda, doundène, doundine, doundoun," or the nonsense syllables inserted between the verses of the song; see Vastin Lespy and Paul Raymond, *Dictionnaire béarnais ancien et moderne* (Impr. centrale du midi, 1887), 245.

PILGRIMAGE, MARGINALITY, AND “PIOUS WANDERING”

Pilgrimage can be defined as a spiritual journey, and has sometimes been studied as a voluntary rite of passage. In an introduction to one of the most famous anthropological studies of Christian pilgrimage, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* by Victor and Edith Turner, Deborah Ross writes that, “Pilgrimage has the capacity to reinforce religious identity and link pilgrims with their cultural memory and religious history. In a more secular societal context, Christian pilgrimage may therefore act as a spiritual anchor.”⁵ Pilgrims may be searching for an anchor, but also an opportunity for spiritual transformation and renewal, for deeper participation in the faith, and even for physical healing. As a journey to a spiritual center, pilgrimage has been widely studied from the perspective of a center-periphery dialectic, where pilgrims coming from the margins to the central spiritual arrival point are either in contestation with some aspects of this center, in communion with it, or somewhere along the spectrum.⁶

This pull towards a sacred center has not always been seen in a positive light, however. Throughout the Old Regime, the pilgrim was increasingly mistrusted as a drifting, rootless beggar, remaining on the margins of society and depending on the charity of others.

⁵ Deborah Ross in Victor W. Turner and Edith L. B. Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture Anthropological Perspectives*, vol. new ser., no. 11, Lectures on the History of Religions; (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), xliii.

⁶ For the notion of building a sense of *communitas* around this spiritual center, and discussion of the role of church authority and pilgrimage, see Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*. And for an examination of contested aspects of pilgrimage and its heterogeneity, and a critique of the place-centered approach to pilgrimage studies, see John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow, *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000). Eade and Simon Coleman further attempt to de-center the approach to pilgrimage study by focusing on the moving aspect of pilgrimage, in Simon Coleman and John Eade, *Reframing Pilgrimage: Cultures in Motion*, European Association of Social Anthropologists (London: Routledge, 2004).

Pilgrimage came to be seen as a “pious wandering”⁷ and, along with changing valences towards poverty, it was judged negatively by authorities beginning roughly in the sixteenth century. By 1665, pilgrimage in the Kingdom of France was outlawed unless authorized by an official passport.⁸ This region of the Pyrénées, especially, was constantly traversed by pilgrims on their way to Compostela, and thus the differentiation between “foreign” pilgrims and vagabonds was often blurred in municipal restrictions. Moreover, by the end of the eighteenth century, church authorities also sought to control what they deemed had become the popular excesses of local pilgrimage practices.

For example, while longer pilgrimages to Compostela had to be authorized by a special passport, and sometimes even entailed an interview with one’s bishop,⁹ municipal and religious authorities would at times prohibit a parish from conducting its pilgrimage to a local shrine as well. In 1786, the Parliament of Navarre forbade the yearly pilgrimage to the shrine of Saint Eurosia (or Orosia) in Jaca (Aragon, Spain), which was extremely popular among the different valley towns of Béarn, noting:

...the number (of pilgrims) is so substantial, that at the last feast of St. John,¹⁰ in just the two valleys of Aspe and Baretous consisting of ten and eight villages, there were nearly five hundred pilgrims; one would but applaud these journeys if they were inspired by piety, if they were approved by the first pastors and permitted by the King in their prescribed forms, if, finally, they did not almost always have as sole motive idleness and debauchery.¹¹

⁷ Christian Desplat, “Pèlerins au siècle des Lumières,” in *Voyage de Deux Pèlerins à Compostelle Au XVIIIe Siècle* (Toulouse: Cairn, 1998), 45. This “pieuse errance,” as it came to be called, was the target of increased restrictions and edicts, most notably the Edict of 1688, which listed all of the possible civil and religious transgressions of pilgrims (including abandoning their families and even marrying again in foreign lands). Though poverty and mendicancy held a positive, transcendent value in medieval society, humanistic ideas began to devalorize it and tried to regulate its social treatment. Pilgrims, though mostly poor by choice, fell in an ambiguous category with the mendicants and vagabonds. Efforts were made to distinguish “true” from “false” pilgrims, but all pilgrimage was eventually suspect. Ibid. 46-50.

⁸ Ibid., 51.

⁹ Ibid., 52. This interview was required by the Edict of 1688.

¹⁰ The feast day of Saint Eurosia is actually only one day after that of St. John, on June 25th.

¹¹ “Parlement de Navarre, Arrêts criminels, pèlerinage de Jaca,” August 18, 1786, Serie B: Cours et juridictions, B 5439, AD-PAP. “...le nombre en est si considerable que le jour de Saint Jean dernier, dans les deux seules vallées Daspe et de Baretous composées de dix et huit villages, il y a eu près de cinq cens pelerins, on ne pourrait qu’applaudir a ces courses si la pieté les inspirait, si elles etaient approuvées par les premiers pasteurs et permises par le Roy, dans les formes prescrites, si enfin elles n’avaient presque toujours pour unique mobile loisivité et la debauche.”

The Parliament considered even more dangerous, however, the superstitions and opportunities for malice and revenge that this particular pilgrimage caused. This is because St. Eurosia had come to be venerated as the healer of the demonically possessed, and pilgrims to Jaca participated in the engulfing superstitions and accusations of sorcery that had arisen from this popular cult. Anyone who made the pilgrimage without explicit royal and episcopal consent would be sent to the galleys.¹²

Pilgrimages to the two major Marian sites of Sarrance and Bétharram faced their own restrictions throughout the eighteenth century. The Parliament of Navarre condemned the popular “vices” of dancing and socializing that accompanied pilgrims’ gatherings at Sarrance. In 1727, it issued a judgment prohibiting Sarrance villagers – and especially the town flutist and violinist – from hosting dances inside or outside their homes.¹³ By the 1760s and 1770s, parish priests of the nearby towns of Coarraze, Bruges, and Labatmale showed growing opposition towards leading pilgrimages to Bétharram, and in the case of Labatmale at least, parishioners made the journey regardless, “arranged in the orderly procession to Bétharram, without the priest or any cross, singing litanies to the Holy Virgin, and made their stop at the chapel very devoutly.”¹⁴ In 1788, the bishop of Lescar forbid the pilgrimage to Bétharram from the village of Asson.¹⁵

The late medieval pilgrimages of the Bearnese region offer a contrasting view from the more well-known, post-industrial Marian pilgrimages to sites such as Lourdes, and the long-time international draws such as St. James of Compostela. In the early nineteenth century,

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Raymond Laulom, *Sarrance: un monastère en vallée d’Aspe* (Lourdes: Œuvre de la Grotte, 1980), 34. The vagabonding and debauchery at Sarrance had been condemned as early as 1520 by King Louis II of Navarre.

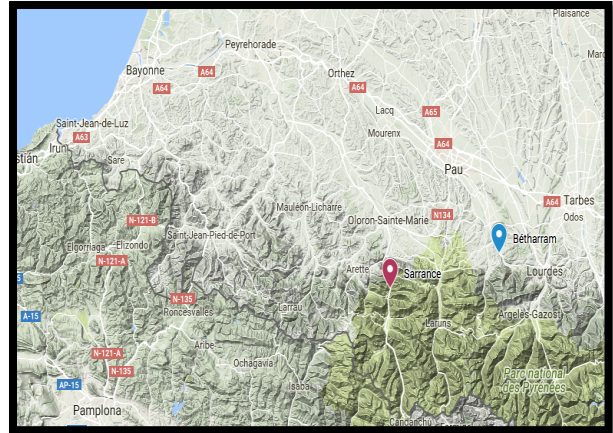
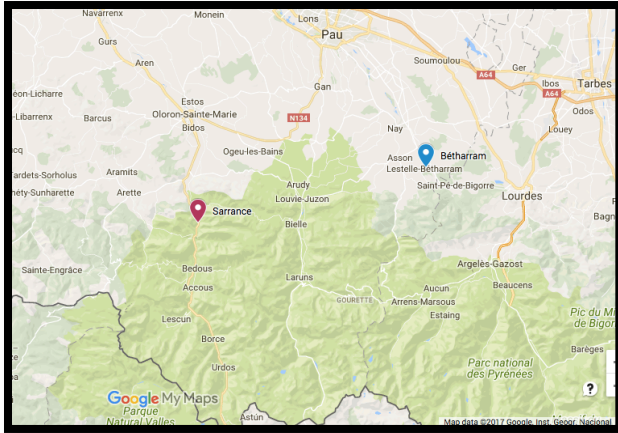
¹⁴ Qtd. in Desplat, “Pèlerins au siècle des Lumières,” 67. “...rangés en bon ordre de procession à Bétharram, sans prêtre et sans aucune croix, en chantant des litanies de la Sainte Vierge et firent leur station dans la chapelle fort dévotement.”

¹⁵ Desplat, “Pèlerins au siècle des Lumières,” 67.

these regional, revived pilgrimages revealed a process that reconnected pilgrims with their local history and religious traditions, a practice that revalorized the geographical rootedness of local spirituality. The two particular sites studied here, at Sarrance and Bétharram, retained their local importance through the revolutionary years and were slowly rebuilt as key locales of ancient devotion in the nineteenth century (see Map 5.1). Their regional importance was also due in part to their storied destruction during the Wars of Religion and their renaissance in the seventeenth century. Throughout these disturbances, local clergy and lay leaders continuously defended these sacred sites and encouraged their renewal for the preservation of popular devotional culture.

Close consideration of pilgrimage practices, especially musical practices, can illuminate the changing, mobile meanings of these journeys for pilgrims. Singing and other musical practices form an essential part of pilgrim journeys and of the experience at the pilgrimage site. Not only do songs accompany the embodied action of walking to and from a shrine, creating their own “sacredly charged places;”¹⁶ they can also have an impact on everyday social realms as pilgrims appropriate them and perform them in other contexts, before or after a pilgrimage, or as they pass through a village every year. The pilgrimage musical experience thus offers a porous and powerful approach between secular and sacred social realms.

¹⁶ Coleman and Eade, *Reframing Pilgrimage*, 3.



Map 5.1: Pilgrimage sites of Sarrance and Bétharram (close-up, left); Sarrance at the entrance of the Aspe Valley and Bétharram on the Piedmont Plain (regional and topographical, right)

OUR LADY OF SARRANCE

The pilgrimage site of Our Lady of Sarrance dates from at least the fourteenth century, if not earlier. Though perhaps not the most ancient pilgrimage site in the region as some have asserted, it was certainly one of the most venerated and well known in the High Middle Ages and the early modern period.¹⁷ The first extant documentation is from the Bishop of Oloron, assigning the chapel and hospice to the order of the Prémontrés (or Premonstratensians) in 1340.¹⁸ The pilgrimage at Sarrance is an example of what anthropologists Edith and Victor Turner termed an archaic pilgrimage, in which a syncretism occurs between older, earlier

¹⁷ Royal patrons brought further attention to the site, especially when the three kings of Navarre, Aragon, and Béarn famously convened at Sarrance in 1385. These were, respectively, Kings Pierre IV, Charles le Mauvais, and Gaston Fébus, the same ruler who wrote the song “Aquères mountanhes” quoted in the epigraph.

¹⁸ Gustave Bascle de Lagrèze, *Les pèlerinages des Pyrénées: Notre-Dame des Pyrénées, Sarrance, Piétat en Béarn, Bétharram, Poeylahun, Piétat en Bigorre, Heas, Bourisp, Nestés, Médous, Garaison* (Tarbes: Telmon, 1858), 24, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k8630754v>.

religious symbols and the newer Catholic beliefs.¹⁹ The “ritual topography” of the site falls in line with many pilgrimages of this nature - set deep in the Bearnese Aspe valley amidst the towering mountains and among water sources that long held their own local significance.²⁰ One famous local historian of Sarrance, Victor Dubarat, imagined that the holy site grew out of medieval travelers’ need for sanctuary along the inhospitable passage to Spain, and after the dangers written about in the *Codex Calixtinus*, this can very well be plausible.²¹ The Sarrance pilgrimage thus grew in importance as stories spread of miracles that occurred there,²² and it remained relevant as long as it maintained this intercessory Marian devotion.

Seventeenth-century historians of both these local pilgrimages (to Sarrance and Bétharram), such as Pierre de Marca and François Poiré, wrote to convince readers of the prestigious antiquity of these devotional sites.²³ Among other issues, the Wars of Religion in France during the end of the sixteenth century had brought into conflict competing views on Marian devotion, and both sacred shrines were destroyed by Calvinist forces.²⁴ Later Counter-Reformation narratives often focused on conversion stories occurring at the rebuilt sites, revealing the ongoing preoccupation with Protestantism. But after the Revolution, in the

¹⁹ Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*, 18.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 112.

²¹ Victor Dubarat, “Discours prononcé à Notre-Dame de Sarrance, par M. Le Chanoine Dubarat” (Imp. Lassere, August 4, 1907), Laborde Papers, I J 200/15, AD-PAP, 2.

²² Not only did the local water source seem to produce miraculous healings of diverse types, as did intercessions to the Sarrance Marian statue, but the rock where the statue was found was also miraculous. Bascle de Lagrèze, *Les pèlerinages des Pyrénées*, 37; Abbé Poey, *Histoire populaire illustrée du sanctuaire de Notre-Dame de Sarrance, guide pratique des pèlerins, par M. l'abbé Poey,...* (2 juillet 1893.) (Sarrance: chez tous les libraires, 1893), 13. A small chapel or oratory was built around the rock, Victor Dubarat, *Notre-Dame de Sarrance* (Bayonne: Imp. A. Foltzer, 1919), 8.

²³ Virginia Reinburg, “History and Antiquity at French Pilgrim Shrines: Three Pyrenean Examples,” in *For the Sake of Learning: Essays in Honor of Anthony Grafton*, vol. volume 2, Scientific and Learned Cultures and Their Institutions, (Leiden: Brill, 2016), especially 864-869. François Poiré wrote one of the most influential books printed in the seventeenth century on Marian devotion, *La triple couronne de la bienheureuse Vierge Mère de Dieu* (Paris: S. Cramoisy, 1634); and Pierre de Marca, eventual Archbishop of Paris, wrote a History of Béarn in 1640 and a definitive account of Bétharram, *Traité des merveilles opérées en la chapelle Notre-Dame-du-Calvaire de Beth-Aram... composé par P. de Marca,...* *Seconde édition, revue et augmentée de plusieurs miracles par les prêtres de la congrégation de ce lieu* (Beth-Aram: R. Lavoisier, 1648).

²⁴ In Béarn, especially, the Calvinist Queen of Navarre, Jeanne d’Albret, led attacks against the Catholics, which destroyed both sites of Sarrance and Bétharram in 1569. Christian Desplat and Pierre Tucoc-Chala, *Histoire générale du pays souverain de Béarn*, 3 vols. (Monein: Pyrémonde/Princi Negue, 2007).

nineteenth-century literature, historians focused more on the singularity of *place* in their descriptions of these holy sites. And although these reports of place also traced etymological origins of place names to lend them an aura of antiquity, many of these accounts nevertheless emphasized the geographical and topographical characteristics of the site: the streams, valleys, forests, and mountains that could also have given the place its ancient name.²⁵ With all provincial privileges eliminated at the onset of the Revolution, and with the official leveling of these different regional histories, local historians turned increasingly to the distinctions of seemingly ahistorical places and settings in their reconstruction of a sacred geography.

At the onset of the Revolution, the chapels, the hospice, the town church, the monastery and its lands, and all of the ornaments and furniture and church bells were sold off.²⁶ Though the chapel itself was kept as the Sarrance parish church under orders from the Constitutional Bishop Sanadon, it nonetheless suffered destruction and ruin.²⁷ While pilgrims continued to journey to Sarrance in search of healing and favors, the site of Marian devotion lost much of its luster after the Revolution. The Prémontrés were no longer in France to manage the monastery, and until mid-nineteenth century, it was managed by diocesan secular clergy.²⁸ Foreign travelers attracted by the burgeoning thermal water tourism of nearby Escot began to join the ranks of pilgrims to the area, perhaps more out of curiosity than religious fervor. In an account given in the paper *Mémorial des Pyrénées* on August 15, 1836, the main Marian feast day at Sarrance, the chronicler described many of the sick, begging pilgrims convening there, and the stifling, depressing, and crowded atmosphere at the sanctuary. The account deplored how

²⁵ As in, for example, Dubarat's extensive exploration of Bétharram's etymology, in Victor Dubarat, *Bétharram et Le Mont-Valérien, documents inédits* (Pau: Vve L. Ribaut, 1897), 7-9.

²⁶ Victor Dubarat, *Notre-Dame de Sarrance*, 25.

²⁷ Bascle de Lagrèze, *Les pèlerinages des Pyrénées*, 36. Relations soured between the nonjuring Father Labarthe, the last prior of the monastery, and the juror parish priest and his vicar when ornaments went missing or were locked away, making it difficult to hold services. Eventually, the city council had to assign a specific Mass time for each of the three priests, but even then parishioners complained. Laulom, *Sarrance*, 45-46.

²⁸ After which, it was managed by the priests of Bétharram. Poey, *Histoire populaire illustrée*, 22-23. Victor Dubarat, *Notre-Dame de Sarrance*, 25. H. Condou, *Notre-Dame de Sarrance*, 51.

pilgrims had turned the town into something like a fair, with vendors and music and dancing.²⁹ Popular devotional practices had once more blended with the social festivities that had been criticized by earlier seventeenth-century reports.

A Bearnese cantique is included at the end of a nineteenth-century history of Sarrance by the priest J.-Maximien Menjoulet, director of the Grand Seminary of Bayonne. The cantique, “A Nouste Dame dé Sarrance,” enjoins the Virgin Mary to look favorably on the poor, miserable, and suffering pilgrims who come to see her:

A bostes pès, ô boune Bierge,
Lou pèléri qu'èy prousterнат;
Sus boste aūtaà qué brûle u cierge
Qué lou sou cô p'a présentat;
Tout en plouran dab abundance
Qu'èp ditz sa péne y soun chégri...
Ah! Nouste-Dame de Sarrance,
Escoutat plaà lou pèléri.³⁰

At your feet, O good Virgin,
The pilgrim bows down;
At your altar the candle burns,
His heart is presented to you;
Weeping abundantly
He speaks his grief and his sorrow...
Ah! Our Lady of Sarrance,
Hear the crying of the pilgrim.

According to historian Jean-Baptiste Laborde, this cantique probably dates from the beginning of the nineteenth century, if not earlier, and its melody was collected for the song book *Chants et airs populaires de Béarn*, published by Frédéric Rivarès in 1844 (see Example 5.2 discussed below).³¹ Nonetheless a site with a powerful historical heritage, Sarrance and its popular devotional culture, including vernacular hymns such as this, continued to draw on a sense of Bearnese Catholic and autonomous identity.

²⁹ In Laulom, *Sarrance*, 57-59.

³⁰ J.-Maximien Menjoulet, *Chronique de Notre-Dame-de-Sarrance, dans la vallée d'Aspe en Béarn* (H. Lacaze, 1859), 85. Translation aided from the French version included in Menjoulet.

³¹ Laborde papers, Archives privés, 1 J 200, AD-PAP.

OUR LADY OF BÉTHARRAM

Though the pilgrimage site of Bétharram was founded later than that of Sarrance, it also benefited from an ambiguous origin story that evoked a remote antiquity.³² The most famous of its chroniclers, Pierre de Marca, in the seventeenth century, clouded the site's miraculous origins in mystery, admitting that like many such ancient establishments, "... the old age which recommends them, inflicted on them that sweet insult of losing the memory of their beginning."³³ Unlike Sarrance, whose prestige was established with the patronage of local kings in the late Middle Ages, Bétharram came into its golden age of pilgrimage after the Wars of Religion, in the seventeenth century.³⁴ Perhaps this was due to the fact that Bétharram was not run by a select religious order in its earlier existence, like the Prémontrés of Sarrance.

Instead, the site began to flourish with the support of a series of Lescar Bishops who encouraged the establishment in 1621 of a congregation of priests, the Priests of Our Lady of

³² Much like Sarrance, Bétharram seems to start with the discovery of a statue of the Virgin Mary. Later, another legend developed of a girl (in some cases, a man) who was rescued from the river when Mary extended a branch to her – giving the name “Beth-arram,” or “beautiful branch” in Bearnese to the site. J.-Maximien Menjoulet, *Chronique de Notre-Dame-Du-Calvaire de Bétharram: Lieu de pèlerinage, dans le pays de Béarn, (Basse-Pyrénées) / par M. L'abbé J.-M. Menjoulet...* (Pau: Vignancour, 1843), 43, 48. (Menjoulet first wrote this chronicle about Bétharram before that of Sarrance.) This legend was also recounted in the poem by Father Labastide of the seventeenth century, in Robert Arnauld D'Andilly and Pierre Bastide, “Carmen topographicum et historicum de Virgine deipara quae Betharami in benearnia colitur.,” in *Viri clarissimi D. Arnaldi D'Andilly. poematia varia gallica: ... de lupé du garrané superior Congregasionis Caluariae apud Betharam* &c (Colomiez, 1667), 17–82. However, it is difficult to tease out how much of these legends were reshaped by clerics of the nineteenth century. It is more likely, as Lassalle posits, that this Marian devotion, like so many others in the region, was due to the dangerous crossing of the river, and that the devotion would date from the time a bridge was built at this site as a plea for safety. There was the common practice of placing a small statue of the Virgin at the end or beginning of a dangerous bridge, to bestow some protection. See Henri Lassalle, *Notre Dame de Bétharram: un sanctuaire béarnais* (Pau: G. Lescher-Moutoué, 1941), 14. The Feast of the Assumption, on August 15th, was the main, popular feast for both sites of Sarrance and Bétharram, but parish groups organized pilgrimages at different times of the year as well.

³³ Pierre de Marca, *Traité des merveilles opérées en la chapelle Notre-Dame-du-Calvaire de Beth-Aram... composé par P. de Marca...* *Seconde édition, revue et augmentée de plusieurs miracles par les prêtres de la congrégation de ce lieu* (Beth-Aram: R. Lavoit, 1648), 27. “...la vieillesse qui les recommande, leur faisat cette douce injure, que de faire perdre la mémoire de leur commencement.” Marca had himself participated in the 1616 pilgrimage to Bétharram which relaunched the site, and was led by the Archbishop of Auch. He began to write about Bétharram in the 1630s.

³⁴ After the ruinous passing of the Calvinist armies in 1569 had destroyed the small, early chapel. As Reinburg develops in her chapter, Marca's chronicle had a clear mission to establish the antiquity of such a place, coming as it did at a time when Catholic writers sought to reestablish a historical legitimacy and primacy in the region. Reinburg, “History and Antiquity at French Pilgrim Shrines: Three Pyrenean Examples,” 866–67.

the Calvary of Bétharram, to manage the sanctuary, tend to the pilgrims, and carry out local missions.³⁵ By 1659, Vincent de Paul commented that Bétharram was “if not the second [most famous], at least the third most frequented pilgrimage in the kingdom.”³⁶ But Bétharram’s prestige also came from the local populations and the inhabitants of the adjacent town of Lestelle, who, as another legend went, began to see lights shining in the night and heard celestial harmonies coming from the abandoned ruins, all signs of the enduring sanctity of this place.³⁷

Beginning in the eighteenth century, the devotional nature of Bétharram had slowly shifted away from a primarily votive one seeking physical healing, miraculous intervention, and protection against hardship. Since the building of a Mount Calvary in the seventeenth century, the penitential aspect of the site began to take greater priority, and this “twin” devotion to Christ’s Passion grew immensely.³⁸ The main chapel was still dedicated to Mary and her healing powers, and it continued to receive local endowments and be a powerful local force for healing, as Marca’s many miracle stories attest. But the added element of the Mount Calvary strongly served the ideology of the Counter Reformation as well, and it often served the interested accounts of Protestant conversions. Regardless, these pilgrimages played a powerful social role, as several restrictions and prohibitions throughout the eighteenth century can

³⁵ Namely, Bishop Jean de Salette (Bishop from 1609-1625), and later his nephew and successor, Jean-Henri de Salette (Bishop 1625-1658). The leader of the Priests, Hubert Charpentier, had already done much to restore the sanctuary and pilgrimage to Our Lady of Garaison further east in the Hautes-Pyrénées earlier in the century. He was then recruited by Salette to lead the renovations at Bétharram.

³⁶ Qtd. in Raymond Descomps, *Notre-Dame de Bétharram: la mère qui sauve: son histoire, son pèlerinage*, Pèlerinages, sanctuaires, apparitions (Paris: O.E.I.L., 1984), 59; Basilide Bourdenne, *Manuel du pèlerin à Notre-Dame et au calvaire de Bétharram (par le P. Basilide Bourdenne)*... (Pau: impr. de Vve P. Vignancour, 1874), 44. De Paul’s ranking placed Bétharram only after Chartres and/or Le-Puy-en-Velay.

³⁷ Menjoulet, *Chronique de Notre-Dame-du-Calvaire de Bétharram*, 55; François Poiré, *La triple couronne de la bienheureuse Vierge Mère de Dieu* (Paris: S. Cramoisy, 1634), 277; Descomps, *Notre-Dame de Bétharram*, 27. But these could also possibly have been signs that local devotion at the site had not stopped but had continued discretely for fear of religious persecution.

³⁸ Hubert Charpentier established a Mount Calvary in the 1620s-30s, inspired by similar trends in mountainous regions across Europe, like the Alps. By the eighteenth century, the mount had only reached seven or eight completed Stations of the Cross, of the fifteen total that Charpentier had planned, but their draw was strong. Menjoulet, *Chronique de Notre-Dame-du-Calvaire de Bétharram*, 101–4.

attest. The 1724 Parliamentary decree that prohibited popular music and dancing around the chapel, for example, or the chaplain J.P. Touton's condemnation of the popular "abuses" during the pilgrimages in his 1788 *History of the Foundation of the Chapel of Notre-Dame de Bétharram*, continuously demonstrated the authorities' pushback against popular pilgrimage practices.³⁹ Unlike the authorized, ecclesiastical discourses, lay records of these social events have a minimal place in print culture. One begins to get a sense, however, of the contentious and multiple meanings of the pilgrimage for different sectors of society.

Of course, pilgrims made their way as much to see this social phenomenon and partake in its communal rituals as to experience a genuine renewal. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the congregation of priests had established regular musical celebrations of Mass and Vespers for the pilgrims which included singing by locally recruited choir boys and a fairly rich chapel musical life (though little sources survive).⁴⁰ And for the journey, several accounts about the Bétharram pilgrimage mention the old Bearnese cantique pilgrims would sing on their way to the chapel, a cantique called "B'ey aniram." Printed in a 1781 pamphlet titled, "Cantiques qui

³⁹ Transcription from Parliament accounts, B 4814, AD-PAP in Victor Dubarat, *Bétharram et Le Mont-Valérien, documents inédits*, 108–9; Jean-Pierre Touton, *Histoire de la fondation de la chapelle de Notre-Dame de Bétharram* ([*Reprod. en fac-sim.*] [*J.-P. Touton*], 1788, 86. "Les abus qui se commettent dans les voyages qu'on fait aux endroits de dévotion ne doivent pas empêcher le bien qui peut en résulter de la part des vrais Fidèles, & qui en résulte en effet. Malgré l'abus de ces voyages, la dévotion à Bétharram s'est toujours soutenue depuis son rétablissement, soit par la foi des Fidèles, soit par le zèle des ministres respectables que la Providence y a toujours procuré..."

⁴⁰ Menjoulet, *Chronique de Notre-Dame-du-Calvaire de Bétharram*, 182; Lassalle, *Notre Dame de Bétharram*, 189. One Bétharram choirboy with a beautiful soprano voice, Pierre Jéliote (1713–1797), went on to sing at the Cathedral of Toulouse, where his countertenor timbre caught the attention of the General Inspector of Music. Jéliote went on to dominate the Paris Opéra scene for over twenty years, premiering many important roles of the time, singing for Louis XV, and teaching his daughters music (see Chapter 1). See also, Pierre Sicard, *Les orgues du diocèse de Bayonne, Lescar et Oloron*, 1 vols. (Lyon: Editions Omni-presse, 1964); Lassalle, *Notre Dame de Bétharram*, 175–76. By 1646 Bétharram had an organ built with a rich, ornamented case that is still visible today. The organ's pipes were stolen in the Revolution, and Napoleon III gave Bétharram a new Cavaillé-Coll organ after his brief visit in 1859. The Bruges communal archives are transcribed in Victor Dubarat, *Bétharram et Le Mont-Valérien, documents inédits*, 105–6. In an expense account for the nearby town of Bruges dating from 1764, the town paid the Bétharram organist, the children of the choir, the choirmaster, and eight singers.

debin canta lous qui ban en deboutiou ta Bètharram/ Cantiques to be sung by those who go in devotion to Bétharram,” the cantique tune is said to date from four centuries ago.⁴¹

adagio

B'ey a - ni- ram,___ b'ey a - ni - ram,___ De - bo - ta ment ta___

7
Bet - ar - ram. ___ U co dou - lent ___ qu'ey pour - ta -

12
ram,___ A Diu ___ lou Pay ___ que ___ l'auf - fri - ram. ___

B'ey aniram, b'ey aniram
Debotamen ta Bétharram.
U co doulen que-y pourtaram
A Diu lou Pay que l'auffiraram.

We will go, yes; yes, we will go
Devoutly to Bétharram.
A doleful heart we will bring,
To God the Father we will offer it.

A la capère u cops entrats,
Counfessaram noustes pecats,
Dap gran regret e gran doulou,
Coum sus la crouts lou bou layrou.

Once entered in the chapel,
We will confess our sins,
With great regret and great grief,
Like the good thief on the cross.

Lou sermou nous escoutaram
E nouste proufeyt que-n haram,
Ta nouste bite pla passa,
Chens jamey plus Diu aufensa.

We will listen to the sermon,
We will take from it our profit,
To live our lives well,
Without ever again offending God.⁴²

Example 5.1: “B'ey aniram” Bétharram Pilgrimage Song

These three verses are sometimes set off as “Pendent lou biatge” or “During the journey,” and additional verses about ascending the Mount Calvary and taking Communion also appear in

⁴¹ According to the memoirs of Father Augustin Abbadie, communicated by Henri Lassalle, this tune was at least four centuries old, so from the seventeenth century.

⁴² Verses and music transcribed from Descomps, *Notre-Dame de Bétharram*, 92-93. Translation aided from the French version provided.

different sources.⁴³ The same tune is used for other verses for the return trip home, “En s’en tourna” / “When returning.” The tune, in Mixolydian mode on G, is in a rounded binary form (ABA’). The third line of every verse thus receives peak emphasis melodically, as the song’s contrasting B section starts in the dominant D, comes to a familiar half cadence, before moving forward with a repetition of the second half of the A section, or: A (aa’)-B(ba)-A’(a’), or in verse lines, [1. 2.- 3.- 4.]. The simple song structure allows for enough repetition and contrast to be useful and satisfying as a pilgrimage singing experience, repeating over many verses and extending over long periods, to be sung while processing towards Lestelle, for example. The ornamental passing tones add a plaintive air to the melody and are a distinguishing feature of this pilgrimage song. The longer-held notes that start and end each verse line could also lend themselves to improvised harmonizing, as in common polyphonic singing practices of the region.⁴⁴

The verses of “B’ey aniram” speak directly of the desires of the pilgrims who are making their way to Bétharram. But the Virgin Mary is invoked only once, as are the saints, asking for their protection and intercession. Instead, the figures of God the forgiving Father and Christ the suffering Savior loom large. Indeed, though the Marian feasts of August 15th and September 8th remained important, the pilgrimages to Bétharram during Lent and Holy Week and on the 14th of September, for the Feast of the Holy Cross, grew in prominence. These verses were clearly more in line with the Counter Reformation’s renewed focus on Christ than with the votive Marian origins of the sacred site. This could confirm the song’s seventeenth-century origins, reflecting the devotional shift occurring at this time.

⁴³ As in Bourdenne’s Pilgrim Manual, reprinted in 1922. Bourdenne, *Manuel du pèlerin à Notre-Dame et au calvaire de Bétharram (par le P. Basilide Bourdenne)*... These last two music versions seem to be a copy of a handwritten transcription, but no authorship or scribe name is given.

⁴⁴ Jean-Jacques Castéret, *La polyphonie dans les Pyrénées gasconnes tradition, évolution, résilience*, Anthropologie et musiques (Paris: l’Harmattan, 2012), 222–23.

The main protagonists of each song verse remain “we” the pilgrims, and the verses detail the actions pilgrims take once they arrive at the site: visiting the Mount Calvary, confessing, taking communion, listening to the sermon, praying to the saints. Instead of an invocation for Mary’s intercession, for healing or relief from ruined crops for example, the song verses highlight the penitential aspect of the pilgrimage. The pilgrimage described here is motivated by a desire to transform one’s life, and through repentance, gain salvation. The verses of the “return” song, “B’ey èm anats,” describe the transformative power of the Bétharram experience:

B’ey èm anats, ta Bétharram,
E pla contrits que-s en tournam,
Tout so qu’y ey representat
Nou pot esta pla racountat.

We were there, in Bétharram,
And thoroughly contrite we leave,
Everything we saw there
We could not describe.

Lou pepadou mey endurit
Be plouraré s-at abè bist:
A la gleyse lou co’smabut,
Au calbère qu’ey tout pergut.

The most hardened sinner
Would cry if he had seen:
At the chapel his heart is moved,
But at the Calvary, he would lose it.⁴⁵

At the time of the Revolution, it was above all the Mount Calvary that posed problems to the administration in charge of selling off church property.⁴⁶ By July of 1790, with the enactment of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, all chapels and chaplaincies were eliminated, including Bétharram. Furthermore, a decree was issued on August 7, 1792, in advance of the Assumption festivities of August 15th, that effectively closed and barred the doors of the chapel, banned crowds from gathering, and authorized National Guard forces to enforce the dispersal

⁴⁵ The 1843 chronicle by Menjoulet also includes the verses of this “ancient” song, with an added section titled “En puyan cad’sus d’eü Calbêré” / “When climbing the Calvary” comprising of nine numbered sections of 1-4 stanzas depicting each of the Stations of the Cross. Each section includes a reflection and prayerful set of lines for the pilgrim to meditate the meaning of Christ’s Passion.

⁴⁶ The departmental expert surveyor, assigned with listing the values of Bétharram property in 1791, wrote to the administration that the Calvary was too sacred a mount to sell. Qtd. in Lassalle, *Notre Dame de Bétharram*, 274. “Je vous prie, MM, d’observer que la montagne du Calvaire me paraît un lieu trop sacré pour que vous puissiez vous déterminer à le vendre. Ce monument précieux de notre religion est trop auguste par lui-même et si respecté et vénéré par les fidèles qui connaissent ce saint lieu, que je pense qu’il ne serait pas vendu sans murmures et même sans une émeute du peuple. Ce qui me le prouve c’est que je suis témoin de la très vive sensation qu’a causée ma commission pour évaluer ce local, sans vous faire part des menaces qui m’ont été faites par les habitants dudit lieu de Lestelle. C’est pour cette raison que j’ai tant tardé de vous envoyer l’état d’estimation.”

of any crowds.⁴⁷ So it is perhaps not insignificant that the representative-on-mission Monestier ordered the Calvary's stations to be demolished in 1794, but not the Chapel.⁴⁸ Clearly, this vivid representation of the Stations of the Cross held deep significance for the local faithful and the dedicated pilgrims who had been finding a transformative solace here (see Figure 5.1).⁴⁹ Despite the widespread loss of "legitimate" parochial leadership under the conflictual



Figure 5.1: Wood sculpture of Christ at the Column, from the old Mount Calvary, one of few to survive the Revolution's destructions, (Source: <http://www.betharram.fr/>)

Constitutional Oath, as seen in Chapter 2, local lay devotional culture persisted through underground pilgrimages. Destroying the Mount Calvary meant destroying the popular Christian message of hope and redemption, messages that Republican revolutionaries saw as the Church's domination of the masses.

In 1805, the sanctuary at Bétharram was officially reinstated for religious use, having been bought back by the Diocese of

⁴⁷ "Fermeture des portes de l'église de Bétharram, interdiction de tout attroupement dans ledit territoire, interdiction pour les Capucins d'exercer toute fonction publique..." (Pau: Daumon, août 1792), Actes de l'administration départementale, E Depot Bayonne B 5, AD-PAB. Crowds were banned from gathering at this or any church, and town councils were enjoined to enforce the law using public force if necessary. Delinquents would be arrested. Locals nonetheless continued to journey to Bétharram, and the mere publication of the August 1792 decree, in advance of one of the most important pilgrimage feast days at Bétharram, reveals the very real apprehension of the Republican authorities. See also Descomps, *Notre-Dame de Bétharram*, 76. After all the chapel furnishings were sent off to Nay or Pau to be sold, the closed chapel and sanctuary properties were constantly pillaged. As seen in Chapter 2, Nay was one of the Bearnese towns to show particular patriotic zeal during the Revolution.

⁴⁸ On March 17, 1794, the Pyrenean Representative Jean-Baptiste-Benoît Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme arrived in Bétharram with a procession of revolutionaries. Though he ordered the preservation of the chapel, he left the Mount Calvary to the destruction of his fanatical troops.

⁴⁹ Jean Jacques Stockli, photographer, "Sculpture en bois sauvegardée de l'ancien Chemin de la Croix de Bétharram," in "Le manifeste," Sanctuaires de Bétharram, accessed August 24, 2017, <http://www.betharram.fr/message/betharram-message-manifeste.html>.

Bayonne. Concordat Bishop Loison installed a young boys' seminary school at Bétharram, and this was the start of a succession of shifts in educational functions for the sanctuary and its clergy that lasted roughly from 1808 to 1833.⁵⁰ The presence of an educational institution also contributed in many ways to the effervescence of pilgrimages to Bétharram during these early transitional years of religious restoration, adding an experience of greater community and ritual solemnity to the pilgrimages arriving at the chapel.⁵¹ Ceremonies at the chapel could make use of student singers, and the seminary's professors drew crowds with their sermons. Moreover, the development of new roads favored the influx of pilgrims from lands further away, especially wealthy tourist-pilgrims of a new kind who were curious to discover this relatively "unexplored" region of France and its local customs.⁵² Grand personages like Queen Hortense of Holland and the Duchess of Angoulême bestowed royal alms and gifts on their visits to Bétharram in the early decades of the nineteenth century, as restorations to the chapel and Mount Calvary continued.

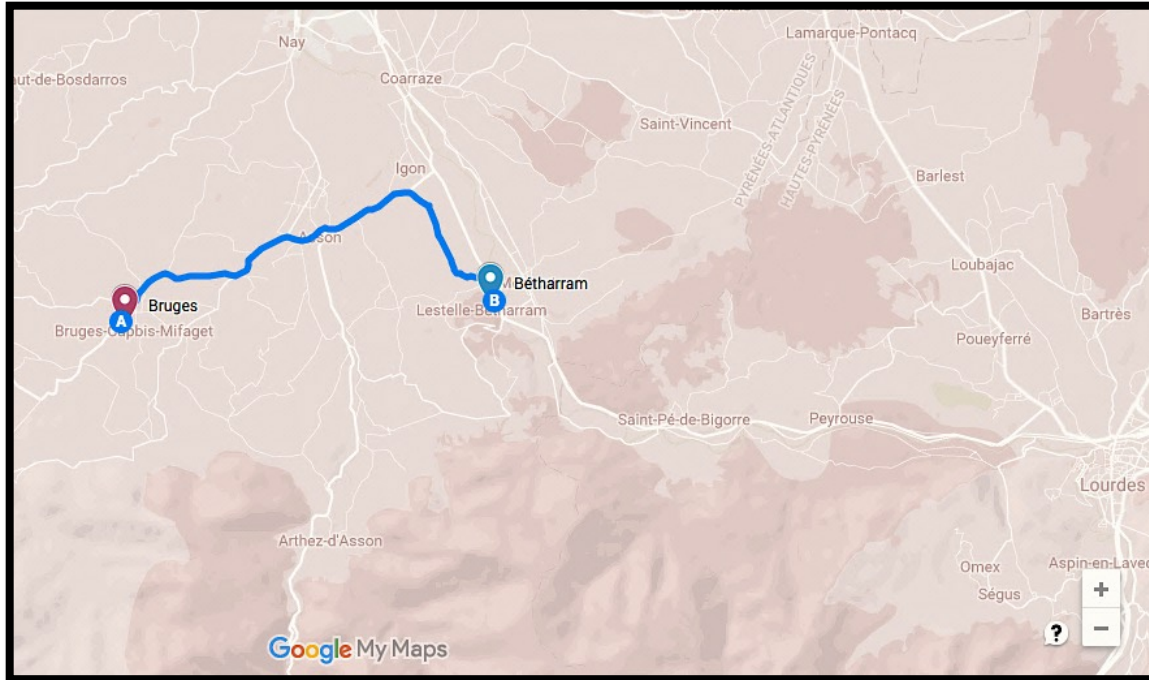
Slowly, neighboring parishes began to reestablish regular pilgrimages to Bétharram. The first to do so was the town of Bruges, in the neighboring Valley of Ossau, in 1804 (see Map 5.2).⁵³

⁵⁰ Menjoulet, *Chronique de Notre-Dame-du-Calvaire de Bétharram*, 196; Descomps, *Notre-Dame de Bétharram*, 87–88. Under the leadership of Abbé Procope Lassalle, Bétharram's educational projects expanded. Lassalle also wished to establish a school for girls in the region, and so in 1825, he bestowed a property he owned in nearby Igon on the founder of the Filles de la Croix to start a school. That same year, a new professor of philosophy was assigned to Bétharram, Michel Garicoïts, who was to become the leader and founder of his own congregation later on at Bétharram, the Society of the Priests of the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

⁵¹ Descomps, *Notre-Dame de Bétharram*, 89.

⁵² Tourism in the Pyrénées – to both sanctuaries and thermal water resorts – was still reserved for the elite who could afford high travel costs.

⁵³ Descomps, *Notre-Dame de Bétharram*, 88, 59. Bruges had also been the first neighboring town to send regular pilgrimages starting in 1623.

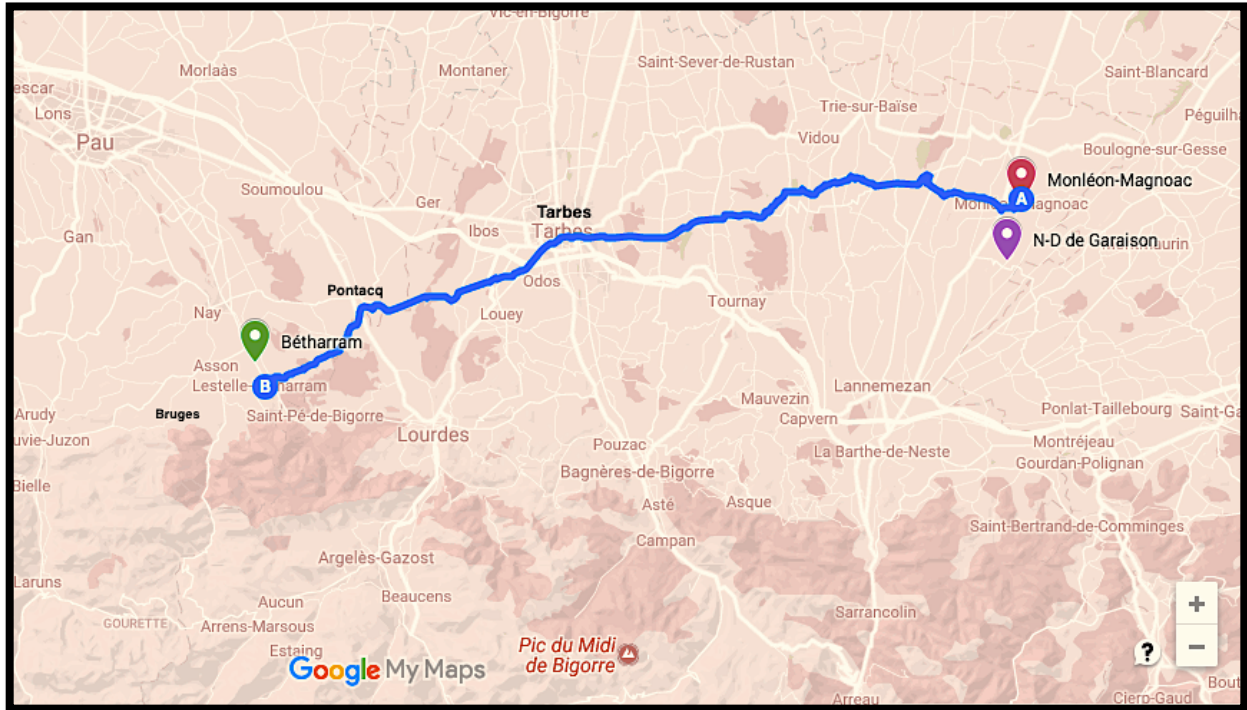


Map 5.2: Possible pilgrimage route from Bruges to Bétharram

A contemporary account of one of the more impressive pilgrimages to start up again can offer a view into the aural experience of this journey. The confraternity of White Penitents of Monléon-Magnoac, a town near Our Lady of Garaison in the Hautes-Pyrénées, about forty-seven miles away from Bétharram, reinaugurated their pilgrimage to Bétharram in September of 1820 (see Map 5.3).⁵⁴ Theirs was a well-regarded pilgrimage, not only for the distance traveled, but also for the way their distinctive white hoods dotted the landscape during their journey. The report of their experience printed in 1821 highlights numerous instances in which singing played an important role. Marching in two rows, with no distinction of class, the ninety pilgrims (including elderly, women, and children) made their way through Bigorre. At the head of the rows was a refractory priest who had fled to Spain during the Revolution and had sworn

⁵⁴ As the pilgrimage account explains in its first chapter, the convent and chapel of Garaison, which once had its own music school, missionary society, and pilgrimage culture, was at this point in ruins. The confraternity had established a regular pilgrimage to Bétharram every seven years, starting in 1665. This pilgrimage in 1820 was dedicated to the birth of a Dauphin.

to do the pilgrimage to Bétharram, barefoot, if he ever made it back to his parish. As the procession passed fields, and stopped at each demarcating cross, workers dropped their tasks and joined the pilgrims in singing a hymn in adoration of the cross. Townspeople joined the procession through their villages, and parish priests welcomed the pilgrims at their church doors.⁵⁵



Map 5.3: The Monléon Penitent Pilgrimage to Bétharram, passing through Tarbes

The second day of the pilgrimage, when the procession was not too far from Bétharram, the narrator recounts a difficult moment on a sharp ascent up a muddy path:

Suddenly, human voices were heard; they are our cantiques, our hymns, our prayers, the same accent, the same harmony: we thought at first that the echoes replied to our voices in these vast solitudes; what was our shock, when we arrived at the summit, in seeing more than a thousand

⁵⁵ *Pèlerinage des pénitents blancs de Monléon-Magnoac, Hautes-Pyrénées, à la chapelle de Bétharram, Basses-Pyrénées, pour obtenir l'heureuse délivrance de S. A. R. Mme la duchesse de Berry, la naissance d'un prince, et la cessation des fléaux et des malheurs publics, en septembre 1820* (Tarbes: Lagleize, 1821), 19.

Christians, arranged in the most beautiful rows... who were/ waiting for us, repeating our pious songs, at the bottom of the hill that we had finally succeeded in climbing.⁵⁶

The orderly procession was comprised of all the confraternities of Pontacq (a town roughly halfway between Tarbes and Bétharram), and the surprise encounter caused much joy and singing. As both groups continued the pilgrimage together, they were joined by a third group, and soon enough, over eighteen crosses and banners led the pilgrims on their way.⁵⁷ Just before arriving at Montaut, the last parish before Bétharram, with the Calvary Mount visible ahead, the weather made a turn for the worse. A storm of rain mixed with hail and sleet and heavy wind threatened to topple the leading cross from the hands of the pilgrim carrying it, “Discouragement was universal; *the singing had ceased.*”⁵⁸ Their hopes were revived only when a clearing in the clouds allowed them to see the Mount Calvary appearing ever closer. Arriving finally at the chapel of Bétharram, the pilgrims “were greeted to the sound of bells and the singing of hymns by the solitary pious.”⁵⁹

The account emphasizes that the pilgrims were moved by the singing of hymns, the participation in ceremonious liturgy, and the aural experience of these ceremonies. This pilgrimage by the penitents of Monléon epitomized the double devotional nature of Bétharram.⁶⁰ Their initial motivation for the pious journey was to invoke the Virgin Mary’s aid in securing a Bourbon heir to the throne. When the pilgrims returned to their chapel in Garaison, their closing prayer was to this effect as well. But the pilgrims’ dedication was also motivated and nourished by the formidable draw of the Mount Calvary. Their ascent through

⁵⁶ Ibid., 27–28. “Tout-à-coup des voix humaines se font entendre; ce sont nos cantiques, nos hymnes, nos prières, le même accent, la même harmonie: nous crûmes d’abord que les échos répondaient à nos voix dans ces vastes solitudes; quel fût notre étonnement, parvenus au sommet, de voir plus de mille chrétiens, rangés dans le plus bel ordre...lesquels nous/ attendaient, en répétant nos chants pieux, au bas de la colline que nous venions enfin de franchir.”

⁵⁷ Ibid., 29.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 30. “Le découragement était universel; *les chants avaient cessé.*” Emphasis is in the original.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 32. “(nous) fûmes reçus au son des cloches et au chant des hymnes des pieux solitaires.”

⁶⁰ In the sense described by Menjoulet, *Chronique de Notre-Dame-du-Calvaire de Bétharram*, 12–13.

the Stations of the Cross and the sermon at the peak are described at length, and seem to be the most moving and cathartic of their experiences.

Pilgrimages like this one in the early part of the nineteenth century worked to perform a public repentance for the sins of the recent revolutionary past and to reestablish diocesan church authority. In their different ways, however, the two pilgrimage traditions to Sarrance and to Bétharram each reveal over time the great significance they possessed for reaffirming *local* piety, beyond strict structures of diocesan or parochial authority. Geographically speaking, both are sites that have been at the crossroads of multiple regional identities, whether between different valley identities or different nationalities. Moreover, numerous testimonies from nineteenth-century travelogues demonstrate, and sometimes criticize, these pilgrimages for being significant occasions for the enactment of social cohesion amid popular festivities.⁶¹ In the 1830s, one traveling Englishman observed how, after the colorful gathering of pilgrims atop the Mount Calvary, the festivities began in the village below:

Feasts are prepared in all the cabarets, and there the sad and weary pilgrims of the morning, disburdened of their last year's load of sins, are transformed into light-hearted and joyous peasantry; the sacred hymn into the convivial glee; and every countenance is beaming with gladness. Towards evening, groups are seen assembled under the trees, dancing to their rustic music, or singing in bands; and when the day of mingled penance and rejoicing is drawing to a close, the various parties wend their way homewards, still singing and rejoicing, and completely forgetting the vexations or misfortunes of the year gone by, in their anticipations of the happiness of the ensuing one.⁶²

Pilgrimage continued to be an occasion of social gathering where festive popular singing and dancing played an integral part, just as they had in the past. And the reinforcement of

⁶¹ Among various examples, J.-P. Picquet, *Voyage aux Pyrénées françaises et espagnoles, dirigé principalement vers les vallées du Bigorre et d'Aragon (2e édition) / , suivi de quelques vérités sur les eaux minérales qu'elles renferment, et les moyens de perfectionner l'économie pastorale, par J.-P. P*** [Picquet]* (Paris: E. Babeuf, 1828), 61-64. Picquet describes how Basques, Bigorrais, Bearnese and Toulousains came together peacefully at Bétharram and participated in popular festivities after the penitential Calvary sermons. But also, Antoine-Ignace Melling and Joseph-Antoine Cervini, *Voyage pittoresque dans les Pyrénées françaises et dans les départements adjacents, ou Collection de 72 gravures... d'après les dessins de M. Melling, avec un texte rédigé sur les lieux mêmes... par J. A. Cervini, de Macerata* (Paris: l'auteur, Treuttel et Würtz, 1826), 28. And Pierre Bertrand, *Voyage aux eaux des Pyrénées, par P. Bertrand...* (Clermont-Ferrand: impr. de Thibaud-Landriot, 1838), 138-39. Bertrand describes the numerous pilgrims who arrive in August and September, "en chantant un ancien cantique dont les femmes et les hommes disent alternativement les couplets en chœur." For more examples, see also Castéret, *La polyphonie dans les Pyrénées gasconnes tradition, évolution, résilience*, 172-74.

⁶² James Erskine Murray, *A Summer in the Pyrenees*, vol. 2 (London: John Macrone, 1837), Vol. 2, 114-15.

penitential and communal faith practices, through correspondingly strong singing traditions, thus imbued the pilgrimage experience with a blended secular and sacred auralty. The confirmation of local piety also extended to a validation of local musical cultures more broadly.

As the trend to revalorize folk traditions and collect popular songs and stories grew in the nineteenth century, pilgrimage songs also made their way into secular folk song collections. Local historian Frédéric Rivarès compiled and published in 1844 a collection of songs entitled *Chansons et airs populaires du Béarn*, in an effort to preserve the popular songs from oblivion, as he writes in the foreword. He also warns, “In little time, we will be, not just topographically, but morally also, a mere département of France.”⁶³ Among the numerous songs by popular local poets and coming from anonymous oral tradition, two pilgrimage hymns also appear, for Bétharram and Sarrance. Only the first eight-bar phrase of music is included of each hymn, with no lyrics, as a kind of memory-aid for someone familiar with this repertory. They are shown below with the accompaniment provided in the Rivarès collection (for organ or harmonium):

⁶³ Rivarès, *Chansons et airs populaires du Béarn, recueillis par Frédéric Rivarès*, viii. “Dans peu nous ne serons plus moralement, comme topographiquement, qu’un département de la France.”



Figure 5.2: Pilgrims' Hymns to Bétharram and to Sarrance, (Source: Rivarès, 1844, see note 63)

The pilgrimage melody to Sarrance is claimed to be the tune of the cantique “A bostes pès,” cited above. The Bétharram hymn reappears in a later collection published by E. Vignancour in 1852, with the familiar lyrics of “B’ey aniram.” This latter melody, as published in both nineteenth-century collections, is in fact a simplified version in D Major (transposed from Mixolydian G-mode) of the traditional Bétharram cantique (of Example 5.1). Nestled among dance songs, these sole examples of pilgrimage hymns attest to the importance of Bétharram and Sarrance in the local oral repertory. Along with Jeanne of Albret’s famous cantique to Our Lady at the End of the Bridge (“deu cap deu poun”), a funeral chant, and a couple of noëls by Andichon, these are the few marked representatives of popular devotional culture in a Bearnese secular musical collection.

SACRED GEOGRAPHIES ON THE EDGE

The reestablishment after the Revolution of these traditions of musical movement worked toward the reconsecration of urban spaces, and spread outwards to the rural through pilgrimages. These devotional practices reclaimed spiritual territories through movement, sound, and corporal visibility. Later, at Lourdes, those visible and audible bodies would be searching for physical as well as spiritual healing. But on a communal level, the pilgrimages were also helping to solidify distinct regional and local identities. Though it is important to keep in mind that pilgrimages were only one form of lay devotion among many other more or less related practices, it is one of the most exceptional because of its expansion outward to other communities and its break from the familiar, parochial scale. Its popular appeal fed and was fed by miraculous histories and crafted mythologies in ways that reinforced local traditional values.

These local pilgrimages of Sarrance and Bétharram stand in stark contrast not just to the medieval pilgrimage of St. James, which opened this chapter, but to the modern-day international pilgrimage of Lourdes. The Mary of Lourdes acts more independently as an intercessor, intervening in the social crises of the modern industrial era, in contrast to a Mother of God interwoven into a medieval system of beliefs in earlier pilgrimage sites.⁶⁴ Whereas medieval apparition stories were told through oral tradition years, if not centuries, after a pilgrimage had already been established, modern apparitions such as that of Lourdes were at the origin of their pilgrimage sites.⁶⁵ Even though Mary appeared at Lourdes to a local peasant girl, and even spoke to her in the local Gascon dialect, the modern apparition message of Lourdes became, through mass communication, a more general, universal one for the

⁶⁴ See Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, 203.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 174.

repentance and healing of all mankind.⁶⁶ The power of intercession seemed greater and more immediate at the modern site of supernatural phenomena. It is not difficult to imagine a divided, post-Napoleonic France as a favorable place for Marian apparitions of this sort, and indeed, the second half of the century saw many: La Salette in 1846, Lourdes in 1858, Pontmain in 1871, and Pellevoisin in 1876, among other supernatural visions.⁶⁷

Lourdes provided a powerful point of alliance between high Church doctrine and popular devotion, between high and low, institutional and popular practice.⁶⁸ The pilgrimage of Lourdes, then, had the appeal to the sick and downtrodden that the earlier surrounding pilgrimages of Sarrance and Bétharram had cultivated, and in fact, Bernadette would have been familiar with the stories of Bétharram. She had been a pilgrim there with her parents. But the reach of Lourdes's message, with the advent of the railroad that reached the town in 1866, and through mass communication, quickly became universal.

This is not to say earlier pilgrimage traditions ceased to be popular. Since the first apparitions in 1858, pilgrims were flowing through Bétharram on their way to Lourdes. With the soon-to-be famous grotto so close by, the missionary priests of Bétharram worried that all of their hard renovation efforts were going to be in vain, and that Lourdes would take all the attention away from their site. Michel Garicoïts, their leader, was instead encouraged by the popular appeal of the miraculous apparitions at Lourdes, mentioning that so long as Mary was venerated, he felt no opposition to a newer cult. On the contrary, he sensed that Lourdes would

⁶⁶ After a series of eighteen Marian apparitions to fourteen-year-old Bernadette Soubirous in 1858, people began gathering in Lourdes to witness the miracles. The Catholic Church officially recognized the apparitions as the Immaculate Conception on January 18, 1862. Mary said very little to Bernadette, but she did pronounce "*que soy era immaculada concepciou* / I am the Immaculate Conception" (in her native Bigourdan dialect). Bernadette's apparition stories thus aligned nicely with the recently declared Church dogma of the Immaculate Conception (1854). Andrea Dahlberg, "The body as principle of holism: Three pilgrimages to Lourdes," in Eade and Sallnow, *Contesting the Sacred*, 30–31.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 212. Another case was Catherine Labouré's visions of the Miraculous Medal in 1830 in Paris.

⁶⁸ Dahlberg analyzes the famous saying "Rome is the head of the church but Lourdes is its heart" as underlining the feminized, emotional, and nurturing side of the rural Pyrenean shrine. Qtd. in *Ibid.*, 35.

bring more people to Bétharram, from more distant lands.⁶⁹ And indeed, pilgrims from more varied and far-off locations began to visit Bétharram on their way to or from Lourdes, and kept up the practice. Lourdes even reignited pilgrimages from the faithful of the Basque provinces, who would often pass through Bétharram as well. In 1877, poet priest Gratien Adéma (known as Zaldubi, 1828-1907) published a collection of Basque-language hymns to Lourdes, which included hymns to Bétharram as well, at the end of a pilgrim's guide, attesting to the growing Basque popularity of these religious sites.⁷⁰

If a pilgrimage is meant to free a pilgrim from the structures and strictures of the world, then the conventional studies of pilgrimage, such as those by the Turners and Eliade, which focus on the central shrine, paradoxically reinscribe an end-goal importance to this worldly place, this religious institution.⁷¹ Indeed, both paradigms for reading pilgrimage of *communitas* and contestation focus on the pilgrimage site in their arguments. Instead, focusing on the *moving* aspect of pilgrimages, as Simon Coleman and John Eade propose to do, and the processes and networks these entail, can get us closer to the spiritual journey. By de-centering the approach to studying pilgrimage, their study attempts to trace how “mobile performances can help construct – however temporarily – apparently sacredly charged places.”⁷² Their focus on mobility also reveals the fact that many pilgrimages, and especially medieval ones, are quite local and domestic, and therefore present less of an opportunity for contestation or anti-

⁶⁹ Descomps, *Notre-Dame de Bétharram*, 91. Garicoïts's own growing reputation also garnered attention from his native fellow Basque countrymen, who reinitiated pilgrimages to Bétharram and Lourdes.

⁷⁰ Gratien Adéma, *Escualdun pelegrinaren bidaltzailea* (Bayonan: A Lamaignère, 1877).

⁷¹ See, among other works, Mircea Eliade, *Myth and Reality*, [1st American ed.] (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1963).

⁷² Simon Coleman and John Eade, *Reframing Pilgrimage: Cultures in Motion*, European Association of Social Anthropologists (London: Routledge, 2004), 3.

structure in the Turnerian sense, where pilgrimage is about a long distance or one-off journey.⁷³

By focusing on the movement, the local scale, and the fluid processes that constitute pilgrimage, our studies may open out more readily to the multiple meanings that these spiritual journeys hold for their participants. In order to consider the performance and embodiment of pilgrimage we must take into account an element that is often under-analyzed in pilgrimage studies: the music. Philip Bohlman has written about the power of music in pilgrimage as a site of secular and sacred encounter. Emphasizing the framework of competing discourses of pilgrimage, Bohlman argues that, “pilgrimage and musical practices provide numerous cases in which the global and the local interact, numerous culture-scapes overlap and compete, and subcultures challenge hegemonies.”⁷⁴ Contestation, re-mapping, and boundaries figure greatly in Bohlman’s work, which analyzes the role of pilgrimage in the identity politics of a fluid, modern-day Central Europe. And pilgrimage songs, in their very mobile nature and nonliturgical function, are a powerful way in which pilgrims embody such contention.⁷⁵

But Bohlman’s studies focus on modern-day pilgrimages in settings of larger intra-national and political friction. The non-hierarchical nature of pilgrimage and multi-lingual musical contestation that Bohlman so vividly depicts is captivating, but does not apply so readily to the historical analysis of pilgrimage practices from the past, nor to more local practices such as those of Bétharram and Sarrance. Not only did clergy often accompany pilgrims, and other factors continuously reinscribed church hierarchy into these older practices,

⁷³ Coleman and Eade, *Reframing Pilgrimage*, 13. Coleman and Eade contribute a subtler study of how “pilgrimage can indeed provide a release from the everyday, but is also a recurring event, building up local memories and putting down strong roots in local networks of cooperation and competition. In this context, pilgrimage emerges as deeply embedded in peasant life, rather than as an isolated social phenomenon.”

⁷⁴ Philip V. Bohlman, “Pilgrimage, Politics, and the Musical Remapping of the New Europe,” *Ethnomusicology* 40, no. 3 (1996): 377.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 391.

but, in my view, the local traditions that are the subject of this chapter were not so oppositional, or at least not in the modern subversive (and nationalist) sense.

When considering the many diverse actors in these pilgrimages, from the missionary religious to the begging disabled, and more, it is understandably impossible to tease out any one unified discourse on the meaning of the pilgrimage experience. Moreover, serious social divides due to religious and political conflict opened up space for contentious interpretations throughout the history of these sites. Though the main narratives that have been handed down are those of an ecclesiastical elite, if we read between the lines of many of these documents, we can gain a glimpse of the popular meanings of these traditions. The tensions between popular practice and conservative ideology were most discernable in records of the eighteenth century, leading into the revolutionary era. With the onset of revolutionary measures, both Sarrance and Bétharram became symbols of Catholic resistance and enduring local faith traditions. The nineteenth-century restorations inspired many historical studies of these sites by clergy members who aimed to uphold the old practice and build these sites up as bastions of local Catholic pride and conservatism. Yet at the same time, Sarrance and Bétharram retained their older popular and perhaps more liberal appeal and found their local importance renewed and legitimated with the new onset of Lourdes pilgrimages.

The pilgrimages examined in this chapter thus complicate any wholly transgressive, political, or transcendent analysis of the pilgrimage journey. The frictions that can be read between the lines of local records, and sometimes even more explicitly in them, tend to be between the popular expressions of devotion and festive traditions and the authorities' conservative power over the sites – or, between “low” and “high” cultures, in overlapping secular and sacred realms. Pilgrimages such as those of Bétharram and Sarrance valorize the local, and even if certain boundaries are expanded in the process, their vernacular musical

practices seem to re-place the pilgrim's experience in a rooted belonging. Through their affirmation of local traditions, histories, languages, and cultures, and in providing that rooted variety to a broader European picture, pilgrims were also reasserting their particular place in the fabric of religious practice within the wider paradigms of Church and Kingdom.

CONCLUSION

“I approached the place de la Révolution, the former place Louis XV, when my ear was struck by the sound of instruments. I moved forward a few steps: there were violins, a flute, and a tabor, and I could make out the dancers’ shouts of joy. I was reflecting on the contrast of the scenes to be found in this world, when a man who was passing near me pointed out the guillotine: I looked up and I saw in the distance the fatal knife rise and fall twelve or fifteen times in succession. On the one side, country dances, and, on the other, rivers of blood: the scent of the flowers, the gentle influence of the spring, the last rays of the setting sun would never be renewed for those unfortunate victims... Such images leave ineradicable traces.”

–André Grétry, *Essais sur la musique*¹

Grétry’s powerful account of the dramatic contrasts of revolutionary times is the kind of picture that stays with the historian as she or he tries to get close to the experience of these tumultuous times. Here we have an interesting agent of the times; not just a witness, Grétry contributed his musical talents and pedagogical interests on music to the greater project of the new Republic. In many respects, he was in the center of revolutionary action, in his own musical ways helping to fashion and inculcate the new principles of the Revolution. But once more, Grétry’s is the dominant view from Paris, and although it is an interesting and stirring view, there were also many other ways throughout France to live the Revolution, and to live it musically.

After considering the upheavals that were witnessed in Paris and counter-revolutionary sites like Nantes or the Vendée, one might still very well ask, however: how much did people of the remote region of the Pyrénées really experience a *revolution*? Certainly, villagers of secluded Bearnese valleys had their own ways of comprehending the increasing social turmoil. On the one hand, this region was certainly not unaccustomed to warring conflicts with Spain and passing troops. Moreover, much of the rising urban bourgeois class of local merchants,

¹ Qtd. in this English translation in Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, 304, note 34.

administrators, lawyers, and military officers was able to use these revolutionary years to its advantage in safeguarding and even promoting local social status. To many historian perspectives, the Basses-Pyrénées remained relatively moderate throughout these years.

On the other hand, however, the incredible power of the Revolution lay in how far and wide its ideals and changes were able to circulate and take effect. Of course, many people in this province, parish priests especially, were ready for reforms that they did not foresee turning into such extremes. With military conscription, the rearrangement of territories, and the loss of provincial rights, Basques and Bearnese were suddenly forced to think of themselves as Frenchmen, often to the detriment of their own local loyalties and traditions. And like elsewhere in the country, inhabitants of this region had to confront the everyday changes that the new Republic was altogether rather efficient in establishing: living by new time and measurement organizations, new administrative orders, and especially, handling a suppressed traditional spiritual life.

One can thus understand how in many ways, music could work as a coping mechanism to all of the disturbances of the decade. Songs could offer a means of expressing, subtly or not-so-subtly, one's contesting views, frustrations, and mockeries of the political and social situation. Salvat Monho's songs lambasting his town of Bardos offer a vivid example. Tunes could reconnect one back to earlier, more peaceful times, or could incite one to face the future patriotically. But aside from the diversity of uses and interpretations, songs were in most everyone's toolbox. Discounting singing would amount to overlooking a chief aspect of everyday life for many people in this region.

The impact of the Revolution was continuously reinscribed in the musical and literary cultures of the region throughout the nineteenth century. Pierrine Gaston Sacaze (1797-1893) offers a stunning, though rather exceptional, example. A rural, self-taught sheep herder

botanist from the Bearnese valley of Ossau, Sacaze amassed and catalogued the most important collection of Pyrenean plant and lichen species, the *Herbier des Pyrénées*, preserved to this day. Botanists and experts came from all over France to learn from him. Pierrine's many passions also included his Ossaloise musical culture, and as a violinist, flutist, and singer, he performed and collected songs from his valley. Tucked in a bundle of papers in the Pau departmental archives, a few notebooks remain of Sacaze's carefully notated romances, historical songs, and even "bawdy" tunes. Among the Bearnese noëls and dances, one historical song stands out from the period 1793-94, entitled, "Quoau touts lous reis abam decap / When we've decapitated all of the kings."² The Revolution made its impact on the most remote rural repertoires.

The legacy of religious repression and discord endured, too. The population's reactions to the Civil Constitution painted a long-lasting picture of a divided France, arguably more so than with any other decree issued during the Revolution. Various scholars, notably Michel Vovelle and Timothy Tackett, have observed how the cartography of oath-taking versus non-oath-taking priests illustrates lasting rifts in French society, between and within specific regions. In a more recent study, Hervé Le Bras and Emmanuel Todd demonstrate not only how these religious and ideological divisions persist in France to this day, but moreover how these decisive, underlying anthropological and religious systems, in all their regional variants and specificities, have actually guided social change in France in the last thirty years. In other words, a powerful "mémoire des lieux" steers mentalities, actions, and social developments to this day, and Le Bras and Todd point out the tensions that continue to arise between the country's liberal, egalitarian, but weakened center, and the traditionalist, Catholic and currently prevailing periphery.³

² "18 Chants Historiques Notés," Poésies de Gascon Sacaze, Fonds Bauby, 4 J art. 106, AD-PAP.

³ Hervé Le Bras and Emmanuel Todd, *Le mystère français* ([Paris]: le Grand livre du mois, 2013), 8-9.

Yet again, however, these are views that take little consideration of hyper-local variants, such as the long-developed liberal Catholic current in Basque society. And now, with a new independent centrist party governing the French state, what paths will the legacies of the Revolution take? Since January 2017, there has already been a major change in the Basque socio-political landscape.⁴ For the first time since the loss of provincial autonomies with the Revolution, the historic Basque territories have been reorganized into one intercommunal administrative unit, the Communauté d'agglomération du Pays Basque (Euskal Hirigune Elkargoa). Working more directly with the new regional administration, the Nouvelle-Aquitaine region, Basques ostensibly no longer have to negotiate as much with their departmental neighbors, the Bearnese, for their own development, economic, environmental, and cultural projects. Many see this new governmental power as a long sought-after affirmation of a distinctive Basque territorial identity. Interestingly, on the other side of the département, the historic Béarn is parceled into nine distinct intercommunal structures, with no unifying, identitarian agenda. Moreover, under the new regional reorganization, the Bearnese have been excluded from the larger region to their east renamed Occitanie, even though their dialect also forms part of the larger cultural linguistic area of Occitania.

The questions of identity, self-determination, and cultural preservation at this periphery of the French Republic thus remain intensely pertinent today. By challenging and widening our ideas of regional history, through the study of local musical and religious practices, we are gaining access to deeply-rooted traditions that have seldom been brought out to sound off with the louder national narratives. Though sounds die much more immediately and easily than paper or stone, they are nevertheless as pervasive and meaningful in society, and even their

⁴ Although these regional administrative changes started under Francois Hollande's Socialist Party in 2015, and shifts in politics, not to mention local discords, may change things again as soon as 2020.

faint recuperation can inspire fresh historical and social understanding.⁵ Exploring musical practices of this time period can teach us about communal relations, local power dynamics, religious priorities and lay devotional trends, and even the workings of personal and collective memory in building a tradition. Inversely, knowing more about the historical, social, and political contexts of these musical traditions elucidates their role as meaningful cultural expressions and their usage later on in more developed narratives of nationalism, regionalism, and identity.

The moment of the French Revolution still has a lot to reveal about the construction of a universalized French identity, and the continual resistance and alternative shaping from France's heterogeneous regions. As the negotiation of the nation's identity continues to today, amidst hardened social divisions inherited from the Revolution, it is important to examine the breadth and depth of social and cultural contributions made by France's diverse cultures and peoples. I have explored this diverse borderland of the southwest Pyrénées because I am interested in issues of toleration, the communication of difference, and the creation of local identity in the face of the breakdown and restoration of traditional institutions. French music historical studies of the turn of the nineteenth century have been particularly lacking in this approach to treat music as a diverse and dynamic practice, not one which is solely tied to centralized, institutional power. Through its expression of traditions, values, ideas, feelings, performance practices, and vocal materialities, the music of the Pyrénées region is a rich site of research into understanding its particular and influential local "mémoire."

⁵ Of course, it is much easier to bring music and sounds into historical accounts once recording technology is made available. To take this to a fascinating extent, "sound maps" have become a useful, interactive, and democratic tool in the service of documenting regionalisms, for example in northern Spain. The most successful of these, Soinumapa, has gathered thousands of sound recordings and other media since 2005 for the mapped territories of the Basque country, north and south. Available at: <http://www.soinumapa.net/> (last accessed: 10 August, 2017).

Pierre Nora describes the “*lieux de mémoire*” that have emerged from the “deritualization” of our modern world,⁶ but I hope to reveal that local musical and religious rituals offer something of a deeper memory to their region (what Nora calls “true memory”), speaking to a communal particularity that can still be deeply felt. In a sense, these practices disclose aspects of both “true” memory and memory “transformed by its passage through history,” of both “immediate” and “indirect” memory: participating at the same time in communal, ingrained habits, and in a voluntary will to preserve tradition.⁷ If, in describing this linked form of memory-history, Nora states that “Modern memory is, above all, archival;”⁸ what happens then when these archives are incomplete, inexistent, or seldom studied? I believe that there are still stories to be told of this historical period and region that remain central, yet undiscovered, to our understanding of the people of the western Pyrénées, and to their relation to France as a whole. By investigating multiple archival sources across disciplines, oral histories, musical and religious traditions, and various regional perspectives, one can begin to paint a picture of the local communal practices that contributed to and interacted with the broader processes of French modernization.

⁶ Pierre Nora, *Rethinking France = Les Lieux de Mémoire*, 4 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

⁷ Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire,” *Representations*, no. 26 (1989): 13.

⁸ Ibid.

APPENDIX 1.1

“LECHEM DROUMI” NOËL BY ANDICHON, LYRICS

L'Ange

Un Dieu vous appelle,
Levez-vous, pasteurs;
Courez avec zèle
Vers votre Sauveur:
Le Dieu du tonnerre
Promet désormais,
La fin de la guerre,
La paix pour jamais.

The Angel

A God calls you,
Arise, shepherds;
Run with zeal
Towards your Savior:
The God of thunder
Has promised from now on,
The end of war,
Peace for all time.

Le Pasteur endormi

Lechem droumi,
Noum bengos troubla la cerbelo,
Lechem droumi,
Tiro en daban, sec toun cami;
N'ey pas besoun de sentinello,
Ni n'ey que ha de ta noubelo,
Lechem droumi.

The Sleeping Shepherd

Let me sleep,
Do not come bother my brain,
Let me sleep,
Keep walking ahead, follow your path;
I don't need a sentinel,
Or your news,
Let me sleep.

L'Ange

A cette merveille,
Peut-on sommeiller?
Elle est sans pareille,
Il faut s'éveiller.
Venez, qu'on seconde
Nos chants et nos voix;
Que l'écho réponde
Jusqu'au fond des bois.

The Angel

With this marvel,
Can one sleep?
It is without equal,
You must awake.
Come, to double
Our songs and our voices;
That the echo rebound
To the depths of the forests.

Le Pasteur

Encouëre ü cop,
Si tu me hés quitta la paillasse,
Encouëro ü cop,
Jout hareï courre au grand galop;
Si taleu sorti de ma plaço,
N'espérés pas quartié ni graço,
Encouëro ü cop.

The Shepherd

Another blow,
If you make me leave my mattress,
Another blow,
I'll make you flee at a gallop;
If I leave my bed,
Don't expect a quarter, nor mercy,
Another blow.

L'Ange

Venez rendre hommage
A ce nouveau né;
Portez-lui pour gage
Ce coeur obstiné:
Levez-vous sans craindre,

The Angel

Come give homage
To this newborn;
Bring him as a guarantee
That obstinate heart:
Get up without fear,

Faites un effort;
Cessez de vous plaindre
Dans votre heureux sort.

Make an effort;
Cease your complaining
Amidst your happy fortune.

Le Pasteur

Lou sort huroux,
N'ey pas jamey nouste partatjé,
Lou sort huroux,
N'ey pas en t'aux praubés pastous;
Per quin estrange badinatgé,
Bos-tu qu'ayan per ü maynatjé,
Lou sort huroux?

The Shepherd

Happy fortune
Is never our share,
Happy fortune,
Isn't for the poor shepherd.
By what strange jesting
Do you mean that through a child
We'll have a happy fortune?

L'Ange

Les rois obéissent
A sa tendre voix;
Les démons fléchissent,
Soumis à ses lois:
L'enfer rend les armes
A ce Dieu vainqueur;
Rendez-vous aux charmes
De ce Rédempteur.

The Angel

The kings obey
His tender voice;
The demons bend over,
Subdued to his laws:
Hell gives up its arms
To this victorious God;
Surrender to the charms
Of this Redeemer.

Le Pasteur

Joub baou leba,
E si t'en bantos, crouts de paillo,
Joub baou leba,
Mès t'en pouyras maou trouba;
Tout homi qui coum tu se raillo,
N'ey pas sans doute arrés qué baillo,
Joub baou leba.

The Shepherd

I'm going to get up,
If you keep bragging, "straw cross!"
I'm going to get up,
But you may find yourself in a tough spot.
Every man who jests like you,
Is undoubtedly worth nothing,
I'm going to get up.

L'Ange

Ouvre la paupière,
Vois les cieus ouverts;
Vois cette lumière,
Entends nos concerts.
Un Dieu charitable
Vient briser tes fers;
Sa main favarable
Ferme les enfers.

The Angel

Open your eyelids,
See the open heavens;
See this light
Hear our concerts.
A charitable God
Has come to break your chains;
His favorable hand
Closes up hell.

Le Pasteur éveillé

Diou! qué bey you?
Anjou deu ceu, quin bet spectacle!
Diou! qué bey you?
Tout bé m'announço un Saubadou;
A moun salut n'y a plus oubstaclé,
Lou ceu s'oubrech, ah! quin miraclé!
Diou! qué bey you?
La peou me pren,
Couan entendi ta grand tapatjé,

The Woken Shepherd

Lord! What do I see?
Angel from heaven, what a beautiful spectacle!
Lord! What do I see?
Everything heralds a Savior;
No more obstacle to my salvation,
The heavens open up, ah! What a miracle!
Lord! What do I see?
Fear takes hold of me,
When I hear such an uproar,

La paou me pren,
Couan jou bey courré tant dé yens
Qui s'en ban de cap aou biladjé,
Dab tant d'ardou, tant de couratjé,
La paou me pren.

L'Ange

Venez sans rien craindre,
Ne balancez pas,
Et sans vous contraindre,
Redoublez vos pas:
C'est dans ce village,
Dans un pauvre lieu,
Près de ce bocage,
Qu'on voit l'Enfant-Dieu,

Le Pasteur

Que disets bous?
Aquo nou parech pas crouyable,
Que disets bous?
Que ban ha touts aquets pastous,
Bede lour Diu dens ùo establo;
Aquo bé semblo bèro fablo,
Qué disets bous?

L'Ange

Un coeur fidèle
S'en rapporte à moi,
Un esprit rebelle
N'a jamais de foi:
Pour le bien comprendre,
Allez dans ce lieu;
Partez sans attendre,
Vers cet Enfant-Dieu.
Ce Sauveur nous prêche
Par sa pauvreté;
Il choisit la crèche
Par humilité:
Pour votre défense,
Il naît sous vos yeux;
Vous rend l'innocence,
Vous ouvre les cieus.

Le Pasteur

Ange, adiu siat,
Jou bau sauta, bau courré biste;
Ange, adiu siat,
Escusats-mé s'ey mau parlat:
Jou aurey d'abord ùe bisto,
Lou lugràa m'enseigno la pisto;
Ange, adiu siat.

Fear takes hold of me,
When I see so many people running
Who are going towards the village,
With so much ardor and energy,
Fear takes hold of me.

The Angel

Come without fear,
Do not hesitate,
And without holding back,
Pick up your pace:
It's in this village,
In a desolate place,
Near these groves,
That we see the Child-God.

The Shepherd

What do you say?
That seems incredible,
What do you say?
What are those shepherds doing,
Going to see their God in a stable;
This seems a fable.
What do you say?

The Angel

A faithful heart
Returns to me,
A rebellious spirit
Never has any faith:
To understand it well,
Go to this place;
Leave immediately
To see the Child-God.
This Savior preaches to us
Through his poverty;
He chooses the manger
Out of humility:
For your defense,
He is born under your gaze;
He gives back your innocence,
Opens up the heavens for you.

The Shepherd

Angel, adieu,
I will leap, I will run fast,
Angel, adieu,
Forgive me if I spoke badly.
I will soon have a view,
The star will show me the way;
Angel, adieu.

APPENDIX 1.2

“CHANSON,” UNTITLED SONG IN SILVANDRE AND MIRTIL COLLECTION, LYRICS

Dieu! Quelle belle aurore!
Le Ciel couvert d'azur,
Exhale un air plus pur:
La terre se colore:

 Tout s'embellit
 Et tout sourit

A nos augustes Pères;
Tous les coeurs au plaisir ouverts
Ne redoutent plus les revers
Où nous exposaient des pervers,
 En des jours moins prospères.

Recevez nos hommages,
Magistrats, en ce jour;
Que du plus tendre amour,
Ils deviennent les gages.

 Ah! Des méchants
 En ces momens,

Craignons moins la malice.
Jamais, des hommes destructeurs,
N'oseront plus dans leurs fureurs,
Noircir d'illustres Sénateurs,
 Amis de la justice.

Lord! What beautiful daybreak!
The azure-covered sky,
Exhales a purer air:
The earth takes color:

 Everything is made more beautiful
 And everything smiles

At our noble Fathers;
All hearts opened with pleasure
No longer fear the setbacks
That the deviants exposed to us,
 In less prosperous days.

Receive our homage,
Magistrates, on this day;
That it may be the token,
Of our most tender love.

 Oh! Of evil men
 In these moments,

Let us no longer fear their malice.
Nevermore, will destroying men,
Risk, in their fury,
Denigrating the illustrious Senators,
 Friends of justice.

APPENDIX 1.3

“LOU RETOUR DÉU PARLAMEN”

To the tune of “Roussignoulet qui cantes”¹

Bie- neth, yoé - nes Nym - phettes, Bie-neth, Diü deüs bous quets, Bi- eth, -
9
à nou-stes mu - settes, Yoé-gné bos - tés flu - tets, Bie-neth d'ab a - llé -
17
gri - e, Sé - goun - dat moun de - ssén; A ca - de
22
o - re de - ü die, Can-tem lou Par - la - men.

Bieneth, yoénes Nymphettes,
Bieneth, Diü deüs bousquets,
Bieth, à noustes musettes,
Yoégné bostés flutets,
Bieneth d'ab allégrie,
Ségoundat moun dessén;
A cade ore deü die,
Cantem lou Parlamen.

Come, young nymphs,
Come, god of the forests,
Come, to our musettes,
Join your flutes,
Come with joy,
Back my plan;
At every hour of the day,
Let us sing to the Parliament.

¹ Melody transcribed from tune XXIV in Rivarès, *Chansons et airs populaires du Béarn, recueillis par Frédéric Rivarès*.

APPENDIX 2.1

“ESKUALDUN XASURRETATIK” / “THE BASQUE HUNTERS”

Collected and transcribed by Father José Antonio de Donostia, in *Gure Herria*, (Bayonne: 1931)

The musical score is written in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). It consists of three staves of music with lyrics underneath. The first staff starts with a 9/8 time signature, changes to 6/8, then 9/8, 6/8, and ends with 9/8. The second staff starts with 9/8, changes to 12/8, then 9/8, and ends with 6/8. The third staff starts with 6/8, changes to 9/8, and ends with 6/8. The lyrics are: Es - kual-dun xa - su-rre - ta - tik___ ba - gi-nen i - ru ba - ta - llun,___ ar-
tu be-ar gin-tu - e - la, Tun - tun - tun-tu-lun - tun,___ I - run e-ta O - yar
tzun, Tun, tun, e - ta be - ti tun - tu-lun - tun.

Eskualdun xasurretatik
Baginen iru batallun,
Artu bear gintuela,
Tun tun tuntuluntun,
Irun eta Oiartzun,
Tun tun eta beti tuntuluntun.

We Basque fighters
Were three battalions,
We had to capture,
Tun tun tuntuluntun,
Irun and Oiartzun,
Tun tun and always *tuntuluntun*.

Gerla bear ginuela
Aspaldi zuan ezagun,
Itsaso bazter oitarik,
Tun tun tuntuluntun,
Zonbeit peza tiro ilun,
Tun tun eta beti tuntuluntun.¹

That war had to hit us,
We have never doubted
From the shores of these oceans
Tun tun tuntuluntun,
A few somber shots,
Tun tun and always *tuntuluntun*.

¹ This text version is taken from the Appendix in Goyhenetche, *Histoire générale*, n. pag. (Translation to English mine from Goyhenetche's French). The tune is found in Zavala, *Frantzia'ko iraultza eta konbentzioko gerra bertotan*, 141–42.

APPENDIX 2.2

TIMELINE OF EVENTS IN THE BASSES-PYRÉNÉES, 1789-1795

- **1789:** Estates-General convened,
National Assembly proclaimed,
Abolition of feudalism and privileges
- **1790:** Religious orders abolished,
Popular societies formed in Bayonne (June) and Pau (Dec.)
- **1791:** CCC in effect,
Decree against émigrés,
Decree against the refractory priests,
Beginning of Monho's trial
- **1792:** Radicalization,
Overthrow of monarchy,
Republic proclaimed,
Deportation of refractory priests,
Vital records secularized,
Beginning of Labadie trial,
Wartime requisitions begin
- **1793:** Louis XVI executed,
War declared on Spain, *Army of the Pyrénées Occidentales formed*
Government by Terror,
Catholicism abolished,
Représentants instill terror in Bayonne and Pau
- **1794:** *Cult of Reason in Bayonne and Pau,*
Basque Deportation,
Battle of the Baztan Valley, French capture of San Sebastian
Fall of Robespierre
- **1795:** Closure of all Popular Societies,
Freedom of worship restored,
Vitoria and Bilbao fall to the French Western Pyrenees Army
End of War with Spain/ War of the Pyrenees,
Directory constituted

APPENDIX 2.3

LIST OF BISHOPS

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Old Regime Diocese of Lescar

- 1763-1790: Marc-Antoine de Noé

Old Regime Diocese of Oloron

- 1742-1783: François de Revol
- 1783-1792: Jean-Baptiste-Auguste de Villoutreix de Faye

Old Regime Diocese of Bayonne

- 1745-1774: Guillaume d'Arche
- 1775-1783: Jules Basile Ferron de la Ferronays
- 1783-1790: Étienne-Joseph de Pavée de Villevielle

Constitutional Bishops

- 1791-1796: Barthélemy-Jean-Baptiste Sanadon
- 1797- 1802: Jean-Pierre Saurine

NINETEENTH CENTURY

Concordat Bishops

- 1802-1820: Joseph-Jacques Loison
- 1820-1830: Paul-Thérèse-David d'Astros
- 1830-1838: Étienne-Marie-Bruno d'Arbou
- 1838-1878: François Lacroix

APPENDIX 3.1

TIMELINE OF EVENTS, 1799-1815

- **1799:** November, Coup d'état of 18 Brumaire- Napoleon Bonaparte takes power as First Consul
December 15, Constitution of Year VIII establishes Consulate
- **1800:** End of emigration lists
- **1801:** 15 July, Concordat signed with Pope Pious VII
- **1802:** *Genie du Christianisme* by Chateaubriand published
Amnesty granted to emigrants
Constitution of Year X, Bonaparte becomes Consulate for life
- **1804:** May 18, Empire established with Constitution of Year XII
Decree of June 22, offers preliminary authorization to religious congregations
Dec. 2, Coronation of Napoleon Bonaparte as Emperor
- **1806:** Return of the Gregorian calendar (Jan. 1)
Rupture with Pope Pious VII
April 4, Imperial Catechism published
Aug. 15, celebration of Saint Napoleon
- **1807:** Jewish civil statute issued
France and Spain invade Portugal
Start of the Peninsular War (1807/8-1814)
- **1808:** French troops occupy Rome
Madrid revolts against the French
May 5, Treaty of Bayonne, Spanish Bourbon Kings abdicate
Joseph Bonaparte becomes King of Spain
- **1809:** Napoleon is excommunicated by Pope Pious VII
- **1812:** Spanish Constitution
- **1813:** Wellington takes French-occupied Saint-Sebastian under siege, city burnt to the ground
Wellington crosses the Bidassoa to France and Coalition forces enter France, fighting across the Pyrenees
Battle of the Nivelle
Valençay Treaty, restoration of the Bourbon throne in Spain

- **1814:** Wellington takes Orthez
Seige of Bayonne, March-May
Treaty of Fontainebleau, Abdication of Napoleon
Congress of Vienna – June 1815
- **1815:** Treaty of Vienna
Napoleon's second abdication
Imperial army is dissolved

First Carlist War = 1833-1840

FRENCH GOVERNMENT CHRONOLOGY

1789-1792:	French Revolution
1792-1804:	First Republic
1804-1814/15:	First Empire (under Napoleon I)
1814/15-1830:	Bourbon Restoration (under Louis XVIII, Charles X)
1830-1848:	July Monarchy (under Louis Philippe d'Orleans)
1848-1852:	Second Republic
1852-1870:	Second Empire (under Napoleon III)
1873-(1940):	Third Republic

APPENDIX 3.2

LIST OF CANTIQUÉ COLLECTIONS

This list excludes most Noël collections, except those mentioned in the text. Collections are in **chronological order**, by language.

Collections in Basque

Johannes Etcheberry, *Noelac eta berce canta espiritual berriac...* (1630?, 1645, 1697, 1699, 1730s).

Gasteluçar, *Eguia Catholicac salvamendu eternalaren eguiteco necessario direnac* (Pau: 1686).

Othoitce eta cantica espiritualac (Pauven: Jean Dupoux, 1734; Pau: 1748; 1778; Mauleon: Roch Daguerre, 1823).

Cantico izpiritualac, missionetaco eta bertce demboretaco hainitz abantaillossac ordena hobeago batean emanac, eta emendatuac aurthen hainitz cantica berriez (1763; Bayonne: Fauvet-Duhart, 1774; Bayonne: Pierre Fauvet, 1775; Bayonne: Fauvet-Duhart, 1780, 1783, 1786).

Manuscript, Abbadie Collection, BNF *Recueil de cantiques et sermons, en guipuzcoan* (1776).

Cantico izpiritualac. Canta Jaun-Goikoari cembeit cantica berri (Bayonne: Fauvet Jeune, 1804).

Cantico izpiritualac dembora gncietico hainitz abantaillosac (Bayonne: Fauvet Gastea, 1813, 1815; Bayonne: Cluzeau, 1824, 1844).

Cantico izpiritualac Lehen ecagutuei hanitcac iratchiquiac, artha, eta ohartcapenaquin cantatuz, Jaincoa, eta gure salbamentua ganaco, orhoitcapenean haguiz lagunduco gaituztenac (Pau: Vignancour, 1824; Bayonne: Cluzeau, 1824; 1826; 1829; 1838).

Hazparneko Kalbarioa eta Kantika eskuarak (Bayonne: 1892).

R. Azkue, *Euskerazko Ereziak* (Bilbao: Euskalzalén Moldagintza, 1897).

Charles Bordes, ed. *Le chant populaire à l'église et dans les confréries et patronages: Kantika Espiritualak/ 10 Cantiques Basques anciens (dialecte Souletin)* (Paris: Bureau d'édition de la Schola Cantorum, s.d.).

S. Hiriart, *Eskualdun Eliza-kantuak, Cantiques en usage dans le pays basque*, (Paris: B. Roudanez, 1907; M. Sénart, 1917).

Recueil de chants religieux latins, basques, français, espagnole: à l'usage des élèves de l'école chrétienne de Hasparren (Bayonne: Lasserre, 1917).

Abbé Camardé, Manuscript, Musée Basque, *Recueil de cantiques basques* (n.d., before 1927).

Pierre Lafitte, *Parmi les compositeurs de cantiques basques M le Chanoine Gratien Adema (1828-1907), M l'abbé Jean Barbier (1875-1931)* (Bayonne: Imp de la Presse, 1933).

Vogel, Florentin. *Eskualdun Kantikak. 50 cantiques populaires basques [à 2 v. sans acc.] suivis d'Angelus et Regina. Texte basque.* Eskual herriko Jaun Apherezi. Saint-Palais: Florentin Vogel, 1936.

Gabriel Lerchundi. *Kantikak* (Belloc: Editions Ezkila, 1948).

Collections in Bearnese or Gascon

Barthélemy Amilia, *Le tableau de la bido del parfèt crestia que represento l'exercici de la fe... per le P. A. N. C. reg. de l'ordre de S. Aug. (Amilha)* (Toulouse: per J. Boudo, 1673).

Cantiques en gascon par les capucins de la province de Guyenne (Condom: 1751; Auch: 1776; Bordeaux: Phillipot, 1783; Toulouse: 1786; Dax: 1781, 1787; Mont de Marsan: 1801; Pau: Veronese, 1804).

Cantiques qui debin canta lous qui ban en debociou de Lescar enta Betharram. Se ben a Lescar ainsi que lou Cami dou Calbaire de Betharram et de Sarrance (n.d., Dubarat dated it 1781).

Cantiques spirituels, pour les missions, à l'usage des nouveaux Missionnaires de Betharram. [Written in the dialect of Béarn.] (Pau: Veronese, circa 1810).

Cantiques gascons, a l'usatge dou puble de la campagne, per les missions... : nabère édition (Pau: Vignancour, 1818).

Nouveau recueil de cantiques spirituels a l'usage des missions (Auch: Imp. Vve. Duprat, 1822). Some cantiques in Gascon are included.

Recueil de 25 cantiques dont 18 français et 7 Béarnais, à l'usage des écoles et congrégations, paroles de M. M. V. Bataille et l'abbé Garet, musique très facile à deux et trois voix, par H. Paravel jeune (Pau: Vignancour, 1849).

Cantiques dou petit catechisme (Dax: Herbet, 1855).

Cantiques bearnes, compousants per lous Peres Benedictins de l'abbadie de Nouste-Dame de Bon-loc, y segaits per lous may beroys Nadaus bearnes y gascons d'autes cops (Peres Benedictins de'Urt, 1891).

Denis Bouheben, *Cants de gleyse* (Pau: Imp G Lescher-Moutoue, 1922).

A. Lesbordes, *Dets cantics biarnés*, Recueil de 10 textes de cantiques avec musique, (n.d., 1900s).

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- “Couvent de Saint-Ursule de Saint-Esprit,” 1605-1791. Archives communales de Bayonne, Cultes.
- “Couvent de Saint-Ursule de Saint-Esprit, Registre,” 1621-1788. Archives communales de Bayonne, Cultes.
- “Délibérations du Corps de Ville,” 1715-1718. Archives communales de Bayonne, Administration communale.
- “Eveque de Bayonne Visites- Correspondances,” 17th c. Archives communales de St. Jean-de-Luz, Cultes.
- “Fermeture des portes de l’église de Bétharram, interdiction de fer tout attroupement dans ledit territoire, interdiction pour les capucins d’exercer toute fonction publique...”
Pau: Daumon, août 1792. Archives communales de Bayonne, Actes de l’administration departementale.
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