

MUSIC AND THE SPIRIT: PSALM-SINGING IN CALVIN'S LITURGY

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In his "Preface" to the Genevan liturgy John Calvin argued that psalm-singing was 1) the practice of the early church and 2) useful for stimulating piety. These two reasons for the use of music in worship reflect the reformer's double concern for tradition and practicality. He believed that congregations in apostolic times sang psalms in public worship, and on this ground alone, the practice ought to be instituted. Also, he was convinced that this practice was a powerful external means for the work of the Holy Spirit.

Like other Protestant reformers of the sixteenth century, Calvin wanted to restore the piety of the apostolic age which had been submerged, he believed, in the superfluous and misguided practices of the Roman church. Relying on clues from the scriptures and the writings of fathers like Augustine and Chrysostom, he attempted to design a liturgy "according to God's word,"¹ entitling it "The Form of Prayers and Church Song...according to the custom of the ancient church."²

Calvin, however, was not primarily concerned with recovering first century ceremonies. His chief goal was restoration of the quality of spiritual life which he imagined had prevailed in the early church. From scriptural and theological perspectives, and from his own observations of human experience, Calvin possessed a psychology of the process of regeneration which informed his efforts in structuring the liturgy. This sensitivity to the realities of the human condition strongly influenced his decision to include psalm-singing in the Genevan service.

The Need for Proper externals

To understand the role of psalm-singing in the Reformed community we must review Calvin's understanding of the place of external aids in the process of sanctification. Just as man was justified by faith through the action of the Holy Spirit, so too was this faith confirmed and increased by the continuing activity of the same Spirit.³ In other words, God alone, through his Spirit, effected sanctification as well as justification.

The sanctification process, however, was long and difficult. The Christian life was possible only because Christ was present through his word and Spirit in the midst of human tribulations.⁴ Though the Christian lived in the world, he was oriented toward the heavenly life and the fellowship with God which was his destiny before the fall.⁵ This sanctifying action of the Spirit, according to Calvin, was enabled through external aids. As the title of the fourth book of the *Institutes* indicates, the church was the chief "external means by which God invites men into the society of Christ and holds them there." Human nature necessitated such means:

It is by means of the faith of the Gospel that Christ becomes ours, and we are made participants by that faith in the welfare and blessing of eternity....Since, however, our rudeness and sloth, to which I add our vanity of nature, require external aids by which faith may be born and increase in us and progress to its end, God also gave these aids to provide for our infirmities.⁶

Calvin warned that great care had to be exercised in the use of external aids:

We should be careful that while we wish to adjust our inventions to Christ, we do not alter him so that he is no longer himself as the papists have done. For he said

that we may not invent whatever pleases us, but it is for God alone to show us according to the pattern which was shown.⁷

But if serious abuses were avoided, a wide diversity in liturgical customs was permissible, even the “many tolerable foolish things” of the English *Book of Common Prayer*.⁸ The primary concern was that the outer form of the ceremony adequately and appropriately express its spiritual content.

To sum up, externals were necessary; they were, in fact, to be improvised. At the same time, no external, in and of itself, could effect sanctifying grace. The Spirit alone effected sanctification, though it employed external means in the process. And some means were better than others for the work of the Spirit. Those characteristic of “the papacy” were perverse, but proper externals were a “staircase by which the faithful might ascend into heaven.”⁹

For what is the purpose of the preaching of the word, the sacraments, holy gatherings themselves, and the whole external regimen of the church unless they join us with God.¹⁰

The Dynamics of Piety

But in what manner were externals to function as means of sanctifying grace? Calvin gave a clear exposition of the operation of Christian piety in his discussion of prayer. This analysis is appropriate to our subject because psalm-singing was classified as a form of prayer in the “Preface” to the Genevan Psalter, distinct from word and sacrament, the other externals of worship.¹¹

Calvin spoke of prayer as the fundamental exercise of God’s children.¹² In ideal prayer the words were a response to the movement of the Spirit within. The Christian prayed with “heart and mind” as well as tongue.¹³ To pray with “heart and mind” was a total response to the Spirit involving the believer’s centers of feeling and thinking. The heart was the primary contact point for the Spirit. Hardness or coldness of heart barred the movement of grace. But the mind came into play at once, for true piety combined intelligence with feeling. In fact, the heart could not fully respond to the Spirit unless there was understanding. Also, the mind had to be free from distractions and focused in devout attention to make prayer possible.¹⁴ The sequence in perfect prayer was heart and mind, then tongue. The tongue was not necessary in prayer. Prayer need not be vocal. But since the tongue was created to display the glory of God, it was quite appropriate that men should speak their praises.¹⁵ In fact, when Christians were filled with wonder and praise, prayers often broke forth into speech unintentionally.¹⁶

Furthermore, Calvin considered the tongue an aid for elevating the mind and keeping thought from straying.¹⁷ In this we see that prayer was more than a response to the Spirit; it was also an external aid to piety. Though affirming with Paul (Rom. 8:26) that the Spirit was “our teacher in prayer,” Calvin warned against “waiting listlessly until the Spirit overtake our minds.” He urged Christians “to seek the help of the Spirit” so that prayers might be fervent.¹⁸ And the way to this divine aid was through the ordering of common prayers.¹⁹ This human regimen could not command the Spirit, but it could awaken the hearts and minds of sinful men to the work of the Spirit in their midst. In other words, though the ideal sequence in prayer was heart and mind, then tongue, the proper use of the tongue might prepare the affections and thoughts for the action of the Spirit. The way to right prayer was through prayer. And, as we shall discuss further in relation to singing, the spoken responses of the Christian community as a whole, genuine responses to the Spirit, might function as vehicles to penetrate languid hearts and distracted minds.²⁰

Psalm-Singing as an External Aid to Piety

With reference to prayer, Calvin explicitly mentioned the singing of psalms.²¹ Prayers might be spoken or sung. The spoken prayers were those given by the presiding pastor.²² The sung prayers were rendered by the people as a whole—the only corporate verbal expressions in Reformed worship—though the prayers read by the clergy were intended as presentations for the entire congregation.²³ Calvin's identification of psalm-singing as prayer testifies to the importance of music in his liturgy. Psalm-singing, indeed, had extraordinary potential for penetrating the affective center of the worshipper where the Spirit began its work of sanctification. The *Articles of 1537* declared:

We cannot conceive the advancement and edification which would proceed from it [psalm-singing] except after having experimented. Certainly, as we are doing, the prayers of the faithful are so cold that we ought to be very much ashamed and dismayed. The psalms could incite us to raise our hearts to God and to move us with such ardor that we exalt through praises the glory of his name.²⁴

Five years later, after his experiments with psalm-singing in Strassburg, Calvin could state:

And truly, we know through experience that song has great force and vigor to move and enflame the hearts of men to invoke and to praise God with a more lively and ardent zeal.²⁵

Ordering musical externals, however, required special care because of music's unique power of expression. Like Luther and Bucer, Calvin saw music as a gift of God, but a gift easily abused.²⁶

It is true that every evil word corrupts morals, as St. Paul says, but when the melody is with it, this evil penetrates much deeper into the heart and enters within. Just as through a funnel the wine is poured into the vase, so also the poison and corruption is instilled in the depth of the heart by the melody.²⁷

Calvin asked: "What therefore should be done?"

The answer is to have songs not only decent, but also holy which should act as spurs to incite us to pray and to praise God, to meditate upon his works so as to love, fear, honor, and glorify him.²⁸

And where did one find such songs? The obvious treasury was "the Psalms of David which the Holy Spirit dictated and gave to him."²⁹

With the use of biblical texts a certain potential for perversion was defused. Beyond this, Calvin advised "a moderate use of music." He wanted melodies capable of bearing "the weight and majesty appropriate to the subject."³⁰

And certainly if the melody be tempered to that gravity which is fitting in the sight of God and the angels, and when it brings dignity and grace to the sacred actions, then it has value for exciting the spirits of many into true zeal and ardor for praying. Yet care must be taken lest our ears be more attentive to the melody than our minds to the spiritual sense of the words.³¹

Like many reformers of the sixteenth century Calvin wanted to purge worldly associations from church music. Likewise, he hoped that the Reformed Christian would have only "spiritual music" in his head and heart.

Only let the world be advised that in place of songs in part vain and frivolous, in part foolish and clumsy, and in part salacious and villainous, and as a result, evil and damaging, which have been used until now, that from this time on he is fitting himself to sing these divine and heavenly hymns with the good king David.³²

In no other reformation center was such attention given to proper agreement of tune with text as in Geneva. For the most part each text had its own tune so that the melody itself, when stirring in the Christian's mind, evoked no other text, secular or sacred, than that of a particular Psalm.³³

In addition to the proper text and music, Calvin urged the right manner of singing. Rather than the "murmuring" of psalms practiced in religious communities, he advised Christians to sing "with heart and mind" as well as tongue.³⁴

Also, we must remember what St. Paul says: that spiritual songs can only be sung from the heart. But the heart requires intelligence. After intelligence should follow the heart and affections, that which can only be when the song is imprinted in our memory so that we never cease from singing it.³⁵

Here we can see the interrelation of "heart" and "mind" in Calvin's view.

If prayer could stir the heart to the action of the Spirit, even more effective was sung prayer, particularly when the texts were the Psalms, for these were the words of the Spirit. Calvin quoted Augustine: "When we sing these songs...we are certain that God puts the words into our mouths as if he were singing in us to exalt his glory."³⁶ Christians sang "in the Spirit of God."³⁷

The Psalms set to music were ideal externals. To sing the Psalms was as close as the Christian could come to commanding the Spirit. This sung prayer was a God-given means by which sanctification could proceed, an expression of faith stimulated by the Spirit. Inspired worshipers broke forth into speech and song. At the same time, through the singing of these songs, worshipers might open themselves to the Spirit already at work in their midst.

The Role of Music in the Liturgy

It is not difficult to see how this musical practice applied to the general concern for enabling the work of the Holy Spirit in the Reformed community. It is not so easy, however, to discern the particular roles Calvin expected psalm-singing to play in the liturgy. Psalms were sung according to a "table" with selections designated for two Sunday services and a Wednesday prayer service. Since the selections were not "in course" it appears that the choice of texts was motivated by a desire other than "to get through the Psalms periodically" as was the case in some contemporary reform projects.³⁸ There are further indications that these texts and melodies were conscientiously placed with an awareness of their instrumentality in public worship. The tables, for example, distinguished two categories of psalms: 1) prayers and petitions for use in the Wednesday prayer service and 2) thanksgiving and praise for the Sunday services. A psalm was designated for the opening of Sunday worship. Other psalms were to be sung at the beginning and at the end of the sermon. In practice this probably meant that one of the latter selections was sung following the confession and preceding the scripture-reading and sermon, the other, at the end of the service. On communion Sundays the congregation sang the Decalogue, the Apostles' Creed, and Simeon's Song.³⁹ During the Lord's Supper proper "some psalms" were sung or "some portion of scripture was read, appropriate to the significance or the sacrament."⁴⁰ No listings appear to designate these communion psalms, though Psalm 138 was sung regularly in the French church in Strassburg.

Unfortunately, the details of Calvin's rationale for the selection of particular psalms for various parts of the liturgy are not spelled out for us. We can only surmise the roles psalm-singing was expected to play. First, the opening psalm was very likely thought of as an expression of the

congregation's need for divine help. The texts of Psalms 6, 21, 29, and 31, would point to such a preparation for confession. The Reformed congregation was gathered with common prayer, confessing God's power and their own weakness. As we shall point out more fully, Calvin envisioned worship as a "standing before God" for which such awe and penitence would be appropriate.

Second, Calvin undoubtedly saw psalm-singing as an aid in preparing the congregation for the reception of the word in preaching. As the *Ordinances* of 1561 indicate, the psalms sung before and after the sermon were "incitements to prayer and praise."⁴¹ The singing of psalms stirred worshipers from earthly preoccupations and called them to attention for the hearing of God's word.⁴² We should note that Calvin believed the word must be "purely heard" as well as "purely preached" in the true church.⁴³ He did not believe that every word of scripture effected an awakening. It was the central message of salvation, the message of God's concern and mercy, the promise of grace, which most easily broke into hardened hearts. To illustrate his point Calvin cited a number of scriptural passages in his discussion of the growth of faith—all from the Psalms.⁴⁴ For him the Psalms presented in a powerful and clear manner the message of God's mercy, and may have been seen by him as ideal for alerting the congregation, prior to the scripture-reading and sermon, to the truth conveyed by the word. Many of the Psalms chosen for "before the sermon" emphasize the above-mentioned themes. However, these texts provide such a profusion of themes that it seems foolhardy to interpret Calvin's purpose in designating them too narrowly.

In the same discussion of the growth of faith Calvin pointed out that the message of salvation could not penetrate sinful hearts and minds without the illumination and strengthening of the Spirit. Calvin hoped that through the power of the Holy Spirit the word might become a living reality in the Christian community so that Christ would be present, and it would be as if God were speaking directly with his people.⁴⁵ Calvin may have thought of the psalm-singing surrounding the scripture-reading and sermon as an exercise through which the likelihood of the Spirit's work in making the word effective was enhanced.

Third, it would appear that Calvin thought of singing as the appropriate response to the good news of God's salvation.

...at the same time God becomes known to us his infinite praises sound in our hearts and ears. And in the meantime Christ urges us by his example to sing them publicly so that they might be heard by more persons. For it was not enough that each one give thanks individually to God for the blessings he has received, unless, making known the testimony of our gratitude openly, we should invite others to do the same. And this teaching is a very strong stimulus enabling us to praise God with a more fervent zeal, for we hear that Christ sings with us and is the chief conductor of our hymns.⁴⁶

This is perhaps Calvin's clearest statement about music as a dynamic of piety. The sounds of praise welled-up within the believer as he came to know God. This spiritual joy was not to be contained. Christians had to sing their praises when they were filled with the Spirit.⁴⁷ Christ himself, in fact, urged them to make their praise audible, sang with them, and led them in song.

The above passage also emphasizes the power of congregational song. The individual Christian did not simply arouse himself through singing. He was "invited," stimulated to give thanks because of the song of those about him. Congregational psalm-singing could rouse the private Christian from his spiritual lethargy. As a corporate act psalm-singing was effective as a vehicle for the Spirit.

Fourth, Calvin seems to have regarded psalm-singing as an ideal exercise during the Lord's Supper where the imagery of "fellowship with Christ" was even more explicit. Though Christ was always spiritually present with his people, he revealed himself in a "special way" in the Lord's Supper.⁴⁸ The uniqueness of Christ's presence in the eucharist was its completeness.

What more do we receive from the sacrament, or what further benefit does it bring us? This, that the communion concerning which I have spoken is confirmed and increased in us. For even if in both baptism and in the gospel Christ is shown to us, still we do not receive him wholly but only in part.⁴⁹

To express this quality of fellowship liturgically Calvin employed the *sursum corda*, which he considered to be a tradition of the early church, at the close of the eucharistic exhortation.

Therefore let us raise our spirits and our hearts on high where Jesus Christ is in the glory of his Father, and from where we await him at our redemption. And let us no more amuse ourselves in these earthly and corruptible elements which we see with the eye and touch with the hand, so to seek him there as if he were enclosed in the bread and wine. Because our souls will be disposed to be nourished and enlivened by his substance only when they are thus lifted up above all terrestrial things, in order to attain to heaven and enter the Kingdom of God where he dwells. Let us content ourselves then to have the bread and the wine for signs and testimonies, seeking spiritually the truth where the word of God promised that we shall find it.⁵⁰

In the Lord's Supper Christians were lifted to fellowship with Christ, the exalted Christ. Rather than Christ being brought down from heaven to be bodily present in the consecrated bread and wine, Christ was united with believers by the secret working of the Spirit.⁵¹ By "lifting hearts and minds" the adoration of earthly elements was avoided and the Redeemer's presence properly sought. This was true for every religious act, but especially in the celebration of the Supper: when the Lord invited men to a secret participation in his flesh and blood, "a certain celestial majesty ought to shine forth."⁵²

Calvin undoubtedly saw psalm-singing as an increment of the *sursum corda* which marked valid worship generally and the eucharistic fellowship in particular. During the eating and drinking psalms were sung by the congregation. In this action the church was united with the angels, experienced the presence of Christ more fully than at any other time, and stood before God. In these moments the alienation of the earthly and the heavenly was overcome. Earthly things, the bread, the wine, and also, the words and music of the psalms, were employed here as God originally intended—for leading men into his presence.⁵³

The Extra-Liturgical Effect of Psalm-Singing

One further role of psalm-singing requires comment. Though the primary purpose of teaching Reformed Christians to sing the Psalms was to enable them to join fully in public worship, this musical treasure enriched their private lives as well, and in a manner which must have pleased Calvin, for he was concerned that private prayer and scripture reading be conditioned and corrected by common prayer and public preaching.⁵⁴ The psalm-singing of corporate worship had effects which carried over into the practices of private piety. Christians could avoid earthly distractions and keep hearts and minds "lifted up" as they sang or hummed psalms. In times of crisis or in the course of ordinary labors, the words of the Spirit could guide persons who had "the song imprinted in (their) memories so they never ceased to sing."⁵⁵

But the use of music extends itself even more, that is, that it should be an impetus and a means to praise God even in our houses and fields, and for raising our hearts to him, for consoling us in meditating on his virtue, goodness, wisdom, and justice—a thing more necessary than we can express.⁵⁶

There are many evidences that psalm-singing had something of the effect Calvin described. A seventeenth-century Roman Catholic bishop, Godeau, noted that:

to know them (the Psalms) by heart is among them a mark of their communion...one hears them resounding from the mouth of the artisans, and in the country, from the mouth of the laborer, while the Catholics are either mute or singing some disreputable song.⁵⁷

Huguenot sailors were known for their psalm-singing, both as part of their regular worship on shipboard and as they carried out their duties individually. Psalm-singing accompanied the military routines of Huguenot soldiers.⁵⁸

The most striking testimony of the implantation of psalms texts by way of psalm tunes comes from accounts of French Protestant martyrs in the sixteenth century who frequently died with psalms on their lips. Often a particular text, perhaps a favorite, or one which seemed most appropriate, was noted.⁵⁹

Through the Psalms Christians could “lift up their hearts” for the “pure hearing” of God’s word on Sunday, for fellowship with Christ in the Lord’s Supper, and in any personal circumstance.

NOTES

¹See Comm. on John 4:23; *Ioannis Calvini Opera Quae Supersunt Omnia*, ed. by Guillaume Baum, Eduard Cunitz, and Eduard Reuss (Brunsvigae: C.A. Schwetschke et Filium, 1863-1900), XLVII, 88-90; hereafter abbreviated C.O.

²“La Forme des Prieres et Chantz ecclesiastiques...selon la coustume de l’eglise ancienne.” *Joannis Calvini Opera Selecta*, ed. by Peter Barth and Wilhelm Niesel (Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1952), II, 11; hereafter abbreviated O.S.

³*Catechism*, no. 91; O.S., II, 88. Cf. *Inst.* III.2.7.

⁴*Inst.*, III.14.4.

⁵*Inst.*, I.15.6. Cf. *Catechism*, no. 7; O.S. II, 75.

⁶*Inst.*, IV.1.1. Passages from the *Institutes* are my translations from the 1559 Latin edition, C.O. II.

⁷Comm. on Hebr. 8:5; C.O. LV, 99. Cf. *Inst.*, IV.8.7.

⁸In a letter of Jan. 29, 1555 to the English refugee church at Frankfurt, Calvin scolded his readers for being divided over their differences concerning liturgy. He spoke of himself as sympathetic to a careful reformation, but at the same time considered himself “gentle and tractable in meane things,” i.e. ceremonies. This is reported in “A briefe discourse of the troubles begun at Frankfort in Germany, An. Com. 1554 about the Booke of Common Prayer and Ceremonies,” published in 1575. I have used the 1642 ed. in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁹Before the coming of Christ more external symbols were required, as Calvin explained with reference to the temple: “*Vera quidem praesentiae suae signa exhibuit Deus in illo visibilo sanctuario, sed non up populi sensus terrenis elementis allegaret: quin potius externa illa symbola, scalarum loco, esse voluit, quibus in coelum usque assurgent fideles.*” Comm. on Ps. 9:16; C.O., XXXI, 102.

¹⁰Comm. on Ps. 24:7-8; C.O., XXXI, 248.

¹¹See the “Preface” to the Psalter, O.S., II, 15; cf. *Inst.*, III.20.31-33.

¹²*Inst.*, III.20.21.

¹³*Catechism*, no. 240; O.S., II, 114. Cf. *Inst.*, III.20.29.

¹⁴*Inst.*, III.20.4.

¹⁵*Catechism*, no. 246; O.S., II, 115-16.

¹⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁸*Inst.*, III.20.3. Cf. *Catechism*, no. 245; O.S., II, 115.

¹⁹*Inst.*, III.20.29.

²⁰*Inst.*, III.20.31.

²¹“Preface” to the Psalter, O.S., II, 15; *Inst.*, III.20.31.

²²“La Forme des Prieres,” O.S., II, 20-30, 39-50; C.O., VI, 175-84, 193-202.

²³“Preface” to the Psalter, O.S., II, 15. Cf. *Inst.*, III.20.31-33.

²⁴“Articles concernant L’Organization de l’eglise et du culte a Geneve, proposes au conseil par les ministres, le 16 Janvier 1537,” C.O., X, 6.

²⁵“Preface” to the Psalter, O.S., II, 15.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 16. Cf. Luther’s forward to the first edition of the 1524 *Wittenberg Gesangbuch*, *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe* (Weimar: H. Bohlau, 1883-), XXXV, 475, and Bucer’s preface to the 1541 *Strassburg Gesangbuch*, *Martin Bucers Deutsche Schriften*, ed. by Robert Stupperich (Güttersloh: Verlagshaus Gerd Mohr, 1960-), VII, 578.

²⁷“Et à la verité, nous congnoissons par experience, que le chant a grand force et vigueur d’esmouvoir et enflamber le coeur des hommes, pour invoquer et louer Dieu d’un zele plus vehement et ardent.” “Preface” to the Psalter.

²⁸“Preface” to the Psalter, O.S., II, 17.

²⁹*Ibid.*

³⁰*Ibid.*

³¹*Inst.*, III.20.32.

³²“Preface” to the Psalter, O.S., II, 17-18.

³³The Psalter has 125 distinct tunes for the 150 texts. This exclusive association of a text with melody was rare in the sixteenth century when the prevailing practice was to fit new texts to previously given music. “Composers” elaborated, but did not compose, melodies. In contemporary German hymnals a few melodies generally served a variety of texts. See e.g. Johannes Zahn, *Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder* (Güttersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1889-1893), VI, 7, 16.

³⁴Comm. on Eph. 5:18-19; C.O., LI, 224.

³⁵“Preface” to the Psalter, O.S., II, 17.

³⁶*Ibid.*

³⁷Serm. 38 on Eph. 5:18-21; C.O., LI 725.

³⁸E.g., the *Breviary* of Francis Quignon (d. 1539) distributed the Psalter so that it was read weekly in its entirety. See *The Second Recension of the Quignon Breviary*, ed. by J. Legg (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1908), II, xxv.

³⁹For copies of the Geneva Tables of Psalms see Pierre Pidoux, *Le Psautier Huguenot du XVI Siècle, Melodies et Documents* (Basel: Bärenreiter, 1962), II, 44, 61-62, 134-35. The Tables were revised as more psalms were versified and their melodies composed. As more psalms were available, their use increased.

⁴⁰“La Forme des Prieres,” O.S., II, 49.

⁴¹“Project d’ordinances ecclesiastiques,” O.S., II, 345.

⁴²In his preface to the Strassburg Psalter Calvin suggests the value of singing psalms to excite persons to the reading of scripture: “...tu trouveras en ces pseaulmes, que pour le bon exemple que tu pourras donner a ton prochain, pour l’exciter a lire la saincte excripture...” See text in Pidoux, *Le Psautier huguenot*, II, 14.

⁴³*Inst.*, IV. 1.9.

⁴⁴*Inst.*, III.2.7.

⁴⁵Comm. on Is. 46:5; C.O., XXXVII, 441.

⁴⁶Comm. on Hebr. 2:12; C.O., LV, 29.

⁴⁷“*Quid spiritualis laetitia, quum ea perfusi sumus? hymnos, psalmos, laudes Dei, gratiarum actiones.*” Comm. on Eph. 5:18-19; C.O., LI, 221.

⁴⁸*Inst.*, IV.17.30.

⁴⁹*Catechism*, no. 346; O.S., II, 139.

⁵⁰“La Forme des Prieres,” O.S., II, 48.

⁵¹*Inst.*, IV.17.31. Cf. Comm. on Acts 1:11; C.O., XLVIII, 13-14.

⁵²*Vera ecclesiae reformandae ratio*, C.O., VII, 650.

⁵³The “Preface” to the Psalter is but one of the passages in which Calvin spoke of the church uniting with the angels in song. Calvin cited Chrysostom admonishing Christians to sing psalms so they might associate with the angels; see “Preface,” O.S., II, 17. P. 15 in the same work has a reference to “the psalms which men sing in the presence of God and his angels.” Cf. Sermon 38 on Eph. 5:18-21; C.O., LI, 726.

⁵⁴*Inst.*, III.20.29; IV, 1.5. *Catechism*, no. 305; O.S., II, 129.

⁵⁵“Preface” to the Psalter, O.S., II, 17.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

⁵⁷Quoted by Felix Bovet, *Histoire du Psautier des églises réformées* (Neuchâtel: Librairie Générale de J. Sandoz, 1872), pp. 10-11.

⁵⁸Charles W. Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1885), pp. 103, 206, quotes Du Terre, *Histoire Générale des Antilles*, III, 312. See also p. 81 of Baird’s work.

⁵⁹Jean Crespin, *Histoire des Martyrs persecutez et mis a mort pour la verite de l’evangile, depuis le temps des apostres jusques a present (1619)* (Toulouse: Société des Livres Religieux, 1885), I, 547-48, 581, 673.