

THE POLITICS OF PIETY

FRANCISCAN PREACHERS DURING
THE WARS OF RELIGION, 1560-1600



MEGAN C. ARMSTRONG

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Changing Perspectives on Early Modern Europe

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Megan C. Armstrong



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INTRODUCTION

It is the conviction of monks and preachers during these times, that parricides and the most horrible assassinations are greeted as miracles and the works of God.”¹ Pierre de l’Estoile’s scathing denunciation of the preachers who celebrated the assassination of Henry III in August 1589 was very much in character. Even though he was at times harshly critical of Henry III, L’Estoile came from a magisterial family, and he naturally associated political stability with the monarchy. That anyone could celebrate such a blow to public order was unfathomable to him. The preachers who celebrated the assassination of Henry III, however, clearly disagreed. Many of them were closely affiliated with the Paris-based Catholic League, a radical political association that had emerged in 1585 to prevent the succession of the Protestant Henry of Navarre to the French throne. These clerics were convinced that the death of Henry III in 1589 was necessary for the salvation of France. For fifteen years they and other French Catholics watched in dismay as the monarch they once thought would crush French Protestantism negotiated with Calvinist leaders and even permitted some Calvinist worship. The death of Henry III’s brother François-Hercule in 1584 left Navarre as heir presumptive, a situation that not only accelerated confessional division in France but also threw open for public debate the very nature of the French monarchy itself. The French monarchy was a Christian institution to be sure, but was not a Christian institution necessarily Catholic? Could a Protestant occupy the French throne without jeopardizing the souls of all good Catholics? For the preachers of the League, the answer to this last question was obvious: A heretical monarch threatened the salvation of all French men and women. But for the historian, what is so intriguing about the final years of the Wars of Religion is that an essentially medieval understanding of the French body politic triumphed. French Catholics listened to the League preachers as they pounded home the dangers posed by a Protestant succession to their own salvation, and emphasized the inherently Catholic nature of the French state and its true subjects. Because of these preachers, French Catholics refused to countenance a Protestant King. By 1593, Henry of Navarre realized that only his conversion to Catholicism would allow him to claim the French throne.

The League’s success in selling a medieval understanding of the body politic pivoted on the support of its many preachers, and none were more zealous than the Franciscans. Here and there we catch glimpses in the historical records of the friars at work. The grey habit of the Paris friars peers from behind helmets,

halbeards, and curasses in the paintings of League processions during the siege of Paris in 1590. In Orleans, we find Maurice Hylaret denouncing the local bishop from the pulpits of the convent for his political moderation. Much further to the south, friar Guillaume Taxle decides on a more direct approach to spreading League authority and leads an armed assault on a nearby royalist stronghold. Wantonly mixing political polemics and violence with their traditional cache of spiritual weapons, the French Franciscans of the Wars of Religion recognized few boundaries in their pursuit of a Catholic monarchy. What is more, they were influential. Thousands of people thronged to hear their sermons in League-controlled cities across France. By 1593, L'Estoile was so fearful of Franciscan influence that he believed a wild rumor that two hundred Franciscans were marching on the city of Paris.²

L'Estoile's willingness to countenance that an army of Franciscans roamed the roads of France reveals profound anxiety about the growing militancy of this religious order, and along with it, their political influence. These friars proved over and over again that they were not about to submit to Protestant rule, and that they were ready and willing to use any tactics necessary to defeat Navarre. The primary intention of this book is to show how a medieval spiritual tradition (the Observant Franciscan), in the particular context of late-sixteenth century France, became an agent of political change. Prior to the Reformation, French men and women accepted the essentially Christian and, it turns out, Catholic nature of the monarchy. However, confessional division after 1540 thrust the religious character of the French throne into the political spotlight. Navarre's conversion to Catholicism in 1593 marked a dramatic turning point in the nature of the early modern French state. From this point on, the Catholic nature of the French monarchy became a defining ideological characteristic of this institution. I argue that the political activism of the Franciscans, alongside other supporters of the Catholic League, ensured that by the end of the Wars of Religion, religion, as well as gender and bloodlines (Salic Law), became a critical factor in determining who became king. Private and familial interests, municipal politics, the emergence of new elites and a changing economy were undeniably formative in shaping the early modern French polity, but the political activism of the Franciscans reminds us that early modern individuals also shaped their institutions in relation to religious belief.³

The friars, I argue, far from being simple handmaids of the League, provided a critical foundation upon which the association built its authority because their spiritual tradition remained enormously popular. While the Franciscan alliance with the League underscores the centrality of religion in early modern conceptions of the state, it also illuminates the continuing potency of one particular medieval spiritual tradition in early modern France. The Franciscans generated their understanding of spiritual perfection from

the teachings of their thirteenth-century founder, Francis of Assisi, and this understanding informed their role as spiritual leaders throughout the Wars of Religion. The friars believed above all in a Christian body politic that privileged a central role for the cleric in the preservation of the kingdom, a role that they insisted legitimated political opposition to their ruler. Furthermore, the French Franciscans were members of a venerable Catholic missionary order that traversed political frontiers and was actively engaged throughout the sixteenth century in a global war on spiritual impurity. Informed by the missionary character of their own tradition and their own distinctive understanding of the body politic, and galvanized into action by the spread of heresy into France, the French Franciscans earned a reputation as tireless enemies of Calvinism even before the start of the first civil war in 1562. Moreover, the Franciscan preachers who plied their ministry during the Wars were usually university trained and many enjoyed close ties with the social and political elite of France. Whether the League could have exercised the authority it did after 1588 without the support of these respected religious leaders is consequently open to debate, since the friars gave substantial spiritual and political legitimacy to the radical association.

The long-term political activism of the friars in France thus politicized the League, and in doing so, transformed the French monarchy. How and why the Franciscans came to exert political influence in France during the Wars of Religion, and the implications of their political activism for understanding early modern French political and religious culture are the questions driving this investigation. This is a study, in other words, not of state institutions but of modes of political action and the values, particularly religious values, that informed them. Specifically, it is a study of the Observant Franciscans. There were four orders of mendicant clergy—Dominican, Augustinian, Carmelite, and Franciscan. The largest of three Franciscan branches at the time of the Wars (Conventual, Observant, Capuchin), the Observant Franciscans were more numerous and just as active as the Jesuits, and they are among the most visible mendicant clergy in contemporary Protestant and Catholic accounts of these years. The majority of the friars in this investigation, many of whom spent time studying theology in Paris, left only vague traces of their own individuality in historical records. Personal correspondence and memoirs, for example, are virtually nonexistent for this period. Even so, a wide variety of sources including internal Franciscan documents, notarial contracts, the civil and criminal registers of the Parlement of Paris, Franciscan writings as well as contemporary accounts make it possible to reconstruct a corporate identity. Since the monastic life has always been predicated on the abnegation of the self, monastic traditions such as the Franciscan are particularly amenable to such corporate investigations. These documents make it clear that the friars considered themselves first and foremost followers of Saint Francis, and only

secondarily the offspring of particular families and products of a particular region.⁴

Reconstructing their Franciscan identity is critical for understanding their political and spiritual behavior throughout the Wars of Religion, and their appeal for French men and women living at this time. Four interlocking factors help to explain the success of the Franciscans at situating themselves as political as well as spiritual leaders in France over the course of the Wars of Religion: a revitalized Franciscan missionary zeal, the timeliness of the Franciscan message of spiritual reform, the adaptability and versatility of the Franciscan spiritual tradition, and ecclesiastical and political support. Chapter 1 situates the political activism of the Franciscans in the broader religious and political context of the Wars of Religion. Late sixteenth-century France was a time of spiritual crisis, a time when the traditional sources of spiritual authority—the papacy and the monarchy—were under attack. In this environment, the Franciscans and other mendicant clergy quickly became the voices of spiritual truth for many French Catholics. Chapter 2 examines the ideological hold of Franciscan spirituality upon its members in order to understand their spiritual zealotry during the Wars of Religion. Situating the zealotry of the French Franciscans in a global context, I argue that the sixteenth century witnessed a revitalization of Franciscan missionary zeal across Europe in response not only to the expansion of Europe, the rise of the Ottoman Turks, and the spread of Protestantism, but also to internal reform. I show how such internal reform, while often divisive, was also a rejuvenating force in the Franciscan order. In France, the efforts of the Franciscan administration to reform the French communities focused the attention of the French Franciscans upon the nature of their own spiritual tradition, in the process reinforcing their identity as followers of Francis of Assisi. What this reform instantiated above all was Franciscan conviction that their duty to God came before that to any other authority, a conviction that helps to explain their political activism throughout the Wars of Religion, and their alliance with the League after 1588.

The next three chapters look at strategies utilized by the Franciscans to sell their ministry in France during the Wars. Chapter 3 illuminates Franciscan reliance on ecclesiastical support, in particular that of the papacy, to promote their preaching in pulpits across France and to give them international credibility as spiritual reformers. I show here that the French clergy and the papacy recognized the specific utility of the mobile preaching ministry of the French Franciscans for challenging Calvinist preaching. Furthermore, at a time of spiritual crisis and European expansion, the papacy saw in this mobile preaching ministry a useful vehicle for extending its authority both within and without Europe. Relying on notarial contracts and the internal records of the Paris friary, chapter 4 links economic, social and political support of the

Franciscan tradition to the particular appeal of the Franciscan message of spiritual reform. French patrons, women as well as men, found in Franciscan spirituality an understanding of spiritual perfection that made even ordinary believers into agents of spiritual rejuvenation in French society. At a time of political and spiritual crisis such as the Wars of Religion, the Franciscan message of spiritual reform was timely indeed. Chapter 5 examines the role of the University of Paris in the intellectual and spiritual formation of Observant Franciscan preachers during the Wars. I argue here that the friars used the University as a way to reach the intellectual and political elite of France with their understanding of spiritual perfection. Years studying at the University gave the Franciscans intellectual as well as religious credibility among their contemporaries. As theologians attached to the Faculty of Theology, furthermore, Franciscans consulted with magistrates, kings, and popes on important religious issues including the Catholicity of the monarchy. The University of Paris also acted as a venue for the reinterpretation of Franciscan missionary strategies. Just as Franciscans relied on indigenous languages and iconography to reach out to people of the newly encountered lands, their brothers living during the Wars of Religion believed that the humanist scholarly and linguistic strategies they encountered at the University would be useful for undermining Protestant doctrine as well as selling Franciscan spirituality to literate French audiences.

Chapter 6 confronts the increasing politicization and radicalization of the Franciscans throughout the Wars, arguing that growing suspicion of the religious agenda of the French monarchy galvanized them into outright political opposition after 1588. Looking specifically at Franciscan sermons, polemics, and devotional treatises, I suggest that underlying Franciscan activism was a distinctively Franciscan understanding of the French body politic, one that not only posited the essentially Catholic nature of the French state and subject but also a critical role for the preacher as a pillar of a politically stable society. Confident in the perfection of their own tradition and their role as God's servants, the Franciscans of the Wars showed that they recognized no boundaries in their pursuit of a spiritually pure society, not even political resistance to their king.

I

AN AGE OF SPIRITUAL CRISIS: THE WARS OF RELIGION

On December 23, 1588, Henry III invited the Catholic Duke of Guise, Henry, and his brother Louis de Lorraine, the Cardinal of Guise, to his château, ostensibly for the purpose of negotiation. The Guise brothers were warned not to accept the king's invitation, since he was still extremely angry over their recent political behavior. Several months earlier in May, the Catholic League, the radical political organization of which they were titular leaders, had seized control of Paris. Henry managed to elude capture and retreated to his palace at Blois, but seven months later he was no closer to regaining control of the most important city of France. Brushing off concerns about the safety of such a visit, the Guise brothers made their way to the château at Blois where, perhaps to their own astonishment or perhaps not, they were met by the royal guards. The duke of Guise died immediately, and his brother the following day.

Since the League openly declared its opposition to a Protestant succession to the French throne (Henry of Navarre), and the Guise family eagerly vied with other noble clans for control of the same institution, one can well understand why Henry III considered these men a threat to his authority. But for French subjects who were already suspicious of the religious motivations of their own ruler, the assassinations of the Guise brothers looked much more like tyranny in action than political justice. The brutal deaths of the popular Guise brothers shook Catholic confidence in their own ruler, and dramatically intensified the atmosphere of crisis then permeating France. Over the course of the next weeks, French men and women draped their houses and churches in black cloth, and rushed to their parish churches for consolation. At night time, candlelight emanating from innumerable spontaneous processions gave the streets of Paris and other cities a melancholic glow.¹ These processions of barefoot men, women, and children became one of the most familiar sights during the weeks following the assassinations, vivid testimony to the importance of the Guise as symbols of the Catholic cause.² In the months that followed, Henry III soon discovered that killing the two leaders only

confirmed the suspicions of many French Catholics that he was out to subvert rather than preserve the true faith. On January 7, 1589, the regent doctors of the Faculty of Theology at the University of Paris formally excommunicated their monarch, and declared subjects absolved of their obedience.³ Preachers publicly called Henry III “tyrant” and “hypocrite” from pulpits across France and encouraged violent overthrow of his regime.⁴ Across France, angry Catholics tore down and destroyed images of the king and his royalist supporters in an iconoclastic frenzy.⁵

Joining the angry throngs in December 1588 were the Observant Franciscans and other orders of mendicant clergy, and from this point onward we find these friars using their considerable talents as spiritual advisors and controversialists to arouse popular support for the Catholic League. What made the Franciscans in particular such effective agents of the League is the focus of this investigation, and without question their long-standing zealotry against Protestantism was one critical factor. The rapid penetration of Protestantism into the French body politic after 1521, economic dislocation, and conflicts among nobles all created an atmosphere of spiritual crisis in France that the traditional bastions of spiritual authority were ill-equipped to resolve. Into this void stepped the Franciscans and the other orders of mendicant clergy with their distinctive religious traditions. Already by the 1550s, the Franciscans enjoyed reputations as vehement opponents of Calvinism and outspoken critics of political leaders in matters of faith. Viewed from the perspective of the friars plying their ministry after 1588, the alliance between the Franciscans and the League was merely the most recent in a long line of political strategies used to secure the purification of their heresy-beleaguered kingdom, and the League the fortunate recipient of their hard-won reputations as spiritual reformers.

A Society in Transition

The emergence of new social and political elites and the expansion of state authority were important long-term forces at work in sixteenth century France, but more destabilizing from the perspective of ordinary French men and women was a contracting economy.⁶ Economic contraction was characteristic of many cities across Europe at this time, and so France was by no means unusual.⁷ The high wages urban workers enjoyed for most of the fifteenth century declined as growing urban populations increased competition for jobs. Rising inflation also meant that wages did not stretch as far as they once did. Foreign competition in the textile industries hit the southern regions of France particularly hard, while chronic bad harvests during the 1570s and 1580s along with episodic warfare eroded the ability of the peasantry as well as ordinary urban wage earners to support their families throughout the period of the Wars of Religion.⁸

The economic difficulties explain some of the mounting discontent we find in cities such as Lyon, Nantes, and Paris during this period. This discontent at times took the form of riots and strikes, two traditional methods used by those without access to institutional authority to show their displeasure at municipal as well as royal policies.⁹ Particularly hard hit were regions in the south-east. The peasant revolts that swept the regions of the Dauphiné and Vivarais during the 1570s as well as the riot that began in Romans during Carnival in 1580 were all signs of a population pushed to the limits by heavy taxation and marauding soldiers, among other economic burdens.¹⁰ Still, the level of interpersonal violence as well as mounting public questioning and criticism of the king that we find throughout French society over the course of the second half of the sixteenth century was of such an intensity that it points to other destabilizing forces operating in France above and beyond economic dislocation.¹¹ Noble factionalism, the spread of Protestantism, and growing suspicion of the king gnawed at French loyalty to the monarchy, and rapidly transformed general discontent into civil war by 1562.

The importance of the sword nobility in the outbreak of civil conflict in 1562 is well known. Even as new elites slowly emerged to challenge the dominance of the old families, the sword nobles remained enormously powerful in French society throughout the sixteenth century. The great sword families in particular owned vast tracts of land and monopolized the highest political offices. Their patronage networks penetrated deeply into society, rivaling even that of the Valois monarchy.¹² Given that the nobility were fractious by nature, and prone to use their private armies in personal wars against noble rivals, we can well understand why appeasing the great families was a constant preoccupation of the Crown. One only has to look at the alignment of noble families during the Wars to see that these conflicts were to some extent a more full-blown and violent expression of the long-standing feud between the Guise and Condé families. Christophe de Cheffontaine (Chessefontaine) certainly thought so. Mulling over the causes of the civil wars, the one-time minister general of the Franciscan Observant order accused French nobles of causing much of the conflict. The nobility were also too quick to draw swords, he argued, in the name of personal honor: "They are persuaded that it will dishonor them to endure a lie without drawing a dagger, or take up arms, to kill the one who has given them such injury." Such rashness, Cheffontaine said, made them unworthy of the name "*gentil-homme*."¹³

Compounding the threat posed to public order by noble factionalism was religious conflict. While contemporary accounts show that Cheffontaine was not alone in blaming the conflicts on a feuding nobility, let alone other interest groups in society, many French people interpreted the events of the late sixteenth century in terms of religion even when religion was only one factor.¹⁴ This "spiritualization" of the conflicts was perfectly understandable, since

for the first time in several hundred years Europeans were faced by serious division in the Christian Church. Martin Luther's public disavowal of the Church in 1521 sent shock waves throughout Europe, and France was no more immune than other nations to the lure of the Protestant ideologies emerging at this time. Lutheran and Zwinglian ideas began circulating throughout France by the 1520s, though it was the spread of Calvinism after 1540 that was largely responsible for the sudden shift of religion to center stage in French political life. The architect of this new religion was the Frenchman Jean Calvin, a former student at the University of Paris who fled France in 1534 following the Affair of the Placards. The Affair of the Placards was a pivotal moment in the history of the French Reformation because it marked a dramatic change in royal policy regarding the public discussion of religious ideas. Prior to this event, Francis I (1515–1547) largely tolerated such discussion as long as it steered clear of overt attacks on Catholic doctrine. The decision of a few brash sacramentarians to paste a placard denouncing transubstantiation on the very door of the king's bedchamber on October 18, 1534, ended this period of open discussion. Francis I's subsequent repression of suspected Lutherans encouraged many to flee the country, including Calvin.

Calvin eventually made his way to the city that became his model of spiritual perfection, Geneva, but not before publishing the work that would make him famous. The *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1536) introduced the world to Calvin's distinctive interpretation of Protestant doctrine. Equally importantly, it provided a model of a religious community that could be easily adapted by followers in other parts of Europe. The *Institutes* laid the basis for the formation of French Calvinist communities, but Calvin's organization of a mission also played a crucial role in spreading the new faith in France. Beginning in 1555, teams of French-speaking reformers, trained in Geneva, arrived in France, targeting in particular the regions to the east and south. Within two years the missions were regularized to such an extent that they were a routine part of the business of the Company of Pastors, the governing body of the Calvinist Church in Geneva.¹⁵ The Calvinist presence in France was large enough to warrant the holding of a national synod in Paris in 1559.

One can well understand why the holding of this synod in the largest city of France, a city that had long considered itself a bastion of spiritual purity, traumatized many Catholics.¹⁶ They could hardly have felt otherwise given long-standing insistence in European thought about the interdependency of religion and the politics. Medieval and early modern political treatises routinely invoked the medieval theory of the *corpus mysticum* as the divinely established model of the state even as preachers interpreted signs of political disorder as evidence of spiritual impurity. Europeans understood that good government implied rule according to the law of God since God was the ultimate ruler of all earthly kingdoms. European discussions about the nature

of society consequently linked Concord—political stability, peace, and religious purity—with godly rule, and its opposite, Discord, with the absence of godly rule.¹⁷ The spiritual character of the polity was a particularly prominent characteristic of French political discourse from the eleventh century onward. French political theorists loudly proclaimed the special devotion of the French people, which they insisted marked out their elect status on earth as a “un peuple saint.” Over the course of the next two centuries, the elect status of the French people came to define their monarchy as well, a transformation embodied in the cherished title “Most Christian king” first given to Louis the Pius by the papacy in 1239. By the end of the thirteenth century, theorists writing under Philippe IV argued that France was the first pillar of the Catholic Church, without which the entire structure would collapse. The signs of France’s special religious devotion were everywhere, they said: in the bones of its many martyrs, absence of heresy, participation in the crusades, magnificent cathedrals and abbeys and the renown of its theologians.¹⁸

Given these deeply rooted assumptions about the spiritual purity of the French kingdom and the special devotion of its people, we can appreciate the profound psychological effect of religious division upon the Catholic psyche by the middle of the sixteenth century. Religious division struck at the very heart of French identity, because French men and women believed that there could be only one true faith. Spiritual division made a lie of French claims to spiritual purity, and just as devastatingly it threatened the political unity of the French body. French Catholics looking for confirmation of the interdependency of spiritual uniformity and political stability only had to look at the rapid political fragmentation of the Holy Roman Empire in the wake of Luther’s break from Rome. Of course, not all Catholics believed the rupture in the Christian community of France was irreparable by 1559. Pamphlets emerging from the French presses in subsequent years actively debated a variety of solutions for the religious crisis, ranging from outright extermination to church reform and even freedom of worship.¹⁹ A meeting of the king’s council in 1561 during the time of the Estates-General evoked a similar breadth of opinion, and even considered the convocation of a national ecclesiastical council under the authority of the king to seek some sort of religious accommodation. This suggestion of a national council may well have come from Michel de l’Hôpital, the Chancellor of France, since it was he who organized the Colloquy of Poissy held a year later. The Colloquy of Poissy (1561) showed that many Catholics still believed the differences between the two faiths were not so substantial that they could not be healed through debate and negotiation. Perhaps the most radical suggestion of all, and one that the historian Jean de Montigny says ultimately won over the royal council, was that of religious coexistence.²⁰ Emphasizing the king’s duty to foster the spiritual development of his subjects as well as their economic prosperity, a spokesman for the Re-

formed religion insisted that persuasion rather than violence was the solution to ending religious division.²¹ The size of the Calvinist community was now such, furthermore, that outright violence would only devastate the king's forces and the French economy: "The number of those belonging to the new faith is so large at present and so widely distributed throughout the kingdom, and includes so many great and important personages," he said, "that it would be not only politically disruptive but also impossible to uproot something which has such strong roots. . . ."²²

Political pragmatism rather than ideological insistence upon individual religious autonomy underpins this Calvinist request for royal protection, and for understandable reasons: Catholics were perhaps willing to endure (*tolérer*) the presence of Protestants in their midst for the sake of peace, but they were far from ready to recognize the legitimacy of the other faith.²³ The cahier presented by the Estates of Pontoise to the Estates-General in 1561 reflects just such a willingness to suffer Protestant presence, at least for the time being. The cahier urged the king to ban nighttime gatherings of Protestants because such seemingly secretive gatherings raised Catholic fears of sedition. This association of sedition with Protestant gatherings was consistent with Catholic perceptions of heresy as politically as well as spiritually divisive. A loyal French subject must follow the true faith, and to do otherwise was to make oneself an enemy of the king as well as an enemy of God. The delegates of the Estates of Pontoise might well have believed these meetings were truly seditious, but their first concern, they argued, was public order. Nighttime meetings of Protestants had become occasions for Protestant-Catholic violence, even massacre. Disputing the utility of violence in conversion, these officials instead proposed that members of the reformed tradition meet at the same place (temple) and in daylight "so that each (religious tradition) could understand and see what the other was doing, and to comfort themselves that nothing was being done against the honor of God or the king let alone public tranquility."²⁴

These delegates were willing to allow a degree of freedom of worship to Protestants, at least temporarily, in exchange for an end to confessional violence. Continuing civil warfare after this time nevertheless suggests that the delegates of Pontoise did not fully represent Catholic opinion on the issue of religious coexistence. In fact, Denis Crouzet shows that the early 1560s marked a dramatic transformation in the nature of confessional interactions as Catholic and Protestants alike increasingly came to view the other as a serious threat to the political as well as spiritual health of France. While ongoing debate over the religious crisis in France destabilized the idea of religious truth for some Catholics, for many others, including the Franciscans, it reinforced their view of the new tradition as a dangerous cancer in the French spiritual body. Disease metaphors abound in sixteenth-century French political discourses

because many Catholics were convinced that heresy, like disease, posed a threat to the healthy parts of the body when not “treated” effectively. A cahier from the nobility to the Estates-General of 1561 invokes this disease metaphor when it urges the king to heal his kingdom: “We believe the health of our society depends upon one principle point, that is a Reformation, and because the sickness of its particular limbs causes such alteration commonly to the entire body leading it ultimately to fall into decay and finally, perdition, it seems necessary to encourage sincerely the preservation of the three columns of your Republic in their purity and splendour, that is our Religion, Justice and Obedience.”²⁵ The very salvation of good Catholics, in other words, rode on their ability to restore the infected limbs of the Christian body to perfect health, and if necessary, even remove them altogether.

Members of the Reformed Church were no less convinced about the legitimacy of their own understanding of spiritual perfection. Desperate to rid their community of spiritual pestilence and convinced of their own righteousness, Catholics and Protestants alike resorted to iconoclasm, the burning of books, the destruction of churches and meeting houses, the mutilation of bodies, and the purgation of the dead by fire and water.²⁶ For most people of the sixteenth century, the division of France into rival religious traditions was a sign of a nation in serious spiritual trouble, indeed gripped by the Devil, since there could be only one truth faith. Religious division in consequence only intensified French anxiety about the state of France because it gave an intellectual and religious explanation for rising political and economic disorder. What it also did was give legitimacy to noble factionalism. Indeed, it is in the volatile combination of noble factionalism and religious division that we find the catalyst for the seven civil wars that erupted episodically after 1562. A number of noble families, including the Condé, adopted the new faith, and in doing so not only gave the fledgling religion powerful protectors but also confessionalized pre-existing noble disputes. By the time of the first civil war, the Condé had emerged as leaders of the Protestant nobility and the Guise of the Catholic. The first civil war began in 1562 when Henri de Condé took over a number of cities including Orléans and Blois. It ended in 1563, but was followed by a second civil war four years later in 1567. That conflict was barely over before the third war began (1568–70). Four more civil wars would follow, not ending until 1598.²⁷

The rapid disintegration of France after 1562 into political and confessional division could perhaps had been prevented had France had more effective rulers. Unfortunately, the three sons of Henry II (1547–1559) were not such leaders. The unexpected death of Henry II in 1559 left a sickly and impressionable boy in the royal seat, Francis II (1559–1560). The young king was married to Mary of Guise, the future queen of Scotland, and he quickly came under the political influence of the Guise family. Although Francis did

not long outlive his father, the ascendancy of the Guise family under his rule escalated noble rivalry among the great families, rivalry that intensified during the reigns of the next two Valois monarchs Charles IX (1560–1574) and Henry III (1574–1589). Oscillations in royal policy during these years from persecution to negotiation with Protestant factions also raised concerns among French Catholics and Protestants alike about the trustworthiness of the monarchy. Catherine de Médicis, who ruled as regent during the early years of the reign of her son Charles IX organized the Colloquy of Poissy alongside Michel de l'Hôpital, for example, to end spiritual discord. A year later, however, Catherine reluctantly endorsed repression following the outbreak of the first civil war in 1562. In a similar fashion, the marriage of Henry of Navarre with Marguerite de Valois, the sister of Charles IX, that was supposed to mark a truce between Protestant and Catholic factions in 1572, became instead the stage for the infamous massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day.

The interconnectedness of religion and politics in the perceptions of French men and women helps to explain the excessively violent character of certain episodes of the Wars. For Protestants and Catholics alike, salvation was at stake in these conflicts. Massacres, in addition to individual and group episodes of confessional violence, became a recognized feature of the Wars, especially in the first two decades. As many as three to four thousand people died in Toulouse as a result of confessional conflict just as the first civil war broke out in May 1562, and urban massacres also occurred in the Vassy and Sens the same year.²⁸ Unquestionably the most violent episode of confessional violence was the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day (1572), an event that saw thousands of Protestants slaughtered by fearful Catholics in Paris and many other cities over the course of a few days. This massacre followed on the heels of an assassination plot against the Protestant leader, Gaspard de Coligny, who was in Paris for the wedding of Navarre and Catherine's daughter Marguerite.²⁹ As Admiral of France and close advisor to Charles IX, Coligny was a threat to the authority not only of the Guise family but also Catherine de Médicis. The ringing of the tocsin at midnight following the wedding was to be the signal for Guise and their allies to initiate the assassination of the Admiral. Instead, in a city swept by rumors of a Protestant plot, the sounding of the tocsin ignited Catholic fear that a Protestant massacre of Catholics was underway. Over the course of six days, Catholics brutally hunted down and slaughtered Protestant neighbors and guests attending the royal wedding. Henry of Navarre and his cousin Condé were spared because of their royal blood and because they agreed to convert. This was not an option for their noble followers, most of whom were killed in the royal palace of the Louvre by the forces of Guise. Soon other cities heard of the massacre and followed suit.

The massacre struck hard at Protestant confidence, and in subsequent weeks fear of more violence drove thousands of members of the Reformed tradition

back into the bosom of the Catholic church. Across Europe, Catholics welcomed the event as a sign of divine favor, and two years later French Catholics rejoiced again as Henry III stepped onto the throne.³⁰ Physically stronger than his brothers, intelligent, an experienced military leader, and a prominent participant in the massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day, Henry III seemed to possess all the qualities of leadership necessary to cleanse France once and for all of heresy. Unfortunately for Henry, the optimism that greeted his succession quickly dissipated. It was during his reign that the political and confessional disorders reached their peak of intensity, and along with it, criticism of the king. Much of this disillusionment lay with Henry III's treatment of the Protestant community. Rather than exterminating the faith once and for all, Henry followed in the footsteps of his mother by alternating policies of persecution with toleration of Protestant worship. Hardline Catholics naturally viewed such oscillation as a sign of weakness, but Henry III was wrestling with a profoundly difficult political situation. While the Massacre had drastically reduced the number of Protestants in 1572, it created in the end a much more intransigent Protestant community because it acted as powerful symbol of religious persecution and martyrdom. This is the community that Henry III faced upon his succession to the throne in 1574. Noble factionalism, furthermore, continued to hamper royal efforts to assert authority throughout France. Mounting debts, the influx of mercenary troops, and an untrustworthy brother only added to Henry's troubles.³¹

Under better circumstances, Henry III would likely have been a very effective ruler, but he inherited a political situation that would have tested the ability of even the most talented monarchs. By the 1580s, scurrilous tracts attacking Henry III's character and sexuality as well as his policies circulated throughout France. Public questioning of Henry III only intensified in the months following the death of his last remaining brother, François-Hercule, in 1584. Henry III was childless, and to the dismay of many Catholics, he showed all the signs of recognizing his Protestant cousin Navarre as heir presumptive.³² The emergence of the Catholic League in Paris in 1585 showed that some members of French society questioned the ability of Henry III to restore France to spiritual unity and political health, and they were willing to take on this responsibility themselves. The popularity of the League among many French Catholics in Paris was enough to turn the city mutinous in May 1588, when rumors spread that Henry III might try to crush the League by force. On May 12, better known as the Day of the Barricades, Catholics set up barricades throughout Paris to hamper royal arrests.³³ At this point the League effectively took control of the city government by establishing its own administration and hunting down royalist supporters. Henry III fled to Blois after the Day of the Barricades, and it was here at his château that he would later assassinate the Guise brothers.

Crisis of Spiritual Authority

Political instability, a worsening economic situation, and intensifying religious anxiety fueled the formation of an increasingly radicalized political culture in late sixteenth-century France, one in which the Franciscans and other mendicant clergy would soon emerge as political leaders. The friars were by no means the only clerics to exercise political authority in this period, but they were without question among the most influential. This is hardly surprising, because sixteenth-century France was in the throes of a spiritual crisis, a crisis that found such traditional bastions of spiritual authority as the monarchy, episcopacy, and papacy unable or unwilling to provide ordinary believers with much needed spiritual guidance.

The reigns of Francis I and Henry II show that the ineffectiveness of Valois spiritual leadership during the civil wars was symptomatic of sixteenth-century French rule more generally, and largely for reasons of political expediency. Francis I sheltered Christian humanists and suspected Lutherans from the attacks of the magistracy and the Faculty of Theology during the 1520s in part because he was sympathetic to their criticisms of church corruption and in part because he saw in Protestant ideas a useful counterpoint to papal authority in France. Francis was particularly solicitous of the Circle of Meaux, the renowned group of humanist reformers patronized by the bishop of Meaux, Guillaume Briçonnet. These reformers were closely associated with the king's own sister, Marguerite de Navarre, and Francis was not about to tolerate accusations of spiritual deformity that edged so closely to the throne.³⁴ The Affair of the Placards (1534) finally convinced him that Protestant ideas posed a threat to the political stability of France and he sanctioned much more stringent persecution of suspected heretics after this time. Even so, concern about French alliances with the Ottoman Turks and Protestant princes made Francis I reluctant at times to pursue intensively signs of heresy.³⁵ His son, Henry II (1547–1559), was much more vocal and insistent upon the need to cleanse France of spiritual impurity, and it was during his reign that the Parlement established a new tribunal to judge heresy in 1547, the infamous “burning court” (*chambre ardente*). And yet, even Henry II placed religious reform on the backburner when more pressing political matters necessitated doing so. The monarch resisted the pressure of his own clerics, for example, and refused to recognize the Council of Trent (1545–1563). The Council was the most important general council of the sixteenth century, and promised to cleanse the Catholic Church of abuses and resolve doctrinal inconsistencies. It was nevertheless organized by the papacy, and Henry worried that the general council would elevate the pontiff's authority over French ecclesiastic institutions. The magistrates of the Parlement of Paris were equally alarmed about papal authority in France and encouraged the king's resistance to pub-

lication of the tridentine decrees. Henry, in other words, was not alone in his desire to limit papal influence in France. Even so, as monarch of France Henry II was a powerful spiritual authority, and his rejection of the decrees in their entirety meant that these reforming initiatives did not penetrate France during his reign. Once again, politics trumped religion.

Intermittent spiritual leadership from the monarchy throughout the sixteenth century was also matched by intermittent leadership from the French episcopacy. Jean de Rély's famous comment at the Estates-General of 1484 that the French Church was "entirely corrupt," while an exaggeration, still applied a century later.³⁶ To be sure, the reform movements that swept through many of the monastic orders, including the Franciscan, during the early sixteenth century introduced greater rigor into many communities. The secular clergy were an altogether different situation. The zealotry of many Parisian clerics throughout the Wars and in particular during the time of the League was not necessarily replicated in other parts of France. The training, ability, and diligence of parish priests varied enormously, depending upon the wealth of the prebend, remoteness of the parish, and above all, episcopal supervision. Since absenteeism was a chronic problem throughout the sixteenth century, episcopal supervision was, needless to say, often minimal.³⁷ Simony, pluralism, and nepotism also remained entrenched practices at the highest levels of ecclesiastical authority in France, practices that did little to stimulate episcopal interest in the performance of spiritual duties. *Cahiers* presented before the Estates Generals of 1561 and 1576 show that concern about the poor state of the episcopacy was widespread in French society. Delegates attending the Estates-General of Blois in 1576, for example, asked Henry III to appoint men who demonstrated a genuine spiritual calling to the office of bishop. "We beg that . . . in the ecclesiastical estate bishops and other ministers of God be appointed who understand the will of God, and administer the sacraments according to the gospel (*en sa parole*) by demonstrating good doctrine, reverence, discipline and Christian behavior." Persistent episcopal abuses that required immediate attention included nonresidence, venality, and infrequent diocesan visitations.³⁸

Particularly at the end of the sixteenth century, a small but active sector of the episcopacy was diligent in the performance of this office. Marc Venard finds a "new model of bishop" emerging after 1580 that was decidedly more zealous in the pursuit of diocesan reform. Charles de Bourbon, the [*future*] Charles X of France, was one of these men. Bourbon held a diocesan synod in 1581 that quietly introduced a number of tridentine initiatives. François, Cardinal de Joyeuse, similarly initiated Borromean-inspired reforms in his diocese of Toulouse after 1583.³⁹ Even so, the vast majority of French ecclesiastics hardly lived up to their examples. The impotence of legislation produced by the ecclesiastical assemblies underlines the lukewarm nature of episcopal

leadership during the Wars of Religion. The Assemblies of Poissy (1561), Blois (1576), and Melun (1579) all proposed internal reform of the Church, even venturing into discussion of the thorny issues of pluralism and venality.⁴⁰ The assemblies also called upon the king to publish the tridentine decrees to prepare the way for such reform.⁴¹ Even so, there is little evidence to suggest that any of this legislation was officially implemented. The bishops all clamored for eradication of heresy and church reform but they were unwilling or incapable of taking on that reforming role themselves. Given that the leaders of the French Church were resistant to internal reform, we can understand why the tridentine influence we find seeping into the dioceses in Italy after 1563 would hardly make itself felt at the parochial level in France until the seventeenth century.⁴² The Council of Trent placed pressure on the episcopacy to play a more active role in supervising and training their clergy by establishing a model of spiritual behavior and preaching, but such reforms threatened the very nature of the sixteenth-century French episcopate. As Frederick Baumgartner says, "perhaps more than in any other era, the French bishops of the sixteenth century were largely political operatives more concerned with other matters than their own spiritual well-being and that of their flocks."⁴³

With few exceptions, the episcopacy would not assert its role as spiritual leader until the end of the Wars of Religion.⁴⁴ Signs of corruption and laxity in the French Catholic Church were one reason why a growing number of French men and women were receptive to Christian humanist cries for ecclesiastical reform early in the sixteenth century, and later on turned to the new faith of Calvinism. For those French men and women who stayed in the Catholic fold, however, the spread of Calvinism made it clear to all that the existing leadership of the French Church was incapable of meeting this latest challenge. Discouraged Catholics discovered that the papacy at least offered a more viable model of religious leadership. By the middle of the sixteenth century, the papacy was finally overcoming the taint of corruption that had besmirched its reputation since the fourteenth century, and the unexpected challenge to its own authority offered by Luther in 1521. Under the helm of men such as Paul III (1534–1549), Paul IV (1555–1559), Pius V (1559–1565), Gregory XIII (1572–1585), and the Franciscan Sixtus V (1585–1590), the papacy flexed its muscles as a strong spiritual leader determined to recapture its former place as the leader of Western Christendom.⁴⁵ The organization of the Council of Trent was the hallmark of this new energized leadership, and its legislation laid the basis for widespread reform of the Church after 1563.

Papal leadership of French Catholics was nevertheless hampered by its distance from France and, even more importantly, by a French state convinced that papal authority posed a threat to political stability. Valois monarchs worried that unfettered papal authority in French religious life would undermine royal efforts to control the small but powerful Protestant faction, because the

papacy was hardly sympathetic to the Calvinists and might aggravate relations. Equally worrisome for the king and his magistrates was the revitalization of papal authority across Europe at this time. The French monarchy had profited enormously from the decline of papal authority during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, managing to wrestle greater control over its own religious institutions. The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (1438) officially recognized French control over episcopal nominations, among other rights, and this document consequently became the foundation stone of Gallican political thought—that is, the ideological assertion of an independent French Church under the authority of a French monarch.⁴⁶ Although the Concordat of Bologna (1516) later minimized the independent nature of the French Church, the magistracy and monarchy remained ever alert to signs of the expansion of papal authority in France.

Needless to say, the organization of a general council and other signs of a more vigorous papacy by the 1530s and 1540s made French magistrates nervous.⁴⁷ Limiting papal authority consequently was a central concern of the French state, with the result that the reform initiatives of the Council of Trent were not officially recognized in France until the seventeenth century. The state fought papal influence in other ways as well, even curtailing the spiritual authority of particular legates.⁴⁸ The upshot of Gallican resistance during these years was that papal influence during the Wars of Religion, while important, remained limited. Papal excommunication of Henry III and Henry of Navarre gave ideological impetus to Catholic resistance, and papal legate communiqués also show that these officials worked closely with the Guise and other Catholic leaders throughout the Wars. Even so, the papacy was unable to provide its French clergy with the close supervision and training they needed to be effective spiritual leaders, nor could it exercise direct authority over French spiritual life even in the matter of heresy.

Growing disillusionment with these traditional bastions of spiritual authority fueled the rise of the Franciscans and the other orders of mendicant clergy to political and spiritual prominence during the second half of the sixteenth century. Recent discussion of the slow but sure penetration of tridentine reform in certain dioceses, and the influence of the Jesuits and other recently arrived traditions in France should not obscure the fact that many French Catholics of the Wars of Religion continued to find spiritual authority in medieval religious traditions. This continuing interest in older traditions was to be expected, because, generally speaking, medieval and early modern Christians found spiritual authenticity in what was old. The prognosticative sciences, mysticism, apocalypticism, and sorcery were also popular responses to crisis, and only seemed to grow in influence during the later middle ages. Christian Humanism and Protestantism similarly found spiritual sustenance in the scriptures and patristic fathers, rejecting many later accretions

to Christian thought as erroneous. That these reformers ultimately articulated new spiritual conceptions on the basis of older textual sources was the unintended consequence of their zeal, because for them what was old was more perfect. Reform was about reclaiming past perfection, not creating something new. This quest for past perfection fueled three of the more influential Catholic responses during the Wars of Religion as well, namely Gallicanism, lay devotion, and Franciscan spirituality.⁴⁹

Gallicanism justified state resistance to papal authority from the fifteenth century onward, but during the sixteenth century it also became a useful rationalization for enhanced state (in particular magisterial) intervention in French spiritual life. The complex nature of Gallican thought prevents detailed examination here. However, one element that proved particularly useful for magisterial intervention in French religious life deserves a brief discussion, and that was its understanding of the king as both a spiritual and political leader. This medieval theocratic conception of the monarchy was a core element of Gallican ideology from the fourteenth century, used to bolster royal claim to jurisdiction over episcopal sees.⁵⁰ By the sixteenth century, magisterial understanding of the spiritual authority of the monarchy stretched to embrace even doctrine. Since the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (1438) substantially increased royal authority over French ecclesiastical institutions, the Parlement's intervention into ecclesiastical affairs as an agent of royal authority was not new to the sixteenth century. In fact, the Concordat of Bologna of 1516 purportedly restored much of papal authority over the administration of these institutions. One would expect, if anything, to find the Parlement of the sixteenth century less interventionist than in times past. This was clearly not the case, for the registers of the Parlement chart growing interest on the part of the magistracy in a variety of religious matters, above all doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline.⁵¹ With regard to heresy, the earliest targets were mostly Christian Humanists, including Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, and suspected Protestants. Parliamentary authority to punish heresy expanded with the support of the monarchy following the Affair of the Placards. Particularly important was the Villers-Cotterets criminal code of 1539, which increased the authority of the regional Parlements in the investigation of religious crimes at the expense of lower court jurisdictions, as well as broadened judicial latitude both in magisterial investigation of the suspect and range of penalties.⁵² In 1540, the king ratified the enhanced authority of the Parlements over religious crimes by transferring jurisdiction over heresy from the ecclesiastical courts to the Parlement. The result of this transference of jurisdiction was a dramatic escalation in trials and executions of heretics over the course of the next decade, reaching its peak in 1546.

The authority of the Parlement of Paris over heresy reached its greatest height during the reign of Henry II with the establishment of the *chambre*

ardente in 1547/48. This court lasted only two years, falling victim to public revulsion and resistance from many local judicial officials, although factional politics in the Parlement of Paris was also undeniably an important factor.⁵³ The collapse of the *chambre ardente* did not spell an end to the magistracy's interest in spiritual reform, however, because it was at about the same time that the magistracy began showing greater interest in cleansing the French Church of obvious signs of corruption. Clerical laxity, immorality, and institutionalized abusive practices all attracted the attention of the court. To the dismay of the papacy, the Parlement increasingly opened its chambers to cases involving disorderly religious communities even though such disputes traditionally went before ecclesiastical courts.⁵⁴ Even more unusual was the magistracy's declared interest in developing a broad-based program of church reform. The Ordinances of Blois (1580) was one particularly important initiative that developed out of discussions between Christophe de Thou, the president of the Parlement, and other magistrates as well as ecclesiastics attending the Assembly of Melun (1579). The proposals for reform touched on a variety of issues, ranging from such abusive practices as pluralism to the training of parish clergy and the eradication of heresy.⁵⁵

Since several cahiers presented at the Estates-Generals of 1561 and 1576 called for state-led church reform, the magistracy knew they had broad-based support for such legislative action.⁵⁶ Even so, we can understand why many members of the clergy were unhappy about the court's intervention in ecclesiastical affairs, because they believed heresy and ecclesiastical discipline were clerical matters. They accepted that the king could punish heretics and restore religious communities to order, but only at the behest of the Church.⁵⁷ The magistrates of the Parlement of Paris clearly disagreed. They took on a more active reformist role during the sixteenth century, because they continued to cling to the understanding of monarchical authority as enshrined in the Pragmatic Sanction and because they were convinced that confessional division and the poor state of the French Church threatened the political stability of France. Like their contemporaries, the magistracy of France associated political stability with religious uniformity and purity. Heresy, ecclesiastical corruption—these were signs of a society in serious spiritual as well as political disorder.

Concerned as it was about the spiritual state of France, the magistracy also worried about the expansion of papal influence in French religious life. Gallicanism offered a decidedly French solution to the spiraling disorder because it argued in no uncertain terms for an independent French Church that recognized the French monarch as well as the pope as a spiritual authority. Going beyond simple reliance on legal precedent, the Gallicanist magistrates of the sixteenth century emphasized the divinely instituted nature of the monarchy to justify the enhancement of the Parlement's authority over French

religious life. Nor did the magistrates have to rely solely on the Pragmatic Sanction for their claim to such jurisdiction. Royal ritual was soaked in medieval assertions of the double authority of the monarchy. Once anointed with holy oil, the monarch became a spiritual as well as political leader. The language of the coronation oath, furthermore, made the king responsible for defending the Church from heresy.⁵⁸ Sixteenth-century magistrates found further evidence of the spiritual authority of the monarch and thus his magistrates in medieval legal precedent that made heresy along with blasphemy, witchcraft, and sodomy treasonous behavior. Heresy was a form of divine treason (*cas enormes*), because the heretic challenged the authority of God, and in consequence that of his representative the monarch.⁵⁹ Though they did not consider them a *cas enormes*, disorderly religious communities were also a matter of state concern because they posed problems to public order. We can see this in the response of the Parlement to criticisms of internal dissension among members of the Paris Dominican convent in 1557. The court "has been warned about rebellions, quarrels, irreverence and insolence at the convent of the friar preachers called the Jacobins, something indecent and offensive particularly during this time of troubles, tumults and sedition."⁶⁰ As the "official interpreter and guardian of the double authority of the king in spiritual and temporal matters," the Parlement argued that it had a responsibility to pursue heresy as well as ecclesiastical reform to maintain public order.⁶¹ The magistrate Jean Le Guesle makes just this connection between state authority and ecclesiastical reform in a treatise published in 1584. The Parlement should reform religious institutions, he said, so that these clerics could "lead their flock in the true path, and . . . draw back to the fold those who through schism and heresy have lost their way."⁶²

At the same time that the magistracy was claiming legal authority over heresy and ecclesiastical reform, ordinary Catholics were turning to tried and true religious practices for a solution to the deepening spiritual crisis in France. The intense nature of lay piety throughout the sixteenth century is one of the striking features of the Wars of Religion. While Phillip Benedict is correct to caution against accepting contemporary accounts at face value, there is substantial evidence to suggest that many French men and women believed devotional practices were useful responses to the existing spiritual crisis.⁶³ Religious processions, pilgrimages, masses for the dead, charity, the formation of penitential confraternities—these and other devotional practices were all on the rise throughout the sixteenth century. Lay believers lapped up the lives of saints, pilgrimage accounts, martyrologies, devotional treatises, and vernacular bibles as aids to private prayer and contemplation. In the century after the invention of printing, interest in lay devotion kept religious texts on the bestseller lists of Europe.⁶⁴

Recent studies of lay piety note the use of religious ritual to mark the identities of French men and women as members of distinct religious communi-

ties. Catholics made the sign of the cross, and paraded the host through Protestant streets while psalm-singing Protestants looked on and mocked their “heathenish” practices. As these examples show, religious division supercharged ordinary religious practices with special meaning. Relics, religious oaths, prayers, and psalms as well as the body of Christ all marked Protestants and Catholics as members of distinct religious communities within the larger Christian body of France.⁶⁵ While this reinterpretation of devotional practices to mark confessional identity was a distinguishing characteristic of sixteenth-century lay piety, Catholic reliance on familiar medieval practices made them participants in a long tradition of lay devotion. The Christocentric nature of Protestant and Catholic interactions is particularly evocative of fifteenth-century spiritual devotion, a time when the cult of the eucharist reached its height of popularity, images of the bleeding Christ hung over altars in churches across France, female mystics expressed their mystical union with Christ, and ordinary believers made the *Imitatio Christi* of Thomas à Kempis the most popular devotional work in Europe.⁶⁶

Like their fifteenth-century ancestors, the French Catholics of the Wars of Religion turned to traditional devotional practices not only for consolation but also to restore themselves and their society to spiritual purity. Since only God could cleanse the believer of sin, Catholics did not view these practices as spiritually efficacious in themselves but rather as vehicles for accessing divine authority. Lay desire for direct access to God helps to explain why much of Catholic devotion was experiential by nature. Visiting sites imbued with sacral authority, fasting and flagellation, contemplating one’s manifold sins, and showing compassion for fellow Christians through acts of charity—all of these activities helped one eat away at the blackened parts of his/her own soul—the deformed parts—and live a more holy life while still on earth.⁶⁷ The appeal of such an understanding of spiritual purification for the laity is readily understandable, and may explain why the majority of French men and women remained Catholic in the wake of the Reformation. Protestant theologians challenged the efficacy of such practices, while Catholic authorities, though often uncomfortable with lay-driven devotion, accepted their spiritual utility. Lay devotional rites were doubly appealing, furthermore, because they made the journey to spiritual perfection possible even for those without clerical training and authority.

The intensification of Catholic devotional practices over the course of the sixteenth century shows that for many lay Catholics of the Wars of Religion, Calvinism was just such a manifestation of a sinning society, one that could be purged through the usual devotional practices. The ritual dismemberment of friar Jean Bossu in 1567 suggests that even many Protestants clung to the purgative and restorative functions of Catholic ritual. His death evokes, in a particularly brutal fashion, the Catholic expiatory procession. Bossu was then

guardian of the convent of Beaunes in Burgundy. According to this account, he was captured by an angry mob of Protestants who then put him in a wagon. After placing irons on his hands and feet, they slowly drove him through the city.

At the gate of Saint Antoine they cut off his right ear, and from there returned near the gate de la Barre and cut off the left ear. Arriving at the square named the cour de Prevoste, they cut off his nose, then coming to the gate of Bourgneuf, right in front of the convent, they cut off the ends of his fingers. . . .⁶⁸

In the end, the Protestants hanged Bossu, dragged his body to the bridge, and threw it into the water. The purgative and restorative function of Bossu's death is impossible to ignore—a ritual procession of the spiritual offender through the town, removal through dismemberment, and final purification of the city through water. The Catholic ritual was reinterpreted in Protestant hands, but it nevertheless hearkened back to a medieval practice and notions of purification.⁶⁹

The importance of the magistracy and ordinary believers as sources of spiritual authority during the Wars of Religion shows that many French Catholics were not about to sit by idly as spiritual division engulfed their society. Their reliance respectively upon medieval notions of kingship and traditional devotional practices shows, furthermore, that these Catholics still found medieval spiritual traditions viable. The mendicant traditions similarly illuminate the continuing potency of medieval spirituality in early modern France, and it was through the agency of these orders of preachers that the Catholic League came to exercise enormous political influence after 1588. One could well ask whether the League could have risen to the political heights it did had it not had the support of the friars, if only because the long-standing zealotry of the friars against Protestantism and mobile preaching ministry gave them welcome access to pulpits across France. The Franciscans in particular enjoyed reputations as ardent opponents of the new faith, traceable back to their battles with the prominent Christian humanist Guillaume Briçonnet. Briçonnet used his episcopal office to promote religious reform in his diocese, but the Franciscans of Meaux were soon suspicious of his orthodoxy. In 1525, the guardian of the Meaux friary, Jean Corion, challenged Briçonnet's teaching from the pulpit of his own community. In doing so, Corion attracted the ire of the humanist bishop but also the support of the equally conservative Faculty of Theology at the University of Paris.⁷⁰

The Franciscans criticized Briçonnet for the same reason as did many other conservative Catholics at the time: they were convinced that humanist scholarship and criticism of the Catholic Church had opened the door to Luther's defection in 1521. Since Luther was not himself a Humanist, the accusation

was, to say the least, false. Even so, such an association between Humanism and Lutheranism is easy enough to understand because many Christian Humanists, like Luther, were critical of certain facets of church authority and religious practice. The friars may also have had legitimate concerns about the Circle of Meaux, since there is some evidence that certain members trampled on the frontiers of Catholic orthodoxy. Prominent members of this group, including Pierre Caroli and Jacques Pavannes, denounced many traditional religious practices such as fasting, prayers to the saints, and the veneration of relics as heretical.⁷¹ With Calvinism, of course, the friars had (to their minds) undeniable evidence of doctrinal error. They were, consequently, among the most visible opponents from the first arrival of the new faith, a visibility that is reflected in the Calvinist *Histoire ecclésiastique*.

Traditionally attributed to Theodore Beza, the *Histoire* situates Franciscan preachers on the frontlines of Catholic resistance from the 1540s onward. The author was clearly very worried about the zealotry of certain friars in particular, including Toussaint Hemard and Melchior de Flavin. Flavin (d. 1580) was one of the most prominent Observant Franciscans during the first two decades of the Wars of Religion, a man who exercised both the office of royal preacher for Henry II and the guardianship of the prestigious Observant convent at Toulouse.⁷² Flavin appears several times in the *Histoire*, a somewhat backhanded tribute to his effectiveness as an enemy of Calvinism. Interestingly, Flavin and many of the other friars mentioned here emerge as outspoken critics of the monarchy as well as of the new faith. In one particular instance, the *Histoire* portrays Flavin along with Toussaint Hemard accusing the government from a pulpit in Toulouse of not pursuing heretics aggressively. These friars “cried with full vigor against the magistrates, sparing not even the king or his council, encouraging the people to all disobedience.”⁷³ Hemard later purportedly criticized the sister of Francis I, Marguerite de Navarre, in a sermon given in the city of Issoudon in 1547. Hemard was then guardian of the convent of that city, and apparently known as much for his immorality as his Catholic virulence—at least according to the *Histoire*.⁷⁴ The author’s evident delight in reporting Hemard’s association with a pregnant *Cordelière* shows that Calvinist chroniclers were no more above slinging mud in the name of their cause than many of their Catholic counterparts.⁷⁵

The next generation of friars produced its fair share of zealous reformers as well, including Simon de Porta. De Porta’s fiery orations led the *Histoire* to label him one “of the two trumpets of the murdering band of the city [of Troyes]”; the other was another mendicant, a Dominican named des Rieux.⁷⁶ Franciscan sources understandably give a much more sympathetic reading of de Porta’s role during the Wars. It is telling of Franciscan concern about their role as spiritual reformers during this period that de Porta’s obituary focused less on his distinguished administrative career in the Franciscan order than

on his influence as a preacher. According to the obituary, de Porta embodied the Franciscan ideal because he was a brilliant preacher and tireless opponent of heresy in the city of Troyes: "Despite the many oppositions of [the bishop] Antoine de Melphie . . . who was a Calvinist, [de Porta] continued his preaching with the same fervor." True to his Franciscan roots, de Porta continued to preach almost up until the hour of his death. He died on April 5, 1575, a mere eight days after finishing the grueling round of daily Lenten sermons.⁷⁷

Other friars joining de Porta as perfect exponents of Franciscan spirituality during the first decades of the civil wars included the "scourge of heretics," Denis Rollot, a Rheims-based preacher, Matthew Pasquinot, who died while preaching in Avallon during Advent in 1569, and the famous royal preacher Jacques Hugonis.⁷⁸ The zealotry of these and other Franciscan preachers throughout the Wars of Religion impressed many contemporaries, all the more so since their zeal made them popular targets of Protestant rage. Especially in the war-torn region of Aquitaine, a number of Franciscan communities were destroyed by Protestant armies and urban mobs during the first two decades of the Wars, and those located in regions further north fared little better. Gonzaga's history of the Franciscan order records several convents destroyed in the province of France. This largest of the ultramontane Franciscan provinces included communities in Normandy, Picardy, and Champagne as well as some to the north of Paris. According to Gonzaga, ten of the thirty-nine communities in the province were either partially or completely destroyed between 1561 and 1568, including those of Troyes (1568) and Chartres (1568).⁷⁹ Many Franciscan preachers also suffered physical injuries and even death at the hands of angry Protestant listeners. A Lenten sermon given by the same Flavin in the city of Albi became a life-and-death matter for the preacher in 1551 when a riot broke out, and the author of the *Histoire* suggests that only the timely intervention of the magistrates saved the preacher's life. Not all friars were so fortunate, however.⁸⁰ Othon de Pavie mentions a massacre of Franciscans at the convent of Realmont in the diocese of Albi in 1560, and the destruction of the convent of Paulmiers six years later.⁸¹ A Protestant mob also reportedly hanged Nicholas Lorrain mid-sermon in 1581, and other Franciscan preachers killed in the same year included Pierre Pichet, Jean Benoit, and Pierre de Ghuet.⁸²

The zealotry of the Franciscans against Protestantism translated into open opposition to royal authority after 1588 when the assassinations of Blois convinced the friars that their own monarch posed a threat to the spiritual purity of France. It was at this point that the friars in large numbers across France joined forces with the League. Pierre de L'Estoile mentions that the Paris friars lent the steps of their Church to the harangues of the mother of the murdered Guise brothers, the Duchess of Nemours, against the "tyrant" Henry III.⁸³ Franciscan polemics and sermons denouncing Henry III and Henry of

Navarre, including Francesco Panigarola's *Malheurs et inconveniens qui adviendront aux Catholiques faisant paix avec l'heretique*, poured from League-controlled presses between 1589 and 1594.⁸⁴ In one of the most dramatic episodes of the League years, Franciscans slung armour over their habits and bore weapons in a procession of 1300 clerics through the streets of Paris during Navarre's siege of the city in 1590.⁸⁵ The procession shocked contemporaries, and spawned at least three paintings of the event.⁸⁶ The organization of confraternities also marked Franciscan-League relations after 1589. Mendicant communities, and particularly the Franciscan, were always popular hosts of lay devotional confraternities in France as well as other parts of Europe, and after 1588 the Franciscans were closely associated with several that were openly affiliated with the League. These included not only the Holy Name of Jesus, a Paris-based lay devotional fraternity that also established a branch in Orléans, but also the "white" penitents and the Confraternity of Saint Bonaventure in Lyon.⁸⁷

Certain members of the Observant tradition even ventured into outright conspiracy. What the friars Nicolas Chevreul and Pierre Saumian did in 1594 to warrant a stay at the royal prison in the Conciergerie is unclear, but the severity of the punishments and their arrest during the months after Henry IV's entry into Paris point to their involvement in anti-government activity. Chevreul, a member of the Paris convent, was whipped and banished in perpetuity from the region of Paris, while Saumian was forced to stand at the door of the cathedral of Notre Dame with "the cord around his neck . . . wearing a chemise holding a wax candle (torche) and . . . condemned to end his days in prison."⁸⁸ More specific information on conspiratorial activities exists for particular friars. Guillaume Taxle's decision to lead a militarized band in Provence seems particularly brash and daring for a cleric, but Garin and Chessé were no less willing to reinvent their definition of the Franciscan ministry to spread the influence of the League.⁸⁹ Jean Garin held meetings with chief officers of the Paris League in his cell at the Paris friary, no doubt with the full support of his guardian, François Feuarent.⁹⁰ It was also during Feuarent's tenure as guardian (1590–1593) that the friary agreed to act as a weapons depot for the League, yet another sign of the community's complicity with the radical association.⁹¹ Robert Chessé's former position as guardian at the Paris friary (1587–1590) might also explain his resort to conspiracy as a spiritual tactic, but he focused his efforts on the city of Tours rather than Paris. He was one of a number of ringleaders who wished to replace the existing royalist regime in the city with that of the League in 1589. Unfortunately for Chessé, Henry of Navarre tracked him down in the city of Vendôme, where he was publicly executed for his troubles.⁹²

The increasing radicalization of the friars after 1588 is impossible to ignore, but in many respects the alliance between the friars and the League was

simply another strategy in the Franciscan war on spiritual corruption. It is also important to understand that the League could not have asked for more effective allies in its struggle to preserve a Catholic throne, because their reputation as zealous reformers, along with the itinerant preaching tradition, made the Franciscans and other friars perfect vehicles of League authority throughout France. The utility of their itinerant ministries for the League becomes clear when we trace the movement of friars between the Paris *studium generale* and the provinces. This *studium generale* was the most important Franciscan center of theological study in France, and one of the two most prestigious in the entire order.⁹³ The most promising students came from across France to study here, leaving for their home provinces to preach at Lent and Advent, during summer vacation, and then for good at the end of their studies. The importance of the Paris *studium generale* meant that every friary in the Observant branch of the order in France likely had a few members who had spent time studying there, while the more important friaries such as those of Troyes and Rouen had several.⁹⁴ Equally importantly, the studium enjoyed close ties with the Faculty of Theology at the University of Paris, a well-known bastion of League authority. Many of the preachers who returned to the provinces had studied theology at the Faculty, and knew personally Jean Boucher, Guillaume Rose, and other League members of the Faculty.⁹⁵

Whether the Paris friary directed a concerted Franciscan front on behalf of the League is impossible to say for sure. And yet, there is no question that it played a critical role as a vehicle of Leaguer influence within the Observant Franciscan body of France by fostering personal relations and frequent interaction between members of that tradition. The potential influence of the Paris friary in shaping Franciscan response across France to the League is all the more apparent when we consider that mendicants with a theology degree from Paris frequently rose to the top of the political ladder in their own communities, and at the very least earned reputations locally as respected preachers.⁹⁶ The itinerant nature of the Franciscan tradition ensured, furthermore, that leaving the Paris studium after finishing their studies did not put an end to personal relationships because traveling friars stayed in Observant communities while on the road.⁹⁷ The itinerant ministry of the friars made for a relatively close-knit religious order, especially in comparison to the cloistered traditions. This axis of communication between the Paris friary and other Observant communities explains, furthermore, why every Observant friary became potentially a base for League activism, and why Robert Harding considers the mendicant confraternities formed on behalf of the League “effective cells of political insurgency” in towns across France. He cites in particular the confraternity of the Holy Name of Jesus established in Orléans by Maurice Hylaret in 1590.

Hylaret was a former student in the Paris friary who arrived in Orléans in 1587. As a result of his time spent in the Paris friary and at the Faculty of

Theology, Hylaret would have known personally Jean Boucher and many of the other Paris preachers affiliated with the Catholic League, including the Franciscan François Feuarent. Harding argues that Hylaret's preaching before the confrariars had already sparked more than a few anti-governmental riots in the city when in 1591 the bishop and governor of Orléans turned to the papacy for protection. These officials were justifiably worried because Hylaret, along with two other Franciscans, another Observant known as Picard, and the Capuchin Pierre Deschamps, were urging confrariars of the Holy Name of Jesus to expel the bishop and governor by force.⁹⁸ The political radicalism of this confraternity is also discussed in Symphorien Guyon's seventeenth-century history of Orléans. Guyon makes no effort to hide his distaste for the political activism of Hylaret and other preachers during the time of the League, but his evident bias does not obscure the ties binding the Paris studium to the city of Orléans. His description of the association shows, above all, that Hylaret was interested in doing more than simply stimulating Orléannais devotional life when he formed the confraternity. According to Guyon, Hylaret was "le principal auteur & directeur" of the confraternity. Members took an oath of loyalty to the superiors—in other words, the friars—and

they met, when advised to, whether during the day or at night, and [bearing] arms, in order to promptly execute their commands, without concern about losing either their means or their lives, and they did not forgive anyone, fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, parents, friends . . . regardless of their quality or condition, who were opposed to God's cause and the preservation and advancement of the Catholic religion.⁹⁹

The case of Orléans vividly illustrates the role of certain friars as conduits of League authority in the provinces, a role made possible by the itinerant nature of their own tradition. Also critical to League success was their preaching. The League relied heavily on its preachers to mobilize popular support for its political agenda across France. This was particularly true in Paris, where the League managed to control the majority of the parish pulpits after 1588. There is some evidence, furthermore, that the League sent preachers on what were the equivalent of modern-day promotional tours to towns across France. Sources remain sketchy on this front. Harding suggests that many of the preachers who arrived in Nantes, Angers, and Rennes during this period may well have been sent by the Paris League.¹⁰⁰ Charles Labitte is somewhat more specific. He mentions in particular that Mayenne sent a number of preachers to nearby towns, including the Franciscans Picard (Picart) and Hylaret, who went to Orléans.¹⁰¹

The League's reliance on preachers to arouse support for its radical political agenda is understandable when we consider their influence during the

civil wars. The late sixteenth century was a great age of preaching, a time when those who had access to the pulpits of France wielded enormous political as well as spiritual influence.¹⁰² Even before the Wars began, Simon Vigor made a name for himself in Paris as a fierce critic of royal inaction against Protestantism, and preachers across France effectively fostered popular resentment of Valois negotiations with Protestants after 1562. The Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day was also arguably a legacy of Catholic preaching in Paris, as preachers used the approaching wedding of the Protestant Navarre and the princess Marguerite to whip up Catholic fear of vengeful, massacring Protestants.¹⁰³ The League relied heavily on these clerics to stimulate popular support for its political agenda precisely because they were so effective at accessing the hearts and minds of Catholics. The particular utility of the mendicant clergy for sowing League support in the provinces becomes clear when we see that League authority outside of Paris was mostly urban-based, and mendicant communities were largely urban-based institutions. Furthermore, many League revolts in the provinces took place during the holy seasons of Lent and Advent, a time when the services of the mendicant clergy were in great demand across France.¹⁰⁴ Since mendicant preachers were masters of their trade, celebrated for their passionate sermons and rhetorical sophistication, they routinely attracted large crowds and even sparked riots, the case of the Franciscan Hylaret in Orléans being but one example.

Their visibility and popularity explains why Franciscan preachers and the other mendicant clergy were frequently targeted by royal authority for punishment during the League years. The Paris-based Franciscan René Subleau, for one, faced charges of seditious preaching on June 30, 1593, before the royalist Parlement of Tours. Though silent on the details, the registers indicate that the offending sermon was given from the pulpit of the parochial church of Saint-Michel in 1593.¹⁰⁵ The same entry in the register also ordered the arrest and imprisonment of Robert Conneau (Couneau), guardian of the convent of Angers, because members of the convent must be "contained . . . in the observance of their Rule" and "obedience to the King and Crown." A decree dated July 9, 1593, sheds further light on the situation in the convent of Angers. According to the magistrates, many superiors and provincial officials of the order "remain rebels." The court appointed friar Vierendeau (Verneau), a doctor of theology, as the new guardian of the convent and asked him to visit and reform the Franciscan province of Touraine.¹⁰⁶ These brief entries give us little information on the substance of Subleau's sermons, let alone the political disobedience of the friars of Angers. More detailed are the entries on friars Gromard and Gourlet found in the registers of the royalist Parlement based in Châlons-sur-Marne in 1591. Friar Simon Gromard was guilty, the court said, "for not having preached what he ought, and that he ought to preach the obedience due the King and against the rebels who have

risen up against the state. . . ." The Parlement was not happy about his behavior, but since Gromard appeared six months later on similar charges, we have to assume his punishment was at best a reprimand. This time Gromard departed with another reprimand, and a promise to stay clear of political sedition in the future. Claude Gourlet received a harsher sentence, perhaps because the nature of his preaching was all the more reprehensible in the eyes of the court. Gourlet was sentenced to a public recantation and corporal punishment in August 1591 for "having uttered many seditious, scandalous and harmful statements against the memory of the king, as well as against the honor of the present king."¹⁰⁷

Gourlet and Gromard were unfortunate enough to get caught by royal forces, but many friars managed to ply their anti-governmental ministry in relative peace because they worked in cities under League control. Porthaise, Trahy, and Hylaret each apparently had free reign in their respective cities of Poitiers, Auxerre, and Orléans for this reason.¹⁰⁸ In fact, Hylaret was so highly regarded by the municipal elite of Orléans—with the notable exception of the bishop and governor—that he received a civic funeral following his untimely death in December 1591. Hylaret's success in Orléans illuminates the critical role played by the mendicant clergy in stimulating widespread support for the organization in the provinces of France. In Paris as well, the heartland of League authority, Franciscan preachers also wielded substantial authority. Pierre de l'Estoile's journal notes with certain unease the continuing presence of the friars Feuardent and Garin in Saint-Jacques-de-la-Bouchérie and other Parisian pulpits even as League authority was on the wane.¹⁰⁹ Parisians continued to listen as these friars furiously attacked anyone showing signs of recognizing Henry IV. No one was spared, not even the pope. Jacques-Auguste de Thou mentions one particular sermon given by Jean Garin in 1593 in which the preacher "had the impudence . . . to exhort his listeners to pray to God so that the pope, who always rules by the holy spirit and who may never err in faith, remain unmoved by the prayers of the Bearnais [Henry IV] to grant him absolution."¹¹⁰

The political radicalism of the Franciscans after 1588 was unusual to say the least, and not only because the friars were members of a religious order. Attacking and conspiring against the monarchy, encouraging popular violence—this was seditious behavior, worthy of public execution. Furthermore, the active participation of Feuardent, Panigarola, and Porthaise, among others, forces us to reject the notion that Franciscan opposition was simply the work of a few malcontents. These men were all theologians and respected preachers as well as important office-holders within the Franciscan family. The political radicalism of the Franciscans was informed by the contested nature of French society at the end of the sixteenth century, and their rise to political influence

as allies of the Catholic League underscores the absence of traditional bastions of spiritual authority during these years. By the time the League appeared on the political stage of France, Franciscans were already well-known enemies of the new faith and outspoken critics of royalist authority. Their itinerant ministry, furthermore, gave them access to pulpits across France. The zealotry of the friars throughout the civil wars suggests nevertheless that we have to look beyond the radicalized political culture of late sixteenth-century France to fully appreciate their rise to political prominence. One cannot help but notice, for example, that at the same time the French Franciscans were pounding the roads of France to eradicate Protestantism they were also undergoing internal reform. Just as French Catholics turned to them for spiritual guidance, the Franciscans of the sixteenth century were turning to their thirteenth-century founder, Francis of Assisi. As the following chapter will show, internal reform fostered Franciscan zealotry against Calvinism by reinforcing their identity as followers of Francis. What internal reform reinforced above all was Franciscan conviction that following God's will took precedence over political obedience, even that owed to a divinely constituted monarch.

INTERNAL REFORM AND THE REVITALIZATION OF THE FRANCISCAN MISSION

"I lament your miserable behavior, brothers, and I weep bitterly about my misfortune, that instead of . . . presiding over brothers and the most devout Franciscans, it appears that I rule over dogs and vipers. . . ."¹ Francesco-Scipio Gonzaga's letter attacking the Paris friars arrived in August 1581. The Paris friary was one of the most important convents in the Franciscan order, a nursery of eminent preachers and theologians. It was here that Bonaventure, Duns Scotus, and William of Ockham once pursued their theological work, and the best and brightest friars continued to flood to Paris for theological training throughout the sixteenth century. Normally a source of pride, the community was in serious trouble with the head of the Observant order, the minister general, for outright disobedience to his authority. The source of the dispute was the controversial election of the new head of the community, the guardian, in the absence of a representative of the general three months earlier. Even after the arrival of the general himself in July 1582, leaders of the community continued to resist his authority. By August 3, 1582, rumors of violent encounters between rival bands of friars in the community began circulating in Paris and even captured the attention of the Parlement. A commission sent to investigate found that the rumors had not been exaggerated. One jaundiced witness even accused the general of striking down the sacristan to obtain his keys to the sacristy.²

Misbehaving clerics are familiar territory for early modern historians, and certainly violence was no stranger to religious institutions. At first glance, therefore, the conflict between the Paris friars and their general seems not at all unusual. As is so often the case, however, large-scale conflict masked deep-seated issues and the dispute of 1581/1582 was no different. Above all, this conflict links the political disobedience of the French Franciscans to internal reform within the Franciscan brotherhood. Alongside issues of a more puritan and selfish nature, tugging angrily at the hearts of the warring friars were genuine concerns about abuse of authority and spiritual authenticity. Several factors explain this anxiety over the spiritual state of the Franciscan order,

including the emergence of a more intrusive, reform-minded central administration, the spread of Ottoman influence in Palestine, and religious division in Europe. The lengthy conflict between the Paris friars and their generals shows just how disruptive internal reform could be to the governance of a religious tradition, but as this chapter will show, much more important a legacy was Franciscan zealotry against Calvinism. Internal reform reinforced the Franciscan identity of the French Observants, reminding them that the route to salvation lay in unquestioning service to the will of God, even when it meant political disobedience.

The Franciscan Disputes

The violent nature of the conflict that first erupted in the Paris friary in 1581 between the minister general of the Franciscan order and the Paris friary was serious enough to attract not only the attention of Parisians and the Parlement of Paris but also the papal legate, Giovanni Battista Castelli. Writing to the papal secretary Cardinal Côme on August 21, 1581, Castelli told the Cardinal that “these Cordeliers brothers are involved in such a serious conflict . . . that they hit one another with stones.” Only the day before, he says, “the president of the convent was threatened with prison by some of the seditious brothers.”³ This dispute first emerged to public view a few months earlier in May during the unconventional election of the new guardian, Jean Duret. Contrary to the legislation of the community, the senior officials of the Paris friary proceeded to the election without the presence of the commissioner, a representative of the general. Friary administrators defended their decision on the basis of an “ancient statute.” They were not necessarily fabricating the statute, since the presence of the commissioner was only required as of 1502.⁴

One must nevertheless be suspicious about the claims of these administrators. The “ancient statute” had not been in force for eighty years, and its reappearance followed on the heels of several unwelcome visitations by the commissioner general. The commissioner was an appointed representative of the minister general responsible for visiting and correcting Franciscan communities under his jurisdiction. Perhaps because it was one of the most important in the entire order, the Paris friary received no less than six visitations between 1574 and 1579 alone. That the Paris administrators found such visitations taxing is understandable, because the commissioners who came during these years spent several months in the community, and while there exercised the authority of the minister general. According to the minutes of the friary council, their visits coincided with a massive outpouring of legislation governing every facet of communal life from food and clothing to the preparation of students for the university.⁵ To put it simply, the commissioners were an active political presence in Parisian conventual life and one that clearly struck many members as invasive.

Signs of resistance to these visitations appeared as early as 1569 when the Paris friars agreed to welcome a commissioner only if he came for the election period. To come at any other time, they said, would seem a calculated intrusion.⁶ In 1577, a conflict between certain members of the community and the commissioner Jean Benedicti became a matter for the Parlement of Paris when the commissioner appealed to the court for support in restoring the community to order. Benedicti first arrived in the community in January 1577 and he was still signing the minutes of the inner council five months later in May. These minutes point to mounting opposition to the commissioner by a few friars during this period. In fact one, named Capard, was forced by Benedicti to spend some time in the friary prison for running to the secular authorities. Four months into the visitation, members of the inner council were so irritated by Benedicti's presence that they pleaded with Cheffontaine to cease from sending such "burdensome" visitations.⁷ The pleas of the Paris friars went unheard, however, because Cheffontaine's successor, Francesco Scipio Gonzaga, showed that he had every intent of continuing a vigorous visitation agenda. By May 1581, friary administrators had had enough of visiting commissioners, and they proceeded to elect the new guardian without one present.

Since several of the administrators of the Paris friary, including the royal preacher Jacques Berson, were highly respected and prominent members of the French Franciscan body, we can perhaps understand their confident flouting of the authority of the minister general. As the subsequent conflict shows, however, they did not have the support of their entire community. Immediately after the election, the minutes report an outcry from many students and others who challenged the veracity of the ancient statute and protested such a flagrant violation of the general's authority.⁸ A month later in July, the minutes of the friary council mention a "libelous" book left outside the cell of the guardian.⁹ And this was only the beginning. Over the course of the next fourteen months, the once-united Paris community dissolved into bitter factionalism. Convent officials rudely turned away a commissioner sent by the general to investigate the election, while Castelli's efforts to punish the disobedient members in March 1582 sent these same friars running to the Parlement for protection, claiming abuse of authority. Reports soon reached the minister general that Berson vilified the authority of the papacy to the magistrates of the Parlement in his efforts to gain their support, going even so far as to accuse the pontiff of violating the liberties of the Gallican church.¹⁰

The flagrant disobedience of Berson and his fellow rebels is striking, and raises questions not only about the nature of conventual life at this time but also about the degree to which the Gallicanist controversies of the period contributed to the destabilization of the Paris community. Berson and his fellow rebels knew full well that canon law and Franciscan legislation forbade them from seeking the support of secular jurisdictions against the authority of

religious superiors. This injunction was repeated most recently during the generalat of Gonzaga's predecessor, Christophe de Cheffontaine.¹¹ The accepted route of appeal for disgruntled Franciscans lay with the papal courts or, better yet, the general and his officials. The friars turned to the magistracy for support in 1581, however, because they knew the secular court might be receptive to their charges of ecclesiastical abuse. As it happened, the dispute broke out during a particularly intense period in papal-French relations following the implementation of the decrees of the Council of Trent (1545–63). While the French clergy welcomed the tridentine decrees for their promise of spiritual reform, the gallicanist magistrates of the Parlement were perturbed by the Council's enhancement of papal authority throughout the church structure. They were also far from impressed by its reiteration of the doctrine of papal supremacy, since such a doctrine struck at monarchical insistence upon its own dominant sphere of authority. For all of these reasons, the French magistracy with the support of the monarchy resisted recognizing the decrees following the closure of the Council of Trent in 1563 despite pressure from the papacy and their own clergy to do so.¹²

Tension defined papal-French relations after this time, but the clandestine publishing of the bull *In Coena Domini* in 1579 by an entrepreneurial Jesuit among others suddenly raised French anxiety about the papacy to a much higher level. Although by no means a new decree, the publishing of *In Coena Domini* was bound to irritate the French state because it reiterated papal authority to excommunicate unworthy monarchs.¹³ The eruption of the Paris dispute in this environment of mutual tension and suspicion explains how a localized dispute in a religious community became an international incident, and furthermore, why the magistrates were so willing to view the papal legate's disciplining of many rebel friars as evidence of an aggressive Roman authority in France. The geographic proximity of the Rome-based Franciscan central administration to the papacy also did little to mitigate magisterial suspicions of collusion between the two religious authorities with regard to French ecclesiastic institutions, and explains why the magistracy coolly received Gonzaga's visit in July 1582. The general hoped that his arrival would restore the community to order once and for all. Instead, he found the rebel friars still intransigent in their opposition to his authority, buoyed by the support of the Paris magistracy. In consequence, disorder in the friary only increased after Gonzaga's arrival. The five magistrates of the Parlement of Paris who arrived at the community on August 3 came in response to rumors of a recent fracas. What they found was a cloister littered with the bodies of wounded friars. The seven friars interviewed mention numerous violent skirmishes involving young friars and students as well as senior officials and even the general himself.¹⁴

The timing, level of violence, and the prominence of the members of the community explain why contemporaries considered the dispute of 1582 wor-

thy of historical mention, and also why the friars found the magistracy so sympathetic to their charges of abuse. The very fact that this was only the most recent of at least eight disputes involving French Observant Franciscans and their general during the sixteenth century nevertheless shows that this dispute was not an isolated incident of disobedience, and that more than the spiritual division of France preoccupied French Franciscans during the Wars of Religion.¹⁵ These disputes varied in nature. Some, like the Paris dispute of 1581/82, involved only one community, while that of 1543 engaged several Franciscan provinces. What we do know about each dispute, furthermore, suggests that we should assume a multicausal explanation. A letter sent from the minister general of the Conventual order to Henry IV ca. 1608, for example, suggests that the large-scale conflict we find between the general and the communities of France after 1540 reflected a desire on the part of these communities to rejoin the Conventual order. Intriguingly, general Hugon insists that these and other French Observant communities were eager to rejoin the Conventual order throughout the sixteenth century because they considered themselves more Conventual than Observant in nature.¹⁶ Laure Beaumont-Maillet also suggests that a similar desire to rejoin the Conventuals led Berson and others to rebel against Gonzaga in 1581. She points to an entry in the inner council minutes from 1596 expressing just such a desire on behalf of the community.¹⁷ Whether this was truly the underlying issue in 1581 is, however, open to question. As Beaumont-Maillet herself notes, surviving documentation is largely silent on the particular issues underlying the dispute with the exception of some discussion about the authority of the minister general and the spiritual state of the community. Later assertions of a desire to join the Conventuals also should perhaps be regarded with some cynicism, since the Observant tradition was well-established in France long before Berson joined the Paris community. Berson and his fellow rebels, in other words, were Observant in formation. Periodic discussion of joining the Conventuals may just as likely have been used as a ploy to wheedle concessions from the minister general of the Observants as it did reflect a serious desire to leave their tradition.

Since other Observant communities were also resisting the authority of their general during the late sixteenth century, and the arrears from their disputes make no explicit mention of a desire to join the Conventuals, it seems more prudent to situate the Paris dispute as well as the others in terms of ongoing tension within the Observant family vis-à-vis the issue of internal reform. Taken together, the various Franciscan legal disputes raise questions about the extent to which internal Franciscan relations shaped their ministry during the Wars of Religion. Of the seven Franciscan disputes that made their way before the secular court, all but one, the dispute of 1577, were initiated by the friars themselves. Given that relations between the clergy were

traditionally subject to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, Franciscan resort to the Parlement in these cases was somewhat unusual. However, since the fifteenth century the Parlement of Paris recognized clerical access to its court when alleging abuse of ecclesiastical authority. Known as the *appel comme d'abus*, this procedure became increasingly popular among the regular clergy after this time, so much so that the Parlement restricted its usage in 1543 only to cases showing "clear and evident" signs of abuse.¹⁸ As it turned out, the Parlement's efforts to curb the number of appeals had little effect because individual clerics as well as entire communities continued to bombard the court for a hearing after this time. At least thirty cases involving the mendicant clergy received a hearing before the Parlement during the sixteenth century, including seven initiated by the Franciscans.¹⁹

In each of these seven cases, the friars accused their general and his visitors of abusing their authority.²⁰ The Paris friars were angry in 1543 about the general's decision to depose their duly elected guardian, Pierre Garnier. In 1556, provincial ministers of the three major French provinces (France, Bonaventure, Touraine) attacked the general's proposal of provincial commissioners, insisting that it was a "novelty" that would cause enormous problems for provincial administrators. In 1579, friar Jehan Benoist argued before the Parlement that general Cheffontaine unjustly punished him simply for reasons of personal dislike. Among the list of complaints, Benoist says that the general accused him of certain crimes, declared him unfit to complete his theology degree, and levied a large fine on the student friar "without giving [Benoist] any justification for these punishments." Benoist was subsequently ordered by the general to go to the convent of Saint-Bonaventure-nez-Lyon where he would remain a prisoner.²¹ The *appel comme d'abus* of 1582 also alleged abusive ecclesiastical authority, though this time it was levied by Berson and other rebel friars at the papal legate Castelli. These friars were upset over their excommunication by Castelli in March, and appealed it to the Parlement. The magistrates heard their case, and took specific issue with Castelli's public disciplining of certain friars *ad cautelam* even though the friars involved willingly sought out Castelli for absolution, and the punishment itself was only symbolic. Discipline *ad cautelam* was a standard ritual of ecclesiastical absolution in which the prelate lightly tapped the disobedient friar on the shoulders with a stick (*cautella*). Though symbolic, the magistrates considered this beating of the friars a violation of the Gallican liberties and promptly declared Castelli's authority abusive.²² Even the legal case of 1577 that was instigated by the visiting commissioner finds the friars defending their rebellious behavior on the grounds of abusive authority. Benedicti imprisoned friar Capard because he tried to appeal the commissioner's authority to the magistrates of the Parlement.

Charges of abusive ecclesiastical authority gave the friars access to the secular courts, and for that reason we cannot be unskeptical of these charges.

It is highly unlikely that the French Franciscans were innocent victims of tyrannical superiors. And yet, the friars were perhaps not wrong in accusing their general and his commissioners of overreaching his authority vis-à-vis the French Observant communities because many communities were experiencing more visitations than usual. Wide-scale visitations of the French communities are mentioned in a number of the Parliamentary decrees (*arrêts*) from the sixteenth century disputes, including the Franciscan cases of 1543 and 1556.²³ Minister general Aloysius Porteus sent Angelo Aversa to visit the provinces of France, Belgium, Lower Germany, and Flanders in 1567, while several generals personally embarked on large-scale visitations of their provinces, including Vincent Lunelli (1535–1541), Christophe de Cheffontaine, and Francesco-Scipio Gonzaga. Lunelli reportedly visited every province during his tenure as minister general, and it was he who presided over many of the Franciscan provincial chapters in France, including those of Brittany, Burgundy, and France in 1539.²⁴ Cheffontaine visited all of the French provinces, and Gonzaga traveled through Spain and Italy as well as France.²⁵

The visitation was a traditional method of ecclesiastical reform, an effective means by which a distant administration kept its many communities on the path of Observant behavior. Even so, the French Franciscans can be excused for interpreting the increasing frequency of visitations as an attempt by the general to extend his own authority, because the arrival of a commissioner in a community or province invariably preceded the introduction of new regulations in the community and even promised the disciplining of noncompliant members—Jehan Benoist being just one example. The political intervention of the commissioner was to be expected, but the French Observants felt justified in protesting these visitations by the end of the sixteenth century because they were more frequent and longer in duration than in recent memory. Concern about preserving their autonomy is particularly apparent in the frequent complaints of friars about the meddling of commissioners and generals in communal and provincial elections. A case in point was the general's removal of Pierre Garnier from the office of guardian in 1543. Although Vincent Lunelli purportedly removed as many as seventy guardians during his tenure as general, the removal of a guardian was always a serious matter because Franciscan convents held the right to elect their own officials. General chapter legislation made it clear, furthermore, that the removal of conventual and provincial officials demanded clear signs of abuse on the part of the office-holder, and the support of the majority of the community.²⁶ Judging by the angry response of the Paris friars in 1543, the general did not have that consent. The communities of Touraine-Poitou were also perturbed by the intervention of visitors in the election of provincial officials, and in 1574 they complained to the papal courts that the commissioners deliberately violated "Brittanic" legislation—in other words, the particular

constitution of the province. Led by Jean Porthaise, the provincial minister of Touraine-Poitou, the friars begged the papacy to put pressure on the general so that "in the future . . . we be oppressed by no commissioners."²⁷

Since general chapter legislation required communal and provincial consent for the removal of high officials, the French Franciscans had legitimate grounds for their charges of abuse. Jean Benedicti's four-month-long stay in the Paris friary in 1577, furthermore, far exceeded the twenty days permitted by the General Chapter of 1553, and the Paris friars were not the only ones to complain of lengthy visitations. The greater frequency and length of visitations and the intervention of commissioners in conventual elections give weight to Franciscan accusations of a centralizing agenda on the part of their generals. And yet, to say that the visitation served a centralizing design does not invalidate the claims by the Franciscan central administration about the poor spiritual state of the French communities. The inner council records of the Paris friary give us unparalleled access to the inner workings of conventual life throughout the entire period of the Wars of Religion, and they show that many friars found poverty, chastity, and obedience rather difficult vows to fulfill.²⁸ Interpersonal violence, apostasy, and sexual license in particular were common sources of grievance among the administrators of the Paris friary. With regard to violence, younger members of the community were prone to fistfights, though the dispute of 1582 shows that even office-holders were not above using their fists and weapons upon occasion. Violence was much more common in the cloisters than one might expect, and so the Paris friary should not be considered unusual.²⁹ Historians have debated the reasons for the prevalence of violence in religious communities, and certainly the brutal nature of society outside conventual walls provides one convincing explanation. Many members were never able to shed all of their worldly behavior, not even violence, when they took their vows. The close proximity in which friars lived was perhaps another factor. While the more prominent officials of the friary had their own cells, the vast majority of members slept in dormitories. All brothers met for meals in the refectory, and a sizeable portion of the friary, including the students and choir, met six times a day to perform the divine offices. Work in the gardens, student study in the theology school, and the performance of administrative offices also placed the friar in constant interaction with other members of the community.

Constant interaction thus made conflict, if not inevitable, at least more likely. Proximity likely explains why so many incidents of conflict occurred between members of the same cohort, and particularly among the students. The inner council minutes mention that four students were brought in chains to the refectory in 1567 and publicly flogged there for fighting in the convent. A year later in 1568, several members of the arts curriculum studying logic were also found guilty of perpetrating "rebellion and scandal inside and

outside the refectory.”³⁰ Even members of the chorus, a respected body within the Franciscan community, were expelled from the Paris friary in 1591 for committing numerous “horrific” crimes, including violence, blasphemy, and fornication. The very fact that these friars misbehaved in public (“in the city”) as well as in their own convent no doubt explains the harsh nature of their sentence.³¹

Whatever the reason, violence was no stranger to the conventual life. Perhaps a more pertinent question to ask is why religious authorities had difficulty preventing violence from escalating in a religious community once it flashed into view. This was particularly the case when the violence involved several members. During the sixteen-month-long Franciscan dispute of 1581/82, the conflict accelerated from verbal taunts to wholesale violent encounters between armed bands of friars. It was not until the intervention of the Parlement on August 3, 1582, that the dispute officially ended. Other legal cases involving the mendicant clergy show that many disputes raged for months before they were finally crushed, and almost invariably with the aid of local secular authorities. A dispute in the Dominican convent of Clermont involving several brothers lasted over a year before it was finally quelled with the aid of the Parlement of Paris.³²

The inability of convent officials to reestablish order in cases of widespread disobedience marks one of the many divides separating ecclesiastical and secular authority during this period. Simply stated, ecclesiastical superiors could not coerce members to obey their authority, because canon and civil law gave coercive authority to civil jurisdictions alone. For this reason ecclesiastical superiors not only handed over for punishment those clerics found guilty of heresy, but also relied on secular authorities to restore order in disorderly communities. As we saw earlier, secular authorities were usually willing to intervene in such cases because they believed any disorder threatened the stability of society and distracted religious from fulfilling their spiritual roles.³³ Magisterial reluctance to impose order in 1582 was thus unusual, and there is no question that it played a role in the subsequent escalation of disorder in the Paris community.

Lacking coercive power, monastic officials were dependent upon communal recognition of their authority. For this reason the Paris friary administrators were perpetually wary about signs of conflict in the brotherhood, because such conflict, when not easily resolved, threatened to engulf the entire community. Just as serious a threat to the orderly operations of the friary was the runaway friar. At least twenty-three friars ran away from this community between 1560 and 1600, the vast majority during the first two decades of the Wars of Religion. Ecclesiastics considered abandoning a religious order a form of apostasy, much like leaving a particular faith, because the monastic vow of obedience bound the member for eternity to his order unless absolved by the

pope.³⁴ In violating the vow of obedience, the runaway friar undermined the purity and unity of the Franciscan brotherhood. Friars caught wandering without permission were also frequently accused of worldly behavior, and for this reason we can understand why ecclesiastical authorities were quick to seek secular support to track errant religious, the expelled members of the chorus being but just one example. Such behavior tarnished the reputation of the order as a spiritual institution. Still, the inner council minutes of the Paris friary are at times frustratingly vague about the specific nature of certain offenses. An entry from 1567 simply tells us that two brothers went to the town of Saint-Marcel without permission and did "wicked things." Thomas Gillelus was seen wandering in the suburb of Saint-Germain of Paris in 1571, "dissolute" in behavior, and administrators expelled a student in 1575 for behaving poorly in Paris.³⁵ More explicit is the account of Michel Pechot, who stood accused in 1577 of leaving the community. The minutes claim that Pechot was caught while keeping the company of women, drinking, bearing arms and wearing a secular habit. Needless to say, the inner council declared him a "scandal" to his order and imprisoned him for a month on the charge of apostasy.³⁶ Legal cases against apostate friars from other communities similarly suggest that many members ran away not necessarily to escape the Catholic faith so much as the restraints of the Franciscan life.³⁷ A typical example is that of a former friar named Pierre Doré who was caught by royal forces in 1556. Doré claimed that he was officially absolved of his vow of obedience by the papacy because he made the profession of faith at the age of fifteen, a year earlier than that proscribed by canon law. Convent authorities in turn disputed his claim, and also accused him of immoral behavior while outside community walls. This friar, they told the court, was found "in mad and dissolute state sleeping with a woman."³⁸

Fear that the wandering ministry required by the Franciscan ideal facilitated moral transgressions explains why friary administrators went to great lengths to control the behavior of members while out on the road. The 1502 statutes of the Paris friary insisted that all friars travel in pairs and bear with them at all times a letter of obedience, a letter written by their guardian explaining the nature and purpose of their travel. No friar could enter another Franciscan community let alone leave his own convent without one. Traveling friars were also expected to stay only at other friaries along the route.³⁹ But even such precautions could not prevent some friars from misbehaving, and the disorders of the Wars of Religion almost certainly offered eager friars the perfect opportunity to do so in relative anonymity. Or at least so Franciscan administrators believed. In 1568, the arrival of a Spanish brother who was not wearing the Franciscan habit raised the suspicions of Paris friary officials, who were also concerned that he did not carry on him the requisite letter of obedience. The inner council decided that the friar had to receive a letter testifying to his status as a friar from the Spanish ambassador or from other

members of his nation before he could be received by the community.⁴⁰ The central administration must also have been anxious about the effects of the disorders on the unity of the Franciscan body. In 1568, the minister general asked the Parlement of Paris to search out apostate friars, those “who have left their vows and habit and flee the restrictions of the catholic faith.” Tellingly, the general focuses on the dress of these individuals, noting that they “dress themselves in disguised habits” and some were hiding in “Parisian parishes.”⁴¹ He even mentions their preference for the dress of parochial priests, a dress contrary to “their estate and profession.” The court agreed to aid in the arrest of any Franciscans found “debauched or in the habit of a secular priest.”⁴² Apostasy was apparently not solely a French problem from the perspective of the Franciscan order, since subsequent meetings of the chapter general also paid attention to the issue. The General Chapter of 1571 forbade convents from receiving friars traveling without their letter of obedience, for example, and ordered them to send such friars back to their native provinces.⁴³ Focusing specifically on apostasy, the General Chapter of 1587 elaborated on the form of punishment meted out for friars so charged, setting different punishments for first, second, and third-time offenders.⁴⁴

Despite their precautions, Franciscan administrators knew that they could do little to prevent brothers from straying from the Franciscan ideal once out of their sight, but keeping friars behind conventual walls was also no guarantee of moral probity. An unusually detailed account of the transgressions of friar Lavenay tells us that for a period of several weeks a woman was smuggled at night into his chambers. The inner council was disturbed by the incident, not only because the friar was violating his vow of chastity but also because two other friars named Vincent and Collet (Coller) were complicit in bringing the woman into the community.⁴⁵ The complicity of another friar was crucial, because it was not easy to access the inner chambers of the community without detection. To enter the community, the disguised woman had to pass by the watchful eyes of the porter, an official responsible for making sure that no one left or entered the community without the permission of the guardian; the importance of this office was such that friary legislation insisted only the most worthy and senior members of the community could hold this position.⁴⁶ Once through the gates, the disguised woman still had to cross the cloisters and negotiate the hallways leading to the private chambers of the friar. At every step she would have encountered other members of the community, and while such deception was perhaps easier in a community the size of Paris, it was still remarkably daring. The friar in question was taking a well-calculated risk, however, since he did have a private room and therefore a greater degree of privacy than most members of the community.

Possession of a private room also made it that much easier for the friar François Massebeuf to take advantage of students while under his jurisdiction.

In 1594, several young friars appeared before the guardian and accused Massebeuf of sexual aggression. Massebeuf was then vicar of the youth, one of the three most important offices in the Paris friary and one particularly responsible for the supervision of the younger members of the community. The minutes refuse to be specific on the nature of the transgression, but the language used here points to sodomy as the charge. The eight depositions “unanimously assert that François Massebeuf, vicar of the youth, called these friars into his room during the night . . . and committed horrendous and unnameable wickedness.”⁴⁷ Sodomy was an even more serious charge than fornication with a woman, and Masseboeuf had transgressed with not one but eight young friars. Not surprisingly, he was quickly expelled from the Paris friary.

The Ideal of Francis and the Original Order

The number of cases of misconduct among the Paris friars during the Wars of Religion shows that the central administration of the Franciscan order had legitimate grounds for accusing the French Franciscans of moral corruption. However, since friars had been accused of violating their vows from the early days of the order, the behavior of the French Franciscans was hardly unprecedented. In fact accusations of such misbehavior underlay previous reform movements, including that of Observant spirituality.⁴⁸ Many friars clearly found it difficult to live up to the standards required of the Franciscan ideal, but to be fair to them, the Franciscan life was demanding. Francis of Assisi found his model of spiritual perfection in the life of Christ. Like Christ he expected his followers to care for the unfortunate in society and preach the word of God. The ideal servant of God, according to Francis, was also humble, chaste, and obedient. Franciscan emphasis upon humility and chastity was characteristic of medieval monasticism, and so in this respect Franciscan spirituality did not offer something altogether new.⁴⁹ Francis shared with the monastic fathers a respect for asceticism as a component of spiritual perfection, a well-traveled method for freeing the soul from the corrupting influence of the flesh. Like the monastic fathers, Francis believed that salvation lay in distancing oneself as much as possible from any human desire for self-gratification, since the chief preoccupation of the good Christian must be selfless service to God. Sensual enjoyment of food, sexuality, pursuit of wealth, and even love for one's family and friends were signs that the individual had placed his/her own desires before those of God. In doing so, the individual fortified the chain that bound him to the secular world. The struggle to free the soul transformed the body into a war zone of sorts, a space in which the twin pulls of the Self and God struggled for dominance. This image of the body tormented by internal conflict pervades Franciscan literature on sin and salvation. Bonaventure once argued, for example, that God “whispered into [Francis's] spirit that spiri-

tual merchandise hath its beginnings in the contempt of the world, and that the warfare of Christ is to be begun by victory over self.”⁵⁰ Only through constant vigilance against the temptations of the flesh and focus on the love and greatness of God could a Christian ever hope to achieve salvation.

Removing oneself from the snares of the world in the pursuit of a holy life was a goal of every religious order during the medieval and early modern periods, but how each defined perfection varied enormously. Whereas the Benedictine model combined geographical separation from society with asceticism, prayer, and contemplation, Francis thrust his followers into an active ministry lived at the heart of secular society.⁵¹ Friars did not have the luxury, let alone security, of retiring in perpetuity behind the walls of the convent, because their work lay outside. Francis believed that strict observance of the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience and the pursuit of humility created for the friar an inner desert, a psychological space to which he could retreat even as he worked at the heart of a corrupt world:

Holy Poverty overwhelms all the greed, avarice and the concerns of this world. Holy Humility overwhelms pride, and all men who are attached to the world, and all the things of the world. . . . Holy Obedience overwhelms all bodily and carnal desires, and keeps one's body under discipline so that it obeys the spirit.⁵²

The vow of obedience became for Francis a particularly important way to guarantee the humility of the friar, a characteristic that he insisted marked the truly devout and virtuous Christian. True humility was a sign of selfless love of God. To mark his followers as the most perfect representatives of Christian purity Francis gave them the name “friars minor” and insisted that they not only submit themselves absolutely to earthly authorities, but also refuse to exercise such authority. As far as Francis was concerned, political authority of any kind was a product of the material world, and therefore a potential source of spiritual corruption.

The secular thrust of the Franciscan ministry made this tradition an immediate success because it served the pastoral needs of the rapidly expanding populations of thirteenth-century Europe. Another sign of its continuing relevance during the early modern period was its influence upon the pastoral ministries of many early modern reform movements, including the Jesuits.⁵³ The cases of misconduct among the sixteenth-century French Franciscans nevertheless show that by the time of the Wars of Religion, the Franciscan order little resembled the simple community of preachers envisioned by Francis of Assisi. The very fact that friaries were hierarchical institutions and that certain members could hold private chambers were also violations of the original ideal. Although Francis reluctantly agreed over time to introduce a rudimentary chain of authority into the Franciscan order, he continued to view

political structures as a threat to the fraternal spirit of the community. We are not dealing with a religious tradition, therefore, that passed unchanged from century to century but one that had modified over time. This transformation in the nature of the Franciscan ideal was the product of constant reinterpretation, one important legacy of the demanding nature of the Franciscan ideal as well as the lack of specificity in the Rule itself.

Disagreement over the true interpretation of the Franciscan ideal emerged almost immediately following the death of Francis, as the spiritualists charged leaders of the Franciscan order with injecting worldliness into their tradition. They attacked in particular signs of hierarchy in the formerly fraternal structure of the order, emphasis upon learning, and above all, violation of the vow of poverty. The spiritualist controversy lost momentum by the middle of the fourteenth century, but it was followed not long thereafter by the Observant movement that took root first in France, northern Spain, and Italy after 1380. Both movements, Spiritual and Observant, were enormously destructive to the unity of the Franciscan brotherhood, frequently dividing provinces into competing communities that were not above out-and-out violence to assert the superiority of one over the others. In France where several "observant" traditions jockeyed for control of particular communities, friars raided and even evicted one another forcibly.⁵⁴

This propensity for internal conflict and self-criticism received institutionalized expression over time, as each reform movement earned incorporation into the larger Franciscan body. Already by the time of Bonaventure's generalship in 1260, the vast expansion of the order outside of Italy led administrators to imitate the Dominican model of government. Friaries were organized into provinces, and later on each province was divided into smaller clusters of friaries known as custodies. Each province was under the jurisdiction of a provincial minister and each custody under the direction of a "custos."⁵⁵

Three centuries later, the same order recognized three separate orders within its body, each with its own hierarchy of officials and provincial organization. The Conventuals were communities that resisted Observant reform, who followed a more typically cloistered monastic existence and laxer interpretation of the vow of poverty than the others, while the Capuchins, who received official recognition in 1528, recognized the most rigorous interpretation of the Franciscan Rule specifically with regard to poverty and asceticism.

The Franciscan preachers of this study belonged to the largest of the three branches at the time of the Wars of Religion, the Observant. The Observant movement followed a moderate interpretation of the Franciscan ideal, one that unlike the spiritualist tradition recognized some communal ownership and hierarchy but nevertheless eschewed excessive materialism and insisted upon strict observance of communal devotional life.⁵⁶ The Observant tradi-

tion fell victim to increasing worldliness over time, and by the sixteenth century the relative wealth of many Observant communities and their recognition of hierarchy made them seem little different from their Conventual brethren. Following the formal division of the Franciscan order in 1517, the Observant branch emerged as the largest and most powerful of the two branches and it would remain the largest of the three branches throughout the sixteenth century. In France, the Observants held 277 of 332 Franciscan communities, and recognized eleven provinces. The three largest and most important Observant provinces in the kingdom of France were those of France, Touraine (Tourenne), and Bonaventure. The province of Bonaventure lay mostly in the region of modern-day Burgundy, while Touraine incorporated Observant houses situated in the center and western regions of France. The Paris friary, where many of the Franciscan preachers of this study were trained, belonged to the most important of the three provinces, France, a province that included the immediate area around Paris and communities found to the north and east. These three provinces were the first formed and they retained a certain number of privileges as a result, especially with regard to access to the Paris studium for their most intellectually promising members.⁵⁷ The other provinces were Touraine-Poitou, France-Parisienne, ancient Aquitaine, Observant Aquitaine, ancient Burgundy, Flanders, Saint-André, and Brittany.⁵⁸

The Observant tradition had changed a great deal by the sixteenth century, but even given these altered standards, many of the sixteenth-century French Franciscans were pressing at the boundaries of allowable behavior. Sexual license, violence, and disobedience to the authority of their superiors violated the fundamental principles of their monastic tradition, and provided sufficient justification for the intervention of sixteenth-century generals. As noted earlier, however, Franciscans were constantly pushing these boundaries. The administration's reform of the French communities consequently points to other factors at play. Examined in the broader context of Franciscan affairs, the French Franciscan disputes with their general point to a religious order then under spiritual siege. Encounters with peoples of the New World, the rise of the Ottoman Turks, and the spread of Protestantism placed inordinant pressure on the Franciscan administration to field the many spiritually contested zones both within and without Europe with its members. Such pressure, when combined with Franciscan suspicion about human capacity for sin, escalated anxiety within the central administration about the spiritual state of the entire Franciscan body. It is in this tug of war between the expanding missionary frontiers of the Order and Franciscan understanding of human nature that we can begin to understand how the French Franciscans of the sixteenth century could be such zealous opponents of Protestantism even as they faced charges of corruption from their own general.

The Franciscan World

The central administration's anxiety over the state of their French communities makes sense in the context of the expanding frontiers of the Catholic Church because, for better or worse, Franciscans were on the frontlines. Franciscans were the first choice of Cortés for the mission to the land of the Aztecs, and thus the first European missionaries to set foot in the New World. Such a choice was not surprising given the Franciscans' historical association with missionary activity. Francis of Assisi had set the model when he went to Palestine in 1219. Although unsuccessful at converting the Muslim leader, his fearless (if rash) preaching before the Sultan of Egypt made martyrdom the ultimate sign of Christian selflessness for Franciscans, profound testimony to their humility and thus devotion to God.⁵⁹ The continuing resonance of Francis's own mission in the sixteenth-century order appears in many of the travel accounts of the period, including Francesco Suriano's widely circulated guide to sixteenth-century Palestine. Travel was an essential component of the Franciscan ideal, according to Suriano, because Francis himself traveled ceaselessly to spread the word of God: "He never ceased to run hither and thither and to travel far and wide to gather men faithful to God and his fruitful Church."⁶⁰ Suriano even goes so far as to suggest that Franciscan guardianship of the Christian holy sites in the region was the work of God by repeating a prophecy foretelling the arrival of "certain brethren, living a truly apostolic life." Many of the brothers, the prophecy went on to say, "would be martyred because, in the time of tribulation they would fight against the infidel in defense of the faith."⁶¹ By the fourteenth century, Franciscan thirst for contested spiritual zones in which to test their own metal as followers of Francis gave them guardianship of the Christian holy sites of Palestine as well as communities in regions much further to the East.

For a man such as Cortés, their long missionary tradition made the Franciscans ideal agents of Christianization among the Aztec peoples, all the more so since the itinerant ministry and ascetic lifestyle of the friars predisposed them for work in the rugged landscapes of central Mexico. With the blessing of their own administration, twelve Franciscans accompanied Cortés to Mexico in 1523/24. Franciscans soon extended their ministry to the Yucatan peninsula.⁶² A thriving provincial administration emerged shortly thereafter to supervise Franciscan work and protect Franciscan jurisdiction in the region. Franciscan success in Mexico was soon matched to a lesser degree in other regions, including the Philippines, Brazil, and Peru, and later on the missions to the north.⁶³ By the end of the sixteenth century, the Franciscan order recognized several new provinces responding to the New World regions in addition to longer-established administrative footholds in the East.

Encounters with peoples of the New World played upon the missionary zeal of the sixteenth-century friars, reminding them that the greatest glory lay

in toiling in the most contested spiritual zones. The physical expansion of the Franciscan order during the sixteenth century exhilarated members, furthermore, because it was a powerful sign that their religious tradition was indeed the most perfect.⁶⁴ Franciscan administrators were nevertheless anxious about the state of affairs in their order throughout this period because the order faced spiritual crises on two fronts: the rise of the Ottoman Turks in the East, and the division of the Catholic Church within Europe. Beginning at the middle of the fifteenth century, the Ottoman Turks swept into Palestine and eastern Europe, threatening Venetian and Portuguese control of Mediterranean trade. By the middle of the sixteenth century, their armies pressed on the very perimeters of Vienna itself. More aggressive and less tolerant of Christian presence than their Mamluk predecessors, Ottoman expansion revived in Europe a crusading instinct that had lain largely dormant since the fourteenth century. Ottoman control of Palestine by the early part of the sixteenth century was a particular blow to the Franciscans, who as official custodians of the Latin Christian holy sites relied on the toleration of Muslim leaders in the region to maintain their presence. Franciscan travel accounts to the region consequently make a point of chronicling acts of aggression to arouse European awareness about the plight of the Franciscan ministry in the region. The Franciscans of the convent of Mount Sion in Jerusalem were twice imprisoned by Muslim authorities for lengthy stays, first in 1510 and later in 1551. Both imprisonments were in response to war between the Muslim and European powers.⁶⁵ Suriano and another visiting friar named Castela also mention the local Muslim population as well as Bedouin tribes exacting taxes and physically assaulting Latin (Western) Christians as they traveled through Egypt, Syria, and Palestine. After describing the devastation of one Franciscan convent, the anonymous friar who wrote a Spanish account of Palestine begged for papal attention to the dire situation of Franciscans residing in the Christian Holy Land: "There are things that would provoke tears if they were taken more deeply into consideration by our superiors and by the Pope."⁶⁶

The rise of the Ottoman authority in the Middle East was a devastating blow to Catholic self-confidence, and terrified the Franciscans because of their own investment in the region. Even more devastating was the rupture to the Church wrought by Luther in 1521, just two years before the twelve friars accompanied Cortés to Mexico. The emergence of a new faith among people who had known the true faith was for them an unavoidable sign of corruption in the heart of a once-united Christian society. Moreover, it was a contagion that was visible in their immediate field of vision. Not surprisingly, the central administration made the combating of Protestantism a priority. The Franciscan order quickly condemned Luther and his followers in 1521, and in response to the influence of Protestant preachers, the Franciscan central

administration also began placing much more emphasis upon the training and education of its own preachers. In 1532 the general chapter established twelve new theology colleges (*studia generalia*).⁶⁷ It established five more in 1587, including ones in Naples, Venice, and in the convent of Aracoeli in Rome.⁶⁸ Along with the establishment of new theology colleges, the Franciscan administration used the general chapter meetings to determine universal guidelines for theological study. The General Chapter of 1571 provided the most extensive guidelines of all. Communities were told to hold lectures all year long, except during feast days.⁶⁹ The lector must read the entire book of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, a standard scholastic textbook required by all theology programs. The same legislation also required that arriving students first be examined by prominent members of the community before admittance into the *studium* and that they had completed their studies of logic and philosophy.⁷⁰ The students were warned, furthermore, that they would be punished if absent without a good reason during the rounds of disputations.⁷¹ This general chapter even concerned itself with the responsibilities of the provinces for providing their students with necessary supplies such as paper and clothing.⁷²

Since existing Franciscan *studia* already recognized many of these regulations, we know that the central administration was not interested in radically altering the nature of Franciscan studies.⁷³ What the central administration clearly aimed to do was provide universal standards for the preparation of future preachers that would produce men capable of tackling the influence of Protestant thinkers. The more *studia generalia*, Franciscan administrators believed, the more trained preachers capable of tackling the spread of Protestant thought. Greater training served another important function as well: the inoculation of the Franciscan body itself from the Protestant pollution. Although Franciscans were less vulnerable to the lure of Lutheranism than Luther's own religious order, the Augustinians, enough turned over to the new faith during the first decade after the Diet of Worms to worry administrators about the purity of their order. The largest number of defections occurred in the regions most attached to Lutheranism, Germany above all. Contemporary accounts also suggest that a number of friars were "infected" with Calvinism in southern France during the 1540s. Robert Sauzet mentions suspicion of heresy among the mendicant clergy of Nîmes around this time, including the Franciscans.⁷⁴ Even Italy managed to produce a few Franciscan-turned Protestants, including perhaps the most famous convert of all, the Capuchin Bernardino of Ochino.

Along with education, Franciscan administrators fought against the infiltration of the new faith into its body through stringent legislation and insistence upon the regular scrutinization of members. During the general chapter session of 1553, members were warned not to preach "against . . . the Roman

Church or attack its members or . . . encourage another religion” but instead to “struggle energetically against heresies and schismatic peoples and faithfully incite them and strengthen in them the truth of the orthodox faith and fulminate powerfully against Satan and the damnable Lutheran heresy. . . .”⁷⁵ Any who did preach in support of the new faith, the legislation said, would lose their offices and risked imprisonment. The same session of the chapter also forbade members under threat of excommunication publicly or privately “to preach, defend or approve a doctrine, conclusion or erroneous argument,” show familiarity with heretical books and/or possess them without the permission of the papacy, or publish books without the written permission of the bishop and minister general of the Order.⁷⁶ Unless friary administrators were going out of their way to suppress any public avowal of heresy, the low number of such cases in the French communities during the Wars of Religion suggests that the efforts of the Franciscan administration to root out Protestantism from its body were largely successful, at least in France. The Paris inner council minutes mention two friars sent to their home provinces in 1554 on suspicions of heresy, and forbidden works were also found in the cells of another two friars in 1556.⁷⁷ The inner council minutes also hint at doctrinal error in cases involving the friars Lendorin and Boutier in 1568 and 1581, and Pierre de l’Estoile reported the return of another friar to the Catholic fold in 1603.⁷⁸ In a community numbering four hundred members at any given time, five cases of suspected heresy over the course of fifty years is hardly a sign of serious doctrinal dissension. Nor do we find suggestions of large-scale defections in other French communities during this time. What evidence we do have suggests, furthermore, that even earlier examples of heresy were not representative of the state of the Franciscan order in France, let alone elsewhere in Europe. In 1537, Pope Paul III complimented the Observants in particular for their struggle against Protestantism. “The Observant Franciscans,” he said, “have worked extremely hard to protect the Catholic faith and they never stop doing so each day. We know that through their exemplary lives and healthy doctrine, they bring back more and more [people] from the perfidy that is Lutheranism.”⁷⁹

The convergence of so many threats to Christian purity played upon the missionary zeal of the French Franciscans, reminding them of their identity as followers of Francis of Assisi. The friars knew from contemporary chronicles, missionary accounts, and other publications produced by members of their order that they were participants in a spiritual struggle that had international as well as cosmic dimensions. The vast scale of Franciscan missionary endeavors by the time of the Wars of Religion also explains why the generals of the sixteenth century were increasingly preoccupied about the spiritual state of their own members. Francis of Assisi insisted that friars must preach both in word and deed, making their own life a sermon to others. “And those religious

are killed by the letter," he insisted, "who do not wish to follow the spirit of the divine letters but only desire to know and explain them."⁸⁰ To his mind, a successful spiritual reformer must reflect the very values he taught because only the spiritually pure could be effective reformers. The inner council minutes of the Paris friary show, nevertheless, that not all French Observant friars were modeling spiritual perfection. Capuchin criticism of the Observants throughout this period also did not allay the affairs of the central administration about the state of the Observant brotherhood. The Capuchins were once members of the Observant branch, who broke away in 1528 to follow a more rigorist interpretation of the Franciscan Rule.⁸¹ The two branches continued to denounce one another bitterly after this time, but the more rigorous nature of Capuchin spirituality meant that their accusations of laxity and immorality against the Observants tended to hold weight with superior authorities. One only had to compare the barefoot, ascetic, preaching ministry of the noble-turned-Capuchin Ange de Joyeuse to that of the proud, pensioned, royal preacher Jacques Berson to understand the willingness of contemporaries to believe Capuchin accusations of Observant corruption.⁸² The visible purity of the Capuchins also explains the rapid expansion of this branch of the Franciscan order during this time.

Capuchin accusations of corruption only exacerbated mounting tension within the central administration regarding the Observant order's ability to produce worthy spiritual leaders at a time when, they believed, spiritual division and conflict made their services more essential than ever. Suspicions of the degradation of the Franciscan order nevertheless plagued it throughout its history. Their reappearance in the sixteenth century suggests that Franciscan spirituality, particularly its emphasis upon human capacity for sin, was just as responsible for raising the anxieties of Franciscan administrators as were egregious violations of the Franciscan Rule. One can overstate the pessimistic nature of Franciscan spirituality, because Francis just as loudly proclaimed the joy that informed the pursuit of holiness, and, equally important, the ability of the individual to participate in his or her own reformation. Even so, Francis of Assisi was profoundly aware of the weakness of the human will. In his *Letter to the Faithful*, he told his followers: "And let us hold ourselves in disgrace and contempt, since it is through our own fault that all of us are wretched and corrupted, disgusting and worms."⁸³ Four centuries later, the French preacher François Feuarent expressed a similar skepticism about human nature: "Is all corrupt? We confess well, that human faculties are deficient, weak, wounded, and need grace."⁸⁴

Sinning was a part of human nature, and even the strongest individuals struggled continuously against the press and pull of temptation. It was because human will was weak that Francis insisted his brothers surrender their will to the community in the Rule of 1210. He believed that communal will

was collectively stronger and more true than that of individual members. This suspicion of the frailty of human nature along with their conviction that the ideal of Francis was the most perfect understanding of the Christian life also fueled spiritualist criticism of the hierarchicalization of the order as well as of its relaxed interpretation of the vow of poverty during the thirteenth century.⁸⁵ The Observants of the fourteenth century as well as the Capuchins of the sixteenth century similarly insisted that many members of the order were drifting away from the original purity of the Franciscan tradition as embodied by Francis.

The Response of the Central Administration: Observant Reform

The demands placed on the Franciscan ministry by spiritual crises and European expansion, when combined with perpetual Franciscan suspicion about the purity of its own body, convinced the central administration that the Franciscan order was in desperate need of reform by the early sixteenth century. Although the term “reform” possessed a number of connotations during the early modern period, Franciscan administrators invariably used it in terms of spiritual correction rather than innovation. Reform meant a restoration of the Franciscan body to spiritual purity through the elimination of corruption, but as the following discussion will show, it meant specifically a reinvigoration of Observant values as understood by the order at this time.⁸⁶ By the early sixteenth century, the impetus for internal reform moved from the peripheries of the order, where the movement first took root, to its administrative center. Typical of ecclesiastical administrations, the minister general and his administrators relied upon the visitation and general chapter legislation as essential mechanisms for implementing wide-spread reform of the Franciscan order and of the Observant communities in particular. The General Chapter of 1553 witnessed an extensive discussion on reform of the Franciscan body. The legislators first reminded potential visitors of the ultimate purpose of the visitation. Noting first that reconciliation to the Christian body was the end point of any correction, the general chapter reminded visitors that different sins (ailments) required different “medicines” to restore the body to its original healthy spiritual state.⁸⁷ Above all, charity should guide correction: “Ideo debetur praecedere charitativa admonitio.”⁸⁸

Discussion of the particular concerns of the visitors during their investigation of communities speaks to the Observant formation of Franciscan administrators, namely their concern about chastity, avoidance of materialism, rigorous moral scrutiny of members, education, and obedience to the authority of superiors. Although they recognized a less strict interpretation of the vow of poverty than the Capuchins, the Observant tradition nevertheless placed enormous emphasis upon avoidance of material excess. When investigating a

community, the legislation of 1553 enjoined the visitor to see “whether the friars possess valuable items made of silver or gold, whether they have too many things, or non-essential items, if they keep money rather than give it to the procurator of the community, and whether they hold it with the permission of the prelates.”⁸⁹ The same legislation also expressed concern about riding horses and wearing shoes when not necessary and without permission, and mingling with “suspect” (morally questionable) friends. Visitors were also urged to go to the cells of friars and make sure that they held nothing contrary to the Rule.⁹⁰

Because these friars had regular contact with ordinary believers, priests, preachers, and confessors were a particular concern of the General Chapter of 1553. Morality and education were both necessary ingredients for these important offices. Franciscans must be at least twenty-five years old to hold the office of priest as well as being competent in literature, life, and good morals. Their doctrine, furthermore, must “edify” the population.⁹¹ The legislation also reminded preachers that they could not receive alms for preaching, even though this was a common practice by this period. The word of God, the general chapter insisted, was free.⁹² Instead, the guardian should provide all necessities for the members of his community.

Interactions between friars and women, lay as well as religious, also concerned the central administration in 1553. Confessors were told that they could hear confession only in particular locations of the Church in the clear view of other brothers.⁹³ No women could enter the friary unless of noble lineage or of good reputation and only if given permission from the inner council: “nisi fuerint nobiliter, et bonae famae, quibus sine scandalo aditus negari non possit, et tunc cum honesta societate, et discretorum consilio ingrediantur.”⁹⁴ Even when given permission, the general chapter legislation of 1553 still insisted that women could not enter at night. Once again, however, their status gave noble female patrons, at least those with male companions, special access to the community.⁹⁵ Regulations were just as strict for relations between friars and female members of the order if not more so. Female communities required priests to tend to their spiritual needs, and it was characteristic of the religious orders to assign members of their own community to work among the female religious. Needless to say, this enjoined interaction was the source of enormous concern for the central administration, all the more so since stories of lascivious encounters such as that of the preacher Toussaint Hemard and a pregnant Franciscan nun were gleefully circulated by Beza and other Protestant authors.⁹⁶ Whether these tales were true or not, the central administration in 1553 felt compelled to outline in specific detail the nature of such interpersonal interactions between male and female religious. Among other issues, the general chapter insisted that friars and nuns not speak to one another without permission, and that they must have wit-

nesses to their conversation.⁹⁷ In fact, the general chapter banned all conversation between religious men and women unless necessary, an injunction that reflected long-standing monastic fear of frivolous conversation as the first step to moral transgression.

The extensive discussion we find in the general chapter legislation of 1553 on internal reform testifies to growing concern on the part of the central administration about the spiritual state of the order, and this concern only mounted in subsequent decades in response to increasing political and confessional conflict across Europe, reaching a peak of intensity during the generalats of Christophe de Cheffontaine and Francesco Gonzaga. The election of Cheffontaine (1571–1579) and Gonzaga (1579–1587) to the office of general likely owed as much to their reputations as spiritual reformers as it did to their noble pedigrees. Even before his election to the office in 1571, the Breton-born Cheffontaine was already a highly respected theologian in France, a product of the Faculty of Theology at the University of Paris. Perhaps because of his French origins, Cheffontaine was particularly eager to promote spiritual rejuvenation in France. In addition to organizing visitations, he won papal approval in 1575 for the extension of the Italian-based confraternity of the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist into France and the establishment of another confraternity in Lyon in 1581.⁹⁸ Cheffontaine, furthermore, arranged for the General Chapter of 1579 to meet in Paris. Henry III first asked Cheffontaine to hold the meeting there, aware of the potential publicity benefits accruing from such an important ecclesiastical event. Cheffontaine required little persuasion, however, since the meeting of the general chapter was always a grand spectacle and therefore presented an ideal opportunity to stimulate spiritual reform. Claude Haton estimates that as many as twelve hundred friars came to Paris from across Europe for three days of meetings, banqueting, and worship. The unusual sight of so many friars speaking different languages and wearing different versions of the Franciscan habit apparently attracted Parisians in large numbers and even people from outside the city: French men and women “flooded the roads to go to Paris in order to see the Cordeliers and their chapter.”⁹⁹

Such an event was not inexpensive for the order, and L’Estoile tells us that many different Parisian institutions, including colleges and regular institutions, subsidized it with alms. Henry III alone gave the friars ten thousand livres.¹⁰⁰ René Benoist also wrote a pamphlet encouraging Parisians to support the general chapter, arguing that the event could only inspire greater Catholic devotion in the city.¹⁰¹ For Cheffontaine, the meeting was an opportunity to shed the spotlight in France on the spiritual purity of the Franciscan tradition, but it also gave him an opportunity to investigate the truculent French Franciscan communities in person. His visit to the Paris community in 1579 was the third in three years.

Francesco Scipio Gonzaga continued Cheffontaine's reform of the Franciscan body following his election in 1579. His interest in reform may well have been fostered by his family. His brother Ercole Gonzaga, the bishop of Mantua, was a highly respected humanist reformer in Italy, a contemporary and associate of the pastoral reformer and bishop of Milan, Carlo Borromeo. Gonzaga marked his assumption of the office of minister general in 1579 with a circular stating the need for widespread reform, accusing his members of relaxation in discipline.¹⁰² As his visitation to the Paris community in 1582 shows, Gonzaga was very serious about implementing reform in the French body. Visitations accompanied legislation, and the General Chapter of 1587, alongside those of 1553 and 1571, was one of the most important during the sixteenth century for establishing guidelines on internal reform. This general chapter discussed a range of matters, including not only the authority of the minister general in the Paris community in particular but also the training of preachers, the examination of confessors, and the establishment of visitors for the provinces of the New World.¹⁰³

Avoidance of materialism, strict observance of the vow of chastity, and obedience to authority were characteristics shared to varying degrees by all members of the Franciscan order, but these qualities, in combination with emphasis upon education and strict moral scrutiny, marked the Observant nature of the reform initiated by the central administration during the sixteenth century. The central administration was clearly intent upon imposing greater rigor throughout its far-flung body. The timing of this push for internal reform is nevertheless critical for understanding the remarkable zealotry of the French friars against Protestantism, because reform in the Franciscan order was about recapturing the spiritual goals of Francis of Assisi after a period of degradation. That every reform movement spawned a new interpretation of the Franciscan ideal is undeniable, and these movements were also invariably divisive. Nevertheless, the rapid expansion of the order over time shows that internal questioning was a dynamic, rejuvenating force in the Franciscan body, because it kept the Franciscan ideal constantly before the eyes of its followers.

The sixteenth-century disputes between the French Franciscans and their general reflect this long-standing relationship in the Franciscan order between internal dissension and rejuvenation. At the very least, the language of corruption pervading the legal decrees shows that the efforts of generals and commissioners to reform the communities forced the friars into an dialogue on Franciscan spirituality. Whether the French Observants agreed with the accusations of their general or not, such discussion would have reminded them of the essential values of their spiritual tradition. Somewhat paradoxically, the resistance of the friars to the authority of their general underscores the persistence of one particular facet of Franciscan spirituality crucial for under-

standing their willingness to violate their vow of obedience, and equally importantly, their willingness to criticize secular and ecclesiastical authorities throughout the Wars of Religion. This was the charismatic nature of Franciscan spirituality. Francis was himself a charismatic preacher, a man who so closely identified with Christ that he bore the marks of the stigmata. Francis expected the members of his order to follow the will of God before all other authorities. He urged an early follower, brother Leo, "to do whatever seems best to please God and to follow in his footsteps and poverty."¹⁰⁴

The true servant of God handed over himself wholly and completely to His service, because such selflessness was a mark of true devotion and thus true humility. Such emphasis upon selfless service to God understandably posed some problems for Francis's interpretation of the vow of obedience as an agent of humility. Francis bound the friars to absolute obedience to their superiors as a mark of their distance from the corrupt, material world. In the Rule of 1223, he reminded them that they surrendered their wills "for God's sake." He urged them for this reason to obey their ministers.¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, Francis's profound concern about human frailty and the corrupting influence of political authority led him to account for occasions when superiors might err. Francis ordered his followers in the *regula bullata* to scrutinize closely the behavior of their Franciscan superiors for signs of worldliness and other indications that they were contravening the regulations of their tradition. Superiors who failed to reform their behavior after three warnings, he said, should be deposed.¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, though insistent that the friar had no right to leave the superior even if he was corrupt, and should instead bear whatever persecution came his way, Francis nevertheless told his followers to disobey a superior who commanded his followers to do something that contravened their own tradition: "The man who renounces all that he possesses and loses himself body and soul is the one who surrenders himself to obedience in the hands of his superior," he said, but "should a superior order something false that goes against the *anima* of the friar, he does not have to obey it."¹⁰⁷ Francis's use of the complicated term *anima* provides the key to understanding the resistance of the French friars to the reforming endeavors of their general during the sixteenth century, because it left the determination of obedience to an ecclesiastical superior up to the spiritual judgment of the individual friar. For Francis and his followers, the *anima* was much more than the rational part of being (intellect) described by Greek philosophers. It was the living presence of God within the soul of the Christian, a presence that informed the actions of the Christian according to the will of God.¹⁰⁸ Other religious reformers shared a similar understanding of the *anima*, but according to Duncan Nimmo the confidence that the friars invested in their own role as God's most humble and thus most devoted servants gave them "a 'freedom' of action practically without limit."¹⁰⁹

For all intents and purposes, Francis had institutionalized an order of charismatic preachers, men so confident in their own understanding of God's will that they were willing at times to defy the authority of their own superiors. This is not to say that Francis anticipated, let alone condoned, the many occasions of Franciscan disobedience during his own lifetime or in subsequent centuries. Quite the contrary. For Francis, obedience remained as integral a vow as those of poverty and chastity. Many of his followers, however, were convinced that disobedience, even outright resistance, was at times the only way in which they could be true to the spiritual calling of the friar. The spiritualist Angelo of Clareno, for one, urged his followers to flee or obey Franciscan authorities "according to the Savior's Council." Such a statement, David Burr argues, "was the equivalent to making [the interpretation of divine will] a personal decision."¹¹⁰ Over two centuries later, the French Franciscan Jacques Berson expressed a similar confidence in the Franciscan mission, a confidence that goes far in explaining the outbreak of rebellion in the Paris friary in 1581 as well as the later political activism of the same friars against their monarch:

One must insist, continue, persevere in preaching or writing at all times, in season and out of season . . . without considering or fearing contrary words or storms. Without fear of winds and clouds, one must sow even in the midst of storms, without thinking that this particular time is convenient, and that one there is vain, they will like it, or they will not like it.¹¹¹

Ongoing reform in the Franciscan order sparked by escalating concern about the spiritual state of the French communities produced heated debate between the French Franciscans and the general over the true interpretation of the Franciscan ideal. Enormously divisive, these conflicts not only reinforced the identity of the French friars as followers of Francis of Assisi, but also revitalized the charismatic character of the Franciscan ideal, which reminded brothers to follow the will of God before all other authorities. The charismatic character of Franciscan spirituality has implications not only for understanding the rapid expansion of the Franciscan mission outside of Europe and zealotry against Protestantism during the sixteenth century but also the alliance of the French Franciscans with the League after 1588. Seven years after the Paris dispute of 1582, many of the same members of the community who opposed their own general also joined with the League to oppose their own monarch. The friars who did so were convinced that they had a duty to attack spiritual corruption wherever found. Their choice of strategies was unusual but to their minds justifiable, because at the end of the day they were God's most humble and most loyal followers. Franciscan spirituality thus gave ideological form to the political opposition of the friars. The following chapters will look more closely at the institutional and political support that the

Franciscan mission received in France throughout the Wars of Religion. Looking specifically at ecclesiastic support, chapter 3 will show that at a time of spiritual crisis, many members of the Church structure saw enormous value in the Franciscan preaching ministry not only for combating Protestantism but also for expanding the authority of the Catholic Church throughout the world.

THE FRENCH FRANCISCAN MISSION AND ECCLESIASTICAL SUPPORT

In a treatise published in 1579, the vicar of the parochial church Saint-Eustache, René Benoist, compared the spiritual importance of the meeting of the Franciscan general chapter in Paris variously to a fountain and a trumpet. The effects of such an international gathering of holy men, he said, will be like “many spiritual fountains” that will soak “the field of the church with the revivifying waters of holy doctrine, praiseworthy life and edifying conversation.” The general chapter will be a trumpet that “will excite and encourage captains and soldiers in their combat” against spiritual disease.¹ Supporting the general chapter, he insisted, will show the world that France was not as “ruined, deformed, soiled either in faith or morals as some have falsely and calumniously announced. . . .”²

Benoist’s praise of the Franciscans attending their octennial meeting reminds us that, zealotry aside, the political and spiritual influence of the Franciscans during the Wars of Religion owed a great deal to broad ranging support from the ecclesiastical hierarchy of France. Given the traditional rivalry between the mendicant and secular clergy, this support might seem surprising until we take into consideration the particularly contested nature of European spiritual life during the sixteenth century and, equally importantly, the diverse composition of the Catholic Church. At a time of spiritual crisis and European expansion, the French ecclesiastical hierarchy as well as the papacy relied on the mobile preaching ministry of the Franciscans and the other mendicant clergy to assert the spiritual authority of the Church. For the secular clergy of France, the Franciscan ministry provided the perfect counteragent to the missionizing of Calvinist preachers. For the papacy, the Franciscans served an ambitious expansionist agenda in which ecclesiastical discipline was as much of a concern as the war against Protestantism. The Franciscans and other mendicant clergy offered a timely solution to the religious and political needs of these clerics, but these relationships also served the religious agenda of the friars. Access to pulpits, theological training, and financial support gave the friars a central role in the spiritual reformation of

France, and in doing so laid the foundations for their later rise to political influence as partners of the Catholic League.

On August 7, 1588, Louis du Bellay appeared before the secular courts of Paris to complain about the spiritual ministry of a member of the Paris Observant Franciscan [Cordelier] community.³ Du Bellay was then archdeacon of Paris as well as the vicar and archpriest of the parish church of Saint-Séverin, spiritual offices that marked him as a prominent member of the secular ecclesiastical structure in Paris. Du Bellay complained before the courts that the Cordelier heard the “unauthorized” confession of his parishoner Pierre de Gargis. De Gargis also apparently received other sacraments from the same friar. For his administration of the sacrament of confession, du Bellay accused the friar of perpetrating a “novelty”—in other words, of treading beyond the perimeters of his legally recognized authority. The friar must request permission from the parish priest, he said, to hear a confession of the parishoner. For this reason, du Bellay demanded reimbursement from the friary.

The court had seen similar complaints by the secular clergy against the spiritual ministry of the mendicant clergy before, and presided over at least six such disputes involving the Paris friary alone between 1530 and 1588.⁴ The legal case involving the intestate death of the book merchant Jean Freslon in 1533 shows why burial as well as the cure of souls was another traditional site of mendicant-secular jurisdictional conflict. The cure of souls is the ecclesiastical term for the authority to administer the sacraments. Baptism, confirmation, the eucharist, marriage rites, extreme unction, and confession were fundamental components of the pastoral authority of the Catholic Church long before the sixteenth century. Freslon was a parishoner of Saint-Etienne-du-Mont who, according to several witnesses, expressed his intention to be buried near the sepulchers of his wife and daughter in the Paris Cordelier crypt. When the friars arrived at Saint-Etienne-du-Mont to take the body, however, they were denied entrance. Apparently the vicar was then away from the church, and the parish clergy refused to release the body in his absence. The friars must have been frustrated in their retrieval efforts on at least one more occasion, because they soon brought the matter to the secular courts. The obstinancy of the vicar combined with the intestate death of Freslon proved to be a successful combination, because the body of the bookseller never found its way into the Franciscan crypt.⁵

The cases of Freslon and de Gargis explain why mendicant-secular jurisdictional battles were such a source of entertainment as well as derision for Desiderius Erasmus and other religious reformers of the sixteenth century. Erasmus well knew that these clerics were struggling not only over the spiritual dominion of French Catholics but also over access to their pocketbooks. Fees accompanied sacramental services, which meant that the Franciscan who heard the confes-

sion of the parishoner was biting into de Gargis's livelihood just as Freslon's burial in the parish church deprived the friary of an annual pension. The monetary nature of their spiritual services also explains Erasmus's blistering critique of the Franciscan practice of burying wealthy patrons in the Franciscan habit.⁶

Financial motives were undeniably a factor in various legal cases. In revealing the tensions underlying mendicant-secular relations, these cases also thrust into relief the role of the mendicant clergy in the ecclesiastical structure of France at the time of the Wars of Religion. In response to the accusations of de Gargis, the Paris friars cited the rulings of the Council of Vienne (1311–12). This council recognized mendicant right to the cure of souls, a privilege first granted by Boniface VIII in the bull *Super Cathedram* (1300). Although the council somewhat circumscribed the privileges given by Boniface with regard to the cure of souls, it nevertheless confirmed mendicant entitlement to exercise such spiritual authority.⁷ The Council gave the friars the right, for example, to provide the cure of souls without the bishop's permission in any diocese: "[The friars] could, regardless of the reception or refusal of the bishop, hear confessions and administer penance to the laity without the permission or license of the vicars."⁸ The friars pointed out, furthermore, that de Gargis had sought papal permission to seek their services and had such permission in the written form of papal bulls (decrees) and letters.

The invocation of the fourteenth-century Council of Vienne in a sixteenth-century legal dispute points to centuries-old tension between secular and regular clergy over what constituted their respective spiritual and temporal domains. Until the emergence of the Franciscans and Dominicans during the thirteenth century, the cure of souls was a privilege exercised almost exclusively by the secular clergy. Other orders of regular clergy numbered priests in their body, including the Benedictine and Cistercian orders, but for the most part working directly among the laity was the arena of parish priests and their superior, the bishop. The formation of the Franciscan and Dominican orders early in the thirteenth century quickly put an end to the virtual spiritual monopoly of the secular clergy over the cure of souls. That the mendicant religious orders emerged partly in response to growing criticism of the ministry of the secular clergy explains much of the hostility between these branches of the Church from this time forward. Thirteenth-century critics accused the secular clergy not only of poor training but also of moral corruption, accusations that gained credence when the secular clergy were compared to the poverty and asceticism of the mendicant preachers. The Franciscans and Dominicans filled an important pastoral void, furthermore, by bringing a wandering preaching ministry throughout Europe, even to the most remote communities. Such a ministry was exactly what the papacy wanted in the thirteenth century, faced as it was by a rapidly expanding European population, the spread of heresy, and Muslim authority in the East.⁹

Within a few years of their institutionalization, the mendicant clergy enjoyed many of the same privileges as the secular clergy, including not only the cure of souls but also absolution and the right of burial.¹⁰ Even more galling from the perspective of the secular clergy was that the mendicant clergy were not bound to a similar territorial area but could administer these pastoral privileges to whoever wished their services. The spiritual jurisdiction of the mendicant clergy transcended the existing geographic organization of the church and in consequence laid the foundations for ongoing conflict over jurisdiction. The transcendent nature of mendicant spiritual jurisdiction also explains why the friars were a long-standing irritant not only to the parish clergy but also to the bishop. While the bishop was one of the most important ecclesiastical officials in the Church, and the most powerful authority in his own diocese, the privileges of the mendicant traditions left these clerics largely beyond the perimeters of episcopal authority even as they resided in a diocese. The mendicant clergy were not subject to the episcopal courts, and furthermore, unlike the cloistered orders such as the Benedictine, they had a special exemption from episcopal visitations. This was a privilege that they continued to brandish throughout the sixteenth century.¹¹

With a few exceptions, the disciplining of French Franciscans belonged wholly to the authority of the central administration of the Franciscan order and the papacy. Bishops did nevertheless retain authority over the mendicant clergy in two arenas: the religious procession, and preaching. One of the most pervasive religious expressions in the history of the Catholic church, the procession brought together members of the same community to honor a particular saint, mark an important religious or political event, and atone for personal and societal sinning. As the spiritual head of the diocese, the bishop and his officials oversaw the organization of processions honoring major feast days. Corpus Christi was the most important one by the fifteenth century though others such as Ascension day and Palm Sunday were significant as well.¹² The mendicant clergy occupied the front rows of these processions because of their claims to humility, and because they were often among the least wealthy of the religious orders. Ranked behind them were the other orders of regular clergy, the secular clergy, prominent laity and the guildsmen in order of their status and role in society. The larger the procession, the more elaborate was the ordering of members.¹³

The bishop's positioning at the center of the procession marked his stature as the highest spiritual authority in the diocese and thus as mediator between the different religious institutions, but an even more important indicator of his spiritual authority with regard to the mendicant clergy was preaching. While the Council of Trent tried to rejuvenate the preaching function of the episcopacy, in France at least most bishops continued to assign preaching in diocesan churches to the secular and regular clergy throughout the sixteenth

century.¹⁴ The mendicant clergy were free to preach in their own churches, but they required the permission of the bishop to enter a parish pulpit. This arrangement was a compromise drawn up during the early days of the mendicant orders, and one that never satisfied either the friars or the bishop. Historically speaking, bishops resented the existence of independent religious organizations within their respective dioceses just as the mendicant clergy resented any impingement on their own pastoral ministry.

While many bishops learned to live with mendicant independence, others did not. In fact, the sixteenth-century saw a resurgent interest within the European episcopacy to control mendicant preaching. The first session of the Council of Trent in 1545 became the site of one particularly important battle over mendicant privileges when a group of influential and disgruntled prelates tried to claim control over preaching in mendicant churches.¹⁵ In France as well, we find periodic conflicts between individual bishops and mendicant preachers throughout the sixteenth century. Guillaume Briçonnet's very public assault on the preaching of the friar Jean Corion in 1525 is the most celebrated example. Corion was then guardian of the Observant community at Meaux, and Briçonnet was incensed at Corion's criticism of his own preaching. Unfortunately for Briçonnet, the legal case before the Parlement of Paris quickly turned to the issue of his own spiritual orthodoxy rather than his jurisdiction over the mendicant clergy of his diocese.¹⁶ Later disputes that also made their way before the Parlement of Paris involved friars in the dioceses of Beauvais and Troyes. On May 4, 1559, the Cordeliers of Beauvais accused their bishop of trying to prevent their guardian from preaching in a parish church. The bishop claimed in his own defense that the guardian did so without his permission. This case dragged on for two years, and in the end the Parlement of Paris found in favor of the bishop. The Cordeliers were ordered to present a list of the preachers to the bishop and have it signed.¹⁷ In 1588, Christophe Blaiseau faced a similar injunction from the bishop of Troyes. The precise nature of the conflict between Blaiseau and the bishop is unclear, though this time the content of Blaiseau's preaching was the primary concern. Perhaps his discussion of Christian doctrine was suspect. More likely, Blaiseau was critical of episcopal authority. Whatever the charge, the Parlement must have found little evidence of serious error in his sermon since it told Blaiseau that he was free to preach "according to the holy decrees and apostolic and roman doctrine as before."¹⁸

The uneasy jockeying of jurisdiction between the secular and regular clergy was an inevitable byproduct of an institution that recognized a complex weave of spiritual traditions within its corporate body, each convinced of its own perfection. Relations between religious orders were no more harmonious for this reason. The arrival of the Jesuits and Capuchins during the sixteenth century was a particular source of grievance for the mendicant clergy of France.

The unique nature of the Jesuit tradition has received much attention from historians in the last decades, especially since the order quickly gained a foothold in many countries by the end of the sixteenth century and exerted enormous influence over the European elite. Formed in 1534 by Ignatius of Loyola, the Jesuit tradition blended a humanist education program with an aggressive missionary organization, a combination that marked out the Jesuits as an altogether new kind of religious tradition within the Catholic Church. The Jesuits were also a preaching tradition, and as such competed with the French mendicant clergy for the same sources of patronage and privilege. For this reason among others, the Jesuits found the mendicant clergy less than receptive to their establishment in France. The Franciscan friars of Palmiers fought the establishment of the Jesuits in their city in 1560, arguing that the Jesuits “would take bread from the friars’ mouths by ruining their earnings from burials, masses and confessions,” and Jesuit establishments in Paris and other cities also faced mendicant opposition.¹⁹ The publication of six royal patent letters in less than a decade, each one recognizing the establishment of the Capuchin order and forbidding harassment of its members, shows that the Capuchins faced similar resistance.²⁰ As fellow Franciscans, the Capuchins were understandably a more direct threat to the Observant friars than the Jesuits, which is one reason why the Observants figure prominently as tormentors in Capuchin accounts of the early years of their tradition in France.²¹

Ecclesiastical Support: The French Clergy

Tension was undeniably a characteristic of ecclesiastical relations, but for every case of conflict, we find many more examples of cooperation between members of the Church body. Although they viewed one another as rivals, the Jesuits, Capuchins, and Observant Franciscans were all members of the Catholic League. The preaching of the Capuchin Pierre Deschamps alongside the Observant Maurice Hylaret in Orléans after 1589 is just one striking example.²² The secular clergy also saw enormous value in the mendicant traditions, as demonstrated by their inclusion of the friars in parochial as well as diocesan processions and, even more revealingly, by their patronage of mendicant preachers and communities. The Cardinals of Lorraine and Bourbon both used their influence to secure the entrance of Jacques Berson and other friars into the Faculty of Theology at the University of Paris, but even at the municipal level parish priests, canons-regular, monks, and nuns gave money to support the Franciscan ministry.²³ Patrons of the Paris friary included Jean Picart, a canon of Sainte-Opportune; Nicolas Chrestien, the vicar of the parish church Les-Saints-Innocents; Pierre Loudon, prior of the abbey Issy-et-Saint-Aubin-de-Maine; and Jean de la Mothe, the abbot of the monastery of Saint-Prys, as well as the illustrious Jean de Hangest, the *comte-évêque* de

Noyon. Hangest was a member of an old Breton family, and he occupied one of the rare bishoprics in which temporal and spiritual jurisdiction were concentrated in episcopal hands. Even a member of the rival Capuchin order named Augustin Champion generously contributed money to the rebuilding of the Paris friary's church following its accidental burning in 1580.²⁴

In the support it drew from the clergy of France, the Paris friary was not unusual. The clergy of Brittany and other regions also gave generously to their local mendicant communities, a powerful indication that the clergy across France believed these traditions were important.²⁵ Perhaps the most significant demonstration of clerical support for the French Franciscan friars as well as the other mendicant clergy was their encouragement of mendicant preaching. The number of conflicts between bishops and Franciscans during the sixteenth century over preaching pales beside the many instances of support. Franciscans and the other three orders of mendicant clergy were regularly recruited for cathedral pulpits across France during the holy seasons of Lent and Advent, a clear sign of episcopal approval. Jacques Hugonis preached at the Cathedral of Rouen in 1566 and Jacques Berson mentions in a sermon from 1589 that the Cardinal Charles de Bourbon recruited a Franciscan to preach during his visit to the same city.²⁶ The roster of preachers recruited by the canons of Notre-Dame in Paris during the course of the Wars of Religion included several Franciscans already familiar to us: Jacques Hugonis (1561–63), Jean Benedicti (1565), Louis Hebert (1577–78), François Feuarent (1584–85), and Maurice Hylaret (1587).²⁷

Symphorien Guyon's history of Orléans also mentions three Franciscans appointed by the bishop of Orléans, Mathurin de la Saussaye, to preach in the diocese during the 1560s and 1570s: Philippe Picart, Maurice Hylaret, and Gabriel Renard.²⁸ Guyon neglects to mention whether these men preached in the cathedral in particular, though Hylaret's growing reputation as a preacher would have made him a good candidate for such a privilege. Only the most prominent preachers were invited into cathedral pulpits while parochial pulpits welcomed the vast majority of wandering friars. Regional studies show that Franciscans were in high demand in parochial pulpits throughout the Wars of Religion, and while the majority were recruited from local convents, the Paris friary regularly sent out scores of friars to preach in the provinces during the holy seasons of Lent and Advent.²⁹ The minutes of the Paris inner council rarely specify the particular destination of each friar, though in 1574 the secretary broke this tradition by naming five pulpits open to the friars in Paris, including those of Saint-André-des-Arts and Saint-Jacques-de-la-Bouchérie.³⁰ The preaching of the friars in Paris is much easier to follow after 1588, when Franciscan support of the League attracted the attention of contemporary observers such as Pierre de l'Estoile. François Feuarent preached regularly at Saint-Jean-en-Grève.³¹ Others who frequented the pulpits of Paris

during the period of the Catholic League included the famous Italian orator Francesco Panigarola, and Jean Garin.³² Garin preached at the churches of Saint-Merry, Sainte-Geneviève-des-Ardents, and, most frequently of all, Saint-Jacques-de-la-Bouchérie.³³

The presence of Franciscans in parochial pulpits was a sign of episcopal approval, but it was a sign of parochial approval as well. Although ecclesiastical legislation gave the bishop authority over the selection of preachers in parochial as well as cathedral pulpits in his diocese, there is substantial evidence that parochial clergy and even parishioners requested particular mendicant preachers. A legal case involving the bishop of Paris, Pierre de Gondi, from March 1588 suggests in fact that many parishes in Paris took the initiative of hiring their own preachers without first consulting with the bishop. Gondi argued that it was "very unusual for the marguilliers of the parishes and faubourgs of this city to name and choose preachers . . . given that it was the office and responsibility of the bishop."³⁴ The bishop of Paris was responding to the contention of the parish priests and laity that "the naming of preachers in the parish churches of Paris lay with the parish priest and marguillier and with the advice of the parishioners."³⁵ Since many of the Paris parishes were under the control of League supporters at this time, it is possible that this desire for parochial control of the pulpits was rooted in League radicalism. Many preachers affiliated with the League roundly denounced Gondi later on in 1591 for his refusal to sign the oath of Union and the University of Paris's declaration condemning Henry of Navarre. However, the clergy in the diocese of Lyon also had some influence over the selection of preachers; furthermore, it is highly unlikely that the guardian of the Beauvais community who was in trouble with the bishop for unauthorized preaching in 1559 could have preached in the parish church without the support of that church.³⁶ Given that many of the bishops who presided during the wars were not known for their interest in spiritual reform, it is safe to conclude that parishes had a great deal of say in choosing preachers. The degree to which bishops exercised regular jurisdiction over the selection of preachers varied enormously, being dependent as much upon individual willingness to direct spiritual life in the diocese as upon the support of the clergy under one's jurisdiction.

The frequent presence of Franciscans and other members of the mendicant clergy in pulpits across France during the Wars thus points to a surprising unanimity of opinion among the French secular clergy about the utility of mendicant preaching in this period. We can well understand why, since the very characteristics that made the friars such an uneasy presence in the Church body also made them immediately useful to the French hierarchy in the war against Protestantism. Discussion of the Catholic Church at the time of the Reformation has tended to focus on the many ways in which the Church failed to meet the spiritual needs of its sixteenth-century flock, and there is

no question that accusations of corruption, pastoral neglect, and religious intolerance were often well grounded. The Church was nevertheless a remarkably adaptable religious institution, one that had already weathered the vicissitudes of spiritual debate for over a thousand years, and it remained the dominant religious tradition in the West long after Luther's departure. The rigorous program of internal reform initiated with the Council of Trent was one reason for the resurgence of Catholic spirituality and authority in the second half of the sixteenth century, but so too was the Church's long tradition of spiritual inclusivity. Given that the Catholic Church also produced the Roman Inquisition, the term "inclusive" requires clarification.³⁷ There is no question that the Church frowned upon doctrinal innovation. Within the parameters of doctrinal orthodoxy, the Church nevertheless embraced an enormously diverse collection of religious traditions that varied in their understanding of the path to spiritual perfection. The cloistered Benedictine tradition emphasizing prayer and contemplation, the pastoral mission of the parochial priest, the teaching ministry of the sixteenth-century Ursuline nuns, and the ascetic rigorism of the Carthusian monks are a small sampling of the varied nature of the Catholic body at the time of the Reformation, and testify to the Church's willingness to recognize new religious expressions over time.

The Church recognized the existence of different religious traditions for the sake of its own survival. At times new traditions entered the ecclesiastical fold because Church officials wanted to control them, the desert monastic communities being one notable example. Men and women fled to the desert during the earliest centuries of Christianity because they were convinced that the existing Church as well as society was corrupt, and they struggled against episcopal efforts to oversee their communities.³⁸ At times the incorporation of a new tradition into the ecclesiastical structure was a pragmatic recognition of the power of this way of life over its adherents, one that eventually might become a celebrated route to spiritual perfection among other members of the Church as well as the laity. The absorption of new traditions, in other words, enabled the Church hierarchy to maintain religious unity by allowing a degree of diversity. Such diversity, as the mendicant traditions show, was not always welcomed. It did not help the friars that their ministry looked suspiciously like that of Peter Waldo and the other lay preachers then wandering thirteenth-century Europe. Concern about heresy and their own spiritual authority made church officials very nervous about lay ministries of any sort, and the bedraggled appearance of the earliest Franciscans did little at first to instill ecclesiastical confidence in the new tradition. Innocent III nevertheless recognized the Franciscan and Dominican orders precisely because they responded to a distinctive spiritual need at the time—demand for a preaching ministry that focused on reaching all members of society with a message of moral reform.³⁹

The support that the friars received at the time of the Wars of Religion shows that many members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy of France had come to value the mendicant traditions as vital, useful agents of spiritual reform. Clearly one reason was their ability to attract large numbers of listeners. As Larissa Taylor points out, rumors about the decline of Catholic preaching on the eve of the Reformation have been greatly exaggerated. The pulpit remained the most important medium of communication in France even in the century after the invention of moveable type, as French men and women continued to receive much of their information on national and international events as well as local politics during Sunday services at the parish church. Religious division after 1521 only increased popular demand for the spiritual message of the preacher among Protestants and Catholics alike.⁴⁰ With their emotionally-charged delivery, direct sermon style, and vivid use of language, the mendicant clergy were unmatched practitioners of the art and they routinely attracted large crowds of listeners. The five thousand people who purportedly attended one of Friar Jacques Le Bossu's sermons in Nantes during the period of the Catholic League might seem exaggerated were it not for the fact that the most celebrated Franciscan preachers routinely attracted very large crowds of listeners, and Le Bossu was preaching in a society engulfed by spiritual warfare.⁴¹ The popularity of their preaching is one reason why mendicant churches were designed to hold hundreds of people, and the pulpit was centered to ensure that all listeners could easily receive the spiritual message of the friar.⁴²

Able to draw large crowds, the mendicant clergy were also wandering ministers and thus useful for combating the infiltration of Protestantism. Concern about spiritual state of the French body was so pervasive among many members of the Church by the middle of the sixteenth century that even regions considered Catholic fielded heavier influxes of preachers than usual. For understandable reasons, those regions most seriously penetrated by Calvinism were a particular cause for alarm. Not unlike the thirteenth century when Catharism took hold in the mountainous regions of southern France, the penetration of Calvinism transformed sixteenth-century France into a missionary zone. Eighty-eight Calvinist missionaries made their way into France across the alps between 1555 and 1563 alone. These men found a particularly warm welcome in the kingdom of Navarre in the Pyrenees and in nearby regions of France. Moving from household to household, region to region, these men rapidly knit together communities that would soon form nexi of Calvinist resistance during the Wars of Religion. Jeanne Garrisson-Estèbe estimates that there were fourteen hundred Calvinist churches in France by May 1562, eight hundred of which were found in the south-central region of France, the Midi, and along the western seaboard. Phillip Benedict places the number of adherents to the new faith at 1.5 million to two million people, roughly one-tenth of the French population at the time.⁴³

The clandestine ministry of Calvinist missionaries made it difficult for royal authorities to track them down, and impossible to control once Protestantism gained the support of municipal authorities and local governors. Much of the ancient region of Aquitaine, for example, was in the hands of Protestant authorities throughout the wars. Faced as they were by a large, highly organized religious institution in their midst, French clerics naturally embraced the mobile mendicant ministry as a necessary counteragent to the influence of Calvinism.⁴⁴ At the very least, mendicant preachers traditionally traveled the same roads now walked by Calvinist ministers. The mendicant clergy shared with the Calvinist missionaries, furthermore, a theological and rhetorical training that made them particularly useful for challenging their preaching. Genevan missionaries, most of them French-born, received an intensive intellectual formation in the Bible and scriptural exegesis, as well as in Latin, Hebrew, and Greek. Calvin believed that “only a man with a high degree of linguistic and philological ability could be entrusted with the task of interpreting to less learned or otherwise preoccupied people the very words of Almighty God.”⁴⁵

Partly in response to the training of these ministers and partly in response to the work of earlier French Christian humanists, French Franciscan preachers by the time of the Wars of Religion also studied the scriptures and received a similar linguistic training.⁴⁶ The vaunted ability of the mendicant clergy for distilling complex theological issues into a language that could be understood by the ordinary believer also meant that friars knew how to speak to the same audiences targeted by the Protestant missionaries, in particular, the literate lay believer.⁴⁷ It was to reach such an audience that friars such as Jean Porthaise and Fremin Capitis, among others, published vernacular treatises challenging central tenets of Calvinist thought during the 1560s. Capitis’s learned debate with the Calvinist minister Jean Taffin in 1564 over Clément Marot’s translation of the Psalms of David is one masterly example of Franciscan controversy in action at the time of the Wars of Religion, a model of theological sophistication combined with rhetorical versatility designed to tug at the heart and mind of the educated lay believer.⁴⁸

The Papacy

The mendicant clergy matched Calvinist preachers weapon for weapon on the frontlines of the confessional conflicts, and in doing so convinced many members of the French church that they were the ideal medicine for the Calvinist infection in France. The very fact that the friars were prominent targets of Protestant controversialists just underscored their utility for the Catholic cause.⁴⁹ Geoffrey Dipple’s examination of antifraternel tracts in Lutheran Germany similarly shows that Protestant criticism of the mendicant clergy

was less a genuine response to mendicant corruption than a reflection of their own fear of the friars.⁵⁰ The mendicant clergy were early and active opponents of Lutheranism in Germany, and by all accounts, effective ones. The utility of the friars for counteracting the appeal of Protestant preachers was also not lost on the sixteenth-century papacy, and the French Franciscans benefited enormously from papal legislation promoting the mendicant model of preaching, just as they did from the support of the French ecclesiastical hierarchy. Papal encouragement of mendicant preaching was partly a response to the Council of Trent. Called into being under Paul IV in 1545, the Council of Trent was one of the most important church councils in the history of the Catholic Church, and it played a pivotal role in determining the future development of the Church in the wake of the Reformation. Over the course of twenty years, the Council deliberated on a broad range of issues, including Catholic doctrine and liturgy, clerical morality, ecclesiastical authority, and institutional abuses in the structure of the church. It was this council that restated its adherence to the doctrine of transubstantiation and the utility of good works in response to Lutheran doctrine.⁵¹ With regard to the mendicant clergy, the first session of the Council of Trent (1545–63) made the mendicant model of preaching with its emphasis upon moral reform the officially recognized model throughout the structure of the Church. This declaration effectively recognized the success of the mendicant ministries for reaching broad sectors of society even into the sixteenth century. Another initiative also crucial for the mendicant style of preaching during the late sixteenth century was the Council's requirement of lectures on the Bible in monastic communities.⁵² Though the Bible was already an important component of monastic studies, the great historian of the Council Hubert Jedin argues that this statute reflected a Christian humanist agenda because it elevated the status of biblical scholarship within the existing curriculum, and, equally importantly, accommodated Christian humanist textual and linguistic methodologies.⁵³ Since Lutheran controversialists relied on these methodologies, the Council of Trent's encouragement of similar training among Catholic authors was simply a matter of matching fire with fire on the frontlines of the spiritual battlefield.

Papal promotion of mendicant preaching continued after the Council of Trent under the respective administrations of Pius V (1565–72), Gregory XIII (1572–85), and Sixtus V (1585–90).⁵⁴ These three pontiffs were known advocates of tridentine reform. Moreover, Pius V and Sixtus V were products respectively of the Dominican and Franciscan traditions, and held enormous affection in consequence for the mendicant clergy. Both pontiffs were fond of the Observant Franciscans in particular, which might explain the many privileges with which they inundated this as well as the other mendicant orders.⁵⁵ The stern reformer Pius V, who was not known to hand out compliments

lightly, once declared that the Observant Franciscan order was “founded on humility, and on joy in the midst of sorrow.” Referring to its recent efforts against heresy, Pius remarked that the order “has produced such abundant fruit and continues to produce it in full measure day by day.”⁵⁶ Sixtus V’s attachment to his own tradition led him to wear the Franciscan habit while in his private apartments, as well as promote several members of his order to important episcopacies.⁵⁷ With specific regard to mendicant preaching, Pius V initiated the introduction of biblical lectures first proposed by the Council of Trent, while Sixtus V used his pontificate to elevate the stature of Franciscan learning within the Church. He established a conventual studium dedicated to the study of Bonaventure in Rome and also recognized the great Franciscan scholastic thinker as one of the four doctors of the Church alongside Thomas Aquinas.⁵⁸ Even Gregory XIII must have seen value in the preaching ministry of the mendicant clergy, for it was during his pontificate that mendicant theologians received permission to read heretical material, a privilege that had perhaps the most direct impact on the French Franciscan mission at the time of the Wars of Religion.

Reflecting a profound concern on the part of the central administration about the spread of Protestantism across Europe, these initiatives regarding Franciscan preaching quickly filtered down to the French communities in ways that had important ramifications for the French mission during the Wars of Religion. Unfortunately, surviving legislation does not indicate whether the Christian humanist-influenced methods of biblical study penetrated the French studia during the late sixteenth century. Still, given that the work of the most influential Franciscan controversialists of the time reflected a keen knowledge of Greek and even Hebrew as well as classical and humanist writings, we can surmise that they were receiving such a formation.⁵⁹ More indicative of tridentine influence upon the French friars was their demonstrated knowledge of heretical material. François Feuardent, Noël Taillepied, Fremin Capitis, and Maurice Hylaret were among those who lost no time in reading up on the latest Protestant texts. Since these men spent years studying theology at one of the French universities, they would have had little difficulty finding such texts. Published in 1599, Feuardent’s *Charitable avertissement aux ministres et predicateurs de deux cents et trente erreurs contenus en leur confession du Foy* boldly announces to his readers an intimate understanding of Calvinist and Lutheran doctrine as did many of his earlier polemics. Hylaret was familiar with Lutheran and Calvinist doctrine as well, but his *Deux traictez ou opuscles* also makes reference to the work of Erasmus, whose work was by now listed on the Index of Forbidden texts.⁶⁰

Tridentine encouragement of mendicant preaching reflected a profound concern at the highest levels of ecclesiastical authority with spiritual division in

Europe. Other papal policies that shaped the Franciscan ministry in France during this period were not concerned solely with the spread of Protestantism, but rather reflected the broad-ranging concerns of an international religious institution battered on all sides by political and religious conflict. The emergence of the Catholic Church by 1600 as the largest religious tradition in the Western hemisphere was not something that the sixteenth-century pontiffs would have predicted. Instead, they spent their pontificates struggling desperately to maintain the stature and world-wide influence of the papacy. Besides Protestantism, these pontiffs also faced continuing resistance from many secular rulers in Europe who were anxious about papal authority over their religious institutions. This resistance was in many respects a particular legacy of papal recovery in the wake of the schism of the previous century. It was during the schism that secular rulers managed to wrestle significant jurisdictional gains from the weakened pontificate, and the monarchs of France and Spain made it perfectly clear through their resistance to the tridentine decrees as well as other acts that they were not about to see these gains erode under pressure from a more aggressive papacy.⁶¹

Outside of Europe, the papacy found another and even greater threat to its own prominence as a Christian authority in the form of the Ottomans. Constantinople's fall to Turkish forces in 1453 placed the center of Eastern Christianity in the hands of Muslim authorities. As Ottoman influence rapidly spread into regions along the eastern seaboard of the Mediterranean, the papacy found itself confronted by an Empire that was hardly receptive to papal authority over the Christian holy sites of Palestine and nearby regions.⁶² Turkish ships also harassed European ships in the Mediterranean, seriously harming Venetian mercantile activity and curtailing pilgrimage travel while raising the specter of Ottoman invasion of the Italian peninsula. During these years the papacy sounded the clarion cry to crusade from Roman pulpits, eagerly encouraging Europeans to mobilize and save Christendom from the seemingly unstoppable Turkish advance on Christendom. The papacy also joined forces with Venice and Naples in a Holy League. Not until near the end of the century, however, did this alliance bear the fruit of victory. The battle of Lepanto of 1571 became a defining moment in the alliance of the normally contentious Christian allies when they realized that Ottoman forces were beatable.

Even before this victory, the situation was not entirely bleak for the sixteenth-century papacy. As Protestantism hammered at its authority in Europe after 1521 and Ottoman influence in the East threatened its jurisdiction over Christian holy sites, encounters with New World cultures after 1492 opened up possibilities for Catholic westward expansion. Internally as well, the post-tridentine papacy effected a rejuvenation of the Catholic ministry that ultimately left it the largest and most powerful religious domination in

Western Europe. By 1600, the papacy presided over a vast Catholic empire that dominated lands in the Western hemisphere, a situation that owed a great deal to the skillful political maneuvering and reforming enthusiasm of many of its sixteenth-century pontiffs. Mendicant legislation at the time of the Wars of Religion reflects two particular objectives of the papacy that proved critical to the emergence of a triumphant Catholic Church in the West: the centralization of ecclesiastical authority throughout the entire Church structure, and expansion of the ministry of the Church throughout the known world. Three papal initiatives that had particularly far-reaching political and religious consequences for the mendicant ministries in France were Observant reform, mendicant autonomy from episcopal authority, and the expansion of the Capuchin ministry outside of Italy.

The emergence of Observant reform in many religious orders is one more reminder that the papacy was not the only engine of Catholic rejuvenation in the sixteenth century. Along with the Franciscan, observant movements emerged independently in the other three orders of mendicant clergy (Dominican, Augustinian, and Carmelite) as well as in the Benedictine and Cistercian traditions.⁶³ Though they varied in their respective understanding of spiritual purity, Observant reformers shared a similar conviction about the corrupt state of their orders and a desire to restore them to a state of purity.⁶⁴ It is for this reason that the Observant movements attracted the attention of the post-tridentine papacy. The Council of Trent called for large-scale purification of the Church body, including the monastic traditions, insisting that the spread of Protestantism owed a great deal to the poor training of parish priests as well as to such clerical abuses as fornication, simony, venality, and laxity in the observance of monastic regulations. Pius V, Gregory XIII, and Sixtus V took this mandate seriously, and one of their most important reforming initiatives concerned the promotion of Observant reform among the mendicant clergy. Pius V stressed the vow of poverty as the cornerstone of the mendicant life.⁶⁵ Despite some opposition, Pius V also managed to force a number of Conventuals to adopt the Observant rule in the Franciscan and Dominican orders in Spain.⁶⁶ The Spanish Observants had already undergone reform earlier in the century at the behest of the king, and Pius V believed that it was now the turn for the Conventuals to adopt a more rigorous spiritual life. After much resistance, the Spanish Conventuals finally submitted in November 1567. Pius attempted a similar consolidation within the order of canons regular, the Dominicans, Augustinian hermits, Cistercians, and the Carmelites but with mixed results. Sixtus V later tried to reunite the three Franciscan branches but this also resulted in failure.⁶⁷ Gregory XIII alone showed no interest in such drastic constitutional changes within the orders of mendicant clergy. Even so, from the start of his pontificate Gregory was an active promoter of the Observant traditions. With specific regard to the

Franciscans, Gregory played a crucial role in securing the election of Francesco Gonzaga as the Minister General of the Franciscan Order in 1579. Gonzaga continued the reform of the French Observant communities initiated by the previous general, Christophe de Cheffontaine. It was Gonzaga, of course, who presided over the reform of the Paris friary in 1582.⁶⁸

The post-tridentine papacy encouraged Observant reform as one of many measures to cleanse spiritual deformity from the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Restored once again to a pristine state, the Catholic clergy would then be well poised to eradicate the Protestant heresy from Europe once and for all. These pontiffs were perfectly aware, furthermore, that Observant reform provided a useful vehicle for extending its authority over the mendicant clergy and other monastic traditions. The centralizing agenda of the sixteenth-century papacy is reflected in papal insistence that strict obedience to ecclesiastical authority was a sign of spiritual purity among the monastic traditions. Pius V issued ordinances forbidding the regular clergy from living outside their communities, for example, and made it much more difficult for friars to leave one religious order for another one that observed a more relaxed discipline.⁶⁹ Gregory also forbade religious from appealing the authority of their superiors to secular judgment or to that of canonists, and strengthened canonical legislation governing runaway friars.⁷⁰

Strict obedience to the authority of ecclesiastical superiors was a central tenet of Observant reform. While the papacy argued that it promoted Observant reform for the good of its own members, it also knew that such reform made for a clergy obedient to papal authority, since the papacy was the highest authority in the Church. True, even at the height of its authority under Innocent III in the thirteenth century, the papacy never enjoyed full control over its religious institutions. Geographic distance, the interests of secular rulers, and clerical corruption were three powerful mitigating factors throughout the history of the Church. Even so, the papal schism of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries was a particular low point, since the existence of two popes obviated strong, consistent, central intervention in ecclesiastical life. It is fair to say that papal influence over the Franciscans as well as other religious orders during the schism depended on the cooperation of their leading officials, and since the Franciscan order itself had been divided in its loyalties to the rival pontiffs, this influence had been at times minimal at best. Outside the papal states, where it held temporal as well as spiritual jurisdiction, the papacy lacked the legal authority and military might necessary to coerce friars into obedience.⁷¹ The papacy could not have independently enforced the Observant reform of many monastic communities during the sixteenth century for this reason. Fortunately for Pius V and Gregory XIII, Gonzaga and many other Franciscan minister generals of the sixteenth century were supportive of such reform.

Even with obvious limitations, the spiritual authority of the papacy was never easily ignored by the Franciscans, let alone other religious orders, because they regarded him as the successor to Saint Peter. Excommunication, the formulation of internal legislation, the granting of spiritual privileges, and the hearing of legal appeals—these were among the many authorities vested in the individual chosen to lead the Church by apostolic succession. Despite periodic conflict, the Franciscans along with the other orders of regular clergy generally recognized papal authority in their affairs. As papal authority slowly recovered from the schism, so too did its influence over the religious orders and other sectors of the Church. Needless to say, papal efforts to increase its authority within the structure of the Church received a serious blow following Luther's departure from the Church in 1521 when many clerics and congregations converted to the new faith. Although the papacy was shocked by the defection of so many members and at first seemingly slow to respond, spiritual division soon reinforced the conviction of many reformers that the well-being of the Church lay in greater papal control over its far-flung body. Such reasoning informed the decision of the Council of Trent to elevate episcopal authority within the diocese and the authority of monastic leaders over their respective membership. A mendicant clergy that was obedient to its own superiors was more likely to serve the papacy and the Church loyally, or so the pontiffs believed. A papal bull published during the pontificate of Gregory XIII said as much. Published on March 1, 1573, the bull stated that "we consider nothing more useful for removing contention in any religious family than to obey the supreme authority of those governing. . . ."⁷²

The gradual centralization of church authority in the hands of the papacy over the course of the sixteenth century mirrored the centralization of authority under secular rulers at this time, and reflected broad concern about maintaining order in the body politic through exercising more direct control over members. For this reason many rulers were understandably wary about papal promotion of Observant reform among the monastic traditions, since such reform carried with it enhanced papal authority over communities lying in their kingdoms. The papal legate Castelli's reform of the Paris friary in 1581/82 sparked just such a response among the magistracy. It did not alleviate magisterial concern that the jurisdiction of the legate was noticeably expanding by this time. Bernard and Ségolène Dainville-Barbiche demonstrate, furthermore, how the papacy gradually transformed the once ad-hoc office of papal legate into a more professionalized and regularized ambassadorship over the course of the sixteenth century. In order to better serve the needs of an expansionist papacy, the legates of the late sixteenth century received greater spiritual and political legitimacy than in times past, and one important change concerned their authority as spiritual reformers.⁷³ Gregory empowered papal legates in Germany, Poland, Bohemia, and Dalmatia as well as in France to reform monastic orders, among them the orders of mendicant clergy.⁷⁴

Castelli was not the only legate to intervene in French mendicant affairs during the Wars of Religion. Antonio Salviati intervened on behalf of Observant reform in the Paris Augustinian community in 1574.⁷⁵ Three years later, he remained dissatisfied with the state of the Augustinian community and less than impressed by the condition of the other mendicant orders. In a letter to the papal secretary in 1577, Salviati urged the papacy to put pressure on the mendicant generals to reform their bodies: "Seeing the disorder among these Parisian mendicants, I have thought many times that it would be not be a bad [thing] to demand all of the generals to reform their people."⁷⁶ Five years later in the Spring of 1582 Salviati's successor, Castelli, felt a similar need to intervene in a mendicant community, this time the Paris friary. After watching in dismay as the community openly refused entrance to visitors sent by its minister general, and as internal order gave way to warring factions, Castelli received the necessary authority to restore the Paris Franciscan community to obedience.

Such intrusions into French religious life understandably worried French authorities who perceived them as signs of a more aggressive papal authority at work in France. In response, French authorities did their best to curtail nuncio authority throughout the sixteenth century. Castelli's frustration with the Paris friars in 1581/82 shows, furthermore, that the French Franciscans were no more welcoming to the intervention of the nuncios than were secular authorities. The nuncios' direct intervention into the religious life of the French mendicant communities is nevertheless critical for understanding the political activism of the French Franciscans throughout the Wars of Religion because it links internal reform with spiritual zealotry. Castelli's excommunication of the rebels and his public disciplining of several others in 1582 managed to escalate internal disorder as well as magisterial concern about the influence of papal authority over French religious institutions. In other words, he effectively transformed a local dispute into an international incident, hardly what the papacy had in mind when it first gave him authority to reform the Paris community.⁷⁷ And yet, by supporting Franciscan generals in their efforts at internal reform, Castelli and the papacy played a critical role in reminding the French friars of essential Franciscan ideals at a time of serious spiritual conflict in France. In doing so, the nuncio and the papacy contributed, albeit indirectly, to the remarkable spiritual zeal that marked the French Franciscan ministry during this period.

Alongside its promotion of Observant reform, papal defense of mendicant autonomy from episcopal authority also shaped the French Franciscan mission in ways that were not necessarily anticipated by the papacy. Episcopal attempts to contain mendicant preaching did not end with the Council of Trent. The papal bull *Etsi mendicatum* (September 23, 1567) directly challenged episcopal efforts to construe tridentine legislation in ways unfavorable

to the mendicant orders. While Pius V was eager to strengthen the authority of the mendicant generals over their respective memberships in order to preserve an obedient ecclesiastical body, he was equally insistent upon the independence of the mendicant clergy from the authority of the bishop. Commenting on twenty-six controversial passages regarding mendicant privileges, the bull reinforced in particular the exemption of mendicant churches from episcopal authority, thus ensuring that Franciscans remained free to preach and receive Christians for the cure of souls in their own churches.⁷⁸ The one exception concerned the right to hear confession, and even here Pius V initially refuted episcopal claims to give their approval to confessors. However, he was subsequently forced to revoke this privilege. Gregory XIII and Sixtus V would later confirm these privileges.

Papal interest in preserving mendicant independence from episcopal authority, even as it strengthened episcopal authority within the diocese, perhaps seems contradictory. Post-tridentine pontiffs were nevertheless convinced that mendicant independence was critical to the expansion and centralization of papal authority throughout the structure of the Church because they had always fulfilled such a function. The papacy was one of the most important beneficiaries of mendicant missions to regions in the East where the dogged missionizing of the Franciscans in Palestine earned a foothold for the Catholic Church even after the failure of the Crusades. Furthermore, the linguistic preparation of these missionaries, cultivated in schools within the orders, made them ideally suited to act as emissaries on behalf of the medieval papacy to Muslim and Christian leaders.⁷⁹ In Europe, as well, the missionizing of the religious orders made them effective agents of papal authority where rival religious traditions and/or obstreperous bishops challenged papal influence. Cathar France is a case in point. Faced by resistance from many members of the clergy of southern France, the Franciscans and Dominicans brought their own ministry to bear upon the Cathar heresy.⁸⁰ In subsequent centuries, the papacy would turn time and time again to the Dominicans and Franciscans in battles against heresy, choosing these clerics more than others for the office of Inquisitor.

The mendicant clergy proved their worth as agents of Catholic spirituality by establishing footholds for the Church in far-off lands and, equally importantly, by cementing Catholic hold on the hearts and minds of its followers. In doing so, these clerics elevated the authority of the papacy as its spiritual leader. Mendicant confrontations with Protestant preachers thus performed a similar function for the sixteenth-century pontiffs, who knew that a restoration of Europe to Catholic loyalty meant a recovery of the spiritual unity symbolized by the papacy. A similar desire to extend its spiritual hegemony also underlay papal encouragement of mendicant missions to the New World and other lands recently encountered by European explorers. The bull *Inter*

Caetera (May 4, 1493) was particularly important for articulating a papal agenda with regard to the missionization of the New World on the eve of European exploration. Though it ceded the supervision of missions to the Spanish government, the bull makes it clear that Alexander VI and his administrators saw enormous value in the expansion of Catholicism into these regions. "Among other works well pleasing to the Divine Majesty and cherished in our heart," Alexander says, "this assuredly ranks highest, that in our times especially the Catholic faith and the Christian religion be exalted and be everywhere increased and spread, that the health of souls be cared for and that barbarous nations be overthrown and brought to the faith itself."⁸¹ Pius V and Sixtus V later built upon Alexander's legacy, using their authority to promote Catholic missions throughout the known world. The formation of a special congregation of Cardinals during the pontificate of Pius V to oversee Catholic missions was a critical first step in creating an administrative structure that was independent of royal authorities. This congregation was a precursor to the seventeenth-century Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda Fide (1622).⁸²

Whether fighting Protestantism in Europe or spreading the new faith among the peoples of the New World, independence from episcopal authority gave the mendicant orders latitude for their missionary endeavors. From the perspective of a centralizing papacy, mendicant independence also gave the central administration a foothold in every European diocese where mendicant orders found a home. The long-contested episcopal frontier of France offers one particularly dramatic example. Centuries of conflict between the king and the papacy over control of the French episcopacy and other church offices left both authorities perpetually suspicious of the other's intervention in French ecclesiastical affairs. By the fourteenth century, French bishops were almost entirely drawn from the nobility and owed their offices to royal nomination. They were, in other words, natural allies of their monarch in disputes with the papacy, the conciliar crisis of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries being just one notable example. Desire for Church reform notwithstanding, episcopal support for conciliarism reflected noble interest in maintaining its control of the most important ecclesiastical offices in France. This state of affairs did not change dramatically in the sixteenth century. Even as most members of the episcopacy were willing to recognize the tridentine decrees and encouraged the monarchy to do so after 1563, the bishops obeyed Henry II's ban on participation in the Council of Trent. To be sure, the bishops appreciated the Council's enhancement of episcopal authority in the diocese, and a few even took seriously the Council's insistence upon episcopal preaching.⁸³ And yet, like their monarch, the bishops were wary of the council's enhancement of papal authority over the episcopacy. As a result, outside of the delegation led by the Cardinal of Lorraine in 1562/63, French bishops were largely absent from the deliberations of the Great Council.

The sixteenth-century papacy knew full well that the French episcopacy could at times be resistant to its authority, and so it continued to rely on the mendicant clergy as another vehicle to disseminate papal authority at the parochial and diocesan level. Furthermore, papal largesse combined with mendicant emphasis upon humility as a sign of spiritual purity meant that, while the friars proved on innumerable occasions they were by no means slavish appendages of papal authority, the papacy could usually rely upon them in its battles with other members of the Church. More to the point, there existed in many quarters a "perception" of mendicant loyalty to the papacy. The first article of the Rule of 1221, after all, made obedience to the papacy a requirement of the Franciscan life.⁸⁴ The special utility of the Franciscans for upholding papal authority in the ecclesiastical structure of France had received its greatest test earlier during the conciliarist controversies. Even as many French prelates and theologians mobilized to subordinate papal authority to that of the general council, Franciscan theologians alongside those of the other mendicant orders insisted upon the supremacy of papal authority.⁸⁵ The mendicant clergy were among the vocal advocates of the tridentine decrees throughout the Wars of Religion even in the face of royal hostility. The close association of the mendicant clergy with the papacy also explains why the French magistracy associated the greater frequency of visitations by mendicant generals during this period with an aggressive, expansionist papal policy.⁸⁶

The Franciscans were fully aware that freedom from episcopal authority served the expansionist and centralizing desires of the sixteenth-century papacy. Yet they also found such independence useful for their own spiritual agenda. At the very least, reduced episcopal authority gave the friars the necessary latitude to pursue a spiritual reform of French society even when opposed by high-ranking members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The friars who challenged the bishops of Meaux and Troyes could not have done so without the freedom to preach in their own churches. Mendicant independence with regard to preaching also enabled friars to criticize ecclesiastical authorities like Pierre de Gondi and the bishop of Orléans when these members of the episcopacy failed to support the Catholic League after 1589. Isolated as they were in their own churches, French ecclesiastics found it very difficult to control the preaching of friars even when it directly attacked their authority. Especially at a time of spiritual crisis, this license to preach made the friars formidable agents of Catholic reform, and, after 1588, of the Catholic League.

The protection of mendicant independence from episcopal authority consequently contributed to the spiritual and political prominence of the French Observants during the Wars of Religion even as it served an expansionist and centralizing agenda of the papacy. The extension of the Capuchin order outside

of Italy served similar purposes. Gregory XIII recognized the expansion of the Capuchin order outside of Italy in 1574, providing the papacy with yet another mendicant vehicle for extending its authority in spiritually divided Europe.⁸⁷ The first community appeared in France by 1568. Following the official expansion of the order, this community moved from the town of Picpus to Paris with the aid of Catherine de Médicis. Other communities soon formed in other parts of France under the patronage of the Cardinal of Lorraine, among others.⁸⁸ Since the Capuchins posed a direct threat to Observant patronage and privilege, one can well imagine the warmth of the reception they received from their Observant brethren. The Paris Observant friars must have been particularly irritated by the arrival of Pierre Deschamps as the guardian of the Paris Capuchins in 1579, a former member of their own community and an apostate. Deschamps fled from Paris years earlier to join the new tradition and without the permission of the Cordelier administrators.⁸⁹

Much like papal promotion of Observant reform, the presence of the Capuchin brothers reinforced the Observant identity of the Observant preachers. Known for their more rigorous interpretation of the Franciscan Rule, the Capuchins challenged Observant claims to spiritual perfection and immediately sparked heated debate over the authenticity of each Franciscan tradition. Furthermore, whether the Observants wished to admit it or not, the vitality and popularity of the Capuchins raised the profile of Franciscan spirituality in France in ways that were significant for the success of their own ministry. From the start the Capuchins found a receptive audience for their austere model of religious life, their brave work among the plague-ridden, and their enthusiastic displays of public devotion. The emotionally charged public devotions of these men struck a strong reaction in Parisian onlookers. L'Estoile for one noted that while "some [found] these mysteries beautiful, others laugh[ed] and mock[ed] the event, and many [were] offended as if to see the ceremonies of the Catholic religion used for masking and mockery."⁹⁰

Among those moved by Capuchin spirituality was the king of France. Before his untimely death in 1589, Henry III was a regular visitor at the Paris community, as were members of the French nobility and Parisian magisterial elite. No doubt many who watched the Capuchin procession to the city of Chartres in 1588 came simply to gawk at the once-proud nobleman, Henri de Joyeuse, Comte de Bouchage, parade as a bleeding, cross-bearing Jesus. Others, including the chronicler Jehan de la Fosse, were nevertheless impressed by Joyeuse's piety: "I believe that this lord has been touched by the hand of God, especially given his means and that he had the ear of the king as much if not more than any man in the kingdom."⁹¹ Joyeuse's entrance into the Capuchin order in 1587 was a veritable public relations' coup for the fledgling religious order, giving the new tradition a member who traveled in the highest social and political circles of France. Joyeuse was the brother of Anne de Joyeuse,

the well known favorite of Henry III. Following the death of his wife in 1587, he entered the community as a novice. He made his profession on September 4, taking the name Ange to signal his pursuit of a more perfect spiritual life. Joyeuse's dramatic entrance into the Capuchin order sparked a mad rush among the sons of the Parisian nobility into the Paris community, including his close friend, Charles Bochart de Champigny.⁹²

The popularity of the Capuchins among the French elite mounted even after the end of the wars, as the ardent, mystical nature of Capuchin piety and active support of the Catholic League brought Capuchin friars such as Benoît of Canfeld into the orbit of prominent Catholic reformers, notably Marie Acarie.⁹³ The Capuchins irritated their brothers the Observants to be sure, but there is no question that their presence in France attracted greater public attention to Franciscan spirituality during the wars, and that the ministry of the Observants benefited from the energizing presence of their Capuchin rivals.

In the particular political and spiritual context of sixteenth-century Europe, the French clergy recognized the value of the friars in the mobile preaching ministry for counteracting the influence of Calvinist missionaries in France. The papacy also found in the friars a reliable vehicle for expanding its authority. In singling out the mendicant ministries for support, the Church also provided the friars with tools that bestowed credibility on the friars as religious and political leaders in France after 1588. The French clergy gave these men access to their pulpits, and thus access to the most important medium of communication in France. Permission to read heretical materials and the promotion of the biblical lectures prepared the French Franciscans for their role as religious controversialists. Internal reform, while it destabilized relations between the French Franciscans and their general, also internalized Franciscan values, above all their role as God's most devout servants in a time of spiritual crisis. The arrival of the Capuchins contributed to this internalization of Franciscan values among the Observants, but it also raised the profile of the Franciscan ministry in France.

The following chapter will turn from the Church and look closely at lay patronage for the Franciscan ministry in France. Whereas the French clergy supported the Franciscan ministry in order to restore the authority of the Catholic Church in French society, patrons found in the Franciscan message of spiritual reform a message that empowered every believer to play a role in the salvation of their own society.

PATRONAGE AND PIETY

Reflecting back on the period of the Catholic League, the magistrate and historian Jacques-Auguste de Thou expressed mixed feelings about friar Robert Chessé. Chessé had protected De Thou during the Day of the Barricades, the week-long revolt against royal authority in Paris that began on May 12, 1588. During these violent days, the Catholic League took control of the major municipal institutions, and its supporters hunted down well-known royalists, including De Thou. Many were imprisoned if not beaten and killed, including those royalist magistrates of the Parlement and members of the municipal government who failed to escape Paris in time. De Thou fled to the Paris friary for protection sometime after May 12, and he remained hidden there for several days until it was safe for him to depart. De Thou expressed his gratitude to Chessé in his *Histoire universelle* for saving him from the League, but he could not hide his disappointment in the friar's subsequent political radicalism. Chessé was vain, he said, and he let his religious fanaticism replace his loyalty to the king.¹ De Thou was well aware that only eighteen months after the Day of the Barricades, Chessé was caught by the forces of Navarre in the city of Vendôme and executed for treason. The charge against Chessé was conspiracy on behalf of the League to overthrow the royalist government of Tours.

De Thou's mixed reaction to Chessé was no doubt symptomatic of the relations between many royalist patrons and the orders of regular clergy who found themselves on opposite sides of the political divide after 1588. Despite his criticism of the political activism of Chessé and other members of the Paris friary, De Thou remained an active patron of the community throughout the last years of the sixteenth century. In 1588 the magistrate even agreed to assume the onerous office of syndic in the Paris friary, a position that made him the official representative of the friary in all secular matters, legal, political, and financial. De Thou held this position until 1595, a year after the League ceded control of the city to Henry of Navarre. De Thou's involvement in the Paris community hints at the ecumenical nature of ecclesiastical patronage, as the friars welcomed support from men and women of all social strata regardless of their political ties. One only has to consider the fact that

another long-time patron of the Paris community was Charles, the Cardinal of Lorraine. The Cardinal was a member of the powerful Guise family and without question the wealthiest and most powerful ecclesiastic in France. In addition to periodic gifts of money to the community itself, the Cardinal used his influence in 1554 and 1565 to wheedle places for the student friars Pierre L'Enfant and Jacques Berson at the illustrious Faculty of Theology at the University of Paris. A list of Lorraine's pensions makes it clear, furthermore, that at least Berson continued to benefit from the generosity of the Cardinal six years later in 1570. Berson received twenty-five livres that year.²

The ecumenical nature of Franciscan patronage at the time of the Wars of Religion speaks to the importance of wealth and power in defining the place of religious communities in secular society, but it also puts into bold relief the role of religious patronage as an instrument of reform. Patrons chose Franciscans above other clerics as preachers, confessors, and spiritual intercessors because these men sold an understanding of Christian perfection that still resonated three hundred years after the founding of the Franciscan tradition. As this chapter will show, the distinctive nature of Franciscan spirituality was a critical determinant of Franciscan political influence during the Wars of Religion. It is unlikely that the friars could have convinced so many French men and women to support the radical political association had they not enjoyed the financial and political support of prominent members of society. This support was nevertheless grounded in the appeal of the Franciscan tradition itself, which privileged lay participation in the pursuit of spiritual perfection. What made the Franciscan tradition particularly relevant to many patrons at the time of the Wars of Religion was its merging of personal with societal salvation. Franciscan preachers told their followers that the salvation of French society lay through the pursuit of individual holiness. They transformed them, in other words, into agents of spiritual reform and in doing so made them active players in the salvation of France.

The Friars

Despite its pervasiveness at all levels of the church, we know very little about ecclesiastical patronage in early modern France.³ The spottiness of surviving church records explains why so few studies exist for the period of the Wars of Religion in particular. In fact, the archives of the Paris friary is one of the few rich enough to sustain a detailed examination of patronage. When we also take into consideration collateral evidence of patronage between particular friars and prominent individuals, surviving obituaries for other Franciscan communities and Hervé Martin's work on the mendicant clergy of Brittany, there emerges a generalized pattern of mutual support that reflected the concerns of both patron and friar. For the friars at least, one thing is clear—

patronage was, as it always had been, an avenue to wealth, political influence, and religious authority in France.

Examination of bequests to the Paris friary during the period of the Wars make it impossible to deny the importance of wealthy patrons for Franciscan financial health. In exchange for spiritual services, the friars received not only annuities from well-to-do patrons, but also land, liturgical ornaments, and art, among other forms of bequests. For most religious communities, land was the most highly prized offering because it was the gift that kept on giving. Arable farmland could be rented out to farmers or cultivated by members of the community. For the mendicant orders, which were usually urban based, gifts of houses in nearby streets gave them a steady stream of income in the form of rent.

While land was the most desirable gift, the most common was the annuity. Most annuities recognized the foundation of an annual service on the anniversary of a patron's death, better known as masses for the dead.⁴ By the sixteenth century, such services were a mainstay in many religious communities, and they were such a pervasive religious practice that most communities offered a standardized menu of elements corresponding to the size of bequests. Hervé Martin determined rough categories governing bequests in the friaries of Brittany, and a similar menu operated in the Paris friary as well. Catherine Bourgeois, for one, paid four escus sol in annuity in 1585 for a mass in perpetuity, two complete services on Saint Martin's Day. The liturgical requirements of her service is similar to that found in other bequests of the same size. She mentions the performance of the vigils at the hour of vespers, and at lauds, the *libera de profundis* and *salve Regina* along with other accustomed prayers.⁵ A modest service involving a low mass every Friday in perpetuity and weekly prayers for the soul of the departed could be had for ten escus sol annually while a gift of one hundred livres per annum was enough to provide a patron with a place in the prestigious Cordelier necropolis. It is somewhat ironic that two of the most elaborate foundations established in the friary were by former members—Jacques Hugonis and Jacques Berson. Their vows of poverty clearly did not prevent these men from holding some money in private. Both Berson and Hugonis requested masses with vigils and a procession around the Cordelier Church involving all the friars.⁶

Along with annuities, bequests also came in the form of art, furniture, and liturgical vessels. We know from Noël Taillepied's history of Pontoise that the "bourgeois" of the city provided the Observant friary with an altar and chairs among other gifts, and the urban elite of Paris similarly filled the Franciscan Church with expensive gifts, including paintings and altars.⁷ The grand central altar of the Paris church that featured four bronze columns and two angels was a particularly cherished gift among the Paris friars, and they were distraught when it was destroyed in the fire that swept the church in 1580.⁸ The

donation of such an altar was generous indeed, and beyond the revenue of the ordinary patron. More typically, Franciscan communities received liturgical vessels such as chalices, plates, and bowls made of precious metals that patrons provided for the celebration of mass.

Since their founder Francis of Assisi would hardly have seen greater spiritual value in wine drunk from a jewel-encrusted chalice than a simple tin cup, let alone the need for property of any kind, the relish with which the Paris friars received these gifts speaks to an acceptance of materialism and worldliness that, while foreign to the original intention of their religious tradition, had plagued the order almost since the beginning. This materialism was a legacy of the broader society in which they lived, a society that had long associated wealth and status with political authority.⁹ For the same reason, the friars proudly flaunted their association with important members of society through public display. Whether it was prominently situated ornaments or the armorials of noble families on the walls of the chapels, a worshipper at the Paris friary could not help seeing reflected in the very fabric of the church the relationship between the friar and important patrons. Portraits of the Paris magistracy, including one of Jacques-Auguste de Thou, also hung in the monastery, and underscore the particularly close ties enjoyed by the friars with this particular social group.¹⁰

The hierarchical and status-conscious nature of early modern French society makes it easy to understand why the Franciscans exhibited their ties with the elite. Access to prominent men and women was the accepted route to power and prestige as well as wealth. Patronage was the operating system of early modern Europe, a vehicle of political, social, and economic authority so pervasive in society that its penetration of the Church was taken for granted even among the mendicant clergy. While patronage could bind together members of similar social and political stature, it functioned more typically as a vertical chain of authority, one predicated on a personal relationship and some sort of economic, political, social or spiritual exchange. This exchange varied according to the respective needs of both patron and client. Administrative and judicial offices, military support, and land were common forms of exchange among members of the noble elite, but as we saw with the Paris friary, patronage could come in other forms as well.¹¹ Predicated as this relationship was on personal ties, furthermore, patronage had the added advantage of introducing clients into much larger networks of social, economic, and political relations. The coherent and close-knit nature of the robe nobility (magistracy), forged through intermarriage and office-holding, explains how the Paris friary crypt became a much sought-after final resting place for the Parisian elite. In many respects the friary crypt was both a literal and symbolic manifestation of the incorporating process of patronage, because it marked the imbedding of the Paris robe nobility along with its complicated web of social and political relations in the Franciscan community.

The well-groomed ecclesiastical careers of Jacques Berson, Pierre l'Enfant and Nicolas Raulin (Rollin) show, furthermore, that for the individual friar as well as the community, patronage was a well-trod avenue to wealth and prestige. Two main motivations underlay their cultivation of prominent men and women: theological education at the University of Paris and ecclesiastical preferment. These two pursuits were related, because by the sixteenth century ecclesiastical preferment generally went to friars who received a doctorate of theology from the university. Access to the theology cursum at the university required the cultivation of powerful patrons, however, because longstanding hostility at this institution between the secular and mendicant clergy made it virtually inaccessible to most friars. In fact, the Franciscans could only admit one member into the theology cursum each year. For double the usual fees and with no small amount of political pressure from prominent men and women, the Faculty of Theology agreed to accept additional friars into what they called the *extraordinary cursum*. Surviving petitions include two from the Cardinal of Lorraine on behalf of Jacques Berson and Pierre l'Enfant, Franciscan friars who sought entrance into the Faculty and used the Cardinal to enter as extraordinary students in 1565 and 1554 respectively.¹² Four years earlier, Henry II wrote in support of the promising future preacher, Estienne Fidel, and we also have letters signed by Charles IX on behalf of two Dominicans.¹³ This practice continued throughout the sixteenth century, securing access to this prestigious institution for twenty-one Franciscans above and beyond the usual number allowed into the regular cursum.¹⁴

Most friars who entered the theology cursum were eager for careers as preachers, one of the most esteemed offices in the Franciscan order. A doctorate of theology widened the possibilities for political preferment even more by paving the way to Franciscan administrative posts and offices in great noble and royal households as confessors and almoners. Royal confessors included the famous preacher Olivier Maillard, confessor to Charles VIII, and friar Bernardin, a confessor of Louise of Savoy (1476–1531), the mother of Francis I.¹⁵ Jacques Berson served both as confessor and preacher in the household of Henry III's brother François-Hercule, the duke of Anjou. Berson gave the sermon at Anjou's funeral in 1584, no small sign of his distinction as royal preacher. Later on, Jacques de l'Auvergne became a confessor of Marie de Médicis, the wife of Henry IV and future regent of France. Marie seems to have been very fond of this order, because she chose a succession of Franciscans as confessors. Following de l'Auvergne, she hired the future bishop of Marseilles and native of Tuscany, Jacques Toricelly, and later François Girardy.¹⁶ Franciscans who found posts managing the charitable activities of nobles included Pierre Besse, who was almoner in the household of the prince de Condé, and Etienne Le Maingre de Boucicaut, who became grand almoner of Marguerite de Valois in 1595.¹⁷ The appeal of these offices for the friars is easy to understand, since

they offered clerics a lucrative income and, equally important, personal access to important personages. The potential influence of the confessor over his patron is one of the reasons Henry III's Jesuit confessor Emond Auger was so reviled by many contemporaries. Jacques-Auguste de Thou even went so far as to blame the violence of the Wars of Religion on the unwise advice of confessors. Confessors, he said, abused "the secrecy of their ministry, [and they were] beholden neither to the king, the ministers or officers of the state who were the most attached to [the king]."¹⁸

For friar and friary alike, patronage offered an important route to wealth, prestige, and influence within French society, and it had done so since the earliest days of the Franciscan order. The writings of sixteenth-century Franciscans make it clear even so that such secular considerations did not exist independently from a spiritual agenda. Yves Magistri's tribute to the noble woman Magdaleine de l'Aubespine underscores the willful complicity of the friars in forging patronage ties to promote their own ministry. Noting that l'Aubespine was a long-time patron of the Franciscan order, Magistri mentions that she housed and clothed the disciples of Francis in her house, as well as providing particular support to venerable friar Guillaume Melin.¹⁹ Magistri's praise of l'Aubespine encapsulates what for many members of his order constituted the primary function of patronage—the preservation and propagation of the Franciscan spiritual tradition. L'Aubespine provided the friars with money to feed, house, and pursue their pastoral ministry. She may also have provided Melin with a theological education at one of the universities of France, since the title "venerable" was usually assigned to senior friars who had received such an education. Finally, public support by a woman of her noble background gave the Franciscan tradition the respectability and credibility it required to attract other patrons and a large following for its ministry. Magistri makes just such a claim when he tells l'Aubespine that her support of the friars advanced the cause of spiritual purity in France. Other friars expressed a similar understanding of Franciscan patronage in their dedications to important patrons, including friar Claude Fremy. Fremy insisted that the political prominence of the royal councillor d'Avanson would protect his new edition of fellow friar Simon Fontaine's *Histoire catholique* from "those poorly inclined against our religion and the Calvinists" and guarantee its use to propagate spiritual reform.²⁰

While such homages were standard strategies used by authors to woo financing for their publications, the specific emphasis that these authors placed on the spiritual value inherent in patronage of the Franciscan tradition shows that, as far as they were concerned, cultivating patrons was a necessary and effective way to promote their own ministry in France. Reliance on patronage was a sign of worldliness to be sure, but it was a pragmatic adaptation of the Franciscan ministry to a society that understood inequality and hierarchy as

natural features of the human condition. In such a society, the financial support of prominent men and women was crucial to the survival of religious communities just as it was for other members of society. In fact, the Observant friars had little choice but to cultivate patrons, especially because of the distinctive nature of their own religious tradition and their own humble social status, and also because of the complex nature of jurisdictional relations governing religious communities at this time.

Surprising as it might seem, Franciscan pursuit of financial support from patrons was in many respects a legacy of the mendicant nature of the Franciscan ministry. Even the smallest and most austere community required basic necessities such as food to survive, and as members of a mendicant tradition, the friars were expected to rely financially on the generosity of others. True, Observant friaries did accumulate some land over time that they could use to grow vegetables for the community, but they were never self-sufficient communities in the same way as the great cloistered orders. Benedictine and Cistercian communities often owned much land, enjoyed a more generous understanding of the vow of poverty, and accepted manual work as a necessary and legitimate form of work.²¹ In contrast to the Benedictine monasteries, the vast majority of friaries were relatively small, urban-based communities comprising between twenty-five and fifty members who eeked out a comfortable economic existence through the collection of alms, pensions, fees for religious services, rental income, and of course, annuities. Regarding religious services, the friars received modest fees for preaching, hearing confession, administering the sacraments and other religious rites. The weekly collection of alms brought a community a variety of resources, including wood and coal to fuel their fires, wine, various kinds of locally produced foodstuffs, as well as money. Pensions were a standard requirement for entrance into the Observant tradition by this time, and were generally provided by the family when the friar entered the order. The few surviving contracts from members show that the function of the pension was to contribute to the regular upkeep of the friar by providing the community with money for his food, clothing, books, and at times, education. François Le Roy's contract even provided funds for a visit to Rome. Unfortunately, the rarity of such contracts makes it hard to know whether this was at all typical.

Alms, fees for religious services, and pensions were each important streams of income but they rarely brought in sufficient funds to support the pastoral work of even the smallest community. Particularly burdensome was the cost of education. By the sixteenth century, preaching required at least three years of theological training in a *studium generale* but funds were need to pay for the room and board of the friar as well as his books. The Paris friary set the rate for a stay at its institution at sixteen scuta in 1502, but this rate increased dramatically over the course of the Wars of Religion as the civil conflicts played

havoc with the community's economic solvency. By 1594, students were expected to pay thirty-seven livres.²² The cost of a degree from the University of Paris was especially prohibitive, and we can well understand why. The various fees required at each stage of the formation of the preacher could add up to the remarkable sum of 1002 livres by the time he received the doctorate of theology, a sum well beyond the means of a simple friar. Ever eager to produce new preachers, the Paris friary likely felt justified when it encouraged students to seek out generous benefactors when funds were not forthcoming from Franciscan sources. The statutes of 1502 state that "brothers coming to the studium of Paris must seek a pension . . . from spiritual friends (patrons) or from their convents or province."²³ The trail of such personal patronage ties is difficult to follow, but we can link at least two pensions of would-be students to important patrons. Nicolas Raulin appears in the correspondence of the Cardinal of Lorraine seeking confirmation of the "lieu" of Montfaucon. The term "lieu" points to a benefice, or at least some sort of annual pension for Raulin. Lorraine's man Pothier refers to Raulin as "le pauvre homme" who, he says, was in "great need." Apparently Raulin went to see Pothier for word on the pension. As mentioned earlier, others who sought Lorraine's support included the flamboyant royal preacher Jacques Berson, whose name appears on a list of pensioners from 1570.²⁴

The mendicant nature of Franciscan spirituality made the friars particularly vulnerable to the lure of patronage. So too did the complex relations governing ecclesiastical and secular jurisdiction at this time, which had the consequent effect of imbedding religious institutions, including those of the mendicant clergy in French social, political, and economic structures. Centuries of secular-ecclesiastical wrangling over jurisdiction of the clergy left the latter subject to secular authorities in a wide range of matters but particularly those involving property and privilege.²⁵ Concern about preparing well-trained preachers explains, for example, the innumerable legal cases before the Parlement during this period between the friars and the University of Paris over access to the theology cursum and fees.²⁶ The friars had little choice but to resort to the secular courts when they felt their financial health or pastoral ministry was in any way threatened by other institutions. Restrictions on ecclesiastical jurisdiction forced the friars into regular political engagement with other members of French society, and in consequence, into reliance on prominent men and women who could negotiate the corridors of juridical power on their behalf.

Had the friaries contained members of the nobility, they might have operated more independently in French society, but for the most part the Franciscans came from the middling ranks of merchants and artisans and not the elite.²⁷ The poor survival rate of many notarial archives for sixteenth-century Paris makes a thorough reconstruction of the Paris membership all

but impossible. A contract concerning Marin Le Peuple tells us that Le Peuple's father was a "marchand bourgeois" and his brother Jacques held an office in a chancellery affiliated with one of the sovereign courts. François Le Roy, the one who went to Rome, likely came from what Philippe Sagnac labels the "middling bourgeois" because his contract mentions that he gave his goods to "another merchant" named Jacques Prevost.²⁸ Jacques Belin, the future guardian of the Paris community, also enjoyed a reasonably secure economic and social status. His nephew, Henri Cappon, is mentioned in the friary registers as a tailor to the prince of Condé. Since Cappon was wealthy enough to afford burial for his family in the Cordelier friary, he must have enjoyed a substantial income. The comfortable but middling backgrounds of these friars is echoed in Franciscan obituaries from other communities as well, and taken together, these records show that the noble ancestry of men such as Jacques Hugonis and Christophe de Cheffontaine was far from typical. Hugonis and Cheffontaine descended respectively from Gap and Breton nobility, and it is likely that their noble heritage, combined with their obvious talents as preachers and administrators, catapulted them to political prominence in the Franciscan order.²⁹

The Franciscans had trouble recruiting members from the elite for the simple reason their religious tradition offered them few political and economic disadvantages. Certainly the Conventual and Observant Franciscans attracted some nobles during the early years of the order, and the Capuchins who arrived in the sixteenth century also found a warm reception from such noble sons as Henri de Joyeuse.³⁰ Whereas the Benedictine and Cistercian traditions became bastions of the French elite over time, the Franciscans and Dominicans saw noble membership decline. It was only natural that the novelty and fervency of a new religious charism lessened in the wake of institutionalization. Moreover, mendicant restrictions on personal property, when combined with the rotating and elective nature of their administrative offices, meant that these religious traditions offered few financial and political advantages for noble families as an extension of family patrimony though a perfectly reasonable professional option for those coming from a middling to lower social stature.

With relatively few nobles making their way into the Observant Franciscan tradition, Franciscan communities had little choice but to solicit the political support of well-connected men and women in French society to pursue their ministry. The emergence of the office of syndic is one important sign that the Franciscan administration recognized the utility of patronage for protecting the interests of the friary in secular society. Also known as the "spiritual friend" (*ami spirituel*, *amicus spiritualis*), the role of the syndic was to represent the Franciscan community in its legal battles with other institutions as well as matters involving the temporal affairs of the community.³¹ This office was

understandably a controversial one during the early years of its institution because of internal debate over the Franciscan definition of true poverty. For the spiritual Franciscans of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the introduction of such an office was public recognition that the order was not cleansed of secular concerns. Despite such opposition, by the fifteenth century the syndic was a fixture of Observant as well as Conventual communities, and it was invariably offered to members of the urban elite.³² Certainly by the sixteenth century, the Paris friary turned to some of the most prominent magisterial families of the Parlement of Paris for their syndics, including the de Dormans and Séguier as well as the De Thou.³³

The Patrons

Complex jurisdictional relationships, institutionalized inequality, and the mendicant model of ministry combined to make the Observant Franciscans dependent upon patronage throughout the sixteenth century. While patronage was hardly what Francis had in mind when he urged his members to move through society without being touched by secular concerns, it was nevertheless an adaptation of the Franciscan ministry to the particular cultural climate of sixteenth-century France. Patronage enmeshed Franciscan communities in the social, political, and economic fabric of France, and in doing so, gave them a respected platform from which to pursue their missionizing of the spiritually divided kingdom. In looking at Franciscan patronage from the perspective of the benefactors, we see that for these individuals as well, patronage fulfilled a variety of agendas that were secular as well as spiritual in nature. The 159 patrons who provided foundations to the Paris friary during the period 1560–1611 included not only members of the military elite of France (the sword nobility) and the magistracy (robe nobility), but also merchants, artisans, and even the occasional peasant (see appendix).

With specific regard to the sword nobility, the Paris friary attracted some of its most prominent families, notably the Guise, Joyeuse, and Gondi. The Guise family held vast holdings in Champagne and Normandy and presided over an extensive network of political patronage.³⁴ They were, in consequence, one of the most powerful noble families in France at the time of the Wars. The Duke of Guise was also the titular head of the Catholic League from its first appearance in 1575, and leadership of the League remained with the Guise family even after his death in 1588. Though none of the Guise were buried in the Paris community, family members gave generously to the friary following the fire of 1580. Several windows in the new church were dedicated to the family, each bearing images of the more prominent members of the clan: Henry, the duke of Guise; his brother Louis, the Cardinal of Lorraine; and the dukes of Mayenne and Elbeuf, among others.³⁵ As mentioned earlier, the uncle of these members

of the Guise family, the previous Cardinal of Lorraine, was a particularly generous patron of the preachers Jacques Berson, and Pierre l'Enfant. An undated letter addressed to Lorraine's treasurer also mentions a prebend offered by the Cardinal to another member of the Paris community, Nicholas Raulin.³⁶

Unlike the Guise family, the Joyeuse did bury one of their own here. Henri de Joyeuse, comte de Bouchage and future Capuchin, was fond enough of the friary to bury his wife, Catherine Nogaret, in the crypt following her early death in 1587. Catherine was the daughter of Jean Nogaret, the baron de la Vallette and one time *lieutenant-général* in Guyenne. She died in August 1587 and was buried in the chapel of eleven thousand virgins.³⁷ At least one member of the Gondi—Jérôme de Gondi—also chose the Paris crypt as his site of final repose. The former ambassador of Catherine de Médicis, Henry III, and Henry IV, Jérôme obtained the title *chevalier d'honneur* in the household of Marie de Médicis. He was the cousin of Pierre and Albert, who were important royalist supporters during the Wars of Religion, the former as bishop of Paris and the latter as the duke of Retz.³⁸

The patronage of the sword nobility reflected the prestige of the Paris friary, but as pointed out earlier, it enjoyed its closest ties with the robe nobility. Fifty-one of eighty-five burials (58 percent) in the crypt came from this social cadre. In fact, the crypt was a veritable who's who of the Parisian magistracy, containing generations of the Auroux, Aymeret, Arquinvilliers, Dougat, Amy, La Roziere, Le Maistre, and Longeuil among others. Constantin de Longeuil serve as a typical example of this social group. Rising to prominence in the Paris magistracy during the fifteenth century, the Longeuil family continued to place members in the sovereign courts and marry into other robe families even as it accumulated seigneuries and royal offices along the road to ennoblement. Constantin's father, Jehan, became a councillor in the Parlement of Paris in 1585. In the years to follow, Jean rose to become a councillor in two of the councils of the *Conseil du Roi* (*conseil d'état* and *conseil privé*) and eventually obtained the post of *maître des requêtes ordinaires* (1601) in the king's household. His son Constantin dutifully contributed to the family's collection of titles before dying at the young age of twenty-five in 1611, obtaining the military post of *capitaine du régiment de Champagne*, and the royal office of *premier gentilhomme de la chambre* in the household of the Prince de Condé.³⁹ Constantin's acquisition of a military office marks the social and political transformation of the Longeuil family into members of the sword nobility, a process that took several generations but that was nevertheless possible for many robe families during the more socially and politically fluid decades of the sixteenth century. Constantin was buried in the Paris crypt in 1611, one in a long line of Longeuils to find a resting place in the chapelle de Saint-Esprit. Between 1558 and 1611, no less than ten members found their way into the same chapel.

The predominance of the magistracy reflected the urban-based nature of Franciscan communities. In contrast to the sword nobility, the magistracy lived in the city and worked nearby in the various sovereign and municipal courts of Paris. Naturally they turned to nearby religious institutions when contemplating their spiritual life. The urban-based nature of the Franciscan tradition also explains the appeal of the Paris friars for merchants as well as artisans. Although the cost of burial meant that only nine Franciscan patrons (8 percent) from these middling social groups found resting-places in the Cordelier crypt, these patrons were responsible for twenty-seven of fifty-nine (47 percent) foundations involving masses for the dead. Pinning down the particular social status of members in these categories is complicated by the rather free and ambiguous ways in which the terms *bourgeois* and *marchand* were used at the time, not to mention the inevitable desire of patrons to exaggerate their own status in notarial records.⁴⁰ Even with these terminological ambiguities, there were many patrons who were clearly prosperous members of the most elite guilds, the Six Corporations (cloth merchants, goldsmiths, grocers, haberdashers, hosiers, and furriers), as well as much humbler craftworkers. Members of the more elite guilds included the goldsmiths Jean de Carnay and Claude Barillet's husband, Jacques Villain, and those of the humbler trades the master mason Thomas Rousseau, the roofer Anthoine Marchand, and Arnoult Mullot, the master pastry maker.⁴¹

The above sampling of patrons shows that patronage of the Paris friary cut a broad swathe through French society, claiming nobles, goldsmiths, and magistrates. We even find a doctor (Guillaume Chouart), a master crier (Jean Roger), and the cosmographer André Thevet.⁴² As we saw in chapter 3, the Paris friary also received a number of bequests from clerics, including Jean Picart, a canon of the church of Sainte-Opportune, and Nicolas Chrestien, the vicar of the parish church Saints-Innocents.⁴³ One-third of the bequests, furthermore, came from women, and while some were simply honoring the requests of departed spouses, many expressed a decidedly personal plea, including those of the noblewomen Anne de Laval, Suzanne de la Jarousse, and Jeanne d'Estissac, as well as women from lower in the social strata. A comparison of the Paris friary with the Franciscan communities of Brittany, as well as communities in Italy and Germany, suggests that such broad-based support was typical of other Franciscan communities.⁴⁴ The other mendicant orders similarly appealed across social categories, but even so the breadth of Franciscan support in France is noteworthy, and shows that three hundred years after its foundation, ordinary believers continued to view the Observant Franciscan order as a vital spiritual tradition.

While the diverse nature of Franciscan patronage presupposes a myriad of agendas on the part of the patron, one cannot overestimate the importance of status and political authority. Every great noble wished to have a confessor if

not an almoner in his household since their presence was a certain sign of his/her elevated social stature. Generous bequests similarly advertised the political and social prominence of the patron in the local community, and for this reason these were rarely anonymous. The stained glass windows bearing the images of the Guise brothers in the Paris friary church were particularly brash statements of their political stature in French society, but so were the armorials gracing the walls of family-owned chapels. The burial patterns of the robe elite in the Paris friary make perhaps the strongest case for ecclesiastical patronage as an avenue to social and political advancement. Prior to the fifteenth century, the majority of those buried were of royal or sword noble stock such as Blanche of France, daughter of Philip the Tall (d. 1358), Marie of Brabant, wife of Philippe "le Hardi" (d. 1321), and Pierre de Bourbon (d. 1342), grandson of King Louis IX.⁴⁵ The appearance of the robe nobility in the Paris crypt mirrored their rising prominence in society more generally. The first families appeared in the crypt during the fifteenth century, and by the sixteenth century they controlled most of the chapels radiating out from the central nave. The Longeuil and Le Maistre had chapels named after their families, but even chapels such as that of Saint-Claude were dominated by particular families.⁴⁶ Filled as they were with beautiful ornaments, tapestries, and paintings as well as the armorials of noble families, the chapels functioned more or less as extensions of noble patrimony as well as an advertisement of one's noble status.⁴⁷

The marketing advantages implicit in patronizing a chapel in a church frequented by members of the local community is readily understandable, but even the annual intonation of one's name in public worship served the social and political agenda of a well-to-do artisan or merchant. Thus patronage of the Paris Franciscans had many advantages for these members of society as well. But if showing off their political authority were the sole concern of patrons, it would be difficult to explain the relative political autonomy of the friars during the Wars of Religion. As it happens, De Thou was not the only patron to find himself on the opposite side of the friars during the period of the Catholic League. The Guise and Auroux families,⁴⁸ and at least one member of the Le Maistre dynasty, were known League supporters, but the de Dormans, Gondis, Arquinvilliers as well as the De Thous were not.⁴⁹ Despite important ties with these royalist families, the Paris Franciscans did not hesitate to support the League following the assassinations of Blois in 1588, nor in venting their fury on Henry III in their sermons. Clearly, the patrons of the Paris friary did not expect political loyalty as a prerequisite of their relationship with the friary.

While historians have successfully undermined any conception of absolute fidelity as a criteria in patronage relations, the relative ease with which the friars negotiated the wars untrammelled by concerns of political loyalty suggests

that such allegiance was also not a prerequisite of the relationship between patron and friar. This is just one indication that ecclesiastical patronage functioned differently from other forms of patronage.⁵⁰ Political independence does not in itself prove that patronage of the Paris friary was motivated first and foremost by spiritual concerns, but when viewed in conjunction with bequests to the community, it becomes apparent that patrons also viewed patronage as a vehicle of spiritual reform. The friars might not have been the social equals of their patrons but as clerics they were spiritual leaders, and they garnered great respect in society as such. Appreciating the distinctive nature of the relationship between patron and friar is important, because it is in this relationship that we can come to understand why the Franciscans were popular spiritual leaders throughout the Wars of Religion. Not every bequest indicated a particularly strong attachment to the Franciscan tradition itself. Masses for the dead were typical religious services provided by all monastic communities, and it was common for patrons to request masses from more than one community. These services alone, therefore, give us little insight into the particular appeal of the Franciscans as spiritual intercessors.⁵¹ Burial was a stronger indication of affection for the Franciscan tradition since, with rare exceptions, patrons chose only one final resting place. Some patrons, including the early sixteenth-century reformer Jean Standonck and the cosmographer André Thevet even went so far as to request burial in the Franciscan habit, a dramatic indication of their attachment to the Franciscan tradition. No doubt these men hoped that their physical incorporation in the religious community would facilitate their journey to heaven in perpetual association with the Franciscans, since it was a commonplace of medieval thought that monastic communities continued their communal existence in the heavenly kingdom.⁵²

Also indicative of a particular attachment to Franciscan spirituality were bequests supporting their charity, preaching, and confession. At least six of the bequests to the Paris friary during this period asked for the presence of members of the four orders in funeral services and processions. Typical is the foundation of the Duke and Duchess of Nevers, which requested "two religious of each convent to assist at a service said for the founders in the church of the Augustins on the twenty-fifth of August."⁵³ The bequests of Jehan Boullenger and Jean Durantel funded preaching by members of the four mendicant orders respectively in the parishes of Saint-Opportune (1588) and Saint Nicolas-des-Champs (1590).⁵⁴ Patrons also provided pensions for poor but promising theology students (Jean de Beauquaire, Marie Clause, sieur de Villeroi, and the Franciscan Jacques Suarez). The four orders were commonly linked in bequests to the hospitals of the city, a reminder that patrons valued the friars as agents as well as recipients of charity. The four orders shared a similar conception of the active religious life, and so their association in be-

quests reveals that patrons found this form of ministry relevant in sixteenth-century France. Durantel clearly valued the moral thrust of mendicant preaching, since his foundation expressly mentions their responsibility to “instruct and teach the people in the church of the parish as well as those of other parishes how to live according to the commands of God and to hear and understand to his Word. . . .”⁵⁵ Louis de Bourbon’s advocacy of the would-be bachelor Denis Rollet to the University in 1566 specifically noted the utility of Franciscan preaching for combatting heresy: “The evil of the times is such that we must select worthy individuals to administer the word of God and push away the heresies that we see flourishing all the more each day.”⁵⁶

Confession, preaching, and charity were religious practices closely associated with the pastoral ministry of the friars, and which their benefactors considered extremely useful at the time of the Wars. Bequests given to the Paris friary from members of the penitential confraternity of the Holy Sepulcher of Jerusalem also show that a significant appeal of Franciscan spirituality lay in its promotion of an active devotional life. The confraternity brought together men from noble as well as mercantile backgrounds for weekly communal worship at the Paris friary. First appearing as a pilgrimage society in the thirteenth century, the confraternity of the Holy Sepulcher emerged officially at the end of the fourteenth century.⁵⁷ Although the details are murky, it appears that confriars formalized statutes for their association in 1434 and the association received papal recognition a year later. No surviving community records a foundation prior to the sixteenth century. The first donation dating from the sixteenth century was made by Jean de Monceaux, then governor of Artois under the duke of Burgundy. He obtained the chapelle de Saint-Sépulchre for the use of the confraternity in 1505.⁵⁸ The outpouring of donations for this society during the second half of the sixteenth century, including one from André Thevet, suggests that this institution was in a period of rejuvenation at the time of the Wars of Religion.⁵⁹

The various bequests provided by confriars of the confraternity of the Holy Sepulcher show that, like other members of confraternities, these men anxiously pursued a more intensive devotional experience through communal worship and penitential activities. A central feature of their devotional activities was weekly mass in the chapel of the Holy Sepulcher. Members of the confraternity met with their confriars for communal worship in a special chapel designated for the association, and also attended special services on feast days throughout the year. The particular penitential rites performed by these members are unknown, though it was typical of penitential confraternities at the time of the Wars of Religion to encourage fasting, private prayer, flagellation, processions, and also charity from members to mark their dedication to spiritual perfection.⁶⁰ Another confraternity closely associated with the Franciscan order can serve to illustrate. The articles of faith sworn to by confriars of the

Holy Name of Jesus in 1590 binds its members to pursue personal reform through communal devotion:

We promise to render ourselves into a state of grace by cleaning and purifying frequently our souls and consciences by the holy sacrament of penance, and to fortify ourselves by frequent communion and to meet together with our brothers in each parish the first Sunday of each month . . . and, furthermore, to gather the first Thursday of every month for a procession, mass, and preaching . . . in the church of Saint-Gervais in Paris.⁶¹

As these articles show, the intent of the confraternity was not to replace parochial worship but rather to offer those inclined an additional outlet for devotional activity that remained communal in nature.

These forms of patronage show that religious motivations were mixed with secular concerns on the part of the patron and the friar, and that this relationship was regularized and even standardized long before the Wars of Religion. Such continuity in religious practice does not necessarily mean that the relationship between patron and friar remained exactly the same. While the fifteenth century was unquestionably a period of intense lay devotion, a time when the papal schism, bouts of disease, and the Hundred Years War spawned a vigorous demand for pilgrimages, religious processions, vernacular devotional treatises, and other devotional practices, the division of the Catholic Church after 1521 created an altogether new spiritual environment in France.⁶² It is difficult to imagine the traumatizing effect of the Protestant Reformation upon those who chose to stay in the Catholic Church. It was one thing to call the Church corrupt as many did in the fifteenth century; it was altogether different to declare it untrue. Denis Crouzet's depiction of Reformation France as a society engulfed by apocalyptic fear is perhaps overstated, but he nevertheless effectively captures the pulsating anxiety permeating Catholic and Protestant commentaries from the sixteenth century.⁶³

Faced by spiritual crisis, it was only natural for French patrons to turn to devotional practices that they believed gave them spiritual agency in the cleansing of their society of sin. In the context of Reformation France, these devotional practices were often aimed specifically at healing religious division. The proliferation of confraternities over the course of the sixteenth century is one of many signs that the religious division of France supercharged the relationship of patron and friar with special urgency. More than ever, men and women thirsted for active participation in the pursuit of salvation. The confriars of the Holy Sepulcher sought a home with the Paris Franciscans precisely because they knew that the friars were active proponents of lay pietistic practices. The Franciscans were the ones who introduced the Stations

of the Cross into parochial worship during the fourteenth century, a practice that remains a mainstay in Catholic Lenten services to this day. The Franciscan order also promoted cults of the Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalen, and Corpus Christi, and it was because the friars were so closely associated with lay devotion that they were among the most popular authors of devotional texts and often the first choice for many as confessors.⁶⁴ The efflorescence of confraternities in association with Franciscan communities similarly indicates continuing Franciscan commitment to lay spirituality at the time of the Wars of Religion. Generally speaking, the mendicant traditions attracted the largest number of confraternities in this period, and the Franciscans the most of all. The Franciscans of Brittany hosted double the number of confraternities than their closest rivals the Dominicans.⁶⁵ Of the numerous confraternities specifically associated with the Observant Franciscans, the Holy Name of Jesus is perhaps the best known to students of the Wars of Religion because of its close affiliation with the Catholic League. Friar Noël Taillepied mentions four confraternities affiliated with his own community of Pontoise—Saint-Joseph, Saint-François, Sainte-Marguerite and Sainte-Barbe—and two others were affiliated with the Franciscan Observant convent in Lyon.⁶⁶ As mentioned earlier, the indefatigable minister general Christophe de Cheffontaine also brought the confraternity of the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist into numerous communities in France in 1575.⁶⁷

The mendicant clergy were by no means the only clerics who encouraged lay devotional practices at the time of the Wars of Religion. Even the Jesuits, whom historians generally regard as the standard-bearers of tridentine reform, mingled their humanist-informed spirituality with such traditional mendicant practices as plays.⁶⁸ In contrast to the mendicant clergy, the Jesuits relied on these practices to sell a more restrained, “Borromean” model of piety to the ordinary believer. Carlo Borromeo, the bishop of Milan, emerged as a foremost advocate and pioneer of pastoral reform in the post-tridentine period. He set an example of episcopal rectitude through his regular visitation of the parishes of Milan, rigorous training of new priests, and correction of their faults. With regard to the ordinary believer, Borromeo also encouraged a more passive and less publicly emotional role in religious rites and practices. His propagation of a more “dignified” model of lay devotion reflected a common view among many papal reformers of the time that the rejuvenation of Catholic authority lay in the elevation of the priesthood vis-à-vis the ordinary believer, as well as a desire for a form of piety more internal and contemplative than experiential in nature.⁶⁹

Borromean reform had its supporters in France, but there is little evidence to suggest that the French Franciscans were foremost among them. Ecclesiastical support for the Franciscan tradition, financial as well as political, also shows that Borromeo’s emphasis upon the creation of a more disciplined and

obedient flock did not fully reflect the attitudes of all members of the Church.⁷⁰ Finally, popular association of the Franciscans with lay devotion shows that their understanding of lay piety resonated powerfully among Catholic contemporaries. Why the Franciscan tradition in particular was so closely associated with lay piety becomes clear when we consider its articulation of the path to spiritual perfection. There was in fact a natural symbiosis between Franciscan spirituality and lay piety, if only because Franciscans like many ordinary believers viewed the body as the natural site and vehicle for spiritual reform. Franciscan spirituality was popular, in other words, because in focusing on the role of the body, the Franciscans gave physical agency to the believer in the pursuit of salvation.

To say that the Franciscans viewed the body as a vehicle of spiritual reform does not in itself distinguish Franciscan spirituality from other medieval traditions. The early desert fathers knew that spiritual perfection depended upon cleansing oneself of the corruptions of the flesh, and they did so through rigorous mortification. Through mortification of their flesh, these reformers sought the liberation of their souls. The piety associated with the Crusade and pilgrimage also involved praying with one's body.⁷¹ Caroline Bynum's medieval female mystics insisted, furthermore, that eating of the host was itself a spiritually transformative act, because through eating it the penitent individual incorporated Christ's purifying flesh.⁷² Nevertheless, Franciscan spirituality was remarkable for its particular emphasis upon harnessing the entire body, including the senses and emotions, to the service of spiritual rejuvenation. This focus on the body as the route to salvation was perfectly consistent with a spiritual tradition that blended mystical piety, moral theology, and a pronounced fascination with the human life of Christ in its understanding of Christian purity. A layman himself as well as a mystic, Francis was convinced that heartfelt love of God rather than learning, reason, or clerical authority was the first step to perfection and thus to unity with God. Even his learned, scholastic successor, Bonaventure, cautioned fellow friars about placing too high a value on learning: "If you should ask, ask for grace, not learning; desire, not understanding; the sigh of prayer, not zeal in study; the bridegroom, not the lord of the house; God, not man; mist, not clarity; not light but inspiration."⁷³

Love marked the heart of Franciscan spirituality, but it also marked its carnal nature, because for Francis love was a human emotion that was aroused through the excitement of the senses. While Francis shared with other early religious reformers a view of the body as a battle zone between the forces of good and evil, his conviction that the human life of Christ was a guide to life in this world also secured for the body a central role. The incarnation of Christ made the flesh as well as the soul a servant of God because the flesh was a part of human nature. For this reason every facet of the life of Christ was

relevant to the human existence. The engagement of the body in the *imitatio Christi* accounts for the markedly sensual nature of Franciscan spirituality, because for Francis and his followers, the senses and emotions were the conduits through which the Christian experienced everything, including salvation. Francis insisted that loving God was *de natura* a passionate, sensual experience. One must love God completely, and just as completely detest sin. Loving God was physically consuming, and Franciscans often described it in terms of joy mixed with pain and suffering. In a sermon translated into French by Jacques Berson, the famous Italian preacher Cornelio Musso described God as a burning fire that “enflamed the hearts of the apostles, embraced them with understanding and filled them with the love of Jesus Christ as God. . . .”⁷⁴ “Our God,” he says, “is a consuming fire.” Musso here echoes Bonaventure’s description of Christ in the *Itinerum mentis*. Christ, Bonaventure says, sparks the flame of contrition “with the fiery heat of His intense suffering (the Passion).”⁷⁵

Franciscan emphasis upon the emotions and senses in the pursuit of a holy life explains why the visit of a popular Franciscan preacher frequently became a lively spectacle for local onlookers. One of the greatest preachers of all, Bernardino of Siena, routinely reduced large crowds to paroxysms of anguish and tears through his dramatic depictions of hell, the sinning nature of humanity, and the crucifixion of Christ.⁷⁶ Stirring contrition in the heart of the sinner was a particularly important task for the preacher, because contrition was necessary before the sinner could open up his heart to God. Francesco Panigarola’s description of the relationship between preacher and sinner shows why his sermons attracted thousands of listeners in Paris at the height of League authority, even though he preached in Italian. People, he insists, must not only “think and understand but also feel the passion of Christ; they must feel strongly the firmness of the Cross imprinted on their soul.”⁷⁷ This is important, Panigarola explains, because the emotions aroused internal demand for love of God. Since the passions could be “conquered by the devil and open the doors of hell,” he says, “could they not also conquer me and open the doors of my heart?”⁷⁸ No doubt responding to Protestant criticisms of Catholic ceremony, the royal preacher Jacques Berson used his funerary sermon for the papal legate Frangipani in 1587 as an occasion for extolling the spiritual benefits of such sensual stimulation: “This burning chapel, the candles, torches and other similar things,” he insists, “are for our consolation in the faith and hope of future resurrection, for either offerings to our God have lodged near him such a virtuous soul, or serve to appease . . . for [Frangipani’s] human frailty. . . .”⁷⁹

Franciscans excited the senses of their readers because they believed spiritual reform operated through the body. This idea of the body also explains the form moral exhortation took in Franciscan spirituality, and the particular importance of outward as well as inward acts of devotion. Even more than the

Dominican, the Franciscan tradition focused on the penitential rather than the contemplative life in its understanding of salvation.⁸⁰ Francis urged his followers to preach both in word and deed, because he believed that union with God could only take place once the believer reformed outwardly and inwardly. With the image of their beloved founder forever looming before their eyes, subsequent generations of friars continued to link outward behavior to inner purity. In his prosopography of the Protestant reformers Luther, Calvin, and Beza, Noël Taillepied explained heretical beliefs in terms of immorality. Taillepied insists that one could refute heresy simply by examining the life of the heretic “[t]o see if his life is good, spiritually pure . . . if he governs honestly, or not, according to God and his commandments. . . .” Needless to say, these reformers were anything but morally pure—at least according to Taillepied. They “lived according to carnal liberties, abandoned themselves to all licentiousness and other corrupt morals” as well as introducing “many sects.”⁸¹ Outward behavior did more than manifest one’s inner condition. It was also the means by which the Christian could effect inner spiritual change. Jean Benedicti is making just such a point when he says in his well-known devotional manual *La Sommez des pechez* that “to attain Christian perfection, two things are required: to believe and to do.”⁸² For Francis of Assisi, the imitation of Christ had a transformative effect on the individual because it involved the gradual incorporation of His purity. Francis’s physical manifestation of Christ’s wounds was in many respects the natural outcome of this spiritual process, a dramatic indication of his own conformity unto death.

Franciscan spirituality made the body the mediator between the soul and the divine, and in the process a conduit for spiritual reform. By directing outward behavior towards Christian acts, the individual could begin to work upon the blackest parts of his/her soul. One can well understand the popular appeal of this message, because in emphasizing the body as an agent of spiritual reform, the Franciscans gave the ordinary believer substantial agency in the pursuit of spiritual perfection. In a spiritually divided society such as late sixteenth-century France, Franciscan understanding of growth in holiness was infused with a special urgency for many ordinary believers who were anxious about the state of their souls. But patrons were likely drawn to much more than Franciscan encouragement of personal redemption, because at the time of the Wars of Religion Franciscan preachers were also making a strong case for the interdependence of personal and societal salvation. This is not to say that Franciscan sermons sold an overtly millenarian, apocalyptic interpretation of the Wars of Religion, like the preachers populating Crouzet’s study of religious violence. While the mendicants produced their fair share of such sermons, the penitential focus of mendicant spirituality ensured that millenarian ideas represented only one aspect of their religious teachings.⁸³ Millenarianism

does not even account for Franciscan encouragement of active engagement in the reform of French society, since Franciscan spirituality always understood sin as the root of all religious dissension. Fremin Capitis expresses a typically Franciscan view when he insists in his 1575 treatise *Catechisme* that

we are those of whom St Paul spoke, by whom the name of God is blasphemed among miscreants, who by our terrible life have ruined and ruins every day the Christian religion. And not only are we damned by our dirty deeds . . . but we are also the reason why the infidels remain in their infidelity and are going to perdition. . . .⁸⁴

For Capitis, everyone was complicit in the spiritual well-being of French society because it was the collective sin of society that spawned heresy in the first place. Capitis's association of personal with societal salvation echoes Taillepied's biography of the three great Protestant reformers, above all his assumption that licentiousness and immorality were the source of heresy. Other preachers made similar arguments about the interdependence of personal and societal salvation during the period of the Catholic League, but such a view was nevertheless typically Franciscan in nature, because Franciscan spirituality had always considered spiritual intervention in secular society a central mandate of the reformer. The friars in Bernadette Paton's study of fourteenth-century Siena, for example, felt more than comfortable accusing the municipal government of corruption because such corruption to them was a sign of a society in spiritual disarray.⁸⁵

In stressing collective responsibility, Capitis and other Franciscan preachers were not trying to discourage their listeners but rather to galvanize them into action against the spread of Protestantism through pursuit of personal purity. True believers had an obligation to eradicate sin in society, beginning with their own lives. Cheffontaine's argument that the spiritual perfection of the confriars would stimulate desire for perfection in other members of society similarly linked personal and societal salvation. It is a good thing, he insisted, "to pray to God, fast, praise, give alms generously, marry off poor girls, visit prisoners and the sick and console them in their adversity for the living and for the dead, take frequent communion. . . ."⁸⁶ Through intense devotion, confriars cleansed themselves of spiritual impurity, and in doing so eradicated a measure of sin from society. Confriars also believed in the communion of saints. Their prayers, in other words, could offer propitiation for the sins of other members of society and effect spiritual change throughout Christ's body.

Cheffontaine and other Franciscan preachers encouraged lay devotion by insisting that even the ordinary believer could save French society. In doing so, they effectively transformed the ordinary believer into a spiritual reformer.

Interestingly, this message applied to women as well as men. Caroline Bynum traces the emergence of a more positive understanding of female spirituality during the late middle ages in response to female demand for a more intensive, passionate spiritual life. The number of female saints rose dramatically at this time, women became important consumers of vernacular Bibles, and medieval preachers commented on female participation in outward devotional practices.⁸⁷ The Dominican Guillaume Pepin and Franciscan Michel Menot were among the medieval preachers who celebrated women for their intense piety, arguing that they took the sacraments, prayed, and went on pilgrimages more than men.⁸⁸ Recent studies suggest this “feminization” of religion came under attack by the sixteenth century, being caught between Protestant devaluation of female sanctity and tridentine interest in promoting a more decorous, even passive model of female spirituality. Franciscan sermons and treatises complicate this view substantially, because they show little interest in rendering the female as this passive. Donna Spivey Ellington somewhat inadvertently makes a case for continuity in the Franciscan tradition through her discussion of portrayals of the Virgin Mary from the medieval to the early modern period. Ellington shows that the Franciscan preachers Christophe de Cheffontaine and Lawrence of Brindisi were among the sixteenth-century preachers who celebrated Mary as a passionate spiritual leader, and in some cases a quasi-priest. Brindisi, for one, depicted popular adherence to Marian devotions as salvific acts: “For I dare to say that by means of the pious devotions and the cult of the Virgin the elect will in the end be separated out from the sinful, the children of God from the children of the devil, the church of Christ from the synagogues of Satan.”⁸⁹

These men continued to celebrate Mary as a passionate reformer, according to Ellington, even as other sixteenth-century preachers reduced her to little more than a model of contemplative, silent female piety. Jean Benedicti’s lavish oration to the Virgin Mary in the preface to his well-known treatise *La Somme des pechez* is just one more indication that other Franciscan preachers continued to celebrate Mary as a spiritual guide. Here the Virgin Mary is at once classical muse and prophet, a powerful deity that Benedicti invokes to “help [him] with this work and enlighten [his] poor small spirit.”⁹⁰ Franciscan promotion of the cult of Mary Magdalene is perhaps an even stronger indicator of this tradition’s encouragement of female participation in spiritual salvation. Unlike the Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene was born in sin and was a well-known sinner before her conversion. Perhaps because she offered a more accessible devotional model for women, her cult much more than that of the Virgin Mary enjoyed a predominantly female membership throughout the medieval and early modern periods. Franciscan sermons from the sixteenth century downplayed the legend of Mary Magdalene as wandering missionary in southern France, but they continued to uphold her as a model of fidelity

because of her steadfastness at the crucifixion. This virtue, Franciscan preachers argued, distinguished her as a more devout adherent of Christ than even his closest male followers, and made her a model worthy of emulation.⁹¹

Since the Dominicans were also important promoters of active female devotion throughout the Middle Ages, examination of their sermons from the late sixteenth century might also unearth a decidedly active understanding of female spirituality.⁹² What is important here is that the Franciscan preachers continued to depict the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalen in terms that gave women a larger sphere of activity in the pursuit not only of personal but also societal rejuvenation even in the wake of the Council of Trent. Furthermore, Franciscan treatises from the Wars of Religion went beyond discussions of important female saints to celebrate examples of female devotion then shaping spiritual life in late sixteenth-century France. Addressing the Duchess of Lorraine, Berson announces: "Do you not dress the poor like Dorcas? I know just how many good Christian women you sent to visit the sick." The duchess, notes Berson, even washed the feet of the poor herself and, equally important, assiduously attended the weekly and even daily round of spiritual devotions: "It is a good sign that one loves God, when one does not forget to observe Matins, the ordinary Mass . . . the canonical hours, vespers, and even votive prayers."⁹³ While Berson's insistence that the spiritual perfection of Madame de Lorraine would inspire others to reform was standard rhetoric in Franciscan paens to wealthy female patrons, it nevertheless embraces patronage as a legitimate devotional activity for women. Much more unusual, and even remarkable, is Berson's comparison of Lorraine to the prophets Elijah and Elisha. Like Elijah, she "nourished preachers," and like Elisha, she gave the friars lodging.⁹⁴ By comparing her to Elijah and Elisha, Berson transforms Lorraine into a prophet and reformer, one who bore spiritual knowledge and authority directly from God. She was no passive actor, in other words, in the salvation of her own society, but a leader.

Yves Magistri's *Baston de deffence* paints a more idiosyncratic image of female devotion but one that also situates women as active players in the spiritual battles of their age. Magistri produced the *Baston* at the instigation of Eleanor de Bourbon, the abbess of Fontevault. The community of Fontevault was among the most illustrious female religious communities in France, closely associated with the nobility. Magistri includes in the preface to this treatise a letter from Bourbon to the women under her care that presents a decidedly "activist" understanding of the spiritual role of women in society. While arguing that she would not dispute Saint Paul's injunction against women speaking in church, the abbess nevertheless insists that many historical women transformed their society through acts of devotion. There were many who "excited the faithful servants of our good God to praise his divine majesty, and . . . composed and sung publicly in the congregation of faithful, children

of God, many declarations and hymns of which some are still used in the Church.”⁹⁵ This description of music composition and public singing in the preface to a Franciscan text is another indication that the friars who plied their trade during the Wars of Religion encouraged women to see themselves as religious reformers in society who were not relegated to cloistered contemplation in their spiritual endeavors. That this text was specifically written for the female religious of Fontevault by the female head of that community shows, furthermore, that Magistri knew there was a ready market for such a message.

The Franciscans made women as well as men active agents of reform in French society, and it is perhaps for this reason that we find women comprising such a large segment of the patrons of the Paris friary. Among these female patrons, the countess of Brenne stands out as another like Lorraine, who eagerly promoted Franciscan preaching. In his letter to the University of Paris on behalf of Denis Rollot in 1566, the Cardinal of Bourbon admits that he wrote the letter at the behest of his sister the countess, who, he said, had “always nurtured and maintained” Rollot in his studies.⁹⁶ Franciscan encouragement of female devotion is also likely one reason why many prominent female spiritual leaders at this time turned to Franciscans as confessors. Teresa of Avila, the Spanish founder of Carmelite tradition, is a notable example, but even the French evangelical reformer Marguerite de Navarre, who so ruthlessly satirized Franciscan lechery and greed in the *Heptaméron*, hired a Franciscan as her confessor.

The popular appeal of the Franciscans was no doubt aided by their willingness to recognize a rather liberal understanding of lay devotion in their fierce pursuit of heresy. In his 1587 history of the city of Pontoise, Noël Taillepied praises the “marchand-bourgeois” Nicolas Fournier for his service to the city of Pontoise. Given the date of this treatise, Taillepied’s comparison of Fournier to the tyrant killer Junius Brutus seems at best a transparent reference to the king: “To free his country from tyranny, “he took the sword in his hand to fight in full public view and before all, and killed Aronta, the eldest son of Tarquin. . . .” Taillepied also praised Nicholas’s father Guillaume, the former governor of the city who “preserved the city from pillage and from the heresy that was beginning to . . . overrun it.”⁹⁷ Taillepied’s celebration of the Fournier men is noteworthy because it shows that he believed lay believers could play a salvific role in France through exercise of his/her role in society as a secular leaders, and not simply through engaging in traditional penitential practices or providing the friars with financial and political support.

The Orléans-based Maurice Hylaret was making a similar argument about the relationship between secular authority and spiritual activism when he called the Marquis d’Entragues a fellow “warrior,” one who “with spiritual arms wages war . . . on the enemy of the orthodox and Catholic religion,” just

as Hylaret did through his own writings.⁹⁸ Hylaret's reference to d'Entragues as a fellow warrior intentionally collapses the social distance between friar and noble, but in doing so he legitimates d'Entrague's use of military authority as a devotional act. This portrayal of violence as devotion was by no means new in European history, nor did it wholly characterize Franciscan views during the Wars of Religion.⁹⁹ It was nevertheless one Catholic response during the Wars of Religion, and Hylaret's comment shows that he was among the friars who encouraged ordinary believers to view it as such. As far as Hylaret was concerned, violence against heresy was perfectly in keeping with Franciscan spirituality because all human behavior—whether in the form of prayer, patronage, or physical violence—should be harnessed to the perfection of France.

The popular appeal of the Franciscans throughout the Wars of Religion underscores the timeliness of their understanding of spiritual reform, an understanding that embraced enthusiastic lay devotion as a legitimate route to both personal and societal salvation. The appeal of this message is understandable, because it gave spiritual agency to the ordinary believer at a time when Calvinism was making inroads in French society and when traditional bastions of spiritual authority, such as the episcopacy, papacy, and even the monarchy, were proving helpless in restoring France to spiritual purity. The enduring appeal of the Franciscan tradition nevertheless raises questions about the degree to which tridentine spirituality was truly the engine behind the outpouring of devotional enthusiasm in the seventeenth century. The decrees of the Council of Trent undeniably shaped the pastoral response of the French episcopacy by the end of the sixteenth century. The popularity of the Franciscans throughout the Wars of Religion, along with the close association between their rigorist brothers the Capuchins and the reformer Madame Acarie, shows that, contrary to the intentions of many tridentine reformers, many French men and women continued to demand devotional practices that were more emotional and enthusiastic in nature, and which they believed gave them an active role in the pursuit of societal salvation.¹⁰⁰ As in times past, the Franciscans and the other mendicant traditions informed lay spirituality in important ways throughout the early modern period, and these ways would have dramatic consequences for French religious life.

As we might anticipate from their liberal understanding of lay devotion, Franciscan promotion of lay spirituality also had dramatic implications for French political life at the time of the Wars of Religion. In empowering lay participation in the spiritual reformation of French society, the Franciscans stayed true to their own spiritual tradition. Their message of spiritual reform, however, broadcast as it was at a time of spiritual crisis, transformed the friars into potent weapons of the Catholic League. The political engagement of

Franciscan confraternities with the League was simply the manifestation of Franciscan understanding of active engagement in secular society. In focusing on the body as an agent of spiritual rejuvenation, the Franciscans gave outward behavior, including the use of secular authority, a purgative and restorative function. By 1589, it was just a small step for the friars to convince their flock that political resistance was itself a Christian act.

What that small step comprised awaits a later chapter. The following chapter will instead look at the theological formation of the friar as an avenue to political and religious authority at the time of the Wars of Religion. While the Franciscan tradition privileged the spiritual role of the ordinary believer in French society, members of this tradition were also convinced that there was no one better to lead the reform of France than a follower of Francis of Assisi. The confidence of these men in their own worthiness as spiritual leaders reflected their deep attachment to the Franciscan tradition, but it also reflected their privileged status as theologians and preachers, a status that vaulted them to the height of political and religious authority.

THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS

This Council has as emissaries and able instruments Guincestre, Feuardent, Peletier, the little Feulliant, Christi, and Garnier [Garin], all of whom, well fortified with provisions for themselves, control the pulpits, and in doing so control the ears and hearts of Parisians. . . .¹

Theodore Agrippa D'Aubigné was among the commentators struck by the intransigence of the Parisians throughout the siege of 1590. The council in question was formed from within the Paris League to advise the Duke of Nemours. D'Aubigné's bitter suggestion that these League preachers kept themselves well fed even as Parisians starved only underscores his anxiety over their influence. After all, these men were members of a spiritual elite, products of the Faculty of Theology at the University of Paris.² A regent master in the Faculty as well as a highly respected scholar of scriptural and patristic works, the Franciscan Feuardent perhaps enjoyed the highest renown of all.

Since the support of such prominent clerics gave the Catholic League credibility among many Catholics, we can well understand why royalist supporters were nervous about their political activism. While the political influence of the Faculty after 1588 is a matter of record, how the Faculty mobilized its members in support of the League is still poorly understood. Franciscan relations with the Faculty nevertheless suggest that, at least for these members of the august institution, one critical factor was the Faculty's role as a site of intellectual, literary, and political interaction. The rigorous scholastic theological training provided by the Faculty of Theology throughout the Wars of Religion vested Franciscan preaching with special authority, and gave men such as Feuardent an opportunity to shape French religious life at the highest levels of political and ecclesiastical governance. The humanist studies that the friars encountered at the University informed their role as spiritual controversialists, providing them with the literary and linguistic skills necessary to challenge Protestantism. Equally importantly, it was also at the Faculty that the friars encountered the League.

Scholasticism and Religious Authority

Arriving from his convent at Bayeux in 1563 to begin the theology cursum at the University of Paris, the twenty-four-year-old Feuardent could not have anticipated the importance this institution would play in his later emergence as a political radical. Feuardent like other Franciscan students before him hoped instead to receive the prestigious *licentia docenti utriusque*, a diploma that enabled its bearer to preach in any pulpit in Christendom. This licence was offered only by a handful of European theological faculties, including that of Paris. The young and ambitious Feuardent may have even thought about pursuing a doctorate in theology, a diploma so highly regarded that it opened doors to patronage positions in noble and royal households. The very fact that Feuardent craved a university diploma shows just how far the Franciscan order had drifted from the lay ministry first modeled by its founder. The mystic Francis of Assisi was always skeptical about learning as a path to spiritual knowledge, but many thirteenth-century ecclesiastical authorities insisted that all would-be preachers receive a few years of intensive theological study. As far as these authorities were concerned, the friars with their lay ministry were testing the boundaries of orthodoxy, and Franciscan administrators in the thirteenth century faced enormous pressure to provide their members with such an education. This pressure was not wholly external in nature. Many members of the Franciscan hierarchy eager to promote the prestige of their new order embraced a theological formation for their members from early on. By the time of the Constitutions of Narbonne (1260), the importance of learning was sufficiently accepted by members of the order to allow then general Bonaventure to redefine work in the Franciscan Rule to include learning.³

Since the universities of Europe offered intensive theological formation from the twelfth century onward, Franciscan administrators agitated to send their members to these institutions from the early days of the order. Three hundred years later, Feuardent must have been thrilled to attend the University of Paris in particular, because it was home to one of the most prestigious Franciscan theology schools (*studium generale*). The Paris *studium*'s renown as a training ground for Franciscan preachers went back to the thirteenth century, when Bonaventure's decision to join the Franciscan family gave the fledgling order a celebrated theologian and, along with it, a chair as regent in the Faculty of Theology. Bonaventure's adoption of the Franciscan habit was an important public relations coup for the Franciscan order, giving it an immediate presence at the most celebrated theology faculty in Europe, and thus access to a scholastic theological formation that vaulted its recipients to the highest levels of ecclesiastical authority.

The importance of Paris as a site of intellectual formation and political advancement for the Franciscan explains why the Franciscan order from the

thirteenth century onward persistently sought the entrance of friars there even in the face of open hostility from the secular clergy. The secular clergy dominated the University, and they were not about to welcome these spiritual rivals into their corporate body. It was bad enough that the friars competed with them for the pastoral care of their congregation, but the secular clergy were also worried about mendicant ties with the papacy. Although they were forced to admit the friars to the University by the papacy in 1250, subsequent conflict confined mendicant participation to the faculties of theology and canon law.⁴ Still, the mendicant-secular struggles did not end there. In fact, the most intense attacks upon mendicant privilege came during the fifteenth century, when conciliarism renewed secular concerns about relations between the mendicant clergy and the papacy. The University successfully resisted the papal bull of 1442, for example, which increased the number of friars allowed into the Paris theology cursum.⁵

Secular-mendicant conflict percolated throughout the sixteenth century as well, apparently immune to the pressures placed upon the French Church by confessional division and political instability. Three years before Feuarent arrived in Paris to begin his studies, the Franciscans went before the Parlement of Paris to complain about the behavior of the secular bedel. The bedel was an important ceremonial office, responsible for leading regent doctors to disputations and directing university processions as well as carrying the conclusions of bachelors. The conclusions were the essential points that a bachelor would cover during an upcoming disputation. Centuries of internal wrangling gave the mendicant clergy two bedels to lead their own members in ceremonial events, though the Faculty statutes insisted that a secular bedel should accompany the mendicant bedels.⁶ According to the friars, the secular bedel, Pierre le Goulx, deliberately blocked their own bedels from carrying the conclusions of their own bachelors. The Carmelites filed a similar complaint in the following year, also implicating Pierre Le Goulx.⁷ The Franciscans and Carmelites were understandably furious with Le Goulx because, in blocking the mendicant bedels, the secular bedel was symbolically denying their existence in the university corpus. Fortunately for the friars, the Parlement agreed with them and ordered Le Goulx on May 27, 1560, to leave the mendicant bedels alone.⁸

The squabble over le Goulx was by no means the only time the mendicant clergy felt unwelcome at the University during the Wars of Religion. The Franciscans launched a number of other legal suits claiming abusive treatment by administrators, including one involving friar Nicolas Garnerat's claim to the *euphemia*.⁹ The *euphemia* was an annual fee given to regent doctors who fulfilled Faculty requirements by giving a lecture on the feast of Saint Euphemia (September 16). In its own defense, the Faculty insisted that Garnerat failed to stay in Paris for most of the year as required by Faculty statutes and thus

sacrificed this status. "It is necessary to reside in Paris the entire year," the Faculty said, "and friar Nicolas wants to earn as much of the euphemia on one day as others who have have resided [in Paris] a long time."¹⁰ The Parlement of Paris disagreed, and on September 20, 1559, ordered the Faculty to let Garnerat receive the oath and pay him the associated fees.

In their struggles for access to the Faculty, the Franciscans were joined by the other orders of mendicant clergy who faced similar resistance. The Paris Franciscan archives include a Dominican petition to the Parlement from 1567, in which the Dominicans accused the Faculty of trying to restrict mendicant participation. Among other concerns, the friars mention that the Faculty failed to call the friars to attend important university functions such as "the reading of the lists of those students to be licensed."¹¹ Since the Parlement ruled in favor of the mendicant clergy in the majority of these legal suits, we can assume that some members of the Faculty were eager to reduce mendicant privileges. These members likely felt justified in doing so, furthermore, since the friars were pressing upon the boundaries delineating their place at the University. Friar Claude Richard, for one, ran into trouble with the University in 1585 when he was hired by the Collège de Marche to give lectures on philosophy and theology. The University had forbidden mendicant lectures outside the studium since the thirteenth century, and so Richard's acceptance of the position aroused no little consternation. A quickly convened meeting of the University's deliberative body debated the issue on January 9 and to no one's surprise found in favor of the status quo.¹² The Jesuits ran into similar problems at the University with the lectures of Jean Maldonat (Juan Maldonado) in the 1570s, not only because his lectures were regarded with suspicion, but also because they attracted students from outside the Jesuit college.¹³

Since mendicant administrators were usually no more comfortable than their secular counterparts with friars lecturing in other colleges, it is not immediately clear that Richard had operated with the support of his own order. Where these administrators did eagerly push to expand Franciscan presence at the University at this time was in the theology cursum. Thirteenth-century legislation limited the four mendicant orders to two Dominicans, one Franciscan, one Carmelite and one Augustinian in the theology cursum. While the University managed to ward off any official increase in these numbers until after the Wars of Religion, the sixteenth century saw the emergence of a new procedure that effectively increased mendicant presence at the University while officially retaining the traditional limits. This procedure quickly came to be known as the extraordinary lecture (*lectura extraordinaria*). Andrew Travers finds the University caving into Franciscan demand to place an additional student in the cursum as early as 1512. The University agreed, but with the caveat that this was an extraordinary procedure, one granted on the

suffrance of the Faculty. The Faculty insisted, furthermore, that the extraordinary lecturer must pay double the fees and stipends of the ordinary lecture as well as take two courses on the Bible.¹⁴ Other cases soon followed. The Faculty had stumbled on a clever solution, one that alleviated mendicant demand for more members receiving theological degrees while enabling the Faculty to retain pre-existing limits. Not all Faculty members were satisfied even with this compromise. The mendicant clergy also repeatedly challenged the extortionate nature of the fees for the extraordinary *cursum* during the Wars. But even with the higher fees, the mendicant clergy lunged at the chance to use this procedure. Between 1564 and 1594 the Faculty accepted twenty-one Franciscans alone in the extraordinary lecture. Given that only one Franciscan was permitted in annually, this group of extraordinary students represented a substantial increase in the number of Franciscans receiving theological training at the University.¹⁵

Though long-standing tension between the mendicant and secular clergy must have informed their experiences at the Faculty, Feuardent and other student friars considered access to the theology *cursum* well worth the aggravation, because they knew that the road to preaching, scholarship, and prestigious ecclesiastical offices, not to mention political influence, lay through the Faculty. D'Aubigné was critical of Feuardent and other League preachers precisely because the intellectual formation that they received at the Faculty gave them substantial authority and respect in the eyes of many contemporaries. Entrance to the theology *cursum* was, even so, no guarantee of an illustrious career, as Feuardent well knew. Years of rigorous intellectual training lay in between, and only the most able Franciscans received the license, let alone the coveted doctoral degree. This training began in one of the many *studia particularia* found in the Franciscan provinces, long before the friar arrived at Paris to begin his studies. The *studium particulare* functioned more or less as an undergraduate institution within the mendicant orders, providing students with a thorough grounding in the liberal arts. Students bent on a university career also received a few years of theological preparation at a *studium generale* such as that of Paris. The *studium generale* was in many respects a *studium particulare* and theology school combined, because it provided younger members with a liberal arts education and older students with formation in theology.¹⁶

Most preachers in the Franciscan order never went beyond a few years of theological study at the *studium generale* because this was considered sufficient by the Franciscan administration to preach in one's own community. Friars considered particularly gifted proceeded to the University, and this was the case of Feuardent. But surprisingly, for all his fame at the time of the Wars of Religion as a League preacher and scholar, we know very little about Feuardent the man. His early years in particular are shadowed in mystery.

Franciscan records tell us that Feuardent was born in the city of Coutances in 1539 to a well-to-do family, and that he entered the Franciscan Observant community in Bayeaux at the relatively late age of twenty. Canonical legislation declared sixteen the earliest age to join a religious order, and most would-be friars entered around this age. Since the first mention we have of Feuardent at the Paris friary comes as he started the *biblicus ordinarius* in 1563, it is likely that he received his early theological formation at a *studium generale* close to his own convent at Bayeux before arriving in Paris. The very fact that Feuardent was sent to study at the Paris studium shows nevertheless that he was held in high regard by his own province. Only a handful of the French Observant *studia generalia* provided access to a university degree. The importance of the University of Paris insured that competition for access to the Paris studium generale was particularly stiff, and the provinces jealously protected their designated spaces at this institution. As a member of the convent of Bayeux, Feuardent took one of six places allotted to the province of France.¹⁷

The kind of theological formation that Feuardent received once arriving at the University of Paris was similar to that of the many generations of friars before him. Scholasticism was not a particular body of knowledge or school of thought but rather a method of intellectual investigation that presumed the utility of reason for investigating speculative matters, including theology. Scholastic education consequently placed enormous emphasis on logic as an instrument of study, and relied heavily on dialectical reasoning as a method of inquiry. Despite humanist criticism of its irrelevance, Scholasticism remained the dominant intellectual tradition of European universities throughout the early modern period precisely because its practitioners believed it offered the best method to reach truth, and, perhaps just as importantly, it easily lent itself to numerous different intellectual schools of thought.¹⁸ The diverse nature of scholastic theology becomes clear when we look at the University of Paris at the time of the Wars of Religion. Typical of medieval universities, the University of Paris was not a unified, centralized institution but rather a complex weave of different colleges, mendicant studia, and other affiliated institutions, each formed over time to further the theological objectives of a particular Christian tradition.

By the sixteenth century, rival schools of thought percolated at a number of locations, including not only Thomism and Scotism at the Dominican and Franciscan studia respectively, but also various forms of Nominalism. Thomism is the school of thought associated with Thomas Aquinas, the great thirteenth-century Dominican who believed classical reasoning in conjunction with Christian doctrine provided the most certain route to divine understanding. Nominalism was in many respects a response to Thomist thought, above all to its optimistic understanding of reason for speculative investigation. Although a number of nominalist traditions existed by the sixteenth century,

William Courtenay finds certain telltale characteristics belonging to all, namely emphasis upon the role of observable experience at the expense of speculative interpretations of the divine, intuition as the basis of knowledge, and God's independent will to act.¹⁹ Curiously, an early and influential architect of nominalism was a Franciscan, William of Ockham (c.1285–1347). Ockham insisted upon the limited utility of reason in understanding revealed theology. Since human beings interpreted the world through their senses and intellect, Ockham insisted that their understanding (intuition) of that world was necessarily limited. Abstract reasoning about God, he argued, could provide at best probable conclusions. Faith alone could provide certainty—if not complete knowledge—of God because “God's nature and the mysteries of faith transcend our comprehension.”²⁰

In his insistence upon a powerful God and a sense-bound human, Ockham was characteristically Franciscan, and so it might seem surprising that Ockhamist thought played such a small role in the training of the sixteenth-century friars. As John Murphy points out, however, Franciscans never understood his appeal. A fifteenth-century student of the Scotist Stephen Pillet (Brulefer) reportedly dismissed Ockham, saying that “it displeases me that worthy minds study the poverty of Ockham; I desire to see them within the school of Scotus. . . .”²¹ Why Scotism triumphed in the place of Ockhamist thought among members of the Franciscan tradition is a complicated question, beyond the scope of this study. However, Ockham's absolute rejection of universals of any sort, and his reduction of knowledge to the individual alone, were two likely reasons why it held less appeal than Scotism. Duns Scotus (d. 1308?) is best known for his commentaries on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. Like Ockham, Scotus stressed limits to human knowledge in understanding of the divine and, correspondingly, the all-powerful nature of God because God was an infinite being whereas humans were finite.²² Humans interpreted the world through their senses, and what they learned of God came through God's will. Like Ockham, Scotus elevated the independence and authority of God while asserting the free will of the individual to choose salvation. Scotus nevertheless remained bound to a scholastic tradition somewhere between that of Aquinas and Ockham. He held a much more optimistic view than Ockham, for example, of the use of reason. Franciscans also remained wedded to a mystical understanding of spiritual truth that had little place in the more sceptical nominalist tradition of Ockham, but that retained greater relevance in the thought of Duns Scotus.

For these reasons among others, Scotus's theological approach came to enjoy a lasting appeal within the Franciscan order. Even though it was not officially confirmed as the reigning Franciscan intellectual tradition until the General Chapter of Toledo in 1633, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were in fact the golden age of the Scotist tradition.²³ At the time of the Wars

of Religion, Scotism was also the accepted Franciscan school of thought within the Faculty of Theology at Paris. The Faculty left the supervision of students to masters drawn from their own religious orders, and so the structure of learning overseen by the Faculty only encouraged a deeper inculcation of Scotist theology in Franciscan students. During the first stage of his studies at the University, known to the mendicant students as the *biblicus ordinarius*, Feuardent would have read the Bible in the Paris studium over a period of three years as well as disputing regularly under the guidance of a Franciscan master.²⁴ The early introduction of the disputation was important, masters believed, because disputation deepened the student's grasp of theological issues and such reasoned debate pushed the frontiers of knowledge further.²⁵ The first formal disputation, the *tentativa*, came in his third and final year. The *tentativa* was a particularly important dispute, because this feast marked the end of the ordinary term. It took place before the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul (June 29).²⁶

Following successful completion of the *tentativa*, Feuardent advanced into the next stage of his studies known as the *baccalarius sententiarius*, a one-year period during which he and other bachelors lectured regularly on the four books of the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard in the Paris studium.²⁷ The *Sentences* was the most important theological textbook of the middle ages, a compilation of church authorities ranging from biblical to patristic and medieval. Organized thematically in four books, the *Sentences* looked at the major points of debate in Christian thought such as the nature of God and the Trinity, creation, the fall of man, the incarnation of Christ, the virtues, the sacraments, death and heaven.²⁸ Before each book, Feuardent would have given a solemn elocution known as the *principium*. The first *principium* took place between September 14 and October 9, and all bachelors were expected to attend. Subsequent ones were given in January, March, and May. The abilities of Feuardent and his cohorts were evaluated by their masters in reports submitted to the Faculty in July, and assuming that the report was favorable, the friar entered upon a new phase of his formation known as the *baccalarius formatus*. This phase lasted three to four years, and it honed in particular the debating skills of the student. During this time, Feuardent would have participated in three major disputations, including the most important of all, the *sorbonica*. The *sorbonica* was the epitome of a gruelling intellectual disputation, lasting several hours. Much to the irritation of the friars, an additional disputation, the *disputatio de quolibet*, was also required specifically of the mendicants at this stage. The mendicant orders considered this dispute both unnecessary and abusive. They repeatedly petitioned the Faculty during the Wars to end it but to no avail.

By the time Feuardent completed the *sorbonica*, he had spent at least twelve years in the theology cursum. Twelve years was not an unusually long time for

the friars, because only one friar could receive the *licentia docenti* in any given year and the licensing itself took place in every second (Jubilee) year.²⁹ Many friars would have had to wait at least one extra year just to receive the license, and sometimes much longer if under the age of thirty-five designated by university statutes. The extraordinary costs attached to each stage of studies also delayed the license for many Franciscan students, and explains why patronage played such a crucial role in the formation of many mendicant preachers, including Nicolas Raulin and Jacques Berson.³⁰ Above and beyond the fees required for each stage of their formation, and the gifts of “sucré” and “dragée” demanded by their masters, students also paid for the banquet celebrating the licentiate.³¹ This event alone could cost as much as three hundred livres, almost one-third of the projected educational costs accruing to the doctoral student over the course of his time at the University. The pugnacious scholar and educator Pierre Ramus thought the system of fees so abusive that he pushed for a reform of the entire structure in 1562, one in a long line of reform plans that went largely ignored by the University in the sixteenth century. Needless to say, the mendicant clergy were always supportive of such reforms since they paid even more than the secular bachelors and doctors at each stage of the cursum.³²

The licentiate was the goal of most Franciscans who entered the theology cursum, but Feuarent was typical of many friars of this study who spent another year to complete the *vesperia*, *magisterium* and the *resumptiva*, three disputations necessary for the doctorate of theology. The doctorate was well worth the extra year of study and exorbitant fees because it was the crucial next step for friars ambitious for a career beyond that of a preacher. In addition to a position in noble or royal households as confessor or almoner, the Franciscan doctor could look forward to an administrative position in the Franciscan order, first as the guardian of a friary and later on perhaps as a *custos*, provincial minister, visiting commissioner, or even provincial diffinitor. If highly regarded, the same doctor might even rise to the central administration as a diffinitor, where he would help formulate Franciscan legislation for the entire order, and a few, such as Christophe de Cheffontaine, even found themselves elected to the highest office of all, that of minister general.

Beyond Franciscan offices, a doctorate opened up the rare possibility of a position in the secular structure of the Church as bishop. Only a few friars held this honor during the late sixteenth century, among them Bertrand de Marillac and Etienne Le Maingre. As the product of an old noble family from Auvergne, Bertrand de Marillac's rise to episcopal office in 1565 was hardly surprising, just as Etienne Le Maingre's reception of the episcopacy of Grasse in 1595 likely owed a great deal to his noble roots.³³ Even so, a few friars, including Jacques Suarez and Pompé Perille, seemed to have achieved this office based solely on their reputation as active spiritual reformers and their

pedigree as doctors of the University of Paris. Perille became the bishop of Apt in 1587, while Suarez received the prestigious see of Séez in 1611.³⁴ The success of Suarez and Perille is all the more unusual given that the sees of Apt and Séez were not located “in partibus fidelibus”—in other words, in non-Christian lands—but were bona fide French dioceses. Jacques de Montracher, Christophe de Cheffontaine, and Joannes Henrici were a few Franciscans given dioceses in lands not under Christian control, and therefore their titles were more or less honorific. Montracher was the bishop of Philadelphia, Cheffontaine of Cesarea, and Henrici of Damascus.³⁵ Bishop in name only, these individuals were also usually given the office of suffragant in a European diocese so that they would have an income. A typical example is Montracher who was the suffragant of François de Dinteville, the bishop of Auxerre.³⁶ Although not exercising the full authority of bishop, the suffragant was nevertheless a prestigious, influential, and at times lucrative office for the Franciscan, because the suffragant fulfilled the political and spiritual duties of the bishop during his frequent absences.

The doctorate was a well-accepted path to political and economic success, but for devout spiritual reformers such as Feuardent it also offered an opportunity to shape French religious policies at the highest levels of political authority as regent masters in the Faculty of Theology. The regent masters formed the deliberative body of the Faculty. While its luster had somewhat dimmed since the fourteenth century, when Oxford was one of the few Faculties of Theology in Europe to rival it as a spiritual authority, the Faculty of Theology at Paris remained one of the most highly respected theological centers throughout the sixteenth century. The Faculty of Theology was one of the faculties consulted by Henry VIII on his divorce during the 1520s, and Paris theologians participated in the Council of Trent. The Paris Faculty also deliberated on papal reform of the Gregorian calendar in 1579.³⁷ The Faculty of Theology was even more powerful in France where it presided as the preeminent spiritual authority. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the influence of the Faculty in France owed a great deal to its vaunted independence from the papacy, just as it did to its illustrious past as a theological center. As early as the 1230s, the Faculty proved its willingness to challenge papal authority when it refused to admit the mendicant clergy into its corporate body. The same confidence in its own judgment transformed the Faculty, under the guidance of the great theologian and reformer Jean Gerson, into a center of conciliarism during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that spoke publicly about the worldly and corrupt nature of the papacy.³⁸ The conciliarist crisis marked a high point in Faculty influence outside of France, and it was not long after the Council of Constance in 1415 that other theological centers, with the encouragement of an embittered papacy, emerged in Europe to challenge Parisian dominance.

Even as its luster dimmed internationally in the wake of the conciliar crisis, the Faculty saw its influence as a religious authority only increase in France. One reason for its continuing importance here was the support that it enjoyed from the French state. The French monarchy of the fifteenth century was quick to see that the Faculty's independence as a spiritual authority was useful in its own struggles against the papacy. By supporting a religious institution willing to challenge papal authority, the monarchy legitimated its resistance to particular papal policies, and simultaneously elevated its own authority within the ecclesiastical structure of France. Whether the Faculty was a malleable instrument of royal authority is debatable, though there is no question that it was more than willing to cooperate with the monarchy when it suited its own interests. The regents knew full well that royal recognition of the Faculty's voice in religious matters, particularly with regard to doctrine and papal authority, enhanced societal perception of the University as the bastion of a distinctly French ("gallican") church, and shed added luster on the venerable religious institution.³⁹

Whether motivated by concern about religious reform or the enhancement of its own spiritual and political authority, the Faculty's hostile reception of the Jesuits during the 1540s shows that it remained wary of papal influence in France throughout the sixteenth century. The fourth vow of the Jesuits made this fledgling religious order an immediate source of suspicion among the regents since it was a vow of loyalty to the papacy.⁴⁰

Yet, while papal authority remained a particular concern of the Faculty throughout the late sixteenth century, there is no question that the regents were even more perturbed about Calvinism. Following Luther's divorce from the Catholic Church in 1521, the Faculty went on the offensive against any sign of heresy, and in the magistracy of the Parlement of Paris they found a ready ally. The Index of Forbidden books that the Faculty first established in 1533 with papal approval became law when the Parlement recognized it shortly thereafter. The list grew rapidly over the course of the sixteenth century as more and more suspected texts made their way onto the list at the insistence of the Faculty.⁴¹

It is revealing of the theological traditionalism of the Faculty that many of those singled out early on for censorship and legal prosecution were members of the humanist group of reformers known as the Circle of Meaux. Along with Guillaume Briçonnet, the humanist bishop of Meaux who found himself unexpectedly charged with unorthodoxy in 1525, the Faculty condemned Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples's *commentarii initiatorii in quattuor evangelia*. Even Marguerite de Navarre, the sister of Francis I, found her *Miroir d'une precheresse* suspected of unorthodoxy in 1533.⁴² Since scholastic theologians as a rule were less than impressed by the sophistication of humanist thought, we must avoid the pitfalls of many historians who have accepted Christian humanist

critique of scholastic theology as irrelevant. The fact is that scholastic theologians and Christian humanists held different agendas as religious leaders because they located spiritual truth in different places. Christian Humanists mocked the speculative pursuits of the scholastic theologians because to their mind morality was the natural focus and source of Christian wisdom.

The Faculty's overt hostility to the work of the French Christian Humanists in the wake of Luther's departure from the Church shows above all that, despite its willingness to challenge papal authority in certain arenas, the Faculty accepted the very accretions to church authority over time that many Humanists as well as Protestants questioned. The regents of the Faculty were particularly wary, furthermore, of any discussion, let alone interpretation, of religious texts by those who did not possess the same scholastic theological formation, since to their mind such a formation was the basis of true competency in argument. For this reason they did not take kindly to the insistence of the Christian Humanists that their knowledge of Greek and Hebrew made them more qualified than the schoolmen to interpret scriptures. The Faculty attacked the establishment of the royal lectures in 1532, because one of its propositions insisted that "the holy scripture could not be well understood without understanding Greek, Hebrew or other similar languages."⁴³ The regents would have wholeheartedly agreed with Melchior Cano, furthermore, when the famous Spanish Dominican theologian insisted in his 1563 treatise that heresy sprang from the rejection of scholastic theology: "No one," he says, "can despise scholasticism without danger to the faith" because "ever since the rise of Scholasticism, there has always been (and there is now) a connection between disrespect for the school and pestilential heresy."⁴⁴

The intervention of Francis I managed to stave off the joint Faculty-Parlement attack upon his sister in 1533/34, but the Faculty's aggressive tactics soon received a more favorable audience with the king in the wake of the Affair of the Placards (1534). In 1543 at the request of Francis I, the Faculty developed a French statement on doctrinal truth known as the Articles of Faith. Subsequent sixteenth-century monarchs from Henry II onward would also recognize the articles, forcing generations of magistrates, royal counselors, and University masters to take an oath to them or risk losing their posts. For a period of a few years after 1547, furthermore, the theologians of the Faculty would even sit in legal judgment of suspected heretics as members of the infamous *chambre ardente*.⁴⁵

The Affair of the Placards signaled a shift at the center of state authority towards the repression of religious dissent. The combined efforts of Faculty and magistracy effectively forced Christian Humanism underground, thus ending the once relatively open discussion of religious texts that marked the pre-Reformation era in France. Nevertheless, although the Faculty's political influence was at its peak in France during these years, even with the combined

support of king and magistracy this religious institution was incapable of preventing Calvinism from taking root in France during the 1540s. By the time the Wars began in 1562, the Faculty's concern about the spread of this particular heresy had motivated its participation not only in the Council of Trent but also the Colloquy of Poissy (1561). Since the Faculty was the most important spiritual authority in France, Catherine de Médicis had little choice but to invite the institution to send representatives to the Colloquy. But its refusal to engage in any form of discussion with Protestant leaders was one of the reasons for the Colloquy's ultimate failure.

Documents give us an occasional glimpse of friars attending these councils as delegates of the Faculty and playing a role in its deliberative processes. Jacques Hugonis and Jean Benedicti were among the Faculty delegates sent to the Council of Trent in 1562, and Benedicti is mentioned as a delegate for the Faculty on other business as well, though the matter is not specified.⁴⁶ Since Hugonis was a royal preacher and as such a prominent religious figure in French society, his selection as a delegate of the Faculty is not surprising, and Benedicti was also a worthy choice. Benedicti was the author of the enormously popular devotional treatise *La somme des pechez*, as well as a highly respected and influential member of the Faculty during the first decade of the Wars of Religion.⁴⁷ The friars Jean Mabilie and Hugonis also participated in Faculty deliberations on the controversial Bible of René Benoist in 1567.

Benoist is better known today as one of the few Parisian parish priests who refused to support the Catholic League. He was, however, also a respected theologian who made the rather unfortunate mistake of translating the Bible into French, the same mistake made a few decades earlier by Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples.⁴⁸ As the treatment of the evangelical reformer should have taught him, any translation of Christian sources risked controversy in the period of the Reformation. Discussed intensively over the course of several weeks, the Faculty came to the conclusion in 1567 that Benoist's Bible contained "Genevan" influence.⁴⁹

Faculty deliberations suggest that it was far from a unified body, and so the participation of the friars in the above events was not in itself a sign that Franciscan regents shared exactly the same religious views of other members. As in times past, mendicant and secular regents clashed throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries over the nature of papal authority, while many theological determinations, including the debate over René Benoist's version of the Bible, were enormously contentious. Mabilie and Hugonis were nevertheless among the regents who condemned Benoit's version, one more indication that the friars like many other regents were unsympathetic to any divergence from orthodoxy. But whether or not they agreed with other members of the Faculty, the very participation of these friars in Faculty deliberations was significant in itself because they gave the Franciscan tradition a role in

determining spiritual orthodoxy in France. At least in the case of Benoist, the friars reaffirmed the Faculty's unwillingness to tolerate heresy even by members of its own body.

Humanism

Franciscan doctors exercised substantial authority in French society as members of a spiritual elite. For this reason alone, we can well understand why so many French men and women trusted their judgment and followed them into political disobedience after 1588. A tantalizing entry in the Paris friary minutes from 1568 points to yet another critical way in which the University shaped the political influence of the friars at this time, because it was at the University that the friars encountered Humanism. Three years after Feuarent began his studies at the Paris studium, the inner council strictly forbade its own students from attending lectures on Greek and Hebrew: "quod nulli fratrum studentum fierent potestas eundi ad lectores publicas qui sunt in civitate tam graecas quam hebraeas."⁵⁰ This entry is one of the few indications that Franciscans were deliberately seeking out language study closely associated with Humanism at the University of Paris during the Wars of Religion. Greek and Hebrew were not offered in the studium until 1583, but they were offered at the Collège Royale. The royal lectures (two Greek, two Hebrew) were established at the instigation of Guillaume Budé and other Humanists in 1532. The first recipients were Pierre Danès and Jacques Toussaint (Greek), and François Vatable and Agathias Guidacier (Hebrew). Forming the basis of the future Collège Royale, by the middle of the sixteenth century these lectures were at the heart of a vibrant Hellenist culture that spawned not only the Greek scholarship of the philosopher François Le Roy and Pierre Ramus but also the poetry of the Pléiade and the satire of Rabelais's *Pantagruel*.⁵¹ Though reverberating with Rabelais's usual sardonic humor, Gargantua's letter to his son Pantagruel reflects Rabelais's—and contemporary—enthusiasm about the new learning in Paris:

Now all the disciplines are restored, the languages established. Greek, without which it is shameful to call oneself learned. Hebrew, Chaldean, Latin. . . . The entire world is full of learned men, of very learned teachers, of enormous book-stores, so much so that one has told me that neither at the time of Plato, nor Cicero nor Papinian was there the same convenience of study that there is now.⁵²

What friary administrators wanted were men schooled in the Scotist tradition but possessing the same skills of scholastic reasoning and disputation necessary to undermine rival theological traditions. Such men, they believed, were the best capable of spreading the Franciscan message of reform. Many of

the most visible and active Franciscan preachers of the Wars, including Feuardent, Maurice Hylaret, Jacques Berson, and Yves Magistri were clearly knowledgeable in Greek and Hebrew, and for this reason friary administrators must have realized that they were fighting a losing battle. In 1583, the friary administration officially recognized the study of Greek and Hebrew when it agreed to hire a secular master to teach the two languages in the theology school.⁵³ The entry of 1568 is just one of many indications that the institutionalized membrane separating secular and mendicant studies was much more permeable than university regulations suggest, and that the mendicant clergy were constantly exposed to other intellectual traditions during their time at the University. Attending one another's lectures was also apparently standard fare for students regardless of religious affiliation at the turn of the sixteenth century.⁵⁴ In other words, the Jesuit Maldonat was not the only lecturer to attract students from across the ecclesiastical spectrum. Even Faculty-organized disputations were a regular opportunity for intellectual exchange, since the scholastic disputation was predicated on understanding rival traditions well enough to undermine them.

Intellectual interaction was to be expected, because the University was by nature an amalgamation of intellectual traditions, and it was also inescapably social. A Venetian account from 1546 estimated that as many as twenty thousand students attended the University in one of its four faculties of arts, canon law, medicine, and theology.⁵⁵ Ensnared in the Latin quarter, the sprawling University of Paris embraced numerous quasi-independent colleges, studia, and satellite institutions. The proximity of the various institutions to one another meant that, while at night friars retired to their own communities, during the day they lived in the thick of student life. The Sorbonne, home to the Faculty of Theology, was within easy walking distance of the Franciscan studium, as were the studia of the Carmelites and Dominicans, and the Collège de Presles where Ramus held court.⁵⁶ Filling the streets in between were bookshops, copyists, paper-makers, printers, taverns, and other industries dependent upon the University community for their livelihoods. Add to this mixture the sights and sounds of bachelors chatting en route to a lecture or disputation, regent masters processing through the streets in their distinctive circular robes, and arts students scuffling with one another outside nearby taverns, and we can well understand why for so many students the University was such an exciting social and cultural experience.⁵⁷

Strolling through the streets of his neighborhood, Feuardent regularly encountered other students, but there was also the rich nature of university ritual life. Every day, members of the Faculty of Theology met for a morning sermon at the Sorbonne, and a few times during the year university processions and banquets brought together members of the same cursum as well as masters. Though royal pressure largely put an end to student farces at the

University by the middle of the sixteenth century, more decorous, classically inspired student plays such as those produced by Pierre de Ronsard and other members of the Pléiade could be found at the various colleges.⁵⁸ The *paranymphs* was another highly anticipated event in the social calendar of student and master, because it injected a welcome degree of levity into the university experience. Once a solemn oration celebrating the new bachelor, by the sixteenth century the *paranymphs* had become a ribald roast that took place at the convents of the Dominicans and Franciscans, and the secular colleges of Navarre and the Sorbonne. Since secular and regular clerics attended the *paranymphs*, this event is one more indication of the fluid nature of university life even for the Franciscans.⁵⁹

While Franciscan authorities were not always comfortable about such fraternizing across religious traditions, they acknowledged it as a fact of university life. In a rare instance, the usually taciturn minutes of the inner council of the Paris friary mention in 1588 the presence of “friends” of students at particular disputations, namely the *tentativa*, *principium*, and the *sorbonica*. These friends were not Franciscan, because the minutes mention specifically members from the same cursum (*sociis suae licentiae*) and also secular friends (*amicis secularibus*).⁶⁰ The social and intellectual nature of the University made intellectual interaction inevitable, and the Franciscans naturally encountered Humanism as well as other intellectual traditions while there. What might seem surprising is that the friars were interested in Humanism at all, given their well-publicized battles with Guillaume Briçonnet and many other evangelical reformers earlier in the century. The friars who illicitly sought out Greek and Hebrew lectures in 1568 knew full well that Humanists viewed knowledge of these ancient languages as the foundation of genuine biblical scholarship. Their scramble for linguistic training nevertheless challenges the common perception among historians that the Franciscans were among the most aggressive enemies of Christian Humanism. In fact, Franciscans were drawn to humanist studies, both classical and patristic, from the late fifteenth century. Jean Verrier in France, Richard Brinkley in England, and Conrad Pellikan in Germany are early examples of Franciscan interest in humanist study of the Bible. Perhaps the best known of the three, Pellikan was highly regarded as a Hebraist, and produced among other scholarly works his own version of the Old Testament in 1501.⁶¹

Humanism also made inroads into the Paris studium long before anyone had heard of Erasmus, let alone the Wars of Religion. Franciscan students attended Guillaume Fichet’s lectures on ancient authors, and even adopted humanist rhetorical conventions in their personal correspondence. Stephen Brulefer, the prominent Scotist theologian, was a friend of the well-known French Humanist Robert Gaguin, and it was at the Paris convent in 1516 that Conrad Pellikan first came face to face with Jacques Lefèvre d’Etaples. A

visit by the Hungarian Humanist John Gosztonyi between 1513 and 1514 also led to a close friendship between Gosztonyi and Boniface de Ceva, then provincial minister of the province of France.⁶²

This easy mingling of friar and Christian Humanist at the Paris studium cooled somewhat in the wake of Luther's departure from the Church, but all evidence shows that interest among the French Observant Franciscans in many typically humanist forms of scholarship continued unabated after this time, and not only at the University of Paris. Just as the irreverent satirist and former Franciscan François Rabelais studied Greek at his own convent of Foutenay, Feuardent may well have first encountered Humanism while still a member of the community at Bayeux, because the libraries of many Franciscan communities had already begun collecting classical, patristic, and humanist works.⁶³ Perhaps the largest library in the Observant brotherhood was that found in the convent of Troyes. Located in the region of Champagne, the library at Troyes numbered twelve thousand volumes as of 1651, in part through the generous donation of one of their prominent members, Jacques Hennequin.⁶⁴ The Paris library in comparison numbered only nine thousand volumes at the time of its destruction by fire in 1580.⁶⁵ As early as 1528, surviving records show that the Troyes collection included patristic texts in to addition the usual mixture of sermon collections, psalters, and scholastic commentaries.⁶⁶ Even the much smaller community of Pontoise in Brittany shows that interest in Humanism was well-entrenched in the French Observant communities by this time. Among the works in the Pontoise library that Noël Taillpiéd records with notable pride were Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and French dictionaries, as well as texts by the Roman authors Priscian, Cicero, Politian, Textor, Célius, and Suetonius, and by the Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives. Perhaps even more unusual was the presence of Greek and Latin editions of Plato and Aristotle, modern commentaries by the neoplatonic thinker Marsilio Ficino, and mathematical texts by Ptolemy, Galen, Hippocrates, and Pliny. In terms of the scriptures, Pontoise owned Greek, Latin, and Hebrew Bibles along with medieval glosses and scholastic commentaries, though also texts of the early Church fathers Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory of Nanzianzus, and Athanasius.⁶⁷

Whether interested in biblical studies or more secular fields of investigation, Humanists generally shared a taste for classical and patristic texts both as sources of moral authority and for their literary merit. Since monastic libraries in France collected classical and patristic works long before the sixteenth century, the existence of such texts alone does not necessarily point to the influence of humanism *per se*.⁶⁸ More critical indications of Humanism at work is the inclusion of Greek texts by classical authors such as Plato and the Greek patristic fathers, Hebrew grammars, and works by recent Humanists, because, prior to the fifteenth century, knowledge of ancient Greek and Hebrew

in the West was extremely rare. Christian pursuit of these languages gained momentum after this time, largely in response to humanist interest in Biblical studies.⁶⁹ The presence of texts in these languages is consequently an important indication of Franciscan interest in certain forms of humanist scholarship. What is crucial to understand with regard to the success of the Franciscan ministry during the Wars of Religion, furthermore, is that the Franciscans interest in Humanism was not simply a matter of idle curiosity but increasingly a significant component of their literary and intellectual formation as preachers and theologians. The influence of Humanism on Franciscan preaching and scholarship becomes clear when we look at their literary production over the course of the sixteenth century. Whereas friars in the early sixteenth century published mostly devotional tracts and sermon collections, by the time of the Wars of Religion 50 per cent of their texts (43 of 86) were humanist in genre.⁷⁰ These included five editions of patristic works, nine scriptural commentaries, ten histories, and nineteen polemics, in addition to more traditionally Franciscan works such as sermons, homiletic collections, devotional treatises, and scholastic texts.

Noël Taillepied and François Feuardent were the most prolific Franciscan authors of new editions and commentaries on patristic and biblical texts at the end of the sixteenth century. Though he never received his doctorate in theology, Taillepied (d. 1589) was a lecturer on theology at his own convent of Pontoise. Among other works, he produced an edition of the four fathers of the early church, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory the Great (1574), and a commentary on the Old Testament book of Jeremiah, the *Commentarii in Threnos* (1582).⁷¹ The prolific Feuardent authored an edition of the *Glosse ordinaire* of Nicholas de Lira (1590) as well as commentaries on the books of Ruth, Esther, Jonas, and the Epistle of Saint Paul to Philemon.⁷² Beyond scriptural exegeses, Feuardent wrote new translations of works by the patristic fathers Irenaeus (1575), Saint Ephrem (1579), and Cyril of Alexander (1579).⁷³ In collaboration with Jean Dadré (1537–1597) and Gilbert Genebrard (1535–1597), furthermore, Feuardent contributed to a new edition of Marguerin de la Bigne's *Sacra Bibliotheca Sanctorum patrum* known as the *Bibliotheca veterum patrum*.⁷⁴ Since these three men were members of very different religious traditions, their collaboration is just one more indication of the importance of the fluidity of university life in the intellectual and political formation of the friars and other students. The Benedictine Génébrard already held the chair in Hebrew at the Collège Royale when he collaborated with Feuardent and Dadré, while the canon-regular Dadré also enjoyed enormous respect for his knowledge of biblical languages and scholarship. Among other works, Dadré produced a new edition of *la Vita Christi* of Ludolphe le Chartreux (1580) as well as of the Bible (1590).⁷⁵

Franciscan authorship of exegetical treatises is not in and of itself an indication of Humanism, because Franciscans were engaged in such scholarship

from the early days of the order. Bonaventure, for one, urged members to read the Church fathers because he believed, as did the later Humanists, that the patristics most accurately reflected true Christian spirituality.⁷⁶ Tradition aside, Franciscan application of their newly acquired knowledge of Greek and Hebrew to produce more accurate translations of early Christian texts suggests that, like the Christian Humanists, they believed these languages unlocked knowledge that was valuable to their contemporaries. Berson says as much in his preface to an edition of Cornelio Musso's sermon on the Holy Spirit. "Never has France seen so many learned men," he says, "who know languages, and are capable of revealing the secrets [of these texts]. . . ."⁷⁷ A similar perception of the utility of Humanism for their ministry also explains Franciscan attraction to classical histories, biographies, and polemics as literary genres. Leonardo Bruni along with other Italian Humanists first resurrected the classical genres of history and biography in the fourteenth century because they were attracted to their examination of human and morality. By the sixteenth century, these genres were enormously popular throughout Northern Europe, enough to come to the attention of the French Franciscans. Taillepie led the Franciscan field in producing histories, writing two prosopographies on notable Protestant reformers, a civic history on Pontoise, another on Rouen, one on France prior to the arrival of Christ, and a historical discussion of French religious institutions and practices known as the *Thresor de l'eglise*.⁷⁸ Feuardent produced two histories, one of the abbey of Mont Saint-Michel, and the other of the city of Harfleur.⁷⁹ An important Franciscan scholar of an earlier generation, Simon Fontaine, wrote an influential religious history of France known as the *Histoire catholique de nostre temps* (1558) that received multiple editions during the sixteenth century.

With the onset of religious debate, the polemic literary genre also appealed to Franciscan authors who, like Tertullian and Ambrose before them, found it useful for giving their criticism of rival, dissenting religious traditions the widest possible audience. Addressed as they were at a broad readership, Franciscan polemics like those produced by many Humanists, used the vernacular rather than Latin, and eschewed complicated scholastic proofs in favor of a simpler argumentative approach. Feuardent was by far the largest producer of polemics during the sixteenth century producing at least nine.⁸⁰ Other Franciscans who produced polemics include Cheffontaine (three), Berson, Fremin Capitis, Hylaret, Panigarola, and Melchior de Flavin (two each), and Taillepie (one).⁸¹

Franciscan production of scriptural exegeses, patristic editions and translations, histories, and polemics all indicate humanist-informed scholarship, though even combined, this body of work cannot compare to the output of sermon and homily collections, devotional works, and scholastic treatises that comprised the bulk of Franciscan publication throughout the Wars of Religion.⁸² The very fact that Taillepie and Feuardent seemed to dominate

humanist production might suggest, furthermore, that Humanism remained the preserve of a small cadre of friars. This was by no means the case, for even the more traditional Franciscan genres reflected humanist influence. Not unlike those written by the secular cleric and well-known preacher Jean Le Picart, Franciscan sermons at the time of the Wars of Religion chart a decline in reliance on Augustine as the sole patristic source in favor of others cherished by Christian Humanists. Many friars also showed a pronounced interest in the Greek patristic authors Chrysostom, Basil, Origen, and Gregory of Nazianzus, at the expense of more traditional citations from the Latin fathers Ambrose, Tertullian, and, of course, Augustine.⁸³ Somewhat rarer but no less important was their citation of Hebraic scholars. Jean Benedicti in particular mentions the Rabbis Barachias, Hakadosch, Hadarsan, and Benjamin in *La Somme des pechez*.⁸⁴

Perhaps the most striking sign of humanist influence on Franciscan scholarship and preaching was the pervasiveness of references to decidedly nonscriptural or patristic but classical—and in particular Greek—sources. Hylaret and Berson both make references to classical figures and places, including the mythological (Diana) as well as historical (Hannibal, Sparta). In a sermon given at the parish of Saint-Jacques-de-la-Bouchérie, Berson compared Protestant-beleaguered France to Sparta, a nation that remained strong only as long as it was united within: “Sparta was strong because of its unity, and [because] it had valiant soldiers as its walls, sending the weak out from our kingdoms when they nourished discord. . . .”⁸⁵ A year later, Berson compared Frangipani to Hannibal in his funeral sermon for the papal legate, and noted that the prelate was a product of Naples, the home of “learned men, ancient as well as modern,” such as Titus Livius and Horace as well as the fifteenth-century philologist Lorenzo Valla. Berson’s comparison of Frangipani with Valla is particularly intriguing, although it was clearly meant to honor him. Christian Humanists respected Valla for his classical and Christian learning, linguistic skills, and interest in ecclesiastical reform. Valla’s textual examination of the Donation of Constantine nevertheless earned him more than a few enemies in the ecclesiastical hierarchy because it denied the legitimacy of papal claim to secular authority. Perhaps even more unusual than Berson’s invocation of Valla was Hylaret’s citation of the classical playwrights Euripides and Plautus in his text on Catholic and Protestant intermarriage. These playwrights, while moralists, were hardly typical sources found in medieval religious texts.⁸⁶ Not only were these authors little known before the fifteenth century, but their secular, and decidedly non-Christian critiques of Athenian and Roman societies must have seemed irrelevant to many religious leaders. Writing at the time of the Wars of Religion, Hylaret clearly believed these sources were relevant. Since he purportedly found them in his own convent at Orléans, furthermore, we can assume that Franciscan com-

munities did not limit themselves only to the collection of overtly orthodox classical works.⁸⁷

The erstwhile enemies of Christian Humanism had succumbed to its allure by the middle of the sixteenth century. Or had they? Even the most humanist-informed writings of the friars show little interest in the programs of ecclesiastical reform that propelled the work of Erasmus, Lefèvre d'Étaples, and many other earlier Humanists. Nor do we find a shared desire to question ecclesiastical authority since the time of the Church fathers. Comparing the progress of knowledge to the sun rising little by little over the course of the day, Jean Benedicti asks whether "it is so strange [that] the scholastic doctors knew more things than the ancients. . . ." Asserting the accumulated wisdom of the Catholic theological tradition, Benedicti argues that "a good Scotist or Thomist will find . . . arguments that are much more subtle than those made throughout all of Calvinist Babylon."⁸⁸ These friars were hardly interested in disavowing medieval creptions and interpretations, and yet their interest in Christian Humanist scholarship was understandable. Much more than historians tend to recognize, there was a remarkable concordance between Christian Humanism and Franciscan spirituality. Franciscans shared with Christian Humanists a preoccupation with moral reform and simple piety, and found in humanist literary conventions and skills of textual criticism tools useful for adapting their ministry to the cultural and religious climate of sixteenth-century France.

While there was no coherent Christian humanist theological or spiritual tradition, its practitioners did share a similar preoccupation with moral rather than speculative questions, emphasized love of God as a route to salvation, and had a pronounced fascination with the human life of Christ as a model of spiritual purity.⁸⁹ In these respects, Christian Humanists held a great deal in common with the Franciscans, and shared in consequence a similar interest in the New Testament and early Christian literature as authentic voices of Christian perfection, and in classical works as sources of moral authority. Franciscans would not have disagreed with Jacques Lefèvre's insistence that one must pore over the New Testament to "see the young Christ, aiding men, and loving them with a marvelous love so that you yourself will do the same to them." Knowledge of Christ made imitation of his perfection possible, and facilitated the Christian's own progress to salvation. The christocentric theology of Erasmus and d'Étaples also contained a mystical component that would have appealed to the Franciscans, because these reformers believed that living a more Christian life brought one closer to union with God. In the same treatise, Lefèvre insists that the "most important fruit of the New Testament is that you recognize Him, receive and embrace Him as a divine gift that God gave you. . . ."⁹⁰ Incorporating Christ in one's own life was the prelude to salvation, and thus to incorporation in the divinity of God. Lefèvre was deeply

influenced by the thirteenth-century Franciscan mystic Ramon Lull, and so the similarities between his understanding of salvation and that of his Franciscan contemporaries are not entirely unexpected.⁹¹ Even so, Eugene Rice insists that Lefevre's interest in a more experiential form of piety was shared by many other French Humanists, not to mention Erasmus.⁹²

Franciscan preoccupation with morality also attracted many friars to classical writings because, like Humanists, the friars believed they contained wisdom useful to the good Christian. This attraction, even so, was not wholly the product of their exposure to Humanism. English friars read Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and other classical morality tales as early as the fourteenth century.⁹³ To some extent, then, Maurice Hylaret's citation of Euripedes and Plautus in the sixteenth century merely marked an intensification of Franciscan interest in classical works as sources of moral authority. In his treatise on religious intermarriage, Hylaret insisted that "ancient and modern examples can teach us" about its dangers. Berson went even further than Hylaret, insisting that one cannot "create better [works] than the ancients." Orthodox friar that he was, Berson followed in the steps of earlier religious thinkers who suggested that the classics could nevertheless be "adjusted" for modern needs.⁹⁴

A shared interest in a christocentric piety and the moral utility of classical authorities goes far in explaining Franciscan attraction to humanist scholarship, but Franciscan interest in Humanism did not end here. Master marketers of their own message of salvation, the French friars also found humanist genres and literary and rhetorical conventions useful for appealing to the classically informed tastes of their sixteenth-century audiences. All of Franciscan work during this period, humanist-informed and otherwise, must be understood as spiritually reformatory, and directly aimed at undermining Protestant doctrine and influence. Pierre Moracchini argues that Taillepie used his *Commentarii in Threnos*, which concerns the first two chapters of the book of Lamentations, to bemoan the disorderly state of civil war France, challenge Calvinist intransigence, and stiffen the resolve of the young Cordelier preacher in the struggle for the salvation of his afflicted nation.⁹⁵ Taillepie's historical works similarly functioned as discourses on the spiritual conflicts engulfing France, the *Thresor de l'Eglise* being just one notable example.

The friars adopted humanist literary conventions for a similar reason, to reach particular sixteenth-century audiences. Adapting style to audience was an encouraged practice in the Franciscan tradition, because the end point of their ministry, whether in the form of preaching, visual aids, or writing, was to effect the spiritual change of their listener. As the celebrated French preacher Michel Menot explained, "the sacred sermon is but the mouthpiece of an actor which is not complete in itself unless it remakes men. . . ."⁹⁶ Effecting conversion by touching the heart of the listener legitimated the medium of communication. The French Franciscans were well aware, furthermore, that

no one vehicle would reach all members of society. Scholasticism could be used to reach a learned audience, but even such learned friars as Menot and the fourteenth-century Bernardino of Siena were careful to produce much simpler sermons and treatises employing crude, homespun language and images when reaching out to humbler audiences.

Rhetorical flexibility also accounts for the syncretic nature of Franciscan evangelizing in the New World. Louise Burckhardt's examination of Spanish missions to the Nahua finds Franciscans deliberately incorporating aboriginal words and symbols, singing and dancing, in their evangelization, as a way to bridge cultural differences and sell their spiritual message.⁹⁷ In adopting humanist literary and rhetorical strategies, their counterparts in civil-war France were no different, cloaking their traditional spiritual message in classically inspired metaphors, and references. Since even the unlettered recognized the brawny figure of Hercules and the virginal goddess Diana from contemporary spectacles as well as printed images, Franciscans freely filled their sermons and homilies as well as their more learned texts with references to familiar classical myths and historical figures.⁹⁸

It perhaps made their texts all the more appealing to the friars that they shared with Christian Humanists a similar understanding of rhetoric as a handmaid to right doctrine. For friars as well as Humanists, the ultimate goal was persuasion. Many of the most important Franciscan preachers in the sixteenth century publicly praised the utility of classical rhetoric for this reason. Jean Vitrier, the friar responsible for introducing Erasmus to Origen, insisted earlier in the sixteenth century that classical oratorical forms could be applied effectively to Christian teachings, and the Italian Cornelio Musso (1511–1574) agreed.⁹⁹ One of the most published Franciscan authors at the time of the Wars of Religion, the papal preacher Musso was accused by some of using overly ornate language. Musso argued, however, that the language must suit its message.¹⁰⁰ He was in fact one of the preachers responsible for giving papal oratory what Frederick McGuinness and John O'Malley consider a more stately, even baroque sensibility.¹⁰¹ The French preacher Jean Benedicti may well have been inspired by Musso's well-known fondness for classical oration when he wrote his own panegyric to the Virgin Mary. So thick with references to the inhabitants of Mount Olympus is Benedicti's oration that it is hard at first to find the Franciscan amidst the Humanism:

Sacred mother of the skies, if I may be so bold as to speak of your virtues, which to describe them does not require the aid of the nine muses who inspired Homer to sing his *Iliad*, nor the torrent of Demosthenes, nor the sea of Cicero . . . I do not want to run to the Gods Apollo and Mercury nor the goddess Pallas Athena, just to you, O sacred virgin to whom all the sky pays homage, Plutonic kingdoms fear you and the sea and earth require you. . . .¹⁰²

Franciscans exploited humanist literary conventions to sell the Franciscan message of salvation, but in publishing their own editions and commentaries of early Christian texts, as well as writing polemics, the Franciscans also used Humanism, specifically humanist skills of textual and linguistic criticism, to deflate Protestant theology. In doing so, the friars were simply following the advice of Cicero, who insisted that successful persuasion meant knowing the arguments of the enemy better than one's own. Zwingli, Melancthon, Calvin, and Beza were among the many Protestant reformers who bolstered their new religious theories on the back of humanist methods of textual criticism such as philology. Like the Christian Humanists, furthermore, these reformers claimed greater authority with regard to the scriptures and early Christian texts than scholastic theologians because they could read these texts in their original languages. Panigarola's widely circulated manual on preaching insists that the only way to challenge heretical doctrine was to demonstrate its errors through intimate knowledge of the same texts. One must show "that the reasons [the Protestant] uses to fortify his own opinion and challenge ours, is far from the truth. . . ." Panigarola urged fellow preachers to read avidly, arguing that books were the equivalent of the quarries and woods mined for wood and stone when building a house.¹⁰³ Mining these resources, though time-consuming, was well worth the effort: "If you find one book in a hundred that gives you a worthy argument, the book is paid for and the final recompense will be extremely profitable."

The works that Panigarola recommends show that he, like most Franciscan preachers of his time, continued to see great value in traditional scholastic authorities, including Nicolas of Lyra and Thomas Aquinas. He insisted, nevertheless, that such authorities were less necessary for preaching than disputation because "we usually preach on [the New Testament]." Panigarola recommended instead studying not only the Concordance of Jansenus and the *Golden Legend* but also "scripture, and the fathers." Since the French Franciscans relied on these varied sources, we can assume that Panigarola's advice did not fall on deaf ears. Nor did the Franciscans try to cloak their controversialist intentions. The title of Taillepied's *Collectio quatuor doctorum* insists that the work of Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory provides an "antidote" to thirty errors in Calvinist doctrine, and Feuardent makes a similar claim about the utility of Tertullian and Cyprian in his 1603 edition of the treatise *Confessio Tertulliana et Cypriana* . . .¹⁰⁴ Their selection of works by these patristic authors underscores the controversialist agenda of the friars, since Tertullian, Cyprian, and early church fathers were masters of the Christian polemic.¹⁰⁵

Political Radicalism

In adopting Humanism, the Franciscans fought fire with fire—or rather Humanism with Humanism—because they knew that within certain learned

circles this field of studies gave their attacks on Protestantism credibility, and in consequence insured the continuing receptivity of French society to the Franciscan ministry. Just as the social nature of university life brought the friars into contact with Humanism, it also introduced them to men such as Jean Boucher, who by the late 1580s held decidedly controversial ideas about the nature of French society.¹⁰⁶ The Franciscans were never entirely in agreement with the League ideologue, but they did share with Boucher and many other members of the Faculty of Theology a common concern about the spread of heresy in France.¹⁰⁷ This concern, combined with shared confidence in the Faculty's role as a spiritual authority and growing suspicion of their monarch, sowed the seeds for the later transformation of the Franciscan order into allies of the Catholic League.

Simply stated, Franciscan students and regents took the League home. Contemporaries report secret meetings involving members of the Faculty as early as 1587, and the Faculty as a body took the oath of loyalty to the League in 1588 following the Day of the Barricades.¹⁰⁸ The Faculty also took the initiative in excommunicating Henry III in December 1588 following the assassinations of Blois, and in 1590, the regents, at the request of the League, debated whether a Protestant (Henry of Navarre) could succeed to the French throne. In May, the Faculty came to its decision: the French throne first and foremost was a Catholic institution. Only a Catholic could hold this office: "Since Henry is a heretic or a fomenter of heresy, a notorious enemy of the Church, an apostate, declared excommunicated by the pope . . . the French are held to and obliged by their consciences to impede him with all their might from taking control of the government of this most Christian kingdom, and never to make any peace with him."¹⁰⁹

The myriad connections between members of the Faculty of Theology and the League are impossible to ignore, and point to the critical role played by the Faculty in facilitating the formation of political alliances across ecclesiastical divides. The success of the Faculty as a nursery of League radicalism is still poorly understood, but certainly the social nature of university life was one important factor. Feuardent and Garin knew Boucher, the "petit-feuillant" Bernard de Montgaillard, and many other League preachers personally. Boucher was in fact a contemporary of Feuardent in the theology cursum, receiving his license only two years after Feuardent. Feuardent also worked closely with Guincestre, the cure of Saint-Gervais, to secure the Faculty decree dethroning Henry III in 1589.¹¹⁰ It is noteworthy, furthermore, that Feuardent's collaborators on the edition of Marguerin de Bigne, Génébrard, and Dadré, were also active supporters of the League. As Feuardent demonstrates, regular interaction among members of the Faculty not only facilitated intellectual exchange and the formation of friendships but also the creation of political alliances. The long tradition of political activism that we find at the University

of Paris and other similar institutions of the time also explains the Faculty's emergence as a vessel of League radicalism, if only because members of the University knew how to mobilize to protect their own interests. Parisian students and masters first learned how to protect their rights through the organization of boycotts, litigation, and even riot during their thirteenth-century struggles with the city of Paris.¹¹¹ In relying on these strategems, the University was acting like any other medieval corporation that understood that political influence lay in cooperative action. The mendicant-secular controversies of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries show, furthermore, that these strategems remained a staple of corporate activism at the University from this time forward.

The University provided a ready social network and tradition of political activism that facilitated the formation of ties between the League and Franciscan preachers. As in the case of earlier mobilization at the University, political activism also required a common cause and by the late sixteenth century, this common cause was not hard to find: concern about the spread of Protestantism and along with it, growing suspicion of the religious agenda of the monarchy. The Faculty's leadership in the purification of the university body and in increasingly vocal criticism of the monarchy are two important indications of a burgeoning political activism among members of the Faculty at the time of the Wars of Religion.

Despite its best efforts at censorship and prosecution, the Faculty had been unable to prevent Calvinism from taking root in France. By the 1550s, the new faith was increasingly visible even in Paris, and it must have been a serious blow to the self-esteem of the Faculty that the first Calvinist synod was held right under its very nose in Paris in 1559. As early as 1557, the University's concern about the possible infection of its own body inspired an extraordinary procession on May 20 to purify the *pré-aux-clerics*, a field adjacent to the University where Protestants once gathered for their services.¹¹² This procession seemingly had little effect on the spread of Calvinism, since Protestant members of the University continued to preach on its grounds after this time. The Faculty was a visible presence in this procession nonetheless, and it would take a leadership role of the purification of the university body from this time forward. On June 15, 1562, buoyed by the recent victory of the Catholic party in Vassy, the new rector Claude Arnoul forced masters of the University to swear to the articles of faith first devised by the Faculty in 1543, and the Faculty of Theology published a new catalogue of censored books shortly thereafter.¹¹³ In 1567 the Faculty joined the University in petitioning the Parlement for permission to remove suspect masters from their offices at the University, and on February 9, the masters took yet another oath to their orthodoxy. It was at this time that the rector of the University also initiated a visitation of all colleges in search of heretical material, the first of several visitations organized during the Wars.¹¹⁴

The Faculty mobilized early on to combat the spread of heresy in the University body, and it would continue to anguish over the purity of this corporation throughout the Wars. For this reason we find the regents growing increasingly anxious about the religious policies of the French monarchy. The Faculty's criticism of Marguerite de Navarre earlier in the century marked its intention to root out spiritual corruption even if it resided near the monarchy, and the civil wars unleashed a much more sustained and increasingly contentious period in royal-Faculty relations over the issue of religious reform. While the Faculty did send twelve delegates to the Colloquy of Poissy in 1561, it was uncomfortable with such state-organized religious councils. In this respect, the Faculty was very much in line with the papacy, convinced that only those with appropriate theological training and spiritual authority should take the initiative in religious matters. That the Colloquy of Poissy was primarily concerned with forging a doctrinal compromise was particularly worrisome to the regents, who had absolutely no interest in negotiating with Protestants. The Faculty protested the formation of the Colloquy, and on July 5 of the same year demanded an audience from the king to urge him to show no toleration to Protestantism.¹¹⁵

Religious uniformity remained the mantra of this institution throughout the Wars, and for this reason we find the Faculty becoming increasingly perturbed by Valois willingness to offer limited legal recognition of Protestant worship following the first three wars in 1563, 1568, and—more significantly, with the Edict of Saint Germain—in 1570. This last peace initiative was particularly troublesome to many Catholics and not only members of the Faculty, because it gave the Protestants control of La Rochelle, Montauban, La Charité, and Cognac for two years, and freedom of worship in areas already under Protestant control.¹¹⁶ The Faculty adamantly opposed any political recognition of the Protestants because they believed to do so only encouraged their intransigence. It also did not assuage the anxiety of the Faculty that repeated edicts of pacification directly affected the purity of the University itself. Although Paris and the University remained resolutely Catholic throughout the Wars, successive peace treaties raised fears among regents and students that Protestantism would once again appear in their midst. Pierre Ramus's return to the Collège de Presles as its chaplain following the Edict of Saint Germain only confirmed these suspicions. Ramus's radical ideas about educational reform and reputation for outspokenness earned him many enemies even before suspicions arose about his unorthodoxy during the early 1560s. In 1568, Ramus fled to Switzerland to avoid persecution but he made the mistake of returning to the University in 1570 following news of the new peace treaty. Although at the urgings of the University Charles IX published a decree banning Protestants from teaching at any of its colleges, Ramus managed to take up his former position at the Collège de Presles because his students there remained loyal.¹¹⁷

The Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day in 1572 temporarily appeased the Faculty's concern about royal policy, and gave Ramus's enemies an opportunity to rid themselves once and for all of the irascible heretic. When the succession of Henry III two years later did not bring forth a more consistently aggressive policy against heresy, however, disillusionment and frustration once again took hold of the Faculty. Henry III's speech before the Estates-General of Blois in 1576 gives some indication as to why this was so. Reminding members of the Estates that he was no stranger to the battlefield, Henry nevertheless justified the most recent of his peace initiatives by insisting that a policy of reconciliation held the best chances for restoring France to order. Recalling that "I was chosen [by God] for the sole purpose of securing the salvation and tranquility of my subjects, and that this [end] directs all of my thoughts and my designs . . . after considering the hazards and consequences that are feared on all sides, I finally took the path of gentleness and reconciliation." Such a path, Henry insisted, produced the "fruit which extinguished the fire of warfare that inflamed this kingdom and threatened to consume it." A good peace, he said, "is the only and unique remedy for preserving the security of this kingdom."¹¹⁸

Mark Greengrass may well be right when he suggests that Henry III used the language of reconciliation at the Estates-General to mask an altogether different agenda, that is, reducing the noble-formed Leagues to his authority.¹¹⁹ Henry III's experience governing Poland, however, which had legally established religious toleration prior to his arrival in 1573, may well have convinced this king that religious coexistence rather than warfare offered the best likelihood of restoring public order.¹²⁰ Regardless of his true agenda, Henry III's public promotion of a policy of reconciliation at the meeting was hardly what members of the Faculty wanted to hear from their monarch. Henry's alienation of the august institution was arguably one of the most serious mistakes he made during his reign. While the Faculty's rigid resistance to any discussion of legal recognition for members of the Reformed tradition was no more likely to bring an end to the spiritual turmoil, Henry's perceived rejection of the body's religious authority raised questions about his own orthodoxy. Henry III thus provided the regents with the one key ingredient required to bring their political activism to life—a common suspicion of his willingness to purify France of heresy. By 1587, Henry III viewed the Faculty as a serious source of dissension in his kingdom as certain regents, including Boucher and Rose, began publicly to question his commitment to the spiritual purification of France from Parisian pulpits.

A reform plan of the University, one in a series initiated during the late sixteenth century, became an opportunity for the king to show his support for this institution while cleansing it of the more radical elements. Nor were university administrators the only ones worried about the state of the Univer-

sity of Paris by this time. Ten years earlier, delegates attending the Estates-General of 1576 demanded sweeping reform of the universities of France, including that of Paris. The delegates insisted that such reformation was critical, because universities existed to mold students into virtuous and obedient members of society. A university formation "made the students capable of knowing and loving God, fearing and honoring him and embracing all that he has commanded" and instilled in the student "reverence in their comportment towards superiors and affection in their relations with others to their own benefit and security." As it was, the majority of young students received a "bad diet" (*mauvaise nourriture*) at these institutions.¹²¹ To remedy the poor state of affairs at the university, the delegates demanded a restoration of the university to its "ancient disciplines," and abolishing all "novelties" introduced since the death of Louis XII. Religious orthodoxy was the paramount concern for these delegates, who also wanted assurance that no one could "enter a pulpit or lecture unless he was at the very least a licentiate," and that "all professors and lecturers of all the arts and sciences, the sacred as well as the profane, can only lecture in a public place."¹²²

The above discussion suggests that the University was not immune to the disorders felt in the rest of society, and by 1587 the situation had only worsened. In addition to long-standing accusations of an abusive fee structure, the rector and other proponents of the plan complained about poor attendance at classes and lax performance of lectures. One can well understand, therefore, why Henry heeded the request of university administrators and enacted sweeping reform of the institution. Along with a number of policies aimed at enforcing discipline among the students and professors, the rector also specifically requested royal permission to visit university institutions in search of heretical material, one indication that concern about the purity of the university body continued to worry administrators long after the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day purged it of Ramus and other suspected heretics. While Henry III may well have shared the rector's concern about religious orthodoxy at the University of Paris, he was just as concerned about its penchant for sedition. Visitors were consequently asked to check for signs of sedition as well as heresy. The king ordered seizure of "all papers, placards, pernicious books, heretical and scandalous, which are against our state as well as against the Catholic church. . . ." He also urged them to look out for weapons.¹²³

Henry was right to be worried about the political activism of the Faculty. Members of the Faculty did not know in 1587 that the greatest threat to the stability of the University would come during the League years (1588–94), when episodic violence would periodically empty classrooms of students and force regular lectures to cease.¹²⁴ All they knew was that Henry III's public discussion of reconciliation with Protestants and his seeming willingness to

recognize Henry of Navarre as his successor made the king a threat to the spiritual unity of France. In December, members of the Faculty led by Boucher ventured even further into sedition when news of a not-so-secret decree reached the ears of the king. Pierre de l'Estoile's derision of the Faculty as "thirty or forty pedants . . . who after saying grace treat of scepters and crowns" shows that Henry III was not the only one affronted by their claims to political authority. According to l'Estoile, the Faculty had the temerity to suggest that a prince could be removed from government if he failed to fulfill his responsibilities.¹²⁵ On December 30, 1587, Henry III brought the regents to the Louvre to account for their actions, and singled out Boucher for special condemnation. The king made it clear to the theologians that he would not accept any preaching that criticized matters of state, and he forbade them from such calumnies in the future.¹²⁶ His words had little effect, however, because only a few months later these same doctors would take an oath of loyalty to the Catholic League following the Day of the Barricades.

The Oath to the Union marked six years of active Faculty support for the League, support that would come to an end in 1594 when the august body publicly recognized Henry of Navarre as the King of France. The Faculty's persistent criticism of Henry III and antagonism to any negotiation with Protestant authorities testifies to its role as an independent, if traditional, spiritual authority. Even in the face of royal resistance, the Faculty struggled ceaselessly throughout the wars to eradicate the new faith from French lands. Its illustrious reputation meant, furthermore, that its intervention in political affairs carried considerable weight. The very fact that the Faculty supported the Catholic League gave the association an air of respectability. The Faculty's influence over the Franciscans is also important for understanding their alliance with the League after 1588. While only a small number of friars attended the University of Paris, the influence of this institution was nevertheless felt throughout the French Franciscan provinces, because the statutes of the Franciscan order forced most friars to leave the city as soon as they finished their studies. Many of these clerics, furthermore, rose to important offices in their own communities and provinces. Although there is no evidence that Hylaret became a guardian of the convent of Orléans during his time there, his reputation as a learned theologian and fiery preacher made him enormously influential as an advocate of the League. Robert Chessé, Claude Trahy, and Christophe Blaiseau all became guardians of their respective communities in Vendôme, Auxerre, and Troyes.¹²⁷ Both Jean Porthaise and Claude de la Barre rose to offices of provincial minister in their respective provinces of Touraine-Poitou and Burgundy. La Barre in particular rose high in Franciscan administration. After receiving his licence in 1592, he was elected minister provincial in 1595 and later served three times as a commissioner general.¹²⁸

Occupying as they did positions of political as well as spiritual authority in their own communities and provinces, these friars exerted substantial influence over their brothers.

It is possible that many Franciscan communities would have joined the League even without the influence of members who had spent time at the Faculty, but there is no question that many of the friars who returned to their home provinces returned committed Leaguers. The tentacles of the Faculty stretched across the Franciscan provinces through the mediation of Franciscan students and doctors, shaping their political activism in ways critical for understanding their rise to political influence during the Wars of Religion. The rigorous scholastic formation that Feuardent and other friars received at the University vested their ministries with special authority, while Humanism gave them literary and linguistic skills useful in their role as spiritual controversialists. The introduction of the friars to the League, furthermore, gave them allies in the struggle against heresy. As the following chapter will show, however, Faculty influence upon the friars in no way supplanted their Franciscan formation. The friars were willing allies of the League, to be sure, but beyond a shared suspicion about royal authority, the friars were motivated by a distinctly Franciscan conceptionalization of the body politic.

POLITICAL ACTIVISM AND THE FRANCISCAN BODY POLITIC

On July 5, 1589 members of the Paris friary marched into the friary church and executed their monarch. The friars did not actually assault Henry III, just his portrait. Even so, Pierre de l'Estoile was not amused. His trademark sarcasm well on display, L'Estoile remarked that such work was "a fine occupation and amusement for those who have nothing to do, and work, as they say, worthy of monks."¹ L'Estoile's irritation with the friars is understandable because the mock execution was, to say the least, seditious. The portrait of the king that hung over the central altar of the church depicted Henry III kneeling before God like a good Catholic—a powerful symbol of the spiritual and political authority of the French monarch. In removing Henry III's head, the friars showed symbolically that they no longer recognized his authority. The solemn procession of the friars into the church and the ritualized "beheading" make it clear, furthermore, that the mock execution was carefully staged for public consumption. As a political statement, the event was symptomatic of its time, for France in July 1589 was awash in political agitation. In the months following the assassinations of the Guise brothers at Blois in December 1588, Catholics plastered the walls of their cities with placards and gathered in large crowds to hear sermons denouncing Henry III. Accustomed to sophisticated spectacles as political vehicles, French subjects organized religious processions in atonement for the sins of their king, and destroyed statues and paintings bearing his image.² The openness with which the friars and other French men and women criticized their king during these months is striking testimony to a society radicalized by fear. The murder of the Guise brothers convinced many Catholics that their monarch was determined to subvert the true faith in France. Why else, they believed, would their own monarch murder the two leaders of the Catholic cause?

As tempting as it is to read in the mock decapitation a passing political declaration dictated by the dynastic politics of the 1580s, Franciscan writings from the wars show that this political act reflected a long term orientation of Franciscan spirituality. The decapitation speaks above all, to a distinctly

Franciscan understanding of the body politic and the political role of the spiritual leader. Anguished concern about the spread of the new spiritual pollution of Calvinism, perpetual suspicion of those in political authority, and confidence in their own role as servants of God politicized the friars from the early decades of the Wars of Religion, and made them as volatile a presence in secular society as it did in their own order. Appreciating the Franciscan nature of their political activism throughout the period of the wars is crucial for teasing out the influence of the Catholic League in French political and religious life, because one can question whether the League could have been as successful without the ardent advocacy of its preachers. It is a fascinating paradox that a medieval ideological tradition dedicated to the preservation of the existing political order could become a force for political change, and yet Franciscan advocacy of the League managed to do just that. In securing Navarre's conversion in 1593, the League ensured that Catholicism became an indelible feature of the French monarchy, and a formative influence upon the early modern French state.

The Body Politic

The Paris friars were doing more than simply voicing their dissatisfaction with Henry III when they decapitated his portrait in 1589. In removing Henry's head, the friars told their king that he was no longer fit to rule, and that they had a right to remove him from office. We can well understand l'Estoile's shock at such a sight, since the mock execution directly challenged a powerful tenet of late medieval thought, that obedience to the monarchy was a prerequisite of a stable state. Claude de Seyssel's learned treatise best articulates the state of this discourse on the eve of the Reformation. According to Seyssel, the French polity comprised three estates, each fulfilling a distinctive function in society: protection (nobility), justice (magistracy), and economic prosperity (commoner).³ Chosen by God and anointed with holy oil, the king presided over the three estates because he possessed the requisite knowledge and authority to do so. A perfect society was one in which the three estates worked in harmony, and gave complete obedience to their monarch. The three estates "must be ready always to take arms when necessary and contribute to the *Taille* and other necessary taxes. And in all other matters the king must be obeyed and served with good heart and without contradiction. . . ."⁴ Seyssel imagined a perfect society, but he knew full well that some monarchs were capable of abusing their authority. For this reason, he recognized occasions when political opposition to the king was both necessary and legitimate. Seyssel believed that the clergy in particular had a responsibility to criticize the monarch when a ruler transgressed divine laws. Even so, Seyssel would hardly have sanctioned the mock execution of Henry III's portrait,

because to his mind clerics should not incite popular wrath against the monarchy through harsh attacks on his person and rule. "It is permitted," he says, "for each prelat or another religious man of holy life who is held in good esteem by the people to chastise the king . . . and a simple preacher can correct him and dispute publicly with him to his face . . . so long as he does not dare to mistreat or raise suspicions of him in order to provoke the ill will and indignation of the people."⁵

Disturbing as it was to L'Estoile and many other contemporaries, the execution nevertheless reflected a changing political landscape in France, a landscape increasingly marked by intense public questioning of French political life. The fertility of late sixteenth-century debates on the nature of the French state is one of the most astonishing and exciting features of this period. François Hotman, Theodore Beza, and Philippe du Plessis-Mornay informed the work of John Locke a century later, while at the other end of the political spectrum, Jean Bodin laid the intellectual foundation for seventeenth-century absolutist thought. It was also during the late sixteenth century that Gallicanism received its most sophisticated expression in the work of Pierre Pithou among others. The emergence of these and other competing political conceptions reflected a broadening of political discussion throughout French society in response to a variety of factors. New conceptions of nobility received enormous impetus during this period, for example, through the influence of Humanism and expansion of the central administration of the state, while increasing literacy and the introduction of less expensive forms of literature such as the pamphlet made participation in public discourse all the more possible for many members of society.⁶

One factor stood out from the others as a catalyst to political debate at this time: religious division. One can well understand why, since from the time of Clovis onward religion lay at the heart of French conception of state. Clovis was the first French monarch to embrace Christianity, and his Merovingian successors made Christianity the one recognized faith in the Frankish kingdom. By the time of "Saint" Louis IX (1215–1270), new monarchs were anointed with holy oil and claimed healing power over scrofula as signs of their spiritual authority on earth. Struggles with the papacy over the investiture of bishops and the rise of Conciliarism further reinforced the religious nature of the French monarchy as gallicanist theorists from the fourteenth century onward sought historical evidence for a distinctly French church, one subject to the authority of the monarchy and reflective of a distinct French identity. Alain Tallon's provocative suggestion that French nationalism emerged out of a distinctly French understanding of their own Christian identity bears serious consideration in this context, because it underscores the importance of religion in defining not only the French monarchy but also the French subject at this time. "There existed a veritable gallican mystique," he

argues, “which joined the inhabitants of France in the certainty of [their kingdom’s] Christian perfection.”⁷ Recent work on gallicanist thinkers such as Pithou makes it clear, furthermore, that they were not being disingenuous in asserting the religious character of the French state.⁸ Whereas League thinkers rooted their understanding of the French body politic in the transnational Christian body embraced by the Catholic Church, Pithou and other gallicanists located it in their own national (Gallican) church.

Gallicanism flourished in magisterial circles throughout the Wars of Religion, but other forms of political discourse, responding directly to the division of the Catholic Church in 1521, also swirled into public view during this period. The mock execution in the Paris friary was in many respects a response to these particular strands of political discourse, because the spread of Calvinism in France after 1540 thrust into question the Christian nature of the monarchy. The impact of religious division upon French understanding of the state becomes clear when we compare political discussions of the monarchy before and after this time. Generally speaking, late medieval discussions of the monarchy centered much more on lineage than faith. There were many reasons for this, though English claims to the French throne during the fifteenth century were certainly important. After centuries of neglect by French jurists, the Salic Law re-emerged miraculously into public view during the early fifteenth century just in time to secure Valois control over the French throne. Phillip VI (1328–1350), the first Valois monarch, was the cousin to the last Capetian ruler, Charles IV (1294–1328), but Edward III of England (1327–1377) was the grandson of Phillip IV “the Fair” (1285–1314) through his mother Isabella. Edward’s claim to the French throne sent Valois jurists and clerics scurrying through royal archives in search of any legislation justifying the longheld practice of succession that excluded women and their descendants.⁹

Even without the poised threat of an English succession, French theorists were hardly likely to dwell on the Christian nature of the monarchy before the Reformation because Christianity was the dominant religious tradition in the West. The Christian nature of the monarchy was certainly important, but since it was virtually impossible that a non-Christian would inherit the throne, political theorists, including the thirteenth-century Franciscan Guibert of Tournai confined their discussion to the Christian characteristics of the monarch himself. The king must be devout, perform acts of devotion, and, especially from the perspective Tournai, model moral purity as a sign of his elect status. For the reasons given above, late medieval discussions of the religious nature of the monarchy, including that of Seyssel, read more like *pro forma* declarations than serious investigations.

The nature of political discussion in France changed dramatically in the wake of Luther’s departure from the Catholic Church. Suddenly there were

two rival understandings of Christianity. Within short succession, other interpretations emerged. What was truly “Christian” was now under debate. Controversy soon extended to include the nature of the monarchy itself as France disintegrated into warring confessional and political groups after 1562. Two of the most influential political voices in these years were the Protestant jurist François Hotman and cleric Jean Bodin. Published a year after the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew’s Day, Hotman’s most famous text, the *Francogallia* (1573), articulated a contractual understanding of the French body politic in which sovereignty lay with the people, as well as an influential justification for political resistance. In contrast to Hotman, Jean Bodin was convinced that the civil wars were the product of a weak rather than persecuting monarchy, and his solution was to strengthen the authority of this institution within the structure of the French state.¹⁰ One has to be careful about accepting these and other reconceptualizations of the state as efforts to truly alter the existing nature of sixteenth-century France. Protestant theorists writing in the 1570s feared for the survival of the French Calvinist community at the hands of a persecuting monarch. Though Hotman died before the conclusion of the wars, his fellow “monarchomach” Philippe du Plessis-Mornay lived to see Henry of Navarre ascend the throne, and his subsequent writings were much more supportive of monarchical authority. These theorists, in other words, understood their arguments as political strategies addressing particular political concerns, and they were not afraid to adjust them to a changing political climate.

Similar arguments can be made about the Catholic League as well, and in particular about the more hard-line ideologues closely associated with the Paris-based leadership of the League known as the *Seize*.¹¹ These ideologues never developed a unified, let alone a sophisticated, theory on the French state, and their insistence upon the inherently Catholic nature of the monarchy responded directly to fear of a Protestant succession after 1585. In fact, the League itself arguably did not long outlive the very event that provoked its formation—Henry of Navarre’s coronation in 1594. The thought of many of its more radical ideologues nevertheless resonated powerfully in France during the final decade of the Wars of Religion, and played a critical role in enshrining Catholicism at the heart of French conception of the throne. Among those drawn to the *Seize* were the Franciscans, and it is in the thrust and parry of League discourses on the nature of the state that a distinctively Franciscan understanding of the French body politic emerges into view.

The League that appeared in 1585 was an unusual political organization by the standards of the day. Whereas earlier incarnations were essentially noble associations, this one included an urban element. Titular leadership remained with the Guise family, but the League also incorporated merchants, magistrates, and artisans as well as many clerics. The broad-based nature of this

organization was one of the reasons why l'Estoile and others were so perturbed by the Paris-based administration of the League, the *Seize*. While historians have shown that the *Seize* was not, as L'Estoile suggested, composed of the lowest and most criminal elements of society, this political union comprising men from across social strata threatened magisterial assumptions about the nature of political governance.¹² To their mind, governance was the prerogative of the monarch and the elite who possessed the requisite knowledge and skill. Even more perturbing to supporters of royal authority was the League's challenge to traditional understanding of the monarchy. The members who swore an oath to the Catholic League vowed to preserve a Catholic monarchy by resisting Navarre's succession, and in doing so questioned the traditional practice of succession that passed to the eldest male heir. As the League ideologue Jean Boucher so succinctly explained, the only legitimate king was a Catholic one. "Henry of Bourbon" was no more king of Navarre than he was king of France. It was "an imaginary election founded in the brain of Huguenots and atheists, their adherants." How can one, he said, permit a Protestant "to hold sovereign power over the body and goods of Catholics?"¹³

Bound by a shared fear of a Protestant monarchy and fed with Spanish money, the League quickly became a thorn in the side of Henry III. Its consequent political success owed a great deal to its ability to coordinate a multi-platformed attack on royal authority. Pierre de l'Estoile's journal charts the growing popularity of the League in Paris after 1585 as its preachers whipped up popular anger over royal negotiations with the Huguenots, and raised suspicions about the king's capacity to rule. The League was responsible for many of the printed attacks on Henry III's character as well, producing pamphlets and placards that scoffed at his overly enthusiastic participation in penitential rituals, his penchant for masking and elaborate court celebrations, and his questionable fondness for the Duke of Epemon and other favorites.¹⁴ The League's influence in Paris was put to the test on May 12, 1588, during the Day of the Barricades, when the sight of four thousand Swiss guards patrolling the city sparked rumors of impending royal arrest of the Guise. Within hours, Henry found the narrow streets of the city barricaded, and himself virtually a prisoner in the Louvre. Henry fled shortly thereafter to his château in the city of Blois. By the end of the week, the municipal government of Paris lay in League hands, and many of the League's enemies, including the mayor and a number of magistrates, found themselves in the Bastille. Henry III was understandably anguished at this turn of events, and furious above all with the duke of Guise whom he held responsible. Over the next few months, Henry used his time at Blois to strategize the return of the city of Paris to his control.

Royal authority had never been at a lower point, and Henry's decision to assassinate the Guise brothers in December 1588 only reinforced the League's

hold over Parisians, as well as fueling its expansion into other cities across France. Immediately following Henry III's assassination in August 1589, the League announced Bourbon's accession to the throne as Charles X.

The Franciscans were staunch supporters of the League from 1588 to 1594, and the League played a crucial role in shaping their political response during these years. The very fact that friars marched in armed processions, plotted the overthrow of royalist municipal governments, lent their convents to the League as arsenals, and preached violent overthrow of the government were important indications that their own political activism was informed by League tactics.¹⁵ Nevertheless, the differences between their own understanding of the body politic and that of other members speak to the inherent diversity of Leaguer thought, and in consequence, to different motivations. Franciscans shared with Jean Boucher and many others, for example, the conviction that the French state was *de natura* a Catholic polity, but they by no means accepted Boucher's assertion that sovereignty lay with a Christian populace.¹⁶ For the Franciscans, sovereignty only lay with God, though they agreed with members of the League who believed that good Christians had a duty to fulfill God's will on earth, even if that involved political resistance. Determining the distinctive nature of Franciscan political thought is consequently critical for understanding the political behavior of these friars, but to do so is no easy feat. Unlike their gallicanist contemporaries, the friars of the wars did not produce political discourses. How French government was organized was less important than its specific role in preserving the spiritual purity of the French people.¹⁷ Franciscan sermons and polemics in consequence provide at best a generalized view of the state, one which was hardly original and was heavily indebted to medieval political thought as well as Franciscan concerns about spiritual perfection. Even such generalized discussions point to distinctively Franciscan elements, and when viewed in the broader context of Leaguer thought we can more clearly see a distinctly Franciscan understanding of the French body politic, one that gives an unusual degree of political agency to the spiritual leader.

The sermon of Christophe Blaiseau given in the cathedral of Troyes in 1587 provides a good starting point for a discussion of Franciscan political thought at the time of the Wars of Religion. Blaiseau occupies a shadowy place in Franciscan accounts of the Wars of Religion, even though he held the office of guardian in the prominent Observant community of Troyes and enjoyed a reputation locally as a ferocious supporter of the League.¹⁸ Unlike Feuardent, Blaiseau was not a brilliant theologian nor did he publish any works beyond the sermon of 1587, and so his relative anonymity in historical accounts is understandable. This sermon is nevertheless important as an engaging Franciscan discourse on the state of France at the height of the wars.

Addressing the people of Troyes, Blaiseau argued that “with peace we will have abundance in all things spiritual as well as temporal, with peace we will see religion flourish, the service of God, Justice. . . .” Religious unity would also lead to fertile land, for “we would see once again sufficiency in goods of the earth.”¹⁹ Blaiseau’s association of political stability and economic prosperity with religious unity was characteristic of medieval political thought, and reflects the influence in particular of the idea of the *corpus mysticum*. The *corpus mysticum* was a twelfth-century theory that initially grew out of ecclesiastical discussions on the nature of the Church. Twelfth-century thinkers, including Thomas Aquinas, conflated theological interpretations of the mystical presence of Christ in the Eucharist with the Church body more generally. In the hands of Aquinas, the real presence of Christ in the host at the moment of consecration spawned a new conception of the Church as a mystical manifestation of Christ, one embodied by its Christian membership. This was the origin of the idea of the “body politic,” literally a community that together manifested the body of Christ on earth (*corpus mysticum*). Theories differed over time as to which elements represented which parts of Christ’s body, but the body imagery was nevertheless an effort to articulate a vision of the Christian world as a harmonious, unified, and organic whole, one that transcended national boundaries and represented the immanent presence of God in the world.

Blaiseau’s association of France with the *corpus mysticum* reflects a later evolution of this theory. Asserting that a kingdom was itself a Christian polity complete unto itself was a clever, thirteenth-century effort to stave off papal claims of supremacy.²⁰ By the fourteenth century it was a commonplace of French political thought to view the king as the head of the French body politic, and the Estates-General as the physical manifestation of the corpus. The medieval Estates-General brought together the clergy, nobility, and towns to consult with the king on important matters such as taxation. Though it happened infrequently and only at the request of the monarchy, the meeting of the Estates General over time became a powerful symbol of the Christian nature of the French polity, a moment when the body of Christ was made politically manifest through the gathering of all subjects.²¹ The *corpus mysticum* remained a vital political conception throughout the medieval and early modern periods because it was a remarkably flexible theory that gave spiritual legitimacy to the existing order of society. This understanding of the French body politic even informed Claude de Seyssel’s *La Monarchie*. Although Seyssel reinterpreted the three estates to include the magistracy in place of the clergy, he nevertheless accepted the essentially Christian nature of the polity.

For Blaiseau, however, the Christian nature of the French body politic was the very foundation and generating principle of his understanding of the French polity. A good polity was spiritually pure, and its purity made it politically stable, prosperous, and harmonious. For this reason, Blaiseau ferociously at-

tacked anyone who deviated from the true faith. Peace, he insisted, could not exist where there were different faiths. The king “must hunt and defeat by all means all the wicked enemies of both God’s majesty and his own. . . .”²² The civil wars only reinforced Franciscan association of spiritual purity with political stability, as we can see from the later sermons of Jacques Suarez and Jean Boucher. In a sermon praising Henry IV in 1610, the well-known Portuguese royal preacher Suarez insisted that “the state preserved religion, and religion always flourishes in the middle of [such a state]: because should one of these perish, the other cannot endure.”²³ Ten years later, friar Jean Boucher, not to be confused with the League ideologue, elaborated on the religious role of the French state: “The preservation of one is the support of the other, because the Church never flourishes so well as when the state is at peace, and the state is not as strong or saintly governed than that which strictly orders its children to serve faithfully the kings and their estates.” The Church and state, “he continues, “are the curtains of the Temple of Solomon, so unified and joined together that one cannot pull without the other.”²⁴

Franciscan insistence upon the interdependence of political stability and religious purity explains why they, like so many of their contemporaries, were quick to read in the political and economic disorders of their time signs of spiritual corruption. The civil wars “were bloodier and more cruel than external wars against open enemies” according to the Orléanais preacher Maurice Hylaret.²⁵ Hilaire Coquy elaborated on the state of affairs: “At this time of trouble and sedition in France . . . no one remembers ever experiencing so much larceny, theft, murder, assassination and destruction of property[;] temples, convents and monasteries are destroyed, the cities, chateaus, and fortresses of the kingdom are thrown to the ground. . . .”²⁶ Hylaret had no doubts about the source of contemporary disorders, and he playfully mingles different metaphors to capture what was to his mind the essentially diabolical and diseased nature of heresy. The preaching of the heretic, he said, much like

cancre or grangrene slides and crawls, and penetrates (as Saint Paul said) in order to seduce its hearers, whom it charms, bewitches, enchants and in the end attracts them and drags them by means of faith into eternal damnation with sweet and honeyed words, seducing the hearts of the simple and innocent, who do not protect themselves.²⁷

For Hylaret and many of his fellow Catholic authors, heresy was a spiritual disease that gnawed at the healthiest parts of the Christian body until nothing pure remained, and it was an infliction perpetrated by non other than Satan. This disease “crawled” like the serpent sent by Satan to Eve in the Garden of Eden. Heretics, similar to witches, “enchanted” the souls of otherwise

good Christians. Heretics, in other words, were servants of the devil, and the friars for this reason blamed them for much of the violence. All good Catholics knew that the devil took pleasure in stirring political discord on earth, and violence was certainly that. "These stubborn French sinners," Coquy said, "take pleasure in bathing their daggers, knives, lances and swords in the innocent blood of their nation."²⁸

Since the sole purpose of the heretic was to destroy society, the friars naturally equated heresy with treason. Hylaret's treatise on religious intermarriage insists that heretics "are so depraved, and transformed, reformed, and even deformed, that they become the leaders of mutinies and rebels in the civil wars and lose their life, honor, and reputation, and what is most important, the hope of eternal salvation."²⁹ Marrying a heretic, in other words, transformed one into a rebel. Such an assertion was not unique to the friars, since French civil law already included heresy along with witchcraft and sodomy as criminal acts worthy of death.³⁰ This conflation of heresy with treason is important nevertheless because it explains why the friars were so adamantly opposed to any form of religious toleration, let alone a Protestant succession. Franciscans and French magistrates alike believed that heresy divided the body politic and jeopardized the purity of its members. In doing so, it threatened the very stability of society. The only way to restore France to spiritual purity and thus to peace, the friars argued, was to restore France to spiritual unity. "Is it then not a necessary thing," Blaiseau insisted, "that we love one another mutually in order to nourish . . . peace amongst us?" Reminding the people of Troyes that they were all part of the same Christian body, he urged them to help one another by removing from society all religious difference: "we must banish from our city all prejudice that is harmful to the honor of God, and the salvation of all . . . to the point that no one can say this one here is an atheist, that one a heretic. . . ."³¹

In emphasizing the Christian nature of the polity and the importance of religious unity for political stability, the Franciscans were in full agreement with other members of the League. The oath taken by members of the League confraternity of the Holy Name of Jesus in 1590 began by stating what to its members was obvious: that piety "was the first column of the Christian republic, justice the second." Without these two columns, "kingdoms are only the home of thieves and brigands."³² Members bound themselves to the eradication of heresy wherever it lay, to restore society to its former pristine state: "For this reason we will never suffer nor endure any heretical domination, and we will oppose with all of our power, and use all of our forces and means to exterminate heresies . . . and chiefly Henry Bourbon, pretend king of Navarre. . . ."³³ Jean Boucher expressed a similar belief that heretics were rebels at heart, arguing that the sole purpose of heretics was "to ruin our temples, ravage our towns, extinguish and exterminate all of the Catholic Apostolic

Religion . . . on which rests the liberties and goods of good men.”³⁴ For this reason, heresy in all its forms must be purged from France: “Not only is it permitted but our conscience obliges us to remove heresy from the kingdom, since by divine right we are obliged to protect the one true faith and religion.”³⁵

Just as they shared with Boucher and other members of the League an understanding of the religious nature of French society, they also shared a similar understanding of the function of the state vis-à-vis religion. Simply stated, the state must preserve the true religion. In this respect, the Franciscans and other League members expressed a commonplace of early modern thought that was by no means the exclusive preserve of radical Catholics. Magistrates of the Parlement of Paris justified their intervention in disorderly religious communities during the sixteenth century on this basis, insisting that disorder in religious institutions affected the well-being of society.³⁶ Jean Bodin similarly argued that “there is nothing better that supports and maintains states and Republics better than religion, and it is the principal foundation of the power of monarchs and lords, of the execution of the law, of the obedience of subjects, of reverence for magistrates, of the fear of sinning, and of friendship toward one another.”³⁷

Whereas Bodin made religion serve the monarchy, for the Franciscans political authority was always subject to the Christian body politic as a whole. In 1591, the Italian friar Francesco Panigarola even suggested that a king could be elected by the Estates-General of France.³⁸ In this Panigarola was not as radical as one might think, since a mere three decades earlier the Chancellor Michel de l'Hôpital reminded the Estates General of 1561 that the highest duty this body ever fulfilled was to elect Phillip VI as king in 1328.³⁹ Even so, Panigarola's comment, coming as it did during a succession crisis, underscored his view of the monarchy as merely one, albeit important, component of a Christian republic. Whether the friar Jean Porthaise believed that sovereignty lay with the people as Boucher and many League members claimed is nevertheless open to debate. Like other friars, he was powerfully aware that sovereignty lay with God and insisted that the king, as God's servant on earth, played a crucial role in modeling spiritual purity and upholding God's laws.

Panigarola's speech before Charles IX and Catherine de Médicis in 1573 was as much a reminder of their obedience to God as it was a tribute to their role as spiritual reformers. Princes, he insisted, owed everything to God and have no choice but to follow God's laws. Comparing God's laws in the spiritual realm to the regulations of the French state, Panigarola argued that just as the state administration ensured that the ordinances of the king are observed and protected the state from enemies, it must also enforce the laws of God. These laws are “His commandments, the advice of the holy scriptures, the apostolic traditions, the decrees of the holy councils. The law of God,” he said, “is all that is necessary for regulating one's life.”⁴⁰

Other Franciscan preachers trotted out royal models for praise, including Clovis, Charlemagne, Saint Louis, and even the Valois monarchs of the sixteenth century. François Feuardent's *Charitable avertissement* (1599) praised Clovis's receptivity to the true faith, a clear reference to Henry IV's conversion six years earlier.⁴¹ Francis I was "greatly mourned for the true royal virtues he possessed," according to Simon Fontaine. His virtue was such that he resembled Solomon in perfection—that is, before the latter's moral decline.⁴² Charles IX's well-known battle with mental illness and political temporizing made him an uncertain ruler for many Catholics before the infamous Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day in 1572, which briefly assuaged Panigarola's concern about the French king's ability to provide stable governance to France. The massacre transformed Charles IX into a worthy model of Catholic leadership, and it was in honor of his leadership that Panigarola dedicated the sermon he gave before the king in 1573 to two major "Christian" victories led by European leaders in previous months: the victory of European forces over the Ottoman Turks at Lepanto, and the death of the Protestant leader Admiral Coligny during the massacre.⁴³

The assassinations of the Guise brothers at Blois in 1588 was categorical proof to the Franciscans that Henry III was anything but a model of Christian rulership, and they joined other League preachers, including Boucher and the Feuillant Dom Bernard de Montgaillard, in calling the king a traitor. In a treatise published by the League two months before the assassination of Henry III, Dom Bernard accused the king of reveling in the disorders: "I have hardly spoken on the disorders and confusions which you have left all things in this kingdom, as much in the ecclesiastical as the civil arenas . . . nor of the tyrannical oppression of the people who you have reduced to bones, making use of the goods of your subjects as if you were not a sovereign lord or simply the king, but rather a possessor and owner."⁴⁴ Bernard's words labeled the king a rebel, a destroyer rather than preserver of the state he governed, thus violating God's law. The king, he insisted, should serve the commonwealth, not the commonwealth him. Bernard was one of the most effective League preachers, and his argument about the king's responsibilities was a familiar League criticism of both Henry III and Henry of Navarre. In his *Lettre missive de l'evesque du Mans* published following the assassination of Henry III, Boucher says that Navarre's accession to the throne would "rase our churches to the ground, in ruins, destroy towns, extinguish and exterminate the Catholic Apostolic religion . . . and whatever remained of the freedom and wealth of good men."⁴⁵ Navarre, he said, could only be called "so-called" king of Navarre and not the "King of Navarre," because he was a heretic. His claim to this office was no more than an "imaginary election rooted in the brain of Huguenots, & atheists and their adherants."⁴⁶

For Bernard and Boucher as well as the friars, there was no question that the French monarchy was a Catholic institution. For this reason Boucher and

other leaders of the League were willing to consider a Spanish succession in France following the death of Charles X in 1590, because in their mind legitimacy was first defined by Catholicism, and then by lineage. But the issue of political legitimacy revealed a cavernous divide between members of the League and royalists such as Jacques Auguste de Thou. From de Thou's perspective, political stability was undermined as much by the machinations of noble families and the Catholic League as it was by poor royal policy and Protestantism. Attacking the monarchy, he argued, was the shortest route to chaos and thus to perdition. Recounting the Wars of Religion in his *Histoire Universelle*, de Thou criticized the League for challenging the traditional organs of political authority in France and fostering disorder throughout society:

They brought confusion to all of the kingdom; they deprived legitimate magistrates of their offices . . . they transferred authority to people decried for their crimes and celebrated for their audacity. They exposed the lives, the goods, the women, and the children of their citizens to brutality, to avarice, to violence, and to the furor of an uncontrollable army. They destroyed the taste for learning, commerce, the work of artisans; all of a sudden they made disappear justice, order, laws, judgments, discipline, as much civilian as military, good morals, humanity, and finally the difference between vice and virtue. . . .⁴⁷

Étienne Pasquier, a fellow historian, shared de Thou's distaste for civil conflict. In a letter addressed to his friend the magistrate Nicolas Brûlart in 1585 following the emergence of the League, Pasquier wrote: "I see a strange and horrible tragedy appearing in the theatre of France."⁴⁸ Accusing the princes of the League of dividing and thus destroying France, Pasquier insisted that war only bred more war. He questioned in particular their invocation of religious purity as a justification for such conflict, pointing out that Saint Peter was told by Christ not to use arms to defend the true faith. Calvinism, he said, like Pelagianism and Arianism before it, would gradually fade away over time as its falsity became too evident too ignore. "What I desire between us is a Peace," he insisted. "That is the first, second and last part of my opinions." Civil war "introduced a chaos, confusion . . . and the destruction of everything."⁴⁹

Navarre was a Protestant but to de Thou and Pasquier, among others, he was also the legitimate successor by birth. The idea of a Spanish succession repelled them; Pierre de l'Estoile for one hoped that Navarre could instead be convinced to convert. These men were also grudgingly willing to accept some legal recognition for Calvinists, at least for the time being, should it be judged necessary for restoring the authority of the Crown in France. Because the League believed that men such as L'Estoile put politics before salvation they called them *politiques*.

The Franciscans, however, were in agreement with the League on the Catholic nature of the monarchy, and like other members of the League they viewed Henry III's negotiations with Navarre and murder of the Guise brothers as indications of his intent to subvert the purity of the monarchy. First published in 1585, Feuardent's *Semaine premiere des dialogues* chastises Henry III for not adequately protecting the purity of the French kingdom. "It is . . . certain, Sire, that God demands this of you: and why he appointed you as he did David and Solomon, King and pastor over his people, which is your heritage." As Feuardent continues, his tone becomes more strident, one sign that his patience with the Valois monarch was wearing thin. "This is the purpose for which you were anointed and sacralized like Christ [and why you] represent his celestial Majesty on earth, and are ordered to control your subjects."⁵⁰ In a powerful assault on Henry III's performance to date, Feuardent tells his king to listen closely. "You have neither judged correctly, nor protected the Law, nor followed the path according to the will of God."⁵¹ All earthly powers, he said, must bow to God. In his sermon from 1587, friar Blaiseau is somewhat less accusatory than Feuardent though no less concerned about Henry III's religious policies. Suggesting that Henry III was perhaps not trying as hard as he should to eradicate heresy from France, Blaiseau urged his listener to pray to God to move the heart and arm of the king so that "in imitation of the Most Christian Kings before him, he will remove from the middle of us those who trouble us."⁵² Methods, he suggested, included 'banishment, fine, confiscation of goods' and even the waging of "a legitimate holy war."⁵³ Following the assassinations at Blois, Franciscan pleas to Henry III changed to outright attacks on his legitimacy. From his convent in Poitiers, friar Jean Porthaise even compared the unstable Clément to the biblical figures Samson and Judith.⁵⁴

Franciscan support for the League after 1588 expressed their conviction that a Protestant ruler posed a direct threat to the spiritual purity of France. As Panigarola made clear in a letter sent to his patron the duke of Savoy in 1589, "what the French people want is a good and Catholic king."⁵⁵ After four years as staunch allies of the League, however, the Paris Franciscans along with a number of other preachers began publicly to attack certain members of the association, particularly its leaders. The preachers had always been among the most zealous members of the League, and so their public criticism was a sign of serious dissension within the once united organization. As early as 1592, the friars François Feuardent and above all Jean Garin joined Jean Boucher as particularly outspoken critics of the League leadership. It is perhaps for this reason that Garin figures so prominently in L'Estoile's account of the final years of League authority in Paris. L'Estoile's bias against the League preachers means that his criticisms cannot be accepted on their face. Even so, his journal shows that in the dying days of the radical association, Garin be-

came an inveterate opponent of anyone who demonstrated signs of veering from the spiritual mission of the League, that is the preservation of a Catholic monarchy.

Garin was born in the duchy of Savoy. Like his fellow Leaguer and Franciscan Feuarent, he studied theology at the Paris friary, where he received his licentiate in 1590 and later earned the doctorate.⁵⁶ From the start, Garin was known as one of the most ardent advocates of the League in Paris. As Pierre de l'Estoile noted in 1594, "he was the first to join [the League] and the last to leave." By 1593, Garin was a regular preacher in the pulpit of the parish church of Saint-Jacques-de-la-Bouchérie, a rabid center of Leaguer support in the heart of Paris. Garin's reputation for incendiary preaching explains why L'Estoile enjoys recounting the cleric's rather ignominious attempt to hide in a grain cellar on the rue Saint Denis in 1594 just before Henry IV made his way into the city.⁵⁷ Whether the story is true or not, Garin knew by this time that he was no longer welcome in the city, and he quickly made his way to Brussels along with a handful of other League members, including the infamous cleric of Saint-Benoît, Jean Boucher.

Garin's preaching from 1592 onward expressed growing disenchantment with many members of the League. Throughout 1592, Garin and Feuarent joined Boucher and other radical League preachers in proclaiming their refusal to recognize Navarre even should he convert, and they denounced anyone who discussed peace as traitors.⁵⁸ These friars were no doubt responding to a rumor then circulating about Navarre's conversion, and feared that supporters of the League might be tempted to turn royalist if Henry did indeed become a Catholic. Given that the League was increasingly divided over its political agenda, their fears were understandable. League unity in Paris crumbled in the wake of the death of Charles de Bourbon in 1590, because of deep-seated differences over the nature of the French state. It was one thing to agree that Navarre was not suitable to rule, but it was quite another to find a candidate acceptable to all. Proposal of a Spanish Habsburg succession alienated the more xenophobic and nationalist members, who preferred instead a French successor with legitimate blood ties via the male line to the throne. The Spanish Infanta's claim came through her mother Elizabeth of Valois, the daughter of Henry II. Covert talk of a Guise on the throne, particularly the duke of Mayenne, although never taken seriously, also irritated some members who suspected self-interest at work.⁵⁹

Along with Jean Boucher and many other hard-line Leaguers, Garin and his fellow friars were not averse to Spanish rule in France because their primary concern was the preservation of a Catholic monarchy. For the same reason they likely had few problems with the succession of a Guise to the throne.⁶⁰ Because they were concerned about the religious nature of the monarchy, however, the friars became increasingly suspicious of the political agenda

of certain members of the League, including the Guise. L'Estoile mentions certain like-minded preachers secretly meeting in the chambers of Garin at the Paris friary in November 1592 to discuss the issue of succession. If L'Estoile is right that the secrecy bothered the duke of Mayenne, the meeting is yet another sign of division in the League body over the issue. A few months later on March 6, 1593, Garin told the parishioners of Saint-Jacques-de-la-Bouchérie that "the city of Paris has already been sold, and that the monopolists were inside the city."⁶¹ The "monopolists" was a thinly veiled reference to members of the Paris League leadership who were willing to negotiate with Navarre. A month later, Jean Garin made a pointed reference to the Guise, including its senior representative the duke of Mayenne, when he insisted "there is no religion among us; governors want to be king."⁶² Garin's reference to the duke's political ambitions suggests that he was not about to support the policies of the Guise family when it put its own political interests before that of the true faith. According to L'Estoile, Garin's sermon on this occasion was so inflammatory that the papal legate tried unsuccessfully to ban him from the pulpit.

Several months later in December, Garin went after the duke of Mayenne once again. This time he accused Mayenne of listening to the *politiques*, magistrates who supported Navarre's succession.⁶³ Navarre had converted several months earlier in July, and his conversion had already attracted many nobles back to the royalist fold. Mayenne would not be among the first members of the League to recognize Navarre, but there is no doubt that tension was at its peak between Mayenne and many of the preachers by this time. The duke made it clear from his assumption of the leadership in 1590 that he was uncomfortable with the political extremism of certain members of the Seize, particularly those voicing a radical restructuring of political authority in France. It was to curb such extremism that he introduced several nobles loyal to his own authority into the League council, and it explains why he was less than pleased by the secret meeting of the preachers in 1592.⁶⁴ When news arrived in March 1594 that Henry IV was making his way towards Paris, Garin reportedly rallied Parisian monks and clerics to forcibly resist Navarre's arrival. L'Estoile's description paints a vivid portrait of the radical friar, who put on armor, took a pike in hand, and "cried as usual against magistrates, and said that . . . if they did not take up knives, the politiques would cut our throats."⁶⁵ Garin's attacks on the League-controlled Parlement and municipal authorities continued as well, and apparently so annoyed these officials that they complained about his preaching to the Parlement.⁶⁶

The attempt of Garin and several other Parisian preachers to mobilize Parisians against Henry IV's approach ultimately ended in failure because the conversion of Navarre on March 1, 1593, had removed the most important foundation of the League alliance. Negotiations between the Paris League

leadership had already begun in earnest, and by the time of Navarre's arrival in Paris in the summer of 1594, the Paris League was ready to recognize him as their monarch. But the Franciscans remained among his most radical opponents throughout this period. Garin responded to the coronation by saying that "only the Devil is the king of France."⁶⁷ When news spread in the same year that the pope might be willing to absolve Navarre from excommunication and recognize his succession to the throne, the pontiff also became a target of Franciscan rage. Jean Garin went so far as to say that the pope would be declaring himself a heretic if he absolved Henry IV.⁶⁸

Political Authority

The willingness of the friars to attack leaders of the League and even the papacy as well as their own monarch was not unprecedented. Much to the chagrin of governing authorities over time, the Franciscans had been perfectly willing to publicly excoriate their secular and clerical superiors when they failed to model virtuous rule. Friars in fourteenth-century Siena used the pulpits to attack municipal leaders, and two centuries later, the French preacher Olivier Maillard was forced into exile when he spoke too critically about the annulment of Louis XII's marriage to Jeanne de France.⁶⁹ Furthermore, Franciscan as well as Dominican and Jesuit missionaries were often in conflict with colonial administrators whom they believed threatened the physical and spiritual well-being of their flock.⁷⁰

These examples are just a few indications that political activism of the friars after 1588, while informed by the particular political circumstances of France, was rooted in the Franciscan tradition itself. The influence of their own tradition was to be expected, because Franciscans were not merely followers of Francis of Assisi but converts to his understanding of spiritual purity. Entering a religious order was quite different from becoming a parish priest because the end purpose of the monastic vocation was the spiritual transformation of the individual. The member was not simply a Catholic but a Franciscan, Dominican, or Benedictine. Of course more than a few monks first entered their order at the behest of family or in pursuit of financial security, but the intensive ideological formation that they received from their first day in the community would have shaped the identity of even its most secular-minded members. For this reason, it is all the more important that we situate clerical support for the League within the particular traditions of its adherents. Jacques-Auguste de Thou's statement that the Church supported the League is somewhat exaggerated, but it is true nevertheless that the League enjoyed substantial support from many sectors of the French ecclesiastical structure.⁷¹ The most enthusiastic support for the League across France came from the four orders of mendicant clergy, as well as the Jesuits, Feuillants, and

the Carthusians, the last a contemplative tradition known for its rigorous asceticism.⁷² In Paris, all the parochial parishes, with the exception of René Benoît's Saint-Eustache and two others, were in the hands of pro-League clerics, and the secular clergy were active League supporters in a number of other cities, including Toulouse. Support for the League varied in the older cloistered traditions across France, but Jean-Marie Le Gall shows that the particularly intense political climate of Paris transformed even the Benedictines of Saint-Denis into allies by 1590.⁷³

When examined in the context of their own religious tradition, the political behavior of the French Franciscans after 1588 underscores an anti-authoritarian impulse in Franciscan spirituality that made its members uneasy members of secular society. At the core of this political activism was a profound distrust of the corrupting effects of political authority of any kind and a corresponding confidence in their role as spiritual leaders, a role that for the friars recognized no boundaries, not even opposition to the king. Still, to say that the French Franciscans were suspicious of political authority is not to say that they were anxious to abolish political authority altogether. A typical sermon taken from the thirteenth century addressed members of society according to their station in life as well as gender, and this approach was characteristic of Franciscan sermons throughout the medieval and early modern periods.⁷⁴ Like so many of their contemporaries, the friars believed that the existing ordering of society was divinely ordained, another legacy of the *corpus mysticum*. Their acceptance of hierarchy was, furthermore, consistent with Franciscan thought, since Francis urged his followers not to question earthly authorities. Francis's suspicion that few could resist the many allures of political authority led him to encourage his followers to distance themselves from material concerns by submitting themselves wholly and absolutely to earthly authorities, secular as well as ecclesiastical.⁷⁵

Though Franciscans accepted hierarchy, this did not mean that they were uncritical of the social and political elite. Noble status carried with it a greater moral and spiritual responsibility in society, at least so the friars insisted. As Feuarent warned Henry III in his treatise *Sepmaine premiere*, "the lowest members of society deserve mercy, but the powerful will be examined rigorously."⁷⁶ Jacques Berson praised the piety of the duchess of Lorraine, he said, because she was devout, and her social and political stature lit the pathway to spiritual perfection.⁷⁷ While the Franciscans held leaders of society to higher moral and spiritual standards, they were nevertheless perpetually vigilant for signs of corruption, because human will was weak and political authority tested the ethical character of even its most virtuous recipient. The fourteenth-century Siennese friars who criticized municipal authorities from their pulpits were convinced that factionalism among the city councilors threatened the political unity and spiritual purity of the city. Maillard believed it was neces-

sary to caution the king of France against a divorce, because Louis XII would be violating an oath he made to God.⁷⁸ Louis's behavior was immoral, and as king his violation jeopardized not only his own salvation but those under his rule. In these cases, obeying those in political authority was secondary to the pursuit of personal and societal salvation, because leaders could err.

The Franciscans of the late sixteenth century were also harsh critics of powerful individuals and not simply the king. In his preface to a new catechism, Fremin Capitis chastized the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Church for not caring enough about educating and guiding Christians and would-be Christians: "And I say this with great regret, the Church makes only little effort now to instruct Turks or Jews who wished to be Christians, and for the most part . . . for our bad lives and corrupt morals. . . ."⁷⁹ This was harsh criticism, but the nobility was an even more popular target of the French Franciscans during the wars because they held this social group responsible for much of the violence. Blaiseau challenged the morality of those Catholics as well as Protestants, especially the *gens de bien*, "who love nothing so much as flowing blood." Comparing them to the blood-thirsty Scythians and the Lacedaemonians, he says that these individuals "desire to sit with the bloody bodies in order to have the honor of drinking from their cuts." Blaiseau called upon God to punish these war-hungry individuals: "I pray to the lord of God's armies . . . that he will strike the head with the might of his curse of whoever was an author and engine of such a terrible war."⁸⁰ Other friars were equally explicit in their criticism of the nobility. In his biography of Luther, Taillepie said that he would not criticize ordinary people who were simple and easily swayed but he did hold the nobles responsible for the civil wars. He mentioned in particular a duke who hired mercenaries "to pillage, burn and dismantle France under the pretext of religion."⁸¹ The one-time minister general of the order, Cheffontaine, held a similarly lofty impression of nobles, writing a tract that questioned their understanding of true nobility entitled *Chrestienne confutation du poinct d'honneur sur lequel la Noblesse fonde aujourd'huy ses querelles & monomachies*. Written in 1579, ten years before his brothers joined the Catholic League, Cheffontaine argued that it was "false notion" that nobility was a product of war because true nobility was based on Christian virtue. Like Taillepie, Cheffontaine was convinced that many nobles masked ignoble aims with the cloak of religion. Members of the nobility should set moral examples, he insisted, and not upset the established order. They should obey their God, in other words, and also their monarch, because they were members of the "Christian" republic."

What I wish is that all of the great and powerful lords of France were also great lovers of God and of his law, of the Catholic faith, the holy church and the Christian Peace, and also very obedient to their prince and most Christian king,

and used their body and goods to further the cause of God, the king, and the republic which you comprise.⁸²

Cheffontaine's pessimism extended to other leaders of society as well, including not only kings but also intellectuals and artists. The former minister general and his Franciscan brothers clearly had grave concerns about the leadership of France. The friars considered Henry III's abuse of his office an even graver threat to the spiritual purity of France because it was ultimately his responsibility to preserve the true faith. Even more terrifying was the prospect of Navarre's succession to the throne, because a Protestant king implanted spiritual corruption at the very center of the body politic. For these reasons, French Franciscans felt no compunction about using their influence as spiritual leaders to rally opposition to their monarch after 1588. It is nevertheless telling of his Franciscan formation that Cheffontaine not only believed that those in power are the most vulnerable to temptation, but that the true Christian leaders in society were theologians and preachers. Satan "solicits all of the emperors, kings, lords, princes . . . all of the philosophers, poets and orators in this world to be mortal enemies of theologians and preachers . . . and arms them against Christians [with] all sorts of violence, force, torments and punishments. . . ." ⁸³ Hilaire Coquy noted that Calvinists saved their most brutal attacks for preachers and other clerics: "They were particularly inflamed against the pastors and preachers of the word of God, against priests and monks, whose eyes, noses and other members of the body they cut according to their leisure." ⁸⁴

In singling out acts of violence against clerics, Coquy is making an implicit statement about the importance of religious leaders in the events of the time. Nor was he the only friar to make such a claim. Lurking throughout Franciscan sermons and polemics from the wars is a profoundly felt conviction that religious leaders were a critical factor in the creation of a politically stable state. The distinctive nature of the Franciscan body politic, in other words, lay in its articulation of a special place for the clergy. What is more, Franciscan writings ring with the certainty of their own special election as servants of God, a role that explains their embrace of even the most radical political tactics in the pursuit of spiritual reform. Cheffontaine's association of the "republic" with the nobility discussed earlier might simply hearken to traditional assumptions about political governance at the time, but the very absence of the clergy from his description of the republic also speaks to Francis of Assisi's injunction that true spiritual leaders must be "pilgrims" in the world. Those that followed in the footsteps of Christ must do as He did, and remain untouched by the earthly realm and all its institutions even as they moved through it and worked to save the souls of others. Francis, in other words, understood a special and separate space for the spiritual leader in society, a

space removed from political and social structures and from which the leader could agitate for the salvation of society.

Other clerics at this time felt that they had a special political authority by virtue of their office as preachers. Boucher lamented Catholic as well as Protestant criticism of the League preachers for this reason.⁸⁵ Franciscans were nevertheless much more forceful in their argument for the political importance of the clergy, and in particular for members of their own religious tradition. Their boundless confidence in the role of the preacher as a pillar of a stable and pure society is particularly well articulated by Jacques Berson in his preface to a French edition of a sermon by the Italian friar Cornelio Musso. This proud royal preacher, Berson, who once referred to himself as a "preacher by office and philosopher by nature," praised the Queen of Naples for patronizing the great Italian Franciscan.⁸⁶ Taking the form of a lament on French society at the time, Berson argued that a politically stable and spiritually pure society was one that fostered preaching. "I miss the wonderful time of our fathers . . . when the cities were nursemaids of preachers and doctors, when the courts governed by means of evangelical remonstrances, when evangelical clerics were received among the nobles, as embassies of peace. . . ."⁸⁷ Preachers played a crucial role in fostering harmony and prosperity in society, and at a time of civil war, Berson insisted, preaching was more important than ever: "Never was it more necessary to have sermons and preaching and never was it more abused. . . . Happy is the land which has good ministers of God, and . . . good princes."⁸⁸

Berson's view of the preacher underscores the political necessity of preaching for preserving a stable and pure polity. Jean Porthaise made an even stronger case for the political importance of the clergy when he insisted that the clergy had a right not only to oppose their monarch but to determine his legitimacy. Porthaise argued in 1594 that the Church could raise an army, and it was left to prelates to confirm the king. It was also, he said, the right of the clergy to inform the people when it was time to rebel against a tyrant, and depose the monarch: "The spiritual and temporal swords belong to the Church and its will must be to use these for teaching the faith and for punishing the enemies of the faith. . . ."⁸⁹ Porthaise articulated here a bold reinterpretation of the role of the clergy as a political leader in French society, a role greatly expanded from that traditionally granted to the first estate by medieval and early modern theorists. Even Boucher did not give the clergy such a prominent political role in his conception of French society. Porthaise clearly believed, however, that the clergy by virtue of their spiritual offices possessed the wisdom and right to intervene in political life when the king and other leaders of society failed to fulfill their divinely anointed roles, even to the extent of removing their monarch from office.

Porthaise confidently argued for the centrality of the clergy in the creation of a politically stable state. In doing so, he challenged the traditional limitation

of the clergy to the function of prayer and occasional critic. To his mind and that of his fellow friars, the particular circumstances of late sixteenth century justified direct political intervention. As a member of the Franciscan order, furthermore, Porthaise felt supremely confident in the ability of his brothers to take such political initiative. Franciscan sermons from the Wars of Religion sound their elect status as followers of Francis of Assisi, and explain why the friars had few qualms about seeking out corruption wherever it lay, even when found at the highest levels of secular authority. As Maurice Hylaret argued, the friar was a warrior who, through writing and with “*armes spirituelles*,” rendered the enemies of the Catholic faith helpless.⁹⁰ This confidence in the Franciscan mission carried on long after the Wars of Religion, as we can see in the pride-filled sermon given by André de Lauge before the meeting of the Estates General in 1623. The Franciscans, he reminded his audience, were among God’s chosen agents on earth: “He has given us the office of preaching and announcing his will, and writing inside and outside, with the brush of love which he has us carry, opening it and letting it unroll before our eyes, as much by his works as by his preaching.”⁹¹

CONCLUSION

François Feuardent proudly insisted in 1599 that the sixteenth-century monarchs, like Clovis before them, never listened to heretical ministers.¹ Francis I and Henry II proved at varying points that they were opposed to Protestantism, and so their inclusion in Feuardent's list was to be expected. Francis II's marriage into the very Catholic Guise family and Charles IX's sanctioning of the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day also marked these kings as good Catholics. Feuardent did not stop there, however, but went on to extol Henry III. Since Feuardent was among the League preachers who celebrated the assassination of the "tyrant" Henry III in 1589 and proved one of the most obdurate opponents of Navarre's succession, his praise of the last Valois monarch seems surprising, to say the least, and more than a little opportunistic. Feuardent may well have believed his rewriting of recent events would help soothe any surviving animosity on the part of the present king toward the erstwhile radical. It is also possible that the political fire that once burnt hot in the heart of the preacher was exhausted by this time. The Wars of Religion had taken a harsh toll on many Observant communities, including that of Paris. During Feuardent's tenure as guardian, the Paris friary was forced to shut down certain sectors of the studium and even contemplated selling valuable items in the sacristy to buy such staples as wood and food.² Perhaps because many Observant communities were still recovering from the devastating effects of the wars, they were largely silent in the wake of the publication of the Edict of Nantes. The Observant friars were no more accepting of religious coexistence in 1599 than they were four years earlier. Even so, they stayed quiet even as the preaching of their brothers, the Capuchins, attracted the ire of the king and earned several of them a stay in prison.³

Exhaustion and self-interest might explain Feuardent's royalist turn by 1599, but there were other reasons that suggest his motivations were genuine. After all, Henry IV treated the friars rather leniently throughout the Wars. With the exception of poor Robert Chessé (who was hung, drawn, and quartered in 1589), most friars captured by royalist forces faced imprisonment, corporal punishment, and banishment rather than execution. This show of relative leniency continued even after Navarre's eventually successful entry into Paris in 1594. Henry was more than aware of his fragile hold on the French throne, and chose clemency rather than retribution as the means to secure his regime. A number of friars, including Nicolas Chevreul, were either punished or exiled at royal will.⁴ Feuardent and Garin both fled France, and Garin eventually

made his way to Brussels along with Boucher and many other League members.⁵ Beyond these more-or-less forced exiles, the Franciscans and other well-known clerical proponents of the League do not seem to have faced serious royalist reprisals. In fact, Feuardent was allowed to reenter France in 1596 after two years of wandering in exile. He returned to the convent of Bayeux where he had begun his life as a Franciscan, and died fourteen years later, in 1610.⁶

Royal clemency signaled good will toward the friars, but even more important for understanding Feuardent's change of heart in 1599 was that, for all intents and purposes, the friars had won. The primary goal of those allied with the League was to prevent a Protestant succession to the French throne. Although they were initially skeptical of Navarre's conversion in 1593, Henry IV was still a Catholic six years later when Feuardent wrote his treatise. Despite his advocacy of partial toleration for Protestant worship in the Edict of Nantes, Henry made it clear through public gestures that he had no intention of returning to his former faith. By 1599 he was well into negotiations with Marie de Médicis for a marriage that offered the happy possibility of a legitimate Catholic heir. As was expected of new monarchs, Henry also recognized the privileges of religious orders in the kingdom of France and gave generously to particular institutions as a sign of royal largesse and piety including the Franciscans. He continued the tradition of choosing mendicants as royal preachers when he gave this office to the Portuguese Franciscan Jacques Suarez.⁷ Last but not least, Henry asserted in public pronouncements his intention to foster Catholic spirituality throughout France. His subsequent readmittance of the Jesuits into France in 1601 became an integral part of a broader program to missionize Protestant regions of the kingdom.⁸

Henry IV's public show of support for the Catholic faith no doubt alleviated some of Feuardent's concern about the spiritual state of the monarchy, and in doing so, softened the main reason for his earlier political activism. Harmony had returned to the relationship between the Observant friar and king, at least for the time being. Other friars also reconciled with their king at this time, and by 1600 it is fair to say that French Observant communities were once again tranquil, and their members obedient to royal authority. But tempting as it is to interpret the radicalism of these friars as an extreme response to a time of serious crisis, their writings show that its roots lay deeply imbedded in the Franciscan spiritual tradition. Though Francis of Assisi urged his followers to submit themselves wholly to secular authority as a mark of their abject humility, his profound suspicion of the corrupting effects of political authority and passionate insistence upon the primacy of salvation convinced many of his followers to embrace political conflict under certain conditions as a necessary strategy in the war on sin. The Observant friars of this study used their access to French pulpits, printing presses, the legal courts, and even outright conspiracy to foster the spiritual transformation of France.

These Franciscan preachers thought little of criticizing popes, kings, and bishops as well as Calvinists in their struggle to save souls, because the demands of salvation took precedence over obedience to secular authority.

Franciscan spirituality informed their response to the political and spiritual crises of sixteenth-century France, and in doing so informed French political culture. Whether Pierre L'Estoile liked it or not, French Catholics considered these friars and other clerics legitimate political authorities because they, like the friars, accepted the interdependence of church and state, of political stability and religious purity. Franciscan influence as agents of the League thus illuminates the *corpus mysticum* beating at the very heart of Catholic conceptions of the French state, but it also points to the particular appeal of Franciscan spirituality as one reason for the political influence of the Franciscans. The friars attracted patronage from across social groups, and their sermons often drew thousands of listeners. The French ecclesiastical hierarchy and the papacy also recognized the preaching skill of the friars by opening parochial pulpits to their ministry, promoting their theological formation, and placing them on the frontlines of spiritual conflict. From the perspective of their many supporters, the unique ministry of the friars admirably suited the spiritual terrain of sixteenth-century France. Clearly part of Franciscan appeal for many Catholics lay in its understanding of the path to spiritual perfection. While there is substantial evidence to show that many French bishops as well as the Jesuits eagerly implemented reforms aimed at curbing "indecorous" expressions of lay piety and elevating the authority of the clergy as spiritual mediators, the Franciscans continued to minimize the distance between the ordinary believer and God by promoting an active, enthusiastic devotional life for their flock.⁹ Since the Franciscans received encouragement for their ministry from the church hierarchy as well as ordinary men and women we can say with some certainty that, even in the post-tridentine era, the Church continued to embrace differing understandings of the path to spiritual perfection.¹⁰

In their pursuit of a more intimate relationship with God, the Franciscans were not unlike many of the early Protestant reformers. Although the Franciscans found more spiritual value in lay devotional practices than did these reformers and were somewhat more reverent of clerical authority, the friars shared with Protestant reformers a desire for a religious life that encouraged direct experience of God. Viewed from this perspective, the continuing potency of the Franciscan tradition testifies to a wellspring of desire in European society for a more intimate form of spiritual life, which is important for understanding the emergence of Protestantism as well as corruption in the Catholic Church. This thirst for a more intimate spiritual life may also explain the spiritual efflorescence at the end of the Wars of Religion. One can hardly deny the shift after 1598 from a millenarian form of piety that emphasized

active engagement in the spiritual reformation of society to one focused on the interiority of faith and devotion.¹¹ However, such a shift did not preclude continuing interest in mendicant spirituality, as the close relationship between the Capuchin mystic Benoît of Canfield and Marie Acarie attests. Capuchin mysticism perfectly suited Acarie's interest in a more personal, emotional form of piety centered on an intimate relationship with God. Furthermore, her patronage of a new religious tradition, the discalced Carmelites, and the emergence of the *parti de dévots* so closely associated with her circle also suggest that Acarie and other "dévot" reformers embraced the idea of active engagement in the spiritual reformation of France, as encouraged by the Franciscans. At times, such responsibility, to the dévots, also justified political action.¹²

If Franciscan spirituality spoke to popular desire for active engagement in the pursuit of salvation during the Wars of Religion, the friars also emphasized the interdependency of personal and societal salvation. Such an understanding of salvation consequently helps to explain how, in the particular context of late sixteenth-century France, a medieval spiritual tradition catalyzed to political change. French Catholics listened to Franciscan criticism of societal leaders through the course of the wars, and by 1588, everyday Catholics were ready to follow the friars into overt opposition to royal authority as supporters of the Catholic League. While historians have traced the later secularization of the monarchy to the political and spiritual conflicts of these years, the fact remains that the one legacy of the League was its reinforcement of the Catholic nature of the French throne.¹³ This is not to say that the Catholic nature of the monarchy was not important before the Wars. However, religious division made the religious character of the throne a preeminent concern by the middle of the sixteenth century, so much so that it came to dominate political discussions in France.¹⁴ The prospect of a Protestant succession to the French throne was a turning point in French discourses on the monarchy, a moment when French men and women felt obliged to choose between heredity and religion as defining characteristics of the monarchy.

The League's ability to mobilize popular opposition to Navarre secured his conversion in 1593, and in doing so defined the monarchy from that time forward as a Catholic institution. In situating Catholicism at the heart of the French monarchy, the League also informed absolutist thought. The political theorist Jean Bodin was not sympathetic to popular political resistance, and was a vocal opponent of the noble League that appeared in 1576. Even so, he was an early supporter of the Paris-based League when it emerged in 1585 because he was convinced that the monarchy was inviolably a Catholic institution, and that religious division was inevitably a destabilizing political force. Bodin's association of political stability and spiritual purity reflects his indebtedness to medieval conceptions of the French state. In pursuing this vision of a stable state, Bodin and later absolutist theorists elevated the politi-

cal and spiritual authority of the monarchy further than had their medieval predecessors.

The religious division of France in the sixteenth century and resultant struggle over monarchical succession fueled the emergence of a new understanding of the monarchy, one with immediate political consequences for France because it appealed to the Bourbon monarchs of the seventeenth century. While it is true that the Bourbon monarchs were never able to impose absolute authority in France, they did nevertheless extend the authority of the monarchy further into society than ever before.¹⁵ One way in that they sought to do so was to eradicate religious dissent of any kind, and above all, Protestantism.¹⁶ Privileges enshrined in the Edict of Nantes defined Protestants as a somewhat separate community within the broader political Catholic community of France, a state of affairs the Bourbon monarchs increasingly viewed as a threat to the authority of the crown. Louis XIII and his minister, Cardinal Richelieu, slowly eroded Protestant independence, a policy that Louis XIV continued. By 1685, Louis XIV felt confident enough in the weakness of the French Protestant community to outlaw the faith altogether.¹⁷

Bourbon absolutism may have represented a new conception of state authority in France, but it was one nevertheless constructed on preexisting political theories, including those of the League and its Franciscan allies. This is not to say that the Franciscans were proponents of absolutist thought. Their primary concern was to construct a spiritually pure polity and not a more powerful monarchy. And yet, through their alliance with the League, the Franciscans made Catholicism a central preoccupation of the monarchy, and in doing so contributed to the emergence of a new understanding of the state. It is worth pondering, furthermore, the relative importance of the friars and other League preachers in strengthening Gallicanism by the seventeenth century. Historians have already pointed to Protestant influence upon Gallicanism as theorists from Philippe du Plessis-Mornay onward linked the security of their own religious tradition to enhanced royal authority over French religious life and institutions.¹⁸ Although the French Franciscans were fundamentally ultramontane in their understanding of the authority of the Catholic Church in France and, furthermore, never seriously considered the possibility of a Church comprising the two faiths, they nevertheless emphasized the religious authority of the monarchy vis-à-vis French religious institutions. They did so when they turned to the secular courts in their battles with their minister general, and they did so once again when they reminded Henry III of his role as a religious reformer, and challenged Henry of Navarre's right to ascend the throne as a Protestant.¹⁹ The friars showed both in word and deed that they were willing to recognize state authority in certain ecclesiastical matters such as doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline, thus giving added weight to gallicanist emphasis upon the right of the French monarchy to preside over its religious institutions.²⁰

In a similar way, the political activism of the friars also informed seventeenth-century assertions of the Catholic nature of French identity. The political activism of the friars throughout the Wars of Religion only confirms Alain Tallon's insistence that the religious nature of French identity moved to the foreground of political discussion by the middle of the sixteenth century, as Protestants, *politique* thinkers, League preachers, and gallicanists argued over the true nature of French society.²¹ By articulating the essentially Catholic nature of the political identity of throne, ruler, and subject, Franciscan preachers contributed significantly to a rethinking of the nature of political authority in France. At the most, they set political and spiritual trends that were deeply disruptive to the monarchy. At the very least, the Franciscans were vocal in their association of Protestantism with treason, a message that French Catholics accepted with alacrity.

The political engagement of the Franciscans during the Wars of Religion thus invites us to reassess the religious character of these conflicts, and the importance of religion in shaping early modern French political institutions and conceptions of the French state. As this investigation of the friars nevertheless makes clear, we cannot restrict ourselves to the frontiers of France to truly understand the dynamic interplay of religion and politics. The political activism of the friars speaks to the globalization of Catholic reform at this time, and, equally important, its influence upon French political and religious life. The Franciscans were members of a religious community that was transnational in nature, subject to the papacy and the Franciscan central administration. As much as their ministry in France was shaped by the particular political circumstances of the late sixteenth century and their own spiritual ideal, it was also informed by the political, spiritual, and economic demands of these international institutions. Examined in the context of the global expansion of the order, the ministry of the friars in sixteenth-century France unveils the often idiosyncratic and multidimensional nature of Catholic imperialism at this time, and along with it the reenergization of expansionist Christian missionary impulse in the form of the mendicant clergy. From the perspective of the French Franciscans, the Wars of Religion was one of several fronts in their global war on sin, a war that embraced the rise of an aggressive form of Islamic rule in the East and encounters with New World peoples as well as the spread of Protestantism in Europe. For good or ill, the Franciscans and other mendicant clergy were the face of the Catholic Church for people throughout the Early Modern period, and it is perhaps for this reason that Protestant reformers observed their ministry with some trepidation. Protestantism certainly fractured the Christian body, but the spiritual work of the mendicant clergy, along with that of the Jesuits, meant that a person looking outward from Europe in 1600 saw the Catholic Church successfully reclaiming its position as the preeminent religious tradition in the West.

Appendix

Patrons of the Paris Friary, 1560–1611

The Patron ⁱ	Date of Foundation	Date of Death	Foundation ⁱⁱ	Amount
<i>Royal/Sword Nobles</i>				
Marie de Médicis	1604		To build a rood-screen High mass on December 15, and a low mass every Monday	From a principal of 900 livres
Antoine, the former king of Portugal	1595		Burial	
Diego Botelho Portuguese nobleman	1607		Burial	
Cassandra de Baillon Sister of Catherine de Baillon, wife of Scipio Massey	May 31, 1597		Complete mass with the participation of a deacon	10 livres
Louise de la Beraudiere Madame d'Estissac		1608	Burial in ch. de St- Jerome	
Jean de Blosset Baron of Torcy-le-grand Knight in the royal order of St <i>Esprit</i> (1578)		1587	Burial	
Pierre Bougnier Councillor, Parlement	Jan 24, 1582		A high mass on the anniversary of his death	200 écus d'or
Charlotte Briçonnet Widow of Charles Picorenné, <i>Seigneur</i> of Lesigny Also wife of Estienne Petit	1552		3 low masses each day 3 services each year, Dec 15 (for husband), April 20 (daughter) and July 2	50 écus

Lucrece Calvacanti <i>Dame ordinaire</i> to Catherine de Médicis, wife of Albisse d'Elbene, <i>Surintendant des finances</i>	1573		Contract for Burial in crypt, son François d'Elbene	100 livres
Claude de Cremeaux, <i>Seigneur</i> of Charnay		1608	Burial in the nave	
Jeanne d'Estissac Vidame of Chartres, Wife of François de Vendôme	June 5, 1562		Perpetual mass marble epitaph Burial Burial, ch. St-Jerome	
The Guise family			Windows in church depicting several members, c. 1580	
Jerome de Gondi Ambassador of Catherine de Médicis, Henry III, Henry IV, <i>Chevalier d'honneur</i> of Marie de Médicis		n.d.	Burial, ch. de Conception	
Sidoine Guy Daughter of Jean Guy, <i>Ecuyer Seigneur</i> of Puy Robert, and Jehanne de la Beraudiere		1608	Burial	
Jean de Hangest <i>Comte-evêque</i> of Noyon		1577	Burial	
Louise Hemard (<i>Cordelière</i>) Daughter of Pierre Hemard, <i>Seigneur</i> of Denonville, Gentleman of the king's bedchamber		Sept 23, 1590	Burial	
Clemence Janvier Wife of Thomas d'Elbene (see Elbene)		1591	Burial, ch. des martyrs	
Anne de Laval, Lady of Ricey Widow of Georges de Crequy, <i>Seigneur</i> of Ricey		After 1605	Burial in chapel St-Nicolas	

Ludovico Gonzaga and Henriette de Nevers, the Duke and Duchess of Nevers	Mar 25, 1579		Participation in service at the Augustinian church on August 25	1 écu for each friar
Catherine Nogaret Wife of Henri de Joyeuse		1578	Burial, ch. d'onze mille vierges	
Louis Thizon Baron of Rochandry, Adolescent son of Cybard Thizon, <i>chevallier Seigneur</i> of Argences		Buried, June 29, 1587	Burial in choir	
Robe Nobility				
Marthe Alleaume Wife of Louis II d'Arquinvilliers, <i>Seigneur</i> of St-Rimaud (see below)		1572	Burial, ch. St-Michel	
Anne Arquinvilliers Wife of Robert Goussancourt		d. 1605	Burial, ch. Saint- Michel	
Louis Arquinvilliers II Councillor, Parlement		n.d.	Burial, ch. St-Michel	
Louis Arquinvilliers III <i>Seigneur</i> of St-Rimaud		1590	Burial, ch. Saint- Michel	
Ambroise Amy <i>Procureur</i> , Parlement		Feb 16, 1571	Burial, ch. Jerusalem	
Jean Auroux Councillor, Parlement		Aug 20, 1598	Burial, ch. St-Claude	100 écus 5 sols 20 deniers
Jerome Auroux Councillor, Parlement		Sept 25, 1598	Burial, ch. St-Claude	
Jean Aymeret Councillor, Parlement		Oct 27, 1598	Burial, ch. St-Michel	
Charlotte de Besançon Wife of Charles de Lamoignon (see Lamoignon)		Oct 27, 1594	Burial, ch. Crucifix	

Jean de Beauquaire, <i>Seigneur</i> of Peguillon	1572		Shoes for poor young student friars	30 livres annually
Pierre Bournier Councillor, Parlement	Jan 24, 1582		Repair of church Mass in perpetuity	200 écus
Catherine Bourgeois Wife of Jean Philibert, Councillor, Parlement	2 contracts: Aug 28, 1583 Feb 25, 1585		Chalices, candles, bread, wine Perpetual mass, 2 complete services on Saint Martin's Day	12 livres annually from 100 livres
Jean Philibert Councillor, Parlement (see Bourgeois)	Aug 28, 1566		Service	
Hierosme Bureau Councillor, Parlement and <i>auditeur des comptes</i> (1601)	?			300 livres, rente
François Calvet Baron of Trizac		Late 16th c.	Burial, ch. St-Joseph	
Elisabeth Cei Wife of François Calvet		Late 16th c.	Burial, ch. St-Joseph	
Catherine Brûlart Wife of Louis de Longueil		d. early 1600s	Burial	
Isabel de Carance Lady-in-waiting for the "absent" Queen	Feb 13, 1574		Low mass on day of death Ornaments, chalices, candles	16 livres, 13 sols, 4 deniers from 200 livres principal
Edme Clause and Pierre de Corchevel <i>Avocat</i> , Parlement	Nov 17, 1606 Nov 20, 1610		Pension for a student named by the inheritors of the donor	31 livres 5 sols from principal of 500 livres

Madaleine le Clerc Wife of Nicholas le Hardy		22 July 1607	Burial, ch. St. Bonaventure	
Zachary Contareno Ambassador for Venice	Mar 18, 1572 Jan 1, 1577		Services with vigils, high mass	20 livres
Jean Dorieu Councillor, Parlement, and wife, Marie le Normand	Feb 12, 1609		Burial, ch. St Jean	40 livres
Jean Doujat <i>Avocat general</i> , <i>Maitre des requêtes</i> for Catherine de Médicis		Buried, Feb 7, 1576	Burial, choir	
Michele Flavart Wife of Jacques Grandet		Jan 1582	Burial, nave	
Jean-Baptiste Galiaci Ambassador of the dukes of Mantua (Gonzaga)		1573	Burial	
Antoine Gallendy <i>Avocat</i> , Parlement		After Mar 6, 1595	Burial, ch. St-Claire	
Antoine Gallendy <i>Procureur</i> , Châtelet	Mar 5, 1606		Service in perpetuity	100 sols annually
Marie Grandet Wife of Ambroise Amy (see Amy)		Jan 12, 1608	Burial, nave	
Pierre du Halgouet Son of François, <i>Seigneur</i> of Kergresq		Mar 1560		
Nicolas le Hardy <i>Seigneur</i> de la Trousse, <i>Maitre d'hotel</i> of the king, and <i>grand prévôt</i> of France		Buried June 11, 1599	Burial, ch. St. Bonaventure	

Charles de Harlay <i>Seigneur baron of Montglas, Husband of Anne de la Vernade</i>	Apr 5, 1596		Service of four high masses on the Friday of the Passion	25 livres
Denise Lalloyau <i>Widow of Pierre de Longueil</i>		Before Nov 1, 1581	Burial	
Charles de Lamoignon <i>Conseiller d'état</i>		1573	Burial, ch. Crucifix	
Jean de Ligny <i>Seigneur of Rantilly, Conseiller secrétaire of the king's finances and wife Anne Duque</i>	June 10, 1608	Wife died, 1608	One service for six years only	25 livres
Anne de la Roziere <i>Wife of Jean Turquan, sieur of Aubetaire</i>		1584	Burial, ch. St-Cloud	
Henry de la Ruelle <i>Sécrétaire de la chambre du roy</i>	3 contracts including one undated, pre-1595		Two services for brother Victor Godefroy	25 livres annually
Madeleine le Clerc <i>Wife of Nicolas le Hardy, grand prévôt de France</i>		July 22, 1607	Burial, ch. Saint- Bonaventure	
Jeanne le Gay <i>First wife of Charles Turquan, conseiller d'état et privé</i>		Feb 9, 1581	Burial, ch. St-Claude	
Gilles le Maistre I <i>Seigneur of Cincehour, First President, Parlement</i>		Dec 5, 1562	Burial, ch. Le Maistre	
Gilles le Maistre <i>First President, Parlement</i>		1587	Burial, ch. Le Maistre	
Nicolas le Maistre <i>Councillor, Parlement Prior of Choisy-en-Brie</i>		May 23, 1568	Burial, ch. Le Maistre	

Jean le Maistre Seigneur of Bretèche Councillor, Parlement		Nov 1585	Burial, ch. Le Maistre	
Jean le Maistre Seigneur of Bretèche		Aug 18, 1611	Burial, ch. Le Maistre	
Marthe le Maistre Wife of Jean de Longueil VII		1565	Burial, ch. St-Esprit	
Marie de la Mare Wife of Guy de Longueil (see Guy)		1572	Burial, ch. Longueil	
Charles de Longueil Prior of Alencourt		c. 1551	Burial, ch. Longueil	
Charles de Longueil Seigneur of Chevreville, Councillor, Parlement		1558	Burial, ch. Longueil	
Constantin de Longueil Chevalier-vicomte of Argeville, President, Parlement		1611	Burial, ch. Longueil	
Elisabeth de Longueil Wife of Nicolas de Livres, Chevalier Seigneur of Humerolles		1596	Burial	
Guy de Longueil Seigneur of Chevreville Councillor, Parlement		1569	Burial, ch. Longueil	
Jean de Longueil VI Seigneur of Maisons, President in the <i>chambre des Enquêtes</i>		May 1, 1551	Burial	
Jean de Longueil VII, Seigneur of Maisons, Councillor, Parlement		1558	Burial	
Pierre de Longueil Seigneur of Bou, Councillor, Parlement		Oct 28, 1581	Burial	
Pierre de Longueil Seigneur of Bou, Councillor, Parlement		1607	Burial	

Marie de Longueil Wife of Nicolas Berruyer, <i>Maître des requêtes</i> , Parlement		1590	Burial	
Louise de Luxemburg Wife of Mons de Massey, <i>Seigneur</i> of Bouteville de Massaye		Service on day of death and on Aug. 8		50 livres, rente
Mlle Maulvaut (Daughter of Guillaume?)		Oct 1603	Burial	Unknown
Guillaume Maulvault Councillor, Parlement, confriar	Apr 20, 1594			40 écus
Jean de Mua <i>Lieutenant criminel</i> , Guyenne			3 high masses for brother François de Mua, baron de Barbazon, and Burial, ch. Saint-Nom-de- Jesus	50 livres, rente
Catherine de Noyon Wife of Martin Godefroy <i>Conseiller du roy et general des deniers communs</i>		Aug 25, 1595	Burial, in front of ch. St-Jerome	
Aubin Oudin <i>Procureur</i> , Parlement		Sept 23, 1610	Burial	
Catherine Piedefer Wife of Louis de Longueil, <i>Seigneur</i> of Chevreille		Late 16th c.	Burial	
Denis Revezie <i>Procureur</i> , Parlement		Feb 23, 1590	Purchase of shoes for poor students in exchange for vigils for his soul	25 livres

Denis de Riants Baron of Triel <i>Président à mortier</i> , Parlement		May 14, 1557	Burial, ch. St-Denis	
Gilles de Riants <i>Chevalier-Baron</i> of Villeray, President, Parlement		1597	Burial, ch. St-Denis	
Monsieur Ribson (Status uncertain)	Feb 14, 1589			100 livres
Françoise de Ruffec Widow of François de Saint Aulaire, <i>Seigneur</i> of Arsinges	Oct 13, 1583	Oct 16, 1583	Burial near grand altar in a sepulture of the Saint Aulaire family Low mass on Fridays, prayers, passion of Saint John at end of mass	100 écus
Charles Saint-Aulaire <i>Seigneur</i> of Arsinges, Son of François		c. 1583	Burial	
Gabrielle Sapin Wife of Denis de Riants (see Riants)		1588	Burial, ch. St-Denis	
Marie Sapin Wife of Gilles le Maistre (see Le Maistre)		1588	Burial, ch. St-Louis	
Christophe de Thou First President, Parlement		1582	Burial, in front of main altar Generous funds to rebuild church after 1580	
Nicolas Trouillard <i>Ecuyer Seigneur</i> of Baron <i>Commissaire ordinaire des guerres</i> Husband of François Turquan		Buried Oct 16, 1583	Burial, ch. St-Claude	

Charlotte Turquan Widow of Benigne Pasteys, <i>Bourgeois de Paris</i>		After Nov 15 1604	Burial, ch. St-Claude	
Jean Turquan <i>Seigneur of Aubeterre, maître des requêtes, Parlement</i>		Inhumed July 20, 1556	Burial, ch. St-Claude	
Merchant/Artisan				
Confraternity of Saint-Sepulchre de Jerusalem Members included: Jean le Gros, Pierre Berthault, Philippe de Noyen, Andre Thevet, Andre Favin, Philippe de Noyen, and Guillaume Maulvaut (see individual bequests)			Ceremony in nave of church High mass with a deacon Annual procession and the "five plays" at the end of the Passion	100 livres
Mme Abely (status uncertain)	Nov 16, 1601			12 livres 10 sols
Antoinette Amiel (status uncertain) Mother-in-law of Leon de Caen, <i>Bourgeois de Paris</i>	July 14, 1574			
Jean Arnoult <i>Marchand bourgeois</i>	Apr 22, 1570		1000 masses for him and wife Special service during the octaves	200 livres one time, 100 livres from each on day of death
Agnes Barbier Widow of Nicolas Bourdin	1605		Solemn service on the day of her death	10 livres, rente

Claude Barillet Widow of Jacques Villain, master gold/silversmith	Feb 9, 1609		Mass each Friday and service of three high masses and vigils on the Friday after Assumption	60 livres
Pierre Berthault <i>Bourgeois de Paris</i> , confriar, and wife Jeanne de Saingal		June 1574 May 1578	Burial Mass every Friday at the altar of the confraternity	40 livres to the confra- ternity
Jean Boullenger <i>Marchand bourgeois</i>	Mar 30, 1588		Sermon in the church of St-Innocents each Friday at 8:00 A.M. Service including vigils and 3 high masses	30 sols per sermon 7 sols 6 deniers for the compan- ion of the preacher 3 livres for each priest
Catherine Bourgeois Widow of Gilles Roses, procuror, Parlement, and Jean Philibert, procurer, Parlement			2 complete services with prayers for husbands, and three high masses with a deacon for Bourgeois	4 écus
Marguerite Brousse Wife of Thomas Rousseau, Master mason		June 4, 1571		8 livres, 6 sols from 50 livres principal
Jean Carrel Royal secretary Son of Cosme Carrel		On death of mother Cath- erine Dantac, Aug 1609	3 masses and vigils on Feb 3 for mother Burial, ch. St- Sepulchre	40 livres from 400 livres principal

Cosme Carrel <i>Bourgeois de Paris</i> <i>Quartenier</i>	July 28, 1601	1602	Burial, ch. St Sepulchre	
Guillaume Choart <i>Bourgeois de Paris</i> (Doctor?)	Apr 12, 1592		2 services	60 livres to the 4 mendicant orders (reduced to 25 livres by brother, 1596)
Robert Closeau <i>Marchand bourgeois</i>	July 2, 1576		High mass of the cross every Friday and various prayers (Service reduced to one Friday a month)	2 houses left to convent (reduced by nephew Pierre to 240 écus, 1580)
Jeanne and Jeanne Cossart <i>Honnêtes filles</i> (status uncertain)	Oct 10, 1610		Help in building a new house for the convent Low mass each month on the feasts of Our Lord, saying the "Veni creator spiritus," chants to the Virgin with prayers for peace and the extirpation of heresies	40 livres
Jean Durantel (status uncertain)	May 28, 1591		Preaching every Friday and feast days except Lent by the 4 mendicant orders, A mass	40 sols, each sermon 2 sols 6 deniers for each companion friar

Genevieve de Foucalt Wife of Jean de Bloc (status uncertain)	June 25, 1598			15 livres
Marie Gascart (Gascard) Wife of Thomas Cochart, <i>maître paumier</i> <i>Bourgeois de Paris</i>	Sept 15, 1596		Low mass the first Friday of each month, chants of two services a year on Sept 14 and 16	25 livres
Martin Godefroy (status uncertain)		Before Sept 17, 1609	Burial	
Jeanne Georges Mother-in-law of Jean de Carnay, gold merchant			2 services a year, Aug 28 and All Saints	8 livres
Martin Gervais (status uncertain)	Sept 27, 1588		Service on Nov 10 each year	18 livres
Jacques Gillebert <i>Sieur</i> of Villeron (foundation recognized in 1595 by Françoise Ganeron, widow of Antoine Guerin, <i>marchand laboureur</i>)	May 12, 1579	Nov 30, 1581	Purchase of books for a theology student Stone epitaph mass every Nov 30	5 écus
François Gilles (status uncertain)	Nov 21, 1608		Service on Dec 6	
Robert Guillebert (status uncertain) husband of Jeanne Goquin	Aug 17, 1599	Aug 17, 1599	2 services each year, 29 Aug, and 21 Oct	12 livres
Jean Hebart Master shoemaker		Nov 1563	Burial	
Suzanne de la Jarousse Wet nurse/nanny (<i>nourrice</i>) to the children of the Duke and Duchess of Nevers	Sept 26, 1573		Participation of novices in prayers for the deceased	4 livres, 2 sols, 2 deniers
Jacques Josse Student, Master of arts	June 15, 1573		Burial	5 livres

Pierre Lambert Fish merchant, and wife, Marguerite Massolier	Nov 24, 1601			19 livres 10 sols
Rachel Le Conte Wife of Jean Arnoult (see Arnoult)		After April 22, 1570	Burial, ch. St-Pierre	
Thomas Le Conte Master wood turner, and wife Geault Thiénette	Sept 2, 1590	1598 Feb, 1601	Burial in nave, 4th pillar on the right Low mass every Friday Service in perpetuity for her and husband	25 livres 100 livres one time, for funeral expenses and to pay debt of husband
Jean Le Gros <i>Bourgeois de Paris</i> , Confriar of St-Sepulchre	June 9, 1557	Oct 1562	Burial ch. Jérusalem High mass with acolites, 12 youth from the community, celebrated in the chapel every Sunday at 8:00 A.M.	20 livres
Jacques le Peuple Chancellor	Dec 8, 1588			4 écus 2 tiers
Magdaleine le Prestre (status uncertain)	Nov 22, 1597		Service the day after the Magdalen	25 livres
Mons. Loisillon (status uncertain)	Jan 21, 1609		Service on Jan 3	10 livres
Anthoine Marchand Master roofer	July 29, 1598		Low mass each month and 2 services	25 livres
Genevieve Mojac (Mosac) (status uncertain)	Sept 5, 1596		2 services, one for own soul and one on eve of Saint Lawrence for those sick from contagion	30 livres

Arnoul Mullot Master pastry maker	Sept 11, 1586 Mar 4, 1588?		Mass, and epitaph	4 écus, 10 sols 12 livres 10 sols
Benigne Pastey <i>Bourgeois de Paris</i> , husband of Charlotte Turquan (see Turquan)	Jan 25, 1602 Nov 17, 1604		Low mass in ch. Crucifix Ch. St-Claude Low mass each Friday	30 livres in perpetuity 36 livres for 100 years
Catherine Pichonnat Widow of Jean Dolu, <i>Bourgeois de Paris</i>	Nov 14, 1572		Mass on day of her death in front of the main altar with psalm <i>libera</i> and prayers	50 livres
Mons. Ridier (status uncertain)	Nov 25, 1609		Complete service and money for restoring the library	37 livres, 10 sols
Jean Roger Master crier	Oct 25, 1564		Service on the day of his death and prayers	10 sols
Guillaume Sejourne <i>Ecuyer Seigneur</i> of Bray		Nov 2, 1552	Burial	Unknown
André Thevet Cosmographer, confriar		Buried, Nov 23, 1592	Buried in front of pulpit	5 sols for distri- bution for alms
Jean Thibaut Shoemaker for Henry III		n.d.	Burial	
Jacques de Villelume <i>Seigneur</i> of Barmontel and Vassey	June 4, 1603	May 15, 1604	Burial, ch. St-Nicolas Low mass on 15th of each month, service for his soul	15 livres

<i>Ecclesiastics</i>				
Jacques Berson Franciscan Royal preacher	Feb 9, 1589		Burial Service on Nov 19	100 livres
Fiacre Bonnerin Franciscan		Sept 6, 1566	Burial	
François Bouet Franciscan and former guardian		Buried Mar 1, 1600	Burial near main altar	
Christophe Cheffontaine, Franciscan Former Minister-General	Jan 3, 1584		Burial in choir, 3 services a year on July 25, chant in perpetuity	All of goods to convent, with papal permission Inheritors agree to pay 33 livres and one-third
Auguste Champion Capuchin Son of Pierre, <i>bourgeois de Paris</i>	Oct 25, 1580		Repairs to church	11 écus 40 sols
Nicolas Chrestien Parish priest of St-Innocents		Dec 15, 1590	Service Aug 18 each year	10 livres
Jean Dai Lay brother, Franciscan		Sept 1573	Burial	
Jacques Dumontier Former guardian of Paris convent, Theologian		Jan 1556	Burial in choir in front of main altar	
Simon Fontaine Franciscan Theologian, Lecturer in Paris convent, Historian		Sept 1557	Burial in the chapter house	
Claude Gallesius Franciscan Preacher	May 20, 1602	Oct 1634	Service on June 6, the feast of St. Claude Mass	6 écus 5 sols

Nicolas Gaultier Regent doctor (Not a friar)	Nov 19, 1571		3 high masses, vigils, and procession	20 livres 6 deniers to attending doctors, 3 to priests, 2 to other friars
Pierre de Halgoet Franciscan		1560	Burial	
Jacques Hugonis Franciscan Theologian, royal preacher	Dec 13, 1574 (will not notarized until after death)	Nov 29, 1574	Burial in choir High mass with deacon and involving all the doctors and bachelors Obit Silver chappelle 2 basins ordered from silversmith Richard Trem	60 livres
François le Roy Friar	July 5, 1599		Gift to pursue studies and for a voyage to Rome	13 livres and one- third (reduced to 9 livres)
Samuel Menoust Franciscan Provincial minister of Tourenne and Guardian of Paris friary		1577	Burial near master altar	
Germain Milcent Lay friar, convent of Beauvais		1577, at Beauvais	Burial	

Jacques de la Mothe Abbot of Saint-Prys First <i>valet du chambre</i> of Charles IX	Mar 30, 1579		Annual service for Charles IX on the Sunday before Pentacost Vigils on the Sunday, Mass on the Monday, 2 assisting religious	2 livres 10 sols 25 sols for each partic- ipating religious
Pierre Loudon Prior of Issy and St-Aubin- pais-de-Maine (perhaps another son? Foundation under his name)		n.d.	2 obits on Nov. 4 and 14 for dame Marie Loudon and her eldest son for their kindness	10 livres from La Mothe for Loudon
Saint-Croix-de-la-Bretonnerie	Feb 1601		2 services, Mar and Dec	18 livres 15 sols
Canon of Saint-Bris			Vigils, perpetual mass for soul	50 asses

Notes

1. All foundations were “perpetual” (ongoing) unless otherwise indicated by the donor. Needless to say, the masses continued only so long as families paid the convent the amount required annually of the bequest.

2. Contracts of donations and foundations have not survived for all of those patrons buried in the friary between 1550 and 1611. Since husbands, wives, and other family members were just as likely to make individual as family foundations, I decided to include the names of everyone buried here as individual patrons where no contract exists to indicate a familial bequest. I nevertheless indicate spousal relations. The primary sources used for compiling this list include AN LL (1517, 1518, 1520, 1523), AN Minutier central Etudes (XI/432, XXI/55, XXIX/8, XXIX/15, LXXX/7, XXXVI/116), Archives départementales de la Seine D-Q (10), and BNF 14477. Also useful is Emile Raunié, *Épitaphier de vieux Paris, recueil général des inscriptions funéraires des églises, couvents, collèges, hospices ...*, 4 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1893–1914).

NOTES

Introduction

1. Pierre de l'Estoile, *Journal de l'Estoile pour la règne de Henri IV*, 3 vols. (Paris: Gallimard, 1948) 1: 20. "C'était la jurisprudence des moines et prêcheurs de ce temps auxquels les parricides et les assassinats plus execrables étaient censés des miracles et des oeuvres de Dieu." The date of the entry is August 2, 1589.

2. "Avis fust donné, ledit jours, au duc de Maienne, de deux cents Cordeliers arrivés à Paris, se fournissans d'armes et s'entendons avec les Seize, lesquels, dans les Cordeliers de Paris, tenoient tous les jours conseil, au veu et sceu du duc de Maienne en de tout le monde." Pierre de l'Estoile, *Memoires-Journaux de Pierre de l'Estoile*, ed. M.M.E. Bounet, A. Champollion, E. Halphen, et al. 7 vols. (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1876–83), 6:55.

3. See among others, James B. Collins, *Classes, Estates, and Order in Early Modern Brittany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), and William Beik, *Absolutism and Society in Seventeenth-Century France: State Power and Provincial Aristocracy in Languedoc* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

4. I am aware of recent discussion on identity that substantially complicates our usage of the term. Here I am using it specifically with regard to tracing the Franciscan character of the preachers who belonged to the Observant tradition during the Wars of Religion. Like other members of society, these friars had multiple allegiances, including those informed by family, status, and gender, among others. I am willing to stake a claim, even so, that the socialization and intellectual formation they received as members of the Franciscan tradition is critical for understanding the political behavior of our friars. Important recent works on identity in early modern France include Barbara Diefendorf and Carla Hess, eds., *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800): Essays in Honor of Natalie Zemon Davis* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), and Michael Wolfe, ed., *Changing Identities in Early Modern Europe* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997).

Chapter 1

1. These processions are discussed in several memoirs from the period including volume 6 of Pierre de L'Estoile, *Journal du règne d'Henri III*, 7 vols. (Geneva: Droz, 2003) and *Journal de François bourgeois de Paris 23 décembre 1588–30 avril 1589*, ed. Salnier (Paris: E. Leroux, 1913). The latter account gives a particularly detailed description of a procession from the monastery of Saint-Geneviève-du-Mont to the Benedictine monastery of Saint-Martin-des-Champs in February 1589.

2. Denis Richet, "Politique et religion: les processions à Paris en 1589," in *La France*

d'Ancien Régime. *Etudes réunies en l'honneur de Pierre Goubert*, 2 vols. (Toulouse: Privat, 1984) 2:623–32.

3. The response of the Faculty is discussed in chapter 5.

4. Jacques-Auguste de Thou, *Histoire Universelle*, 16 vols. (London: 1734) 10: 527.

5. In Toulouse, the portrait of the king hanging in the town hall was taken down and dragged through the city streets while pictures of the dead Guise brothers were placed in the cathedral. Mark Greengrass, "The *Sainte Union* in the Provinces: The Case of Toulouse," in *Sixteenth Century Journal* 14 (1983): 486–87. In Paris, the journal of François Bourgeois mentions the burning of a tableau depicting Henry III and his favorites that hung in front of the convent of the Augustinian friars. Apparently, though, the religious quickly replaced it with another (*Journal*, 63).

6. The work on state formation is vast. A representative sampling includes William Beik, *Absolutism and Society in Seventeenth-Century France: State Power and Provincial Aristocracy in Languedoc* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), James B. Collins, *Classes, Estates, and Order in Early Modern Brittany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), and Daniel Hickey, *The Coming of French Absolutism: The Struggle for Tax Reform in the Province of Dauphiné, 1540–1640* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1986).

7. See for example, Steven E. Ozment, *The Reformation in the Cities: The Appeal of Protestantism to Sixteenth-Century Germany and Switzerland* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1975), and Patrick O'Brien, ed., *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe: Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam, and London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

8. According to James Farr, the textile industry in Dijon radically declined during the Wars of Religion because of the conflicts, though the city did develop into a dynamic commercial center after this time: *Hands of Honor: Artisans and Their Own World in Dijon, 1550–1650* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1988), 5. See also Richard Gascon, *Grand commerce et vie urbaine au XVI^e siècle: Lyon et ses marchands (vers 1520–vers 1580)* (Paris: S.E.P.V.E.N., 1971). Brittany was another region that suffered economically by the 1590s because of intensive fighting. Jean Tanguy, *Le commerce du port de Nantes au milieu du XVI^e siècle: avant-propos de Henri Fréville* (Paris: A. Colin, 1956).

9. See among others, William Beik, *Urban Protest in Seventeenth-Century France: The Culture of Retribution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) and Natalie Zemon Davis, "Strikes and Salvation in Lyon," in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), 1–16.

10. Mack P. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562–1629* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 112. For Romans, see Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *La Carnaval de Romans: de la Chandeleur au mercredi des Cendres, 1579–1580* (Paris: Gallimard, 1979).

11. David Bell, "Unmasking a King: Popular Literature Under the French Catholic League, 1588–1589," in *Sixteenth Century Journal* 20 (1989), 371–86, Denis Pallier, *Recherches sur l'imprimerie à Paris pendant la Ligue (1585–1594)* (Geneva: Droz, 1975), and Frederick Baumgartner, *Radical Reactionaries: The Political Thought of the French Catholic League* (Geneva: Droz, 1975).

12. See in particular Arlette Jouanna, *Le Devoir de révolte* (Paris: Fayard, 1989),

Sharon Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), and most recently, Stuart Carroll, *Noble Power during the Wars of Religion: Guise Affinity and the Catholic Cause in Normandy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

13. Christophe de Cheffontaine, *Chrestienne Confutation du poinct d'honneur sur lequel la Noblesse fonde aujourd'huy ses querelles & monarchies* (Paris: P. L'Huillier, 1579), b iii–iv. “Car ils se sont laissez persuader que ce leur seroit deshonneur endurer un dementi, sans avoir tiré la dague, ou mis la main aux armes, pour tuer celuy qui les auroit a tant inuriez.”

14. Denis Crouzet, *Les Guerriers de Dieu*, 2 vols. (Paris: Champ Vallon, 1990), Denis Richet, “Politiques et religion,” and Barbara Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

15. Robert M. Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion in France 1555–1563* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1956), 2. See also Glenn S. Sunshine, *Reforming French: The Development of Huguenot Ecclesiastical Institutions, 1557–1572*, Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies Series, vol. 66 (Kirkville: Truman State University Press, 2003), and Bernard Roussel, “Pierre Viret en France (septembre 1561–aout 1565),” in *Bulletin de la Société d'histoire du Protestantisme François* 144 (1998): 803–39. For a study of the establishment of the Calvinist church in one city, see among others Timothy Watson, “Preaching, Printing, Psalm-singing: The Making and Unmaking of the Reformed Church in Lyon, 1550–1572,” in Raymond Mentzer and Andrew Spicer, eds., *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World 1559–1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 10–28. Other critical works on Protestantism in France include Phillip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002) and Jannine Garrison, *Les Protestants du Midi 1559–1598* (Toulouse: Privat, 1980).

16. Barbara B. Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 120–21.

17. For a discussion of Concord prior to the sixteenth century, see among others, Colette Beaune, *Naissance de la nation France* (Paris: Gallimard, 1985). Much of the recent work on the Edict of Nantes has focused on sixteenth-century discussions of Concord in the wake of religious division. The collection of articles comprising *Paix des Armes, Paix des Âmes* (Pau: Imprimerie Nationale, 2000) is particularly interesting in this regard. See among others, Jean-Claude Margolin, “L'idée de tolérance et ses limites d'après Sébastien Castellion,” and Mark Greengrass, “Amnistie et Oubliance: un discours politique autour des édits de pacification pendant les guerres de religion,” pp. 29–48 and 113–23 respectively.

18. Beaune, *Naissance de la nation France*, 208–16.

19. Phillip Benedict, “Une roi, une loi, deux fois: Parameters for the History of Catholic-Reformed Coexistence in France, 1555–1685,” in *The Faith and Fortune of France's Huguenots, 1600–1685* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 285.

20. Arthur Herman shows that, especially by the end of the sixteenth century, Protestants emphasized their loyalty to the Crown, even as they defended their right to follow a different religion: “The Saumur Assembly 1611: Huguenot Political Belief and Action in the Age of Marie de Medici” (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins, 1984).

21. Mss Fr 15494, f. 21v. "Premierement est une choze convenable au devoer et office d'un roy d'aymer et procurer non seulement la prosperite exterieure de ses subjez mais principalement le salut de leurs ames et la pes (sic-paix) de leurs consciences, or la conscience et de telle nature qu'elle ne peut estre forcer mes (sic) doebt estre enseigner et n'et point domter par violance mes persuader par bonnes et suffizantes rezons. . ."

22. Ibid., f. 23v. "Car le nombre de ceulx de la nouvelle religion est si grant a present et si amplement espandu par tout le royaume, et compoze de si grand et notables personnaiges qu'ils estoient non seulement malayze mes aussi impossible d'arracher une choze que a tant et de si profondes racines. . ."

23. As Phillip Benedict shows, Protestants first began demanding "liberty of conscience"—freedom from political oppression—between 1559 and 1561 and thus at the time of the Estates-General of 1561. This meaning was a far cry, however, from Luther's understanding of the phrase. For Luther, liberty of conscience meant "the conscience's liberation through faith from the fear and doubt that were its fate for those still mired in the errors of Catholicism." Benedict, "Une roi," 283.

24. Mss Fr 15494, f. 51–51v. "Affin que chacun puiſee conoetre et voer ce qu'ilz font, et pour s'asseurer que la ne soet entreprins contre l'onneur de dieu et votre Ma-te ne contre le repos public . . ."

25. BNF Mss. Fr. 16250, Art. 4, ff. 12–13. "Nous estimons nostre commune sante consister en un point principal c'est en une Reformation et pour ce que la malladie des membres particulliers cause telle alteration communement aux autres que tout le corps enfin tomber en decadence et finale perdition, semble estre tres necessaire adviser sincerement la conservation des trois colonne principales de vostre Republicque en leur purete et splendeur que nous entendons estre Religion, Justice et obeissance, desquelles la derniere comme ancelle des autres ne se deresglera de son office, sy les deux premiers sont droictement reformees."

26. Crouzet, *Les Guerriers de Dieu*, 1, 236–57.

27. As the title of his book suggests, Mack Holt is among those who sees the wars continuing until well into the next century. Mack Holt, *The French Wars of Religion 1562–1629*.

28. Mark Greengrass, *France in the Age of Henry IV: The Struggle for Stability* (New York: Longman, 1984), 5.

29. Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross*, 96–99. There are several other interpretations of the massacre, including Jeanine Garisson-Estèbe, *Toscin pour un massacre. La saison de Saint Barthélemy* (Paris: Editions de Centurion, 1968) and Philippe Erlanger, *Le Massacre de Saint Barthélémy, le 24 août 1572* (Paris: Gallimard, 1960).

30. Robert M. Kingdon, *The Myths about the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacres, 1572–1576* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988).

31. Olivier Poncet's study of Pomponne de Bellièvre provides fascinating insight into the difficulties facing Henry III. *Pomponne de Bellièvre (1529–1607): Un homme d'état au temps des guerres de Religion* (Paris: Écoles des Chartres, 1998). See in particular, 86–106.

32. David Bell, "Unmasking a King: Popular Literature Under the French Catholic League, 1588–1589," in *Sixteenth Century Journal* 20 (1989): 371–86.

33. See in particular, Eli Barnavi, *Le parti Dieu. Etude sociale et politique des chefs de la Ligue parisienne, 1585–1594* (Louvain: Nauwelaerts, 1980).

34. Robert J. Knecht's body of work on Francis I is extensive. See in particular *Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), and *Francis I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

35. Knecht, *Francis I*, 223–25, 323.

36. Imbart de la Tour, *Les Origines de la Réforme*, 4 vols. (Melun: Librairie d'Argences, 1946) 2: 489.

37. Frederick Baumgartner estimates that as many as 65 percent of the sees did not have bishops present on a regular basis by 1559, a dramatic indication that most bishops did not see spiritual reform as their first priority. Frederick J. Baumgartner, *Change and Continuity in the French Episcopacy and Reform* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1985), 108–9. However, as Venard points out this does not mean that dioceses were completely ignored. Though the situation varied from diocese to diocese, in some the archdeacons did visit churches regularly. “L'Épiscopat Catholique à l'Époque du Concile de Trente: Les réalités,” *Le Catholicisme à l'Épreuve dans la France du XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Cerf, 2000), 135–59. See in particular 149–50.

38. BNF Mss. Fr. 16250, ff. 14–15. “Nous supplions . . . que en l'estat ecclesiastique soient (sic) commis evesques et autres ministres connoissans la vollonte de Dieu, et qu'ils nous administrent les Sacremens en sa parole par bonne doctrine, sanctimonie, discipline, et exemplarite. . . . Et que pour cela ce qui a este ordonne aux plaintes et remonstrances des etats a orleans soubz le Roy vostre predecesseur et frere sur les eslection vaccance advenant institutions, residence, visitations, submissions, peines, amendes, injonctions, unions des benefices . . .” These reforms were first discussed, as they point out, at the Estates-General of 1561.

39. Marc Venard, ““L'Épiscopat Catholique à l'Époque du Concile de Trente: Les réalités,” *Le Catholicisme à l'Épreuve dans la France du XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Cerf, 2000), 154. For Bourbon, see Baumgartner, *Change and Continuity*. For Joyeuse, see Arlette Jouanna, *France du XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1996): 576.

40. *Collection des Procès-Verbaux des Assemblées-Générales du Clergé de France depuis l'année 1560, jusqu'à présent*, 9 vols. (Paris, 1767). For Poissy, see in particular 1: 15–21. For the Assembly of Melun, see 1:108–230.

41. *Collection des Procès-Verbaux*, 1: 88. At the Assembly of the Clergy at Blois in 1576, for example, the clergy argued that there was no better means of reforming the clerical morals and ecclesiastical discipline than to draw upon the tridentine decrees: “On proposa celui de la réformation de la vie & des moeurs & de la discipline Ecclésiastique; & comme on ne pouvoit mieux procéder à cette réformation qu'en la tirant du Concile de Trent. . . .”

42. Wieste de Boer, *Confession, Discipline, and Public Order in Counter-Reformation Milan* (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

43. Baumgartner, *Change and Continuity*, 105.

44. See Joseph Bergin, *The Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld: Leadership and Reform in the French Church* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), and Thomas Worcester, *Seventeenth-Century Cultural Discourse: France and the Preaching of Bishop Camus* (Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1997).

45. Discussed at great length in chapter 3.

46. Jonathon Powis, “Gallican Liberties and the Politics of Later Sixteenth-Century France,” in *The Historical Journal* 26 (1983): 515–30.

47. Alain Tallon, *La France et le Concile de Trente 1518–1563* (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1997), 57–81.

48. For the papal legates, see Bernard Barbiche and Ségolène de Dainville-Barbiche, “Les Légats *a latere* en France et leurs facultés aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles,” in *Archivum pontificae* 23 (1985): 93–165.

49. The multidimensional nature of early modern religious reform has received enormous attention as of late. See among others, see Marc Venard, “Réforme, Réformation, Préréforme, Contre-Réforme . . . Étude de vocabulaire chez les historiens récents de langue française,” in P. Joutard, *Historiographie de la Réforme* (Paris: Delachaux Niestlé, 1977), 352–65, and Thomas Izbicki and Christopher M. Bellitto, eds., *Reform and Renewal in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Studies in Honor of Louis Pascoe* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2000).

50. Victor Martin, *Le Gallicanisme et le réforme Catholique* (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1919). A more recent and innovative discussion of late-sixteenth century Gallicanism is that of Jotham Parsons, *The Church in the Republic: Gallicanism and Political Ideology in Renaissance France* (Washington, DC: Catholic University Press of America, 2004).

51. William Monter, *Judging the French Reformation: Heresy Trials by Sixteenth-Century Parlements* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), and James Farge, *Le parti conservateur aux XVI^e siècle: Université et Parlement de Paris à l' époque de la Renaissance et de la Réforme* (Paris: Diffusion des belles lettres, 1992). Other important works on the sixteenth-century Parlement include Nancy Roelker, *One King One Faith: The Parlement of Paris and the Religious Reformations of the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), and Sarah Hanley, *The lit de justice of the Kings of France: Constitutional Ideology in Legend, Ritual, and Discourse* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983).

52. Monter, *Judging the French Reformation*, 22.

53. Roelker, *One King One Faith*, 214–20. Roelker points out that Protestantism infiltrated judicial ranks in the provinces, particularly in the south. She attributes the end of the court, however, to magisterial antagonism in the Parlement to the new court.

54. Megan Armstrong, “Spiritual Reform, Mendicant Autonomy, and State Formation: French Franciscan Disputes before the Parlement of Paris, 1500–1600,” *French Historical Studies* 25 (Summer 2002): 505–30.

55. Victor Martin, *Gallicanisme*, 148.

56. See for example, the Estates-General of 1576, Mss Fr 16250, f. 13v–14v. Along with episcopal reform as discussed earlier, the delegates pressed the king to clamp down on blasphemy and other forms of spiritual deformity.

57. Jean Gaudemet, *Eglise et cité: histoire du droit canonique* (Paris: Cerf/Montchrestien, 1994), 496. The fourteenth-century Customary of Beauvaisis also supported royal support of the Church in such cases, and the legal cases of the Franciscans before the Parlement of Paris during the sixteenth century show that this perception of the role of the government was still active. One example of this is the court's continuing support for the tracking down of runaway (apostate) religious. For the Customary of Beauvaisis, see *The Coutumes de Beauvaisis of Philippe de Beaumanoir* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), 127.

58. See in particular Jacques Krynen, *L'Empire du Roi: idées et croyances politiques en France XIII–Xve siècle* (Paris: Gallimard, 1993), Marc Bloch, *Les Rois thaumaturges: étude sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale particulièrement en France et en Angleterre*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Gallimard, 1983), Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), Lawrence M. Bryant, *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1986), and most recently, Alain Tallon, *Conscience nationale et sentiment religieux en France au XVIe siècle* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2002).

59. Monter, *Judging the French Reformation*, 10.

60. X1a 1586 (October 4, 1557). The court “este adverty des Rebellions, contradictions, irreverence & insolence advenues au couvent des freres precheurs dictes les Jacobins faictes daucunes des Religieux dudit couvent Chose indecent et malsonnante entre gens de Religion memes a present et en ce temps de troublez, tumultes et seditions” A later entry in the registers of the court provides the names of these troublesome brothers: Julian Fresneau, Honoré Lentille, and Pierre Josset. X1a 1586 (November 12, 1557).

61. Edouard Maugis, *Histoire du Parlement de Paris*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1916; reprint, New York: Burt Franklin, 1967) 2: 1.

62. Quotation taken from Powis, “Gallican Liberties,” 524.

63. Philip Benedict, *Rouen During the Wars of Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 203.

64. There are innumerable works on this subject, including Guy Bedouelle and Bernard Roussel, *Le Temps des Réformes et la Bible* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1989), and Brad S. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999).

65. Along with Crouzet, *Les Guerriers de Dieu*, see Christopher Elwood, *The Body Broken: the Calvinist Doctrine of the Eucharist and the Symbolization of Power in Sixteenth-Century France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), Ann W. Ramsay, *Liturgy, Politics and Salvation: The Catholic League in Paris and the Nature of Catholic Reform 1540–1630* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1999), Keith Luria “Separated by Death? Burials, Cemeteries, and Confessional Boundaries in Seventeenth-Century France,” *French Historical Studies* 24 (Spring 2001): 185–223. Benedict also discusses Protestant mockery of Catholic practices in Rouen. See in particular, *Rouen During the Wars of Religion*, 60–61.

66. Recent works include Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), Mack P. Holt, “Wine, Community, and Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Burgundy,” in *Past and Present* 138 (1993): 58–93, and Sarah Beckwith, *Signifying God: Social Relation and Symbolic Act in the York Corpus Christi Plays* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2001).

67. See among others, André Vauchez, *Saints, prophètes et visionnaires. Le pouvoir surnaturel au Moyen Age* (Paris: Bibliothèque Albin Michel, 1999).

68. “Estant pres la porte Saint Anthoine ils luy couperont l’oreille droicte, de là revenait pres la porte de la Barre luy couperent l’oreille senestre. Descendus à la place i nommee la cour de Prevoste, ils luy couperont le nez, puis venant pres la porte de

Bourgneuf tout au devant du Couvent, ils luy couperont le bout les doigts.” Jacques Fodéré, *Narration Historique et Topographique des convents de l'ordre S. François et monasteres S. Claires erigex en la Province de Bourgogne* (Lyon: Pierre Pigau, 1619), 427–28.

69. The literature on the medieval quest for purity is enormous. For a recent overview of this literature, see Glenn W. Olsen “The Middle Ages in the History of Toleration,” in *Historically Speaking* 5 (Nov. 2003): 24–25. Selective examples include R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950–1250* (New York: B. Blackwell, 1987), Edward Peters, *The Inquisition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), and Dominic Iogna-Prat, *Ordonner et exclure: Cluny et la société chrétienne face à l'hérésie, au judaïsme et à l'islam, 1000–1150* (Paris: Aubier, 1998). A necessary early modern comparison is with Gregory, *Salvation at Stake*.

70. James Farge, *Le parti conservateur au XVIe siècle: Université et Parlement de Paris à l'époque de la Renaissance et de la Réforme* (Paris: Diffusion les belles lettres, 1992), 67.

71. Larissa Taylor, “Dangerous Vocations: Preaching in France in the Late Middle Ages and Reformations,” in *Preachers and the People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period*, ed. Larissa Taylor (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 102–3. Michel Veissière, “Croyances et pratique religieuse à Meaux aux temps de Guillaume Briçonnet (1525),” in *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* 67 (1981): 55–59.

72. Francesco-Scipio Gonzaga, *De origine seraphicae religionis franciscanae* (Rome: D. Basae, 1587): 2, 725, Lucas Wadding, *Annales Minorum ab origine ordinis ad annum 1540 . . .*, 28 vols. (Rome, 1731–94; reprint, Quaracchi, 1931–47), 21, 242–43, and Édouard Alençon, “Flavin,” in *Dictionnaire Theologique Catholique* 6 (1920): 20.

73. The men “crioient à gorge desployée contre les magistrats, jusques à n'épargner le Roy ni son conseil, incitent le peuple à toute desobeissance.” Theodore de Beza, *Histoire ecclésiastique des églises réformées au royaume de France*, 3 vols. (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1883–89), I: 904–5. This text until recently was ascribed to Theodore de Beza, the great Genevan reformer. Now, however, there is some debate as to its authorship. Sunshine mentions this in *Reforming French*, 1.

74. de Beza, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, I: 83.

75. Ibid., I: 146–47. The *Histoire* revels in the discovery of their personal letters, full of “immodesty and fornication.” The “cordelières” were a female branch of the Conventual Franciscans.

76. Ibid., II: 470–71.

77. Auguste Molinier, *Obituaire de la province de Sens*, 4 vols. (Paris: 1902–1906), 3: 298.

78. Ibid., vol. 3. For Rollot, see 303, for Pasquinot, see 318–20. Hugonis's preaching in Rouen caused a riot, according to Phillip Benedict, *Rouen During the Wars of Religion*, 61.

79. Gonzaga, *De origine*, 551–74.

80. de Beza, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, I: 904–5.

81. Othon de Pavie, *L'Aquitaine séraphique. Notes historique sur l'ordre des frères mineurs et en particulier sur la province séraphique d'Aquitaine*, 3 vols. (Auch: 1900) 1: 247, 281–83.

82. de Pavie, *L'Aquitaine séraphique*, 276. Gonzaga also mentions several friars killed in Normandy including two members of the convent of Evreux and all members of the

community (roughly twelve members) of Sainte-Marie-Magdalène in the city of Falezia: *De origine*, 565, 569.

83. Anne d'Este, Madame de Nemours, was the wife of Francois, the second duke of Guise (d. 1563), and the mother of Henri (d. 1588) and Charles (d. 1588). For this episode, see Pierre de L'Estoile, *Journal de l'Estoile pour la règne de Henri IV*, 2 vols. (Paris: Gallimard, 1958), I: 19.

84. Panigarola and Pierre Christins, *Malheurs et inconveniens qui adviendront aux Catholiques faisant paix avec l'hérétique* (Paris, 1590).

85. Antoine Sérent, *Les Frères mineurs en face de Protestantisme* (Paris: Société et librairie St-François d'Assise, 1930), 85.

86. Today these can be found in the Musée Carnavalet in Paris.

87. *Articles accordez et iurez entre les confreres de la confrairie du S. nom de Jesus & ordonnee en l'Eglise messieurs Saint Germain & S. Prothais de la ville de Paris et autres Eglises de ladite ville* (Paris: Guillaume Bidion, 1590). Robert Harding also discusses the Nom de Jesus in Orléans among other confraternities in "The Mobilization of Confraternities Against the Reformation," in *Sixteenth Century Studies* (1980): 85–108. For the confraternities in Lyon, see Philip Hoffman, *Church and Community in the Diocese of Lyon, 1500–1715* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), 37–39. Henri Drouot similarly notes the close association between the Dominicans and Franciscans and League-associated confraternities. He mentions in particular the close association between the Dominicans and the confraternity of the Rosary: *Mayenne et la Bourgogne. Étude sur la Ligue (1587–1596)*, 2 vols. (Dijon: Privat, 1937), 2: 132–33.

88. Archives de la Prefecture de la Police, Paris, *Régistres du Greffier de la Conciergerie*, II, f. 130v and 139 respectively.

89. Claire Dolan, *Entre Tours et Clochers: les Gens d'église à Aix-en-Provence au XVI siècle* (Sherbrooke, Quebec: Centre d'études de la Renaissance, 1981), 86.

90. Discussed in chapter 5.

91. The arsenal is mentioned in "Arrêts de la cour de Parlement contre les assemblées illicites et amas d'armes en ceste ville de Paris," in Denis Pallier, *Recherches sur l'imprimerie à Paris pendant la Ligue* (Geneva: Droz, 1975), no. 867. L'Estoile also mentions that arms were collected both at the Cordelier friary and at the parish church of Saint-Côme: *Mémoires-Journaux de Pierre de L'Estoile*, 7 vols. (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1876–1883), 6: 170.

92. Jacques-Auguste de Thou, *Histoire universelle de Jacques-Auguste de Thou (1543–1607)*, 16 vols. (London: 1734), 1: 144.

93. Laure Beaumont-Maillet, *Le Grand Couvent des Cordeliers de Paris: études historiques et archéologiques du XIIIe siècle à nos jours* (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1975). The *studium* is discussed in chapter 5.

94. As many as eleven of twenty-four members of the community of Bayeux received their training at the Paris *studium*, and one of them was François Feuardent: Gonzaga, *De origine*, 563–64.

95. Robert Harding also finds a close connection between the Faculty of Theology and the preachers who arrived in the cities of Nantes, Angers, and Rennes during the League period, many of whom were mendicant clergy: "Revolution and Reform in the Holy League: Angers, Rennes, Nantes," *The Journal of Modern History* 53 (1981): 399.

96. This is discussed in chapter 5. A few examples include François Feuardent, who

was guardian of the prestigious Paris friary; Jean Porthaise, a former provincial minister of Touraine-Poitou; and Francesco Panigarola was no less than the bishop of Asti in Italy.

97. This was a matter of Franciscan legislation, and not necessarily personal choice. In addition to chapter general legislation, see also Celestino di Piana, "Gli Statuti per la riforma dello Studio di Parigi (a. 1502)," in *Archivum Franciscanum historicum* 52 (1959), ch. 30, no. 6, 102.

98. Harding, "Mobilization of the Confraternities," 102.

99. Symphorien Guyon, *Histoire de l'église et diocese ville et universite dorleans* (Orléans, 1650), 443–44. "Assembler en quelque lieu que lesdits Superieurs adviseroient estre bon, soit de iour, soit de nuict, & avec armes, pour executer promptement leurs commandmens, sans epargner ni leurs moyens, ni leurs vies, & sans pardonner à qui que ce fust, Peres, Meres, Freres, Soeurs, Parens, amis, & alliez, ou autres de quelque qualité, ou condition qu'ils fussent, qui s'opposeroient à la cause de Dieu, & à la conservation & avancement de la Religion Catholique."

100. Harding, "Revolution and Reform," 397–400.

101. Charles Labitte, *De la Démocratie chez les prédicateurs de la Ligue* (Paris: Durand Libraire, 1866), 185.

102. Preaching was enormously important throughout the late medieval and early modern period. See in particular Larissa Taylor, *Soldiers of Christ: Preaching in Late Medieval and Reformation France* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), Hervé Martin, *le Métier du prédicateur à la fin du moyen âge 1350–1520* ((Paris: Cerf, 1988), and most recently, Anne T. Thayer, *Penitence, Preaching and the Coming of the Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2002).

103. Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross*, 91.

104. AN LL 1511, LL 1515. The inner council minutes of the Paris friary routinely record members leaving at this time of the year. Harding also associates Lenten preaching with League riots. "Revolution and Reform," 399. See also Henri Drouot, *Mayenne et la Bourgogne. Étude sur la Ligue (1587–1596)*, 2 vols. (Dijon: Bernigaud & Privat, 1937). For the Franciscans, see in particular 1: 149–52, 258–59, 2: 133, 263.

105. AN X2a 9238. "Des paroles scandaleuses y seditieuses . . . contre la puissance y autorité du Roy." The preaching took place on June 21.

106. AN X2a 9238 (June 30, 1593). "Pour contenir pendant ce temps les religieux dud [it] couvent en la ville d'anger en l'observance de leur reigle obediſſance du Roy. . . ." For Vierneau, see X2a 9239 (July 9, 1593). The decree mentions that certain provincial ministers and other Franciscan superiors were members of the league and "demourans en ledict rebelles." It orders Vierneau to remove members from the community of Angers who threatened public order and replace them with those who did not: "Envoyer des religieux aud couvent dangers y en retirer ceux qui bon leur sembler outre que ce la est prejudiciale au public y contraire aux leditz ordonnances y arrests de ladict court." This was part of a larger reformation of the Franciscan province of Touraine, according to the entry in the register.

107. Translations taken from Mark Konnert, *Civil Agendas and Religious Passion: Châlons-sur-Marne during the French Wars of Religion, 1560–1594* (Kirkville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1997), 159. Konnert found these entries in Georges Hérelle, ed., *Mémoire des choses plus notables advenues en la province de champagne 1585–98* (Trav. Acad. Reims, 68(1879), 204–9.

108. For Trahy, see Edouard Alençon, *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 3 (1903): 732. His preaching is also mentioned by Drouot, *Mayenne et la Bourgogne*, 1: 250, 258; 2: 305, n2.

109. Garin was a fixture in the parish church of Saint-Jacques-de-la-Bouchérie from 1592 to 1594, while Feuardent spent time in the pulpits of Saint-Jean and Saint-Merri among others: L'Estoile, *Journal pour la règne de Henri IV*, 1. Like Feuardent his attacks on Navarre only grew more virulent. Garin's preaching is discussed in chapter 6.

110. de Thou, *Histoire universelle*, 12, 35.

Chapter 2

1. Lucas Wadding, *Annales Minorum ab origine ordinis ad annum 1540, cum syllabo opera fr. Joannis de Luca, fr. Joannes-Mariae de Ancona et fr. Caietani Michelesii ad annum 1574*, 28 vols. (Rome: 1731–1794; reprint, Quaracchi: Collegia S. Bonaventurae, 1931–47), 21: 314. “Vestram defleo miseriam fratres, ac meum infortunium deploro, quod fratribus et franciscanis religiosis putans me praesidere, canes ac viperas in matrem insurgentes videar sustinere, ac regere.”

2. AN X2b 1175.

3. Robert Toupin, ed., *Correspondance du nonce en France: Giovanni Battista Castelli (1581–1583)*, *Acta nunciaturae gallicae*, vol. 7 (Rome: Ecole de France, and Presses de l'Université Grégorienne, 1967), 173. “Questi frati Cordiglieri sono in tanto fracasso . . . si sono buttate delle pietre l'un l'altro, et hieri il Presidente di quel convento fu minaciato d'essere posto prigioniero da alcuni frati seditiosi.”

4. AN LL 1511 (June 2, 1581), f. 1. For the statutes of 1502, see Celestino di Piana, “Gli Statuti per la riforma dello Studio di Parigi (a. 1502),” in *Archivum Franciscanum historicum* 52 (1959): 51. “Quodam electio Gardiani novi sine R.P. Generali Ministro, et sine illius Commissario, quodam statuto in favorem aliquorum facto, quod alteri papyro inscriptam est, contra quod aliquid ex R.M. Bachalauri et patribus reclamerunt et ad judicium redendam appellarunt.”

5. The visitations of Cheffontaine and Gonzaga were particularly productive. See AN LL 1515, ff. 66r–69r and 97r–99v respectively. Discussed also in Megan Armstrong, “Franciscans in Paris, 1560–1600” (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1998), 319–20.

6. AN LL 1515 (April 15, 1569), f. 36r. “Lecte fuerunt litteras obediencialis quas rev. pater generalis minister misite ad Rev patrem fr. Petrus Morselin, ut valeat visitare conventuum et praesidens electori futuri gardiani. Placuit omnibus et persona et commissio modo electio non fiat per calculorum intrusionem non veniate ante tempus determinatum in huiusmodi litteris.”

7. AN LL 1515 (May 1, 1577), ff. 82r–83. “Scripserat quibus significat illi quod post expiratam dicti Benedicti commissionem liberaret nos ab onere commissariorum.”

8. AN LL 1511 (June 2, 1581), f. 1. The murky nature of the dispute of 1581/82 leaves unanswered a number of theories put forth by other historians. Victor Martin mentions, for example, that Jean Duret was not popular among the friars, but I have no direct evidence that this was an issue: *Le Gallicanisme et la réforme catholique* (Paris: Librairie Alphonse Picard et fils, 1919), 188.

9. AN LL 1511 (July 18, 1581), f. 2. “Quod qui fecerit libellum diffamatorium, et

apposuerit juxta ostium magistri R. gardiani, a nullo possit absolvi Ille fore consciencia sine licentia praesidis aut vicarii. . . .”

10. Gonzaga mentions Berson's behavior in a letter recounting the long dispute dated October 2, 1582. “Une lettera e una Relazione autografe del Ven. Fr. Francesco Gonzaga Min. G. le dei Min. Oss. intorno alla riforma del gran Convento di Parigi, 1582,” ed. F. C. Carreri in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 2 (1909): 669–72. “Il principale de [fratri disobbedienti] era quel Berson che tenendo a vile l'hautorità del Papa (sotto protesto di libertà della chiesa Gallicana)”

11. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, 20: 476.

12. Alain Tallon, *La France et le Concile de Trente 1518–1563* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1997).

13. Ludwig Pastor, *History of the Popes*, 40 vols. (London: Kegan Paul, 1898–1953), 19:555–56.

14. X2b 1175. The five members of the commission included Bernard Brisson, Christophe de Thou, Jacques de la Faye, and two other magistrates named Violle and Boutin. This incident is also discussed by Michel Félibien, *Histoire de la Ville de Paris* 5 (Paris: Guillaume Desprez, 1725): 15.

15. The registers of the Parlement of Paris record at least seven disputes in 1500–1502, 1535, 1543, 1556, 1577, 1579, and 1582, and we know of an eighth dispute from a dossier found in the Vatican archives concerning the friars of Touraine-Poitou in 1574 and the minister general Christophe de Cheffontaine (1571–1579). These legal cases are discussed in greater detail in Megan Armstrong, “Spiritual Reform, Mendicant Autonomy and State Formation: French Franciscan Disputes before the Parlement of Paris, 1500–1600,” in *French Historical Studies* 25 (2002): 505–30.

16. BNF mss. FR 15776, ff. 154–159. “Dans les histoires franciscanes [sic] faictes par Tussignan on lit que la province nommée de france environ l'an mil cinq cens quarante se rebella contre le général de ce temps là nommé Jaques d'Ancone pour une réformation qu'il avoit entreprise et peut estre les autres Provinces se seront retirées pour les mesmes considérations combien que ce n'est pas chose claire. Mais c'est bien la vérité que lesditz religieux sont assubjectis à l'obéissance du général des observantins mais aux choses essentielles de leur profession ilz ont tousjours esté et sont encore conventuelz.” I want to thank Pierre Moracchini for bringing this fascinating document to my attention.

17. According to Beaumont-Maillet, the Paris convent never entirely lost its preference for a conventual religious life, and some members were still agitating to join the conventuals as late as 1626. Beaumont-Maillet, *Le Grand Couvent des Cordeliers de Paris* (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1975), 78–81, 135–36. For the 1596 disputes, see AN LL 1511, f.98.

18. AN X1a 1551 (October 19, 1543). For a discussion of the *appel comme d'abus*, see Charles Fevret, *Traite de l'abus et au vray sujet*, 2nd ed. (Lyon, 1667). For the inner workings of the Parlement of Paris, the work of both Albert Hamscher and Alfred Soman are indispensable: Hamscher, *The Conseil Privé and the Parlements in the Age of Louis XIV: A Study in French Absolutism*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 77 (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1987) and Soman: *Sorcellerie et justice criminelle: Le Parlement de Paris, 16e–18 siècles* (Brookfield, Vt.: Variorum, 1992).

19. Armstrong, "Spiritual Reform, Mendicant Autonomy."

20. AN X1a 1655 (March 1, 1577). Though Benedicti initiated this particular appeal to the Parlement, he initiated the appeal because the friars were challenging both his, and the general's, authority.

21. X1a 1665 (August 5, 1579). Benoist was declared "inhabille de parvenir aux degrez dudit ordre et condamne en une peine de quadruple restitution de grande sommes de deniers de peines pecuniaires sans avoye oy ledict supplians en ses faictes justificatifs. . . ."

22. BNF Ms Colbert 153, f. 175r. "Arrêt de la cour de Parlement contre le Nonce du Pape, pour avoir excommunié les Cordeliers de Paris et iceux absous à la baguette."

23. For the 1543 dispute, see AN X1a 1551 (July 13, 1543). In an arrêt produced a year following the 1556 dispute, the new Minister General Aversa sought permission from the king and Parlement to send out visitors after hearing reports of widespread disorders in the French Franciscan communities. BNF Mss. Colbert Cinq Cens, no. 164, f. 57.

24. Antoine de Sérent, "Le Statut des quatres grands provinces françaises des Cordeliers en 1539," in *Revue Histoire Franciscaine* 7 (1930): 5–32.

25. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, 19, 112.

26. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, 22: 346.

27. ASV Seg. Stato 7, ff. 588–91. "Placeat igitur . . . quod libera sint electiones quod irritum sit, quicquid contra decreta apostolica, & nostra generalia capita, attemptatum est. Postremo quod nullis commissaries opprimamur haec enim sunt, quae petimus donari nobis a vostra beatitudine, ut liberior expectemus quem placuerit mittere apostolicum commissarium qui rerum, de quibus conquerimur vitatem diligentissime comperiat."

28. The various kinds of misbehavior found in the Paris friary are discussed at greater length in Armstrong, "The Franciscans in Paris, 1560–1600," 101–31. For the sake of comparison, see Hervé Martin, *Les ordres mendiants en Bretagne (vers 1230–vers 1530)* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1975), 254–55.

29. Jane Sayers, "Violence in the Medieval Cloister," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 41 (1990): 533–42.

30. AN LL 1515 (May 22 and May 28, 1567), ff. 12v–13v, and AN LL 1511 (October 15, 1568), f. 32.

31. ANLL 1511 (April 22, 1591), f. 65. "Patres Choristae provinciae franciae custodis Campanae et Remensis magno iure expulsi fuerint ex hoc conventum propter horribiles nostris divini blasphemias, percussiones violentas, et laetales scortationes . . . et multa alia scelera ab eisdem tum in conventu cum in civitate commissa."

32. AN X1a 1554 (January 24, 1544), and X1a 1555 (May 7, 1545).

33. The Parlement's perception of itself as a spiritual reformer has been discussed in a number of excellent works in recent years. These include William Monter, *Judging the French Reformation: Heresy Trials by Sixteenth-Century Parlements* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), Alfred Soman, *Sorcellerie et justice criminelle: le Parlement de Paris, 16e–18e siècles* (Hampshire, Great Britain; Brookfield, Vt.: Variorum, 1992), James Farge, *Le parti conservateur au XVI siècle: Université et Parlement de Paris à l'époque de la Renaissance et de la Réforme* (Paris: Diffusion les belles lettres, 1992), and Francis Higman, *Censorship and the Sorbonne: a Bibliographical Study of Books in French*

Censured by the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris, 1520–1551 (Geneva: Droz, 1979).

34. An important, recent study of apostasy is Donald F. Logan, *Runaway Religious in Medieval England, c. 1240–1540* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

35. AN LL 1515 (August 5, 1567), f. 16v, and (January 24, 1575), f. 71v respectively.

36. AN LL 1515 (July 10, 1577), f. 86v. “Fuit cum armis et in habitu secularum et cum muliere impudica in scandalum ordinis.” Following punishment, Pechot was returned to his own community.

37. Heribert Holzapfel, *Manuale historiae ordinum fratrum minorum* (Friburg: Herder, 1909), 433. As many as two hundred friars reportedly abandoned their communities in France between 1560 and 1580, both conventual and observant, and not all left for reasons of conversion. In fact, the destruction of convents likely also played a role, as well as desire for a more secular existence.

38. Doré “avoit estre trouve en mauvais et dissolu estat coucha avec une femme. . . .” For Doré, see AN X2a 120 (October 30, 1556). For Pechot, see LL 1515 (July 10, 1571), f. 51.

39. The 1502 statutes insist that brothers traveling in and around Paris must stay at the Paris community, and only in cases of necessity can they stay at the monasteries of Longchamp and Saint-Marcel. “Mandat Rmus Pater ne quis audeat dormire in villa Parisiensi aut suburbis, si commodè potuerit intrare villam et conventum, nec in Longo Campo aut sancto Marcello nisi in causa necessitatis, et illud manifestaverit praelato cum primum venerit. Et de cetero nullus ad dicta monasteria vadat sine licentia in scriptis obtenta.” Piana, “Gli Statuti,” ch. 30, no 6.

40. AN LL 1515 (May 29, 1568). “Fratre hyspan. ad nos sine litteris obed. venit . . . in habitu non religioso . . . decretum sunt omnis votis, ut ille a legato domino regis catholici testimonium haberet, vel ab aliis viris sue nationis. . . .”

41. AN X1a 1623 (July 12, 1568). “Cherche . . . les religieux et religieuses mesmes sen estoit distraicts et destournez comme lon disoit dud ordre st. francois qui avoient delaisse leurs veuz et habit et fuyroient pour liberte les desnoyez de la saincte foye Catholique et shabillouet dhabit dequises et danvantaige aucuns desd religieulx sestoient retirez retiroient en aulcunes paroisses de ceste ville de Paris et aud. Il en habit de pretres seculliers contre leur estat et profession.”

42. Ibid. “Le Court a permis et permetans suppliant par imploration de layde du bras seculier faire saisir et prandre au corps . . . les religieulx profes dud ordre qui se trouveront ainsy vacquant desbauches et en habit de pbre seculier. . . .”

43. Wadding, *Annales minorum*, 20, 331. “Fratres, qui derelictis suis provinciis abeunt ad alias provincias sine licentia suorum provincialium, arcentur in punitionem suae apostasiae. . . .”

44. Ibid., 165 “Apostatae prima vice puniantur ad normam statutorum Aquilae et Vallisoleti. Secunda vice addatur eis poena comedendi in terra panem cum in perpetuum priventur actibus legitimis, voceque activa et passiva.”

45. AN LL 1511 (June 21, 1582), f. 4. “Fuit reparta mulier in habitu virili qui erat clausa sub clausa in eodem cubiculo et per depositione eiusdem Lavenay (Launay).” The inner council ordered the men to be imprisoned and punished “ad rigores statutorum.”

46. Piana, "Gli statuti," ch. 1, 8. "Duo fratres . . . instituantur ianitores, qui sint fideles, probi et exemplares, graves et morati. . ."

47. AN LL 1511 (October 11, 1594), f. 80. "Auditae sunt depositiones octo fratrum iuvenum (quorum nomina etiam particulariter nostr. Rationibus hic non describantur) unanimiter deponentium quod M. Franciscus Massebeuf vicarius iuvenum eos in cameram dormitori sigillatium variis viribus diu nocta quae evocaverit . . . quosdamque horrendo et innominando scelere partim causas jurcarit, partim adhuc sit."

48. For comparison with the Paris friary, see Martin, *Les ordres mendiants*, 259–65.

49. See for example John Binns, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ: the Monasteries of Palestine*, 314–631 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), and Peter R. Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988).

50. Saint Bonaventure, *Legenda Maior* in *Opera Omnia* 8 (Quaracchi: Collegia S. Bonaventurae, 1882). English translation found in *The Life of Saint Francis*, trans. by E. Salter (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1904), 11.

51. Jean LeClercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, trans. Catharine Misrahi (New York: Fordham University Press, 1961; reprinted, 1982), 18.

52. "Salutatio virtutem," in *Opuscula Sancti Patris Francisci*, ed. L. Lemmens (Quaracchi: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1904): 20–21. "Santa paupertas confundit omnem cupiditatem et avaritiam et curas huius saeculi. Sancta humilitas confundit superbiam et omnes homines huius mundi et omnia, quae in mundo sunt . . . Sancta obedientia confundit omnes corporales et carnales voluntates, et habet mortificatum corpus suum ad obedientiam spiritus . . ."

53. John O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), and A. Lynn Martin, *The Jesuit Mind: The Mentality of an Elite in Early Modern France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988). For example, the Jesuits, like the Franciscans, were missionaries by formation, and incorporated spectacle in their evangelization.

54. P. Gratien, "Les Débuts de la réforme des Cordeliers en France et Guillaume Josseume (1390–1436)," *Etudes Franciscaines* 21 (1914): 415–39. For a comparison with Franciscan communities in Germany, see Paul L. Nyhus, "The Franciscans in South Germany, 1400–1530: Reform and Revolution," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 65 (1975): 5–43.

55. John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968; reprinted, 1998): 62, and Rosalinde Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government: Elias to Bonaventure* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959).

56. Duncan Nimmo, *Reform and Division in the Franciscan Order (1226–1538)* (Rome: Capuchin Historical Institute, 1995): 546–632. The term "movement" is a bit of an overstatement, since there were several "observant" traditions rather than one. Nimmo mentions that, by 1418, there were four recognized factions among the French Franciscan communities: Conventual (unreformed) and three reformed movements, the Colettan, Regular Observance, and Recollectio Villacreciana. See also Malcom D. Lambert, *Franciscan Poverty* (London: S.P.C.K., 1961).

57. Francesco Scipio Gonzaga, *De origine seraphicae religionis franciscanae eiusque progressibus de regularis observantiae institutione forma administrationis ac legibus admirabilique eius propagatione* (Rome, 1587), and Celestino di Piana, "Gli statuti," ch.

2, 1–3. The provinces of Turonne and Bonaventure, for example, could send six students each year, while the more recently formed provinces could only send four.

58. Antoine Sérent, *Les Frères mineurs français en face du Protestantisme*, Extract from *Etudes Franciscaines* (Paris: Société et Librairie St-François d'Assise, 1930): 7–8. As the names suggest, these provinces were mostly splinters from the three great provinces. Flanders was in fact a splinter of a splinter, separating in 1523 from France. Saint-André was new to France, separating from the Spanish territories in 1558.

59. For Francis's mission to Palestine, see Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, 49. See also Christoph Maier's *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) and the much older but still essential works, G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-bibliographica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Francese*, 4 vols. (Quaracchi: Collegia S. Bonaventurae, 1907–1916). For a discussion of Franciscan history in Palestine, see F. de Sesseville, *Histoire Generale de l'Ordre de St François*, 2 vols. (Paris: Editions de la revue d'histoire Franciscaine, 1935).

60. Francesco Suriano, *Treatise on the Holyland*, trans. Theophilus Bellorini and Eugene Hoade (1515; reprint, Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1949), 19.

61. Ibid. Joannes Dubliulus Nervius similarly emphasizes the militant nature of Franciscan missionization work, discussing two determined friars of the convent of Mount Sion who continued their work in the face of Muslim hostility: *Hierosolimitanae Peregrinationis Hodopoericum* (Cologne: Gerard Grevenbruch, 1600), 12.

62. Robert Ricard, *La "conquête spirituelle" du Mexique. Essai sur l'apostolat et les methodes missionnaires des ordres mendiants en Nouvelle-Espagne de 1523–24 à 1572* (Paris: Institut d'ethnologie, 1933).

63. Recent monographs discussing Franciscan missionary work during the early modern period include Ramón Gutierrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500–1848* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), and Vincente L. Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule* (Durham, NC., and London: Duke University Press, 1993). Older but still useful is John "Leddy" Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970).

64. For contemporary Franciscan accounts, see among others Gonzaga, *De Origine and Jerónimo Mendieta*, *Historia eclesiástica indiana [por] Jerónimo de Mendieta*, ed. Francisco Solano y Pérez-Lila (Madrid: Atlas, 1973).

65. Guardian Bernardino del Vecchio of Siena was treated particularly harshly. He was imprisoned because of the war between the Portuguese and Knights of Rhodes and Turks and Mamluks. The Mamluks were defeated and so took it out on other Europeans, notably the friars. Suriano, *Treatise on the Holyland*, 8–9.

66. A Spanish Franciscan's *Narrative of a Journey to the Holy Land* (London, 1927): 22.

67. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, 17: 376.

68. Ibid., 165.

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid. "Possunt studentes assumi ex qualibet provincia; illorum tamen praemisso examine a commissario generali, vel patribus ab eo deputatis, qui inquirant, an studentes mittendi ad studia generalia compleverint cursum logices, et philosophiae."

71. Ibid. "Si quis eorum non intersit circularibus disputationibus et repetitionibus lectionum sine legitima causa, puniatur disciplina, vel aliter ad arbitrium."

72. Ibid.

73. Bert Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education (c. 1210–1517)* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

74. Robert Sauzet, "Entre L'Observance et l'Hérésie. Les ordres mendiants à Nîmes dans la première moitié du XVI^e siècle," in *Villes, bonnes villes, cité et capitales* (Tours, 1989), 297–304, and Janine Garrison *Protestants du Midi 1559–1598* (Toulouse: Privat, 1980).

75. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, 18: 348. "Contra Romanae Ecclesiae libertatem, vel Ecclesiasticis personis detrahare, vel (quod absit) scandalum contra clericum, vel Religionem aliquam excitare, vel personam aliquam praesentem criminaliter nominare: sed potius contra haereses et schismata populos dirigere, et fideliter animare, in orthodoxae fidei veritate firmare; contraque praesentem satanicam et damnatam Lutheranorum haeresim, in aliqua sermonis parte (prouit expedire videbitur) maxime invehantur."

76. Ibid., 349. "Audeat dogmatizare, praedicare, defendere, seu approbare aliquam doctrinam, conclusionem, vel sententiam erroneam, et suspectam in fide, haereticam, damnatam, vel contra bonos mores, detestando fructum poenitentiae, et austeritatis vitae, exaltando carnalem amorem, seu talia dogmatizantibus, praedicantibus, vel defendentibus aliquem favorem impendere, aut cum talibus conversari, et familiaritatem habere, aut libros damnatos, et haereticos, sine Sedis Apostolicae auctoritate apud se retinere."

77. AN LL 1514, f. 21 and 32–v respectively.

78. Quentin Boutier was accused of "erring" in his lecture. AN LL 1511 (August 1, 1581), f. 3v. The burning of the body of another member named Landorin before burial in the friary crypt perhaps points to heresy. However, the burning might simply refer to his post-mortum purification for apostasy itself since Lendorin apparently died before he could be absolved. LL 1515 (May 29, 1568), f. 25. Pierre de l'Etoile mentions the return of a Paris friar named Boucher to the Catholic faith in 1603: *Journal de l'Etoile pour la règne de Henri IV*, 2 vols. (Paris: Gallimard, 1958), 2: 107.

79. Thadeus Ferré, *Histoire de l'ordre de Saint François* (Rhodon: H Gayet, 1921), 212.

80. *Admonitiones*, in *Opuscula*, 10. "Et illi religiosi sunt mortui a littera, qui spiritum divinae litterae nolunt sequi, sed sola verba magis cupiunt scire et aliis interpretari."

81. For the Capuchins, see Elizabeth Gleason, "The Capuchins," in Richard L. de Molen, ed., *The Religious Orders of the Counter Reformation* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1995), 31–58, Emmanuel de Mauzaize, "Couvent des Capucins de la rue st Honoré ^ Paris 1574–1792: tude topographique et historique,Ó 6 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Paris, 1971–1972), and Godefroy de Paris, *Les Frères-mineurs capucins en France* (Paris: Bibliothèque Franciscaine, 1937).

82. Eduard d'Alençon, "Jacques Berson, Cordelier parisien, confessor de François d'Alençon," in *Revue d'histoire franciscaine* 3 (1926): 57–69.

83. *Opuscula*, 87. "Et habemus corpora nostra in opprobrium et despectum, quia omnes per culpam nostram sumus miseri et putridi, foetidi et vermes. . . ."

84. François Feuardent, *Charitable avertissement aux ministres et predicateurs, de deux cents et trente erreurs contenus en leur confession du Foy. . . .* (Paris: Michel Sonnius, 1599), 30. "Est-ce estre du tout corumpu? Nous confessions bien, que les facultés

humaines ont esté debilitées, affoiblies, blessees, & ont besoin de grace." Feuardent nevertheless insists that we are not entirely corrupt, otherwise there would be no difference between life and death, a rational man and a beast: "Mais non *du tout corumpues*, autrement n'y auroit aucune difference en la vie et la mort, entre l'homme raisonnable, et les bestes brutes, qui et atheisme."

85. M. D. Lambert, *Franciscan Poverty. The Doctrine of Absolute Poverty in Christ and the Apostles in the Franciscan Order* (London: S. P.C.K., 1961).

86. John Van Engen, "The Church in the Fifteenth Century," in *The Handbook of European History, 1400–1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation*, ed. Thomas A. Brady Jr., Heiko A. Oberman, and James D. Tracy (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 301–26. For other discussions of reform, see Marc Venard, "Réforme, Réformation, Préréforme, Contre-Réforme . . . Étude de vocabulaire chez les historiens récents de langue française," in P. Joutard, *Historiographie de la Réforme* (Paris: Delachaux Niestlé, 1977), 352–65; Scott H. Hendrix, *Tradition and Authority in the Reformation* (Aldershot, Great Britain: Brookfield, Vt.: Variorum, 1996) and *Ecclesia in Via: Ecclesiological Developments in the Medieval Psalms Exegesis and the Dictata super Psalterium (1513–1515) of Martin Luther* (Leiden: Brill, 1974); and Thomas Izbicki and Christopher M. Bellitto, eds., *Reform and Renewal in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Studies in Honor of Louis Pascoe* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2000).

87. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, 17: 353. "Medicina enim non debet esse morbo deterior; propterea in talibus ad tempus est differenda poenitentia."

88. Ibid.

89. Ibid., 360. "Si tenent res pretiosas de argento, vel de auro; postea si habent res superfluas, vel curiosas: deinde si tenent pecuniam penes alium, quam Procuratorem, vel ejus substitutum, et si tantum (ut tenentur) pro imminenti, vel praesenti necessitate, et cum licentia Praelatorum."

90. Ibid., "Et juxta Regulam moneant, et humiliter, et charitative corrigant eos, non praecipientes eis aliquid, quod sit contra animam suam, et Regulam nostram."

91. Ibid., 348.

92. Ibid. "Praedicatores etiam eleemosynas eis praetextu praedicationis oblatas non recipiant, nec de eis se intromittant, maxime quando in propriis concionantur provinciis. . . ."

93. Ibid., 19: 349. "Confessiones mulierum audiantur in aliquo Ecclesiae loco patenti, vel alio loco honesto ad hoc deputato."

94. Ibid., 361. "Inhibendum: dicitur, quod sacerdos non potest retinere foeminam in domo, etiam matrem, et attinentes propter periculum peccati."

95. Ibid., 362. "Nostroque instituto addictissimae, ac in tali necessitate constitutae, quod aliunde honestum hospitium habere non valerent, haberentque probatissimos viros in suo comitatu, permittitur in tali casu, quod in iisdem conventibus nostris, cum dicto suo honesto secularium comitatu, pernoctare, et comedere valeant."

96. Discussed in chapter 1.

97. Ibid.

98. Othon de Pavie, *L'Aquitaine séraphique. Notes historique sur l'ordre des frères mineurs et en particulier sur la province séraphique d'Aquitaine*, 3 vols. (Auch: 1900), 3: 313.

99. Claude Haton, *Mémoires de Claude Haton*, 2 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1857), 2: 985. "Parce qu'il n'était mémoire par les plus anciens ni par les chroniques que jamais telle assemblée eut été faite à Paris ni même en France."

100. Pierre de L'Estoile, *Régistre-journal du règne de Henri III*, 6 vols. (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1994), 1: 315.

101. René Benoist, *Exhortation aux françois et principalemen Parisiens, de recevoir humainement Chrestienement les religieux de l'ordre de S. François, dicts Freres Mineurs, en la celebration de leur chapitre general, & election d'un ministre general, assignée en ceste ville de Paris, pour l'annee 1579* (Paris: Nicolas Chesneau, 1579).

102. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, 19, 112.

103. AM 21, 163–.

104. *Opuscula*, 116. “In quocumque modo melius videtur tibi placere Domino Deo et sequi vestigia et paupertatem suam, faciatis cum benedictione Domini Dei et mea obedientia.”

105. *Regula bullata* in *Opuscula*, 72. “Fratres vero, qui sunt subditi, recordentur, quod propter Deum abnegaverunt proprias voluntates.”

106. *Regula non bullata* in *Opuscula*, 30. “Verum tamen omnes fratres, qui sunt sub ministris et servis, facta ministrorum et servorum considerent rationabiliter et diligenter. Et si viderint, aliquem illorum carnaliter et non spritualiter ambulare pro rectitudine vitae nostrae, post tertiam admonitionem, si non se emendaverit, in capitulo Pentecostes renuntietur ministro et servo totius fraternitatis, nulla contradictione impediante.”

107. *Admonitiones* in *Opuscula*, 6. “Ille homo relinquit omnia, quae possidet, et perdit corpus suum et animam suam, se ipsum, totum praebet ad obedientiam in manibus sui praelati . . . Si vero praelatus praecipuit aliquid subdito contra animam suam, licet ei non obediat, tamen ipsum non dimittat; et si ab aliquibus inde persecutione sustinuerit, magis eos diligit propter Deum.”

108. *Anima* is a term that lends itself to numerous interpretations including soul, spirit, reason, and intellect. Leo Shirley-Price interprets *anima* as “conscience” in his translation of the Franciscan Rule. See Leo Shirley-Price, trans., *S. Francis of Assisi: His Life and Writings as Recorded by his Contemporaries* (London: A. R. Mowbray & Co., 1959), 170. Because *conscience* also has multiple meanings, however, I am instead translating *anima* as the spirit operating in the soul of the friar. For a discussion of conscience, see Douglas C. Langston, *Conscience and Other Virtues: From Bonaventure to MacIntyre* (University Park: University of Pennsylvania State Press, 2001), 25–27. See also Marie-Dominique Chenu, *L'éveil de la conscience dans la civilisation médiévale* (Montréal: Institut d'études médiévales, 1969).

109. Nimmo, *Reform and Division*, 36.

110. David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century after Francis* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 298.

111. Jacques Berson, *Sermon de l'avènement du Benoist S. Esprit le iour de Pentacoste, traduit d'Italien en François par M. I. Berson, docteur en theologie & enfant de Paris* (Paris: Pierre l'Huilier, 1574): Bii. “Il faut insister, continuer, perseverer, la prescher ouïr escrire, à heure, & hors heure, à temps, & hors temps, & recommander la succez & evenement au tres bon Dieu, sans considerer, ou apprehender les direz & tempestes contraires. Sans crainte donc des vents, & des nuees, il faut semer mesmes au millieu des tempestes & orages, sans penser, ce temps icy est commode, celui-la inutile, on le trouvera bon, ou on le trouvera mauvais.”

Chapter 3

1. René Benoist, *Exhortation aux françois et principalement Parisiens de recevoir humainement & Chrestienement les religieux de l'ordre de S. François dicts les frères mineurs, en la celebration de leur chapitre general . . .* (Paris: Nicolas Chesneau, 1579), 3–4.

4. The general chapter was like “plusieurs fontaines spirituelles ont jà arrousé, & arroussent, & arrousseront le champ de l'Eglise, deas eauës vives, tant de la sainte doctrine, que d'une vie louable & conversatione edificatue.” The chapter “estant comme le trompette qui excite & encourage les capitaines & soldats au combat. . . .”

2. Ibid., 17. France “n'est si gaste, difforme, & souillée, soit en la foy, ou ès moeurs, comme quelques uns en ont faulcement & solomnieusement semé & faict courir le bruit.”

3. The term “Cordelier,” though originally used to refer to French Conventuals, increasingly became applied to Observants by the sixteenth century.

4. AN LL 1524, ff. 87–105.

5. AN LL 1524, f. 93r.

6. Desiderius Erasmus, *The Colloquies of Erasmus*, trans. Craig Thompson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 500–15.

7. Karl-Josef Hefele, *Histoire des conciles*, 12 vols. (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1915), 6: 673–78, and N. Tanner, ed., *Decrees of Ecumenical Councils* (Washington: Sheed & Ward and Georgetown University Press, 1990), 6: 31–37.

8. AN LL 1524, ff. 87–92. “Peuvent tels presentes apres l'acceptation ou reffus de l'Evesque ou prelat ouir lesdicts confessions et administrer poenitance salutaire au consitens sans le congé et license des curez. . . .” Dated August 7, 1588.

9. Regarding the influence the friars in thirteenth-century Europe, see among others C. H. Lawrence, *The Friars: The Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society* (London and New York: Longman, 1994). For the state of the Church in the thirteenth century, see Euan Cameron, *Waldenses: Rejections of Holy Church in Medieval Europe* (Oxford and Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 2000). For Innocent III in particular, see Heinrich Fichtenau, *Heretics and Scholars in the High Middle Ages, 1000–1200*, trans. D. A. Kaiser (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), and James Powell, *Innocent III: Vicar of Christ or Lord of the World*, 2nd ed. (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press of America, 1994).

10. John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 177–78, and Thomas Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 64, 313–17.

11. One notable exception to the usual exemption of the mendicant clergy from episcopal visitation was the visitation of Cardinal Amboise to many mendicant communities at the turn of the sixteenth century, including those in Paris. However, Amboise was specifically empowered by the papacy as a legate to reform these communities. Amboise played a crucial role, for example, in introducing Observant reform into the Paris Franciscan community. Augustin Renaudet, *Préréforme et humanisme à Paris pendant les premières guerres d'Italie (1494–1517)* (1916; reprint, Paris: Librairie d'Argences, 1953), and more recently, Jean-Marie Le Gall, *Au temps des réformes: France (1480–1560)* (Paris: Champ Vallon, 2001).

12. Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Piety* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 288–89.

13. Denis Crouzet, "Recherches sur les processions blanches 1583–1584," in *Histoire, économie, société* 1 (1982): 511–63, and Frances Yates "Religious Processions in Paris 1583–1584," in *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London and Boston: Routledge & K. Paul, 1975), 173–207.

14. Two notable exceptions at the end of the sixteenth century were Jean Marie Camus, the bishop of Belley, and Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld. Thomas Worcester, *Seventeenth-Century Cultural Discourse: France and the Preaching of Bishop Camus* (Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1997), and Joseph Bergin, *Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld: Leadership and Reform in the French Church* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987).

15. Hubert Jedin, *History of the Council of Trent*, trans. Ernest Graf (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1961), 106–9.

16. Discussed in chapter 1.

17. AN LL 1524, f. 84r.

18. AN LL 1524, f. 86r. "Selon les saints decrets et doctrine apostolique et romaine comme auparavant." The bishop of Troyes at the time must have been Claude de Bauffremont, who received the see of Troyes in 1562. The decree is dated July 30, 1588. René Benoist succeeded him in the office in 1593. Frederick J. Baumgartner, *Change and Continuity in the French Episcopacy and Reform* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1985, 214. As discussed in chapter 1, the friars in the diocese of Troyes also attacked their bishop, Antonio Carracciolo, earlier in the century on the content of his preaching. Penny Roberts, *A City in Conflict: Troyes During the French Wars of Religion*. (Manchester, University of Manchester Press, 1996), 40.

19. A. Lynn Martin, *The Jesuit Mind: The Mentality of an Elite in Early Modern France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 207–8.

20. AN S 3705, nos. 1–6. The first letter is dated 1573.

21. See for example, Bibliothèque Mazarine Ms. 2418, "Annales des Reverends Peres de la Province de Paris."

22. Robert Harding, "Mobilization of the Confraternities Against the Reformation in France," in *Sixteenth-Century Journal* 9 (1980): 102.

23. This correspondence is found in AN MM71.

24. For Jean Picart, see AN LL 1517, f. 63v, and AN LL 1525, 25. For Chrestien, see AN LL 1523, 241, and BNF 14477, f. 15. Chrestien's bequest is found in Arsenal Ms. 5403, 99. Hangest was buried in the friary in 1577. Père Anselme, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France des pairs, grands officiers, de la Couronne et de la maison du Roy . . .*, 3 vols. (Paris: Editions du Palais Royal, 1967), 2: 420. Augustin Champion's will dated October 25, 1580, can be found in AN MC LXXXVI.

25. Hervé Martin, *Les ordres mendiants en Bretagne, vers 1230–1530: pauvreté volontaire et prédication à la fin du moyen âge* (Rennes: Institut amoricain de recherches historiques, 1975).

26. Hugonis is mentioned in Phillip Benedict, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 61. Jacques Berson, *Sainte et tres chrestienne resolution de monseigneur l'Illustrissime & Reverendissime cardinal de Bourbon, pour maintenir l'Eglise Catholique & Romaine* (Paris: Guillaume Julien, 1586), 6–7.

27. AN L533.

28. Symphorien Guyon, *Histoire de l'église et diocèse ville et université d'Orléans* (Orléans: Claude & Jacques Borde, 1650), 426. La Saussaye received the see of Orléans in 1564: Baumgartner, *Continuity*, 224.

29. Henri Drouot, *Mayenne et la Bourgogne: Étude sur la Ligue (1587–1596)*, 2 vols. (Dijon: Bernigaud & Privat, 1937), 1: 149–51, 258–60, and Robert Harding, "Revolution and Reform in the Holy League: Angers, Rennes, Nantes," in *The Journal of Modern History* 53 (September, 1981): 379–416.

30. AN LL 1511 (April 27, 1574), f. 65. According to the minutes, friar Faniere was to preach in the Paris church of Saint-Barthélemy, Jacques Berson at Saint-Jacques, Chessé at Saint-Paul, and de Arnco at Saint-Michel. The guardian at the time, Pierre Morselin, was scheduled to preach at Saint-André-des-Arts.

31. Pierre de L'Estoile, *Journal de L'Estoile pour la règne de Henri IV*, 2 vols. (Paris: Gallimard, 1958), 1: 145.

32. Charles Labitte, *De la démocratie chez les prédicateurs de la Ligue* (Paris: Joubert, 1841), 76.

33. L'Estoile, *Journal de L'Estoile*. L'Estoile mentions Garin preaching on two occasions at Saint-Merry, January and July 28, 1593 (1: 210, 300); one time each at Saint-Etienne-des-Près (1: 318) and Sainte-Geneviève-des-Ardents in May 1593 (1: 261). He preached at least six times at Saint-Jacques-de-la-bouchérie from 1592 to 1594 (1: 224, 237, 331, 334, 345).

34. BNF MS Coll. Dupuy 677, no. 17.

35. AN LL 1524, f. 84r. "Quant a la nomination des predicateurs es Eglises parrochiales de ladite ville et fauxbourgs de Paris le cure et marguillier adviseront par ensemble du personnage qui debvra prescher. . . ."

36. For Lyon, see Phillip Hoffman, *Church and Community in the Diocese of Lyon, 1500–1715* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 36.

37. There were of course many inquisitions, only one of which, the Roman inquisition, was under papal authority. For recent discussion of the inquisition, see among others Edward Peters, *The Inquisition* (New York: Free Press; London: Collier Macmillan, 1988). The Church's absorption of new traditions reflected more a concern for religious unity than any genuine understanding of "toleration" in the modern sense. A few helpful discussions include Mario Turchetti, *Concordia o tolleranza?: François Bauduin (1520–1573) e i "moyenneurs"* (Geneve: Droz, 1984), and Robert Scribner and Peter Grell, eds., *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

38. John Binns, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ: The Monasteries of Palestine, 314–631* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

39. John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 18–19. See also Brenda Bolton, *Innocent III: Studies on Papal Authority and Pastoral Care* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995).

40. Larissa Taylor, *Soldiers of Christ: Preaching in Late Medieval and Reformation France* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), and *Heresy and Orthodoxy in Sixteenth-Century Paris: François Le Picart and the Beginnings of the Catholic Reformation* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), and Hervé Martin, *Le métier de prédicateur à la fin du moyen âge, 1350–1520* (Paris: Cerf, 1988).

41. Harding, "Revolution and Reform," 400. Bernardino of Siena drew several thou-

sands of listeners to hear his daily sermons in Siena during Lent and Advent in 1427, and this was not the only time. Franco Mormando, *The Preacher's Demons: Bernardino of Siena and the Social Underworld of Early Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press: 1997), 1.

42. For a discussion of Franciscan architecture, see A. R. Martin, *Franciscan Architecture in England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1937).

43. Jeanne Garisson-Estèbe, *Protestants du Midi (1559–1598)* (Toulous: Privat, 1980), 63–64. Phillip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2002), 137.

44. Bernard Rousell, "Pierre Viret en France (Septembre 1561–aout 1565)," in *Bulletin de la Soc. d'histoire du Protestantisme Français* 144 (1998): 803–39.

45. Robert Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1956), 14.

46. The Bible was always a part of theological studies, but it received new attention through the work of the Christian humanists and later the Protestants. Chapter 5 looks more closely at the education of Franciscan preachers.

47. See among others, Christopher Elwood, *The Body Broken: The Calvinist Doctrine of the Eucharist and the Symbolization of Power in Sixteenth-Century France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 31. Elwood points out that by the 1530s Genevan presses such as that of Pierre de Vingle in Neuchâtel deliberately aimed their publications at a broad literate audience by employing the vernacular as well as songs, dialogues, and visual images to sell their message. Vingle's publications included many by the most important French Calvinist missionaries, Guillaume Farel and Pierre Viret.

48. Jean Porthaise, *Les Catholiques demonstrations sus certains discours de la doctrine ecclesiastique* (Paris: Guillaume Julian, 1565), and Fremin Capitis, *Antidote a la responce qu'a fait Jean Taffin Calviniste: contre l'Apologie de Fr. Fremin Capitis* (Verdun: N. Baquenois, 1564).

49. Discussed in chapter 1.

50. Geoffrey Dipple, *Antifraternalism and Anticlericalism in the German Reformation. Johann Eberlin von Günzburg and the Campaign against the Friars* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), 4–5.

51. The standard work on the Council is Hubert Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent*. More recent works that discuss particular facets of tridentine renewal include William V. Hudon, *Marcello Cervini and Ecclesiastical Government in Tridentine Italy* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1992) and Wieste de Boer, *Confession in Borromean Milan* (Leiden: Brill, 2001). Perhaps the most important rethinking of papal authority during this period is John O'Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

52. H. J. Schroeder, *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* (St.Louis, Mo.: B. Herder Book Co., 1927), 303.

53. Jedin, *Council of Trent*, 2: 122.

54. No recent work has come close to providing the detailed analysis of the early modern papacy provided by Ludwig Pastor's monumental *History of the Popes*, 40 vols. (St Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1932). However, a useful and updated overview of the papacy is found in a number of recent works, including essays on Pius V, Gregory XIII,

and Sixtus V in vol. 2 of Frank Coppa, ed., *Great Popes Through History*, 2 vols. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2002).

55. Nicole Le Maître, *Saint Pie V* (Paris: Fayard, 1993), 159–67.

56. “Considerantes autem quam uberes fructus Ordo fratrum minorum S. Francisci de Observantia, qui in humilitate et patientia potissimum fundatus existit, hactenus in agro Domini attulerit et in dies magis . . .” *Bullarium Romanum et privilegiorum sanctorum romanorum pontificum*, 25 vols. (Turin, 1859–60), 7: 917. The bull is dated May 28, 1571.

57. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, 21: 138–42. Paolo Prodi, *The Papal Prince: One body and Two Souls: The Papal Monarchy in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) is a masterful examination of the papacy as an early modern monarchy but does not discuss in detail relations between the papacy and the religious orders. A useful and updated overview of the papacy is provided by a number of recent works, including Coppa ed., *Great Popes Through History*, and Eamon Duffy, *Saints and Sinners: A History of the Popes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), among others.

58. Heriberto Holzapfel, *Manuale Historia Ordinis Fratrum Minorum* (Friburg: Herder, 1909), 545, and Pastor, *History of the Popes*, 21: 138. Sixtus V established the studium in 1587.

59. See chapter 5.

60. See among others, François Feuardent, *Charitable avertissement aux ministres et predicateurs de deux cents et trente erreurs contenus en leur confession du Foy* (Paris: Michel Sonnius, 1599), and Noël Taillepied, *Histoire des vies, meours, actes, doctrine et mort des trois principaux hérétiques de nostre temps, à scavoir Martin Luther, Jean Calvin et Theodore de Beze* (Douai: Jean Bogard, 1616). Hylaret’s *Deux traictez ou opuscules . . .* (Orleans: Boynard, 1587) specifically refers to Erasmus as well as the Greek patristic Origen. Erasmus’s works lay on the Index of Forbidden Books by the time of his death in 1547. Discussed in chapter 5.

61. See among others, John A. F. Thompson, *Popes and Princes, 1417–1517: Politics and Polity in the late Medieval Church* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1980).

62. For a general overview of papal policies with regard to the Ottoman empire and other nations, see Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204–1571*, 4 vols. (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1976–1984). Vol. 4 concerns the sixteenth century. See also A. D. Wright, *The Early Modern Papacy from the Council of Trent to the French Revolution 1564–1789* (Edinburgh Gate: Longman, 2000), 208–12, and Bernard Schimmelpfennig, *The Papacy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 237–59. Among the works discussing French responses to the papacy are Victor Martin, *Le Gallicanisme et la Réforme catholique* (Paris: Librairie Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1919) and more recently, Jotham Parsons, *Church and Magistrate in Early Modern France* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press of America, 2004). For England, still important is John Guy, *Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

63. The fifteenth century is often seen as the great age of Observant reform, but this reform only began in earnest among the Carmelites and Augustinians during the sixteenth century. For Carmelite reform, see Stéphane-Marie Morgain, *Pierre de Bérulle et les carmélites de France (1583–1629)* (Paris: les Editions du Cerf, 1995) and Bernard Hours, ed., *Carme et carmélites en France du XVII^e siècle à nos jours*. Actes du colloque de Lyon (25–26 septembre 1997). For the Augustinians, see David Gutierrez, *The*

Augustinians in the Middle Ages 1357–1517 1 (Villanova: Pennsylvania: Augustinian Historical Institute, 1983).

64. Reformers in the French Benedictine communities of Cluny and La Chaise, for example, wanted to enforce communal participation in the daily performance of divine offices as well as other spiritual services, reduce contact between cloistered members and the outside world, and remove signs of worldliness, including luxurious living standards: Jean-Marie Le Gall, *Les Moines au temps des réformes. France 1480–1560* (Paris: Champ Vallon, 2001), 113–14. Interestingly, Le Gall comments also on the ecumenical nature of Observant reform in France. There was, he says, less difference between a Reformed Benedictine and Reformed mendicant than there was between reformed and “deformed” members of the same tradition.

65. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, 21: 142.

66. Nicole Le Maître, *Saint Pie V* (Paris: Fayard, 1993), 163–64.

67. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, 21: 142.

68. Ivan Cloulas, ed., *Correspondance du nonce en France Anselmo Dandino (1578–81)*, vol. 8 in *Acta Nunciaturae Gallicae* (Rome and Paris: Presses l’Université Grégorienne, 1970), 113–14.

69. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, 17: 265. This was ancient canonical teaching. See Glenn Olsen, “Christian Perfection and *transitus ad monasterium* in Lupus of Ferrières’s Letter 29,” *Monumenta iuris canonici*, series c, subsidio, vol. 9 (Vatican city 1984), 255–66.

70. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, 19: 110.

71. Jean Gaudemet, *Eglise et Cité. Histoire du droit canonique* (Paris: Cerf/Montchrestien, 1994).

72. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, 19: 111. The original citation reads: “Nihil in unaquaque religiosa familia . . . aeque arbitramur esse utile, quam supremam in eisdem auctoritatem gerentibus, omni contentione exclusa, ea quae decet reverentia universos parere.” *Bull. Rom.* 8: 66.

73. Bernard Barbiche and Ségolène Dainville-Barbiche, “Les légats a latere en France et leurs facultés aux XVI^e siècles,” in *Archivum historiae pontificae* 23 (1985): 93–165.

74. *Ibid.*, 17: 126. See also Frederick McGuinness, “Gregory XIII (1572–1585),” in Coppa, ed., *Great Popes*, 2: 345.

75. Pierre Hurtubise and Robert Toupin, eds., *Correspondance du nonce en France, Antonio Maria Salviati (1578–1581)*, vol. 12 in *Acta nunciaturae gallicae* (Rome: Presses l’Université Grégorienne, 1975), 17. “Per ciò S. S.ta mi ha ordinato di scrivere a V.S. che facci opera con l’autorità sua et con l’aver ricorso dove sarà bisogno che le dette ordinationi siano interamente osservate.”

76. “Vedendo il disordine che è in Parigi in questi mendicanti, ho più volte pensato che non sarebbe forse male, che tutti i Generali si accordassino di mandare qua gente a riformarli.” *Acta Nunciaturae gallicae* 7: 710.

77. See chapter 2.

78. Le Maître, *Saint Pie V*, 163.

79. The mystic Ramon Lull studied at the important Franciscan Arabic school on Majorca. Studying Arabic became part of Franciscan preparation for work in Palestine: Jill Webster, *Els Menorets: the Franciscans in the Realms of Aragon from St. Francis to the Black Death* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1993).

80. See for example, James B. Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline and Resistance in Languedoc* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1997).

81. Francis Gardiner Davenport, ed., *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and Its Dependencies to 1648* (Washington D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1917), 75–78.

82. Sergio Pagano, “Pius V (1566–1572,” in Coppa, ed., *Great Popes*, 2: 340. Duffy also discusses these developments in *Saints and Sinners*, 227–29.

83. Marc Venard, “L’Episcopat Catholique à l’Époque du Concile de Trente: Les réalités,” *Le Catholicisme à l’Épreuve dans la France du XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Cerf, 2000), 148–53. Venard finds ultramontanist on the rise in the French episcopacy after 1560 as well, an important indication that the bishops did not always agree with the monarchy on its religious policies and that they remained attached to the papacy as the spiritual authority in the Church.

84. *Regula non bullata in Opuscula sancti patris francisci assisiensis*, ed. L. Lemmens (Quaracchi: Collegia S. Bonaventurae, 1904), 24. “Fratr Franciscus et quicumque erit caput istius religionis promittat obedientiam et reverentiam domino papae Innocentio et eius successoribus. Et alii fratres teneantur fratri Francisco et eius successoribus obedire.” This injunction to obey Innocent III was updated in the Rule of 1223 referring to Pope Honorius (63).

85. Yves Congar, “Aspects ecclésiologiques de la querelle entre mendiants et séculiers dans la seconde moitié du XIII^e siècle et le début du X^e,” in *Archives d’histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* (1961), 43–151. Brian Tierney, *Origins of Papal Infallibility, 1150–1350: A Study on the Concepts of Infallibility, Sovereignty and Tradition in the Middle Ages* (Leiden and New York: E. J. Brill, 1972).

86. During a legal dispute involving the general of the Dominican Order in 1574, the Gallicanist magistrate Christophe de Thou defended Dominican resistance to the authority of their general, arguing that “the reforming generals of the Jacobins [Dominicans] and Cordeliers [Franciscans] are usually foreigners, and when they come to France they act as foreigners who have no respect for the laws and constitutions of France”: AN X1a 5050 (June 3, 1574). Discussed in Megan Armstrong, “Spiritual Reform, Mendicant Autonomy and State Formation: French Franciscan Disputes before the Parlement of Paris, 1500–1600,” in *French Historical Studies* 25 (summer 2002): 505–30.

87. Elisabeth G. Gleason, “The Capuchin Order in the Sixteenth Century,” in Richard L. DeMolen, ed., *Religious Orders of the Catholic Reformation* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1994), 40.

88. BNF F.fr. 25046. Maurice d’Epernay, “Eloges des ministres capucins de la province de Paris” (1709). See also Godefroy de Paris, *Les frères mineurs capucins en France* (Paris: Bibliothèque Franciscaine Provinciale des FF. Min. Cap. De Paris, 1937).

89. BNF Ms. 6451. Laure Beaumont-Maillet also discusses Des Champs in *Le Grand Couvent des Cordeliers de Paris: études historiques et archéologiques du XIII^e siècle à nos jours* (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1975), 133–34.

90. Pierre L’Estoile, *Mémoires-Journaux de Pierre de L’Estoile*, 7 vols. (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1876–1883), 3: 152.

91. Jehan de la Fosse, *Journal d’un curé ligueur de Paris sous les trois derniers Valois*, ed. Eduarde Barthélemy (Paris: Didier & Cie, 1865), 207. “Je crois que ledict seigneur

estoit touché [par] le main de Dieu, voyant les moyens qu'il avoit et ayant l'oreille du roy Henry, autant et plus qu' homme du royaume."

92. Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 2418, *Annales*, and BNF fr.25044, *Chronologie historique de ce qui s'est passé de plus considerable dans la province de Paris depuis l'an 1574 jusques a l'annee commencement de la Reforme des Peres Capucins en France* (1634). See also Father Cuthbert, *The Capuchins: A Contribution to the History of the Counter Reformation* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1928), 220.

93. Stéphane-Marie Morgain, *Pierre Bérulle et les Carmelites de France* (Paris: Cerf, 1995).

Chapter 4

1. Jacques-Auguste de Thou, *Histoire universelle de Jacques-Auguste de Thou*, 16 vols. (London: 1734), 1:11.

2. For the letter about l'Enfant, see AN MM71 (May 25, 1554). For Berson, see MM 71 (November 9, 1565). The list of pensions can be found in BNF Dupuy 591, f. 163.

3. A few of the most recent studies include Joanne Baker, "Female Monasticism and Family Strategy: The Guises and Saint Pierre de Reims," in *Sixteenth Century Journal* 28 (1997): 1091–1109 and Barbara Diefendorf, "Contradiction of the Century of Saints: Aristocratic Patronage and the Convents of Paris," in *French Historical Studies* 24 (2001): 469–99. See also Guy Lytle, "Religion and the Lay Patron in Reformation England," in Guy Lytle and Stephen Orgel, eds., *Patronage in the Renaissance* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981), 65–114.

4. Megan McLaughlin, *Consorting with Saints: Prayer for the Dead in Early Modern France* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994).

5. AN L941, 12, f. 1.

6. For Berson, see AN MC ET/XXI/55, f. 48. The original will was dated February 9, 1589. Berson left one hundred livres per annum. Hugonis left sixty livres. For Hugonis, see MC ET/LXXX/VII/39. Hugonis's will demands the furnishing of numerous valuable objects to support his service. The will makes it clear that Hugonis did quite well financially from his role as royal preacher, mentioning a pension of twelve hundred livres owed to him by the king and another five hundred owed by the Cardinal of Bourbon. Both pensions date from 1568. According to Fodéré, Hugonis also sent chalices of silver to the convent of Tanlay along with his sizeable library: Jacques Fodéré, *Narration Historique et Topographique des convents de l'ordre S. François et monasteres S. Claires erigez en la Province de Bourgogne* (Lyon: Pierre Pigau, 1619), 898.

7. Noël Taillepied, *Antiquitez et singularitez de la ville de Pontoise* (Rouen, 1587), 77–78.

8. Laure Beaumont-Maillet, *Le Grand Couvent des Cordeliers de Paris: Études historiques et archéologiques de XIII^e siècle à nos jours* (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1985), 271. The altar was later replaced in 1634 by Claude du Bullion.

9. Peter Arnade, *Realms of Ritual. Burgundian Ceremony and Civic life in Late Medieval Ghent* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996).

10. Jules Guiffrey, "Inventaire des peintures et sculptures du couvent des Cordeliers de Paris dressé par MM Doyen et Mouchy en 1790," in *Nouvelles archives de l'art français* 1 (1880–1881): 269.

11. Of the numerous studies on patronage, see in particular Arlette Jouanna, *Le Dévoir de révolte* (Paris: Fayard, 1989), and Sharon Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).

12. For Berson, see AN MM71 (November 9, 1565). For L'Enfant, see AN MM71 (May 25, 1554).

13. AN MM 71. The letter from Henry II is dated June 26, 1550. For the letters of Charles IX on behalf of the Dominicans, see Charles du Plessis D'Argentré, *Collectio iudiciorum de novis erroribus qui ab initio duodecimi saeculi . . . usque ad annum 1735 in ecclesia proscripti sunt et notati* . . . , 3 vols. (1725–1736; reprint, Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1963), 2: 238.

14. Discussed in chapter 5.

15. Bibl. De Lyon, Ms. 844. "Memoires touchant le Grand convent de l'Observance de St. François de Paris," 27.

16. Ibid., 27. BNF fr 14477, f. 25 and AN LL 1523, 206.

17. Besse died in 1614, much later than Berson, who died in 1589. See Emile Raunié, *Épitaphier de vieux Paris, recueil général des inscriptions funéraires . . . depuis le moyen âge jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe siècle*, 4 vols. (Paris: 1893–1914), 3: no. 1282, and BHVP Ms. 11479, 1073.

18. De Thou, *Histoire universelle*, 9: 653–54. For Auger, see Lynn Martin, *Henry III and the Jesuit Politicians* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1973), 209–10. "Le secret de leur ministre, n'épargnoient ni le Roi, ni les Ministres, & les Officiers, qui lui étoient le plus attachés."

19. Yves Magistri, *Mirouers et guydes fort propres pour les dames te damoiselles de France, qui seront de bonne volonte envers Dieu & leur salut* . . . (Bourges: Pierre Bouchier, 1585), 1–2. "La devotion qu'elle porte à l'ordre de mon seigneur & Seraphicque pere saint Francois les disciples duquel tres volontiers heberger & allimenter en [sa] maison, comme de ce assez bien nous encertiore le venerable pere Guillaume Melin nostre confrere. . . ."

20. Simon Fontaine, *Histoire Catholique de nostre temps, touchant l'estat de la religion chrestienne contre l'histoire de Jean Sleydan*. . . . (Anvers: Jean Steelsius, 1558), 3. "Mal affectez & calvinateurs de nostre religion."

21. For the purposes of comparison, see Jean-Marie Le Gall, *Les moines au temps des réformes* (Paris: Champ Vallon, 2001), and Polycarp Zakar, *Histoire de la stricte observance de l'ordre cistercien depuis ses débuts jusqu'au généralat du cardinal de Richelieu* (Rome, 1966).

22. For the rates in 1502, see Celestino di Piana, "Gli Statuti per la riforma dello Studio di Parigi (a.1502)," in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 52 (1959): 43–122. For those in 1594, see AN LL1511 (January 27, 1595), f. 81.

23. Piana "Gli Statuti," 105. "Arum autem eleemosynarum summam procurare poterant fratres venientes ad studium Parisiensem per amicos spirituales aut per suos conventos sive provinciam."

24. BNF Ms. Dupuy, 549, f. 92. "Le pauvre homme est en grand soin et vient chacun jour chez mois pour en avoir nouvelles." The year is undated though it says August 29. It was likely written during the reign of Henry III. For Berson, see BNF Ms. Dupuy 591. I owe the discovery of these documents and the list of pensions to Joanne Baker, who found them during her research on the ecclesiastical patronage of the Guise.

25. See in particular Jean Gaudemet, *Eglise et Cité. Histoire du droit canonique* (Paris: Cerf/Montchrestien, 1994).

26. This is discussed in chapter 5.

27. See in particular Auguste Molinier, *Obituaires de la province de Sens*, 4 vols. (Paris: 1902–1906), and Eugene Hubert, ed., *Obituaire du couvent des cordeliers de Châteauroux (1213–1782)* (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1885).

28. For Belin, see ANLL1525, f. 48. For Le Roy, see ANMC ET/XXIX/12, f. 416.

29. For Hugonis, see Fodéré, *Narration historique*, 897–98. For Cheffontaine, see Othon de Pavie, *L'Aquitaine séraphique*, 3 vols. (Auch: 1905), 3: 299, and L. G. Michaud, *Biographie universelle depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours*, 45 vols. (Paris: Société de gens de lettres et de savants, 1811–1828), 8: 69.

30. Lynn Martin, *The Jesuit Mind: The Mentality of an Elite in Early Modern France* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1988). For a discussion of the Capuchins, see chapter 3.

31. Karl-Josef Hefele, *Histoire des Conciles d'après les documents originaux*, 12 vols. (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1912–1952), 2: 700. The position of syndic was approved by the papacy in 1247 and recognized in the Constitutions of Narbonne (1260). The 1502 constitutions of the Paris friary also mention this office.

32. Marguerite-Marie Clément, "L'administration des biens chez les frères mineurs des origines au milieu du XVI siècle" (Ph.D. diss., Nogent-le-Rotrou, 1943), 42–44.

33. Charles de Dormans held the office from 1563 to 1572, and it seems likely that he was succeeded by Christophe de Thou. Unfortunately no contracts from this period mention de Thou as the syndic, though his advocacy of the community in legal cases after 1572 suggests that he did fulfill this role. See for example, AN X1a 5050 (June 3, 1574). The younger Charles de Dormans would have assumed the role of syndic following de Thou's death in 1582, and kept it until 1588, when he was replaced by Jacques-Auguste de Thou. Jean Séguier was syndic from 1595 to 1616. Jacques-Auguste de Thou was syndic from 1588 to his death in 1595.

34. An excellent examination of Guise authority during the Wars of Religion is Stuart Carroll, *Noble Power during the Wars of Religion: Guise Affinity and the Catholic Cause in Normandy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

35. For the designs of the windows see the Collection Gaignières at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Among the Guise members depicted are the following: Louis de Lorraine, the Cardinal of Guise (+1588), Oa 17, no. 1005; the Prince of Mercoeur, Philippe-Emmanuel of Lorraine (+1602), Oa 17, no. 1007, f. 32A; Charles of Lorraine, the Duke of Aumale (+1631), Oa 17, no. 1010, f. 35A–36G. These individuals were all members of the royal order Saint-Esprit, and it seems likely that their donations came at the urging of Henry III.

36. BNF Dupuy 549, f. 92. "Je vous pry de me rescrire si monseigneur le Grand archidiacre a garde le lieu de montfaurcon au cordelier frere Nicol Raulin comme il en a receu le mandement de monseigneur. Le pauvre homme est en grand soin et vient chacun jour chez mois pour en avoir nouvelles. . . ." According to this letter, Raulin was another student. The letter is dated August 20.

37. Her death was sufficiently important to merit space in Pierre L'Estoile's journal. *Mémoires-Journaux*, 7 vols. (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1876–1883), 3: 59. The chapel of eleven thousand virgins refers to the legend of Saint Ursula, the English

princess who traveled to Rome with eleven thousand virgins on a pilgrimage to avoid marriage to a non-Christian king. She and the virgins were baptized in Rome, and consequently murdered by the Huns while sailing back down the Rhine. Henri entered the Capuchin order in 1587, shortly after the death of his wife. This is discussed in chapter 3.

38. Jérôme was buried in the Chapelle de l'Assomption in the Cordelier church: Père Anselme, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France des pairs, grands officiers, de la Couronne et de la Maison du Roy* 3 (1726–1728; reprint, Paris: Éditions du Palais Royal, 1967), 891. For the Gondi family, see François Bluche, *Dictionnaire du Grand Siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1990), 663–64.

39. Constantin died without issue. See François Alexandre Aubert de La Chesnaye-Desbois, *Dictionnaire de la noblesse, contenant les généalogies . . .*, 22 vols. (Paris: Schlesinger frères, 1863–1876):12: 306, and François Blanchard, *Les présidents à mortier du Parlement de Paris, leurs emplois, charges, qualitez, armes, blasons, et généalogies, depuis l'an 1331 jusques à présent* (Paris: C. Besongne, 1647), 481.

40. Philippe Sagnac, *La formation de la société moderne*, 2 vols. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1945), 2: 69. The title “bourgeois de Paris” was a juridical phrase, reflecting privileges accorded to those “who resided in the city at least a year and who owned property, paid taxes and served in the militia. . . .” Sagnac uses the phrase “petite bourgeoisie” to refer to this vast group of individuals, which included those designated as “marchands” and “marchands ouvriers,” among others. Diefendorf points out, however, that the term bourgeois of Paris was also used at times in a narrower sense, to refer to members of Parisian society who lived off their seigneuries and not from trade. This definition distinguished those suited for municipal office from those who were not. Similarly vague is the description “bourgeois marchand,” a definition that does little more than suggest that the merchant was not a member of one of the six great corporations, since there is no mention of a particular trade: Barbara Diefendorf, *Paris City Councillors in the Sixteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), xxiii.

41. For Jacques Villan, see AN LL 1523, 222. Villain died in 1609. Claude Barillet provided a service for her husband every Friday of the year as well as three high masses a year for the large sum of sixty livres. For Rousseau, see ANLL 1517 (July 4, 1563); for Marchand, see AN LL 1523, 200 (1598); for Mullot, see ANLL 1517, f. 22, and AN MC ET/XI/432.

42. For Chouart, see AN LL 1523, 127, and BNF fr 14477. Chouart left a foundation of sixty livres to the four mendicant orders. Roger's contract is dated December 21, 1574. See AN LL 1523, 229. Roger purportedly left all of his goods to the Cordeliers in a will dated October 25, 1564, though there is no evidence that this foundation was executed by his inheritors. For Thevet, see Arsenal Ms. 5403, 48.

43. Picart became procuror on December 17, 1573. AN LL 1511, f. 63v. His will is dated July 3, 1585. AN LL 1523, 241, and BNF fr. 14477, f. 15.

44. Hervé Martin, *Les Ordres mendiants en Bretagne, vers 1230–1530: pauvreté volontaire et prédication à la fin du moyen-âge* (Rennes: Institut armoricain de recherches historiques, 1975), 386–87. Ten of eleven sepulchers in the church of the Cordeliers of Rennes, for example, belonged to members of the sword nobility, while 143 nobles mentioned were in the necrology of the Cordeliers of Quimper.

45. For Blanche of France, see Raunié, *Épitaphier de vieux Paris*, 3: no. 1188. For Marie of Brabant, *ibid.*, no. 1182. For Bourbon, see Jean Lebeuf, *Histoire de la ville et de tout le diocèse de Paris . . . nouvelle édition annotée et continuée jusqu'à nos jours* (1890; reprint, Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1969–1970), 300. Other royal family members included Marie of France, natural daughter of Philippe of France, the duke of Orleans (d. 1333: Anselme, I, 104; Raunié, *Épitaphier de vieux*, 3: no. 1179).

46. For example, the Aurox were in the chapelle Sainte-Claude, while the Arquinvilliers and Aymerets shared space in the chapel Saint-Michel. The first Arquinvillier buried in the chapel was Olivier, seigneur d'Auvilliers and Saint-Rivault (1504). For the Arquinvilliers, see respectively Arsenal, Ms. 5403, 149 and Raunié, *Épitaphier de vieux*, 3: no. 1226. The earliest Aymeret was Guillaume, buried in the chapel Saint-Michel in 1515.

47. Rona Goffen, *Piety and Patronage in Renaissance Venice* (Yale: Yale University Press, 1986). Beaumont-Maillet includes plans of the chapels in her study of the Paris friary, *Le Grand couvent*.

48. Two of the Aurox were supporters of the League, according to Descimon. Barthélemy (d. 1591) was a councillor in the *chambre ardente* as well as “avocat banquier expéditionnaire en cour de Rome,” and Nicolas Aurox (d. 1590) was also a “banquier expéditionnaire”: Robert Descimon, *Qui étaient les Seize?*, vol. 34 in the series *Paris et Ile-de-France* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1983), 103.

49. Robert Descimon mentions Pierre Le Maistre, sieur de Vaux, as a member of the League. Pierre was a councillor in the courts of Châtelet, then the Parlement of Paris, and finally was a president in the *chambre des enquêtes* in the Parlement: Descimon, *Qui étaient les Seize?*, 177–78.

50. For an examination of the secular impulses underlying the patronage of religious orders, see Barbara B. Diefendorf, “Contradictions of the Century of Saints,” and Charmarie Blaisdell, “Religion, Gender, and Class: Nuns and Authority in Early Modern France,” in *Changing Identities in Early Modern France*, ed. Michael Wolfe (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1997), 147–68. For noble patronage in secular society, see Jouanna, *Le Dévoir*, 60–75. Jouanna differentiates between “amitié” and ties of “fidélité.” Amitié bound nobles to one another in reciprocal ties that were neither unequal nor dependent. Ties of fidelity involved dependence.

51. Megan McLaughlin, *Consorting with Saints*. See also Marie-Thérèse Lorcin, *Vivre et mourir en Lyonnais à la fin du moyen âge* (Paris: C.N.R.S., 1981).

52. There are other examples, though perhaps the earliest is the *Visio baronti monachi Longoretensis*, ed. Wilhelm Levison, MGH SRM 5 (1910), trans. Jocelyn Hillgarth as *Christianity and Paganism, 350–750: The Conversion of Western Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1969), 377–94.

53. (AN MX ET/LXXXVI/116). The other five are those of Jean Arnoult (AN LL 1518, f. 143), Guillaume Choart (AN LL 1523, 127), the merchant Estienne Hunn (AN LL 1517, and LL 1523, 78), Catharine Pichonnet (AN LL 1523, 59).

54. For Boullenger, see AN L 941, no. 37. For Durantel, AN LL 1523, 142.

55. “Instruire et enseigner le peuple en ladite eglise tant de ladite paroisse que d’autres paroisses a vivre selon les commandements de dieu ouyr et entendre sa parolle. . . .” AN L 941, no. 37. The date is March 30, 1588.

56. AN M71 (June 8, 1566), “Et aussi que la malice du tem[p]s auquel nous sommes

mérite bien de faire élection de personnages ausquels on puisse avoir esperance pour administrer la parole de Dieu & repousser les hérésies que nous veoyons pulluller chacun jour. . . .”

57. According to Jean Lebeuf, this confraternity had its roots in Jerusalem. The Paris version emerged first in the thirteenth century among men eager to go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. It was initially referred to as the “Croisiez” or “Paulmiers” because they wore a cross of Jerusalem on their way to Palestine and returned bearing Palm branches. Jacques du Bruel tells us that the confraternity emerged in the fourteenth century in affiliation with the Cordelier friary when eight members of the pilgrimage society were prevented from going to Palestine by conflict in the region. Jacques du Bruel, *Le Théâtre des antiquitez* . . . (Paris: Claude de la Tour, 1612), 529–37. For Lebeuf, see *Histoire de la ville* . . . , 6: 300.

58. For Monceaux, see du Bruel, *Théâtre*. Monceaux’s son Jean seems to have carried on familial patronage of the Paris community. In a donation to the community following the fire of 1580, he mentions not only the family’s long connection with the friary but also claims the right to bury his family in the crypt for a period of one hundred years. AN LL 1523, 169.

59. Thevet made his bequest in 1582. See Frank Lestringant, *André Thevet, cosmographe des derniers valois* (Geneva: Droz, 1991), 9. Other members who left bequests on behalf of the confraternity over the course of the sixteenth century included Le Gros (1550, 1557), Pierre Berthault (1559), Philippe de Noyen (1568), the draper Maurice de Launay (1566), and Anthoine Regnault (1578). For Philippe de Noyen “seigneur prestre et non voyageur,” see AN LL 1523, 237, and Arsenal Ms. 5403, 13 and Raunié, *Épitaphier de vieux*, 3: no. 1294. The Archives de la Seine holds the other confraternal bequests used here: D–Q(10), 95=2500, nos. 1299–1317.

60. The work on confraternities is vast. See, among others, Catherine Vincent, *Les confreries medievales dans le royaume de France: XIIIe–XVe siecle* (Paris: A. Michel, 1994), and John Patrick Donnelly and Michael W. Maher, *Confraternities & Catholic reform in Italy, France, & Spain* (Kirksville, Mo.: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1999).

61. “Nous promettons nous disposer a estat de grace nettoyant & purifians souventfois nous ames & consciences par la salutaire sacrement de penitence, & de nous fortifier par la frequente participation du corps & sang du fils de Dieu, & particulièrement de communier ensemble avec nos autres confreres chacun en a paroisse les premiers dimanches de chacun moys. . . . Et en outre nous trouver chacun premier jeudy du moys à la Procession, Messes, & Predication qui se faict & fera moyennant la grace de Dieu en ladicte Eglise saint Gervais à Paris. . . .”: *Articles accordez et iurez entre les confreres de la confrairie du S. nom de Jesus & ordonnee en l'Eglise Messieurs Saint Germain & S. Prothais de la ville de Paris*. . . . (Paris: Guillaume Bidion, 1590), 4–5.

62. See, among others, John Van Engen “The Church in the Fifteenth Century,” in *The Handbook of European History, 1400–1600*, ed. Thomas A. Brady Jr., Heiko A. Oberman, and James D. Tracy (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 301–26.

63. Denis Crouzet, *Les guerriers de Dieu. La violence au temps des troubles de religion vers 1525–vers 1610*, 2 vols. (Paris: Champ Vallon, 1990).

64. See, among others, Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Piety* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), Katherine Jansen,

The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the «Later Middle Ages» (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000), and Barbara Sella, "Northern Italian Confraternities and the Immaculate Conception in the Fourteenth Century," in *Journal of Ecclesiastical Studies* 49 (1998): 599–619.

65. Martin, *Les Ordres mendiants en Bretagne*, 338–40.

66. Taillepié, *Antiquitez et singularitez*, 116–17.

67. de Pavie, *L'Aquitaine séraphique*, 1: 313.

68. See for example, John O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1993). With regard to the Jesuits of France, see A. Lynn Martin, *The Jesuit Mind: The Mentality of an Elite in Early Modern France* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1988).

69. Wieste de Boer, *Confession in Borromean Milan* (Leiden: Brill, 2001). For the influence of Borromean reform in Europe, see among others, John Bossy, *Christianity in the West 1400–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985). Historians working on France also find ecclesiastical leaders curtailing lay devotion within the secular structure of the Church. See for example, Virginia Reinberg, "Liturgy and Laity in Late Medieval and Reformation France," in *Sixteenth Century Journal* 23 (1992).

70. Marc Forster also questions the degree to which the Catholic Church tried to contain lay devotion during this period: *Catholic Renewal in the Age of the Baroque: Religious Identity in Southwest Germany, 1550–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

71. André Vauchez, *Saints, prophètes et visionnaires. Le pouvoir surnaturel au Moyen Age* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1999).

72. Caroline Walker Bynum refers to this understanding of the eucharist as the *imitatio crucis*. The mystic became one with the suffering, crucified Christ, and in the process partook in his spiritual perfection through consuming his body: "To religious women food was a way of controlling as well as renouncing both self and environment. But it was more. Food was flesh, and flesh was suffering and fertility. In renouncing ordinary food and directing their being toward the food that is Christ, women moved to God not merely by abandoning their flawed physicality but also by becoming the suffering and feeling humanity of the body on the cross, the food on the altar": *Holy Feast, Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 5.

73. "Si autem quaereas, quomodo haec fiant, interroga gratiam, non doctrinam; desiderium, non intellectum; gemitum orationis, non studium lectionis; sponsum, non magistrum; Deum, non hominem, caligem, non claritatem; non lucem sed ignem. . ." *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*. Found in Bonaventura, *Opera omnia* (Ad Claras Aquas [Quaracchi], ex typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1882), 5: 332.

74. *Sermon de l'avènement du Benoist S. Esprit le jour de Pentacoste, traduit d'Italien en François par M. I. Berson, docteur en theologie et enfant de Paris* (Paris: Pierre l'Huilier, 1574), 4–5.

75. Bonaventure, *Itinerum Mentis in Deum*, 332. " . . . et Christus hunc accendit in fervore suae ardentissimae passionis. . . ."

76. Franco Mormando, *The Preacher's Demons: Bernardino of Siena and the Social Underworld of Early Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1999).

77. Francesco Panigarola and Pierre Christins, *Cent Sermons sur la passion de nostre*

seigneur, prononcez par R. P. F. François Panigarole . . . (Paris: Pierre Cavellat, 1586). "Ainsi les hommes doivent non seulement penser & entendre, mais sentir cette passion: ils doivent avoir une consideration sensitive, interieure & ferme de la Croix de Jesus-Christ, imprimee au sentiment de leur esprit . . ."

78. Ibid., 14.

79. Jacques Berson, *Oraison funebre pour illustre frangipani, meurte, nunce de nostre Pere Xiste V. vers nostre tres Chrestien Roy de France et de Pologne Henry 3* (Paris: Guillaume Iulien, 1587), 28–30. "Ceste chappelle ardente, les cierges, torches, & autres choses semblables, sont pour nostre consolation en la foy & esperance de la future resurreccion: pour actions de graces à nostre Dieu d'avoir logé pres de soy une si vertueuse ame, ou bien pour la propitiation & soulagement de sa fragilité humaine. . ."

80. William A. Hinnebusch, *The Dominicans: A Short History* (New York: The Society of Saint Paul, 1975).

81. Noël Taillepied, *Histoire des vies, moeurs, actes, doctrine et mort des trois principaux hérétiques de nostre temps, à scavoir Martin Luther, Jean Calvin et Theodore de Beze* . . . (Douai: Jean Bogard, 1616), 2–3. "Regarder si sa vie a esté bonne, sa perfection, quelle vacation il a tenu s'il est gouverné honestement, ou non, selon dieu & ses commandements. . . ." These Protestants, he says, "vivre selon leurs libertes charnelles, s'abandonnant à toutes lubicitez & autres moeurs corruptus," and introduced "diverses sectes."

82. Jean Benedicti, *La Sommez des Pechez M. I. Benedicti* (Lyon: Charles Pesnot, 1584). Found in the Epistle to Pierre de Pinac.

83. Denis Crouzet, *Les guerriers de Dieu*. Larissa Taylor also questions Crouzet's emphasis upon the apocalyptic nature of preaching in sixteenth-century France. Taylor agrees with Crouzet that apocalyptic sermons were common throughout the sixteenth century. However, her examination of the sermons of Jean Le Picart, a preacher whom Crouzet considered one of the most apocalyptic and inflammatory Catholic preachers, shows that these did not define the bulk of his work: *Heresy and Orthodoxy in Sixteenth-Century Paris: François Le Picart and the Beginnings of the Catholic Reformation* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), ix–xiv.

84. Capitis, Fremin, *Catechisme ou instructions des premieres fondements de la religion chrestienne, utile non seulement aux simples gens pour bien façonnet leurs moeurs, & dresser leur vie bons chrestiens mais aussi aux cures et vicaires* (Paris: Nicolas Chesneau, 1575), 3. "Et sommes ceux, desquels parle S. Paul, par lesquels le nom de Dieu est blasphemé entre les mescreans, qui par nostre malheureuse vie avons gasté, & gastons tous les jours la religion chrestienne. Et non seulement nous nous dammons par noz faits sales & ords, mais aussi nous sommes cause que les infidelles demeurent en leur infidelité & vont à perdition. Pourtant donc que la plus part de ceux qui sont desia grands & parceus, & qui sont profession de la religion chrestienne, n'entendent au vray que c'est de la foy, & ne tiennent le chemin pour y parvenir, mais se gouvernent malheureusement, l'Eglise militante qui est encore en terre, est contrainte de retourner au Catechisme, & institution de la foy chrestienne."

85. Bernadette Paton, *Preaching Friars and the Civic Ethos: Siena (1380–1480)* (London: Centre for Medieval Studies, Queen Mary and Westfield College, University of London, 1992). For another perspective on the political engagement of the friars, see Daniel Lesnick, *Preaching in Medieval Florence: The Social World of Franciscan and Dominican Spirituality* (Athens: the University of Georgia Press, 1989).

86. Christophe de Cheffontaine, *Apologie de la confrairie des penitents* (Paris: M. Julien, 1983), 33. "Car n'est-ce pas une bonne chose que prier Dieu, ieusner, veiller en oraison, & donner force aumosnes, marier les pauvres filles, visiter les prisonniers & malades, & les consoler en leurs adversitez, prier pour les vivans & pour les trespassez, ouyr & souvent communier le saint Sacrement. . . ."

87. Caroline Walker Bynum, "... And Women His Humanity? Female Imagery in the Religious Writings of the Later Middle Ages," in Caroline Walker Bynum, Steven Harnell, and Paula Richman, eds., *Gender and Religion: On the Complexity of Symbols* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986), 257–88. Larissa Taylor also provides a nicely nuanced discussion on women and preachers in *Soldiers of Christ: Preaching in Late Medieval and Reformation France* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 156–78.

88. Taylor, *Soldiers*, 172.

89. Donna Spivey Ellington relies mostly on Franciscan sources (Bernardino of Siena, Michel Menot) for her discussion of the medieval depictions of Mary, and on non-Franciscans for the early modern one. The two Franciscans she cites regarding the silent, passive Mary of the sixteenth century appear as the token dissonant voices. Lawrence of Brindisi (1559–1619), Ellington shows, continued to portray Mary as a quasi-priest because she produced the son of God. Both he and Christophe de Cheffontaine (1512–1595) depicted Mary, furthermore, in the role of passionate, active reformer: "Impassioned Mother or Passive Icon: The Virgin's Role in Late Medieval and Early Modern Passion Sermons," in *Renaissance Quarterly* 48 (1995): 253, nt. 93. The latin text for Brindisi is the following: "Nam audeo dicere quod ex pia devotione et cultu in Virginem vel maxime Electi a reprobis internoscuntur, filii Dei a filiis diaboli, Ecclesia Christi a synagoga satanae." Brindisi, *Opera Omnia*, 10 vols. (Padua, 1928) 1: 171.

90. Jean Benedicti, *La Somme des Pechez* (Lyon: Charles Pesnot, 1584), 3v. "Je ne veux point recourir aux dieux Aplo & Mercure, ne à la deesse Pallas, ains seulement à vous, o sacree vierge à qui tout lie ciel fait hommage, les royaumes Plutoniques vous craignent & la mer & la terre vous requierent, à fin qu'il vous plaise m'assister en ce mien oeuvre & illumina mon pauvre petit esprit." This passage is fully translated in chapter 5 in the discussion on humanism.

91. Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalene*.

92. The Dominican Guillaume Pepin's sermons on female devotion and female nature show that he at least was in agreement with his Franciscan contemporaries Michel Menot and Olivier Maillard. Taylor, *Soldiers*, 156–78.

93. Jacques Berson, *Sermon de l'avènement*, A iii. "Ne revestez vous pas les pauvres comme Dorcas? Je scay quantes bonnes Dames estoyent destinees de vous pour visiter les malades. Je vous ay veu laver . . . les pieds des pauvres & mallotruz. Chacun se sent de vostre liberalité, de vostre douceur, de vostre humanité . . . C'est bien signe d'aymer Dieu, quand on ne perd les Matines, Messe ordinaire, imò plusieurs, les Heures canoniales, les Vespres, mesmes les oraisons votives."

94. Ibid., A iii–iv. "Les predicateurs ne sont ils pas nourriz de vostre bien comme Helie, les cordeliers logez chez vous comme Helisée?"

95. Yves Magistri, *Baston de deffence et mirouer des professeurs de la vie reguliere de l'abbaye & ordre de Fontevault* (Angers: Anthoine Hernault, 1586), 17. "Excite les fideles serviteurs de nostre bon dieu a louer sa majeste divine, & pour mieux y proceder avec armonie bien stilée, ont compose & chanté publiquement en la congregation des

fideles, enfans de Dieu, plusieurs profes & cantiques dequels mesme encore à present nostre mere l'Eglise se sert."

96. AN M71 (June 8, 1566). Brenne "l'a toujours nourri & entretenu aux études."

97. Noël Taillepied, *Receuil des antiquités et singularités de la ville de Pontoise* (Rouen: George L'Oiselet, 1587), 61. Guillaume "qu'il préserva le pays et la ville du pillage, et de l'hérésie qui y commençoit à couvrir et pulluler."

98. Maurice Hylaret, *Deux traictez ou opuscules, l'un en forme de remonstrance, de non conveniendo cum haereticis, l'autre par forme de conseil et advis de non eundo cum muliere haeretica a viro catholico conjugio* (Orleans: Bynard, 1587). "Ne merite peu des bien-zelez roys tres-Chrestiens, grands seigneurs catholiques, & des gouverneurs des provinces bons Chrestiens s'il fait louablement cest explit de milite Chrestienne & guerroye vaillamment l'heresie."

99. Many friars frowned upon noble violence, for example. See chapter 6.

100. For the association of the Capuchins and Marie Acarie, see among others, Stéphane-Marie Morgain, *Pierre de Bérulle et les carmélites de France (1583–1629)* (Paris: les Editions du Cerf, 1995).

Chapter 5

1. Agrippa d'Aubigné, *Histoire universelle*, ed. André Thierry, 9 vols. (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1993), 8: 175–76. "Ce conseil avoit emissaires et habiles instrumens Geincestre, Feu-Ardent, Peletier, le Petit-Feuillant Christi et Garnier; tous ceux-là bien munis de vivres pour eux, possedoyent les chaires, par les chaires les oreilles et les coeurs des Parisiens, en prenant garde surtout que les convents fussent bien munitionnez, de peur qu'ils ne preschassent pas bien la tolerance de la faim s'ils la sentoient."

2. Julian Pelletier was the curé of Saint-Jacques-de-la Bouchérie, a parish closely affiliated with the League and one that invited Jean Garin often into its pulpits. Guinestre was the curé of Saint-Gervais. Guincestre (or Lincestre) was the curé of Saint-Gervais. Christi may well have been Christin Florat, as André Thierry suggests in note 10 of his edition of d'Aubigné, though Pierre Cristin is another possibility. Cristin was a preacher from Nice who came to Paris to support the Leaguer cause. He might have received his training at the Sorbonne but Labitte does not indicate it one way or another. "Garnier" was in fact Jean Garin, the Observant Franciscan who became one of the most ardent critics of Henry of Navarre during the dying days of League authority in Paris: Charles Labitte, *Démocratie chez les prédicateurs de la Ligue* (Paris: Durand Libraire, 1866).

3. Bert Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education c. 1210–1257* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 2–8. Roest points out that even Francis of Assisi was forced to recognize the importance of education by the end of his life because of ecclesiastical concerns about orthodoxy.

4. César-Égasse du Boulay, *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis*, 6 vols. (Paris: Petrus de Bresche, 1665–1673), 6: 194, 223. Pierre-Yves Féret discusses the early years in *La Faculté de Théologie de Paris et ses docteurs les plus célèbres*, 7 vols. (Paris: Picard, 1900–1910), 1: 168. See also Gordon Leff, *Paris and Oxford Universities in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: An Institutional and Intellectual History* (New York: John Wiley & Sons Inc., 1968) and Hastings Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols., revised by F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936), 1:376–79.

5. AN LL 1524, f. 2.
6. James Farge, ed., *Régistre des procès-verbaux de la Faculté de Théologie (Janvier 1524–Novembre 1533)* (Paris: Aux Amateurs de Livres, 1990), 226, sec. 283F.
7. Du Boulay, *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis*, 6:533–34.
8. Ibid.
9. Another particularly heated legal battle involved Jacques le Dreux and Jean Guinard [Girard], who petitioned the Parlement in 1570 because they refused to pay double the fees the Faculty required for admission to lecture on the *Sentences*. AN LL 1524, f. 15v–18.
10. AN LL 1524 (Sept. 20, 1559), ff. 15–16. For the 1554 conflict, letter dated Nov. 3 in the name of Henry II: “Il faut une residence a Paris toute lannée et que led. Frere Nicollas vouldroit autant gagner en un seul jour d’euphemie comme les autres qui avoient demeuré longtemps.”
11. AN LL 1524, ff. 11–12.
12. Du Boulay, *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis*, 6: 685: “In Comitiiis . . . decretum 1. Admonendum Gymnasiarcham Marchianum ne pateretur amplius Fratrem Claudius Ricard Regularem profiteri Philosophiam publicè; sed eius loco secularem Professore[m] sufficeret.”
13. Jean-Baptiste Crevier, *Histoire de l’université de Paris depuis son origine jusqu’en l’Année 1600*, 7 vol. (Paris, 1761), 6: 291.
14. Andrew Traver, “Secular and Mendicant Masters of the Faculty of Theology at the University of Paris, 1505–1523,” in *Sixteenth-Century Journal* 26 (1995): 146–47.
15. See AN LL 1511, 1514, 1515. The minutes of the Paris faculty record whether students entered the cursum as “ordinary” or “extraordinary” students.
16. Roest, *History of Franciscan Education*. Also extremely useful is John Murphy, “A History of the Franciscan *studium generale* at the University of Paris in the Fifteenth-Century” (Ph.D. diss., Indiana: Medieval Institute, 1965), 11–20. Murphy mentions that there were thirty-eight *studia generalia* in Europe by 1467, including several in France. Among the most important were those found in Toulouse, Lyon, Dijon, Bordeaux, and of course, Paris. Not all were affiliated with a university, however. Paris was unusual because it could offer a university degree.
17. Celestino di Piana, “Gli statuti per la riforma dello Studio di Parigi (a. 1502),” in *Archivum Franciscanum historicum* 52 (1959): ch.2, 3. The three original Observant provinces of France, Burgundy (Bonaventure), and Tournonne (Touraine) could send three students “de gratia”—in other words, supported by the Paris friary—and three students “de debito.” The other provinces could send only two of each kind. Most of these students, however, never made it beyond the studium. As Laure Beaumont-Maillet also points out, the restriction of the studium to these provinces also affected the prestige of the studium in the Franciscan order, because it was no longer receiving the “best” students from all over Europe by the sixteenth century: *Le grand couvent des cordeliers de Paris: études historiques et archéologiques du XIIIe siècle à nos jours* (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1975), 132–35.
18. Marcia Colish, *Medieval Foundations of the Western Intellectual Tradition 400–1400* (New Haven, Conn., and London: Yale University Press, 1997), 265.
19. William Courtenay, “Nominalism and Late Medieval Religion,” in *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval Renaissance Religion*, ed. Charles Trinkaus and Heiko

Oberman (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974), 26–58. See also Heiko Oberman, *The Harvest of Late Medieval Theology: Gabriel Biel and Late Medieval Nominalism* (Durham, N.C.: The Labyrinth Press, 1983), and Augustin Renaudet, *Préréforme et humanisme à Paris pendant les premières guerres d'Italie (1494–1517)* (1916; reprint, Paris: Librairie d'Argences, 1953), 60.

20. Colish, *Medieval Foundations*, 313.

21. Murphy, “History of the Franciscan *studium generale*,” 131.

22. Leff, *Paris and Oxford Universities*, 243–44, 295–96.

23. B. M. Bonansea, *Man and His Approach to God in John Duns Scotus* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1983), 227–30.

24. James Farge, *Orthodoxy and Reform in Early Modern France* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985), 18.

25. As Marcia Colish points out, “debates with other interpretations, articulated by proponents both living and dead, was expected to take place as a normal condition of intellectual labor. In all fields, the expression of a range of competing views within the boundaries of acceptable teaching was seen as a natural outgrowth of scholarship and was regarded as invigorating and healthy, not threatening” (*Medieval Foundations*, 265).

26. Farge, *Orthodoxy and Reform*, 18–20. James Farge says that the *biblicus* was also expected to make one formal intervention in one of two formal disputations (*magna ordinaria*), the *vesperia* of a licentiate or the *resumptiva* of a new master (*parva ordinaria*). The *magna ordinaria* was held in the ordinary term, the *parva ordinaria* in the summer term. These interventions, however, are not mentioned in the registers of the Faculty of Theology for the late sixteenth century, and only rarely in the inner council minutes of the Paris friary. It is impossible to know, therefore, whether in fact these interventions were a regular part of the formation of the *biblicus*. However, we do know that the *tentativa* was an essential part of his formation.

27. Murphy, “History of the Franciscan *studium generale*,” 18.

28. Paul F. Grendler, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 386.

29. When Feuardent actually completed the license and doctorate is open to debate. Faculty records mention Feuardent receiving his license in 1576, while Franciscan sources suggest he received his doctorate in 1575. Feuardent likely finished his Sorbonica in 1575, but received his license and the doctorate in 1576. This was possible, given the practice of licensing only in the Jubilee year. Faculty registers, however, are not necessarily accurate. See BN MS LAT 15440.

30. See chapter 4.

31. AN LL 1524, ff. 4v–7. These are mentioned in the reform plan of 1567. These gifts, known as “sucré” and “draguée,” were medieval terms stemming from the “free” nature of education. Education could not be bought, but it could be given. Students also consequently gave, and by the sixteenth century these gifts were standardized forms of payment. The reform plan from 1567 estimates that a new doctor could expect to pay his regent doctors as much as eighty livres in a given year. For the gifts to masters, see also Gaines Post, K. Giocarnis, and R. Kay, “The Medieval Heritage of a Humanist Ideal: *Scientia donum est, unde vendi non potest*,” in *Traditio* 2 (1955): 196–234.

32. For Ramus, see the nicely nuanced study of James Veazie Skalnik, *Ramus and Reform: University and Church at the End of the Renaissance* (Kirkville: Truman State University Press, 2002), and George Huppert, *The Style of Paris: The Renaissance Origins of the Enlightenment* (Bloomington: Indian University Press, 1999). There were several reform attempts during the sixteenth century, including ones in 1567, 1587, and 1598. Copies of these reform decrees survive. AN LL1524.

33. Le Maingre's brother Charles de Marillac, after all, was the archbishop of Vienne. He held the post until his death in 1572. For Marillac and Le Maingre, see Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon Ms. 844, 43 and 28 respectively.

34. For Suarez, see Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal Ms. 5403, 142 and AN LL 1523, 171. Suarez is also discussed by Joseph Bergin in *The Making of the French Episcopate, 1589–1661* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1996). For Pérille, see Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon Ms. 844, 43.

35. For Cheffontaine and Henrici, see Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon Ms. 844, 44. Montracher entered the order in 1529 and became provincial minister of France in 1535. For Montracher, see Lucas Wadding, *Annales minorum ab origine ordinis ad annum 1540, cum syllabo opera fr. Joannis de Luca, fr. Jo-Mariae de Ancona et fr. Caietani Michelesii ad annum 1574*, 28 vols. (Quaracchi: Collegia S. Bonaventurae, 1931–1947), 3: 292, and Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon Ms. 844, 44. See also James Farge, *Biographical Register of Paris Doctors of Theology, 1500–1536*, *Subsidia Mediaevalia* 10 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1980): 337.

36. Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon Ms. 844, 44.

37. Charles du Plessis d'Argentré, *Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus qui ab initio duodecimi seculi post incarnationem Verbi, usque ad annum 1632 . . .*, 3 vols. (1728; reprint, Brussels: Culture et Civilization, 1963): 2, 453.

38. See among others, Louis B. Pascoe, *Jean Gerson: Principles of Church Reform* (Leiden: Brill, 1973), and D. Catherine Brown, *Pastor and the Laity in the Theology of Jean Gerson* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

39. See in particular Farge, *Orthodoxy and Reform* and *Le parti conservateur au XVIe siècle: Université et Parlement de Paris à l'époque de la Renaissance et de la Réforme* in the series *Documents et inédits du Collège de France* (Paris: Diffusion les belles lettres, 1992).

40. The Faculty took its battle against the Jesuits to the Parlement with the eager support of the young Eustache du Bellay. Du Bellay saw this case as an opportunity to make his mark as a legal advocate, but his stirring defense of the Faculty is important because it reflects the reasons underlying the Faculty's hostility, including the issue of political distrust. This transcript is reprinted in Du Boulay, *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis*, 6: 570–76.

41. For Briçonnet, see Farge, *Le parti conservateur*, and Introduction to vol. 1, J. M. de Bujanda, ed., *Index de l'Université de Paris: 1544, 1545, 1547, 1549, 1551, 1556* (*Index des livres interdits*) (Sherbrooke, Quebec, 1985).

42. Farge discusses the controversy over Lefevre's book as well as the trial of Briçonnet in *Le parti conservateur*. For Marguerite de Navarre, see André Tuilier, *Histoire de l'université de Paris et de la Sorbonne*, 2 vols. (Nouvelle librairie de France, 1994), 1: 323. *The Miroir d'une pecheresse* was condemned in 1531.

43. Tuilier, *Histoire*, 1: 315. "La sainte escriture ne se peult bonnement entendre sans la langue greque, hébraïque ou autres semblables."

44. Quoted in Erika Rummel, *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate in the Renaissance and Reformation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 82. She cites from the 1734 edition of Cano's *De locis theologicis* (Padua).

45. For the *chambre ardente*, see William Monter, *Judging the French Reformation: Heresy Trials by Sixteenth-Century Parlements* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999).

46. Lucas Wadding, *Annales minorum* 20, 84, and AN 249, f. 135. Another French Franciscan, Jacques Alain, reportedly accompanied the bishop of Vannes to the Council. Othon de Pavie, *L'Aquitaine Séraphique, notes historique sur l'ordre des frères mineurs et en particulier sur la province séraphique d'Aquitaine*, 3 vols. (Auch, 1905), 3:261.

47. Jean Benedicti, *La Somme des pechez* (Lyon, 1584).

48. Emile Pasquier, René Benoist: *le pape des Halles (1521–1608)* (1913; reprint, Geneva: Slatkine Press, 1970), 93–101.

49. AN MM 249, ff. 143–46.

50. AN LL 1515 (July 7, 1568), f. 28.

51. Farge, *Le parti conservateur*, 36–46. See also Linton Stevens, "A Re-evaluation of Hellenism in the French Renaissance," in Werner Gundersheimer, ed., *French Humanism 1460–1600* (London: MacMillan & Co., Ltd, 1969), 183, and Huppert, *Style of Paris*, 41.

52. François Rabelais, *Pantagruel*, ed. Verdun L. Saulnier (Geneva: Droz, 1959), 44–45. "Maintenant toutes disciplines sont restituées, les langues instaurées, Grecque, sans laquelle c'est honte que une personne se die sçavant. Hébraïque, Caldaïque, Latine . . . Tout le monde est plain de gens sçavans, de précepteurs tresdoctes, de librairies tresamples, qu'il m'est advis que, ny au temps de Platon, ny de Cicéron, ny de Papinian, n'y avoit point telle commodité d'estude qu'il y a maintenant."

53. AN LL 1511 (May 26, 1583). Laure Beaumont-Maillet finds the community hiring a friar to teach the two languages as of 1615: *Le Grand couvent*, 98.

54. Farge, *Orthodoxy and Reform*, 15, n.30.

55. M. N. Tommaseo, ed. and trans., *Relations des ambassadeurs vénétiens sur les affaires de France au 16e siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1838), 1: 263.

56. An early sixteenth-century description of the University is found in Robert Goulet, *Compendium on the magnificence, dignity and excellence of the University of Paris in the year of Grace 1517* (1517), trans. Robert Belle Burke (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1928), 29–30. See also Huppert, *Style of Paris*.

57. Student fights were common problems faced by university administrators. See for example, a large-scale conflict in 1557 on the pré-aux-clerks between students and the friars of Saint-Germain-des-Près. Many students were imprisoned. Du Boulay, *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis*, 6:515–17.

58. Student farces were an extremely popular cultural form at the universities of France until the middle of the sixteenth century when royal pressure put an end to such forms of entertainment. Since these plays usually took satirical aim at the teaching of masters, the policies of university administrators and even criticized the king, one can well understand why sixteenth-century authorities viewed them as a threat to public order. Beam is challenging Philippe Ariés among others who situate the end to student theater in institutional reforms at the University and the establishment of Jesuit colleges after 1550. Sara Beam, "Farce, Festive Societies and the Reformation of

Manners in France, 1500–1650” (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1999), ch. 2.

59. Crevier, *Histoire de l’université de Paris*, 6:237–38.

60. AN LL 1511 (May 12, 1588), f. 54v.

61. John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from its Origins to the year 1517* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 541.

62. Murphy, “History of the Franciscan *studium generale*,” 110–27. See also Renaudet, *Préréforme et humanisme à Paris*.

63. A. J. Krailsheimer, *Rabelais and the Franciscans* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 541. Rabelais arrived in Paris to continue his studies in 1528, and he later became closely associated with the Hellenist renaissance in Paris.

64. A. Roserot, *Dictionnaire Historique de la Champagne Méridionale (Aube) des origines à 1790* (Marseille: Lafitte Reprints, 1948), 1631.

65. The friars were only able to save a few of the books, including the priceless psalter given to them by Louis IX. Catherine de Médicis, Jacques-Auguste de Thou, and other patrons helped them to rebuild their collection, however, and by 1643 the community had four thousand books, including several Greek texts given by Catherine de Médicis. Alfred Franklin, *Les Anciennes bibliothèques de Paris*, 3 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1867–1873), 1:203–7.

66. Bibliothèque de Troyes, MSS 2259.

67. Noël Taillepied, *Recueil des antiquités et singularités de la ville de Pontoise* (Rouen: George L’Oiselet, 1587), 92–93.

68. See for example, Erik Leland Saak, “The Reception of Augustine in the Later Middle Ages,” in Irenée Backus, ed., *Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: From the Carolingians to the Maurists*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 1:367–403.

69. See among others, Charles Stringer, *Humanism and the Church Fathers: Ambrogio Traversari (1386–1439) and Christian Antiquity in the Italian Renaissance* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1977) and Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and its Sources: Collected Essays* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990).

70. The eighty-six texts are those that I have tracked down to date. This list is by no means complete. For example, only a fraction of the sermons composed by friars during the Wars of Religion have survived. Even so, this increased interest in humanist genres of literature is striking, and it is a trend noticed also by Marie-Madeleine Fragonard. Among the friars she cites in particular are Christophe de Cheffontaine, Fremin Capitis, Noël Taillepied, and of course, Feuardent: “Les publications des Franciscains: une mutation d’identité,” in *Foi, fidélité, amitié en Europe à la période moderne: Mélanges offerts à Robert Sauzet*, ed. Brigitte Maillard (Tours: Université de Tours, 1995), 2: 178.

71. Noël Taillepied, *Commentarii in Threnos seu lamentationes Hieremie prophetæ. Nostris temporibus quibus christiana religio miserrime afficitur, accommodatissimi ac omnibus Verbi Divini preconibus utilissimi* (Paris: Jean Parant, 1582), and *Collectio quatuor doctorum: Ambrosii, Hieronymi, Augustini, et Gregorii, super triginta articulis ab hæreticis modernis disputatis*, found in Jean Bunderen, *Compendium rerum theologiarum quæ hodie in controversia agitantur, ad sensum et consensum veræ catholicæ Ecclesiæ: scripturæ sacræ . . .* (Paris, 1574). For a biography of Taillepied, see Pierre Moracchini, “Noël Taillepied, Franciscain et controversiste,” in *I Francescani in Europa tra Riforma e*

Controriforma. Atti del XIIIe convegno internazionale Assisi, 17–19 ottobre 1985 (Perugia: Università degli studi di Perugia, 1987), 117–63. Taillepie did spend time in Paris as a confessor in the female Franciscan community of Ave Maria.

72. *Liber Ruth F.F.F., commentariis explicatus* (1582), R.R. Fr. F.F. in *librum Esther commentarii* (Cologne, 1594), *Divi Iacobi epistola commentariis explicata auctori F. F.F.P.* (1599), *D. Pauli Apost. Epistola ad Philemonem, commentariis ac variorum locorum communium diligenti copiosaue tractatione explicata* (Cologne, 1587), R.P. Fr. F.F. *om Jonam prophetam commentarii* (Cologne, 1595), and *F.F. commentarius in epistolam sancti Petri* (1600).

73. S. Irenaei, *Lugdunensis episcopi et martyris, adversus Valentini et similium Gnosticorum haereses libri V* (1575), *Divins Opuscles et exercices spirituels du tres-saint pere Ephrem, archidiacre d'Esse en Mesopotamie, écrits par ledit Auteheur l'an trois cens cinquante . . . maintenant mis en nostre langue François* (Paris, 1579). This same volume includes an edition of a sermon by Cyril of Alexander.

74. Marguerin de la Bigne (1546–c1595) was a French theologian who gathered, translated, and edited over two hundred patristic texts and published them in a several volume series known as the *Sacra Bibliotheca Sanctorum Patrum* (Paris, 1575). Bigne's intent was reformative—to refute Protestant interpretation of the patristics through the production of correct editions. Bigne and Feuardent must have known one another, since Bigne was a canon of the cathedral at Bayeux, and both were at the Sorbonne.

75. For Dadré, see Féret, *La Faculté de Théologie*, 2: 282. *Dictionnaire de biographie française* 9 (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1929–1995). For Génébrard, see Féret, *La Faculté de Théologie*, 2: 2, 342–55. Irene Backus also discusses him in *La Patristique et les guerres de religion en France: Etude de l'activité littéraire de Jacques de Billy (1535–1581) O.S.B. d'après le MS. Sens 167 et les sources imprimés* (Paris: Institut d'Etudes Augustiniennes, 1993).

76. Hilarin de Lucerne, *Histoire des études dans l'ordre de saint François* (Paris: Librairie Alphonse Picard & Fils, 1908), 513.

77. *L'avenement du Benoist S. Esprit le iour de Pentacoste, traduit d'Italien en François par M. I. Berson* (Paris: chez Pierre l'Huilier, 1574), Bv–Bvi. “Seulement, diray, que jamais nostre France ne fut mieux pourveue d'homme doctes . . . qui entendent les langues, qui en connoissent le secret, à qui appartient ce fait, comme don de Dieu. . .”

78. Noël Taillepie, *L'Histoire des vies, meurs, actes, doctrine, et mort de quatre principaux hérétiques de nostre temps, a sçavoir Martin Luther, André Carlostad, Piere Martyr, & Jean Calvin* (Paris: Jean Parant, 1577), and *l'Histoire des vies, moeurs, actes, doctrine et mort des trois principaux heretiques de nostre temps, a sçavoir Martin Luther, Jean Calvin et Theodore de Beze* (Douay, 1616). Taillepie's histories include *Antiquitez et singularitez de la ville de Pontoise* (Rouen, 1587), *Recueil des antiquitez et singularitez de la ville de Rouen. Avec un progres des choses memorables y advenues depuis sa fondation jusques à present* (Rouen, 1587) and *L'Histoire de l'Estat et République des Druides, eubages, sarronides, bardes, vacies, anciens François, gouverneurs de la Gaule, depuis le deluge universel jusqu'a Jesus Christ en ce monde* (Paris, 1585). We can also include here *Le Thresor de l'Eglise Catholique contenant l'origine des institutions, statuts, ordonnances, ceremonies & estatz d'icelle . . .* (Paris, 1578). This work, like the others, used the historical genre also as a form of preaching.

79. François Feuardent, *Histoire de la fondation de l'église et abbaye du Mont St-Michel*, par le P.F. Ardent (Avranches, 1862) and *Antiquitates Harflerii oppidi in Normandia* (1611?).

80. Feuardent's polemics include *Responses aux lettres et questions d'un Calviniste touchant l'innocence, virginité, excellence et invocation de la glorieuse Vierge Marie*, found in *Divins Opuscles et exercices spirituels du tres-saint pere Efrein, archidiacre d'Esse en Mesopotamie . . .* (Paris, 1579), *Sepmaine premiere des dialogues, auxquels sont examinées et confutées cent soixante et quatorze erreurs des Calvinistes* (Paris, 1585), *Responses chrestiennes et modestes aux lettres et questions d'un gentilhomme, estants lors de la nouvelle pretendu religion, et maintenant bien reuny a l'Eglise et foy catholique* (Paris, 1597), *Brief Examen des confessions, prieres, sacremens et catechismes des calvinistes* (Paris, 1599), *Amicale admonition aux predicans et ministres* (Paris, 1601), and *Entremangeries et guerres ministrales, c'est a dire haines, contradictions, accusations . . . fureurs et furies des ministres de ce siecle, les uns contre les autres touchant les principaux fondemens de foy et de la religion chrestienne* (Paris, 1601).

81. A sampling includes Christophe de Cheffontaine, *Novae illustrationis christianae fidei adversus impios, libertinos, atheos, epicureos, et omni genus infidelis* (Paris, 1586) and *Liber defensiones fidei majorum nostrorum, qua haereticorum seculi nostri strategemata deteguntur* (Antwerp, 1575), Jacques Berson, *Escrit et pretendu, par lequel aucuns se sort de l'Eglise Romaine* (Paris, 1586), Fremin Capitis, *Brieve apologie contre Calvin et ses complices touchant l'administration des sacremens et la maniere de faire les prieres en l'Eglise, et que les traductions de Marot et Beze ne doivent estre appelés Psalmes de David* (Reims, 1563), Maurice Hylaret, *Remonstrance catholique, sur la trop familiere & privee communication & frequentation avec les Heretiques interdite aux Catholiques adressee à un amy surnommé Hert, par un theologian* (Paris, 1587), Melchior de Flavin, *Discours sur le vraie religion* (Paris, 1566) and *Remonstrance de la vraye religion au roy tres-chrestien Charles IX* (Paris, 1562), and Noël Taillepied, *Brevis resolutio sententiarum S. Scripturae ab haereticis modernis in suarum haereseon fulcimentum perperam adductarum* (Paris, 1574).

82. A small selection includes Flavin, *Resolutiones Quaestionum F. Joannis Duns Scoti* (. . .), in *IV Libros Sententiarum* (Paris, 1579), Jean Porthaise, *Cinq sermons de R.P.F.I. Porthaise de l'ordre S. François, theologal de l'Eglise de Poitiers, par luy prononcez en icelle esquels est traicté tant de la simulée conversion du Roy du Navarre* (Paris, 1594), Jean Benedicti, *La Somme des Pechez* (Lyon, 1584), Maurice Hylaret, *Sermones catholiques pour les jours de Caresmes et fetes de Pasques . . .* (Paris, 1589), and Claudius La Barre, *Quaestio theological qui sunt laborantes . . .* (1591), and Pierre Morselin, *Martyrologium Romanum* (Paris, 1573).

83. Larissa Taylor, "The Influence of Humanism on Post-Reformation Catholic Preachers in France," *Renaissance Quarterly* 50 (1997): 115–31.

84. Benedicti, *La Somme des pechez*, 3v–4.

85. Jacques Berson, *L'avènement du Benoist S. Esprit*, iii. "Sparte fut forte par accord, et pour nous ses murs avoit soldats vaillants, Ainsi s'en vont nos Royaumes faillants si entre nous se nourrit le discord."

86. Maurice Hylaret, *Deux traictes ou opuscles, l'un en forme de remonstrance, de non conveniendo cum haereticis, l'autre par forme de conseil et advis de non eundo cum muliere haeretica a viro catholico conjugio* (Orleans, 1587), 152, 162. Hylaret's citation of classical sources is extensive. He also refers to the Roman authors Terence (165),

Apuleus (79–80), and Ovid (83), in addition to the more common Greek philosophers Plato and Aristotle and Roman historians.

87. Hylaret, Preface, *Deux traictez*. “Ainsi ce que j’ay peu chasser et rechercher en la forest d’Orleans (ou est de present nostre bibliotheque) la leçon des bon autheurs, & forest des bonnes sciences & disciplines. . . .”

88. Benedicti, *La somme des pechez*, 3v–4. “Et si ne faut trouver estrange que les scholastiques docteurs ayent sceu plusieurs choses que les anciens ignories: car l’Eglise croist en science estant comparee à l’aube du jour qui monte peu à peu . . . un bon scotiste ou Thomiste trouvera des . . . arguments plus subtils que ne sçauroit faire toute la Babylone-Calvinesque.”

89. A sampling of this vast scholarship includes Eugene Rice, “The Humanist Idea of Christian Antiquity: Lefèvre d’Etaples and his Circle,” in Werner Gunderscheimer, ed., *French Humanism 1470–1600* (London: MacMillan, 1969), 163–80, and Richard L. DeMolen, *The Spirituality of Erasmus of Rotterdam* (Nieuwkoop: De Graf, 1987).

90. Jacques Lefèvre d’Etaples, *La maniere de lire l’evangile, et quel profit on en doit attendre* (Antwerp: Martin Lempereur, 1525–1530), 3v. Quoted in Francis Higman, *Censorship and the Sorbonne: a Bibliographical Study of Books in French Censured by the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris, 1520–1551* (Geneva: Droz, 1979), 39.

91. Augustin Renaudet, “Paris from 1494–1517—Church and University; Religious Reform. Culture and Humanist Critiques,” in Gunderscheimer, ed., *French Humanism*. For the life of Lüll, see Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, 249, 264–65. A former student of Bonaventure at Paris, Lüll wrote among other mystical works *The Art of Contemplation* and *The Book of the Lover and the Beloved*.

92. Rice, “The Humanist Idea of Christian Antiquity.”

93. Beryl Smalley, *English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1960). See, in particular, chapter 3. The friars were not the only clerics who found moral value in classical works. See above all, Jean LeClerq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God. A Study in Monastic Culture*, 3rd ed. (New York: Fordham University Press, 1982), 112–19.

94. Jacques Berson, *Sermon de l’avènement du Benoist S. Esprit le jour de Pentecoste, traduit d’Italien en François par M.I. Berson* (Paris, 1574), Bvi. “Il est impossible d’inventer mieux que les anciens, mais il est facile d’ajouter, ou à la disposition, ou à la maniere. . . .” Leclercq, *The Love of Learning*, 116–19.

95. Pierre Moracchini, “Noël Taillepie, Franciscain et controversiste,” in *I Francescani in Europa tra Riforma e Controriforma*, Atti del XIII convegno internazionale (Assisi, 1987), 137–38.

96. Quoted in Joseph Nève, ed., *Sermon choisis de Michel Menot* (Paris: Edouard Champion, 1924), xiii. This quotation comes from the sermon collection *Post cineres*, f.6.

97. Louise M. Burckhardt, *The Slippery Earth: Nahua-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1989). Other excellent works include Sabine MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes. Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991), and Vincente L. Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule* (Durham, N.C., and London: Duke University Press, 1993).

98. For works on spectacle, see among others Lawrence M. Bryant, *The King and the*

City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony: Politics, Ritual, and Art in the Renaissance (Geneva: Droz, 1986), and Francis Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1975).

99. John O'Malley, "Form, Content, and Influence of Works about Preaching Before Trent: The Franciscan Contribution," in *I fratri minori tra* 400–500 (Assisi, 1985), 43.

100. Corrie E. Norman, *Humanist Taste and Franciscan Values: Cornelio Musso and Catholic Preaching in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (New York: Peter Lang, 1998), 68, and "The Franciscan Preaching Tradition and Its Sixteenth-Century Legacy: The Case of Cornelio Musso," in *The Catholic Historical Review* 85 (1999): 208–32.

101. Corrie Norman also makes this point in "The Franciscan Preaching Tradition," 209–10. She mentions that Musso was nicknamed a "modern Demosthenes." See also Frederick McGuinness, *Right Thinking and Sacred Oratory in Counter Reformation Rome* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995), and O'Malley, "Form, Content, and Influence."

102. Benedicti, *La Somme des Pechez*, 3v. "Sacree Royne des cieux, si je prens ceste hardiesse de parler de vos vertus, pour lesquel les expliquer, je ne desire point l'ayde des neuf soeurs comme a fait Homer a chanter son Illiade, ne le torrent de Demosthene, ne la mer de Ciceron . . . je ne veux point recourir aux dieux Apollo & Mercure, ne à la deesse Pallas, ains seulement à vous, o sacree vierge à qui tout lie ciel fait hommage, les royaumes Plutoniques vous craignent & la mer & la terre vous requierent, à fin qu'il vous plaise m'assister en ce mien oeuvre & illumina mon pauvre petit esprit."

103. Just as when one decides to build a house, it is necessary to begin "en apres, en la fountaise, afin de se prouvoir de pierres & au bois pour faire provision de poutres & solives, & en somme pour apprester la matiere de son edifice." Francesco Panigarola, *L'art de prescher et bien faire un sermon* (Lyon, 1615), 12v.

104. Taillepied, *Collectio quatuor doctorum*, and François Feuarent, *Confessio Tertulliana et Cypriana in quatuor digesta libros, authore F. Theodoro Petreo. Lutheranorum et Calvinistarum criminationes* (Paris, 1603).

105. The third-century Christian author and leader, Tertullian (d. ca. 230), wrote a number of tracts attacking a rival religious tradition known as Gnosticism. Cyprian (d. 258) was also a famous orator. He was a well-known critic of Novatian, a leader of a rival Christian sect at the time.

106. Labitte, *Démocratie chez les prédicateurs de la Ligue*. Boucher was then vicar of the parish church of Saint-Benoît in Paris, and during the League he published numerous works justifying popular resistance to Henry III and later Henry of Navarre.

107. The following chapter will discuss Franciscan conceptions of the body politic.

108. Labitte, *Démocratie chez les prédicateurs de la Ligue*, 64–66, 111. See also Crevier, *Histoire de l'université de Paris*, 6:317–19.

109. Pierre de L'Estoile, *Journal de l'Estoile pour la règne de Henri IV*, 2 vols. (Paris: Gallimard, 1948), 1: 44. See also D'Argentré, *Collectio*, 2: pt. 1, 490. "Puisque Henri de Bourbon est hérétique ou fauteur d'hérésie, notoirement ennemi de l'Eglise, relaps, nommément excommunié par notre Saint Père . . . les Français sont tenus et obligés en conscience de l'empêcher de tout leur pouvoir de parvenir au gouvernement du royaume très-chrestien, et de ne faire aucune paix avec lui. . . ."

110. Labitte, *Démocratie chez les prédicateurs de la Ligue*, 125.

111. Many of the universities of Europe faced resistance to their incorporation by

municipal governments. For a history of the University, see Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe*; Paris is found in volume 2. The riot as a mainstay of popular politics has received a great deal of attention for the early modern period, including Natalie Davis's influential article "The Rites of Violence," in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), 152–88 and most recently, William Beik *Urban Protest in Seventeenth-Century France: A Culture of Retribution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

112. Crevier, *Histoire de l'université de Paris*, 6: 64.

113. D'Argentré lists the regents of the Faculty who signed the articles. These included three Franciscans, Ambrose Milley, Jacques Hugonis and François Volant: *Collectio*, 2: 318. See also Crevier, *Histoire de l'université de Paris*, 6:136–43.

114. Du Boulay, *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis*, 6:660–66.

115. *Ibid.*, 541.

116. Robert Knecht, *The French Wars of Religion 1559–1598*, 2nd ed. (New York: Longman, 1996), 41.

117. Skalnik, *Ramus and Reform*, 116–19.

118. BNF Mss. Fr 16520, 81c–83. "He me suis proposé pour unique fin le bien sallut et repos de mes subjects et que a cela tendent tous mes pensemens et desseins comme au port de la plu grande gloire de felicite que je puisse acquerir en ce monde en celle intention apres avois bien considere les hazarts et inconveniens qui estoient de tous cottez a craindre j'ay finalement pris la voye de douceur et reconciliation de laquelle on a ja receully ce fruit qu'elle a estaint le feu de la guerre don't ce royaulme estoit enflambe et en danger de le consommer entierement . . . une bonne paix . . . [est] le remede seul et unique pour conserver le salut de cet estat."

119. Mark Greengrass, "A Day in the Life of the Third Estate: Blois, 26th December 1576," in *Politics, Ideology and the Law in Early Modern Europe* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1994), 73–90.

120. The Warsaw Pact (1573) like the Edict of Nantes (1598) provided legal protection to religious minorities, in this case perhaps the largest Jewish population in the West, and various Protestant traditions.

121. Mss fr. 16520, ff. 148v. "Pour aultant que les Universitez sont erigees et instituees pour former tant la jeunesse que autres sellon la diversite des disciplines a toullé [sic] vertu et exercice aux bonnes lectures, qu'il les rend capables de connoistre et aimer Dieu le craindre et honorer et embrasser tout ce qui est commandé de luy pour avec une submission et reverence se comporter envers ses superieurs, et avec une bonne affection envers les autres a leur bien et repos."

122. Mss fr. 16520, ff. 148v–149v. No one could "montera en chaire ou faire leçon qu'il ne soit pour le moins licentie," and "tous professeurs et lecteurs de toutes lettres et sceances tant divines que prophanes ne pourront lire sinon qu'en lieu public."

123. D'Argentré, *Collectio*, 2: pt. 1, 460–61. "Visiter, chercher, découvrir, prendre & saisir tous les papiers, placarts, livres pernecieux, hérétiques & scandaleux, tant contre notre Etat que contre l'Eglise Catholique. . . ."

124. Du Boulay, *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis*, 6: 807. See also Crevier, *Histoire de l'université de Paris*, 6: 399. Crevier insists that by the height of League authority in Paris, the University was barely functioning as an educational institution. It did not help the University's financial situation, furthermore, when Mayenne billeted soldiers

in its colleges in 1591.

125. Pierre L'Estoile, *Registre-Journal du règne de Henri III*, 6 vols. (Geneva: Droz, 2001), 5: 328. "La Sorbonne, c'est à dire trente ou quarante pedants et Mes ès ars crottés, qui apres Graces traictent des sceptres et des couronnes, firent un resultat secret (et non pas toutefois si secret qu'on n'en soit adverti, et le Roy des premiers), qu'on pouvoit oster le gouvernement aux princes qu'on ne trouvoit pas tels qu'il falloit, comme l'administration au tuteur qu'on avoit pour suspect." L'Estoile gives the date of Wednesday December 16, 1587.

126. L'Estoile, *Journal*, 5, 330. See also Crevier, *Histoire de l'université de Paris*, 6:401–2.

127. Chessé was also the guardian of the Paris convent (1585–88) before going to Vendôme: *Biographie Universelle* 8, 103–4. For Trahy, see Auguste Molinier, *Obituaire de la province de Sens*, 3 vols. (1902–1906), 3: 330. Blaiseau is mentioned as guardian of Troyes in 1588 in AN LL 1524, f. 84.

128. For La Barre, see Fodéré, *Narration historique et Topographique des convents de l'ordre S. François, et monasteres S. Claires, erigés en la Province de Bourgogne* (Lyon: Pierre Pigau, 1619), 661–62. See also BNF fr. 15440. Before dying in 1611, La Barre received the episopacy in *partibus in fidelibus* of Andreville.

Chapter 6

1. "Ce jour, les Cordeliers osterent la teste à la representation de la figure du Roy, qui estoit peint à genoux, priant Dieu aupres de la Roine sa femme, au dessus du maistre autel de leur eglise . . . Belle occupation et amusement de gens qui n'ont que faire, et ouvrage, disoit on, digne de moines." L'Estoile also mentions the Dominicans painting over the face of Henry III in a similar portrait at their community: Pierre L'Estoile, *Registre-Journal du règne de Henri III*, ed. Madaleine Lazard and Gilbert Schrenck, 6 vols. (Geneva: Droz, 2003), 6: 198.

2. L'Estoile's journal provides the most detailed discussion of Paris in the aftermath of the assassinations. Mongraphs on the League in particular cities include Barnavi and Robert Descimon, *Le Sainte ligue le juge et la potence* (Paris: Hachette, 1985), Eli Barnavi, *Le parti dieu. Etude sociale et politique des chefs de la Ligue parisienne, 1585–1594* (Louvain: Nauwelaerts, 1980), Phillip Benedict, *Rouen During the Wars of Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), Penny Roberts, *A City in Conflict: Troyes during the French Wars of Religion* (Manchester, New York: Manchester University Press, 1996), and the still important Henri Drouot, *Mayenne et la Bourgogne. Etude sur la Ligue*, 2 vols. (1587–1596; Dijon: Beringaud & Privat, 1937).

3. Mark Greengrass, "A Day in the Life of the Third Estate: Blois, 26th December 1576," in *Politics, Ideology and the Law in Early Modern Europe* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1994), 73–90.

4. Claude de Seyssel, *La monarchie de France et deux autres fragments politiques*, ed. Jacques Poujol (Paris: Librairie d'Argences, 1961), 127–28. "Don't il advient qu'ils sont toujours prêts à eux mettre en armes quand il est requis, à contribuer aux Tailles et Aides nécessaires. Et en toutes autres choses le Roi est obéi et servi de bon coeur et sand contredite, mieux et plus promptement que nul autre prince qui soit sur terre." A definitive monograph on French medieval political thought is Jacques Krynen, *L'Empire*

du roi (Paris: Gallimard, 1993). See in particular, 335–82. Other indispensable works include the classic Ernest H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957) and Ralph Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (Geneva: Droz, 1960).

5. Seyssel, *La monarchie de France*, 116. “Il est loisible à chacun prélat ou autre homme religieux bien vivant et ayant bon estime envers le peuple, le lui remontrer . . . et à simple précheur le reprendre et arguer publiquement et en sa barbe. Et si ne l’oserait bonnement le Roi pour cela mal traiter ni lui méfaire . . . pour non provoquer la malveillance et indignation du peuple.”

6. The bibliography on humanism and conceptions of nobility is vast, to say the least. A few examples include George Huppert, *Public Schools in Renaissance France* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984) and E. Schalk, *From Valor to Pedigree: Ideas of Nobility in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986).

7. Alain Tallon, *Conscience nationale et sentiment religieux en France au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2002), 11. Tallon recognizes the diverse nature of Gallicanist thought, but nevertheless finds unifying elements that come to shape French identity.

8. Jotham Parsons, *The Church in the Republic: Gallicanism and Political Ideology in Renaissance France* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University Press of America, 2004). See in particular chapter 6.

9. Colette Beaune, *Naissance de la nation France* (Paris: Gallimard, 1985), 264–90. Beaune pinpoints the emergence of Salic Law as the law of French succession in the Parisian circle of jurists and clerics surrounding the dauphin, the future Charles V, and also in the abbey of Saint-Denis. See in particular pp. 267–68. The Salic Law that emerged in the sixth century did not specifically prohibit female succession to rulership. As Beaune points out, however, later medieval accretions to the Germanic customary code did prevent women from inheriting property.

10. One of the foremost experts on the thought of Hotman is Donald R. Kelley. See in particular, *François Hotman: A Revolutionary's Ordeal* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1973) and *The Beginning of Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981). See also the still-influential *Constitutionalism and Resistance in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Pegasus, 1969) by Julian H. Franklin. For Bodin, see Yves-Charles Zarka, ed., *Jean Bodin. Nature, histoire, droit et politique* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1995).

11. As Robert Descimon shows, from the start the League included a broad spectrum of political opinion. The *Seize* emerged as the leaders of the League in Paris, and Descimon describes them as among the most zealous in pursuit of a Catholic monarchy. For this reason, they were usually pro-Spanish in their view on succession. Descimon also identifies Leaguers whom he describes as *mayennistes* (supporters of the Duke of Mayenne), and *politiques*: *Que Étaient Les Seize? Mythes et réalités de la Ligue Parisienne, 1585–1594* (Paris, Mémoires Paris et Ile-de-France, Klincksieck, 1983), 3.

12. Descimon, *Qui étaient les Seize?*, 14–20 and Barnavi, *Le Parti dieu*.

13. Jean Boucher, *Lettre missive de l’evesque du Mans, avec la response à icelle, faicte au mois de Septembre dernier passe, par un docteur de theologie de la faculté de Paris: en laquelle est respondu à ces deux doutes . . .* (Paris, 1639), 16–19. It was an “election

imaginaire fondée en la cervelle des Huguenots & atheistes, leur adherans . . . Comment donc leur seroit permise la souveraine puissance sur les corps & biens des Catholiques?" This sermon was first published in 1589.

14. Denis Pallier, *Récherche sur l'imprimerie à Paris pendant la Ligue* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1975). Pallier traces the emergence of League-controlled presses after 1585. He estimates that these presses produced 870 works between 1585 and 1594. The presses in League-controlled towns such as Troyes and Rouen also produced League literature. See also David Bell, "Unmasking a King: The Political Uses of Popular Literature Under the French Catholic League," in *Sixteenth-Century Journal* 20 (1989): 371–86.

15. BNF fr. 3624 (February 15, 1593), f. 97. A letter sent by the provincial minister of France-Parisienne, Ponce Clerici, to the duke of Nevers may well also show Franciscan political intervention on behalf of the League as ambassadors. Louis Gonzaga, a powerful noble who refused for quite a long time to support either the League or Navarre, was under enormous pressure by 1589 to make a choice. Clerici's letter makes no explicit reference to the League, but he does mention his desire to visit the duke. The language of the text, furthermore, speaks to his Leaguer inclinations: "Vostre excellence scait les destourbiens miseres et calamities presentes estre si grande, qu'il n'y ait celuy, qui ne desire estre avec Jesu Christ, ny a pareillement celuy qui puisse accomplir ses bons defras, et pieuses voluntez." As Ariane Boltanski shows, Nevers represents yet another distinctive voice in the political debates after 1588. Devout Catholic that he was, he nevertheless forged his own political path during the League years, at times even by avoiding and ignoring correspondence sent by Leaguers and royalists. His detestation of League tactics, however, and discussion of a "foreign" king, led Nevers into negotiations with Navarre by 1590 to seek his conversion: Ariane Boltanski, "Réconcilier les catholiques et l'État. Louis de Gonzague, duc de Nevers, et les dilemmes de la pacification du royaume à la fin du XVI^e siècle," in *Paix des Armes, Paix des Âmes* (Pau: Société d'Henri IV, 2000), 89–102.

16. Frederick Baumgartner's *Radical Reactionaries: The Political Thought of the French Catholic League* (Geneva: Droz, 1975) provides the most sustained and richest examination of Leaguer thought to date. Baumgartner isolates numerous strands of thought among members, some of which were remarkably radical reconceptualizations of the state. For the most part, however, he is more interested in political treatises published by members of the League than the sermons and polemics of the mendicant preachers. For Boucher, see chapter 6.

17. An early exception was Guibert de Tournai. His treatise *L'Eruditio regum et principum* (1259) was an influential discourse on the institution of the monarchy. For a discussion, see Krynen, *L'Empire du roi*, 170–73. Even so, Guibert was typically Franciscan in his focus on the spiritual role of the king, and in particular his role as a moral leader.

18. Blaiseau is also discussed in chapter 1 in regard to a dispute with the bishop of Troyes.

19. Christophe Blaiseau, Untitled sermon 1587 (Troyes, 1587), 12.

20. Kantorowicz, *King's Two Bodies*, 207.

21. Jean Gerson was an early exponent of this conception of the state. Krynen, *L'Empire du roi*, 170–75.

22. Blaiseau, Untitled sermon 1587, 16–17. "Comme Charles Martel il chassast &

deffait par tous moyens tous les meschans ennemys de la majesté de Dieu & de la sienne. . . .”

23. Jacques Suarez, *Sermon funebre fait aux obseques de Henry IV* (Paris, 1610), 57–58. “L’Estat conservast la religion, & la religion se trouvast tousiours florissante, au milieu, d’iceluy: car l’un d’iceux perit, l’autre ne peut durer.”

24. Friar Jean Boucher, *Les magnificences divines chantées par la vierge S. sur les montaignes de Judée Et preschées dans l’Eglise des PP Cordeliers de Paris* parle P. Boucher religieux du dit ordre (Paris, 1620), 17–18. “La conservation de celle-la. est le maintien de celle-cy: car l’Eglise ne florit jamais tant, que quand l’Estat est en paix, & l’Estat n’est point si ferme & saintement gouvernee, laquelle commande estroictement à ses enfans de servir avec toute fidelité les Roys et leurs estats. Ce sont les courtines du Temple de Salomon, si bien unies & jointctes, que l’une ne se peut tirer sans l’autre.”

25. Maurice Hylaret, *Deux traictez ou opuscules, l’un en forme de remonstrance, De non conveniendo cum haereticis, l’autre par forme de conseil et advis, De non eundo cum muliere haeretica a viro catholico conjugio* (Orleans, Boynard, 1587), 142. “Car les guerres civiles pour le fait de la religion sont plus sanglantes & cruele que les externes & contre les ennemis ouverts. . . .”

26. Hilaire Coquy, *Triumph glorieux de l’Eglise Chrestienne, contre ses ennemis. Et du juste jugement de Dieu, contre ung nommé Gaspard de Coligny. . . .* (Troyes, 1573), Biii. “A [ce] temps des troubles & seditions de France, on ne faisoit memoir que de larcins, volz, meurtres, assassinatz, & saccagemens, les temples convents, & monasteres, estoient destruietz, les villes, Chasteaux, & forteresses du Royaulme mises par terre. . . .”

27. Hylaret, “Remonstrance Catholique,” in *Deux traictez ou opuscules*, 4–5. “Duquel la parolle non moins que le chancre ou gangrene glisse & rampe, se couleurrant (ainsi que dict saint Paul) pour seduire les auditeurs, lesquels il charme, ensorcele & enchante, les attirant à la par fin & trainant avec soy en damnation eternelle, par doulces emmiellees parolles, seduisant les coeurs des simples & innocents, qui ne se donnent garde d’eux.”

28. Coquy, *Triumph glorieux*, Ciii. “Ces hardis pecheurs François . . . lesquels prenoient plaisir a bagner leurs dagues, cousteaux, lances, & espees au sang innocent de leur nation. . . .”

29. Hylaret, *Deux Traictez*, 102–3. “Ils ont esté tellement depravés, & transformés, non reformés, ains difformés, qu’il se sont faictz chefs des mutins & rebelles és guerres civiles & font perdu la vie, l’honneur & la reputation, & ce qui est plus, l’esperance du salut eternel.”

30. See, among others, William Monter, *Judging the Reformation: Heresy Trials by Sixteenth-Century Parlements* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), Alfred Soman, *Sorcellerie et justice criminelle: le Parlement de Paris, 16e–18e siècles* (Hampshire, Eng.; Brookfield, Vt.: Variorum, 1992), and James Farge, *Le parti conservateur au XVI siècle: Université et Parlement de Paris à l’époque de la Renaissance et de la Réforme* (Paris: Diffusion les belles lettres, 1992).

31. Blaiseau, Untitled sermon 1587, 11–12. “Est ce donc pas chose necessaire que nous nous aymions mutuellement pour nourir ceste tant salutaire paix entre nous?” Banissent de nostre ville tout partialité preiudiciable à l’honneur de nostre bon Dieu, & au salut de tous tant que nous sommes, a fin qu’on ne die plus . . . cestui-cy est

Atheiste, cestuy la est heretique”

32. *Articles accordez et iurez entre les confreries de la confrairie de S. nom de Jesus & ordonnee en l'Eglise Messieurs saint Germain & S. Prothais de la ville de Paris et autres Eglises de ladite ville . . .* (Paris, 1590), 5. “Et cognissoient que apres la pieté, qui est le première colonne de la republique chrestienne, la justice est la seconde & sine qua regna nihil sunt (dit saint Augustin) nisi atrocina magna, c'est a dire, sans laquelle les royaumes ne sont que retraictes de voleurs & brigands. Nous promettons la maintenir en ce qui nous sera possible & honorer les administrateurs d'icelle, tant des courts souveraines que des autres sièges, & speciallement ceux lesquels sans dissimulation ny feintisse se monstrent par bons effects apostolique & Romaine & entiers pour faire observer & executer les Edicts & Arrêts de la sainte union contre tous les adversaires d'icelle, de quelque qualité qu'ils soient, & qui ne favorisent en sorte que ce soit le party contraire.”

33. *Articles*, 20.

34. Boucher, *Lettre missive de l'evesque du Mans*, 18. Heretics wish to “ruiner nos temples de fonds, en comble, ravager les villes, esteindre & exterminer du tout la Religion Catholique Apostolique . . . avec ce qui reste de liberté & commoditez aux gens de bien.”

35. *Ibid.*, 21. “Non seulement il est permis mais aussi qu'il est necessaire, & que nous sommes obligez en conscience de reietter du tout l'heretique de la principauté ou Royaume, puis que de droict divin nous sommes obligez à garder la vray foy & religion.”

36. The role of the Parlement in reforming religious institutions is discussed in chapter 1, and in Megan Armstrong, “Spiritual Reform, Mendicant Autonomy, and State Formation: French Franciscan Disputes before the Parlement of Paris, 1500–1600,” in *French Historical Studies* 25 (Summer 2002): 505–30.

37. “Il n'y a chose qui plus maintienne les estats et Republiques que la Religion, et que c'est le principal fondement de la puissance des Monarques et seigneuries, de l'execution des loix, de l'obeïssance des sujets, de la reverence des Magistrats, de la crainte de mal faire, et de l'amitié mutuelle envers un chacun, il faut bien prendre garde q'une chose si sacree, ne soit mesprisee ou revoquee en doute par disputes: car de ce point là depend la ruïne des Republiques. . . .” Jean Bodin, *Les six livres de la République*, 6 vols. (Lyon, 1593; reprint, Paris: Fayard, 1986), 4: 206.

38. Baumgartner, *Radical Reactionaries*, 180–81.

39. Michel de l'Hôpital, *Gouverner le haine. Discours politiques pendant les guerres de religion, 1560–1568*, ed. Robert Descimon (Paris: Paléo Editions, 2001), 27. “Les états étaient assemblés pour diverses causes, et selon les occurrences et les occasions qui se présentaient, ou pour demander secours de gens et deniers, ou pour donner ordre à la justice et aux gens de guerre . . . Et y siègeaient et présidaient les rois, fors que aux états, aux quels fut traité la plus noble cause qui fut oncques (savoir est, à qui devait appartenir le royaume de France, après le mort de Charles-le-Bel, à Philippe de Valois, son cousin, ou bien à Edouard d'Angleterre, le roi Philippe n'y présida; car il n'était encore roi, et était partie.”

40. “Les lois sont necessaires à la Paix, & les armes à la guerre, l'administration de l'estat est tres accomplie en faisant observer les ordonnances du roy au dedans, & repoussant les ennemies au dehors. Les loix de Dieu sont ses commandemens, les conseils

des escritures saintes, les traditions Apostoliques, les decrets des saints conciles, la loy de Dieu est tout ce qui appartient pour regler sa vie”: Francesco Panigarola, “Sermon de dieu Roy et du Royaume de France” (1573), in *Les Sermons de R.P.M. François Panigarola evesque d’Asti faits & prononcez par luy hors le temps de Caresme en diverse lieux*. . . . (Paris, 1597), 321.

41. François Feuardent, *Charitable avertissement aux ministres et predicateurs, de deux cents et trente erreurs contenus en leur confession du Foy* (Paris: Michael Sonnius, 1599), 7 v.

42. Simon Fontaine, *Histoire Catholique de nostre temps, touchant l’estat de la religion chrestienne contre l’histoire de Jean Sleydan* (Anvers, 1558), ff. 239–40.

43. Panigarola, “Sermon de dieu,” 308.

44. Bernard de Montgaillard, *Response de Dom Bernard doyen de l’oratoire de S. Bernard des Feuillantins les Paris, à une lettre à luy escrite & envoyee par Henry de Valois* (Paris, 1589). “Je ne parle point d’un deluge de desordres & confusions, où vous avez en partie laissé toutes choses en ce Royaume, tant en l’estat Ecclesiastique que Civil, ayant moyen d’y remedier . . . n’y de l’oppression tyrannique du peuple, lequel vous avez foullé & rongé jusques aux os, faisant des biens de vos subjects, comme si vous n’en eussiez esté Seigneur souverain ou Roy simplement, mais possesseur & propriétaire. . . .” (23–24). I want to thank Marco Penzi for sharing his copy of the text with me.

45. Boucher, *Lettre missive de l’evesque du Mans*, 18.

46. *Ibid.*, 16. It was an “election imaginaire fondée en la cervelle des Huguenots & atheistes, leur adherans.”

47. Jacques-Auguste de Thou, *Histoire Universelle de Jacques-Auguste de Thou depuis 1543 jusqu’en 1607*, 16 vols. (London: 1743), 11: 45–46.

48. Estienne Pasquier, *Lettres historiques pour les années*, ed. D. Thickett (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1966), 223. “Je voy une estrange & horrible tragedie que l’on veut représenter sur le theatre de la France.”

49. *Ibid.*, 229–30. Quant au surplus, tout ce que je desire entre nous est une Paix. C’est la premiere, la seconde, c’est la dernière partie de mes opinions . . . Les fruits d’une guerre civil est d’introduire un chaos, confusion, mélange, & desolation de toutes choses.”

50. François Feuardent, *Semaine premiere des dialogues ausquels sont examinez et confutez cent soixante & quatuors erreurs des Calvinistes, partie contre la tres-sainte Trinité & unité de Dieu en commun* . . . , 2nd ed. (Paris, 1589), Aiii–iv. “C’est aussi pour certain, Sire, ce que dieu demande de vous: & pourquoi il vous a constitué comme il fist jadis David & Solomon, Roy & pasteur sur son peuple qui est son heritage, afin de le defendre . . . C’est la fin pour laquelle il vous a fait oindre & sacrer comme son Christ, & représenter sa majesté celeste en la terre, & ordonner de contenir vos subjects.”

51. *Ibid.* “Vous n’avez jugé droitement, ne gardéz la Loy, & n’avez cheminé selon la volonté de Dieu.”

52. Blaiseau, Untitled sermon 1587, 14. “Vueille garnir le coeur de nostre Roy treschrestien d’un zele ardent, & munir son bras d’une force suffisante, pour à l’imitation des Rois treschrestiens ses devanciers, oster du milieu de nous ceux qui nous troublent. . . .”

53. *Ibid.*, 18. “Bannissement, amende pecuniare, confiscation de biens, mesme par une guerre sainte & legitime.”

54. Charles Labitte, *Démocratie chez les prédicateurs de la Ligue* (Paris: Jubert, 1841), 210.

55. Ibid., 175. "Enfin les catholiques veulent un monarque, bon et sûr catholique . . ." Labitte provides a French translation of the Italian letter that he originally found in *Lettere di Panigarola* (Milan, 1629), 233.

56. BNF Ms. Lat 15440.

57. L'Estoile, *Journal de l'Estoile*, 1: 407. L'Estoile records his discovery on March 31, 1594. He says that Garin begged for his life when discovered by the owner, and promised to stop preaching against the king.

58. L'Estoile mentions that all of the radical preachers were criticizing peace in July 1592, though he specifically mentions Garin. *Journal de l'Estoile*, 1: 176. Feuardent appears several times in subsequent months as well preaching against any acceptance of Navarre. In June 1593, the two friars were still preaching against both Navarre and the politiques: *Journal de l'Estoile*, 1: 275. Guillaume Rose also purportedly accused those seeking peace of playing "Judas" (*Journal de l'Estoile*, 164).

59. Robert Descimon found, for example, that the Paris league from the start was a mixture of religious zealots, Guise clients and disgruntled urban notables among others, and similar divisions existed in other League cells across France: *Qui étaient les Seize?*. See also Baumgartner, *Radical Reactionaries*.

60. Henri Drouot finds substantial evidence of Franciscan support for Guise rule in the cities of Burgundy. He mentions in particular a Franciscan in Dijon who excitedly announced that France already had a king: *Mayenne et la Bourgogne. Étude de la Ligue* (1587–1596), 2 vols. (Dijon: Privat, 1937), 2: 263.

61. L'Estoile, *Journal de l'Estoile*, 1: 224. "Que la ville de Paris était vendue, et que les monopoleurs étoient dedant."

62. Ibid., 237.

63. Ibid., 331.

64. Baumgartner, *Radical Reactionaries*, 1, 103.

65. L'Estoile, *Journal de l'Estoile*, 1: 376. "Garinus arma tous les moines, et les anima à cause de Dieu; cria comme du coutume contre ceux de la justice . . . et dit que tout n'en valait rien; et que si on ne mettait bientôt la main aux couteux, que les politiques nous égorgeraient. . . ."

66. Ibid., 372–78. Garin's vitriolic assault on the spiritual character of the archbishop of Bourges shows that by 1593 he was no more respectful of ecclesiastics who wavered on the issue of succession. The archbishop "croyait en Dieu comme en ses vieux souliers, babillait tantôt à l'un, tantôt à l'autre, puis regardait un putain"

67. Ibid., 374.

68. Ibid., 164, 219, 263, 275. "Mais quand le Pape voudrait absoudre le Béarnois, il ne pourrait, d'autant qu'il se déclarait hérétique lui-même." L'Estoile also records Feuardent attacking Henry IV through 1592 and 1593.

69. Bernadette Paton argues that the friars were influenced by Thomist conceptions of the polity as a virtuous community, and of the role of the friar within it to promote the common good: *Preaching Friars and Civic Ethos: Siena, 1380–1480* (London: Centre for Medieval Studies, Queen Mary and Westfield College, University of London, 1992), 94.

70. See, among others, Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517–1570* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). Of course, as

Clendinnen and others make clear, the friars were also responsible for enormous abuse of indigenous populations in the New World.

71. De Thou, *Histoire universelle*, 9: 652–54. “Tous le Clergé de France, & sur-tout la Sorbonne qui y tient à juste titre le premier rang.”

72. Among the historians who have read the political activism of the clergy in the context of their own tradition see Gerald Chaix, “Idéal érémitique et réalités ligueuses dans la France de Henry III,” in Robert Sauzet, ed., *Henri III et son temps* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1992), 195–209, A. Lynn Martin, *Henry III and the Jesuit Politicians* (Geneva: Droz, 1973), Barbara Diefendorf, “A Monastery in Revolt: Paris’s Feuillants in the Holy League,” in *Reflexions historiques* 27 (2001): 301–24, and Jean-Marie Le Gall, “Saint Denis, les Guises et Paris sous la Ligue, 1588–1590,” in *French Historical Studies* 24 (2001): 157–84.

73. For the secular clergy, see among others, Arlette Lebigre, *La révolution des curés* (Paris: Editions Albin Michel, 1980) and Baumgartner, *Radical reactionaries*.

74. See for example, D. L. D’Avray, “Sermons to the Upper Bourgeoisie by a Thirteenth-century Franciscan,” in *The Church and Countryside: Papers Read at the Seventeenth Summer Meeting and the Eighteenth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical Historical Society*, ed. Derek Baker (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1979), 187–99, and Larissa Taylor, *Soldiers of Christ: Preaching in Late Medieval and Reformation France* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

75. Discussed in chapter 2.

76. Feuardent, *Semaine premiere des dialogues* . . . , Aiii–iv. “Le plus petit est digne de misericorde: mais les puissans seront rigoreusement examinez”

77. Discussed in chapter 4.

78. Olivier Maillard, *Oeuvres françaises: sermons et poésies* (Geneva: Slatkine Press, 1968), iii–vii.

79. Fremin Capitis, *Catechisme ou instructions des premieres fondemens de la religion chrestienne, utile non seulement aux simples gens pour bien façonner leurs moeurs, & dresser leur vie bons chrestiens mais aussi aux cures et vicaires* (Paris, 1575), 3. “Car (ce qui je dy a mon grand regret) l’Eglise n’a soucy maintenant que bien peu d’instruire les Turcs, ou Juifs qui se veulent faire Chrestiens, & pour la plus part . . . pour nostre mauuaise vie & meurs corrumus. . . .”

80. Blaiseau, Untitled sermon 1587, 12–14. “Je prie le seigneur des armées de nostre bon Dieu . . . quil face foudroyer la tempeste de sa malediction, sur la teste de quiconque futiam autheur et moteur d’une si malheureuse guerre. . . .”

81. Noël Taillepied, *Histoire des vies, moeurs, actes, doctrine et mort des trois principaux hérétiques de nostre temps, à scavoir Martin Luther, Jean Calvin et Theodore de Beze, jadis arcihministre de Geneve* (Douay, 1616), f. 122–24. “Duc des deux ponts & ses reistres lesquels il amena pour piller, brusler & desroberla France soubz couleur de religion.”

82. Christophe de Cheffontaine, *Chrestienne confutation du poinct d’honneur sur lequel la Noblesse fonde aujourd’huy ses querelles & monomachies* (Paris, 1579), Biii. “Cest qu’a la mienne volonté tous les autres grands & puissans seigneurs de France, fussent aussi grands amateurs de Dieu & de sa sainte loy, de la foy catholique, de la sainte Eglise & de la paix Chrestienne, & aussi bien obeissants à leur Prince & Roy Tres chrestien,

aussi prests s'employer corps & biens pour la cause de Dieu, du Roy, & de la republique comme vous etes."

83. Ibid., 36v. "Sollicita premierement tous les empereurs, roys, seigneurs, princes . . . tous les philosophes, poëts & orateurs de ce monde, d'estre ennemies mortelz des professeurs & predicateurs de ceste faicte loy & les arma contre les chrestiens de tout et sorte de violence, force, tourmentz & peines. . . ."

84. Coquy, *Triomphe glorieux*, ciii. "Mais specialment estoient enflambees, contre les pasteurs & predicateurs de la parole de Dieu, contre les prestre & moines, ausquelz ils coppoyent les oreilles, le nez, & autres membres, selon le loisir qu'ilz avoyent"

85. Boucher, *Lettre missive de l'evesque du Mans*, 15. "Encores que les Courtisans, Politiques & mondains, & pour dire en un mot les Atheistes se moquent de tels discours de Prescheurs, jamais vray Catholique ne s'en mocqua, & n'estima moins un homme pour avoir fait penitence, sachant que c'est la planche qui nous sauve apres le naufrage, & que les Anges mesme s'en resionysent selon le commun propos evangelique."

86. Jacques Berson, *Sermon de l'avènement du Benoist S. Esprit le iour de Pentacoste, traduit d'Italien en François par M.I. Berson, docteur en theologie & enfant de Paris* (Paris, 1574), Biv-v.

87. Ibid., Div. "Je ne regretteray jamais assez le beau temps de noz peres, qui jouissoient de l'abondance de ces biens. Alors que le villes estoient tutrices des predicateurs & Docteurs, alors que les cours se gouvernoient par les remonstrances Evangeliques, alors qu'estoient receus les Religieux Evangeliques entre les nobles & comme ambassades de paix, & remission des pechez . . . alors dis je, qu'il n'y avoit grand seigneur qui n'eust un Docteur pour l'avertir secrettement en confession, & un prescheur pour prescher ses subjects: alors, ô bonnté divine, florissoit la Foy, regnoit l'unité, les biens augmentoient, chacun estoit en paix, hardiment alloit le marchand, & sans crainte les pelerins voyageoient." It is also indicative of Berson's confidence in the Franciscans that a sermon given on Sunday during holy week, one mentioned at the beginning of the text to the Musso sermon, emphasized role of king and preacher as partners. Le "Roy & grand prestre, figure estoit des vrayz pasteurs. Donc leurs troupeaux doivent repaistre le prestre & Roy, comme tuteur."

88. Ibid., Bv. "Jamais ne fut pas plus necessaire de sermons & predications & jamais ne furent plus mesprisees. Bienheureuse est la terre, qui a de bons ministres de la parolle de Dieu, autant ou plus que d'avoir de bons Princes."

89. Jean Porthaise, *Cinq sermons de R.P.F.I. Porthaise de l'ordre S. François, theologal de l'Eglise de Poitiers, par luy prononcez en icelle esquels est traicté tant de la simulée conversion du Roy du Navarre* (Paris, 1594), 75. "Les cousteux spirituel et matériel sont à l'Eglise et de son vouloir doivent estre desgainez pour la tuition de la foy et pour la punition des ennemys de la Foy. . . ."

90. Hylaret, *Deux traictez*. "De mesme maniere celuy, qui par escrit & avec armes spirituelles debellera et rembarra l'ennemy de la religion orthodoxe & Catholique. . . ." Found in the dedication.

91. "Son office estant de nous prêcher, & annoncer ses volontés, & son écrit dedans et dehors, avec le pinceau de l'amour qu'il nous a porté, l'ouvrant & la déroulant devant nos yeux, tant par ses oeuvres, que par ses prédications": André de Lauge, *Le sainte apocatastase ou sermons sur le psalme XXVII* (Paris, 1623). Found in the preface.

Conclusion

1. François Feuarent, *Charitable avertissement aux ministres et predicateurs, de deux cents et trente erreurs contenus en leur confession du Foy* . . . (Paris: Michel Sonnius, 1599), 7v. "Ny nos Royz tres Chrestiens ouvert les oreilles aux ministres [Protestants], comme les exemples de Clovis . . . de Francois premier protestant publicquement qu'il ne pardonneroit pas mesme à ses enfans, ny aux membres de son corps, s'il les sçavoit estre souillez de Lutheranisme: et en fin, de Henry second, de François second; de Charles neufviesme, & de Henry troisieme, faisans bonne & roide iustice de vos avant coureurs."

2. AN LL 1511 (October 20, 1592), f. 70r. "Propter extremam conventus necessitatum et indigentiam oppigneraretur quoddam reliquiare recenter donatum eisdam conventui, inter manus Domini Gamin, civis huius urbis, ut quasdam predicto conventui commodet pecunias, quibus et frumentum et ligna possint."

3. Archives de la Prefecture de la Police, Registres du greffier de la Conciergerie, 8, f. 272. At least four Capuchins found themselves in the prison of the Conciergerie in 1599 on the charge of seditious preaching. Those mentioned included none other than Jean-Baptiste Brûlart de Sillery, the brother of the royal councillor Nicholas, and friars Archange de Pius, Alphonce, and Benoît. The preaching of the Capuchins is discussed in Megan Armstrong, "La réaction des freres mineurs à l'Edit de Nantes," in *Paix des armes, paix des âmes* (Paris: Société Henri IV, 2000), 261–68.

4. Chevreul was both punished and exiled. See chapter 1.

5. Algemeen Rijksarchief Brussel/Archives generales du royaume Bruxelles, Papieren van Staat en Audientie/Papiers d'état et de l'audience, no. 1398/7. I want to thank Eric Nelson for drawing my attention to this document listing French League refugees living in Brussels in 1597. Garin found a home here with many other important Leaguers, including Jean Boucher and Nicholas le Pelletier. Also arriving in Brussels was the Capuchin Pierre des Champs who worked in Orléans with Hylaret.

6. *Dictionnaire de biographie française* 12: 12.

7. Suarez's status as royal preacher is mentioned in his will, AN LL 1523, 171. See also Ars Ms 5403, 142.

8. Eric Nelson, *The Monarchy and the Jesuits: Political Authority and Catholic Renewal 1590–1620* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

9. This paradigm is most closely associated with John Bossy. See among others, *Christianity in the West, 1400–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985). French historians who have advanced this idea for France include Virginia Reinburg, "Liturgy and Laity in Late Medieval and Reformation France," in *Sixteenth Century Journal* 23 (Fall 1992).

10. John O'Malley, *Trent and all That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000) and Marc Forster, *The Counter-Reformation in the Villages: Religion and Reform in the Bishopric of Speyer, 1560–1720* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, c1992).

11. Denis Crouzet, *Les Guerriers de Dieu*, 2 vols. (Paris: Champ Vallon, 1990) and Denis Richet "Catholic Renewal," in *De la Réforme à la Révolution: études sur la France moderne* (Paris: Aubier, 1991).

12. Crouzet, *Les guerriers*, Stéphane-Marie Morgain, *Pierre Bérulle et les carmélites de*

France (Paris: Cerf, 1995), and Daniel Vidal, *Critique de la raison mystique* (Grenoble: J. Millon, 1992).

13. Arlette Jouanna, "L'Édit de Nantes et la processus de sécularisation de l'État," in {last name}, ed., *Paix des armes*, 481–87, and Olivier Christin, *La paix de religion. L'automatisation de la raison politique au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1997). Patricia Behre Miskimin has recently made a similar argument in *One King, One Law, Three Faiths: Religion and the Rise of Absolutism in Seventeenth-Century Metz* (Westport Conn., London; Greenwood Press, 2002).

14. Among those historians who find religion shaping sixteenth-century discussions of the nature of the monarchy are Michael Wolfe, *The Conversion of Henry I: Power, Politics, and Religious Belief in Early Modern France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) and Jotham Parsons, *The Church in the Republic: Gallicanism and Political Ideology in Renaissance France* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press of America, 2004).

15. Critical revisionist studies on the limits of absolutism include James B. Collins, *Classes, Estates, and Order in Early Modern Brittany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), William Beik, *Absolutism and Society in Seventeenth-Century France: State Power and Provincial Aristocracy in Languedoc* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), and Daniel Hickey, *The Coming of French Absolutism: The Struggle for Tax Reform in the Province of Dauphiné, 1540–1640* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986).

16. Dale Van Kley and Robin Briggs are two historians who see in the centralizing policies of the Bourbon monarchs a concern about any politicized religious group, Catholic as well as Protestant. Royal concern about Jansenism is just one example: Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution: From Calvin to Constitution 1560–1791* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1996) and Briggs, *Communities of Belief: Cultural and Social tension in Early Modern France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

17. Some historians have suggested that Henry IV might also have tried to reduce Protestant privileges out of a similar concern about political stability. See for example, Annette Finlay-Crosythe, *Henry IV and the Towns: The Pursuit of Legitimacy in French Urban Society, 1589–1610* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

18. Mornay's political thought is nicely discussed in Arthur L. Herman, "The Saumur Assembly of 1611: Huguenot Political Belief and Action in the Age of Marie de Medici" (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins, 1984), 77ff. Herman shows that Mornay deliberately set out to create a new kind of "Gallican" Church that would contain both Protestants and Catholics, and be under the authority of the king.

19. Megan Armstrong, "Spiritual Reform, Mendicant Autonomy, and State Formation: French Franciscan Disputes before the Parlement of Paris, 1560–1600," in *French Historical Studies* 25 (2002): 505–30.

20. Eric Nelson would remind me here that we also cannot leave the Jesuits out of the mix. Their alliance with Henry IV after 1600 was yet another example of a religious order encouraging absolutism and, along with it, Gallican conceptions of the relationship between church and state. *The Monarchy and the Jesuits: Political Authority and Catholic Renewal 1590–1620* (Aldershot, Eng.: Ashgate, forthcoming).

21. See in particular, Donald R. Kelley, *François Hotman: A Revolutionary's Ordeal*

(Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1973), Julian Franklin, *Constitutionalism and Resistance in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Pegasus, 1969), Frederick Baumgartner, *Radical Reactionaries: The Political Thought of the French Catholic League* (Geneva: Droz, 1975), and most recently, Jotham Parsons, *The Church in the Republic: Gallicanism and Political Ideology in Renaissance France* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press of America, 2004).

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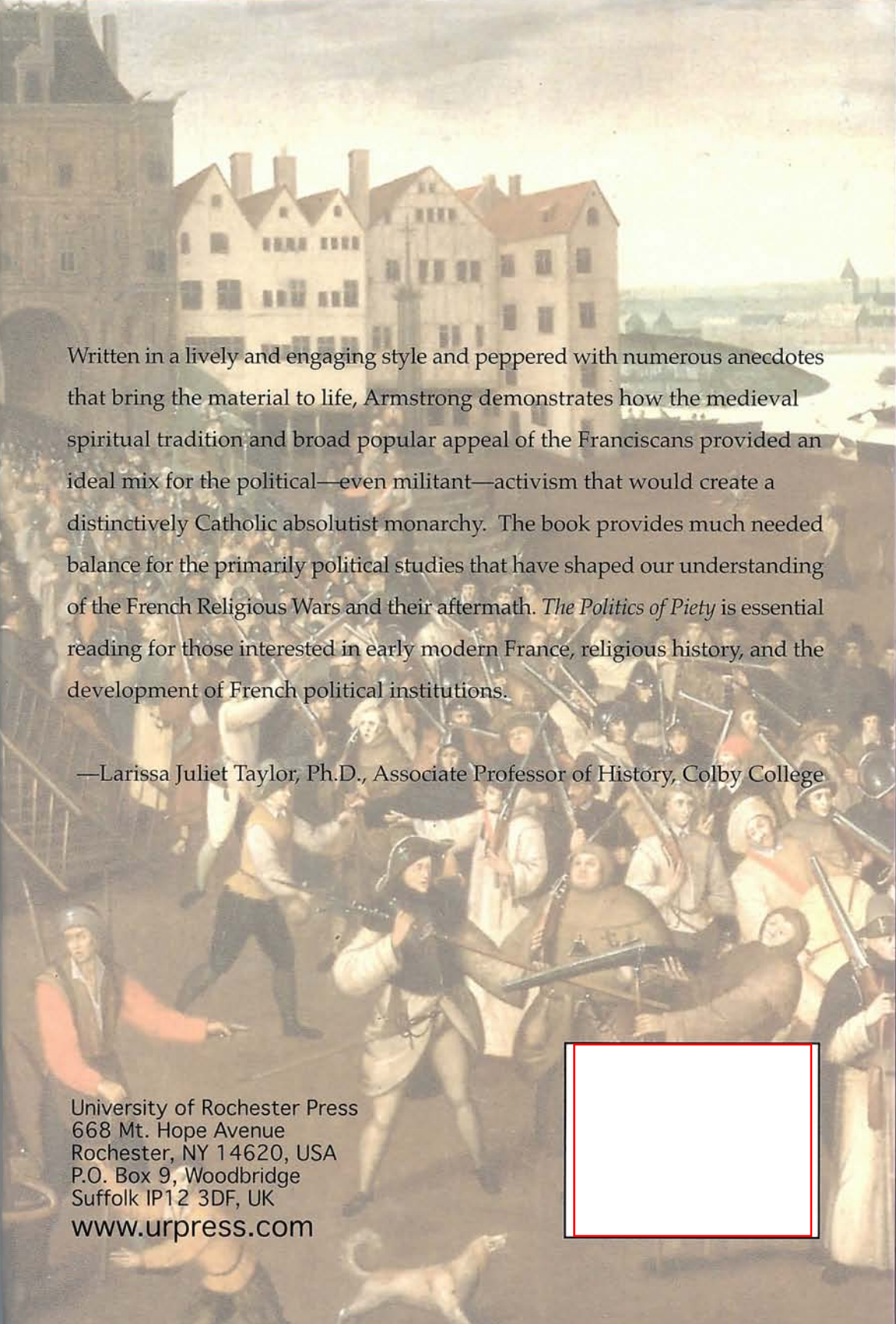
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Written in a lively and engaging style and peppered with numerous anecdotes that bring the material to life, Armstrong demonstrates how the medieval spiritual tradition and broad popular appeal of the Franciscans provided an ideal mix for the political—even militant—activism that would create a distinctively Catholic absolutist monarchy. The book provides much needed balance for the primarily political studies that have shaped our understanding of the French Religious Wars and their aftermath. *The Politics of Piety* is essential reading for those interested in early modern France, religious history, and the development of French political institutions.

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