

THE HOUSE OF GUISE AND THE CHURCH

c. 1550 - 1588

SHORT ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the relationship between a leading French Catholic family and the Church in the second half of the sixteenth century. This is a socio-cultural study rather than an investigation of the French Church during this period, although some insight into the Church is given. The Church is used to provide a focus for an examination of noble experience. The thesis notes that male and female religious were integral members of the family network. The means by which the dynasty maintained an alternative patrimony in the Church is outlined. Consideration is then given to the resources which high ecclesiastical office brought an individual, both tangible - in the form of economic assets - and more theoretical - access to patronage opportunities and influence, which contributed to an individual's power. The economic resources which benefice tenure brought are examined and their management analysed. Patronage is viewed more as an expression of a noble culture of interacting social networks than as a product of a hierarchical power structure. The position of the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals in relation to the French Church is assessed. Their power within the Church was a result of personal qualities rather than institutional structures. The power which came with tenure is discussed, as is any relationship between ecclesiastical and secular power. A final chapter looks at the experience of women religious. Churchmen and women could contribute in certain ways to family interests, but there is no evidence of large-scale despoliation of the Church through ecclesiastical kin.

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LONG ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the relationship between the French Catholic nobility and the Church through a case study of the Lorraine-Guise family. A successful dynastic policy and a reputation for orthodoxy makes them an ideal focus. It is a socio-cultural study of an aspect of noble experience rather than a discussion of the fortunes of the French Church in the second half of the sixteenth century. Attention is paid to the way in which ecclesiastics operated as nobles and formed part of noble social structures. However, certain themes of Church history provide a background for this analysis and some insight into the French Church is given in passing. The study focuses on Charles Cardinal de Lorraine, his brother Louis (I) Cardinal de Guise, and their nephew, Louis (II) Cardinal de Guise.

The thesis begins with a comment on the ways in which ecclesiastics fitted into a family network and kinship structure. The Cardinals remained an integral part of a family structure which was expressed by the exchange of letters and other forms of contact. The Lorraine-Guises are also placed in the context of broader kinship links, which extended to the ducal house of Lorraine and to the Bourbon-Vendômes. Within the dynastic structure younger sons were provided with Church careers as a means of economic support which eased the burden on dynastic assets without removing brothers and sons from the family sphere. The ecclesiastics were still expected to contribute to dynastic interests. The degree to which the Church supplemented dynastic resources is a theme of this study. On one level the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals assisted their relations when required in business and management matters.

There is an analysis of the structure of the dynasty's strategy for maintaining a quasi-patrimony in the Church. A designated heir in each generation received an inheritance of certain core benefices from a paternal uncle. Other nephews were given less important holdings or acquired benefices from more distant kin. These abbeys and bishoprics formed the basis of the tenure patterns of the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals. The dynasty's core benefices had a significance which went beyond their inclusion in the patrimonial structure. The Abbeys of St. Denis en France and St. Remi de Reims, and the Archbishopric of Reims were all associated with the image of French kingship, which brought the Guises power by association. The Cardinals accumulated other benefices in the self-interested pursuit of revenues and status. They were all mass pluralists, with holdings predominantly

in the north of France. The three Cardinals studied had varied tenure structures, reflecting different positions and status.

Having outlined their holdings attention is then turned to the economic resources these provided. A reconstruction of wealth and annual revenues is not possible, but some hints at an outline are provided, based upon information relating to the Archbishopric of Reims and the Abbey of St. Denis. Note is made of the Cardinal de Lorraine's possession of secular estates, which he appears to have accumulated for reasons of prestige and as a legacy to the main ducal line. The way in which ecclesiastical assets were managed is discussed. In a similar way to secular estates, properties and revenues were leased out for a fixed rent for short terms. This ensured a fixed and certain income and removed many of the problems of administration. The great majority of leases were made for multiples of three years to local merchants or *laboureurs*. Rent was mostly paid in cash, although there are significant examples of payment in kind. The portions which were farmed out varied from single pieces of land or rights, to the revenues of whole benefices. The lease formed the first level of an administrative structure. Above the farmer, or lessee, were agents who acted for the benefice holder in the management of ecclesiastical assets. Some had solely local competence, whilst others oversaw all the assets of a benefice or of several. The Cardinal de Lorraine employed more agents than his nephew, Louis II, because he was more occupied with other concerns. These agents were drawn from the Parisian oligarchy, local elites and the Cardinals' ecclesiastical networks. The period of this study witnessed increasing institutionalisation of the management structure. Attention is given to financial management and the way in which debt was dealt with. It is assumed that revenues were necessary to support a courtier lifestyle. There is no evidence that the Cardinals provided significant financial support to the rest of the family, or that the dynasty was despoiling the Church. Money was more likely to go to the Crown. The situation was slightly different in the Bishopric of Metz where the family did benefit from its connection with the Bishop.

The Church also brought the Cardinals less tangible resources. High ecclesiastical office and membership of a leading family provided the Cardinals with power and influence. On one level this brought them access to patronage opportunities. Patronage is described here as an expression of a noble culture of social networks rather than as a hierarchical power structure. Ecclesiastical and secular patronage were interchangeable and the Cardinals broadened the family's clientage base. The view of patronage taken here

negates any direct correlation between those who received ecclesiastical patronage from the Lorraine-Guises and those who supported the League. No evidence was found of the family building up a party in the Church or of dominating nominations to France's most important benefices. A benefit could be provided in a single exchange with someone who was not closely connected to the Lorraine-Guise family. Other ties were of a greater durability or involved those who had a closer relationship with the Cardinals. There was also an inner ecclesiastical network. Its members could receive benefits from the Lorraine-Guises, such as the exchange of a benefice, but the ties were more personal and depended more on constant contact than the bestowal and receipt of patronage. The function of the network was to provide nobles with recognition of their status, which brought authority and power. Patronage is also considered in a simpler form and a brief discussion looks at the sponsorship the Lorraine-Guises gave to religious orders and educational foundations, and the Cardinals' support for Art and artists. The Cardinal de Lorraine committed significant revenues to educational projects at Reims and Metz. This all helped to enhance the Cardinals' and family's image of Catholicism and prestige. It was also a feature of aristocratic display.

The role and status of the Cardinals within the Church is discussed in Chapter 6. The discussion is placed in the context of the institutional development of the French Church, the progress of Catholic reform and the struggle against heresy. The Cardinals' careers are examined as a dimension of noble power rather than an analysis of theology or Church history. Here, as in the other chapters, the Cardinal de Lorraine dominates with the two Louis as shadowy figures. Personal ability and personal prestige were the key factors in power and influence, especially in combination with birth and status. There was a change in the role of the Cardinals in relation to the Assemblies of the Clergy, which reflects its institutional development and the shift in the family's political position. The Cardinals had a dual status in the Church and State, and formed a connection between the two. Until the 1580s the Cardinals operated from the outside of the Assemblies, then there was an increasing presence and involvement in the Assemblies. There is no suggestion that the Guises attempted to control the Assemblies. The Cardinal de Lorraine had a leadership role in a wider sense, which was expressed by his status at the Colloquy of Poissy and the Council of Trent. Although the Lorraine-Guises did not personally conform to the ideals of the Tridentine decrees as benefice holders, Lorraine and Louis II did make considerable

efforts to apply a reform programme to the Archdiocese of Reims, and possibly their abbeys. Action was taken if it did not go against personal and dynastic interest. This contributes to a picture of the French Church adopting reform on a local and individual level before the great impulse of the seventeenth century. The Cardinals are then considered in the context of an environment or community of reforming ideas and revived spirituality. Lorraine was committed to a conciliatory approach to the Huguenots and their reintegration, until it became evident that this policy would not work. He was not a single minded persecutor.

Chapter 7 considers the power the Cardinals possessed separate from their status as Churchmen, and their position as secular nobles. Power was not simply a function of status at Court, royal favour or influence with the Crown, although these were important factors on one level. Even when favour was withdrawn the Cardinals maintained their position because of other qualities, such as their membership of such a prestigious dynasty and their possession of alternative sources of power, such as personal honour and private jurisdictions. During Henri II's reign Charles's ability and family position brought him a preeminent position, which in turn placed him at the very centre of government during the brief reign of François II. Throughout his career Lorraine was a useful Crown servant and the view of him, and the Guises in general, as power hungry usurpers needs to be revised. After 1562 the politico-religious situation meant that Charles was in and out of government, through personal choice and the shift from expediency to expediency of Catherine de Medici. His presence at Court, prompted by Catherine's need of his experience, was a symptom rather than the cause of a more Catholic Crown policy. The status of the two Cardinals de Guise relied much more upon alternative factors than upon a position at Court. Louis I possibly acquired some prestige after his brother's death and may have been used as the family's representative at Court. Louis II does not appear to ever have been involved in State business.

The tenure of benefices brought jurisdictional rights and local power to the Cardinals which should be paralleled with those of a secular magnate. These created sovereign enclaves which extended over surrounding communities as well as the institutions themselves. Justice was delegated to an administrative structure. The discussion focuses on St. Denis and the Archbishopric of Reims. However, the Cardinals' powers were not absolute because there were other jurisdictions within these areas and conflicts

sporadically erupted when one authority felt itself to be challenged by a neighbouring power. In the case of the Lorraine-Guises these disputes never became acrimonious and the Cardinals enjoyed good and friendly relations with the communities connected with their benefices. Their authority and status was deferred to.

The Cardinals, especially Lorraine, were as concerned as their secular cousins to defend personal honour, dignity and reputation. When these things were attacked they responded in typically noble ways, and were supported by other nobles who clearly saw them as members of the same culture. Personal prestige was represented and enhanced through display, such as conspicuous consumption, involvement in Court life and household followings. The Cardinals were also involved in the military culture of the nobility.

A final chapter is devoted to an exploration of the experience of women within the Church. The Lorraine abbesses' relationship to the themes discussed in the rest of the thesis is discussed. The most significant feature of female religious and noblewomen's experience seems to be membership of networks. These were based upon extended kinship ties and membership of certain abbeys. These structures should be seen as paralleling the Huguenot household groups which were a major factor in the diffusion of the reformed faith among the French nobility. This places the abbess in secular noble culture and in the context of a family structure. Female monasticism operated on a much smaller scale than the male variety. Pluralism occurred infrequently, and then only involved two abbeys rather than ten or more. The resources at an abbess's disposal were unequal to those of an abbot, rents were smaller, as were the portions which were leased, and payment was more likely to be made in goods. The Abbey of St. Pierre de Reims, where Renée de Lorraine-Guise was Abbess, engaged in activity not seen in the male sphere - namely the acquisition and exchange of property. An abbess could use her family and personal contacts to obtain patronage. Renée appears to have had significant influence at Reims as a representative of the family and nobility. There is no evidence that the Guise abbesses were involved in female monastic reform and their lives were probably more aristocratic than monastic.

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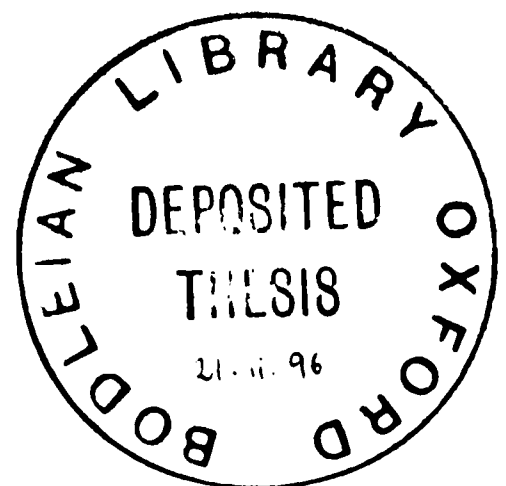
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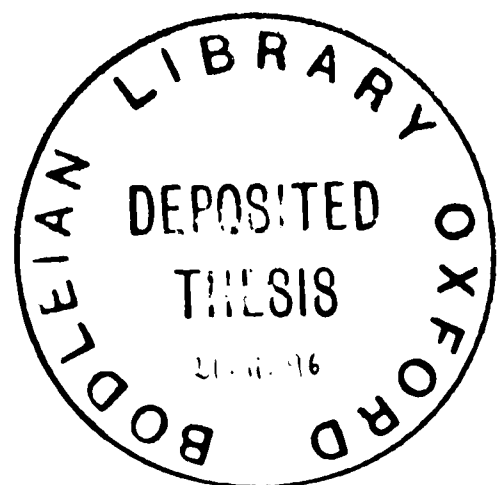
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ABBREVIATIONS

A.D.M.(Reims)	Archives Départementales de la Marne, Reims dépôt.
Alberi <i>Relazioni</i>	Eugenio Alberi <i>Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al senato</i>
A.M.R.	Archives Municipales de Reims - fonds ancien
A.N.	Archives Nationales, Paris
A.N.G.	<i>Acta Nuntiaturae Gallicae</i>
Anselme	Anselme <i>Histoire genealogique et chronologique des pairs de France</i>
B.M.R.	Bibliothèque Municipale de Reims
B.N.	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
C.S.P.F.	Calendar of State Papers, Foreign series
F.H.S.	<i>French Historical Studies</i>
Gallia	<i>Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa in qua series et historia archiepiscoporum, episcoporum et abbatum regionum omnium quas vetus Gallia</i>
Hierarchia	Van Gulik and Eubel <i>Hierarchia Catholica medii aevi</i>
L'Estoile	<i>Journal de L'Estoile pour le règne de Henri III (1574 - 1589)</i> Louis-Raymond Lefèvre ed. Paris, 1943
Marlot	Guillaume Marlot <i>Histoire de la ville, cité et université de Reims</i> vol.4 Reims, 1846
M.C.	Minutier Central
ms.Claire	manuscrit de la collection Clairambault
ms.Dupuy	manuscrit de la collection Dupuy
ms.fr.	manuscrit français
ms.Vc Colbert	manuscrit de la collection des cinq cents Colbert
S.C.J.	<i>The Sixteenth Century Journal</i>
T.A.N.R.	<i>Travaux de l'Académie Nationale de Reims</i>
Thou	Jacques-Auguste de Thou <i>Histoire Universelle</i> Basle, 1742
Tommaseo <i>Relations</i>	M.N. Tommaseo <i>Relations des ambassadeurs Vénitiens sur les affaires de France au XVIe siècle</i>

REFERENCES:

The first time a book or article is cited in the text, the title and publishing details are given in full. Subsequently, it is referred to by author's name only, in most cases, or author's name and abbreviated title where more than one item is cited for an author.

All quotations and contemporary spellings have been transcribed in the original.

It has not been possible to accurately date many letters. Where a date occurs it is cited as it appears on the document. A slashed date - 1560/1 - indicates both old and new style. Where a date appears in square brackets - [1560] - it is a date attributed either by the cataloguer or myself to a document which contained no date.

In references to documents a slash - / - is used to denote a document within a bundle, whilst a colon denotes a page or folio number. It should be noted that the great majority of the notarial registers from A.N. M.C. Etude LXVIII were not foliated, thus their approximate location is indicated by their date.

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INTRODUCTION

This study aims to examine the relationship between the Church and the French Catholic nobility during the second half of the sixteenth century. There was an intimate relationship between the nobility and the Church in early modern France, based upon the tenure of high ecclesiastical office. It is visible from even the most cursory glance at genealogical tables or lists of benefice holders for the period. In nearly every generation of the Catholic noble dynasties which dominated French society there appears at least one younger son with a Church career, and possibly a daughter who was an abbess. Benefices were passed from generation to generation in similar ways to patrimonial lands and offices, becoming virtual dynastic possessions. Or, at the very least, an uncle would provide his nephew with a single benefice upon which to base his career. Such patterns clearly indicate that there was some kind of dynastic strategy in action and that such features of noble ecclesiastical careers were not accidental. The relationship between the Church and the nobility also operated on the level of cultural experience. The ecclesiastic and the abbess formed an integral part of noble society, continuing to inhabit the world of their lay siblings and operating within it. They shared the noble lifestyles of their kin, were often a part of secular political structures and participated in noble culture.

The house of Lorraine-Guise provides a useful case study for an exploration of this relationship because of their unswerving Catholicism during this period of confessional upheaval and because of their image as champions of the Catholic Church. The dynasty was particularly successful in the ecclesiastical sphere and provides a good example of the accumulation and retention of benefices. Its ecclesiastical members played an important role within the dynasty as well as being active in Church and State. This kind of discussion is also a useful way to approach the study of the Lorraine-Guise family as a whole, since it contributes to the picture of one of the most important families in sixteenth century France. High Church office was clearly important to the family, as to many others, so it would be myopic not to consider and examine the nature of this relationship. This analysis will also provide some insight into the history of the French Church and clergy. It will illustrate the ways in which the Church formed an integral part of the political and social elite of sixteenth century France and,

in so doing, shed light upon the nature of aristocratic power and culture.

The association of the Lorraine-Guise family with the French Church began during the reign of François Ier. When the Duke of Lorraine's son, Claude - later to become the first Duc de Guise - moved into the French sphere he was accompanied by his brother, Jean Cardinal de Lorraine. Whilst Claude distinguished himself in François Ier's wars, Jean was used by the King to impose the Concordat of Bologna upon the French Church. The Concordat concluded between the Pope and the King in 1516 had given the French Crown the right to nominate candidates to the majority of bishoprics and abbeys in France. To establish his right to do so in practice, François used a group of bishops, which included Jean, to break the hold of local nomination practices. When an abbey or see became vacant he named one of this group to the benefice.¹ This role led to the accumulation by Jean of an impressive collection of French benefices. The association with the French Church continued with two of Claude's sons, Charles and Louis (I) de Lorraine-Guise, and into a third generation with their nephew, Louis (II). The Church career of Charles began in 1538 with his accession to the Archbishopric of Reims; however, I have chosen to begin this study in 1550 because this was the year in which Jean (and also Duc Claude) died. I feel that this provides a useful point at which to enter the discussion of the Lorraine-Guise relationship with the French Church. Jean's career is sufficiently different from that of his successors to justify his exclusion from this study. 1550 marks the coming to the fore of one of the two generations examined in this thesis, and although the foundations of the careers of Charles and Louis I had been laid during their uncle's lifetime it is only after this point that their importance developed.

There is a great temptation to focus this study upon Charles alone because of his many and wide-ranging interests and because of the absence of any satisfactory analysis of his career after the Council of Trent.² However, limiting this study to an analysis of his activities alone would require too much random trawling of a vast quantity of contemporary material, such as correspondence, in the search for sources of information (which would be unlikely to yield any significant insights). An overview of the family's experience was also the perspective which

¹ Michel Peronnet *Les évêques de l'ancienne France* Paris, 1977 :628.

² See H. Outram Evennett *The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Council of Trent* Cambridge, 1930.

suited my personal preferences. Unfortunately, the source material for the third generation is very poor, but this generation has been included to give a dynastic perspective and to show the development of the dynasty during the period of the Wars of Religion. The study effectively stops with Louis II's assassination in 1588. There was a gap in the dynasty at this point since the sons of Henri de Lorraine, Duc de Guise, were too young to step into the shoes of their uncle.

The Lorraine-Guise family had and have the reputation of being heroes of the Catholic Church, upholders of orthodoxy against heresy. This image is largely based upon the reputation they acquired during the Wars, notably because of their policies under François II, the incident at Vassy and their involvement in the League. This image predated the Wars, however, and the family had been used as a motif of Catholic resistance to theological reform since the concept was developed in the *oraisons funebres* for Ducs Claude and François.³ It seems to have been an inheritance which was brought by the cadet branch of the family from the duchy of Lorraine. Denis Crouzet has proposed that the Guise family and their propagandists used the theme of crusade based on the past history of the family. A key episode in this tradition was the 1525 expedition of Antoine de Lorraine and his three brothers, including Claude, to fight the Lutheran peasant rebellion, which provided an early example of the aggressive defence of Catholicism.⁴ This reputation was also based, in the period under discussion, upon the service of its Cardinals and the military activities of its warriors. This was noted by the Papal court:

“...molto bene informata delli molti meriti del' illustrissima casa di Guisa con la Sede Apostolica, cosi per le grandi, et singolari operationi fatte in servito di Dio, et della fede catholica dalli doi illustrissimi Cardinali di quella famiglia...[whilst the Duc] pose il sangue et la vita in servito della fede catholica...”⁵

Their reputation was augmented by the plight of Mary Stuart, the niece of Charles de Lorraine and the cousin of Louis II. The polemic surrounding her death, which emphasised her piety and Catholicism, not only shed reflected glory on the family, but also inspired praise for the

³ Charles Labitte *De la démocratie chez les prédicateurs de la Ligue* Paris, 1841 : 13-14.

⁴ D. Crouzet “Aux origines de l'engagement militant de la maison de Guise: le tournant des années 1524 - 1525” paper delivered at Conference of the Society for the Study of French History 1995 - personal communication by R. Briggs.

⁵ A.N.G. 12 Salviati : 146 Galli to Salviati 7 July 1572.

dynasty as a whole. As an example from Adam Blackwood shows:

“je voy que Dieu a esleu ceste Noble maison de Guyse, pour se servir à la gloire et louange de son nom, confirmation de Sa Sainte foi, et de son Eglise Catholique.”⁶

However, some suspected their motives, suggesting that they were using the Church for their own ends, sponsoring the adoption of the Decrees of Trent and fighting heresy in the hope of gaining the support of the Papacy and of the French people.⁷

General histories of the Lorraine-Guise family (there are few individual studies) tend to become a vehicle for an examination of the major political events of the sixteenth century, such as the massacre of Saint Bartholomew and the League; whilst general studies of the period repeat the traditional view of the family's activity and do not focus on them in sufficient detail to illuminate their long term strategies. Several modern studies have helped to sweep away some of the traditional negative images of sixteenth century personalities. Catherine de Medici is no longer the wicked Italian queen and even Henri III is receiving more sympathetic treatment.⁸ Similar charity has not been extended to the Guises, who remain for the majority of students of the period an ambitious family ready to sell their country to Spain and risk its ruin in religious strife in their pursuit of the Crown. Charles Cardinal de Lorraine and his nephew, Duc Henri de Guise, are seen as the perpetrators of a violent anti-Huguenot policy and fermenters of internal discord in the form of the League. Such opinions seem to show a misunderstanding of the period and ignore more sympathetic nineteenth century studies of the family. This seems to reflect the problem of source material, and demonstrates that as historians begin to understand the period there is no work of synthesis to tie in the loose ends.

The Cardinal de Lorraine clearly dominates any examination of the French Church and the Lorraine-Guise family during this period. His brother and nephew, the Cardinals de Guise, remain elusive, with Louis II only attaining some prominence because of his assassination in 1588. Even here, however, he is no more than his brother's deputy. Despite Charles's prominence his historiography remains unsatisfactory. The various works on him provide a patchy and inconsistent picture. This can be partially excused because of the wide-ranging

⁶ Adam Blackwood *La Mort de la Royne d'Ecosse, Douairiere de France* n.pl., 1588 :1.

⁷ Davila *The History of the Civil Wars in France* London, 1763 I: 158; Thou I: 445.

⁸ See for example the essays in Sauzet *Henri III et son temps* Paris, 1992.

nature of his interests and activities. Counter-Reformation historians will look at him as a theologian in the light of the Colloquy of Poissy and the Council of Trent, whilst political historians consider his activities in government. Evennett attempted a thorough analysis of the Cardinal, but he was only able to cover a very short period of time. Otherwise, Charles appears as one of several characters in the complicated plot of these years.

The modern interpretation of Lorraine still rests heavily on hostile contemporary views, which cast him as the source of all of France's misfortunes. He is also a victim of the school of thought which attributes a consistent guiding policy to those who are active in the political sphere. The classic exponent of this derogatory view is Sutherland,⁹ who presents the Cardinal as a Catholic extremist, set upon a course of extermination and elimination. Various reviewers have expressed their dissatisfaction with this interpretation, which ignores the trend towards a more sympathetic portrait because of its reliance on hostile and ill-informed sources.¹⁰ It would appear more appropriate to see those in this position as muddling through, responding to situations and opportunities as they arose.

Nineteenth century works were perhaps overly zealous in their desire to highlight the Cardinal's good points - as a statesman and as a diocesan reformer - but they emphatically identified and demonstrated the incorrectness of the hostile reputation.¹¹ Evennett continued this theme by presenting a Lorraine who was seeking a formula of reunion in an attempt to reestablish Christian unity and who was an advocate of moderate policies. Sutherland accepted the validity of this image for the period around the Colloquy of Poissy (whilst criticising some of Evennett's arguments),¹² but steadfastly refused to apply it to his policies through the 1560s and early 1570s.¹³

⁹ *The Massacre of Saint Bartholomew and the European Conflict* London, 1973; *The Huguenot Struggle for Recognition* New Haven, 1980.

¹⁰ The bibliography of *The Massacre...* does not include any of the standard works on the Guise family or the Cardinal. For critical reviews see Martin "Papal Policy and European Conflict, 1559 - 1572" *S.C.J.* 11 1980.

¹¹ For example René de Bouillé *Histoire des Ducs de Guise* Paris, 1849; J.J. Guillemin *Le cardinal de Lorraine* Paris, 1847.

¹² Sutherland "The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Colloquy of Poissy, 1561: A Reassessment" *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 28 1977.

¹³ This is clear from *Huguenot Struggle* and she implies in her article that after Poissy Lorraine reverted to character. It is true that the situation changed after Trent with the assassination of Duc François and France's refusal to accept the Tridentine Decrees.

The history of the French Catholic Church during the period has attracted much less attention than the development and advance of Protestantism in France. Some attention has been given to the impact of the Crown's repeated financial demands on the Church, both in the form of its institutional development¹⁴ and an economic analysis.¹⁵ Peronnet and Baumgartner have produced collective studies of the French episcopate during the early modern period,¹⁶ but although they provide some very useful conclusions their work is too wide-ranging and generalised to give an accurate picture of the experience of sixteenth century noble bishops. Their work focuses upon an analysis of social status and institutional qualities. Baumgartner attempts to consider the reaction of his bishops to the political and religious situation and does see them as part of elite society and culture, but his study does not explore this in detail. The concept of Churchmen as part of the structure of elite society was highlighted at an early stage by Oroux in his study of the clerical personnel of the Court.¹⁷ However, it is not an aspect of high ecclesiastical office which has been emphasised. The work of Bergin on Richelieu addresses several of the issues I wish to consider.¹⁸ Here the Cardinal is seen as a magnate, who used his position in the Church to build up power, and he is analysed in the same way as a secular aristocrat. His career shows the blurring of the lines between the secular and the ecclesiastical. Meanwhile any examination of the development of the Counter-Reformation in France focuses upon the seventeenth century, when the Church as an institution began to reform itself.

As well as being cardinals the Lorraine-Guise Churchmen were also abbots. The history of regular orders in France during the sixteenth century has been neglected considerably more than that of the episcopate. There are no studies of the fortunes of either the orders or individual houses for the period. Some of the major houses have benefited from "biographies"

¹⁴ L. Serbat *Les Assemblées du clergé de France* Paris, 1906. Claude Michaud *L'Eglise et l'Argent sous l'Ancien Régime* Paris, 1991.

¹⁵ For example Michaud "Les aliénations du temporel ecclésiastique dans la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle. Quelques problèmes de Méthode" *Revue Histoire Eglise de France* 67 1981.

¹⁶ Peronnet *Les évêques* and Frederic J Baumgartner *Change and Continuity in the French Episcopate* Durham, 1986.

¹⁷ *Histoire ecclésiastique de la cour de France* Paris, 1777.

¹⁸ See especially *Cardinal Richelieu: Power and the Pursuit of Wealth* London, 1985. [henceforth Bergin *Power*]

which report their entire history in a very summary and unsatisfactory way.¹⁹ Within these the Lorraine-Guise abbots are given some space, but it is clear that the narrative is not based upon detailed analysis of monastic sources and usually relates more to their general careers than their relationship with the abbey.

The shape and emphasis of this study has been limited by the source material available. This is a problem frequently encountered by historians of the sixteenth century, but the limitations are particularly pronounced in the case of an analysis of the Lorraine-Guise family. There is no consolidated Guise archive, and very little of the family's correspondence and few of the relevant documents for this period survive, so information has to be extracted from a variety of material. This situation helps to explain the unsatisfactory state of knowledge about the dynasty as a whole and its individual members in particular. More institutional records have survived with regard to the Church than for the secular family; but the Church was no more efficient at preserving the private papers of family members than the laity. This sparsity of documentation makes a wide-ranging overview the most appropriate approach to the subject.

The research for this study has been based upon a variety of sources, combining both printed and manuscript material. Contemporary *mémoires* and diplomatic dispatches, although frequently ill-informed and previously subject to biased interpretation, can give some insight into the Court-based and national activities of the Cardinals. The ecclesiastical perspective is provided by the printed collections of the *procès-verbaux* of the French clergy and the proceedings of provincial synods, although these omit the details of the associated discussion and debate. Other institutional records, such as the letters of the Queen Mother and the Acts of François II, have been of some use in the reconstruction of the Lorraine-Guise dynasty's connection with the Church. Reference works on the tenure of major benefices have contributed to the drawing up of the framework of this relationship.

Frustratingly little of the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals' correspondence survives in the manuscript collections of the Bibliothèque Nationale (and none at all in the municipal or departmental archives at Reims), but there is enough extant material to support a variety of

¹⁹ For example H. Champly *Histoire de l'abbaye de Cluny* Cluny, 1866. Only Félicie d'Ayzac *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Saint-Denis en France* 2 vols. Paris, 1860 presents an analysis of the institution.

general conclusions. The majority of the material under this heading relates to the Cardinal de Lorraine, but there were sufficient sources relating to his brother and nephew to justify their inclusion. The correspondence was not as useful as it might have been for the purposes of this analysis, and the necessity of using other sources is another factor in the diversity of this study. The ecclesiastical records of *séries* G and L of the Archives Nationales were also only of limited use, although *série* G in particular would be a valuable source for a more general economic study of the French Church during this period. The vast majority of surviving source material which relates to the Church concerns the temporal and its management. This kind of information filled *séries* G and H of the Archives Départementales de la Marne (Reims). However, this archive lacked material, such as records of Chapter meetings, which might have shed more light upon Lorraine-Guise activity in the diocese. The registers of Etudes VIII and LXVIII of the Minutier Central were a most valuable source and provided information on a wide variety of Lorraine-Guise activity.

This thesis falls roughly into three sections. The first encompasses a discussion of the Lorraine-Guise family and its relationship with the Church. It considers the Cardinals as integral members of the dynastic structure by looking at their place in an exceptionally coherent family network and by analysing the dynasty's strategy within the Church. This strategy involved patterns and policies of tenure which maintained the family's position within the Church and augmented its power. The second section examines the resources that the Church brought to the Cardinals and the family. These assets can be compared to those enjoyed by lay magnates, since bishops and abbots controlled considerable lands and revenues and had access to patronage opportunities. The richest and best preserved source material relates to the temporal of the Church and its administration. A chapter will therefore explore what uses these temporal assets were put to, how much wealth they generated, how they were administered and how they fitted into the dynastic structure. The theoretical discussion of patronage and clientage, which occupies many historians of this period, should include an ecclesiastical dimension and, although a full reconstruction of the patronage network is not possible because of the limitations of the source material, it is possible to draw a number of interesting conclusions from the behaviour of the Lorraine-Guises in this area. Another aspect of the

resources available to the Cardinals, and the family as a whole, was the power and influence they possessed. The final section looks in more detail at the careers of the Cardinals and discusses their political position. Consideration is given to their authority in relation to the Church as an institution as well as in relation to the benefices they held, and to the power they held in the State and the locality. One notable exclusion from this study is a discussion of theological matters. Clearly it will be necessary to address certain issues concerning the Counter-Reformation, but the primary concern here is a study of the political aspects of the French Church, not doctrinal factors. Therefore this is not an attempt to follow Evennett and I largely ignore the complexities of the Colloquy de Poissy and the Council of Trent. The final chapter is devoted to the part played by the women of the Lorraine-Guise family in the relationship with the Church. Any analysis of the family would be incomplete without a discussion of its female members, who played important roles in nearly all aspects of its activities and strategies. Such a discussion is also a useful way to summarise many of the themes developed in the rest of the thesis.

Chapter One

FAMILY UNITY

This chapter demonstrates how the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals formed part of an extraordinarily cohesive family structure. As well as being integral members of the noble elite these Churchmen remained closely attached to their family and vital to its dynastic strategies. The focus here is on the clerics as they operated in the secular dynastic sphere, and this is in some sense an introduction to the next chapter, which considers them as directors and managers of a dynastic strategy in the ecclesiastical domain. The family's reputation for coherent action is briefly discussed and reinforced by the evidence provided by the correspondence between family members. In addition to the Lorraine-Guises, consideration is given to the wider definition of family which emerges in the correspondence and activities of the Cardinals. Attention is then turned to the role of the Cardinals in the dynasty and particularly their control and management of the dynasty's secular resources and interests.¹

The family's reputation for acting as a coherent whole is reflected in the way they are represented in contemporary source material and modern works. In contemporary accounts of Court or political activity the members of the family are referred to collectively and as acting as a group, whilst modern writers have produced group biographies. All note the closeness and affection of the family and produce a picture of a policy whereby all the brothers of a generation work together in the dynasty's interest rather than pursuing their own dynastic ambitions. This community of action and deference to the authority of the Duc de Guise seems to have been the strength behind the family. Constant adds an extra dimension to this structure by suggesting that a close relationship between father and son was the key to dynastic success.² As is demonstrated, the relationship between one generation and the next certainly seems to have been vital within dynastic policy. It is possible that this strategy began to break down in the third generation with Mayenne pursuing his own interests rather than those of the

¹ For family trees see Appendix One Tables 1 - 3.

² Jean-Marie Constant *Les Guises* Paris, 1984 :55.

family as a whole, but such a question is beyond the limits of this discussion.

The sources provide us with some idea of the coherence of family activity. There are various references in contemporary or near contemporary narratives to the Guises leaving Court together,³ although it is unclear exactly which members of the family are being referred to. This would seem to be one reason why the two Cardinals de Guise remain such shadowy figures, who are grouped with their brothers and cousins and are not given specific mentions. The family also congregated at dynastic centres, such as Joinville,⁴ from time to time. The coherence of the third generation, as well as the influence of the second upon it, was assured by the *nourriture* of Henri de Guise, Mayenne, and the younger Aumale and Elbeuf in the household of the Cardinal de Lorraine.⁵ A more tangible example of family members acting in support of each other is provided by Aumale's military support for the Cardinal de Lorraine on two occasions in 1565. The Duc accompanied his brother to Paris with a body of armed men, but parted from him to enter the city by a different route, which left Lorraine to encounter Montmorency alone (see Chapter 7). When Aumale rejoined the Cardinal he provided a buffer against humiliation. His military presence supported the honour of his brother and gave him protection from further abuse at the hands of Montmorency's followers.⁶ Later he also provided military assistance in the Cardinal's confrontation with Salcède (see Chapter 7).⁷

The most significant, and immediately obvious, element within this policy of coherence was the combination in successive generations of a politically prominent duc and cardinal. This pattern emerged with the alliance of Duc Claude and Cardinal Jean de Lorraine and probably reached its apex with the joint efforts of Duc François and Cardinal Charles. Together they rose to prominence and power under Henri II, occupying a position of influence which they developed during the brief reign of François II, when they exercised government between them, each with their own area of expertise. The Duc concentrated on military pursuits whilst

³ For example Claude Haton *Mémoires* Paris, 1857 I:117.

⁴ *C.S.P.F* VI:789 notes that all the Guise brothers were at Joinville. The letters of family members are often dated from family centres such as Joinville or Nancy. And in a letter to Marie de Lorraine, Antoinette de Bourbon said that the brothers had all been at the Cardinal de Lorraine's chateau at Meudon - Marguerite Wood *Foreign Correspondence with Marie de Lorraine Queen of Scotland* Edinburgh, 1925 :137.

⁵ Nicolas Boucher *La conionction des lettres et des armes...* Rheims, 1579 :10.

⁶ Thou III:533;535.

⁷ Thou III:553, and *C.S.P.F*.IX:1280 and :1369.

Charles directed administration and finance. The closeness of these two brothers is frequently commented upon and is reflected in Boucher's choice of a joint biography, in which he spoke of their fraternal love and honour and their alliance in defence of the Church and kingdom.⁸ Charles himself referred to the affection between himself and his brother in a letter to the Bishop of Rennes.⁹ It is necessary to consider the effect upon the Cardinal of his brother's assassination. As well as having a serious impact upon the dynasty's strategies the Duc's death must have affected the Cardinal's political perspective in profound ways.

One example of François and Charles working together outside the sphere of government is their joint efforts at a meeting with the Duke of Württemberg in 1562 at Saverne. François drew on an earlier attachment with the Duke to arrange the meeting where the Cardinal attempted to formulate a compromise religious settlement.¹⁰ However, despite the close relationship between the brothers and their general co-operation they were not always in agreement. Their policies on the question of the confessional problems of France diverged when the Duc formed the Triumvirate, which contradicted the more moderate and conciliatory line which Lorraine was advocating at this time. There is no evidence that the Cardinal was the inspiration for this association of Catholic nobles and he was not as closely involved with it as Cardinal de Tournon.¹¹ Although this is a fundamental issue it should not divert attention from the general strategy of the Duc and the Cardinal working closely together to promote the dynasty's fortunes. There is much more evidence for a partnership and pooling of resources for the dynasty's benefit than of disagreement.

The relationship between the Duc and the Cardinal in the third generation is more difficult to establish. Henri and Louis were never in a position to mirror the close working relationship of their father and uncle and very little of their activity is reported to us. The role of the Cardinal de Guise in the League structure remains unclear. He was certainly active in support of his brother, although his presence is obscured by the prominence of the Cardinal de Bourbon. The decision of Henri III to kill both brothers may provide us with some indication

⁸ Boucher :52-53.

⁹ B.N. ms. Vc Colbert 391:259 16 March 1563.

¹⁰ Evennett :430 Louis I and François de Lorraine, the Grand Prior, were also present.

¹¹ Evennett :230. A disagreement on policy is also suggested by Davila I:70.

of their relationship, and given the pattern which had developed in previous generations it would seem reasonable to assume that a similar alliance continued.

The senior Cardinal de Guise does not fit easily into this pattern. In a sense he was a spare part and his position in the Church was not meant to support and compliment that of his secular brothers. This is not to say that he did not have a role within the dynastic structure, simply that it was not analogous to that of his brother and nephew. What would have happened in the third generation had François (son of Duc François and Anne d'Este) survived must remain a subject of conjecture, but it seems that there was only room, or enough talent, in one generation for one cardinal to dominate. It may have been the case that one brother was prepared to make way for another rather than fight for position and influence. However, the relative talents of the Lorraine-Guise Churchmen discussed in Chapters 6 and 7 indicate that factors other than dynastic strategy were at play. Another brother was clearly a useful adjunct, who could increase the family's power base and contribute to its interests, but he was not a part of the central dynastic strategy.

Given the policy and practice of the relationship between Duc François and Cardinal Charles it appears that the Cardinal de Lorraine can be considered as head of the family after François's assassination. The Cardinal always appears as the "brains" of the partnership, partially because of the roles he adopted in government and the Duc's concentration on military affairs. Boucher states that the Guise brothers honoured Charles as their father and the author of all their *conseils*,¹² whilst the Venetian ambassador, Jean Michiel, considered the Cardinal to be the principal member of the house.¹³ One nineteenth century historian goes so far as to describe the Cardinal as a puppet master who told François (and then Henri) what to do.¹⁴ It would appear obvious that the Cardinal de Lorraine would assume leadership of the dynasty after the Duc's death. He had been François's partner at the head of the family and would naturally continue this role. He was also the most prominent and distinguished member of the family, with national and international contacts and experience in the politics of the Court. The Duc d'Aumale seems to have filled the role of Catholic military leader to a certain extent (he

¹² Boucher :52.

¹³ Tommaseo *Relations* I:439.

¹⁴ Guillemin "Influence de la maison de Lorraine au XVI^e siècle" *Séances et Travaux de l'Académie de Reims* III 1845-46 :8. Thou III:398 also judges that Duc François was too docile to the counsels of Charles.

fulfilled the functions of Governor of Champagne until Henri was old enough to take over), but there is no suggestion in the sources that he occupied a politically prominent role. As is shown later in this chapter, a Churchman was a reasonably safe protector of the dynasty's interests when the violence of aristocratic society deprived the family of its head.

There were wider concepts of family at play, which went beyond the structure of the current duc, his brothers and his sons. Recent works on aristocratic culture and patronage networks have shown the importance of extended kin to nobles of this period. Studies of the family as an institution have noted that the concept of the family itself had contracted since the medieval period. For the sixteenth century French noble the family was an extensive web of relationships and several conceptions of what constituted the family operated simultaneously. As well as an emphasis on the vertical ties of a patriarchal tradition significant bonds could extend in a horizontal dimension to a large kin group, the precise boundaries of which are not understood.¹⁵ The evidence for the Lorraine-Guises shows that contacts established by blood relationship or marriage were consciously reinforced through correspondence which contained inclusive language and by the exchange of minor gifts. This whole concept of family and the actions which reinforced kinship relationships follow the model of noble social and cultural behaviour which is discussed at greater length in Chapter 4. Here I will simply outline the extended Lorraine-Guise kin structure.

It will become evident in the next chapter, which discusses dynastic policy within the Church, that the French cadet branch maintained strong links with the main Lorraine ducal line throughout this period. There are scattered references to members of the Guise family making visits to the duchy of Lorraine, but the political aspects of the relationship are unclear. The Duke of Lorraine failed to come to the aid of Cardinal Charles in his 1565 confrontation with Salcède. Rather than providing him with military support in the way that Aumale did, the Duke offered to mediate between the two sides and when this failed he sent word to the French Court.¹⁶ Zeller's work on the occupation of Metz by the French during the reign of Henri II does not address the question of Guise kinship with the ducal house and what role this may

¹⁵ Kristen B. Neuschel *Word of Honor* London, 1989 :78.

¹⁶ *Mémoires de Condé* La Haye, 1743 [henceforth Condé] V:336-337.

have played in French policy.¹⁷ It is a subject which needs further investigation, but given Zeller's command of the source material it is likely that the necessary evidence has disappeared.

A word needs to be said about the position of bastards. The children of the Cardinals have proved difficult to trace since no reference is made in genealogical works or contemporary sources to any children of Charles or Louis I.¹⁸ Anselme does note the bastard son of Louis II by Aymerie de Lescherenne, also named Louis, who became prince of Phalzburg.¹⁹ This paucity of information would tend to indicate that if there were children they were not integrated into the family structure, unlike Claude de Guise, the bastard of the first Duc. As the next chapter shows, Claude was included in the dynasty's ecclesiastical strategy. Significantly, he is referred to as a member of the family by Antoinette de Bourbon,²⁰ although his political role is even less known than that of his half brother, Louis I, and he does not appear to have formed part of the family's Court group.

Marriage alliances were the main means of extending the kin network and brought the Bourbon-Vendômes, Stuarts, Estes and Savoie-Nemours into the Lorraine-Guise structure. The relationship between the Lorraine-Guise and the Bourbon-Vendôme families is best considered through the female sphere of contacts, which is perhaps fitting since the connection was formed by the marriage of the matriarch of the Guise family, Antoinette de Bourbon, to Duc Claude (see Chapter 8). Although I only took a cursory look at the correspondence of lay members of the family I did note some letters from various Bourbons to François Duc d'Aumale which expressed a recognition of their kinship and connection.²¹ The political

¹⁷ Gaston Zeller *La Réunion de Metz à la France* 2 vols. Paris, 1926.

¹⁸ Bouillé identifies an Anne d'Arne as being the bastard daughter of the Cardinal de Lorraine. She is mentioned in a letter from Lanssac to the Cardinal in January 1559 - *Négotiations, Lettres et pièces diverses relatives au règne de François II* Paris, 1841 : 178. Lanssac reports that he often sees mlle. Darne and because he knows that she "vous appartient de quelque chose" he has offered his service to her as if she were his own daughter, because of his desire to do the Cardinal service.

¹⁹ Phalzburg was reintegrated into the dynastic structure in the secular sphere through his marriage to Henriette de Lorraine, the sister of Duke Charles III.

²⁰ A.N. KK908:283 A contract between Antoinette and Fr. Gillebert de Turnebulle 16 July 1578. Turnebulle resigned his abbey to the Bishop of Toul and Antoinette promised to give him a priory of equal value in the collation of her sons the Cardinal de Guise or the abbot of Cluny [Claude]. The dating of the document and the reference to the abbot rather than to the Cardinal make it clear that it is Claude rather than Charles who is being referred to here as Antoinette's son.

²¹ B.N. ms.fr. 20469 - letters from before 1550. Neuschel : 70-71 cites a letter from Condé to Duc François requesting a company of horse in which he refers to their kinship.

differences which emerged in the second half of the sixteenth century obviously limited the opportunities for such exchanges. The contacts between the Cardinal de Lorraine and the Prince de Condé in 1565 probably drew upon their kinship, especially since it was suggested that Condé marry a member of the Guise family, which represented part of a joint dynastic tradition. The Prince was also open in his support of the Cardinal after the latter's confrontation with the Marshal de Montmorency. It offended him because he saw it as an affront to his cousin.²²

The link between the two families was sustained most firmly in the person of the Cardinal de Bourbon. His association with the Lorraine-Guise family predated the League by many years. The precise nature of their relationship deserves more attention and indeed the Cardinal de Bourbon requires a better biography than that provided by Saulnier.²³ From their youth there was a close relationship between Charles de Lorraine and Charles de Bourbon, which continued when they both became politically active at Court. Some insight into the nature of the relationship is given by a letter from Charles de Bourbon to François Duc d'Aumale in which the former thanked the latter for his role in obtaining his cardinal's hat, which he attributed to the "grand instance et amitié" which Charles de Lorraine carried for him.²⁴ The relationship clearly continued into the next generation and took on more prominent political importance with the emergence of the League and the Cardinal de Bourbon's candidature for the Crown. It would also seem that he took the place of Louis II to a certain degree at the side of the Duc and in national affairs. He was clearly more attached to his Guise relatives than to his Bourbon nephews, although in the dynastic sphere his ecclesiastical inheritance remained firmly in Bourbon hands.

The marriage of Marie de Lorraine, sister of François and Charles, to the Stuart King of Scotland brought a kinship alliance which would have important implications for the dynasty's future policies. The profound impact which the birth of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, had upon the family hardly needs to be highlighted. What does need further exploration is Guise policy towards Scotland and how Mary fitted into Guise policy. Clearly these are both major topics in

²² Brantôme *Oeuvres complètes* Paris, 1868 VI:493.

²³ Eugène Saulnier *Le rôle politique du Cardinal de Bourbon (Charles X) 1523-1590* Paris, 1912.

²⁴ B.N. ms. Clair. 345:138. Charles also adds that he will feel obliged to both Charles and François for the rest of his life and that he is one of François's "bons freres", ready to please.

themselves which I hope to investigate at a later date, but some superficial statements can be made here. Marie de Lorraine was certainly not abandoned or excluded from the family network when she went to Scotland, as the correspondence contained in the Balcarres papers shows very clearly. Furthermore, her daughter was included in this structure, especially during her time in France. The Lorraine-Guises could hardly neglect to promote their close relationship to the future queen of France, but connections were not severed when she was widowed. Mary remained politically important and involved the Guises in international politics, through the question of her marriage and her status as the Catholic candidate for the English throne. This latter issue helped to promote the dynasty's Catholic image and drew Duc Henri into negotiations and plans to invade England or Scotland. There were also plans to remove Mary's son, James, from Scotland and ensure his Catholic education at the Court of Lorraine. On a more mundane level the Scottish alliance brought the Guises into Scottish politics, with the Cardinal de Lorraine commenting and advising on Scottish affairs.²⁵

The marriages of Anne d'Este brought the final two connections into the Lorraine-Guise kinship framework. Her first to Duc François connected the Lorraine-Guises with the ducal house of Ferrara. There is a considerable body of correspondence between the Estes and the Lorraine-Guises, most of which was not examined in any great detail since it did not relate to ecclesiastical matters. Its existence shows that there was continued contact between the two families, and especially that Anne maintained strong links with her natural family. An insight into the dynamics of these relationships is provided by a letter from the Cardinal de Lorraine to Anne's mother, the Duchess of Ferrara, in which he stated that he was dealing with her affairs and then signed as her son.²⁶ The ecclesiastical members of the Este family do not appear to have played much of a part in the career of Anne's son Louis II, but the Cardinal d'Este was present, with the other uncles, at an agreement concerning the succession to Duc François and helped to resolve a dispute among his nephews, the heirs of the Cardinal de Lorraine.²⁷

²⁵ Various examples in the correspondence printed in Alexandre Labanoff *Lettres, Instructions et Mémoires de Marie Stuart, Reine d'Ecosse*. 5 vols. London, 1844.

²⁶ B.N. ms.fr. 3232:45.

²⁷ B.N. ms.fr. 8182:163 and A.N.G. 13 Salviati :465. Salviati also notes that the Cardinal d'Este renewed negotiations with the Pope in the name of Louis I over plans involving the removal of James VI from Scotland (A.N.G. 13:723) although De Thou states that Louis Cardinal d'Este opposed the League and Guise designs in support of Henri III - Thou VI:629.

The concept of family is seen at its most extended following the marriage of Anne to Jacques de Savoie, Duc de Nemours. There is no longer any blood relationship involved, but Nemours is still referred to as a brother and welcomed into the family network.²⁸ He was made a party to family news, which was a vital element in the maintenance of such networks, and in correspondence was treated in every way as a full member of the family. Nemours's previous association with the Guises through his friendship with Duc François was probably a factor in this acceptance, but it still illustrates how lines of kinship could be extended and the way in which a link once established could not be disregarded. Anne remained the sister of the two senior Guise Cardinals despite François's death and her remarriage, and took that kinship to her second husband.

The correspondence of the Lorraine-Guises provides evidence of inter-family relationships and shows that the Cardinals fitted into the structure. The letters themselves served as a means of reinforcing kinship ties through the exchange of family information and by providing a means of contact. Reference is made to family affection, whilst the style of signing tells us something about the internal power structures of the dynasty. Younger brothers are much more formal and respectful in their language than François and Charles. Claude Duc d'Aumale and François, the Grand Prior, opened their letters "Monsieur" rather than "Monsieur mon frere", although they did include their kinship in the signature phrase.²⁹ The role of such communication in noble culture is explored at greater length in Chapter 4, but many of the factors which are discussed there emerge in the correspondence of the family with each other, such as the importance of exchanging news and formal expressions of relative status. The Cardinals were integral members of this network and conformed to the patterns of aristocratic culture.

The printed collections of letters to Marie de Lorraine and Mary Stuart contain such exchanges of family news and information, with Charles and Louis I as the authors or

²⁸ See the various letters in B.N. ms.fr. 3231 and 3232. In a letter to Nemours following the death of the Cardinal de Lorraine Catherine de Medici addresses him in a way which shows his inclusion in the Guise family structure *Lettres Catherine* 5:111.

²⁹ For example: B.N. ms.fr.20467.

recipients of various examples.³⁰ However, the letters conserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale addressed to Anne d'Este and the Duc de Nemours provide the best illustrations of this kind of correspondence. They reveal a sort of information service, which diffused general and personal news, such as illnesses, movements and occupations. For example, there is a letter from Louis I to Nemours in which he said he was writing so that the Duc had no reason to complain that he had not sent news. Louis told Nemours how he and his nephews were passing their time and concluded by saying that Anne was leaving the next day to join him, so she could give him a fuller account.³¹ The fact that Louis wrote such a letter just before the Duc was to receive a face to face account, as well as his reference to the Duc's displeasure if he did not write, indicates the importance of such exchanges.

The concern of the Cardinal de Lorraine for family affairs is reflected in his letters; it would almost seem that he considered himself to be a surrogate father to François's children. In his position at the head of the family after his brother's assassination this was a natural stance to adopt. It also reflected his institutional role as their *tuteur*. In letters to Anne he expressed his view of the situation. He promised to do all that he could to aggrandise her children and told her that he was their true uncle, who would be like another father to them, because they were of "his house, his blood" and because of the affection he had for his late brother.³² There is some further suggestion that the Cardinal adopted the role of surrogate father in the fact that he received weekly letters from Villegagnon reporting on Duc Henri while he was in Hungary.³³

The most significant area in which the Cardinals showed themselves to be integral members of the family was in their control and management of secular dynastic resources. This encompassed the guardianship of the children of dead Lorraine-Guise ducs, the arrangement of marriages and the management of affairs for absent members of the family. This section only considers Charles and Louis I since Louis II was never in a position to fill a similar role.

³⁰ Labanoff, and Wood.

³¹ B.N. ms.fr. 3231:83 n.d.

³² My translation of B.N. ms.fr. 3232 :5 and 82.

³³ Haton II Appendix :1102-1103.

The most important of the guardianships was that of Charles and Louis I for the children of Duc François. On his death bed the Duc recommended his children to the Cardinal de Guise and asked him to take care of them (Louis was actually present, whereas Charles was at Trent).³⁴ Following this assassination both Cardinals were named *tuteurs* and *curateurs* of the next generation of Lorraine-Guise nobles, which gave them powers to administer the main patrimonial inheritance. This legal situation can be seen in practice in a number of contracts and documents, most notably the arrangements which followed Anne d'Este's remarriage.³⁵ Louis I performed a similar function for the minor children of his brothers the Ducs d'Aumale and d'Elbeuf.³⁶ In the latter case Lorraine had died, but it may be significant that Louis and not Charles was named as the guardian of the Aumales. Possibly this was a role which Louis had within the dynastic structure, or perhaps he had more time than the ever-busy Lorraine.

The management of secular dynastic resources by ecclesiastical members of the family did not have to depend upon the death of one of the ducs. The Lorraine-Guise Cardinals also acted as administrative agents for absent members of the family. This could mean dealing with family affairs as a proxy, a situation which is implied in letters such as that of Charles to Antoinette de Bourbon, in which he told her that he was dealing with her affairs.³⁷ Or it could mean administering family resources in the form of the French possessions of Marie de Lorraine and Mary Stuart. The correspondence of the Guise family between France and Scotland includes references to Charles's management of his sister's and niece's affairs.³⁸ It seems that Mary Stuart's French possessions brought the dynasty a valuable additional resource. This asset was controlled first by Charles and then, after his death, by Louis I (it is not clear what the situation was after 1578). In legal documents Charles is "procureur général

³⁴ Thou III:397.

³⁵ B.N. ms.fr.8182 :122ff;128ff;130ff. For an example of a legal contract see A.N. M.C. VIII 370:548.

³⁶ For example A.N. M.C. VIII 379:213;214;597 - the constitution of *procureur general* and a contract concerning a *rente*. VIII 380:207 constitution of Thibault Hotman as *procureur* by Louis as *tuteur*, having administration and guard of the persons, goods and rights of the minor children of Elbeuf and Louise de Rieux. Neuschel :44 note 16 The inheritance of Condé's children was managed by their uncle Charles Cardinal de Bourbon.

³⁷ B.N. ms.fr. 20468 :301.

³⁸ For example Labanoff I:8-16. As well as looking after Marie's "meubles, bagues et joyaux" the Cardinal de Lorraine discusses her *deniers* which he will "employer à vostre prouffit, et si je puy trouver commodité ce sera en quelque maison près de la vostre de Meudon".

et surintendant des affaires de la Reine d'Ecosse", with automatic rights of access to and precedence in her *conseil*. He had the power to dispose of the seal of her chancellor and could distribute pensions drawn from her dowry to whomever he wanted,³⁹ a situation which caused friction between uncle and niece when she believed he was abusing his position.⁴⁰

Charles de Lorraine occupied a similar position in relation to the affairs of Henri Duc de Guise. In 1567/8 the Cardinal substituted for the Duc as the *lieutenant général* of Champagne and Brie.⁴¹ This is particularly interesting since it shows the Cardinal occupying one of the dynasty's main secular possessions, a position which would usually be exclusively reserved for one of his soldier brothers. Duc Henri also entrusted his uncle with the management of the dynasty's secular resources in 1570 when he constituted him his *procureur général*, with full powers to govern "tout et chacun ses biens, droicts, terres, seigneuries et biens immeubles" wherever situated, to sell, cede or exchange them as seemed good to the Cardinal.⁴²

It appears that Lorraine acted as a proxy or agent in property transactions for his brothers, although the documents are not clear enough to indicate exactly what the relationship between the purchaser and the receiver was. In 1556 there were a series of property deals concerning the Hôtel de Guise. The first of these served to enlarge the Hôtel. Charles ceded the maison de Laval which abutted the Hôtel de Guise to François and Anne, and, after their deaths, to their son Henri and then the eldest male in each generation. In other words, the property was ceded as an entail. This was followed by two transactions which appear to have secured the whole of the property for the dynasty. First the Duc and his wife ceded the Hôtel de Guise to the Cardinal de Lorraine, who then ceded it (as an entail) to Henri de Guise and his eldest male heir (and so on).⁴³ A similar transaction concerned the Cardinal and the house of

³⁹ Mark Greengrass "Mary, Dowager Queen of France" in Lynch *Mary Stewart Queen in Three Kingdoms* Oxford, 1988 : 172.

⁴⁰ Labanoff IV: 143; 175 The Cardinal was disposing of offices and seigniorial rights, often against Mary's wishes.

⁴¹ A.M.R. Registre 42: 424 Letters of Charles IX establishing the Cardinal de Lorraine as lieutenant general in the absence of Henri de Guise, with financial powers to pay the troops dated 1 December 1567; and : 399 a reference to Charles acting in this role during Henri's absence 13 January 1568.

⁴² A.N. M.C. LXVIII 38: Wednesday 25 October 1570. It is interesting that such an important document should have been handled by the notary Bergeon at this time, since the family had transferred their business to Croiset and there are very few contracts concerning them in the preceding registers.

⁴³ B.N. ms.fr. 8182 : 80 June 1556; : 65 October 1556; : 69 November 1556; : 25ff

Elbeuf the following year. Charles ceded to René, his wife and their eldest son a house in Paris that Charles possessed through cession of a third party.⁴⁴ It would appear that Charles was also involved in the transfer of the marquisate of Nesle and the *comté* of Joigny to the Duc de Guise in 1553, acting as an intermediate stage between the donator and his brother.

The Cardinal de Lorraine was also concerned with the management of less tangible dynastic resources, such as the marriage of his nieces, which could bring the family additional prestige or political alliances. The most prominent example of this is again Mary Stuart. Charles's involvement in her marriage to the Dauphin cannot be doubted, but it was after she was widowed that he became most active in his attempts to find her a husband. As his diplomatic duties took him around the major Courts of Europe he advocated her marriage to various imperial and Spanish princes. However, his involvement in marriage plans also operated on a more modest scale. His fatherly concern for the children of Anne d'Este included the contribution of 20,000 *francs* to the dowry of his niece, Catherine de Lorraine (Montpensier).⁴⁵

The most interesting document, as far as the concept of a coherent dynastic strategy involving the ecclesiastical members of the family is concerned, is the 1573 agreement for the partition of the patrimony among the sons of Duc François. In this document François (son) and Louis II renounced all claims to the inheritance of their father in favour of their brothers and co-heirs (Henri and Charles) in consideration of the goods they had received from the Church. They stated that they were doing this in imitation of their uncles Charles and Louis, their great uncle Jean and their great great uncle Henri de Lorraine. In addition they promised to do all that they could for the house of Lorraine-Guise, mirroring their brothers in arms through their service to the Church for the protection and defence of the faith.⁴⁶ This is a clear policy statement of a dynastic strategy which has been in existence for several generations. It shows that younger sons were not only supported by resources which did not draw on secular dynastic assets, but also that they were expected to fit into the dynastic structure by conforming to this policy and by fulfilling roles in the Church which would support their lay brothers. An

⁴⁴ A.N. M.C. LXVIII 22: 16 May 1557.

⁴⁵ B.N. ms.fr.3232:108. Sum promised by Charles in a letter to Anne.

⁴⁶ B.N. ms.fr. 8182:165. This agreement was ratified by Louis II alone in 1575 (François having died the previous year).

extra dimension is added to this agreement by the information that the Cardinal de Lorraine was paying for the support of François and Louis in exchange for their agreement to this accord. This provides even clearer evidence that the ecclesiastical state did not exclude the Lorraine-Guise men from the dynastic structure and that they were in fact important members of the family framework, contributing to the success and continuity of the dynasty.

CONCLUSION

The Lorraine-Guise Cardinals clearly had a role to play within dynastic strategies outside the Church. Although the ecclesiastical brothers were excluded from a share of the family's patrimonial inheritance they remained integral members of a very close knit family and part of the kinship network which characterised early modern noble culture. The Cardinal de Lorraine, especially, brought his administrative skills and political prominence to the service of the dynasty's interests. His dominant role at the heart of the family is reflected in his close working relationship with his brother Duc François and his control and management of many of the dynasty's patrimonial resources. It is clear that the position Charles occupied within the family structure was an exceptional one, reflecting his abilities and status (a pattern which is repeated throughout this thesis), but the evidence also suggests that his brother and nephew had important roles within the dynastic framework. Family policy required that the Cardinals provide support for their lay brothers. However, here, as elsewhere, they were deprived of the opportunity to show whether they were capable of performing these roles adequately. The Church formed an important part of the Lorraine-Guise family's network by easing some of the burden on their dynastic assets without removing brothers and sons from the family sphere of operation, which meant that their resources (in a broad sense) could still be of benefit to family interests.

Chapter Two

ECCLESIASTICAL DYNASTICISM

Peronnet has noted that before the application of the Concordat of Bologna a significant proportion of sees¹ were occupied by the *noblesse de race* of the region, who preserved their local power by transmitting these benefices to relatives (either through the male or female line).² Uncles prepared the careers of their nephews, as they had done throughout the Middle Ages, with the family connection being sufficient to ensure the candidate's election by the Chapter. This situation did not change significantly with the implementation of the Concordat - the Crown simply took over these existing structures and the systems of local and dynastic connection maintained their importance. Relationship to the Court now became a determining factor, but the same families who held regional power also had access to the Court and the dynasties who had dominated ecclesiastical tenure before 1516 retained their proportion of French sees.

A close link between social elites and high Church office was not limited to the sixteenth century or to the nobility and Court elites. Studies of medieval monasticism and the Parisian urban oligarchy have contributed useful additional insights into the structure of this relationship.³ These have shown that a child placed in the Church was considered as an asset and an integral part of family strategy. It was not simply a case of disposing of an extra son without dividing the patrimony or of augmenting the spiritual investment of the family unit. A son who became a priest or a monk was intended, in the medieval period at least, to raise a family's prestige and provide spiritual support.⁴ Church careers were planned from an early age among the sons of Paris city councillors, just as they were for the sons of the Lorraine-Guise family. The Church was not a dumping ground or a means of dealing cheaply with

¹ *Les eveques* :483 Peronnet states that these dynasties provided seventy two bishops (who occupied eighty French sees) i.e. seventy percent.

² *Les eveques* Chapter 3 especially :482ff;487;494.

³ Johnson *Equal in Monastic Profession* London,1991. Barbara B. Diefendorf *Paris City Councillors in the Sixteenth Century: The Politics of Patrimony* Princeton,1983 :124-130; 147ff.

⁴ Johnson :14 and :18, nuns served the same purpose.

children who would otherwise be a drain on the resources of the family, because sons were not placed just as monks or priests, they were given abbeys and bishoprics. These gave the ecclesiastic wealth and status, which he was expected to employ for the benefit of other members of the family.⁵ The placement of children in the Church was an element of family planning which paralleled that operating in the secular sphere. Such strategies rested on the theory that the whole prospered if individual members were well placed. This illustrates the fact that dynastic aspirations were not concentrated solely upon the eldest son.

Bergin has considered the ecclesiastical dynasticism of the Lorraine-Guise family, but from a seventeenth century perspective, looking back to its sixteenth century foundations.⁶ He suggests that the Guises were the most successful of the ecclesiastical dynasties which developed in France in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and which can be identified by an ability to acquire and transmit wealthy and prestigious benefices through several generations. Without a comparative study it is difficult to confirm whether the Lorraine family (as a whole rather than just their French cadets) warrant this mark of distinction, but several of Bergin's other conclusions need modification in the light of my more detailed analysis. Bergin's article presents a picture of Charles and Louis I working together in the accumulation of French benefices, in effect the construction of an ecclesiastical patrimony in France. A change is identified in the family's strategy in the 1570s: a reduction in the number of dioceses in which they had an interest, which corresponded with a retreat into and a consolidation within the family's sphere of influence. This alteration is explained as a result of the political situation in France, which threatened the security of distant benefices; and as a result of the Council of Trent's decrees against pluralism. Note is made of the fact that Louis I's inheritance passed to the senior Lorraine family. Despite the dynasty's political decapitation in 1588, their power in the Church was not seriously curtailed. Yet again the family weathered the storm of dynastic crisis to preserve its patrimony for the next generation, despite their youth. It is not clear whether Henri III intended to break Guise power in the Church, and in any case he was in no position to implement any policy he may have had.

The discussion which follows examines the validity of Bergin's framework. The

⁵ Diefendorf *City Councillors*.

⁶ "The Decline and Fall of the House of Guise as an Ecclesiastical Dynasty" *Historical Journal* 25 1982.

previous chapter looked at the place of the Lorraine-Guise Churchmen as an integral part of the dynasty's secular policies. This chapter explores the way in which dynastic strategies were applied to the Church and the way in which benefices were treated as an extension of, or an alternative to, the family patrimony.

TENURE PATTERNS

Before proceeding with an analysis of the Lorraine-Guise dynastic strategy within the French Church, it is useful to comment upon the tenure policy of the three main Cardinals. Appendix Two attempts to provide a complete list of the benefices which each of the Cardinals held during their careers and forms the basis of the following assessment. The construction of such a list is difficult since there is no reliable way of tracing who held a particular benefice at a particular time. There is no convenient archive registering either royal nominations to vacant benefices or papal bulls of provision. Therefore I have relied upon the information contained in reference works such as the *GalliaChristiana* and *HierarchiaCatholica*. Confusion does arise where no dates are given with the popularity of the names Charles and Louis in the Lorraine family, but in most cases the exact identity of the person concerned is indicated by reference to other titles.⁷

The following analysis looks at what type of benefice the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals held, which orders they belonged to in the case of abbeys, and the degree to which the Cardinals were pluralists. Attention is paid to how long they held onto benefices and where these benefices were located, both geographically and in terms of dioceses.

There is a clear difference between the main ecclesiastical figures (Charles and Louis II) and the cadet (Louis I) in the kind of benefices possessed and in the tenure pattern. Both Charles and Louis II were satisfied with the Archbishopric of Reims, whilst Louis I worked his way through various bishoprics. However, Charles did also have an interest in the Bishopric of Metz: he held the title as an inheritance from his uncle Jean from 1550 to 1551

⁷ One example is the abbey of Moissac. Anselme III and a letter from Henri III dealing with the succession to it in 1578 (*Lettres Henri III* 3:2887) attribute it to Louis I, whilst *Gallia* I states that it was held by Louis, Archbishop of Reims and Abbot of Fécamp. The dates which *Gallia* IX gives (1560-1578) make it reasonably certain that it was Louis I and not Louis II who was abbot.

(before resigning it to Robert de Lenoncourt, and then to François de Beaucaire in 1555), and continued the administration of the diocese. He was in effect Bishop in all but name. It is reported that Julius III only accorded Metz to Charles on condition that he resigned Reims within six months;⁸ this clearly did not happen, and Charles retained the title of the French Archbishopric in preference. A similar situation may have existed with Louis II and Troyes, although there is no actual reference to him occupying the see in the sources consulted. Louis I worked his way through four sees. His career began at Troyes in 1543, which he resigned the year after he inherited Albi from Jean. This second bishopric was in turn resigned for Sens (1561), but interestingly he did not retain possession of this most prestigious see (it was passed on to the Guise associate Nicolas de Pellevé after only a year). After this Louis appears to have been without a see until his acquisition of Metz in 1568. This is a rather puzzling gap. Six years is a long time for a member of such a prominent ecclesiastical dynasty to be without a prestigious title or major benefice.⁹

This picture of episcopal tenure supports Peronnet's conclusions from his analysis of French bishops during the *ancien regime*.¹⁰ His study identifies a distinct shift in behaviour between the reigns of François I and Henri II and the period when the monarchy suffered a diminution of its authority. The careers of the two elder Lorraine-Guise Cardinals fall between these two "generations", but appear to belong to the latter. It is clear from the evidence which Peronnet produces that Crown policy dictated that a core group of eight bishops (including Cardinal Jean de Lorraine) accumulated or transferred through a large number of sees (fifty two

⁸ Zeller :288 citing Weiss *Papiers d'état de Cardinal de Granvelle* III Paris, 1842 :119 Arras to Renard 16 September 1550. Zeller continues that it is not clear how Charles got around this difficulty in order to possess both and states that the Cardinal only disposed of Metz when Henri II made him choose by insisting on episcopal residence. I am not convinced by Zeller's narrative here. According to *Hierarchia* Metz was resigned in April of 1551, which was outside the Papacy's six month limit, but could such action against pluralism have been seriously applied? As to the King's insistence upon residence, such conditions did not apply to Churchmen engaged in State business, as Charles was, and Henri was hardly likely to have deprived one of his favourites of such a benefice.

⁹ Financially Louis was still supported by his former bishoprics through the payment of pensions - see Chapter 3 - and he retained influence at Sens through the collation of benefices, but there is no suggestion that he had a relationship with any of these sees analogous to that of Charles to Metz. Cardinal Richelieu resigned Luçon in 1623 and was thereafter without a bishopric, but as Bergin notes, this was an unusual position for a French cardinal and was probably a result of a desire on Richelieu's part to develop his political career and focus upon Paris, factors which cannot be applied to Louis de Lorraine - Bergin *Power* :205.

¹⁰ *Les eveques* :627-629.

in total). This was part of a strategy to break the hold of dominant families on their local bishoprics. By the end of Henri II's reign this policy had virtually achieved its aims and subsequently the Crown lost the authority to direct an episcopal strategy of this kind, and thus the practice diminished. The second and third generations of French Lorraine-Guise Cardinals were not required to perform this service for the Crown and therefore did not pass through as many sees as their uncle had done. The relatively few bishoprics which Louis I worked through do not appear to fit into this pattern. In none was he the first bishop named after the Concordat, and those he succeeded did not belong to noble families with a local power base. Therefore it would seem reasonable to view Louis I's varied career as a means of accumulating pensions rather than as a function of royal policy.

The Lorraine-Guise Cardinals were all monastic pluralists. The Cardinal de Lorraine, as might be expected, held the largest number of benefices during his career (twenty two), although Louis I was not far behind him (nineteen). Trent seems not to have had too great an impact upon this area of the dynasty's interests, as Louis II possessed thirteen abbeys in total. Only six of these benefices can be considered as dynastic possessions, which accounts for less than half of Louis II's holdings and just over a quarter of those which passed through Charles's hands. The unreliability of the sources makes it difficult to judge how many benefices were in the possession of the Cardinals at any one time. This is especially the case with Louis I (only six of his nineteen can be properly dated) and Louis II (five of thirteen). By contrast, some indication of date is attributed to all the records of Charles's tenure.

From 1550 to 1574 Charles possessed between ten and thirteen abbeys at any one time. Five of these were held for the whole of this period,¹¹ with six others remaining in his hands for considerable periods of time.¹² There does not appear to have been any significant reaction to the Tridentine condemnation of pluralism, which contradicts both the traditional image and the statement by Haton that the Cardinal de Lorraine diminished his plurality by resigning all but his core benefices to his familiars.¹³ The period from 1557 marks the increase in his monastic holdings from around ten to twelve or thirteen, which is not a very significant rise.

¹¹ Cluny, Fécamp, Gorze, St. Remi de Reims and St. Paul de Verdun.

¹² Montier en Der, Prieres, St. Denis en France, St. Martin de Laon, St. Urbain and St. Valery.

¹³ Haton I :234 referring to 1561.

Louis II, from the available information, repeated the patterns of his uncle, with an inner core of permanent benefices (five).¹⁴ His career was not long enough, and the sources are too uncertain, to ascertain whether he also possessed abbeys which formed a second level of semi-permanence, or the degree to which his possessions were fluid. From the available material it appears that Louis I's tenure pattern was different from that of his brother and nephew, and it seems to repeat the general structure of his episcopal holdings. He does appear to have held certain benefices for an extended period of time, such as St. Germain d'Auxerre and Moissac; others only remained in his possession for short periods, for example St. Thierry de Reims and St. Valery. The structure is more fluid, although, as will be shown, he did pass on an ecclesiastical inheritance, but not one which he himself had inherited.

All three Cardinals show a very significant preference for Benedictine abbeys. Seventeen of the Cardinal de Lorraine's abbeys belonged to this order, as did thirteen of Louis I's (there are three of his abbeys for which the order is uncertain) and ten of their nephew's. The remaining orders account for only one or two of the benefices of each. Charles held three Cistercian houses and the two Louis one each. The Augustinians provided two of Louis I's benefices and one of his nephew's. Louis II held one abbey belonging to the Order of Prémontré in comparison to the two his uncle Charles controlled. Four Benedictine abbeys and one from the Order of Prémontré formed the core of Charles's holdings, which he retained throughout the period under analysis. Given the predominance of the Order of Saint Benedict in the Cardinals' careers it is interesting that the other orders feature among the more significant holdings. One Cistercian and another Prémontré abbey appear on the list of benefices which were retained for extended periods of time.¹⁵ To jump forward a little and look at the abbeys which were retained in the main line of the Lorraine-Guise family, these were all Benedictine. Those which passed as an inheritance to the wider family were all Benedictine with the exception of the Cistercian Notre Dame de Trois Fontaines.

The geographical analysis of the episcopal and monastic holdings of the Cardinals needs to consider their location both in terms of diocese and placement, as well as the

¹⁴ Fécamp, Montier en Der, St. Denis en France, St. Remi de Reims and St. Urbain. The dynastic dimension is discussed below.

¹⁵ These were Prieres and St. Martin de Laon.

correlation of any focus with an established family power base. The easiest way to represent the information about the diocesan distribution of the Lorraine-Guise benefices is via a table showing the thirty two dioceses within which they held benefices and the number of those benefices represented by the dates of each tenure.

<u>DIOCESE:</u>	<u>Charles I</u>	<u>Louis I</u>	<u>Louis II</u>
Albi		1550-1561	
Amiens	1557-1574	1574-1578	?1580-?16
Angers		1564-1578	
Autun	Two - ?		1573/75/80
Auxerre		1539-1567	
Beauvais			?
Bordeaux		1557 & 1561 ¹⁷	
Bourges		?-1578	
Cahors		?-1578	
Carcassonne			1582
Chalon		?	
Châlons	1536 & 1574	?-1578	1574-1588
	1538-46 & 1557-74	1570	1574-1588
Evreux			1588
Langres	?	1569-1578	
Laon	1548-1565		1573 & 1574
Le Mans		1556	
Lisieux	1559-1566		
Mâcon	1550-1574		

16 “?” denotes an uncertain or unknown date.
17 “&” denotes that the records of the benefice do not provide the dates of entry or exit, but rather documents from the indicated dates which show the tenure of one of the Cardinals.

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<u>DIOCESE:</u>	<u>Charles I</u>	<u>Louis I</u>	<u>Louis II</u>
Metz	1550-1551 1550-1574	1568-1578	
Nantes	1552-1553		
Noyons			?1580-?
Orleans		1569-?	
Paris	1557-1574	1549-1578	1574-1588 ?
Poitiers	1548-1552		
Reims	1538-1574 1550-1574	1554-1559	1574-1588 1574-1588
Rouen	1550-1574	1558-1572	1574-1588
Sens		1561-1562 1556-1560	
Soissons		?	
Tours	1550-1562	1566	
Troyes		1545-1551	
Vannes	1552-1571		
Verdun	1548-54 & 1565-72 1548-1574		

This table shows that, as well as being greater pluralists, the elder generation of Lorraine-Guise Cardinals also had more geographically diverse interests. Louis I’s more fluid tenure pattern is reflected in his passage through twenty dioceses, compared to Charles’s sixteen¹⁸ and Louis II’s eleven. A rough map showing the distribution of the dynasty’s benefices (see Appendix 4) shows a clear emphasis upon the whole area north of the Loire, which was the area which remained under Catholic control during the Wars. All three Cardinals occupied a benefice in the dioceses of Amiens, Paris, Reims and Rouen and all held two within

¹⁸ Note that two of this difference reflect the impermanence of Louis’s episcopal holdings.

the diocese of Châlons-sur-Marne. It is, however, interesting to note that Louis I resigned his Abbey of Ste. Colombe in the diocese of Sens just before becoming Archbishop. This suggests that consolidation was not an essential part of the dynasty's strategies. There is a certain correlation between the Governorship of Champagne and the focus of Lorraine-Guise ecclesiastical holdings in the north-east of France. The relationship between secular power and the tenure of benefices is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7. However, an explanation of tenure patterns by reference to family governorships is far from the whole story.

The accepted picture of the Lorraine-Guises pulling back their ecclesiastical interests in reaction to the impact of the wars is questioned by this analysis. It is known that the wars did have some effect on the Lorraine-Guise attitude to tenure since Marmoutier was handed over to Jean de la Rochefoucauld following an attack upon the Abbey by Huguenot troops. Yet Cluny and St. Denis, which were also attacked, were retained in the family's collection. The vast majority of their benefices in the generation of Charles and Louis I had always been in northern France and within the area later controlled by Catholic powers. Their holdings in southern France had been relinquished by 1561, but, since there were only a few benefices in this category, this hardly seems to be a significant enough shift to warrant a theory of retreat. An equal number of northern dioceses had also been abandoned by this time. The fact that Louis I continued as Abbot of Moissac in the diocese of Cahors until his death is an anomaly in this pattern. Of the three dioceses which were entered by this generation for the first time after the outbreak of hostilities (Angers, Langres and Orleans) two lie on the edge of the Catholic-dominated area, whilst the third, Langres, sits neatly in what could be considered the Guise sphere. Also, given the accepted view that the Guises consolidated their holdings in northern France after the 1560s, it is strange that Louis II should accept an abbey in the diocese of Carcassonne (Montoliou). All in all there appears to have been no significant shift into the north or north-east corresponding with a change in the political situation, because this was where the family had already focused their benefice holdings.

A more precise geographical approach, locating the benefices on a map, does not significantly alter these conclusions, but provides some further insights into the tenure policy of the Lorraine-Guise family. A map-based assessment reveals that two of the Cardinal de Lorraine's most permanent interests, both of which he passed on to his nephew, were quite

close to Joinville. Montier en Der and St. Urbain are situated within twenty five kilometres of the dynastic centre. Further investigation may well reveal that benefices were collected in areas where the family held secular lands and estates, but not exclusively so. Although changes in demography make it difficult to be precise, it appears that the majority of Lorraine-Guise abbeys were in rural settings (or at most within small communities). Again Louis I conforms less to this pattern than his brother and nephew - he held ten rural to seven urban abbeys during his career. For Charles the figures are fifteen rural to seven urban (with two unknowns) and for Louis II nine rural and three urban. When the survey is broken down to the categories of abbeys (long or short term tenure) there was a reasonably even division between rural and urban locations in all cases. The holdings which Charles retained throughout his career divide equally between town and country, whilst for Louis II the split is two urban to three rural. A similar almost equal division appears in the analysis of the Cardinal de Lorraine's long term and short term tenure, whereas the benefices which Louis II only kept for a short period are mainly rural. This pattern was probably affected by the dynasty's preference for abbeys belonging to certain orders, which in turn favoured particular types of location.

DYNASTIC STRATEGIES

Attention is now turned to the strategies by which these holdings were transmitted from generation to generation and how the dynastic policy worked. There are two elements in this analysis, the inheritance of benefices by those who can be considered the main dynastic heirs (i.e. the passage of bishoprics and abbeys from Jean to Charles and Louis I and from them to Louis II) and the inheritance which passed to the wider family, to nephews and other kin from the Lorraine and associated families. First, the benefices which were the subject of this transmission are identified and an analysis made of who inherited from whom. Then consideration is given to the means of transmission, how the inheritance was assured. Associated with this is the way in which the next generation was prepared for their future careers. Finally, a word is said about the importance of certain benefices within the tenure patterns previously discussed and the wider significance of their place within the dynastic structure.

Core Benefices

Certain benefices formed the core of the dynasty's ecclesiastical patrimony. A wider chronological perspective shows that these not only passed between the generations under consideration here, but also continued in the family line after the period of this study or had been inherited through a previous dynastic tradition. The jewel in the dynasty's crown (at least as far as the move into the French sphere was concerned) was the Archbishopric of Reims. It passed into Lorraine hands in 1533 via Jean, although tradition maintains that he was only a caretaker for Charles, who was too young to take office. Charles was succeeded by his nephew Louis II. The dynastic crisis which arose after the Blois assassinations deprived the family of a suitable candidate. The gap was filled by the family "client" Nicolas Pellevé and then Philippe du Bec before passing back into Guise hands.

A more traditional holding, which linked the Guises with their Lorraine past and which integrated them into the broader dynastic strategy of the ducal family, is the Bishopric of Metz. It had been in the family since 1484 when Henri de Lorraine, son of Antoine, Comte de Vaudemont, took possession. After his death the see passed to Jean de Lorraine, who resigned it in favour of his nephew, Nicolas de Lorraine, in 1529. This was part of a wider inheritance which is discussed more fully below. Nicolas's decision to abandon the ecclesiastical state for a secular career meant that Metz passed back to Jean through his right of regression and an alternative heir, in the form of Charles de Lorraine, was designated. Although the title of Bishop then passed out of the dynasty's hands for seventeen years it is clear from documents involving the temporal of the Bishopric that Charles used the retention of the rights in order to administer the temporal and to maintain a very strong interest in and influence over the see. The situation with regard to Robert de Lenoncourt is not entirely clear, but François de Beaucaire was quite obviously a straw-man, put in place to retain the see for the family. This conclusion is confirmed by Beaucaire's resignation to Louis I in 1568. After Louis's death Metz went to Charles (III), son of the Duke of Lorraine. The see was therefore effectively retained in the family for four generations, passing through the possession of six members of the dynasty (three of them in the same generation). It moved from the Lorraine sphere to the French and back again. This example shows that this generation of Lorraine-Guises still had a role to play

in the strategies of the elder branch of the family, if not by actually possessing the title and fulfilling the functions of bishop then by maintaining the dynasty's influence in more indirect ways.

The dynasty's abbeys formed a greater part of the ecclesiastical patrimony. They show a variety of different patterns. There were five core abbeys. A three-generational hold was placed on Fécamp which was acquired by Jean and then inherited by the direct line. The three Abbeys of St. Remi de Reims, Montier en Der and St. Urbain can be classed together. All three entered family possession through Charles and were transmitted by him to Louis II (although Montier en Der had not been in Charles's continuous possession). They subsequently remained in the dynasty's control after the period of this study. A more complex structure applies to Cluny. Charles inherited it from Jean, but instead of handing it on to his nephew he passed it to his half brother Claude.¹⁹ A combination of dynastic strategies occurred in the Abbey of St. Denis en France involving the main Lorraine-Guise line and broader kinship ties. Charles gained possession on the death of his uncle, Louis Cardinal de Bourbon, and then bequeathed it to his own nephew Louis II. A break clearly occurs with the assassination of the second Cardinal de Guise and the family did not have a role in the appointment of the next abbot, but the Abbey did then pass back into the Bourbon sphere.

Semi-Dynastic Benefices

The only bishopric in what I have termed the "semi-dynastic" category (those benefices which did not travel in the direct line) is Verdun. As in the case of Metz it was a traditional Lorraine asset, passing from Louis de Lorraine (son of Duke René) to Jean and then Nicolas. A complex situation arose with the return of the title to Jean in 1548. Instead of handing it on to an alternative nephew he merely resigned his interest in it (in other words his control of the administration and his share of the revenues) to Charles, and gave the title to Nicolas Psaume. Verdun seems to have been retained by the family through such caretakers and activated for use when necessary or required. Psaume appears to have been anything but an inactive puppet,

¹⁹ The Papacy clearly thought that a more conventional transaction had occurred since they sent Louis II bulls relating to Cluniac monasteries in Poland believing that he was the Abbot of Cluny. *A.N.G.* 8 Dandino :337.

although a longer perspective clarifies the strategy. On Psaume's death (1575) the ducal family negotiated to keep the Bishopric available for Charles III. Their initial suggestion was that Louis I should be provided with the see until Charles was old enough, but when the Papacy showed itself to be resistant to this plan another candidate was produced.²⁰ Again this demonstrates that the Lorraine-Guises could have a role in preserving the ecclesiastical patrimony of the senior ducal line. It also provides a further illustration of the kind of relationship identified at Metz with Beaucaire, in which a member of the family's ecclesiastical network (discussed in Chapter 4) formed part of their dynastic strategies.

The movement of semi-dynastic abbeys illustrates the diffusion of benefices to a more widespread next generation and the outer branches of the family tree. With the exception of Gorze these holdings entered the family in the period under analysis, a factor which will be examined below. Gorze belongs somewhere between the two categories. It formed another part of the inheritance marked out for Nicolas which was then diverted to Charles. The role of the latter as a caretaker is more pronounced than in the case of the Bishopric of Metz to which the Abbey was allied. The second Cardinal de Lorraine retained his hold on the Abbey throughout his career after inheriting it from Jean, just as he retained an interest in the Bishopric. However, on his death the Abbey passed directly back to the ducal line and into the hands of Charles III. The remaining abbeys in this category²¹ all originated with Louis I and were inherited by his nephew, Claude de Lorraine-Aumale, and his cousins (at one and two degrees of removal), Charles II and Charles III.

The structure of dynastic strategy and the definition of the family's policies can be identified from an analysis of who inherited from whom and what category of benefice was involved. Firstly a word needs to be said about the group which were involved in the structure and those who were not included.²² The identities of some of our subjects have already been established, namely Charles and Louis I, the sons of the first Duc de Guise, and their nephew, Louis II, son of the second Duc. To these we need to add Louis II's brother, François.

²⁰ *A.N.G.* 13 Salviati :533. The accepted alternative was Nicolas Bousmard.

²¹ Bec, Bourg en Deols, Moissac, Notre Dame de Trois Fontaines and St. Victor de Paris.

²² See Appendix One Table 1.

Although he died in 1573, before he was in a position to come into the inheritance which was mapped out for him, his place in the structure cannot be ignored. In the same generation as Charles and Louis I was Nicolas, also the nephew of Cardinal Jean, being the son of his eldest brother the Duke of Lorraine (and thus the cadet of François Duke of Lorraine). As the transfer of his intended inheritance to Charles de Lorraine—Guise outlined above indicates, there was no younger brother to adopt the Church as a career in this generation of his near family. The Church therefore missed a generation in the cadet line of the Lorraine ducal family and two generations in the main line. Nicolas's marriage to Jeanne de Savoye produced a Lorraine-Vaudemont ecclesiastic in the shape of Charles (II) de Lorraine-Mercoeur. The direct ducal line's next representative in the Church was Charles III. Therefore the picture for the two senior branches of the Lorraine family during the period of this study is rather a sparse one. They do not become active until the latter stages of this study.²³

The branch of the family which originated with Claude Duc de Guise provides more fodder for this study. As well as two of his legitimate sons and his two grandsons from the main Guise line, there was his bastard, Claude. Duc Claude's younger son, Claude Duc d'Aumale provided five children for Church careers, although only one of them was male and preferred a career as a Knight of Malta to full ecclesiastical orders. The other brother of this generation, René Duc d'Elbeuf, dedicated none of his off-spring to ecclesiastical careers. The generation of Duc Claude's children appears to mark the high point of Lorraine-Guise involvement in the Church; it is also the period during which they were most successful. The loss of political dominance from the mid-1570s appears to be paralleled by a loss of interest in establishing Church careers. The ducal family produced an heir in the form of Louis III (and also a Knight of Malta and two nuns), but the cadet line headed by Mayenne does not seem to have been involved in the Church, even in the form of a Knight of Malta. This situation would appear to show that despite the dynasty's concern to combine secular and ecclesiastical elements in their power structure, a Church career was still a way of providing for a large number of sons who could not otherwise be accommodated.

The analysis of inheritance patterns and policies begins with Cardinal Jean de Lorraine.

²³ The picture is even more bleak when the female dimension is taken into consideration - see Chapter 8.

It appears that the Lorraine dynasty's ecclesiastical strategy had to be modified and realigned in the light of Nicolas de Lorraine's decision in 1548 to resign his Church interests in favour of a secular career. This modification demonstrates that dynastic strategies had a certain degree of flexibility. The discussion of family benefices above indicates that Nicolas had been designated as Jean's successor in the Bishopric of Metz and the Abbey of Gorze. In his absence these benefices were assigned to Charles I, who was apparently already Jean's heir in the French sphere. Charles only became the "official" heir to Cluny (by being made coadjutor) in 1548, the year in which Jean redistributed the legacy Nicolas had rejected. It can be assumed that this was simply because it was a period during which Jean was handing over benefices to his nephew rather than an indication that Cluny was intended for Nicolas. If Jean had intended Nicolas to succeed him as Abbot of Cluny he would have indicated as much at an earlier stage when he provided him with Metz and Gorze. As well as this prestigious benefice, Charles received the Abbeys of Fécamp and Marmoutier from his paternal uncle, but only after the latter's death. There was no parallel signing over of benefices in anticipation - a point which is assessed below.

There is a striking contrast between the legacies of Charles I and his brother Louis I. Even if Nicolas had remained within the Church sphere Charles would still have received three benefices from Jean (and Nicolas three). Louis I only inherited the Bishopric of Albi. This sheds some light upon the differing tenure patterns of the two brothers. The core of the elder's possessions came from his uncle, while the younger had to accumulate benefices without the advantage of a solid dynastic base. However, this does not disguise the fact that both these Cardinals acquired a considerable number of benefices which they did not owe to family bequests.

The next major distribution of benefices in this manner occurred with the death of Cardinal Charles in December 1574. His possessions passed along various kinship lines. His brothers as well as his nephews succeeded him in ecclesiastical office, and one abbey, Gorze, passed through the extended family to Charles III. Again the removal of one of the designated heirs, this time through premature death, obscures the picture a little. It would seem that the French inheritance was intended to be divided between Louis II and his brother François. The evidence which remains shows that François was meant to inherit the Archbishopric of Reims

(interesting since he was the younger of the two brothers), whilst Louis II received Fécamp and St. Denis en France. This would correspond with the pattern Jean outlined of one nephew receiving the dynasty's major episcopal patrimony, whilst the other acquired the major monastic possessions. However, when the time came for the spoils to be distributed there was only one heir.

Of the benefices which Charles had inherited from Jean only Fécamp was received by Louis II. Cluny, Gorze and Metz passed to other members of the family and Marmoutier had been resigned to an outsider. Despite this the inheritance of Louis II must still be considered as being of dynastic importance. The Archbishopric of Reims was the centrepiece of Lorraine-Guise holdings in the French Church and had been in their hands since 1533. Associated with it was the Abbey of St. Remi de Reims. St. Denis en France was significant for reasons which are discussed at the end of this chapter and had entered the family through a Bourbon kin connection. The last abbey in this collection, Montier en Der, was an established family possession even though Charles had not retained it throughout his career. As for other family members, Louis I already held Metz when Charles died and the only other benefice he received from his brother was the Abbey of St. Valery. The other recipient of a fraternal inheritance was Charles's bastard half-brother, Claude de Guise. It is very interesting that this illegitimate, but recognised, member of the dynasty should be placed at the head of a benefice as important as the Abbey of Cluny. It was a benefice which had formed part of Jean's legacy and which Charles had retained throughout his career, factors which placed it firmly in the family domain.

As noted above, the benefices which Louis I possessed on his death passed to less direct heirs.²⁴ None went to his "senior" nephew, Louis II. A nephew of the cadet Aumale line appears to have been his designated heir, and despite his decision to become a Knight of Malta rather than take full religious orders he did inherit three of his uncle's holdings.²⁵ Two other abbeys went to members of the senior branches of the dynasty, Charles II and Charles III.

The ecclesiastical and dynastic crises which followed the Blois assassinations break the

²⁴ A.N.G. 13 Salviati :810 on Louis I's death his benefices went to Charles II, Charles III and Claude d'Aumale.

²⁵ Bec, Bourgen Deols and Notre Dame de Trois Fontaines.

flow of inheritance from generation to generation. The designated heir (Louis III) was too young to take up his position and the political situation made it difficult for the family to pursue its usual policies. There was, however, immediate solicitation at the Roman Court for Louis II's benefices and a cardinal's hat for Louis III as part of the family's reaction to the disaster.²⁶ This action shows clearly the significance the Lorraine-Guises placed upon retaining their ecclesiastical patrimony.

Maternal-based kinship also had a place within this structure. This dimension was far less significant than the paternal, but it did contribute something to Lorraine-Guise tenure. This is probably because there was an established and rich paternal patrimony. The existence of dynasties which were articulated around maternal kinship can be seen within the sixteenth century French Church. The most notable of these is the one which retained control of the Archdiocese of Lyon. The most prominent Lorraine-Guise example of a maternal uncle designating a nephew as heir is Charles I's acquisition of St. Denis en France in 1557 from Louis Cardinal de Bourbon.²⁷ This occurred even though there was a Bourbon heir who could have inherited the Abbey. The benefice returned to the Bourbon family during Henri IV's reign, but this tenure pattern cannot be compared to the strategy which was applied to the dynastic holdings in the Trois-Evêchés. The Bourbon connection appears to have benefited Louis II in some way, although the exact details of the transaction are not clear, with the 1580 transfer of Corbie and Orcamp from Charles Cardinal de Bourbon.²⁸ Although it is beyond the limits of the study it should be noted that none of the Bourbon inheritance in 1590 went to Lorraine-Guise relations.

The other element in the maternal kinship network is the Este family and their ecclesiastical legacy. Both Anne's uncle, Hippolyte, and brother, Louis, were cardinals in possession of French benefices. None of these holdings passed to the Lorraine-Guise family. Louis d'Este was clearly his uncle's principal concern and heir, but he died in 1587. Some of his benefices did then pass to his sister's family, but to a son from her second marriage, Henri

²⁶ Richard Cooper "The Aftermath of the Blois Assassinations of 1588: Documents in the Vatican" *French History* III 1989 :404.

²⁷ Haton I :46 Louis de Bourbon-Vendôme's nephews were enriched from the temporal and benefices - including Charles de Lorraine who received St. Denis.

²⁸ *Lettres Catherine VII*: 23 June 1580.

de Savoie, Marquis de St. Sorlin.²⁹ This step-family did not benefit from the Guise ecclesiastical patrimony, or receive any cast off benefices of minor significance.

The words “heir” and “inheritance” have been used in the preceding paragraphs without any explanation of the ways in which they are appropriate. Their use implies succession to a patrimony, which is the concept which I am attempting to explore. However, more explanation of the means of succession and transmission is necessary to show that this was a true inheritance, bequeathed by one individual to another, rather than a fortuitous pattern which complied with dynastic policy.

The Concordat of 1516 placed the control of nominations to benefices within the French Church in the hands of the king of France. However, the holders of major benefices retained a certain degree of control over their holdings and had powers to designate their replacement. A cleric could resign his benefice to a successor of his choice without passing through the channel of royal nomination. (Such transactions could still involve the king-centred structures as the Crown was asked to support the request for resignation *in favorem* with letters to the Papacy and to the French ambassador in Rome.) This method of transferring an abbey or bishopric from one family member to another could only be used a designated time before the originator’s death and therefore, in a strict sense, cannot be defined as inheritance. It was also an inefficient way of passing assets down through generations because it meant that the senior member of the dynasty had to deprive himself of the family’s most important holdings before his career was over.

This method of transmitting the ecclesiastical patrimony through the generations is evident in the resignation by Jean of Metz and Gorze to Nicolas. A similar pattern also applies to Jean’s transfer of Reims to Charles, although this transaction is complicated by the tradition that Jean was only a caretaker until Charles was old enough to occupy the see. In the former case, involving Jean and Nicolas, the benefices were important to the dynasty, but Jean’s status did not rest upon them and his major assets were within the French sphere. Therefore the next generation could be established (and provided with a means of support) without detracting from the position of their senior. A similar situation arose with the transfer of Metz to Louis I.

²⁹ *Lettres Catherine*. IX: 171 and 236-7 February and September 1587.

Charles had retained the dynasty's interest in the see through his position as Bishop in all but name and the continued hold on the benefice by the family was ensured by Beaucaire's resignation of the title to Louis.

Regnier claimed that Charles de Lorraine and Jean's other nephews "N'ayons patience qu'il les enrichist de ses benefices par son decez, ils ne cessarent de luy tirer de dessous l'aile tout ce qu'il fut possible." An image is painted of the elder Cardinal de Lorraine expelled from Court by Charles and destituted by the greed of his nephew.³⁰ The evidence shows that this is completely untrue (as one would suspect) and that neither Charles nor Louis I received any of Jean's benefices before his death. Indeed the resignation of benefices was far from being the principal way of preserving the patrimony.

The preferred system of transferal within the Lorraine-Guise strategy was to designate an heir or successor and gain royal and institutional approval for the succession. This shows the extent to which the Crown had intruded upon the former power structures of the Church in France and established itself as a determining force. The Lorraine-Guises could not have maintained their dynastic strategy without the support and consent of the Valois monarchy. There was a concern on the part of the Crown that ecclesiastical power bases should not correspond to an established secular dynastic power base, but during most of the period under discussion the Crown was too weak to impose a policy. Given the realities of the Crown's choice of bishops and abbots it could not easily have ignored the impulse towards dynasticism. The king had to choose those suggested to him by the Court elite since he had no other way of filling vacancies. The influence and power of the Lorraine-Guises somewhat guaranteed that they could determine their own tenure patterns.

The policy of the Lorraine-Guises was to establish the designated heir to a benefice as coadjutor at an early stage and gain the institutions' acceptance of his eventual rights to succeed. This strategy was combined with negotiations with the Crown setting out which benefices would pass to the next generation of the dynasty. This structure was widely accepted and the papal nuncio reported on the designation of heirs and inheritance as if it were the assignation of a secular patrimony to lay heirs. When Louis I was ill in 1575 Salviati explained to Galli that, if he died, all his benefices, except the Bishopric of Metz, would go to his Aumale

³⁰ Louis Regnier de La Planche *La legende de Charles, cardinal de Lorraine...* Reims, 1576 : 13.

nephew.³¹ It is implied in this correspondence that this transaction is due to the King's favour since Salviati noted that the one benefice not included, Metz, was not within the jurisdiction of the Concordat ("ne relève pas au roi"). Earlier the nuncio revealed the existence of this kind of policy in speaking of the aftermath of the Cardinal de Lorraine's death, making it clear that it was Henri III who gave the benefices to Louis II.³² This evidence is supported by a letter from the King announcing the death of Charles and requesting that Louis II be confirmed in the majority of benefices which his uncle had held in France.³³

The practice of instituting the designated heir as coadjutor appears, in the records of the benefices concerned, to have been the major element in the securing of the ecclesiastical patrimony. Jean employed this means to establish Charles as his successor as Abbot of Cluny in 1548 and as Bishop of Metz.³⁴ The structure continued with Charles arranging the tenure pattern of the next generation. In 1572 he obtained the coadjutorship of St. Denis en France for Louis II and that of the Archbishopric of Reims for François.³⁵ However, François died the following year and Louis II received his canonicate in Notre Dame de Reims, but there is no mention of a transfer of the coadjutorship.³⁶ The documents for Louis II's coadjutorship of St. Denis have survived and illustrate the working of the system. First, Charles gained a papal bull establishing Louis II in this position (dated 20 March 1572), which was then registered by the French civil authorities as all papal bulls had to be before they became effective within France. The Cardinal then presented his nephew to the congregation of the Abbey, who accepted Louis as coadjutor-abbot-without-jurisdiction, but with the right of succession, on 11 October 1573.³⁷ A similar series of events probably occurred at Fécamp where Louis II was

³¹ A.N.G.13 Salviati :523 Metz had been promised by Rome to the son of the Duke of Lorraine.

³² A.N.G. 13 Salviati :446 and :451, which gives more detail of the distribution of Charles's legacy.

³³ *Lettres Henri III* 2:1178 dated 26 December 1574.

³⁴ Charvin "L'Abbaye et l'Ordre de Cluny de la fin du XVe au début du XVIIe siècle (1485 - 1630)" *Revue Mabillon* 44 1959; Lorain *Essai historique sur l'abbaye de Cluny* Dijon, 1839 :275; *Gallia* IV; *Hierarchia*.

³⁵ Anselme II.

³⁶ There is no record in *série* 2G of A.D.M.(Reims) of either François's coadjutorship or of it passing to his brother after his death.

³⁷ A.N. L831:13 *procès-verbaux* of the recognition. Also Félibien *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Saint Denis en France* reprinted Paris, 1973 :402; and *Gallia* VII.

coadjutor from 1566³⁸ and at the other abbeys he received after the death of his uncle, although there is no reference to him having been coadjutor in these places. The same pattern was followed when the designated successor belonged to the same generation, as in the case of Cluny. In 1562 Charles gained from Pius IV the designation of Claude as his coadjutor (Bull dated 13 February), which was endorsed by the Abbey the following year. After the Cardinal's death Claude was accepted as Abbot by both the congregation of the Abbey and the Papacy.³⁹

This strategy required heirs to be designated from an early age and introduced to ecclesiastical careers. The sources allude to this element of dynastic policy when they refer to expected succession. The papal nuncio spoke of this part of the structure when he reported the death of François de Lorraine (brother of Louis II). He explained that the youth was destined “nelle cose ecclesiastiche mantener la grandezza et reputatione della Casa”.⁴⁰ This is clear from François's positioning at Reims, which included a place as canon in the cathedral Chapter. The question of the Bishopric of Verdun in 1575 also illustrates the way in which a boy was selected for an ecclesiastical career. A great deal of negotiation went on between the Duke of Lorraine and Rome to determine who could act as a caretaker in the see until the Duke's son was old enough to take possession.⁴¹

This part of the strategy was evidently flexible. Dynastic policy took into account personal preferences and allowed for the need for a son to reenter the secular world to continue the family line. Nicolas de Lorraine was able to resign his inheritance in favour of a secular career and the assets passed to the Guise branch of the family. This decision was probably a response to the death of his elder brother and the succession of a minor Duke. As has been noted above, sections of the dynasty could be excluded from the structure for a generation or two and then be reintegrated when spare sons or a change of policy required. The death of François meant a similar shift, but this time within one branch of the family. The dynasty's ecclesiastical resources were preserved intact and there seems to have been no ill effect, unless one chooses to speculate that the family's fortunes under Henri III may have been better served

³⁸ *Gallia* XI.

³⁹ Charvin :14; and *Gallia* IV.

⁴⁰ *A.N.G.* 12 Salviati :261.

⁴¹ *A.N.G.* 13 Salviati :533.

by two cardinals. Nicolas was not the only member of the dynasty to opt out of the career outlined for him, although he was the only one within the sphere of this study to exclude himself completely from the Church. Claude de Lorraine-Aumale, and later Duc Henri's son, François Alexandre Paris, both chose to become Knights of Malta rather than enter full religious orders. This excluded them from holding bishoprics, but apparently their inheritance would not have contained this kind of benefice in any case and it still permitted Claude to acquire monastic assets from his uncle.

THE WIDER SIGNIFICANCE OF FAMILY BENEFICES

The dynastic possessions Montier en Der and St. Urbain remained in the structure because of their proximity to Joinville. However, certain parts of the Lorraine-Guise ecclesiastical patrimony had a significance beyond their inclusion in the family's assets and transmission through successive generations. The Abbey of La Trinité at Fécamp was probably retained because it was the wealthiest monastery in Upper Normandy,⁴² a region in which the family had interests. It was not, however, the most prestigious abbey in the diocese.⁴³ There are very clear reasons why the dynasty retained the Archbishopric of Reims and the Abbeys of St. Remi and St. Denis. All three were of national importance and linked the Lorraine-Guises closely with the essence of monarchical power in France. It is not a question of usurping the throne of the Valois, as some over zealous anti-Guisards would have us believe, or of controlling the Crown. It is rather an association with the concept of a French Catholic monarchy, which would bring prestige and enhance the dynasty's status and image.

The Archbishopric of Reims was the premier *duché-pairie* in France. This title elevated the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals above their brothers, the Ducs de Guise, and brought them prestige and status. The question of the power associated with the Archbishopric is discussed

⁴² Jonathan Dewald *The Formation of a Provincial Nobility: The Magistrates of the Parlement of Rouen, 1499–1610* Princeton, 1980 :234 and note 27. This conclusion is based on the fact that the Abbey was invariably the most heavily taxed benefice in the diocese of Rouen during the alienations of the second half of the sixteenth century.

⁴³ Léon Falluc *Histoire de la ville et de l'abbaye de Fécamp* Rouen, 1841 :304-5. The production of Benedictine liqueur was not a factor in their continued tenure since it did not really develop until the nineteenth century, although the original recipe may have benefited the Cardinal-Abbots.

in Chapter 7 and attention is given here to the more theoretical assets of this benefice. The Archbishop was the cleric who placed the crown on the king's head, an action which established the monarch in his office. During the course of the period under discussion here the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals crowned four Valois kings. There was intense negotiation in 1575 to ensure that this role in the ceremony of kingship did not pass to an outsider. The title of Archbishop was clearly Louis II's, but he had not yet been fully installed or consecrated when the coronation took place. The Bishop of Soissons therefore claimed the privilege as the Province's senior ecclesiastic. However, the Lorraine-Guises maintained their position and Louis I took his nephew's place. Control of the Abbey of St. Remi de Reims, which the Guises linked to the Archbishopric, also involved the control of a symbol of monarchy. The Abbots were guardians of the oil which was used to anoint and sacralise the king. This part of the coronation ceremony signified the unique and special status of the king as God's deputy over the people of France.

The Abbey of St. Denis en France amplified the family's association with the spiritual aspects of monarchy. This benefice was crucial to the identity of the French monarchy. The Saint was the patron of the French Crown and had come to represent monarchical authority. When the king required confirmation of divine support for his policies, notably in the case of war, he applied to the relics of St. Denis for intercession (relics which were kept by the Cardinal de Lorraine in his Parisian Hôtel de Cluny when the Abbey was under threat). This usually involved a procession of the Saint's relics, in which the Lorraine-Guise Abbots played a central role. After the successful outcome of the war the king would return to give thanks. These processions and ceremonies not only involved the presence of the king, but also the carrying of the symbols of monarchical authority, such as the sceptre, the *main de justice* and the coronation crown. Thus the Abbey of St. Denis was a point of contact between monarchical policy and the divine will.⁴⁴

As Reims represented the "birth" into the kingship, St. Denis represented identity through death. From the twelfth century the Abbey was a national shrine and the centre of the cult of the French kings. It achieved this status because of its function as a *néropole*

⁴⁴ See especially Diefendorf *Beneath the Cross* Oxford, 1991 :43.

dynastique.⁴⁵ The burial of generations of French kings provided a form of identity since it established and separated royal blood and descent. It was a tangible way of identifying royalty and a royal genealogy. The funeral ceremony itself had the ability to confer kingliness by association. The interment of the dead monarch was the point at which sovereignty was passed from the old to the new king. It was not until this point that the old king's household was dissolved and his successor proclaimed.⁴⁶ The ceremony and the Abbey represented the continuity of sovereignty and French kingship.

CONCLUSION

The tenure patterns and dynastic structure of the Lorraine-Guise family make it clear that there was a regularised policy for the retention of the dynasty's ecclesiastical assets over successive generations. Although the tenure record of the three Cardinals shows that there was considerable fluidity and room for "self-interested" accumulation, there was also a core of benefices which were considered to be dynastic property. These benefices could be of purely family importance or of national significance. Attention within the strategy was focused upon one nephew in the senior ducal line in each generation, but not exclusively. Dynastic accident seems to have removed the emergence of a twin presence. The only place where such a structure existed was in the generation containing Charles and Louis I, but here it appears that a joint inheritance was never intended. Louis I received nothing from the dynasty's ecclesiastical patrimony, until he was brought in to safeguard Metz in 1568. Neither did he contribute anything to the direct dynastic line, reserving his legacy for another cadet, Claude de Lorraine-Aumale. The strategy also shows that the Lorraine-Guises remained within the dynastic structure of the senior ducal family during the first and second generations of operations within the French Church. There was a power sharing policy in the Trois-Evêchés, which acknowledged the claims of the Guise cousins and used them when necessary on condition that the assets remained within the sphere of the senior branch.

⁴⁵ Ralph E. Giesey *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* Geneva, 1960 :29.

⁴⁶ Giesey :35.

Chapter Three

ADMINISTRATION OF THE TEMPORAL

This chapter discusses the economic resources which the Church and high ecclesiastical office brought to the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals. It has been shown that the Church was used by the dynasty to supplement patrimonial resources and provide financial support for “surplus” children. It is therefore necessary to explore the nature of these resources. The analysis also takes into consideration the secular properties which the Cardinal de Lorraine held, namely the lands, rights and possessions which were grouped under the title of the Duchy of Chevreuse. The discussion considers the management and administration of these assets, as well as identifying what they were. The uses to which these resources were put forms another strand of this analysis, and specifically whether they were used to supplement family resources in a way other than maintaining its Cardinals. The extant source material relating to the family’s benefices mostly concerns the temporal and its management and capitalisation. However, the patchy survival of the relevant documents and the extensive nature of the Cardinals’ holdings mean that it is not viable to provide a complete picture of their temporal possessions. There is no attempt to reconstruct the framework of the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals’ wealth. The focus here falls on the Archbishopric of Reims and the Abbey of St. Denis en France, with some reference to other benefices. In this case, as elsewhere in this study, the most information survives for the Cardinal de Lorraine. The records of the temporal of the Archbishopric of Reims and the contents of two *études* of the Minutier Central provided an abundance of material upon which to base an analysis of the administration and management of the resources brought by the possession of benefices. I could not trace Louis I’s notary in the Châtelet de Paris and none of his transactions as a benefice holder appear in my analysis. As there are no studies of the administration of sixteenth-century Church lands (attention has only been paid to taxation and alienations) comparisons are drawn with the administration of Cardinal Richelieu and the management of aristocratic estates during this period. This kind of comparison also serves the purpose of placing the Cardinals in the context of noble culture, which is a theme of this study.

CONTEXT

This discussion needs to be put into the context of estate management in general and of the issues affecting the temporal resources of the Church in particular. The concept of a crisis occurring in the French nobility during the sixteenth century has prompted research into the landed wealth of the old elite. This now discounted theory proposed that the landed nobility failed to exploit its property sufficiently because of an inability to administer it effectively, and was therefore unable to deal with the economic changes of the sixteenth century. Recent work based on case studies of noble estates has challenged the theory of crisis by demonstrating that France's social elite were adapting to new economic conditions.¹ The examination of the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals as members of this aristocracy leads to a comparison between the temporal resources at their disposal and the estates of their secular peers. Indeed the Cardinal de Lorraine was a secular land holder as well, although his concerns in the administration of Chevreuse, Dampierre, Meudon and Maurepas etc. were possibly different from those of a secular noble who depended upon his estates for his status and for economic support.

The financial activities of the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals also need to be considered in the context of the Crown's repeated and increasingly institutionalised demands for money from the French Church during this period. These demands, made with the approval of the Papacy, required benefice holders to alienate part of the property under their control to provide money for the Valois monarchy. In theory these donations were to support the expenses of war against the heretics, but the appalling state of the Valois finances complicated such assignment. These contributions were also in theory voluntary and the phrasing of the grants, the existence of an independent financial structure and regular meetings of the Clergy to approve the payments maintained this fiction; but in practice the Crown came to expect this source of income. The idea that the Clergy was exempt from all taxation was sustained, and apart from this annual "grant" the First Order was free from other royal and local financial demands.

The Lorraine-Guise Cardinals were exempted from contributing to these

¹ For the concept of crisis see D. Bitton *The French Nobility in Crisis: 1560-1640* Stanford, 1969. This view was challenged by J. Russell Major "Noble Income, Inflation, and the Wars of Religion in France" *American Historical Review* 86 1981 and more recently by J. Dewald *Pont-St.-Pierre 1398-1789* London, 1987. For examples of case studies of noble estates see the Bibliography.

subventions, as were the other French cardinals, by royal grant.² In 1557 Lorraine certified to the *chambre des comptes* that he held the conventual priory of the Bois de Vincennes, through which a dependent house belonged to him. This dependent house was therefore exempted from the payment of any *decimes* or *dons gratuits*. These had not been paid in the year 1556 to 1557, nor had they been asked to pay.³ However, the application of this exemption was somewhat complex and is difficult to follow. The picture is further confused by the claim that the exemptions from a share in the alienations were only pretended and were disputed.⁴ It appears that the Cardinals were assessed for the alienations along with the other benefices in a diocese. The Cardinals had to alienate some of their temporal goods and contribute their share. This sum was then repaid by the *receveur général* of the Clergy. The list of properties alienated in 1563 in the diocese of Reims includes some belonging to the Archbishopric and St. Remi, while the *procès-verbal* of the commissioners to the Archdiocese for the alienation in 1569 records a figure for these two benefices.⁵ All of Louis II's benefices were assessed, but no money from the alienation of their properties was received by the *receveur général*.⁶ The records of the *agence général* detail the values ascribed to each of the benefices (and provide additional information on the holdings of the cardinals), but unfortunately these cannot be used to estimate the actual value of the benefice.⁷

The demands of the Valois monarchy upon the temporal resources of the French Church led to the development by the Clergy of their own institutions, such as the financial framework created to assess and collect the *deniers* they contributed to the Crown. This structure was stratified. At the top was the receiver general for the Clergy of France, who registered accounts with the *agence général du clergé de France*.⁸ Each diocese had its own receiver, who collected and accounted for the contributions of each benefice holder. The

² For example the exemption of Louis II from ordinary *decimes* recorded in 1585 referring to letters patent registered at Blois 22 May 1581 for six years. A.N. G8*18:99 and 100, which also records the exemption of the Cardinals de Bourbon, d'Este and d'Armagnac. Also the exemptions from *decimes* and *dons gratuits* granted to the Cardinal de Lorraine by letters patent of Henri II, François II and confirmed by Charles IX A.N. L831:12.

³ B.N. ms.fr.20327:188.

⁴ Claude Michaud *L'Eglise et l'Argent sous l'Ancien Régime* Paris, 1991 :94.

⁵ A.N. G8*1217 Code A and B (unfoliated).

⁶ A.N. G8*18:100ff.

⁷ C. Michaud "Les aliénations..."

⁸ An institution which has allowed a great quantity of documents to survive to the present day.

sums to be collected were decided upon and then assigned to each benefice holder by the regional authorities.

It is not clear whether this kind of financial organisation had an impact upon the administration of temporal resources. As is discussed below, at least one of the agents in charge of the management of Louis II's finances (Nicolas de Hault) was also the receiver for the dioceses of Reims and Troyes. In earlier alienations Lorraine-Guise agents had been used to manage the contributions,⁹ but this activity was on a very small scale and related to individual benefices rather than to the financial structure which the Clergy developed. Nicolas de Hault, on the other hand, seems to have brought a new style of financial administration to the temporal and was concerned with the management of groups of revenues. This could be a simple coincidence that marks the development and adoption of more sophisticated economic practices; but it does seem to indicate that there was a relationship between the development of the financial institutions of the Clergy as a whole and the increased complexity of the administration of temporal resources.

As well as Crown demands for money, the economic resources of the French Church were under attack from other directions during this period. Huguenot troops attacked abbeys, passing armies sacked the resources of the temporal and Huguenot forces occupied benefices, which deprived the office holder of his revenues. There were also outbreaks of tithe strikes.

The emphasis of the Lorraine-Guise tenure framework on France north of the Loire meant that their benefices were not liable to occupation. But geographic positioning did not protect them from the other effects of war. Marmoutier and Cluny were attacked by Huguenot forces. The 1562 attack on Cluny was reported to be devastating, but no indication is given of the long term impact.¹⁰ St. Denis was threatened, but the records do not indicate whether the Lorraine-Guise Abbot suffered economically over the long term because of the unstable political situation. Fécamp was threatened by the Protestant rising in Normandy in 1562. The town was taken, but the monks were able to defend the Abbey itself. However, in the surrounding area there was pillage and burning of all the properties which belonged to the Church, including the Abbey's possessions. Attacks continued even during the quiet period which followed. In a time of disorder the administration of revenues

⁹ Constitution of *procureurs* by Louis II and Claude for the alienation - Urban Arnoul and Pierre Hubert. A.N. M.C. VIII 380:269 and :673.

¹⁰ Charvin; B.N. ms.fr.4640:3 Lorraine to Tavannes 10 May, refers to a loss of reliquaries and jewels.

was difficult and the Abbey did suffer some hardship.¹¹ Lorraine's secular lands were also affected - in 1567 Dampierre was overrun.¹²

Champagne, and therefore the lands belonging to the Archbishopric of Reims, was a traditional battle ground, situated as it was on the borders of France. It was the site of conflict even during a civil war because the Huguenot princes raised mercenary troops in the German Protestant lands which entered France through Champagne. The people of Reims showed constant anxiety about their defence throughout this period.¹³ In a letter to Vieilleville in 1568 about the provision of money, the Cardinal of Lorraine made reference to the fact that Champagne had been pillaged and ruined.¹⁴ In June 1574 an English source reported that frontier towns belonging to the Cardinal de Lorraine had been spoiled by Lorraine Protestants.¹⁵ However, the records of the temporal of the Archbishopric do not give the impression that the region's economy was in collapse, nor do they indicate whether the wars had a significant impact upon the Archbishop's economic resources.

Tithe strikes were the result of either a Protestant take-over or of the resistance of the population. Recently historians have seen this less as an expression of grievances by the tithable and more as a result of the shattering of agricultural production.¹⁶ A movement of non-payment of tithes began at the start of the sixteenth century in the Rhineland and moved into France along the Saône and Rhône. From there it spread south and then west to the Midi and the Atlantic. Another phase of strikes affected the Paris basin through the 1560s. Resistance to payment was intense to the south of Paris, but it did not greatly affect the areas east, north-east or north of the capital.¹⁷ These regions are the ones in which the Lorraine-Guises held the bulk of their ecclesiastical property. There was no reference in the materials consulted to tithe strikes in their benefices.

¹¹ Fallue :326-339.

¹² Thou IV:19.

¹³ See various requests for defence needs in the records of the *conseil de ville* A.M.R. Registres.

¹⁴ Barthélemy "Lettres inédits du Cardinal de Lorraine, archeveque de Reims et du Duc de Guise (1558-1572) *T.A.N.R.* 79 1885-6 :137-8.

¹⁵ *C.S.P.F.* 12:1479.

¹⁶ Marc Venard "La grande cassure (1520 - 1598)" in Le Goff and Rémond (eds.) *Histoire de la France religieuse* vol.2 Paris, 1988 :304.

¹⁷ Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie *Les Paysans de Languedoc* Paris, 1966 :375-382; Le Roy Ladurie and Morineau *Histoire économique et sociale de la France* Paris, 1977 :712-718; Le Roy Ladurie and Goy *Tithe and Agrarian History from the Fourteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries* Cambridge, 1982.

RESOURCES AND WEALTH

It is helpful to define the temporal resources which are analysed in this discussion. The benefice was originally the economic reward attached to an ecclesiastical office. This definition fits the idea of a parallel between a Church career and secular careers in the military or royal administration. Since it was the landed resources and rights attached to the office, rather than the State, which provided money a regular income was more certain, which probably accounts for the popularity of Church office during this period.¹⁸ The temporal resources acquired with ecclesiastical office differed from those of patrimonial and secular estates in that the benefice holder only enjoyed usufruct of these possessions and was not allowed to touch the capital.

The term "temporal resources" covers a variety of factors. Firstly there was the land itself, which was under the direct control of the benefice holder. As the property of the Church the only means of drawing an income from land was to use it for agricultural production or to lease it for this purpose. In urban areas Church property could also take the form of buildings or land upon which buildings could be erected. In many cases there were rights attached to the property, which either brought their own economic value or which could be leased. There were also more general rights which did not depend upon the possession of certain property, but which related to the benefice holder's jurisdiction in a town, or community. The most obvious example of this is the tithe.¹⁹ The capitalisation of these resources is discussed in greater detail below, but I will add that the revenues produced by the possession of lands and rights could in themselves be a resource upon which to raise loans.

As well as having access to the wealthy domains of the Abbatial mense at St. Denis the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals also profited from numerous lucrative rights and exemptions. Various specified goods sent to or by the Abbot were exempt from duties. He took a levy on oblations of gold, silver and silk made in the basilica at named altars. The Abbot's privileges included the taking of duty on certain types of transport, such as wagons entering the town or boats passing the Île St. Denis. These were due whether they were carrying cargo or empty. He also taxed the cargo and any goods which were sold in the

¹⁸ J. Boucher *Société et mentalité autour de Henri III* Paris, 1981 1:480.

¹⁹ Examples of tithes being leased or farmed out - A.D.M.(Reims) 2G49/2 and 2G79/3.

town. Certain professions owed dues to the Abbot, such as the *freppier* (a merchant of new or old clothing).²⁰ The administration of justice over the dependencies of the Abbey also yielded revenues (as it did for the Archbishopric of Reims). These resources were counterbalanced by financial responsibilities, which included the maintenance of the buildings of the basilica and Abbey and a contribution to the upkeep of the town walls, *loges des Halles*, gaol and roadways.²¹ The Archbishop of Reims possessed similar kinds of privileges. For example, he had the right to a duty on grain sold in the market at Reims and took a levy on salt brought into the town.²²

Those holding high ecclesiastical office could also expect to have other sources of income, such as pensions relating to benefices which they had resigned or pensions which came from the Crown (and which were frequently drawn from the revenues of other benefices). The Crown might also favour a bishop with a gift of money or some other valuable present. For example, the Acts of François II indicate payments made on behalf of the Cardinal de Lorraine; and Henri III gave Louis II the fruits of the manufacture of cloth in France.²³

The question of ecclesiastical wealth is a difficult one.²⁴ Even the extensive source material available for Cardinal Richelieu in the seventeenth century can only provide the basis for a well informed estimate of his wealth.²⁵ Clearly these Cardinals were wealthy men, although the image of wealth has to be balanced by claims that they died heavily in debt.²⁶ The number of benefices which they possessed, their grand lifestyles and the breadth of their economic activity provide some indication of their level of wealth. The smaller number of Louis II's benefices and his less favourable political situation would

²⁰ Ayzac I:168-172.

²¹ Ayzac I:175.

²² A.D.M.(Reims) 2G22/5; 2G17/4 and 2G292:205.

²³ *Catalogue des Actes de François II* :282 and :294 for example; A.N. M.C. VIII394:375 - the constitution of *procureurs* to dispose and set up all officers of *contrôleur* created and erected by the King on the profits of the manufacture of cloth in France and given to Louis II for the *deniers* owed to him. 23 August 1584.

²⁴ The picture is complicated by the variety of currencies used. The *livre tournois* was fictitious money of account with varying real value. From 1577 to 1602 an attempt was made to use a real coin the *ecu soleil*, the official value of which was three *livres*.

²⁵ Bergin *Power*

²⁶ Both Regnier de la Planche :13 and Thou I:524 state that Jean died leaving debts, which is not necessarily to say that his revenues could not support his opulent lifestyle, he could simply not yet have paid bills or satisfied his credit arrangements.

make it reasonable to assume that he was less wealthy than his uncle Charles, if not Louis I.

Various figures are provided by the sources for both the total wealth of the Cardinal de Lorraine and annual revenues. A total of 300,000 *francs* is often quoted for Lorraine, but no indication of the method of calculation is provided²⁷ and the reliability of such a figure is rather doubtful. Ambassadorial reports provide some other figures. In 1558 the Venetian ambassador, Soranzo, estimated that the Cardinal received 100,000 *francs* from his benefices.²⁸ As shown in Chapter 2, ecclesiastical possessions and royal favour increased from this period and Soranzo's figure does not take account of the Cardinal's secular property. An assortment of figures are provided for the revenues of the Bishopric of Metz ranging from 80,000 to 100,000 *francs*.²⁹ In 1555 Fécamp provided 40,000 *francs* in revenue and Marmoutier, 15,000 *livres*.³⁰ A statement of the revenues of the Abbatial mense of St. Denis in 1584 includes some very significant sums, such as 1,516 $\frac{2}{3}$ *ecus* (4,550 *livres*) for the farm of Beaulne en Gatinois and 1,666 $\frac{2}{3}$ *ecus* (5,000 *livres*) for the lease of Thoury en Beauce. The *terre* and seigneurie of Chaourse brought in 623 *ecus* 20 *sols* (1,870 *livres*), whilst the fairs of St. Denis and Landit yielded 2,000 *livres*.³¹ Various sources provide figures for the value of pensions the Cardinals held. For example, Louis I retained 9,800 *livres* pension from Albi and 6,000 *livres* from the Bishopric of Condom.³²

The most reliable figures for the value of a benefice come from the Archbishopric of Reims. The necessity of providing for the repair of the Hôtel de Reims in Paris in 1582 led to an inquest into the revenues of the Archbishopric, with various Rémois witnesses

²⁷ This figure comes from the document settling the succession to Duc François in which the Cardinal's two nephews are said to expect to inherit this figure from him; and from the Cardinal's 1571 testament. B.N. ms.fr. 8182:166 and :156-161. It is also the figure provided by the Venetian ambassador Michiel in 1561 - Tommaseo *Relations* :437.

²⁸ Alberi *Relazioni* II:434.

²⁹ Boucher *Société et mentalité* :482; A.N.G. 13 Salviati :523; and for the higher figure - Regnier de la Planche :20. It is not stated whether this value is given in French or Lorraine money. Guy Cabourdin "Les ducs de Lorraine et la monnaie (1480 - 1635)" *Annales de l'Est* 27 1975 :5 puts the conversion rate 3 *francs barrois* to 1 *livre*. This would value Metz at between 26,667 and 33,333 *livres* a year. However, Boucher also provides a figure for the revenue of Verdun 25,000 *ecus*, or 75,000 *livres*, which makes me believe that the figure for Metz is in *livres*.

³⁰ Romier *Les origines politiques des guerres de religion* 2 vols. Paris, 1922 :54.

³¹ Ayzac II:515ff.

³² *Hierarchia* - 10,000 according to A.N.G. 8 A. Dandino 53n.

contributing statements. They agreed upon a figure of 12,000 *livres*, with various expenses, which, when deducted, left the Archbishop with about 4,000 *livres*.³³ This document also includes a statement by Jean Breton which details the Archbishopric's revenues from St. John the Baptist's Day 1565 to the same day in 1574.³⁴ His figures show revenues of approximately eleven and a half thousand *livres*, rising to thirteen thousand in 1572. There was an extraordinary high of over sixteen thousand *livres* in 1568-9. Variations in the revenues over this period of time are attributed to fluctuations in the price of grain and the extraordinary sale of woodland.

Two isolated accounts from the Abbey of St. Remi also provide an indication of total revenue and how much of this the Abbot received. The account for 1564-65 records the receipt of 14,621 *livres* plus payments in kind of grains, capons etc., and expenses of around 5,419 *livres*, with 8,000 *livres* being delivered to the Cardinal's receiver. The account of Adam Ravineau, the receiver general of St. Remi, for 1573-74 notes a revenue of 15,361 *livres* 3 *sols* and 9 *deniers*, with 59 *muids* (712 *setiers*) of wheat, 128 *muids* (1,537 *setiers*) of rye and 107 *muids* (1,283 *setiers*) of oats.³⁵ The expenses drawn on this account are over seven and a half thousand *livres* and include a payment of 1,100 *livres* to the convent of the Abbey.³⁶ The value of *fermes*, which are discussed below, can also provide some information about the value of benefices.

Lorraine's Secular Lands

Consideration is now given to the secular estates which Charles de Lorraine

³³ A.D.M (Reims) 2G36/28 (unfoliated).

³⁴ <i>idem</i> . 1565-66: 11,344 <i>livres</i> 17 <i>sols</i> 10 <i>deniers</i>	extraordinary charges:	1,672 <i>livres</i>
1566-67: 11,369 <i>livres</i> 4 <i>sols</i>		1,000 <i>livres</i>
1567-68: 11,711 <i>livres</i> 19 <i>sols</i> 8 <i>deniers</i>		1,325 <i>livres</i>
1568-69: 16,244 <i>livres</i> 11 <i>sols</i> 2 <i>denier</i>		1,371 <i>livres</i>
1569-70: 11,329 <i>livres</i> 12 <i>sols</i>		1,260 <i>livres</i>
1570-71: 11,500 <i>livres</i> 1 <i>sol</i> 1 <i>denier</i>		2,265 <i>livres</i>
1571-72: 11,472 <i>livres</i>		940 <i>livres</i>
1572-73: 13,480 <i>livres</i> 9 <i>sols</i> 9 <i>deniers</i>		1,254 <i>livres</i>
1573-74: 13,169 <i>livres</i> 15 <i>sols</i> 11 <i>deniers</i>		1,183 <i>livres</i>

The ordinary charges on these revenues were: decimes of 1,600 to 1,700 *livres*; poor tax of 1,300 to 1,400 *livres* with an exceptional high of 1,460 *livres*; payment of a preacher for Lent 250 *livres*.

³⁵ These totals are my own calculated from the accounts, based on 20 *sols* to the *livre*, and 12 *setiers* to the *muid*.

³⁶ Both accounts A.D.M. (Reims) 56H75/1 (unfoliated).

accumulated. Neither his brother nor his nephew had a parallel set of possessions, contenting themselves with the resources the Church brought. In his work on the wealth of Cardinal Richelieu, Bergin outlines the considerable efforts the chief minister made to build up a land base.³⁷ Charles's concerns must have been slightly different from those of his seventeenth-century successor since he was from an established family and did not have the same need to bolster his position. However, land was a primary element in contemporary analysis of status and wealth and perhaps Charles believed that he should enhance his status by acquiring secular titles and land. His concerns were also dynastic (see below) since these estates were inherited by Duc Henri. This accumulation of property was limited to one section of his career, his period of influence during the reign of Henri II, and it owed much to the political situation. Several of the Cardinal's properties passed to him after the political disgrace of their former owners. Once he had gained possession of a property the Cardinal then made efforts to consolidate his position by acquiring attached rights. The uses of the landed estate which was created are discussed during the course of this analysis.

The reconstruction of the landed wealth of the Cardinal de Lorraine relies upon passing references and a number of contracts in the Minutier Central. All the possessions were close to Paris and from time to time lodged the Court as it moved around. All these estates were grouped under the title of the Duchy of Chevreuse despite their lack of geographic cohesion.³⁸ Chevreuse itself came into Charles's hands as part of the political flotsam from the fall of Anne, Duchesse d'Estampes, the mistress of François Ier.³⁹ As part of a process of consolidation Charles exchanged the *terre* and seigneurie of Romaines for the rights which the Bishop of Paris had in the barony of Chevreuse.⁴⁰ In 1572 the Cardinal exchanged some property belonging to Chevreuse for two water mills, which were probably more valuable to him.⁴¹ Meudon was also part of the Estampes package and

³⁷ Bergin *Power* Chapter 4.

³⁸ Chevreuse was elevated into a duchy from a barony for Lorraine in 1555. In July 1565 he obtained letters from Charles IX consolidating all his possessions, which were to be held in fief from the Crown. Anselme V and IV.

³⁹ Anselme V:585.

⁴⁰ A.N. M.C. LXVIII27 29 March 1559. The exchange document makes it clear that this transaction is to avoid any difficulties and also included the Bishop's cession of the *rente* which he held on the barony.

⁴¹ A.N. M.C. VIII376 :91.

was given to Lorraine at the instance of Diane de Poitier.⁴² Charles appears to have lavished attention on it, building a new house to replace the existing one as his residence because he wanted a better view.⁴³ In December 1552 the Cardinal de Meudon donated his rights in the fief, château, park, *terre*, justice and seigneurie of Meudon to Lorraine, who three weeks later in turn gave the Cardinal de Meudon usufruct of the château, *terre* and seigneurie.⁴⁴ Transactions concerning this property also operated on a smaller scale, for example the sale to Lorraine of a house at Meudon, which from the contract appeared to be surrounded by other properties belonging to the Cardinal; and the cession of another house.⁴⁵

Marchais and Liesse were political jetsam that came into Lorraine's hands, also in the early 1550s. They were ceded to the Cardinal by the Bossut family, Sieurs de Longueval, apparently in an effort to escape political accusations.⁴⁶ It was this transaction which was said to have brought Nicolas de Pellevé into the Guise sphere,⁴⁷ although there is no mention of his role as intermediary in the notarial records which relate to the transaction. The cession of Marchais and Liesse to the Cardinal de Lorraine involved a counter exchange of property, in which Lorraine ceded the *terre*, justice and seigneurie of Angard to the Bossuts. Roumigny was then substituted for this latter property. This substitution was probably in accord with the terms of the first contract which stated that if Angard failed to yield 1,000 *livres* of revenue in the first year another which did would be provided.⁴⁸ Although Charles undoubtedly got the better side of the bargain the element of counter exchange does alter de Thou's picture of the Cardinal using Pellevé to fleece his relatives. The *châtellenie* of Maurepas was acquired from Jacques du Fay through purchase and cost the Cardinal 1,500 *livres* of annual *rente*.⁴⁹

The use of an intermediary such as Pellevé was duplicated in the acquisition of

⁴² D. Potter "Marriage and Cruelty among the Protestant Nobility in Sixteenth Century France:" *European History Quarterly* 20 1990 :8. The Guises were major beneficiaries of Anne's fall.

⁴³ A.N. M.C. VIII 375:424 *marché* for the masonry work at Meudon valued at 7,000 *livres* 10 April 1571.

⁴⁴ A.N. *Inventaire Châtelet de Paris Insinuations* Y98:176 and :417.

⁴⁵ A.N. M.C. VIII :71 and :138. January and February 1574.

⁴⁶ Cocquault :252.

⁴⁷ Thou I:239. From Anselme - Nicolas de Bossut was the uncle of Pellevé's mother.

⁴⁸ A.N. M.C. LXVIII14: 27 March 1552 and CXXII 1365 28 February 1554. Contracts with Claude, son of Nicolas.

⁴⁹ A.N. M.C. LXVIII23 10 October 1557.

Dampierre, which also connected Lorraine to the Parisian urban elite. In a further move towards consolidation Christophle de Thou gained possession of the property, which was dependent upon Chevreuse, for the Cardinal, to whom he then ceded it.⁵⁰ This property had been sold to de Thou by the Bishop of Seez, who was acting as *tuteur* of his brother's children, to satisfy the brother's creditors.⁵¹ Lorraine's position in regard to this property was enhanced by a cession of rights from another Churchman, the Cardinal de Bourbon (his uncle), who transferred all his rights over Dampierre to Charles in return for a *terre* and *seigneurie*, and a *fief*.⁵²

The acquisition of the other properties have also left a trace in the sources. Note is made in Chapter 1 of the transactions between the Cardinal and his brothers, one of which involved the joining of the maison de Laval to the Hôtel de Guise. This property had come into the Cardinal's possession as part of a larger package. Jean Brinon, a *conseiller* in the Parlement of Paris, ceded a collection of lands and seigneuries to Lorraine, all with the reserve of usufruct. In place of the usufruct Lorraine was to be provided with one, two or three pieces of land in *fief* close to Chevreuse or Meudon, yielding 1,500 *livres* per annum.⁵³ Another house in the rue de la Roche, near to the Hôtel de Guise, came into the Cardinal's hands through a lease for annual and perpetual rent. The contract was arranged with Louis Doulcet, an advocate in the Parlement, but it is not clear what Charles did with the property.⁵⁴

MANAGEMENT

The analysis now turns to the administration of these assets, and firstly to the means by which they were turned to the profit of the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals. The basic method of extracting revenue from temporal property was to farm it out. This freed the benefice holder from the trouble of collecting the revenues and shielded him to some degree from variations in the revenue yield. Leases usually included clauses requiring the *fermier*

⁵⁰ A.N. M.C. LXVIII14 18 December 1552.

⁵¹ A.N. M.C. LXVIII23 16 November 1557 referring to the sale of 16 February 1551. The family concerned were the du Val - the deceased brother Jehan du Val had been *conseiller* and treasurer of the *espaigne*, whilst his son and principal heir, also Jehan, was receiver general of the *reste des comptes*.

⁵² A.N. M.C. LXVII119 28 and 29 August 1555.

⁵³ A.N. M.C. LXVIII23 16 November 1557 Y99:57.

⁵⁴ A.N. M.C. LXVIII23 24 November 1557.

to carry out necessary repairs and maintain the property himself (or herself).⁵⁵ All elements of the Cardinals' temporal resources were managed in this way: secular and Church properties, land and rights. Leases were made of these possessions in return for the annual payment of a fixed amount, either in cash or in kind or a mixture of both. The *fermier* became, in effect, a form of servant of the benefice holder, collecting his revenues for him, but with the *fermier* paying his own wages. This relationship could be viewed as a form of clientage as well as a corruption of the feudal system. The Cardinal provided a benefit to specific members of the local community and they performed the service of revenue collection for him.

Some generalisations can be made about the nature of these leases. The most common period for the *ferme* was a multiple of three years, with nine years being the preferred term (in Reims three- and six-year leases were more common than appears in the Parisian sources). There were exceptions to this, such as two four-year leases of *greffes* and two seven-year contracts for the farm of woodland.⁵⁶ The contract could be made with one person or a group of between two and four. These groups consisted of relatives or of those who can be assumed to be business partners. The properties leased could be of a variety of scales, from an individual piece of land or rights associated with a single property to collections of property or the revenues of an entire benefice. The farms upon which this research is based were mostly for cash payments although there were some made in kind or with a combination of the two elements. Their values ranged from a few *livres* to thousands. Payments in kind were not just applicable to properties of small value, as the lease of the *vicomté* of the Archbishopric of Reims demonstrates - it was leased in 1550 for three years for the sum of 700 *livres*, 900 *setiers* of wheat, 460 *setiers* of rye and 460 *setiers* of oats.⁵⁷

This framework parallels those which other historians working on secular estates have noted. Short-term leasing was a device to counter-act the effects of inflation during a period of great economic instability. As prices rose the benefice holder was able to alter the value of the farm at regular intervals. Payments in kind were more resilient to economic

⁵⁵ Wives were occasionally co-parties to contracts with their husbands - A.N. M.C. VIII379:210 lease to Mace Bourlon and his wife Marguerite Bac; or they could act alone - A.N. M.C. VIII380:411 lease to Jehanne de Bois.

⁵⁶ A.N. M.C. VIII375:791 and 792 and VIII382:1 and 157.

⁵⁷ A.D.M.(Reims) 2G20/5. Totals are given in *setiers*.

variation, because the value of a money rent could decline whereas payments in grain or chickens did not. However, it would not be feasible for certain leases to be arranged in this way. Payments in kind tended to cut down the expenses of a noble household which was resident on an estate.⁵⁸ This situation may have had its equivalent in the ecclesiastical sphere. Although a bishop or abbot differed from his secular cousin in that he did not need to support a large household on his landed estates, some abbeys were in rural settings and could be supplied from surrounding lands. However, the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals' sphere of operation was mainly urban. The minor scale of some of the properties involved in the Cardinals' leases also mirrors features identified in the Foix-Navarre-Albret estates studied by J. Russell Major. These properties were leased in small portions to allow peasants to take them up, which is reflected in the fact that most of the lease holders in this case were untitled and non-professionals. Other case studies have shown that in general leases were not repeated.⁵⁹

Unlike the structures which Bergin has shown were constructed by Cardinal Richelieu for the financial administration of his properties,⁶⁰ the Lorraine-Guise *fermes* were much simpler. Contracts were made directly between the benefice holder (or his agent) and the lessee or lessees of individual properties, rather than with a *fermier* who took responsibility for a large collection of properties (which would then be leased out on a more minor level). A more hierarchical structure did occur in some cases. For example, Nicolas de Hault gained the farm of the grain farms of the Abbey of St. Denis in 1557.⁶¹ However, the ten *fermiers* over whom he was given responsibility had all previously arranged leases with the Abbot. De Hault was superimposed on an existing structure to facilitate collection rather than being part of an established sophisticated framework. Although the records are less explicit in the case of Antoine Bourdin's farm of St. Remi from 1557 to 1563, it appears that he also farmed leases which had been separately arranged with the Abbot.⁶² The revenues of an entire benefice might have been handed

⁵⁸ D.Potter "The Luxembourg Inheritance":38 J. Russell Major "Noble Income..." :36. Major does note that payments in kind were insignificant and there was a preference for monetary leases, which in this case were nearly always for three years.

⁵⁹ Major "Noble Income..." :26 and 27.

⁶⁰ Bergin *Power*

⁶¹ A.N. M.C. VIII382:861.

⁶² A.D.M.(Reims) 56H75/1 (unfoliated) Account of receipts of the temporal revenues of St. Remi 1557-1563.

over to a *fermier* who could in turn have then leased out smaller portions to others in contracts which have left no trace in the notarial archives analysed for this study.

There were only a couple of explicit examples of someone who received a lease, divided it, and leased the parts to third parties. In February 1574 Jacques le Grand leased a *greffe* and *tabellionage* dependent upon the Abbey of St. Denis for 450 *livres*, commencing on St. John the Baptist's Day 1575 for nine years. The following April Le Grand leased the *tabellionage* to Julien Pillon for 250 *livres* and the *greffe* to Raoul Jacquet for 300 *livres*.⁶³ It would appear that this practice was also applied to the lease Jehan Roussin obtained on some seigneuries dependent on the Abbey of St. Denis in May 1557, since the notarial register which records the original lease also contains a series of leases by Roussin of these lands.⁶⁴

There were large-scale leases of whole properties or benefices. There does not appear to have been any significant shift in this practice between Charles and Louis II. Ecclesiastical revenues were placed in the hands of non-clerics, although the revenues of the priory of the Bois de Vincennes seem to have been given in preference to a cleric.⁶⁵ The Cardinal de Lorraine farmed the revenues of Cluny for six years to Gerard Boyer, a monk of the Abbey, for 4,470 *livres* in 1555.⁶⁶ This *ferme* seems to indicate that Charles was using a local agent to administer his revenues for him. The role of the financial agent in the Lorraine-Guise benefices was greatly expanded by Louis II using Nicolas de Hault. He held the farms of Montier en Der, St. Urbain and St. Valery (before the latter was resigned).⁶⁷ In 1574 Charles leased the ordinary and extraordinary revenues of the duchy and seigneuries of Dampierre and Maurepas for nine years to Jehan le Lievre at the price of 12,000 *livres*.⁶⁸ He was a *valet de chambre* of the Cardinal, which appears to have been a synonym for an agent since he occurs later as the receiver for the duchy of Chevreuse and acted as an agent for Louis II.

⁶³ A.N. M.C. VIII379:331;333;343..

⁶⁴ A.N. M.C. LXVIII22 14 May 1557 - the original contract. Followed by 19 May to Gilles and Tristan Pricur; to Pierre le Pelletier and to Guillaume Nicolas.

⁶⁵ A.N. M.C. LXVIII26 two contracts, the first nullified because of a failure to meet conditions with a monk of the priory; the second with a curé living in Paris. The farm was valued at 1,100 *livres* per annum, 200 for the monks for their support and the remaining 900 to Charles.

⁶⁶ A.N. M.C. LXVIII20 1 October 1555. The *ferme* had previously been held by a consortium of four, who do not appear to have been monks.

⁶⁷ A.N. M.C. VIII396:358; VIII398:65; and VIII391:103 valued at 2,500 *ecus*.

⁶⁸ A.N. M.C. VIII379:268.

The analysis of the lease contracts included a search for names which appeared more than once and those which were duplicated through a continuation of leases for a second term. Given that leases tended to be taken up by those living in the place where the land or rights were located it is inevitable that there were individuals who acquired more than one *ferme*. This was indeed the case with leases concerning the possessions of the Abbey of St. Denis at Tremblay, where the names of Gasteau, Therouanne and Maheut are repeated in various combinations. They either act as individuals or in a combination of two or three, and also in association with others.⁶⁹ The source material at Reims provided more examples than the Parisian notarial records. For instance, Bourdin's account of the lessees under his farm at St. Remi shows that Pierre le Paige leased the cense of Alenduy and the mill at Givry.⁷⁰ Nicolas Coquillart likewise leased the *terre* and seigneurie of Montbret and co-leased the rights to cut and sell wood, both dependent on the Archbishopric of Reims.⁷¹

There is no set rule as to whether leases are continued by the same people for a second or third term after their expiry or whether they are passed into new hands. A run of documents which appears to mark the Cardinal de Lorraine's entry into St. Denis are clearly all retentions of the lease.⁷² This is unlikely to be a case of confirming and continuing leases which the previous Abbot, the Cardinal de Bourbon, had arranged because they are all for nine year terms and are phrased as new contracts. No mention is made that the contracts had been previously agreed with the Cardinal de Bourbon. Aside from this extraordinary series of leases there is no clear indication of whether second terms were common. Some names are inevitably repeated over a period of time, but not in significant enough numbers to indicate a pattern; whilst in other cases there is a clear change in the lease holder from one contract to the next. One occasion when a repeat contract appears is the lease of the mills near St. Brice (dependent of the Archbishopric of Reims) for one year to Jean le Cocq in 1555, which is followed by a lease for the mill and fishing rights in 1556 for nine years.⁷³ Clearly in this case the first lease was a trial period, which successfully led to a continuation of the contract.

⁶⁹ For example: as individuals A.N. M.C. VIII387:641;626;638; in combination - Maheut and Therouanne VII375:958; and all three VIII380:377.

⁷⁰ A.D.M.(Reims) 56H75/1.

⁷¹ A.D.M.(Reims) 2G32/3:9 and 13.

⁷² A.N. M.C LXVIII22. 14 and 15 May 1557

⁷³ A.D.M.(Reims) 2G26/2 and /3.

Those who held these leases were mostly locals, who had some association with the lands or rights which were being farmed out. Their social status varied from merchant to *laboureur* with the occasional appearance of other socially recognised occupations such as millers or *practiciens*. The millers often leased out mills, but not exclusively so, whilst a baker leased the bread market in Reims.⁷⁴ In Champagne the title of *vigneron* - wine grower - understandably appears quite frequently.

Another significant group of lessees of the property of St. Denis, but a minority, were those who inhabited the Court world, had some connection with the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals, or who were members of the Parisian urban elite. Those among the Court group included an archer of the King's body guard, a secretary of his chamber and a gentleman of his chamber.⁷⁵ The contacts of the Lorraine-Guises who were parties to contracts included members of the ecclesiastics' households, such as a *huissier*, gentleman or valet⁷⁶ and a *maître d'hôtel* and *controlleur* of his household.⁷⁷ Louis II's *premier valet de chambre*, André Paillet, leased the *terre*, seigneurie and *châtellanie* of Berthenville and the *prevoté* of Reims from the Archbishop, although the latter of these was a gift in consideration of Paillet's services and carried no charge.⁷⁸ The secretary of the late Duc de Guise, Claude Telin, held the seigneurie of Domp Remy and Ornois from the Abbey of St. Remi at a charge of 220 *livres* a year for as long as it pleased the Cardinal de Lorraine.⁷⁹ Leases were also made to monks at St. Denis of properties attached to the Abbey. These may have had something to do with the internal institutional structure of the Abbey, although there seems to be no correlation between certain offices and certain properties.⁸⁰ At least one canon at Reims leased property from the Archbishopric, as did the *primicier* of the Collège des Bons-Enfants.⁸¹ It is unsurprising that the affluent Parisian elite should join with other merchants in leasing abbey lands and the names of Blanche Hotman, Antoine Nicolai and

⁷⁴ A.D.M.(Reims) 2G32/3:2.

⁷⁵ Examples drawn from A.N. M.C. VIII379:218 and VIII395:176; VIII400:65; VIII380:909.

⁷⁶ A.N. M.C. VIII383:103 (Jehan Philippes de la Robie); VIII388:1001 (Louis Regeart) and VIII397:442 (Nicolas de Cousin, Sieur de Fay); VIII379:268 (Jehan le Lievre - see above).

⁷⁷ A.N. M.C. VIII380:480 (Gilles d'Annay); VIII382:368 and VIII390:677 (both Nicolas Laurie).

⁷⁸ A.D.M.(Reims) 2G32/3:6 and 10.

⁷⁹ A.D.M.(Reims) 56H75/1.

⁸⁰ A.N. M.C. VIII378:290 Pierre Pichonnat monk and *chantre*; VIII380:875 Pierre Bourgeois monk and *commandeur*.

⁸¹ A.D.M.(Reims) 2G28/6.

Claude Marcel are listed among those who farmed the revenues of St. Denis.⁸²

Leases were also made to those who can be considered as agents of the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals, but which are unrelated to their administrative roles. The farm of the revenues of Clignancourt and Montmartre belonging to St. Denis were leased to Philippe Messier and a farm of property was ceded to Pierre Hotman, both in 1557.⁸³ It is not entirely clear whether these grants can be considered as a reward for faithful service, or whether these two men, who were members of the Parisian elite, were simply leasing land in a regular way. Their relationship to the Lorraine-Guises was undoubtedly an asset. A more obvious example of a lease being used as a means of reward is provided by the cession of the *terre* and seigneurie of Aulnay, dependent of Cluny, to Jacques Belleau, Abbot of Cheminon, for his life plus nine years. Claude de Guise confirmed this arrangement when he succeeded Charles.⁸⁴ The length of this lease indicates a special relationship and it looks more like a gift than a normal transaction.

The time scale involved in the arrangement of leases prompts examination. Some contracts were drawn up a few weeks or months before they were to come into effect; others are retrospective and record that the farm was to commence from a date just passed. Another group arranged for leases to begin at the expiry of the existing contract, which might have been some months away. Through the period of this study farms were increasingly arranged at a greater time in advance. This is most notable under Louis II. The most remarkable examples of which are a series of leases arranged in 1581, which were to commence in 1584 at the end of the contracts which had run for nine years from 1575.⁸⁵ Some possible reasons for this pattern are increased administrative organisation or the need to raise money by anticipating a farm with an advance payment. When the accounts of the Archbishopric were reviewed in 1592 the farmer of the *châtellanie* of Betheville was quitted of 200 *ecus* which he should have owed through the lease because he had advanced this

⁸² A.N. M.C. VIII379:194 and VIII382:309 (the same contract); VIII391:177; LXVIII22 14 May. See Diefendorf *City Councillors*.

⁸³ A.N. M.C. LXVIII22 15 May 1557.

⁸⁴ A.N. M.C. VIII380:666. Refers to original lease 10 November 1552, ratified 27 May 1575.

⁸⁵ A.N. M.C. VIII387. There are many examples of Louis II signing contracts in advance: a contract signed in August 1575 to come into effect on St. John the Baptist's Day 1578, the end of another lease (VIII380:723); a contract dated August 1584 for a lease from St. John the Baptist's Day 1587 (VIII394:358); and one for property dependent of Montier en Der arranged in 1585 to take effect in October 1589 (VIII395:176).

sum to Louis II.⁸⁶ It is not clear whether the Cardinal de Guise was suffering from financial difficulties, but such information about his administration of farms is suggestive.

This practice of arranging leases in advance could run into difficulty when the benefice holder died having arranged leases commencing after the date of his death, especially if he died in a year which marks the expiry of a three, six or nine year period. This problem can be expected to have arisen with the long series of contracts which the Cardinal de Lorraine had drawn up for the temporal of St. Denis in 1574 to commence in 1575.⁸⁷ Some of these contracts were ratified unsystematically by Louis II, but it is unclear what happened to the rest. Such a situation could explain the long series of contracts for St. Denis in 1557, which appear to have bored the notary by their repetitiveness, as his writing shows.⁸⁸ Although there is no reference to leases previously arranged by the Cardinal de Bourbon, it is possible that Lorraine systematically ratified prearranged contracts when he became Abbot.

Leases could be modified if circumstances changed. If contracts were interrupted by the death of the lessee their continuation by an heir or heirs could be agreed for the period remaining to run on the original lease. For example, Lucas le Breton was accorded the time remaining on a lease made to his father Pierre. Another party could be added to an existing lease, as happened when Eustache Hubert gained the fourth part of a lease for its remaining period.⁸⁹ The other reason for wanting to modify a lease was if the farmer was unable to meet the payments, either because the value of the property's revenue had been overestimated or because damage had occurred to the property which firstly diminished its value and secondly would require considerable sums to repair. A reduction was accorded by Louis II at the request of the farmer of land dependent of St. Denis because the price was too high. Another reduction of an annual payment from 430 *livres* to 300 *livres* was agreed because the value of a property had been diminished by the alienation of several *heritages* and rights for the subvention accorded to the Crown. There was also a modification of a lease to Jehan de la Bruyer of the *cense*, *ferme* and *mestayrie* of Cruny because of the complete burning of the buildings on the property, which had resulted in the loss of horses and grain. The cost of rebuilding was 658 *livres*. Therefore Louis II nullified

⁸⁶ A.D.M.(Reims) 2G32/3:24.

⁸⁷ A.N. M.C. VIII379:189 to 865 (with breaks).

⁸⁸ A.N. M.C. LXVIII22 14 and 15 May.

⁸⁹ A.N. M.C. VIII375:114; VIII374:341.

the old lease (for twelve years from 1574) and drew up a new one for forty years which included the same payment in grain to the monks of St. Remi and cash payment.⁹⁰ A contract could also be annulled if the party involved did not fulfil his obligations. In December 1559 a lease was revoked because Louis Regnier did not do his duty in the upkeep and completion of the buildings of the priory of *bonshommes* of the Bois de Vincennes.⁹¹

THE MANAGEMENT TEAM

It was rare for the early modern French aristocrat to administer his own estates and the same was true for his ecclesiastical cousin. The benefice interests of the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals were too diverse for them to have personally supervised their management. The practice of farming out revenues solved this problem to a certain degree since the *fermier* supervised the collection of the property's revenues and dealt with its administration. For example, the lease of all the revenues of *port bac* and *passage* d'Argenteuil to Roger and Nicolas Enfrey in 1575 was followed by their constitution as *procureurs* by Louis II with powers to pursue the revenues and rights attached to the farm by all reasonable means.⁹² However, the notarial records of the Minutier Central reveal that there was another level of Lorraine-Guise agents who had more intimate and continuous dealings with the Cardinals and the management of their temporal resources.

Other studies of secular noble estates have uncovered the existence of a quite complex administrative structure, which was centralised and stratified, with local agents and officials being responsible to a *chambre des comptes* or *conseil*.⁹³ This kind of structure existed for the administration of the French possessions of Mary Stuart, which apparently interconnected with that for the management of her uncle's affairs.⁹⁴ These institutions were staffed, in the case of provincial estates, by substantial local figures, including members of the local nobility, who not only hoped to gain from contact with the aristocrat concerned (in terms of patronage and other benefits separate from his salary) but

⁹⁰ A.N. M.C. VIII383:118 ; VIII382:4; VIII382:276ff.

⁹¹ A.N. M.C. LXVIII26 A new lease was arranged at the same time.

⁹² A.N. M.C. VIII380:471 and 479. Farm dependent of St. Denis.

⁹³ Major "Noble Income":24; Potter "Luxembourg Inheritance" :35;45;46.

⁹⁴ Greengrass "Mary, Dowager Queen of France" :172-179.

also brought supplementary contacts with him (such as legal contacts).⁹⁵ The great majority of the landed aristocracy also needed a *conseil* in Paris to deal with legal and administrative matters, such as the multitude of lawsuits which were a characteristic of aristocratic experience during this period. These *conseils* were staffed by members of the *robe* elite, who were given competence over a whole range of family affairs, which included the financing of loans. These were symbiotic relationships, which brought the old and new elites into close contact.⁹⁶

Bergin's analysis of the administrative framework applied to the management of Cardinal Richelieu's secular and Church resources adds an ecclesiastical dimension to the topic.⁹⁷ The structure developed and changed as the demands of controlling the Cardinal's temporal assets required. It was hierarchical and centralised. It differed from that of the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals because Richelieu was able to draw upon the resources of royal administration as a chief minister who was dealing with, and frequently confusing, both his private and state affairs in a way which the Lorraine-Guises were never in a position to do. Attention again needs to be drawn to the fact that Richelieu did not begin from the same point as the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals and developed a local structure around himself as a provincial estate holder, which he transferred to the Court sphere.

This initial administrative structure was probably drawn from Richelieu's retinue and his agents would have been locals. When he moved to the Court many of them stayed behind and some continued to serve him in the provinces. Those who followed him became the core of his private administrative network. This core consisted of a few individuals who supervised Richelieu's affairs and acted in his place, but always with ultimate reference to him. The next element in the hierarchy was the *conseil*, which paralleled the activity of the secular aristocratic institution and provided a focus for local officials. There appears to have been some separation between secular and ecclesiastical affairs and some specialisation of competence over certain areas, such as benefices or types of revenue, although this was by no means rigid. The movement of action was not all from the locality inward - Richelieu's agents were sent out on tours of inspection. A number of key agents were essential to link the central and local administrations. They were responsible directly to the Cardinal and

⁹⁵ Dewald *Pont-St.-Pierre* :252

⁹⁶ Harding "Aristocrats and Lawyers in French Provincial Government, 1559-1648:" in Malament (ed.) *After the Reformation* Pennsylvania, 1980 :100-101.

⁹⁷ Bergin *Power*. Chapter 2.

were given competence over a very wide range of business. On a regional level Richelieu had agents who were responsible for his interests in their area. And at the lowest level were the *fermiers* who were only bound to him by short term contracts.

The simplest level of the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals' administration in the locality was formed by their *fermiers*. As well as being referred to in terms which implied service to their "landlord" they could also combine this title with that of *receveur* for the property of which they held the farm. Such was the case with Pierre Marchet, who was named as both for the *terre* and seigneurie of Trappes (dependent of St. Denis) in a contract of sale of wood.⁹⁸ A parallel might be drawn between these local agents and others who operated only within a small specific area. The use of monks in this capacity is not frequently repeated and does not seem to have been standard practice, although the case may well have been different in houses which were more isolated from the Cardinals' administration. Archepiscopal personnel did act for the Lorraine-Guises in this capacity, but as more high ranking agents (see below).

Associated with this group of administrators are those agents who had competence over only one aspect of the Cardinals' assets, for example only one abbey or piece of land. This was the case with Pierre Morin, a gentleman of Louis II's household who lived near Caen. He was given a procuration to renew and re-lease property and *fermes* belonging to a barony dependent on the Abbey at Fécamp.⁹⁹ Unlike some of the cases which are explored below this procuration was limited to nine-year leases from St. John the Baptist's Day 1586 - Morin had no competence to decide upon which properties to lease for what period. He was clearly brought into action because Louis II had a series of leases to arrange and needed an agent in the locality to help. Among the duties of the *Grand Commandeur* of St. Denis was the role of receiver general of the Abbatial mense, with responsibility for the management and ^{disbursement} ~~disposal~~ of all that regarded the community.¹⁰⁰ This arrangement is seen in action on at least one occasion when Henri Godefroy (de la Tour) contracted a lease in the name of Louis II.¹⁰¹ Another example is provided by Philippe Messier who was receiver for the Cardinal de Lorraine at Meudon and who acted as his agent in the

⁹⁸ A.N. M.C. VIII397:410.

⁹⁹ A.N. M.C. VIII393:214.

¹⁰⁰ Ayzac :217.

¹⁰¹ A.N. M.C. VIII395:429.

contracting of a lease and the accepting of a sale related to the Meudon possessions.¹⁰² Messier is of particular interest because he was the brother-in-law of Pierre Hotman (discussed below).¹⁰³ This indicates an intersection between the Lorraine-Guises and a network of the Parisian elite, who were able to provide the family with administrative skills.

The administration of the temporal of the Archbishopric of Reims and the Abbey of St. Remi provides the clearest example of the next level of the administrative structure, namely agents with regional rather than local competence. The records of the leases of the temporal of the Archbishopric show the use of a number of representatives, including important members of the cathedral Chapter as well as financial agents. More use was made in the provinces of the receiver of revenues to arrange leases, such as Jean de Bourdon, Noël le Poyvre, Nicolas Vassogne and Jean Morel. The latter two were members of the Chapter. The most frequently appearing names, after that of Jean Morel, are those of Pierre Remy and Thomas Cauchon. As is shown in the next chapter these two canons were intimates of the Cardinal de Lorraine through their offices of Grand Archdeacon and Archdeacon of Champagne. They also acted as his vicars-general in the spiritual and temporal. The accounts for St. Remi were prepared by Adam Ravineau, Charles's almoner. It is also interesting to note that Louis II's aunt, Abbess Renée, arranged a number of contracts for him involving the temporal of the Archbishopric.

The last stratum^{um} of the Lorraine-Guise administrative network was formed by a group of agents who had competence over a number of properties and who were given wide ranging management powers. Each is examined as an individual, but a number of generalisations can be made to summarise the information which follows. There was a shift in administrative style between Charles and the younger Cardinal de Guise, which clearly reflects the differences in their careers. The uncle was too busy with other concerns to take a direct hand in the details of administration, whilst the nephew was more closely involved. The contracts preserved in the Minutier Central show that, with a few exceptions, all the transactions concerning both the Cardinal de Lorraine's ecclesiastical and secular properties were handled by *procureurs*. The picture for Louis II is entirely different. He hardly ever used an agent for such business. However, for both there are records of letters of

¹⁰² A.N. M.C. VIII374:12 and VIII379:71.

¹⁰³ Michaud *L'Eglise et l'Argent* :148.

procuration in the notarial archives, which were not necessarily put into action, but which were meant for the administration of provincial possessions. The evidence from Reims is much less clear because of the smaller number of contracts surviving in the episcopal records, but the picture here does seem to confirm the image produced by the Parisian archives.

Both had an inner core of agents who acted as *procureurs* during a whole series of contracts. In Charles's case for the business transacted before the notary Bergeon they were Louis Guillart and Nicolas Hurault, whilst when the Cardinal moves to the notary Croiset the business is virtually monopolised by Jacques Belleau. Louis II appears to have relied upon members of his immediate circle, although it is difficult to ascertain whether those such as Jean le Meau who are referred to as *secrétaire* enjoyed this title because they fulfilled an administrative function, or whether their position led to the function. It is worth noting that Charles was more likely to allow a single agent to act alone than his nephew, who preferred to constitute three *procureurs* by one letter to act in a combination of two or three. However, in the earlier contracts passed in Lorraine's name there was a tendency for more than one *procureur* to be in action. In Charles's case there was no separation of secular and ecclesiastical affairs, with agents operating in both spheres. Laymen were assigned to the management of Church property by both Cardinals, but Louis did not duplicate his uncle's reliance upon distinguished Churchmen.

Louis Guillart

The analysis of these agents begins with one of these distinguished Churchmen, Louis Guillart (Bishop of Chalon, Tournai, Chartres and Senlis, successively). His links with the Lorraine-Guise family are noted again in the next chapter, but their full extent becomes clear when the administration of the Cardinal de Lorraine's temporal resources are considered. Unfortunately the source material which would allow for a more complete reconstruction of the nature of their relationship has not survived, but the abundant notarial records which bear Guillart's name are sufficient to provide suggestions about their connection. The absence of any surviving correspondence between the two not only limits our understanding of the administration of the temporal, but also illustrates the inadequacy of the Guise correspondence as a basis for the reconstruction of a network.

Louis Guillart was established as *procureur* for the Cardinal de Lorraine with competence over his secular affairs by letters dated 2 August 1555, signed by Charles, the

Bishop of Amiens (Nicolas de Pellevé) and d'Arches (a member of Charles's household).¹⁰⁴ He had power to receive the faith and homage due to Lorraine through these lands and was charged with instituting the officers, *procureur fiscal* and receiver general of Meudon. He was also the Cardinal's agent in respect of Cluny,¹⁰⁵ St. Denis¹⁰⁶ and the priory of the Bois de Vincennes.¹⁰⁷ His role at St. Denis extended to the co-signing of a letter of procuration for Pierre Pichonnat (the other signatory was Pellevé).¹⁰⁸ These are the only four sets of property which appear in the notarial archives examined for this period, so it is possible to speculate that he enjoyed much wider competence. His name does not appear in the temporal records at Reims despite the fact that he was vicar-general there.¹⁰⁹ He did act on his own, as in a farm of the fruits of Cluny,¹¹⁰ but in the great majority of leases relating to St. Denis he acted in conjunction with Jacques Belleau alone, or with Belleau and Etienne Lallement.¹¹¹

The notarial archives also provide information which ties Guillart into a broader network. On various occasions he occurs as *procureur* for Duc François de Guise¹¹² and Antoinette de Bourbon.¹¹³ He also acted for Legendre, a Cluniac monk, who was Regent of the Faculty of Theology of Paris, but it is not clear whether or not this was connected to Lorraine-Guise tenure of the Abbey or any relationship to the Faculty.¹¹⁴ The traces of Guillart's resignation of the Bishopric of Chalon hint at a wider relationship with the Cardinal de Lorraine. Guillart's cession to Antoine Arlaud of the fruits of the Bishopric was received by Jacques Belleau, whilst the cession of other papers to do with these transactions were done with Belleau as Guillart's *procureur* and with Nicolas Breton

¹⁰⁴ A.N. M.C. LXVIII19 reception of faith and homage 7 September 1555 refers to the letter of procuration, as do subsequent contracts.

¹⁰⁵ A.N. M.C. LXVIII20 acknowledgement of a farm contract 8 October 1555.

¹⁰⁶ A.N. M.C. LXVIII22 letters of 13 May 1555 establishing Guillart, Belleau and Lallement as procureurs for St. Denis, to act all three together or just the former two.

¹⁰⁷ A.N. M.C. LXVIII26 13 November and 4 December 1559 .

¹⁰⁸ A.N. M.C. LXVIII24 sale contract of 1 June 1558 referring to procuration of 27 April.

¹⁰⁹ A.D.M.(Reims) 2G388.

¹¹⁰ A.N. M.C. LXVIII20 8 October 1555.

¹¹¹ A.N. M.C. LXVIII22 a long run of contracts.

¹¹² A.N. M.C. LXVIII23 17 December 1556 for the sale of *boistailles*; LXVIII27 intermediary in payment recognised 5 April 1559; and LXVIII25 sale of *rente* 24 August 1559, which cites letters of procuration dated 30 April 1558. B.N. ms.fr.20545:127 with Antoine le Cirier in 1555.

¹¹³ A.N. M.C. CXXII244 8 November 1555 with Jacques Belleau and LXVIII20 again in 1555.

¹¹⁴ A.N. M.C. LXVIII29 reference to procuration of February 1561.

(Lorraine's secretary) accepting for Arlaud.¹¹⁵ The identities of the agents employed here is most interesting.

Jacques Belleau

Jacques Belleau, Abbot of Cheminon, seems to have been the Cardinal de Lorraine's prime agent, mainly because he outlived Guillart and Hurault and acted independently in various of the Cardinal's affairs. The records of the Minutier Central show that he was active in business concerning the Abbeys of St. Denis, Marmoutier, Cluny, and Beaupré¹¹⁶ as well as Charles's secular property. The records from Reims demonstrate that he was operating in the arrangement of leases there from at least 1550 to 1560.¹¹⁷ His role in the affairs of the Abbey of St. Denis was combined with the title of vicar-general in the spiritual and temporal. As was the case with Guillart, Belleau was given extensive powers and latitude for initiative in the administration of Lorraine's affairs, as the notarial record of his establishment as *procureur* show through their cession of authority to lease whatever property seemed good to him to whomever he decided.¹¹⁸

His association with Charles was of very long standing and appears to have originated at Reims. Belleau is cited as Charles's *argentier* in 1541 and was treasurer of the Chapter of Notre Dame de Reims.¹¹⁹ His important place in the Cardinal's administration is reflected by his role as *procureur* for the executors of Lorraine's will.¹²⁰ The association did not continue with Louis II although there is a record of an arrangement for the repayment of a loan which Belleau made to the Archbishop.¹²¹ Again, he was involved in the affairs of Antoinette de Bourbon,¹²² although this could well have been an occasion on which the Cardinal de Lorraine was transacting business for his mother and used his agents.

¹¹⁵ A.N. M.C. LXVIII30 19 and 26 October 1561. It is interesting to note that this resignation left a trace in the notarial archives, as did the transfer of Chartres from Louis to his nephew Charles Guillart - LXVIII29 11 July, 7 August 1561.

¹¹⁶ A.N. M.C. VIII373-379 *passim*. ;LXVIII25 24 July; VIII379:766; VIII361:296.

¹¹⁷ A.D.M.(Reims) 2G26/3; 109/7; 116/4; 117/2; 126/1.

¹¹⁸ For example A.N. M.C. VIII372:524 for the Duchy of Chevreuse etc.

¹¹⁹ A.N. KK906 unfoliated inventory of papers from Joinville, *quittance* for an account.

¹²⁰ A.N. M.C. VIII380:387.

¹²¹ A.N. M.C. VIII380:269.

¹²² A.N. M.C. CXXII244 8 November 1555.

Hotman and Hurault

Two laymen also had very important roles within the Cardinal de Lorraine's administration, Pierre Hotman and Nicolas Hurault de Boistaillé. Hotman's function was quite different from the one of Guillart and Belleau. He had a more formal title and was less active in the arrangement of leases. As treasurer and receiver general for the Cardinal de Lorraine he appears to have been a central agent, whose position as a member of the Parisian administrative elite connected the Cardinal to this sphere of action.¹²³ As Harding has pointed out, the Hotman family were an important part of the Lorraine-Guise network since for three generations they provided financial and legal advice. Attention is drawn above to Hotman's relationship to another of Lorraine's agents, Philip Messier. Pierre was the Cardinal's creditor and all-purpose financial agent and was succeeded by his nephew, whilst a cousin was Aumale's lawyer and Pierre's brother Thibaut acted for Elbeuf.¹²⁴ This kind of family connection might be explained as the workings of a patronage relationship. However, as I discuss in Chapter 4, I would prefer to describe it as the intersection of two networks, whose members provided each other with mutual benefits.

Nicolas Hurault was also a member of the Parisian elite, being a *conseiller* in the Parlement. His place in the Cardinal's administration was more active than Hotman's, in the sense that he functioned as a *procureur* in the arrangement of leases. His competence was apparently limited to the Duchy of Chevreuse and there is no trace of him acting in relation to any of the Lorraine-Guise benefices.¹²⁵ His wider connections with the Lorraine-Guise administration are confined to the presence of his brother Jean, a cleric, as a *procureur* for Charles,¹²⁶ rather than service to another member of the Guise family.

Sauvat, Hubert and Arnoul

A final word on the Cardinal de Lorraine's administration needs to be given to a group of individuals who occur in the sources a number of times in relation to the management of his affairs, but whose competence was limited and who most closely resemble the agents whom Louis II used in the management of his affairs. The sources

¹²³ Various references to this office, including B.N. ms.fr. 22436:3 (1561), A.N. M.C. VIII361:296 (1561), VIII 375:371.

¹²⁴ Harding *Anatomy* :177; A.N. M.C. VIII380:407 for Thibaut.

¹²⁵ Various contracts and confessions of receiving faith and homage in A.N. M.C. LXVIII12;14;19;21;22. And reference to letters of procuration dated 2 December 1551 A.N. M.C. LXVIII19:78.

¹²⁶ A.N. M.C. LXVIII19 9 July 1555 reference to letters of procuration 9 March 1554 signed by Charles, Pellevé and d'Archès.

refer to them as *secrétaires*, which in this case would appear to be an umbrella title used to incorporate administrative agents into a household structure. The three who impress themselves most firmly on the eye are François Sauvat and two clerics, Pierre Hubert and Urban Arnoul. Sauvat mainly concerned himself with the secular affairs of the Cardinal and, whilst not actually acting as a *procureur*, he is noted as present during the drawing up of several notarised contracts.¹²⁷ Quite what his function was is not clear. He is also listed with others as assigned to deal with Lorraine's *rentes* and is called the receiver for Charles at Cluny.¹²⁸ Hubert seems to have been an administrative odd-job-man, which notarial reference to him as "having charge of the Cardinal's affairs" implies.¹²⁹ In 1571 he was constituted as *procureur* with full powers to negotiate all affairs concerning the Abbey of Fécamp¹³⁰ and in the following year was *procureur* to receive faith and homage owed to Charles through St. Denis.¹³¹ His role was continued not only by being a *procureur special* for the executors of the Cardinal's will, but also by acting for Louis II in respect of St. Denis in 1575 and for Claude de Guise as Abbot of Cluny and St. Nicaise.¹³² The latter of these functions, at least, was probably the resolution of Charles's affairs. The only member of the Cardinal de Lorraine's administrative group who continued to serve under Louis II was Urban Arnoul. He appeared in Lorraine's employ in 1574 as his almoner and his receiver at St. Denis, of which he also held a farm of revenues.¹³³ He continued his career as a *procureur* for Louis II¹³⁴ and is recorded in notarial acts as being resident at the Hôtel de St. Denis in Paris.

Nicolas de Hault

There is no figure in Louis II's administration to parallel Guillart or Belleau. It appears that such an agent was unnecessary because he conducted so much of the business himself. The one crucial agent in his management structure was Nicolas de Hault. He was a

¹²⁷ For example a whole series in A.N. M.C. VIII373.

¹²⁸ A.N. M.C. VIII372:596; B.N. Dupuy 591:159.

¹²⁹ A.N. M.C. VIII375:94 and VIII379:865.

¹³⁰ A.N. M.C. VIII375:94.

¹³¹ A.N. M.C. VIII376:102.

¹³² A.N. M.C. VIII380:436; VIII380:672 - a visitation of dependencies.

¹³³ A.N. M.C. VIII379:120;865 and :57.

¹³⁴ A.N. M.C. VIII380:405 and VIII387:450.

merchant from Troyes, who became Louis II's treasurer and receiver general¹³⁵ and involved himself in the farm of the revenues generated by the Cardinal's benefices. His career appears to illustrate an increasing institutionalisation of the management of such properties. It is also interesting (as noted above) that he combined this role in Louis's administration with responsibility for the financial contributions made by the clergy of the dioceses of Reims and Troyes to the Crown.

His operations in the function of treasurer etc. have left more evidence in the Minutier Central than those of Hotman. He paid what Louis owed to the Sainte Chapelle on his succession to his uncle's benefices in 1575¹³⁶ and was established with powers to pursue the sums owed to Louis.¹³⁷ In 1578 de Hault was constituted as *procureur* to receive the *deniers* from the sale of the alienated property in various dioceses of the Abbeys of St. Denis, Montier en Der and Fécamp.¹³⁸ But it is his role as a *fermier* which is the most significant break with previous practice. In 1577 a group of ten farms of grain from the temporal of St. Denis were collected into a single farm under de Hault and later contracts record his position as farmer of the temporal of Fécamp, Montier en Der, St. Remi, the Archbishopric of Reims and St. Valery.¹³⁹ It appears that Nicolas entered the service of the Guises through the role of *fermier*, since his father, Georges, had been farmer of the temporal revenues of Montier en Der while the Cardinal de Lorraine was Abbot.¹⁴⁰

Others

The office of treasurer and receiver general was also occupied by Jean de Caen, a bourgeois of Paris with whom Louis contracted in 1586, giving him the same powers to pursue and competence over his Abbeys and the Archbishopric.¹⁴¹ His tenure of the position was only brief and he was replaced by Jean Merault in 1587, who also acted as

¹³⁵ Titles attributed to him in various notarial acts, but see especially A.N. M.C. VIII380:876 - a declaration of an accord between de Hault and Louis for the charge of treasurer and receiver general of his finances 13 November 1575.

¹³⁶ A.N. M.C. VIII380:686.

¹³⁷ A.N. M.C. VIII380:691.

¹³⁸ A.N. M.C. VIII383:17.

¹³⁹ A.N. M.C. VIII388:634; VIII391:100;104 and 103.

¹⁴⁰ A.N. M.C. VIII374:58 and VIII376:203.

¹⁴¹ A.N. M.C. VIII397:80.

Louis's *procureur* on at least one occasion.¹⁴² This passing on of the function of receiver and treasurer suggests that the administration was becoming more institutionalised.

An interesting member of Louis II's administrative network was Jehan le Lievre, receiver of the Duchy of Chevreuse, who acted for Louis in the capacity of *procureur* in the affairs of the Archbishopric, St. Remi and Fécamp.¹⁴³ So even though Louis did not receive a portion of his uncle's secular estate he retained the use of one of its agents (who was now working for his brother). Le Lievre shared the role of *procureur* with Jean le Meau, who was more deeply entangled in the Cardinal's financial affairs because he lent him money and assisted in his credit arrangements. Reference is made to 3,000 *ecus* which he advanced to the Cardinal de Guise for the payment of several people, and Le Meau also acted with Louis in the constitution of a *rente*.¹⁴⁴ Guillaume Bauldry, councillor and *maitre des requêtes* to Louis, had a similar role, acting in the Cardinal's name and constituting *rentes* for him.¹⁴⁵ These two were used by Louis for the administration of a new source of income given to him by the King and became controllers of the fruits of the manufacture of cloth in France.¹⁴⁶

Pierre Hubert's place was taken in this generation by Jean de Pastoureau, who because of "his loyalty, confidence and virtues was given procuration and superintendence of all Louis's affairs, domestic and private, including the Archbishopric and the Abbeys of St. Denis, Fécamp, St. Urbain, Montier en Der, St. Remi and their members, with full powers to act for and in the name of Louis, to govern, administer, manage and conduct affairs, domestic and temporal, and prepare accounts of them."¹⁴⁷ He is described as the Seigneur de la Rochette, gentleman of the king's chamber and gentleman of Louis II's chamber in one of the contracts he arranged for the property of St. Denis.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴² A.N. M.C. VIII399:283; procuration VIII401:180.

¹⁴³ A.N. M.C. VIII382:214 and 504.

¹⁴⁴ A.N. M.C. VIII388:496; VIII392:382.

¹⁴⁵ A.N. M.C. VIII386:934; VIII394:374. He was a king's councillor and a member of the *court des monnaies*.

¹⁴⁶ A.N. M.C. VIII394:375.

¹⁴⁷ A.N. M.C. VIII391:330.

¹⁴⁸ A.N. M.C. VIII391:57. The other known example of his action VIII391:326, also St. Denis.

FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT

Having discussed the use of a group of administrators to manage the temporal resources of the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals, and having examined the methods by which these resources were converted into cash, attention now turns towards the more complex aspects of the structure, namely money management and credit. The agents who acted for the aristocracy in the administration of their estates brought with them not only expertise in the necessary fields, but useful contacts into the world of credit. In some cases, as we have seen, they also had the resources at their disposal to finance the debts of their “patrons”.¹⁴⁹ There were also more institutional ways of managing the flow of money through aristocratic hands, such as the constitution of *rentes* or the anticipation of revenues.

Rentes

There were two types of *rente*,¹⁵⁰ public and private, which were a standard form of investment in the sixteenth century. A purchaser gave a lump sum of money to a land holder, property owner or institution which had a financial yield (such as the Hôtel de Ville of Paris) in the expectation of an annual payment based on the investment. The person constituting the *rente* usually reserved the right to buy out the investor at some point, by a repayment of the sum invested. The public aspect of this practice expanded dramatically under the last Valois kings as the monarchy struggled to find sources of income. However, the bad state of the Crown’s finances meant that a return on a *rente* on the Hôtel de Ville became ever more uncertain. In the private sphere individuals invested in the temporal and secular properties of the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals.

There was a significant difference in the practices of the Cardinal de Lorraine and his nephew in relation to this instrument of investment/borrowing. Charles has left a record of several transactions involving public *rentes*, whilst Louis II did not apparently touch them at all. This is clearly a reflection of the problems which developed in the financing of annual payments. Both the Cardinals raised private *rentes* on their temporal possessions, but Louis gives the impression of having used them as a more urgent means of gaining

¹⁴⁹ Harding *Anatomy* :175.

¹⁵⁰ See Bernard Schnapper *Les rentes au XVIe siècle* Paris, 1957.

credit and immediate money. Also both uncle and nephew constituted *rentes* with a third party, who was then declared not to have benefited from the sum invested and who was formally and legally acquitted from responsibility for its payment.

The Cardinal de Lorraine's *rente* transactions need to be looked at in some detail by tracing them through the notarial archives. The most interesting feature of his activity is a group of *rentes* on the Hôtel de Ville which Charles purchased in 1568. He invested 72,000 *livres*, which bought 6,000 *livres* of *rente*.¹⁵¹ There is no record of how he managed to mobilise such a large amount of capital or where it came from. This total was then divided up into sums which corresponded with some of the Cardinal's debts and were used to satisfy his creditors,¹⁵² whilst other parts of it were sold on.¹⁵³ The presence of the names of Hotman and Psaume as purchasers of the *rentes* which Lorraine sold on possibly disguise another level of transaction, such as a sale to satisfy a loan (this is usually recorded, but because of the intimacy of the parties might not have been in these cases) or the advance of money to the Cardinal by members of his intimate circle in return for some form of property. Or it could simply be the case that those closely associated with the Cardinal used this association to gain access to what could have been a profitable investment. What makes this purchase of *rentes* even more interesting was that it is backed up almost immediately with a series of constitutions of *rentes* on the Cardinal's secular estates, specifically the Duchy of Chevreuse.¹⁵⁴ The contracts recording these state that this was done for the greater surety of the payment of the Hôtel de Ville *rentes*. Later Pierre Hotman exchanged the *rente* he received on the Hôtel de Ville from Charles for one of an equal value on his secular lands,¹⁵⁵ but this appears to be an isolated example. It seems impossible to decode these transactions adequately.

These are not the only examples of the Cardinal drawing upon his secular resources to attract investors, but in the other cases he did not initially act alone as he did in the above transactions. In the two cases I noted he acted in conjunction with de la Vallée and

¹⁵¹ A.N. M.C. VIII372:296ff.

¹⁵² A.N. M.C. VIII372:351;352;353;354 (two debts);355 (two); VIII374:153.

¹⁵³ A.N. M.C. VIII372:443 1,000 *livres* of *rente* to Pierre Hotman and Claude Marcel; VIII374:608 600 *livres* of *rente* to Nicolas Psaume for 4,800 *livres*; VIII374:620 to Hotman.

¹⁵⁴ A.N. M.C. VIII372:501-509. The first for a capital investment of 10,000 *livres* is to yield a sum equal to that of the *rente* in VIII372:352; others are for 24,000 *livres*, 5,000 *livres* and three at 12,000 *livres*.

¹⁵⁵ A.N. M.C. VIII375:371.

Catherine Pichonnat, who then did not receive any of the invested capital.¹⁵⁶ Both were connected with the Lorraine-Guise network. Gabriel de la Vallée was a member of Lorraine's household. Catherine Pichonnat was the widow of Jean Dolu and the mother of René Dolu, treasurer general of the finances of Mary Stuart.¹⁵⁷ Jean had been a bourgeois of Paris and there are a significant number of notarial acts relating to Catherine's own transactions as a widow. Her connections with the Cardinal's financial administration are clear, especially when Lorraine's management of his niece's affairs is recalled. Catherine's involvement in her son's and Mary's affairs is illustrated by a couple of notarial acts which record the sale of a *rente* to Guillaume Douglas (William Douglas?), a Scottish gentleman. Douglas used capital of 2,400 *livres* which he said Mary had granted him for that purpose. This purchased 200 *livres* of *rente* belonging to Catherine.¹⁵⁸

As stated, Louis II did not invest in public *rentes* and made more use of the private version to supply his "urgent needs". Like his uncle he constituted *rentes* in conjunction with his close associates, who then declared that they had no interest in the transaction, but in this case the Cardinal made more use of his "administrative team". Jean le Meau appears a number of times as a co-constitutor, on his own, with Bauldry and with his wife.¹⁵⁹ A Simon Nicolas also appears in this capacity.¹⁶⁰ The reasons why business was transacted in this manner are unclear, but it seems reasonably obvious that these co-constitutions are for the benefit of the Cardinal. Even if he had not been named in the original transaction the identity of these agents would have been known, so it is unlikely that this was done for reasons of secrecy.

Debt

The above paragraphs provide some information on ways in which the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals gained access to sources of money to finance their "urgent affairs". Quite what these urgent affairs were is never specified, but it can be assumed that they were expenses which could not at that moment be provided for by the regular sources of income.

¹⁵⁶ A.N. M.C. VIII365:597 - the *rachapt* of a *rente* constituted in 1562; VIII369:136.

¹⁵⁷ A.N. M.C. VIII379:362 and Greengrass "Mary, Dowager of France":176.

¹⁵⁸ A.N. M.C. VIII379:362 and 527. April and June 1574.

¹⁵⁹ A.N. M.C. VIII386:933; VIII394:374; VIII397:272.

¹⁶⁰ A.N. M.C. VIII392:382.

As well as the co-constitution of *rente* it is noted that those involved in the administration of the Cardinals' assets could also provide them with loans. They could also look to other members of their network for assistance. For example, François de Beaucaire lent the Cardinal de Lorraine 15,000 *livres*, whilst Jehan le Blanc, Sieur de Laval and *maître d'hôtel* to Louis II, lent Louis 8,800 *livres*.¹⁶¹ It is also possible that the pattern of leases which were arranged considerably in advance of the date upon which they were to come into effect were a means of anticipating revenue and obtaining immediate funds.

The question of aristocratic debt is one which has occupied historians, since it forms an important part of the theory of a crisis in the sixteenth century.¹⁶² The Lorraine-Guise Cardinals could not always support themselves on their revenues and needed to borrow money or anticipate their income. Debts could be reimbursed by the assignation of *rentes*, which happened in the case of François de Beaucaire, or by the signing over of the revenues of benefice farms. An example of this latter practice is provided by the repayment of a 11,000 *ecus* loan to Jacques de Sety, a Florentine gentleman, through the cession of all the revenue from the Abbatial mense of St. Denis for the next year, 1586.¹⁶³ Debts to tradesmen who provided goods for the Cardinals' household were settled by similar means. Louis II's debt to his tailor was satisfied by the cession of a stated sum to be taken from the farm of a *terre* and seigneurie over two years.¹⁶⁴

Much more of this kind of activity has left its trace in the archives for Louis than for his uncle. However, Louis II expressed his poor opinion of borrowing in a letter to a Rouennais magistrate, Nicolas Romé, in 1577.

I will always find it better and more expedient to sell out than to borrow money (*prendre argent à rente*) since the interest, even if the loan were repaid within six months, given the scarcity of money and the interest rates which are current today, would amount to much more than the loss of what will be put up for sale possibly could.¹⁶⁵

Necessity clearly caused the Cardinal to change his mind. Possibly Louis was more

¹⁶¹ A.N. M.C. VIII373:4 repayment by the assignation of *rente* on the Cardinal's secular lands; VIII380:405 repayment in two cash sums.

¹⁶² See especially Crouzet "La crise de l'aristocratie en France au XVI^e siècle: les dettes de la Maison de Nevers" *Histoire, économie et société* 1 1982.

¹⁶³ A.N. M.C. VIII395:247.

¹⁶⁴ A.N. M.C. VIII387:392. 3 May 1581 Louis ceded to his tailor and *valet de chambre ordinaire* 992 *ecus* 45 *sols* 1 *denier* to be taken from the *fermier* for 1582 and 1583 to be quit of a parallel sum. These are impressive sums of money.

¹⁶⁵ Dewald *The Formation* :234 from Archives Departementales Seine-Maritime 1F39 :56.

extravagant than his uncle, but this is unlikely, especially in consideration of Lorraine's active career. Louis did not have access to as many resources as Charles: he had fewer benefices, lacked the additional support of secular property and probably did not benefit as much from the profits of royal favour. His increased use of loans could also be an indication of a worsening economic climate.

The payment of debts direct from farms reflects increased institutionalisation of financial matters. A farm was simply an alternative to the original source of income and can be crudely equated with a bank and a direct debit arrangement. Household expenses were to be paid by assigned revenues drawn from the farms of the temporal. The deniers owed on a farm for 1582 were ceded in 1581 for the payment of the meat bill for 1580; and Louis's cloth merchant was twice paid by the signing over of farm revenues (a different one in each case).¹⁶⁶ A number of contracts from Louis II relate to *marchés* agreed for the provision of basic foodstuffs to his household. The supply of bread and meat were agreed for three years (mirroring the arrangements common for the lease of land), although the bakers had previously held a contract for only one year, clearly a trial period.¹⁶⁷ Only one such arrangement for the Cardinal de Lorraine showed up in the sources and it was of a slightly different nature, since it related to the payment of the masons and materials for the château at Meudon.¹⁶⁸

EXPENDITURE

This analysis of the temporal resources of the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals now considers what the assets were used for. The absence of accounts make a reconstruction of expenditure impossible, although there is some information on the subject. The question of whether these resources were put at the disposal of the dynasty is discussed.

Crouzet has noted that the largest portion of aristocratic debt was due to the expenses of Court life, namely the purchase of merchandise for display and

¹⁶⁶ A.N. M.C. VIII387:447 23 May 1581 1209 *ecus* from *fermiers* of Beaulne for provision of household for 1580; VIII389:553 10 April 1582 833 *ecus* and VIII391:173 February 1583 961 *ecus*.

¹⁶⁷ A.N. M.C. VIII389:775ff; the meat and fish arrangement was repeated with the same merchants at the end of this period VIII397:12; VIII393:523ff; VIII391:449.

¹⁶⁸ A.N. M.C. VIII375:423ff.

ornamentation.¹⁶⁹ These expenses would include payments made to the Crown in accordance with anti-sumptuary laws which required the payment of a tax for the wearing of certain materials, such as velvet and satin, and an equivalent tax for wearing gold, silver and precious stones. Different classes of courtiers were to pay different tariffs and there was a category for ecclesiastics, with abbots and abbesses paying 50 *livres* for this privilege whilst ducs paid 100 *livres*.¹⁷⁰ As I argue throughout this study the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals lived in this courtier world and were subject to its expenses. They had households and retinues to support, which Boucher has estimated would have required revenues of 10,000 *livres* to maintain.¹⁷¹

The notarial records of Louis II's debts and expenditure show that he was participating fully in the extravagant lifestyle of the Court. He owed nearly 1,000 *ecus* to his tailor and committed revenues from Montier en Der for the payment of 5,500 *livres* to a silk draper.¹⁷² Display could also take the form of prestigious building programmes. Among the Cardinal de Lorraine's many projects was the construction of a new château at Meudon to improve upon the view of the existing building.¹⁷³ The masonry work in one gallery cost 7,000 *livres*.¹⁷⁴ A further example of building for personal preference rather than necessity is found at St. Denis. The Abbatial palace which the Cardinal de Bourbon had just built was not to Lorraine's taste so he took over another of the Abbey's buildings and reconstructed it to form his own palace.¹⁷⁵ These are clear demonstrations of conspicuous consumption. However, the Hôtel de Reims in Paris (the Archbishop's residence in the capital) was in a ruinous state in 1582 and there was apparently no money to cover the repairs.¹⁷⁶

The Cardinal de Lorraine may have enjoyed greater revenues than his nephew, but he indulged in larger expenditure, funding all sorts of projects (see Chapter 5). He

¹⁶⁹ Crouzet "La crise de l'aristocratie..." :18.

¹⁷⁰ Boucher *Société et mentalités* I:346.

¹⁷¹ Boucher *Société et mentalités* I:483.

¹⁷² A.N. M.C. VIII387:392 992 *ecus*, 45 *sols* and 1 *denier* being part of a larger sum. Since the tailor is also referred to as Louis's *valet de chambre* it is possible that this was a loan, but the document does not specify as much; VIII390:579.

¹⁷³ Boucher *Société et mentalités*. :738 and :1122.

¹⁷⁴ A.N. M.C. VIII375:424.

¹⁷⁵ Ayzac :299 - prior to Bourbon other Abbots had undertaken a programme of building.

¹⁷⁶ A.D.M.(Reims) 2G36/28.

committed revenues from the Archbishopric of Reims and his secular estates to the support of his educational foundations at Reims, specifically the University and the Collège des Bons-Enfants. Similar arrangement accompanied the foundation of the university at Pont-à-Mousson, to which Charles committed 1,500 *ecus rente* on the Abbatial mense of Gorze and the same from the Episcopal mense of Metz.¹⁷⁷ Lorraine also financed other projects, such as the establishment of a Capucin house at Meudon, a Minim convent at Reims and the *Hôpital* at Joinville. There were also religious foundations at Notre Dame for the spiritual benefit of himself and his family.

It is important to address the question of whether the Lorraine-Guise family were despoiling the Church for their own profit, or whether the dynasty simply benefited from ecclesiastical property in the sense that it supported its members without drawing on patrimonial resources.¹⁷⁸ There is no evidence in the records examined of the Cardinals lending or giving money to their lay relatives to finance their immediate needs. However, the names of members of the family do occur on the pension lists of the Cardinal de Lorraine. From a total of 13,825 *livres* of pensions paid from his revenues in 1570, 11,500 went to members of the family: 6,000 to Henri Duc de Guise; 2,000 respectively to the Cardinal's brothers, Aumale and Elbeuf; and 1,500 to Aumale's son, St. Vallier.¹⁷⁹ These are substantial sums. Both Charles and Louis I contributed to Catherine de Lorraine's dowry when she married the Duc de Montpensier.¹⁸⁰ In a letter to Anne d'Este the Cardinal de Lorraine also stated that he had given her son (presumably Henri) 14,000 *francs*.¹⁸¹

The family did not benefit from the alienation of Church property. The list of those who purchased these goods in the dioceses of Champagne in 1563 does not include the names of members of the family or those of their agents.¹⁸² The social profile of those

¹⁷⁷ Fouquieray *Histoire de la Compagne de Jésus en France des origines a la suppression (1528 - 1762)* Paris, 1910 I:606.

¹⁷⁸ Potter "The Luxembourg Inheritance" :36 notes that Charles, Cardinal de Vendôme, lent his brother 18,000 *livres*. Neuschel :81 Louis Cardinal de Bourbon may have helped support his nephews occasionally with the proceeds of sales of property.

¹⁷⁹ B.N. Dupuy 591:163.

¹⁸⁰ B.N. ms.fr.3232:13 20,000 *livres* plus gifts from Charles and 10,000 from Louis. Charles promised Anne this amount in a letter ms.fr.3232:108.

¹⁸¹ B.N. ms.fr.3232:77.

¹⁸² A.N. G8*1217.

purchasing alienated property shows that the high nobility in general were not significant beneficiaries.

The most prominent way in which the dynasty benefited from the wealth of the Cardinals was the inheritance of the Cardinal de Lorraine's secular estates, which passed to the Duc de Guise. The value of these estates is not known, nor the amount of debt which accompanied them. Whatever the burden of debt this legacy was a tangible asset. Lorraine clearly accumulated this property for his own prestige, but he must have considered the contribution it would make to the fortunes of the next generation. Bergin notes that Richelieu assembled landed wealth to "endow his heirs in a manner that he judged appropriate".¹⁸³ The Venetian ambassador Soranzo claimed that Charles was accumulating a vast treasury, the major part of which was for the children of his brother François.¹⁸⁴ Louis I named his mother as his heir rather than one of his nephews (which further illustrates his exclusion from the main dynastic strategy). His affairs are too obscure to be certain what this legacy consisted of, and judging by the letters of Antoinette de Bourbon, his affairs were in a muddle.¹⁸⁵ Antoinette referred to jewels which were sold to satisfy creditors.

The Bishopric of Metz provides an insight into how the secular nobility could benefit from connections with or control of a major benefice. On a basic level, kinship probably played a part in a 1564 agreement between the Cardinal de Lorraine and the Duke. Metz and Gorze abolished tollgates which had been newly established on their lands and in return the Duke exempted the subjects of the two benefices passing and trafficking in his estates from all new charges and impositions.¹⁸⁶ A number of transactions trace the accumulation of revenues into the hands of the Ducal family and into the hands of the Duc de Guise. The salines of Marsal and Moyenvic were farmed out to the Duke of Lorraine for twenty years from 1562 (by a contract of April 1559) with the promise that the Bishop would not establish another saline during this period, for a payment of 30,000 *livres* and 325 *muids* of salt per year.¹⁸⁷ However, in 1571 the same salines were given to the Duke

¹⁸³ Bergin *Power* :134.

¹⁸⁴ Alberi *Relazioni* II: Soranzo :434.

¹⁸⁵ B.N. ms.fr.20468:325;329ff;333ff;339;341 and 345 - Antoinette discussing and sorting out the inheritance.

¹⁸⁶ Calmet *Histoire ecclesiastique et civile de Lorraine* Nancy, 1728 II: 1365.

¹⁸⁷ A.N. M.C. LXVIII 16 April 1559.

to be held in perpetuity for an annual charge of 45,000 *francs* (of Lorraine) and 400 *muids* of salt.¹⁸⁸ There appear to have been similar contracts involving other portions of the temporal. The question of jurisdiction had become a source of conflict in the Bishopric, with complaints about Ducal officers trespassing onto episcopal or other jurisdictions. There appears to have been a rationalisation in 1561 in an attempt to resolve these difficulties, which involved the cession of property.¹⁸⁹ There was another similar agreement in 1571¹⁹⁰ (which helps to explain the alteration in the saline lease). Between these two accords the Bishop sold Hombourg and St. Avold to the Duke for 96,000 *ecus*.¹⁹¹ The kind of land swapping arrangements seen in the Bishopric of Metz did not occur in France. There was apparently no attempt to form consolidated blocks of Lorraine-Guise ecclesiastical and secular lands. There is no evidence that the Cardinals exchanged properties for others. So unless there was an existing fortuitous alignment of Church-held lands and dynastic properties the two sets of possessions remained separate. Any firm conclusions would have to rely on a detailed study of the location of the individual pieces of land, but there is nothing in the sources to suggest a close relationship between secular and ecclesiastical lands.

The involvement of Henri Duc de Guise, in the financial affairs of the Bishopric of Metz concerned a form of restructuring of the debt on the Bishopric. The Comte de Nassau held 18,000 and 20,000 florins (of different values) of *rente* and *censives* on the temporal, which caused concern due to the fear of a Protestant gaining an interest in ecclesiastical lands. Henri agreed to provide the specified sums for the repurchase of these loans and in return he and his male heirs would hold two of the specified lands in perpetuity in fief from the Bishop.¹⁹² This arrangement for holding the lands of the Bishopric of Metz in fief paralleled an agreement between the Bishop and Vaudemont, who held Nomeny.¹⁹³

Bergin's discussion of the role played by Richelieu's wealth in his retention of

¹⁸⁸ B.N. Dupuy 334:161.

¹⁸⁹ B.N. Dupuy 577:20ff. A similar operation occurred for the Bishopric of Verdun between the Cardinal de Lorraine and the Duke - Dupuy 577:72ff.

¹⁹⁰ B.N. Dupuy 577:122ff.

¹⁹¹ B.N. Dupuy 577:103; the alienation is recorded in ms.fr.15518:50.

¹⁹² B.N. Dupuy 544:73ff.

¹⁹³ B.N. Dupuy 544:73ff. and Dupuy 334:165 - for a payment of 600 *francs* a year.

power draws attention to the Cardinal's possession of a cash reserve, used to meet urgent royal expenses, as a crucial factor in this power. No similar position or reserve was held by the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals, but they did make contributions to the flow of royal finances. The contribution made by the Clergy to the Crown's coffers and the Cardinals' exemption from this is discussed above. The contributions that they made came as individuals and as people who had access to monetary resources which could be of use to the Crown.

The primary reason for these contributions was the French kings' constant want of resources with which to cover military expenses. During the siege of Metz the Cardinal de Lorraine used the revenues of Gorze and other benefices to pay for Duc François's supplies.¹⁹⁴ Charles was active in the defence of another one of his episcopal interests, namely the Archbishopric of Reims. He paid the troops defending Champagne from his own coffers. He was probably then reimbursed from the Crown's treasury, but not necessarily so. In a letter to the King, Charles stated that he had made a number of payments and asked for prompt reimbursement, so that he could preserve his credit for the service of the King.¹⁹⁵ The register of the *conseil de ville* at Reims for the same year records a letter from Charles IX to the Cardinal giving him full power to take the *deniers* due to the receivers and *fermiers* in Champagne for the payment of troops, and, if this was insufficient, the power to constitute *rentes* on the royal domain.¹⁹⁶ The situation continued to be the subject of letters, with Charles telling Anjou that he was unable to send the money he requested because he had already advanced 200,000 *livres*¹⁹⁷ and then explaining to Catherine de Medici that he was unable to gain access to the 50,000 *livres* assigned to him for the payment of the *reîtres*. In place of this latter sum his agents provided 14,000 *livres* of his own to show good faith.¹⁹⁸ Lorraine had access to considerable sums, although it is not clear what proportion of these amounts are loans he had raised for the Crown or money sent to him by the Crown to distribute. The relationship was symbiotic. The Cardinals helped the king when their interests were involved; whilst as significant figures in this

¹⁹⁴ Bouillé I:269.

¹⁹⁵ Barthélemy "Lettres" :130-3 dated Troyes 16 November 1567. Payments of 12,000 *ecus*, 4,800 *ecus*, 2,500 *ecus*, 3,000 *livres* and 15,000 *livres* rescription with a merchant and other unspecified expenses.

¹⁹⁶ A.M.R. Registre 42:424.

¹⁹⁷ Barthélemy "Lettres" :136 1 January 1568.

¹⁹⁸ Barthélemy "Lettres". :137 22 January 1568. His failure to gain access to the royal money is attributed to the absence of his receiver - an interesting insight into the workings of financial structures.

border region it was inevitable that the Crown would look to them for assistance.

Both the Cardinal de Lorraine and his brother the Cardinal de Guise pledged themselves as guarantors of the sums promised to Casimir when the Crown bought off his *reitres*.¹⁹⁹ Louis I was supplying considerable sums from the Bishopric of Metz for the payment of the armies of Deux-Ponts and Mansfeld after 1575.²⁰⁰ His financial services to the Crown (notably a loan of 100,000 *francs*) earned Louis I the title of superintendent of financial negotiations,²⁰¹ a title attributed to the *conseil privé* as a whole or to a single member as the situation demanded. These functions as Crown financiers show that the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals were supporting the Crown rather than enriching their family.

It has been suggested that control of ^{the leasing of} temporal resources ^{and their revenues} allowed the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals to buy political support. This theory is derived from claims that after the Blois assassinations those who had leased the temporal assets of the Archbishopric and St. Remi opted for the League fearing the loss of the money they had advanced and their profits.²⁰² It is doubtful whether their investment was threatened by a change in Archbishop or Abbot so I am rather sceptical about such claims. Further scepticism is prompted by Reims' slow response to the League. Another dimension to this theory is provided by the payment of pensions from the revenues of Cluny to members of the Parisian elite in 1554-5.²⁰³ A non-political explanation for this can be found in their identification as advocates and *procureurs* in the Parlement, which brings us to the arguments of whether a client or an associate automatically assumed the political interests of their patron (discussed in Chapter 4).

CONCLUSION

The Lorraine-Guise Cardinals were provided with a variety of temporal possessions which supported them in an aristocratic lifestyle without drawing upon the resources of the family's secular assets. The limitations of the source material make it difficult to assess to

¹⁹⁹ *Registre Bureau de Ville* 6:23.

²⁰⁰ B.N. ms.fr.15904:132; *C.S.P.F.* 13:836 and *Lettres Henri III* 2:1898 - Louis's obligation of 1,200,000 florins, payable in September 1577, obligation of July 1576.

²⁰¹ *A.N.G.* 13 Salviati:536.

²⁰² B.M.R. ms.1698 *Memoire du progres et des suites de la Ligue...* :379.

²⁰³ B.N. Dupuy 591:160ff. 10 *livres* to Chartier, Filleul, Du Mesnil, Mangot, Augustin de Thou, Pierre Baron, Jehan Desboys *inter alia*.

what degree the Cardinals lived within their resources or how their wealth (or indebtedness) related to that of secular nobles. They contributed to the fortunes of the dynasty by paying pensions from the revenues of their benefices to individual relatives, but there was no systematic transfer of wealth from the Church to the Guise family. The passage of lands and revenues to the secular element of the family in the diocese of Metz was not paralleled in France, and the Guise family did not even benefit through the purchase of alienated ecclesiastical goods. The Cardinals supported Crown finances much more than those of the dynasty. This was done by contributing to and managing military expenditure, rather than by participation in the taxation of the Church. Clients and associates were as likely to contribute to the finances of the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals as benefit from their revenues. The administration of these temporal assets and the operation of credit structures do, however, add another dimension to the idea of clientage.

From an institutional perspective there was an organised administration in operation to manage landed resources, which apparently became increasingly structured during the period of this study. The Cardinal de Lorraine had agents who acted for him in a wide variety of his affairs, but their counterparts in the management team of Louis II were more involved in the financial aspects of administration since they themselves were the farmers of collections of revenues. Although some of these agents might be shared with other members of the dynasty there was no attempt to consolidate ecclesiastical possessions or join them to the dynasty's possessions. The details of the capitalisation of the temporal assets of the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals conform to the picture produced by studies of the administration of the estates of sixteenth century secular nobles. Leases were assigned for short terms to counteract the effects of inflation and went to locals of some economic standing.

Chapter Four

THE CHURCH, NOBLE CULTURE AND PATRONAGE

The focus of historical enquiry for the early modern period has shifted from *histoire événementielle* to an analysis of the way the society behind the events was articulated. This has led to the development of a theoretical framework of patronage networks as an explanation of politico-religious allegiances and the structures of power and society. This model has attempted to place the elite and their power in the context of a developing state. More recent work on the subject, however, has begun to both expand the limits of clientage theory and demonstrate that such formal structures were not supporting a hierarchical society, focused on the Court. Instead society is seen as being constructed of lateral groups, in which a noble was part of a network of his peers. The place of the Church and of ecclesiastics in clientage structures and in noble networks needs to be considered. It has already been shown that ecclesiastics fitted into kinship networks and this thesis as a whole seeks to integrate noble clerics into noble society. Church office could be used as the “currency” of patronage in the same way as secular benefits, such as pensions and military commands. Ecclesiastics could also provide patronage in identical ways to lay *grands*. This chapter investigates the culture of patronage and the networks maintained by the French elite. Within this discussion there is an analysis of the language produced by this noble culture. The Lorraine-Guise clerics, and the family in general, are placed in this context and an outline is given of their Church patronage and ecclesiastical network. The sources did not yield enough information for a reconstruction of their network, so instead examples of different kinds of relationships and different kinds of evidence are considered.

THE PATRONAGE MODEL

Lucien Romier was the first to propose a clientage model,¹ but it is Roland Mousnier’s work which has provided the basis for subsequent definitions and systematisation. Mousnier’s “Society of Orders” consists of a hierarchical and stratified

¹ *Les origines* cited by Neuschel :2

society, connected vertically by bonds of fidelity.² The patron-client relationship was an emotional one, based on mutual affection. The *fidèle* submitted himself completely to his master and his master's interests. In return the master gave friendship and trust and provided maintenance, protection and advancement.³ This rather ideological concept of the relationship has been qualified in the light of evidence of multiple and flexible allegiances. Self-interest and material gain seem to have played a much more important role in the transaction than Mousnier allowed. The emotional and devotional element has not been entirely discounted, simply limited to an inner core of the network.⁴

Although disagreement over the precise definition of the patronage model remains (which in itself argues against such a structured approach) it is possible to produce a general outline. Clienteles - pyramidal structures headed by a magnate - developed with the decline of feudalism. Service (often defined in a broad sense) was rewarded by advancement and favours rather than by a financial or land gift. This erosion of dependence upon a family's landed wealth allowed for the development of wider ranging networks outside their geographic sphere of influence, which were usually based upon an influential position, such as the office of governor. The only limits to these structures were those of the prestige and influence of the patron. In theory the king remained at the apex of these structures since the "material" used in these exchanges originated from him. These networks were constructed from a collection of personal relationships which varied greatly in terms of intensity, durability, dependency and reciprocity. They formed a structure separate from the institutions of the State, even though they frequently overlapped with these institutions.

The patron gained prestige and honour from a large clientele, whom he expected to serve him as employees, support him militarily or assist his interests through their offices. The client anticipated reward from the resources to which the patron had access, whether these were material (offices in his gift) or theoretical (offices which he could obtain through his connections and influence). Harding has identified three main spheres into which

² See especially *Social Hierarchies: 1450 to the Present* London, 1973 and *Les institutions de la France sous la monarchie absolue 1598-1789* v.1 Paris, 1974. Henry Heller *Iron and Blood* Montreal, 1991 criticises the theory of a vertical construction of society proposed by Mousnier and favours a horizontal perspective. However, Heller focuses on class distinctions rather than the social networks which I discuss here.

³ Mousnier *Les institutions* :89.

⁴ M. Greengrass "Noble Affinities in Early Modern France" *European History Quarterly* 16 1986 and S. Kettering "Clientage During the French Wars of Religion" *S.C.J.* 20 1989.

patronage could fall: employment and advancement within the household; a place within the noble's military command; and the acquisition of offices, titles and pensions.⁵ The client was attracted to a patron by his credit - his ability to acquire the desired benefits. If this ability was lost or doubted then the clientele diminished.⁶ The exchange had to be reciprocal; if this were not the case and interests changed or clashed there was the potential for conflict. Each "transaction" altered the value of the relationship, which meant constant redefinition and renegotiation.

Sharon Kettering's agenda-setting work has begun to explore the full dimensions of the patronage model. Her attempts to increasingly define clientage - seen in her expansion of the brokerage theme and her comparisons of friendship and kinship with patronage⁷ - appear to be in danger of taking the theorising too far. There seems to be a risk of elaborating the model to the extent of losing sight of the complexities and anomalies of noble society. However, Kettering is right to defend herself by saying that we need a model upon which to base our understanding of the power structures of early modern France.⁸

Kristen Neuschel has noted the rigidity of the orthodox model and its failure to adequately describe noble experience or fit the evidence. For example, she draws attention to factors which other students of the subject have failed to elaborate upon, such as the place of self interest in client relationships, and the fact of multiple and flexible ties with other nobles (the most significant of which involves the solicitation of both the Duc de Guise and Montmorency⁹). Her research on the nobility in Picardy in the second half of the sixteenth century provided further reasons to modify the existing model. She noted that nobles did not always act with the obedience which the patronage model required, and instead pursued independent action based on their own interests. The large quantities of noble correspondence which she read revealed a tendency among the nobility to develop a broad network of relationships, which did not conform to the model of hierarchy and

⁵ Harding *Anatomy*

⁶ M.P. Holt "Patterns of Clientele and Economic Opportunity at the Court during the Wars of Religion" *F.H.S.* 13 1984.

⁷ *Patrons, Brokers and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France* Oxford, 1986, "Patronage and Kinship in Early Modern France" *F.H.S.* 16 1989 and "Friendship and Clientage in Early Modern France" *French History* 6 1992.

⁸ "Friendship and Clientage..." :155-157.

⁹ Neuschel :69-70.

exclusivity. She also found that nobles were not dependent upon a single patron since even the great nobles did not hold a monopoly on the sources of power and benefits. Instead nobles cultivated a wide circle of contacts, any of whom could be drawn upon.

In the light of her research Neuschel proposes that we shift our perspective of the question and consider how contemporaries viewed their world. Her approach mirrors Robert Darnton's discomfort with an approach which "implies that cultural systems derive from social orders".¹⁰ She advocates the rejection of a hierarchical and Court-centred interpretation and seeks to separate the structures of distribution and of social relations from the structures of power. She argues that showing that nobles could wield great power and that royal *largesse* was dispersed does not inform us about the relationship of these *grands* to the lesser nobility, or about the relationships operating among the lesser nobility. Her analysis is a social and cultural one. Nobles were able to behave in the way they did, independently and in their own interests, because they had a strong sense of their own status. This identity rested upon membership of the networks which they constructed and the acknowledgement of their peers which this implied. From this base Neuschel adds a new dimension to the exchange process by insisting that a transaction, whether the provision of patronage, the giving of service, or simply the sending of letters, implied a mutual recognition of status and added to the honour of both parties. Given this sense of self-value the individual noble would not confuse his own interests with those of another. This has particular relevance to the civil war period where shared religious convictions did not necessarily mean a concert of interests, as she demonstrates from her study of the Picard nobility. There is still room within her theories for many of the features of patronage which have been described by other historians, such as the ideas of reciprocity and resilient ties. Pyramidal structures were part of the network framework, but in a more episodic and fluid form, and there could be vertical action within a hierarchy.

Neuschel's explanation of the dynamics of noble relationships in the second half of the sixteenth century seem to be much more acceptable than the rigid model previously proposed. My own experience of noble society during this period certainly argues for a more cultural approach and the acceptance of a framework of lateral networks of relationships. Rather than being structures for the mobilisation of power I see these networks as a social system, which had as part of their function the distribution of

¹⁰ *The Great Cat Massacre* London, 1984 :252.

patronage. In an age before institutionalised methods of recruitment, the only means of finding personnel to fill vacancies was through patronage structures.¹¹

The study of patronage has concentrated upon male-headed networks and their military, household and political dimensions. Some reference has been made to the ecclesiastical dimensions of noble patronage,¹² but this important element of family networks has not received enough attention. There is a good case for seeing Church patronage as fitting into the general model in a parallel way to that involving military or political office. Vacant Church offices had to be filled in the same way as secular ones, either through recommendations of client candidates to the king or by personal appointment. Such patronage was solicited in the same way as secular benefits. It could take a variety of forms: the placement of a family member, friend or client in an ecclesiastical position; or the standard forms of secular patronage, but with a Church figure as the patron.

The structure of ecclesiastical appointment left the French Church open to exploitation by the Valois monarchy and the nobility. The Concordat of 1516 gave the French Crown the power to nominate the Church elite, with the candidate usually being accepted by the Papacy. This brought into royal hands a valuable source of reward for diplomatic, administrative, financial or even military service, in the form of pensions or offices which the Crown did not have to finance. Previously the focus for such appointments had been local, with many chapters and abbeys having the power of nomination, frequently influenced by dominant provincial families. The shift from the provinces to the Court was not achieved without resistance, although the influence of magnate families was not eliminated. As with all forms of Crown-derived patronage, the king's choice was effectively limited to those suggested by the Court elite.

The practices of tenure also ensured that established magnate families maintained their control of benefices. An incumbent could resign, exchange or cede his benefice (with papal approval) and thus determine his successor. Such transactions were usually made with clauses allowing for a continued interest in the benefice in the form of a pension, the retention of rights of collation and administration, or the right of regression. This last clause allowed the resigning cleric to reoccupy the benefice if it became vacant, and so kept

¹¹ Jonathan Powis *Aristocracy* Oxford, 1984 :58.

¹² Kettering "The Patronage Power of Early Modern French Noblewomen" *Historical Journal* 32 1989 :831; studies of Cardinal Richelieu have tended to look at this element of his power.

it within his control. The practice of “confidence” allowed a titular benefice holder to be placed in an office whilst the profits of the benefice were siphoned off. Another useful instrument was the ability to hold a benefice *in commendam*, a practice which increased through the sixteenth century, and which allowed a secular cleric or a layman to occupy a benefice meant to be held by a regular cleric.

LANGUAGE

Within the attempts to construct models and definitions for early modern French patronage there has been some analysis of the language of patronage - the way in which a patron is addressed by his client. It was this language of service and devotion which first prompted the idea of a *fidélité* around a magnate. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century noble patron-client correspondence is full of expressions of friendship, affection, loyalty, gratitude and service. The use of such language is so widespread that its ritualistic and formulaic elements have been acknowledged. Kettering explains it as a contemporary convention, masking the real nature of the relationship (inequality and enforced reciprocity). For her the distribution of patronage is hidden behind references to *grâces*, *bons offices* and *bienfaits* combined with obsequious gratitude from the client. The relationship is described in contemporary terms by the use of *ami* and *amitié*.¹³ The exchange of courtesy phrases is for Kettering an expression of the inequality of the relationship, with the client expressing loyalty, respect, affection and the desire to give service whilst humbly making a request. She goes some way to meeting Neuschel in this element of her analysis of clientage since both note that such exchanges were a public recognition of status and honour. However, despite her theorising Kettering is careful to warn against confusing the hyperbole of the language with the reality and she urges the necessity of analysing the relationship apart from the language.¹⁴

Neuschel’s work places much more emphasis on this language by focusing on the importance of correspondence within the noble *mentalité* of the period. She argues that such language cannot be dismissed as style rather than substance and wishes to include the

¹³ The use of these terms leads Kettering to discuss the comparisons between friendship and patronage, notably in “Friendship and Clientage...”.

¹⁴ In this she states that she is following Mousnier who says that there may be a gap between practice and rhetoric: “Les fidélités et les clientèles en France aux XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles” *Histoire sociale* XV 1982; “Gift-Giving and Patronage in Early Modern France” *French History* 2 1988 :142n.64.

exchange of such courtesies as an integral and essential part of the exchange process and of noble identity. In removing the hierarchical element which is essential to Kettering's thesis Neuschel concludes that forms of address reflect a more equal relationship within the network of French nobles. However, her theories still give space to some elements of a hierarchical society. A formula employing words of humility allowed a noble of a relatively lower standing to acknowledge the greater honour of the recipient, whereas relative equals used a different set of terms, which contained expressions of friendship and kinship. A relationship-in-theory is expressed in writing in terms of a relationship-in-practice. The only fixed distinctions in practice were distinctions in status. Neuschel also notes that different closing formulas are used when different parts of the relationship are being drawn upon. For example, a noble would lower himself and elevate the recipient if he were making a request. A patron could also use such distinctions and sign a letter to a supplicant as a friend if he wished to deny the request, since this denied the dependent status of the supplicant. Attention is drawn to the point that the formulaic and repetitive construction of noble letters is typical of a composition based on the spoken word.¹⁵

My experience of sixteenth-century correspondence would certainly urge caution in the interpretation of letters. The use of such language cannot on its own establish that a patron-client relationship existed. It can perhaps be a useful indicator, but with my own evidence I have only assumed that a more tangible exchange occurred when the client states as much. I have also been alerted to the possibility of a more complex relationship between two correspondents when the language used breaks from the formulaic and appears to be more expressive. It is interesting to note that the language used by patrons and clients is not very different from the language used outside such relationships. This general application of formula and style would tend to support Neuschel's argument for a broader definition of what is of value, and for a noble social network. Patronage operated within a society which spoke (and wrote) in these terms. Thus it is society, rather than patronage, which determines the use of these kinds of phrases.

The correspondence written by and addressed to the Lorraine-Guises favours a picture of social status being reinforced by the use of conventions. However, there are other occasions when a set phrase appears to be sincere and where the writer is making a genuine offer of service and devotion. Two aspects of a letter are taken into consideration

¹⁵ Neuschel : 119; 128; 103.

in this analysis: the formulas used in signing off a letter and the language used in the text of the letter. Those who can be considered as inferior to the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals signed themselves with some variation of “votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur”, which is clearly formulaic.¹⁶ More variation occurs in letters written by the national elite to their inferiors or to other members of the elite. Those who were most intimately connected with a noble received a comparatively unaffectionate formula, usually a “humble and obedient servant or brother”. There is no suggestion of intimacy in the signatures of the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals to their close family, such as Charles to François or Antoinette. Expressions of affection and friendship appear as the social or geographic intimacy decreased. In writing to a member of the same social network a signature would contain a combination of affection and humility, obedience or service. For example, Charles signed himself “bien humble et affectionné cousin”, “obeissant et meilleur amy”, “humble et plus affectionné amy” to Montmorency.¹⁷ There is an interesting generational difference in the way in which Louis II wrote to Nemours and Nevers - he used more hyperbolic language than his uncles and expresses his service more elaborately and in terms of fidelity.¹⁸ For those who only had a passing connection with the writer the formula was “le bien fort votre”. It is possible that the more stretched the relationship became, because of geographic or social distance, the more the connection and social recognition needed to be reinforced with such language. The warmest formulas were applied to social equals who were not well known. Intimates and social inferiors received colder formulas, since such expressions were not necessary for intimates and because inferiors were not worthy of such recognition.

One case where the style of signature changed as the status of the addressee altered contributes to the theory that these formulas were highly structured. Bernardin Bochotel both rose socially through the acquisition of a bishopric and became more intimate with the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals through repeated contacts. In 1554 the Cardinal de Lorraine signed himself “bien vostre” and in 1555 as “bon amy”, but after Bochotel became Bishop

¹⁶ Such formulas were also applied to an institution like the Bureau de la Ville de Paris: the Cardinal de Lorraine signed himself “vostre bon amy” while the *Prévôt des marchands* and *echevins* used “vos très humble obeissans serviteurs”. *Registres des délibérations du Bureau de la ville de Paris* - for example Vol.9 :20;23.

¹⁷ B.N. ms.Clair. 349:56; ms.fr.3157:49; ms.fr. 3157:124.

¹⁸ For example B.N. ms.fr.5808:103 “je suis vostre serviteur tres fidele” and ms.fr.3231:4 “vostre tres humble et tres obeissant beau fils”.

of Rennes Charles employed the formulas “bon frere et amy” or “meilleur frere et amy”.¹⁹ However, such changes in style do not necessarily reflect a change in status since Charles signed himself expressively as “entierement bien bon amy” to Humières only a day after using a simple “bon amy”.²⁰ The absence of dates on many letters make a fuller analysis difficult.

The language used in the text of letters is predictably less formulaic and can provide a better indication of the nature of the relationship. Certain formulas do occur within the text, such as the ubiquitous recommendation of oneself to the *bons graces* of the correspondent. This is sometimes supplemented by the desire to be among those enjoying the addressee’s amity. In a number of cases the elite wrote that they kissed the hands of the person to whom they were writing, a phrase which fits into Neuschel’s theories of words equalling actions. More fulsome, but formulaic none the less, are assurances that the writer would do all the service which it was in his power to do and serve when he was commanded.²¹ There are also references to the other’s power over the writer.²² Assurances that the writer will be the most affectionate or faithful servant, constructed in various ways, are scattered through the Lorraine-Guise correspondence. One such letter was written by the Sieur de Vasse to Charles, in which he said “no gentleman in the world is more your faithful and very affectionate servant”. In another example Louis I assured the Duc de Nemours that there was “never a more faithful friend and no one in France is more your servant, my life and goods are at your disposal”.²³ Less frequent and less formulaic phrases seem to be better indicators of the nature of relationships. For example, in thanking Louis II for his benevolence Nicolas de Villars, Bishop of Agen, commented on his sense of unworthiness for such an honour from such a great prince and protector and promised that “toute ma vie sera employee a vostre service”.²⁴ Christopher Moreau called the Cardinal de Lorraine his “protecteur et deffenseur” and Pierre Louis de Martines said that he owed everything to Charles - “vostre creature esleve et estably par vous... soubz vostre

¹⁹ See B.N. ms.Vc Colbert 391.

²⁰ B.N. ms.Claire.352:10 and:9. 3 and 4 May 1558.

²¹ Charles Cardinal de Lorraine to the Duc de Nemours B.N. ms.fr.3232:56;62

²² Louis I to Duc de Nemours B.N. ms.fr.3231:25. - “trop de puissance sur moy”

²³ B.N. ms.fr. 15641:20 Vasse is listed as a member of Charles’s household in 1561 ms.fr.22436:3; ms.fr. 3231:82.

²⁴ B.N. ms.Dupuy 549:95. 9 March 1588.

protection”.²⁵

Neuschel’s theories about a noble culture constructed from networks of contacts are supported by the existence of what I term “empty letters”. These contain no information or requests, but simply assure the addressee of the writers’ devotion.²⁶ The Lorraine-Guise women provide the best examples of these, but they do not have a monopoly. Louis I wrote to Nemours having already told the Duchesse all his news, but since he had the opportunity to write he did so and proceeded to assure the Duc of his service.²⁷ Similarly there are letters like those which the Cardinal de Lorraine sent to Humières with *pacquets* to be forwarded. The *paquet* provided an opportunity for contact and it would have been improper and insulting to ignore Humières. It was important for a noble to associate himself with the exchange of information, especially if it was important news, such as a military victory. This reflects a fear of losing contact with the social group.²⁸

Letters which contain information are important within Neuschel’s conception of noble culture. The providing and forwarding of information was a valuable exchange in the early modern period and it takes up a large portion of the correspondence I have read. This could be family news within the family group when they are separated; information about personal activities (although this is the smallest element and usually relates to wider interests); and details of military and political events or the movements of the king and Court. The amount of space devoted to news indicates its importance, but this is supported by textual references. Guy du Faur apologised for not sending news; Charles explained to Nevers that he had written to “faire participant des occurrences de ceste court”.²⁹ In a sense it is possible to stretch the definition of patronage and call this the patronage of information.

Another element in this culture of social networks is the giving of small gifts. Both Kettering and Neuschel examine this element of noble relationships. Such actions are a more tangible side of the ideas developed to understand the exchange of courtesies and compliments. The giving of a gift symbolised recognition and inclusion amongst the social and political elite. References to this kind of exchange are found in the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals’ letters. In 1582 Louis II and Chaudien were exchanging books, whilst Antoine

²⁵ B.N. ms.fr. 20645:84; ms.fr. 20537:62.

²⁶ See Neuschel :72.

²⁷ B.N. ms.fr.3231:19.

²⁸ Neuschel :75.

²⁹ B.N. ms.Dupuy 549:68; ms.fr. 3136:89.

Crequi, Bishop of Amiens, sent two swans to Charles, Archbishop of Reims.³⁰

THE LORRAINE-GUISE NETWORK

There is insufficient material in the correspondence preserved in the manuscript collections of the Bibliothèque Nationale to allow for the full reconstruction of a Lorraine-Guise patronage network within the Church. However, there are enough examples and indications that the family were providing or assisting in Church appointments and advancements to conclude that such patronage was occurring on a much larger scale. The fact that requests were directed to family members indicates that there was a belief that such benefits could be gained through these means. As members of the Court elite, enjoying great influence at times, the Lorraine-Guises can be expected to have played a significant patronage and brokerage role. Unfortunately there is no convenient collection of documents to show who recommended or nominated particular candidates to the Crown and the low survival rate of sixteenth century correspondence has deprived the researcher of a coherent body of letters addressed to the Crown suggesting candidates for empty benefices. As Bergin has shown³¹ the system of appointments was far from institutionalised and the period of the Wars also lacks the *Informations Romaines* which became obligatory in 1591 and provide more information on the candidacy. Peronnet supplies statistics for the amount of patronage coming from various sources, but fails to adequately explain how he produced his figures.³²

I have adopted a variety of approaches to identify and classify Lorraine-Guise clients. The extant correspondence of the Lorraine-Guise family provides examples of requests being made or of allusions being made to previous benefits gained. There are also examples of the Lorraine-Guises recommending an individual. It is possible to infer that patronage of some kind was taking place in a number of cases without the support of

³⁰ B.N. ms.Dupuy 549:60; ms.Dupuy 549:70. In two further letters (:89 and :90), this time from 1588, the devotion of Amiens to the Archbishop, Louis II, is noted.

³¹ "Richelieu and his Bishops ? Ministerial Power and Episcopal Patronage under Louis XIII" in Bergin and Brockliss (ed.) *Richelieu and his Age* Oxford, 1992 :175-202.

³² Peronnet *Les eveques* :table 62(1) - for the period 1560-1610 23% from family; 24% from bishops and local influence; 2% via reciprocal obligations; 41% from the king and Court; 5% via various combinations; and 5% undetermined. This information is repeated in Peronnet "Les nominations épiscopales sous Henri III" in Sauzet :290.

correspondence. An examination of an individual's career can indicate that it would be reasonable to assume that Lorraine-Guise favour was a factor in their advancement. Surprisingly, there are few references to Guise patronage in the *mémoire* and diplomatic sources of the period. Where these do occur I have been rather cautious in accepting them without supporting evidence, since in this period individual political choice was frequently confused with client allegiance. As Churchmen the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals had rights of nomination and collation which allowed them to distribute patronage. Their aristocratic lifestyles provided them with more traditional sources of patronage as can be seen from an extant pension list and household account.³³ As members of the social and ecclesiastical elite the Cardinals supported households, which consisted of a variety of personnel including gentlemen in waiting, *maîtres d'hôtel*, *escuyers* and *mareschaux des logis*.³⁴ One type of client, those who assisted in the administration of the temporal of the Guise benefices, are discussed in the previous chapter.

The League

It would be impossible to address the question of Lorraine-Guise patronage during this period without considering the *Sainte Ligue*. The existence of clientage networks has been used to explain the political actions of the civil war period and frequent reference has been made to the idea that Charles Cardinal de Lorraine used patronage in the Church to build up a party which became the League.³⁵ Such a thesis can be theoretically destroyed, but there is not enough evidence to allow for a conclusive statement. The League is a subject in itself and the change in the political situation following the Blois assassinations makes it, purposefully, fall outside this study. The question of Guise clients in the League has not been adequately addressed and really needs to consider the family as a whole. Furthermore, it appears from my work that the question needs to be approached from the other side via an analysis of League adherents.

The most recent analyses of the nature of noble culture and patronage argue against a sense of obligation and devotion shaping political strategies among clients. Certainly

³³ B.N. ms. Dupuy 591:163; ms.fr.22436:3ff.

³⁴ B.N. ms.fr. 22436:3.

³⁵ See for example Giroux *Un cardinal ligueur au XVIe siècle* Laon, 1905 :3; L'Estoile : 187; 375; and Davila:427.

these factors could and did play a part in political alliance and League adherence, but only when there was a strong element of personal interest involved as well. The sharing of religious convictions did not always ensure a concert of interests. The idea of a noble society which was articulated in a more horizontal way also weakens the explanation of the Wars and League as the contest of competing clienteles.

Recent studies which focus on the League also tend to negate the thesis of the politicisation and mobilisation of the Guise clientele network. Barnavi points out the difference between *fidelité* to Henri Duc de Guise as a patron (as head of the family he would have been able to command the devotion of his brother's clients) and attachment to him as *chef* of the party.³⁶ Barnavi's strongest argument is that the League was not a monolithic structure and that there were multiple reasons for joining. The Parisian League in particular struggles to escape from the theories of Guise domination by acting independently, and sometimes contrary to the wishes of those who were supposedly controlling it. Baumgartner looked at the political allegiances of the French bishops during the League and notes that few prelates were involved in the 1576 League.³⁷ The picture was slightly different in 1584 when the Leaguer movement revived, but it was not until the crisis of 1589 that the ecclesiastical elite took a stance *en masse*. Baumgartner cites their reason as dissatisfaction with Henri III: his failure to destroy the Huguenots, his taxes on the clergy and his personal life.

This general picture is certainly supported by more detailed case studies. Richard's examination of Pierre d'Épinac³⁸ demonstrates that the prelate's politics were a result of his opposition to Navarre's succession and a quarrel with Épernon, rather than membership of the Guise ecclesiastical clientele. Although he became Duc Henri's principal advisor in 1588 he had until then remained politically independent of the family and staunchly royalist. The role of the Guise family in his career is not clear - there is no obvious sign of their influence in his promotion and his career path does not seem to have been associated with them. He gained the Archbishopric of Lyon through a very long-standing family association and his prominence in national affairs was a result of personal ability, which

³⁶ "Fidèles et partisans dans la Ligue parisienne (1585-1594)" in Durand (ed.) *Hommage à Roland Mousnier* Paris, 1981.

³⁷ *Change and Continuity* The exceptions being Aymar Hennequin Bishop of Rennes; Urbain de St.-Gelais Bishop of Comminges; Claud de Bauffremont Bishop of Troyes.

³⁸ *La Papauté et la Ligue française* Paris, 1901.

attracted royal favour. However, there was an established patron-client relationship in the secular sphere between Duc François and Pierre's maternal (Albon) and paternal kin; which, combined with the political and ecclesiastical significance of Lyon for the Guises, leads to the expectation of a more significant relationship than there actually was. Similarly Guillaume Rose, Bishop of Senlis, an ardent Leaguer and a member of the *Seize*, had no apparent links with the Lorraine-Guise family and had enjoyed the favour of Henri III.³⁹

This is not to deny that there were Guise clients involved in the League. One instantly thinks of Cardinal Nicolas de Pellevé, who is discussed below. The association of others such as Aymar Hennequin and Louis de Brezé with the Lorraine-Guises possibly played some part in their decision to adhere, but it cannot have been their dominant motivation. A prosopographical analysis of identified Leaguers, such as that undertaken by Barnavi,⁴⁰ inevitably discovers those who received benefits from the Guise family. A family enjoying as much influence as the Lorraine-Guises could hardly fail to have some (incidental) connection with such a group.

One further point which needs discussion is the connection between the Lorraine-Guises and the Paris preachers who did so much to incite popular support for the League. Davila believed that Henri de Guise was using popular and eloquent preachers to promote the interests and extension of the League⁴¹ and L'Estoile emphasised Catherine de Lorraine-Montpensier's activity in this sphere.⁴² It is clear that following the death of Mary Queen of Scots the Guises became aware of the power of religious propaganda⁴³ and their image, to a certain extent, had always rested upon or been supported by preachers' use of the family as motifs for Catholic virtue. Except in the case of Catherine de Montpensier there is no explicit reference to the nature of this support. I found no suggestion that these preachers could be considered as Guise clients or puppets. Diefendorf's research for an earlier period concludes that in the 1550s and 1560s the Guises were not sponsoring Parisian preachers.⁴⁴ I concur with her opinion that the Guises were adopted as heroes and

³⁹ F. Giroux *Un prélat ligueur au XVI^e siècle* Laon, 1902.

⁴⁰ *Le Parti de Dieu* Louvain, 1980

⁴¹ Davila :423-4.

⁴² L'Estoile :502 and 542.

⁴³ Cameron "La polémique, la mort de Marie Stuart et l'assassinat de Henri III" in Sauzet.

⁴⁴ *Beneath the Cross* :179 and n.11.

symbols by these preachers because they were charismatic and represented their views.⁴⁵ Obviously this is an area which deserves much more detailed research, without which it is not possible to make any firm conclusions. Labitte's study of these preachers⁴⁶ does not address the question of patronage and is limited to noting Guise public encouragement of such preaching. Their sermons certainly were in the family's political interest. Some of the ardent League preachers were invited to preach at Reims: François Feuardent in Lent 1587 and Advent 1588⁴⁷ and Jean Boucher in Lent 1589.⁴⁸ It is not clear who decided to invite them. Two members of the Chapter wrote to Louis II to inform him that Boucher had been invited to preach, which suggests that the Archbishop left such decisions to deputies. However, there are scattered references to Charles hearing a cleric preach and then bringing him to Reims. Indeed Jean Boucher is said to have come to the Cardinal de Lorraine's attention in this way and gained his patronage.⁴⁹ Yet René Benoit had much closer links with the family and especially Mary Stuart, whose confessor he had been, but was not a Leaguer.⁵⁰ To make any firm conclusions about Lorraine-Guise patronage of these League preachers one would need evidence of family members interceding to gain them their Paris cures or other offices or pensions.

Harding's analysis of pro-League preachers in the provincial urban setting of Angers, Rennes and Nantes reflects the pattern proposed for Paris.⁵¹ The Lorraine-Guise family (this time in the form of Mercoeur and Mayenne) provided legitimating leadership for a movement which they had not created. These preachers had their own agenda, which cannot be seen to have represented Guisard interests. For example they pointed to the corruption of the State, seen in the appointment system to Church office, which the Guises exploited and had a vested interest in maintaining.⁵² The reluctance of Champenois towns to adhere to the League again suggests that the family were not effectively controlling the

⁴⁵ *Beneath the Cross* :180.

⁴⁶ *De la démocratie...*

⁴⁷ "Journalier ou Mémoires de Jean Pussot" *T.A.N.R.* 23 & 25 1856-7 [henceforth Pussot] :172 and 177.

⁴⁸ Pussot II:1; see B.N. ms. Dupuy 549:91 letters from Pierre Frizon and :93 F. Le Bossu in March 1588.

⁴⁹ F.F.J. Lecouvet *Tournay littéraire* I Gand, 1861 :218 - I owe this reference to E. Nelson. Lecouvet attributes Boucher's adherence to the League to the Guise connection and personal inclination.

⁵⁰ Labitte :76 and E. Pasquier *René Benoît* Paris, 1913 repr. Geneva, 1970.

⁵¹ Robert Harding "Revolution and Reform in the Holy League: Angers, Rennes, Nantes" *J.M.H.* 53 1981.

⁵² This point is also made by Diefendorf "Simon Vigor: A Radical Preacher in Sixteenth-Century Paris" *S.C.J.* 8 1987.

message from the pulpits.

It might be suggested that the Lorraine-Guises (both lay and ecclesiastical) used their power of nomination to parish benefices to place a group of minor clerics who could have provided a mouthpiece for their ecclesiastical or political message. This is unlikely. The issue of the dissemination of a Tridentine and reforming programme is discussed in Chapter 6, but controlling and regulating the parish clergy was a major problem. No study has been done of the preaching activities of Champenois priests during this period and material would be difficult to find. It is hard to say what kind of ties they would have felt to a Guise patron or patroness, but I would repeat my scepticism about clients supporting their benefactors' political schemes. However, Crouzet draws attention to a possible link between a Guise-sponsored reform programme and the mass demonstrations of piety on a parish level which swept across northern France in 1583-4.⁵³ These *processions blanches* occurred in the dioceses of those bishops who had attended the Provincial Council called by Louis II in 1583. The Council had advocated a restoration of Catholic vigour. The processions also reflected much wider trends, such as a perceived need for society to appease God during a period of great anxiety. Yet again the line which the Lorraine-Guises advocated appealed to popular sentiments. They did not create this movement, just as they did not create adherence to the League, rather they found themselves in tune with the mood of the time.

Patronage

One interesting source for Lorraine-Guise patronage is the collection of Acts of François II. These show specific cases where either Cardinal Charles or Duc François were present when an act was passed. The irregularity of these cases and the apparent lack of connection between the issue at hand and the brothers (for example Charles is rarely noted as being present when Church issues are concerned, but oversees some minor administrative acts) makes it reasonable to assume that there is some patron-client relationship involved. This theory is given further weight by the presence of known Lorraine-Guise clients among those whom these acts concern: Pellevé and de la Vallé.⁵⁴

⁵³ Denis Crouzet *Les guerriers de Dieu* vol.2 :297-309.

⁵⁴ *Actes de François II* : 748 and 796.

However, Charles was not present when another act concerning Pellevé was passed, nor when there was business concerning Notre Dame de Reims, his *sommeliers* and a monk of Cluny.⁵⁵ It is possible that he was absent at these times or busy elsewhere. Such anomalies do not necessarily detract from the theory that a councillor's presence indicates a brokerage role. A similar theory has been proposed using the Secretaries of State's registers of documents they had personally signed and dispatched (*registres d'expéditions*). These record requests made to the Secretaries for gifts, grants and appointments. They include a note of where and when the king signed the document and who among the more important councillors was present.⁵⁶ More evidence would be necessary to conclude whether such a presence at the passing of an act implies a patronage relationship and whether those who gained the *survivance*⁵⁷ or provision of an office with such a presence can be considered as clients.⁵⁸ The infrequency of such cases and the doubtful conclusions that can be drawn from them did not justify a more extensive search through the unpublished and unindexed acts of the other Valois kings.

The evidence becomes more certain when the correspondence of the Bibliothèque Nationale's manuscript collections is considered. Here there are examples of explicit patronage requests. In these cases it is difficult to be certain that the desired benefit was actually received. The request shows that the "client" had faith in the Guises's ability and willingness to provide, and the reconstruction of clientage networks usually includes those who made requests, satisfied or not. In another set of letters the client thanked a member of the Guise family for benefits received, whilst in a third group the Guises are the authors of letters of recommendation. The correspondence can be further categorised into letters addressed to lay members of the family requesting Church patronage or intercession with an ecclesiastic; and those letters addressed to the Cardinals which requested patronage in either the secular or ecclesiastical sphere. Unfortunately not enough of the second

⁵⁵ *Actes de François II* :41;449;942;384.

⁵⁶ Harding *Anatomy* :33. Sutherland *The French Secretaries of State in the Age of Catherine de Medici* London,1962 :44-5. Only two of these registers survive - B.N. ms.fr. 5127 and 5128.

⁵⁷ An office holder who wished to pass his office to an heir had to gain royal permission. This could be done by simple resignation, but if a date for transfer was not fixed the arrangement was termed *survivance* and the king's letters investing the successor did not apply until the officer's death. Salmon *Society in Crisis* London,1975 :77.

⁵⁸ For example: *Actes de François II* :353 Provision for Claude Juge former receiver-general of finances at Lyon to the office of treasurer and payer of *pensions des Suisses* by resignation of Jean Lallement, in the presence of Charles; :376 Exception from the revocation of *survivance* for *maitre ordinaire des comptes* for Le grand, in the presence of Charles.

generation's letters survive for a comparison with Charles and François and it is difficult to assess whether Louis II enjoyed as much influence and patronage prestige as his uncle.

In the limited selection of François de Lorraine's letters examined there were several indications of ecclesiastical patronage. A number of letters provide an insight into the mechanisms of secular Church patronage. In these someone, possibly a family client or servant, informed the Duc of a vacancy. What is interesting is that this information was not always accompanied by a request for the office and would therefore seem to fit into Neuschel's pattern of a noble culture of providing information.⁵⁹ François was solicited as being able to provide ecclesiastical patronage directly. Louis de Rabodanges asked François for the grant to his daughter of two benefices close to the family home.⁶⁰ The continuity and successful content of such client relationships is illustrated by the Malain family, who solicited François to add to the patronage he had already provided in obtaining the acceptance of a resignation, by altering the terms of that resignation.⁶¹ A further example is provided by François de la Chaussée who requested the Duc de Guise's intercession for the provision of an abbey for his son and then thanked the Duc for it.⁶² De la Chaussée's request is interesting because he said he had also asked Antoinette de Bourbon to intercede with François and because his son was at the College de Reims. It would seem from these cases that Church patronage sat alongside that of secular favours and that it was possible for families to receive both kinds from the same source. Service to the family in a clerical role could lead to sponsorship for promotion, as François's (unsuccessful) attempt to have his almoner provided with a prebend at Metz shows.⁶³

The Duc was also asked to act as a "broker" between the client and his brother Charles, in both secular and clerical patronage. This is brokerage in the sense of a role, rather than in the sense of a position within an institutional structure which Kettering's work has suggested. St. Lux asked François to recommend him to the Cardinal de Lorraine for a "place de la chambre",⁶⁴ whilst in a letter to François Charles referred to a request the

⁵⁹ For example G. Deportes informed François of the vacancy of the priory of Bourget so that he could provide for his servants or another who merited the recompense. B.N. ms.fr. 20536 :83.

⁶⁰ B.N. ms.fr. 20536:49.

⁶¹ B.N. ms.fr. 20522:43.

⁶² B.N. ms.Clair. 347:256 and :295. 7 and 21 July 1554. François was able to satisfy him quickly.

⁶³ B.N. ms.Clair. 347:151. 22 December 1553.

⁶⁴ B.N. ms.Clair. 347:125.

Duc had made on behalf of the Sieur de Givry for a similar position.⁶⁵ This family brokerage also worked in the other direction, with Charles making recommendations to François, as in the case of de la Feraudière, whom Charles referred to as having given him much service and being deserving of favour and recognition.⁶⁶

Charles had access to an extensive variety of patronage opportunities, some of which are reflected in his correspondence. As well as being solicited for Court office through François he was solicited directly by lay clients for secular patronage. In one letter he promised Humières a company of soldiers as soon as one was available.⁶⁷ Humières was far from being the Cardinal's exclusive "client" and provides a good example of multiple and fluid ties. He had previously received a company of men through Montmorency and had links with Antoine de Navarre and Coligny.⁶⁸ On several occasions the lay and the clerical overlap in the provision of a benefice to cover the expenses of secular office. For example, St. Julien asked Charles for a large benefice to cover the expenses of his diplomatic mission in Italy.⁶⁹ Church office could also be a means of rewarding secular service, as Cardinal de Tournon implied in a letter to Charles in which he stated that Charles provided Elben with the Bishopric of Lodeve in recognition of his services to the King.⁷⁰ It also seems that to some the two kinds of patronage were interchangeable, which supports the idea that clerical patronage must be included in the general model. Guy du Faur asked for a priory, but was given a pension instead, whereas Seucelin asked the Cardinal to obtain the fourth presidency of the Parlement of Provence for him in place of the vicariat of Aix, which he had previously requested.⁷¹

The Lorraine-Guise Cardinals provided clerical patronage at all levels of the social structure. Pothyer stated that he received a prebend from the Cardinal de Lorraine, whilst Nicolas de Villars, Bishop of Agen, thanked Louis II for the collation of a priory (RocheGuyon) in a letter which is full of the language of service.⁷² The assumptions of

⁶⁵ B.N. ms.fr. 20472:37.

⁶⁶ B.N. ms.Clair. 348:12 and 13.

⁶⁷ B.N. ms.Clair. 351:177 and ms.fr. 3123:37 (duplicates).

⁶⁸ Neuschel :70;91.

⁶⁹ B.N. ms.fr. 20443:269.

⁷⁰ B.N. ms.fr. 20444:243.

⁷¹ B.N. ms.Dupuy 549:68 and ms.Clair. 352:129.

⁷² B.N. ms.Dupuy 549:92 and ms.Dupuy 549:84 and 95. See above.

Lorraine-Guise involvement in high level appointments remain unproved by the evidence contained in extant correspondence. Archives in the Vatican might yield more information in the future.

The Duc de Guise was not the only person to solicit Charles on behalf of a third party. It seems from these letters that during the later 1550s Charles was in a very influential position and could be relied upon to obtain the desired offices for his own and others' clients. In these cases the Cardinal de Lorraine was asked to reward services done to others, including the King, and to accept others' judgments of need and merit. A contact, a member of one's social network, was drawn upon to gain the desired benefits for a third party. Some letters conform to traditional models such as Pothyer's request for the Cardinal de Lorraine's patronage for a Cordelier, Nicolas Raulin (in the same letter in which he acknowledged the Cardinal's role in the acquisition of his own prebend).⁷³ As well as writing directly to Charles for the confirmation of an abbey promised by the King,⁷⁴ J. Nicot also wrote to the Bishop of Limoges to ask him to intercede with Charles for the payment of his pension.⁷⁵

Cardinal de Tournon made a variety of third-party requests to Charles in 1557,⁷⁶ but it is not clear what the relationship was between Lorraine and Tournon. Tournon's biographer paints a picture of attachment to the Lorraine-Guises, but not devotion. This reflects Tournon's general policy of following the political middle way. He did work closely with Lorraine on diplomatic missions and Lorraine stated that he had esteem for Tournon. Some friction may have developed between the two when Rome sent Tournon to France to prevent the National Council which Charles was advocating. It is unlikely that this caused a serious breach. By the period of this study Tournon was getting old, so he was not a real rival to Lorraine's position.⁷⁷ Tournon can hardly be considered as the inferior of Charles since he was a prominent and prestigious Churchman in his own right with several years of seniority. However, in one letter Tournon "kissed Charles's hands" and thanked him for obtaining a position for his nephew, adding that he (Tournon) would

⁷³ B.N. ms.Dupuy 549:92.

⁷⁴ B.N. ms.fr. 6626:17.

⁷⁵ *Négotiations, Lettres et pièces diverses...II* :565.

⁷⁶ B.N. ms.fr. 20444:189 and 203-4. Recommendation of an *abbé* and intercession for Cardinal de Pizan.

⁷⁷ Michel François *Le Cardinal François de Tournon* Paris, 1951. For Lorraine's esteem B.N. ms.fr. 20442:125.

remain his perpetual servant.⁷⁸ This example shows quite clearly the problems of fitting the elite of the French nobility into the hierarchical framework of clientage networks and argues for the linear approach adopted by Neuschel.

A letter from Nicot reflects the reliance of solicitors on more than one patron or route, since he stated that he was also asking the Queen's almoner for confirmation of the abbey he needed to secure his pension.⁷⁹ Other requests were accompanied by the information that sole reliance was being put in the Guises. This was the case with Saint Lux, who told François that without his recommendation to Charles he would have no hope of obtaining the office he desired.⁸⁰ President Longvert was more dramatic and said that after God his only hope was in François.⁸¹

Lorraine-Guise patronage relationships were not always successful. Two examples of a breakdown are recorded in *mémoire* sources and involve accusations of ingratitude. De Thou records an interesting incident outside Paris in January 1565 when the Cardinal de Lorraine met Jean Hurault de Boistaillé.⁸² Boistaillé was then in the service of François de Montmorency and Lorraine accused him of ingratitude and refused to have any dealings with him. This scene illustrates the kind of behaviour that would be expected of a deserted patron and there is evidence to show that Boistaillé had previously been in Charles's *bonnes grâces*. In a letter the Cardinal referred to him as being of his *nourriture* and recommended him.⁸³ Such animosities were not limited to private encounters. The emotions of a broken relationship erupted between the Cardinal de Lorraine and Michel de l'Hôpital, also in 1565. The role of the Guises in the career of l'Hôpital needs elucidation but the two parties clearly had a different idea of what was expected and what was received. Charles called l'Hôpital an *ingrat* twice and said that he had forgotten the benefits he had received from the family. L'Hôpital responded that he had received nothing from them, but that having done much in their service he had gained the post of *maître*

⁷⁸ B.N. ms.fr. 20444:243.

⁷⁹ B.N. ms.fr. 6626:17.

⁸⁰ B.N. ms.Clair. 347:125.

⁸¹ B.N. ms.fr. 20464:223. 17 February 1550.

⁸² Thou III:535.

⁸³ B.N. ms.fr. 4129:51. 30 December 1557.

extraordinaire de requêtes, a post usually given to lackeys.⁸⁴ Tempers flared in a similar way over religious policy in March 1566, although no explicit mention is made to ingratitude in the slanging match that developed.⁸⁵ Religious policy had also caused angry words in 1563.⁸⁶ These two examples could be cited as evidence that frictions were a feature of a patronage structure that had no fixed rules, but which was characterised by episodic and fluid relationships. These cases also reinforce the point that just because a favour is done the recipient cannot be assigned to the patron's clientele.

Some relationships were very successful. They were of longer duration and greater durability, involving several exchanges over a period of time. Continuous interaction led to the development of stronger ties. One such relationship involved the Lorraine-Guises and President Longvert of the Parlement of Paris. This is yet another example of the interconnection of the Parisian urban elite and an aristocratic family, which emerges in the above discussion of administration.⁸⁷ He illustrates the way in which ecclesiastical patronage fitted into the broader picture of benefits and the family network. It is clear that he solicited Charles as well as François, which demonstrates how the brothers worked as a team and made no distinction between ecclesiastical and secular benefits. In 1550 or 1551 Longvert asked François to intercede with Charles for a priory, dependent of Marmoutier, for one of his children, because he hesitated to address the Cardinal directly for fear that he had asked too much of him.⁸⁸ On a further occasion he asked Charles to intercede in the resignation of his office to his son.⁸⁹ In another letter Longvert attested to the continuing nature of Guise patronage by listing the offices he had received by their intervention, which included the advancement of his eldest son.⁹⁰ The reciprocal dimension of the relationship is highlighted in a letter from Longvert to François in which he offered legal help in matters arising from the death and succession of Duc Claude.⁹¹ This letter locks their relationship

⁸⁴ C.S.P.F. IX :123.

⁸⁵ B.N. ms.fr. 3951:100-107.

⁸⁶ Brantôme III :312-3; Condé V:50-52.

⁸⁷ For a provincial comparison see Dewald *The Formation*, particularly :91 - Aumale's links with the Parlement of Rouen.

⁸⁸ B.N. ms.fr. 20464:223. 17 February [1550].

⁸⁹ B.N. ms.fr. 20464:227 and ms.fr. 20541:122. 30 January [1550] and 20 March [1550]

⁹⁰ B.N. ms.fr.20541:83. 26 February [1550/1].

⁹¹ B.N. ms.fr.20543:143 22 June [1550].

into the structure of noble families relying upon the legal and administrative expertise of connections in the urban elite. In this case, unlike that of the Hotmans, there is evidence of how such services were rewarded.

Another example of a long-term relationship is provided by Bernardin Bochetel, French ambassador to “Switzerland” and “Germany”, then Bishop of Rennes. He was a member of a family soaked in the service of the Crown, which also had connections with the Church in preceding generations.⁹² His relationship with Lorraine provides yet another example of the Guise family’s connections with an urban elite of civic and royal office-holders. Bochetel probably owed his advancement to his family background rather than Lorraine’s sponsorship, although his brother Guillaume is said to have been a protégé of Anne de Montmorency.⁹³ The relationship between Charles and Bochetel joins the public and private and shows the blurring of the boundaries of these spheres in the early modern State. The Cardinal’s “business” letters which concern Bochetel’s diplomatic mission included personal messages. The ambassador acted as a channel for the Cardinal’s relationship with foreign Courts, passing on his regards to foreign dignitaries.⁹⁴ Their diplomatic correspondence also reveals other aspects of their relationship, indicating that it was more than the professional one of minister and ambassador. The perspective is one sided - from Charles to Bochetel - but shows some aspects of a patron-client relationship and is useful because it can be seen over a period of time. As is noted above, the tone at the start of the relationship was one of superiority on the part of Charles, who told Bochetel that he had his favour.⁹⁵ By 1560 Charles was clearly working for Bochetel’s interests. Lorraine assured him of as much and of his efforts to defend Bochetel’s reputation at Rome and speed the expedition of the Bulls for his bishopric.⁹⁶ The relationship seems to have entered another stage by 1562 and had apparently become a more equal one. The two exchanged news, one at the Council of Trent and the other from the Empire. This was still a “business” situation, but Charles indicated that there was a more personal content by

⁹² See Roland Mousnier *Le Conseil du Roi de Louis XII à la Révolution* Paris, 1970 : 105-120; and Sutherland *Secretaries* : 19-20.

⁹³ Mousnier *Conseil* : 111; Harding *Anatomy* : 32.

⁹⁴ See especially B.N. ms.Vc Colbert 391:213.

⁹⁵ B.N. ms.Vc Colbert 391:13. 17 November 1562 Lorraine asks Rennes to kiss the hands of the Emperor and the King of the Romans and asks to be recommended to the Duke of Lorraine.

⁹⁶ B.N. ms.Vc Colbert 391:163;169;175.

expressing a wish for their correspondence to continue after his return to France.⁹⁷ At this stage Charles referred to Bochetel as “mon amy domestique”,⁹⁸ a phrase highlighted by historians of patronage as indicating a client link. Lorraine also expressed a wish to “faire plaisir” to Bochetel, who had always been one of his “plus affectionnez [amis]”.⁹⁹

A further example of what is essentially a business relationship having more depth is provided by Sebastien de l’Aubespine. Like Bochetel, his family was firmly linked with the structure of Valois government, and he had a diplomatic career which was rewarded by high ecclesiastical office (the Bishopric of Limoges). Aubespine’s correspondence with Charles shows a more blatant exploitation of diplomatic personnel for private purposes. The Cardinal asked Limoges to gain Philip II’s support for the annexation of a benefice under Philip’s jurisdiction to the Abbey of Saint Remi de Reims.¹⁰⁰ The mixing of business and private matters was reciprocal. In a letter reporting on political affairs Limoges referred to an abbey which Charles had had given to him (Limoges).¹⁰¹ Given this basis it seems justified to describe the expressions of service and references to favours received within Limoges’ letters to Charles (and François) as more genuine than convention. My examples are drawn from François II’s reign, which means that their hyperbolic language needs to be viewed in the light of the sudden increase in power and influence of the Guise brothers.¹⁰² Limoges referred to Guise favour shown to “les miens” as well as to himself and to his family’s sense of obligation and devotion.¹⁰³ Specifically he offered the “très-humble service” of his nephew, who had “passé longtemps ... receu beaucoup de bien et d’honneur de vous”, and hoped that God “luy fera la grace de vous servir”.¹⁰⁴ For himself Limoges promised never to be an *ingrat* as well as promising love, honour and reverence, and offered his body and goods in the service of Charles.¹⁰⁵

⁹⁷ B.N. ms. Vc Colbert 392:203-204. There are also several expressions of *amité*.

⁹⁸ ms. Vc Colbert 392:1.

⁹⁹ ms. Vc Colbert 392:203.

¹⁰⁰ B.N. ms.fr. 6609:67 and ms.fr. 6621:49 (duplicates).

¹⁰¹ B.N. ms.fr. 15874:42 and *Negotiations, lettres et pieces*...:459.

¹⁰² Similar expressions are found in letters at the start of Henri II’s reign when the Guise brothers gained influence - see for example the citations in D. Potter “A Treason Trial...” *English Historical Review* 105 1990 :599 quoting B.N. ms.fr. 20521:1;5.

¹⁰³ *Negotiations, lettres et pieces*...:29;32;50.

¹⁰⁴ *Negotiations, lettres et pieces*... :50.

¹⁰⁵ *Negotiations, lettres et pieces*... :32.

The possession of certain benefices brought the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals direct control of a multitude of minor patronage opportunities. These ranged from the provision of offices or benefices and the hiring of preachers to the giving of pensions. One element of the “seigneurial” rights brought by the temporal of the Lorraine-Guise benefices was the right to nominate or provide to certain benefices within their jurisdiction. Among the records of the spiritual jurisdiction of the Archbishopric of Reims is a detailed, but somewhat confusing, statement of the benefices to which the Archbishop had the right to provide.¹⁰⁶ Another Rémois source documents the benefices in the nomination of the Archbishop, which include sixty four prebends of Notre Dame, nineteen prebends of Saint Symphorien (Reims) and positions in the Archbishop’s chapels and various deaneries.¹⁰⁷ It can be assumed that similar rights belonged to the family’s other benefices, if not necessarily on this scale. For example, Longvert requested a priory dependent of Marmoutier and one of the conditions of the Cardinal de Lorraine’s resignation of the Abbey was that he retained the collation of all its dependent benefices.¹⁰⁸

The Church as an institution provided many positions analogous to those of a secular magnate household. It is useful to identify what degree of power the Lorraine-Guises had to nominate these personnel, whom they selected and whether this spiritual staff could expect promotion. It would be interesting to broaden this analysis and consider whether membership of a Lorraine-Guise abbey was in itself a form of patronage and whether Guise clients or their relatives gained admittance to these houses. However, such a study is beyond the scope of this thesis since it would involve the institutional study of a number of benefices and their surrounding communities. A quicker route was to analyse the genealogical information of known Lorraine-Guise clients and ascertain whether brothers, uncles or sons were professed members of a Lorraine-Guise monastery. From the available material there appears to have been no significant connection of this kind between benefices and family clients.

As I noted, the Archbishop of Reims had considerable power to nominate the Canons and Chapter officials, including the Grand Archdeacon, the Archdeacon of Champagne, *prévôt*, *chantre*, treasurer and *vidame*.¹⁰⁹ Those who filled these positions

¹⁰⁶ A.D.M.(Reims) 2G172/15.

¹⁰⁷ B.M.R. ms. 1766/9.

¹⁰⁸ B.N. ms.fr. 20464:223.

¹⁰⁹ B.M.R. ms.1766/9.

were members of the local elite, whose male relatives held local administrative offices and appear in other local records. There is a clear pattern of promotion between the offices of Archdeacon of Champagne and Grand Archdeacon, with two successive holders of the former, Pierre Remy and François Brûlart, subsequently holding the latter (Pierre Remy had also been *vidame* before becoming Archdeacon). Aside from the obvious prestige of the titles these offices were important within the Archbishopric, as their holders acted as vicars for the Archbishop. Beyond this internal promotion there is little evidence of the promotion of Canons and Chapter officers to higher ecclesiastical office.

This lack of promotion could be explained by the fact that the Lorraine-Guises were already an established dynasty on a national level. They did not go through a process of social climbing in which they took servants and clients with them as they rose. The social status of these agents also needs to be taken into consideration since profitable and prestigious benefices tended to be monopolised by an identified elite, although had the Lorraine-Guises wished to promote their ecclesiastical servants they probably could have broken with such convention. The few Rémois clerics that did move with them onto the national level, such as Nicolas Colin and Pierre Frizon, did so as Guise agents and did not escape their relatively modest station. There were exceptions. The absence of a clear chronology makes it uncertain whether Jacques Belleau was already Abbot of Cheminon or not when he was treasurer of the Chapter of Notre Dame, or quite what role the Lorraine-Guises played in the promotion of this trusted agent. A similar query is attached to the career of Jehan de Piles, another trusted agent of the family, especially during the League, who became Abbot of Orbais in 1579.¹¹⁰ Charles did attempt to obtain a benefice for Pierre Remy, but it was only a priory and outside French jurisdiction,¹¹¹ and therefore a financial rather than an ecclesiastical gift. Pierre Frizon clearly hoped for some form of reward for his services when he asked Louis II to remember him in the collation of benefices, as Louis had promised to do.¹¹²

One group of personnel who require analysis are those who acted as vicars for the

¹¹⁰ Henri III's letter nominating him for this office makes no mention of Guise intercession, but royal letters of this kind never mention the patron behind the nomination. *Lettres Henri III* 4:3565.

¹¹¹ B.N. ms. Dupuy 549:37. Margaret of Austria to Lorraine 5 November 1560 - a reply to a request in favour of Remy to accord him the *mainlevée* and *jouissance* of the priory of Biencourt following the provision Lorraine made as commendator of Marmoutier. She raised difficulty because Remy was not professed of the order.

¹¹² B.N. ms Dupuy 549:91.

absentee Lorraine-Guise ecclesiastics. These clerics fulfilled the spiritual functions of the Abbot or Bishop. It is not clear what kind of reward accompanied this office, but it probably brought the cleric prestige as well as an inevitable financial benefit.¹¹³ A complete prosopography of the Lorraine-Guises's vicars is not possible within this study, but some generalisations can be made. The majority were monks or prominent chapter members of the institution in question, but in a few cases the vicar was a prominent Churchman who had some connection with the benefice. The internal vicars were usually the highest ranking officers of the institution. The Archdeacon of Champagne or the Grand Archdeacon of Notre Dame deputised for the Cardinals at Reims (which reinforces the image of these officers as the chosen intimates of the Archbishop). In the case of an abbey, the vicar would be the Grand-Prior, for example Pierre Bourgeois for Louis II at St. Denis and Arthur d'Amerval at Fécamp. Among the more prominent Churchmen who performed this function were Robert and Philippe de Lenoncourt at Reims for Charles; and Antoine Vialart, Archbishop of Bourges and a former Cluniac monk, for Claude de Guise at Cluny. Audebert Masserel, Louis II's *precepteur*, acted as the administrator of the spiritual of the Archbishopric of Reims until the Cardinal reached a canonical age.¹¹⁴ Louis Guillart and Jacques Belleau also fit into this latter group of prominent vicars. As well as being key members of the Lorraine-Guise administrative structure, as is shown in Chapter 3, they were also agents in the spiritual. This was a natural combination of roles. Like Bochetel and Aubespine, Guillart came from a family of Parlementaires and royal servants. There may have been some connection between his brother André and the Lorraine-Guises and his nephew, Charles Bishop of Chartres, appeared with Louis in a list of Charles's household in 1561.¹¹⁵ Belleau's origins are not known. The absence of supporting material again makes it difficult to determine whether the Lorraine-Guises played an active role in the furtherance of their careers.

The clerical personnel of the Court and the clerical servants of the royal family could expect promotion and it is worth considering whether similar opportunities existed for the personal and intimate clerical servants of leading aristocratic families - their

¹¹³ Marlot :303 states that Jacques Belleau received a pension of 200 *livres* for episcopal functions. To receive this pension Belleau had to obtain a proper title, Bishop of Tiberiarde. Cocquault :241.

¹¹⁴ A.N.G. 13 Salviati :451.

¹¹⁵ Mousnier *Conseil* :231-244. B.N. ms.fr.22436:3 It is interesting to note that Louis's move into the Church established a minor dynasty.

confessors and almoners. In theory those closest to the distributors of patronage would be the obvious first choice for promotion. Unfortunately the sources are rather reluctant to identify those who directed the consciences of the Lorraine-Guise family. The available information provides a picture of minor scale reward and protection rather than promotion to significant office. This may be a result of the status of the confessors: if they were drawn from regular religious orders they may not have been in a position to seek reward on a major scale. The Jesuits who were closely connected with the Lorraine-Guises and who acted as their confessors gained no personal advancement for their service.¹¹⁶ The family's sponsorship of the Jesuits (see Chapter 5) was the reason for this relationship rather than a result of it. Pierre Doré, a Dominican, was confessor to Duc Claude and Antoinette de Bourbon and delivered the *oraison panegyrique* for Claude. In 1552 he wrote to Duc François requesting an exemption for his religious house on the basis of his service. He also stated that he was soliciting the Cardinal de Lorraine via the King's confessor and the Cardinal de Lenoncourt.¹¹⁷ Lorraine had been interested in the career of René Benoît, confessor to Mary Stuart, but after his return from Scotland Benoît seems not to have maintained his connections with the family.¹¹⁸

A further set of letters shows the support of the Lorraine-Guises for individuals in the absence of surviving letters of solicitation. One example of this has already been cited with Charles's recommendation of de la Feraudière to the Duc de Guise. Other examples are drawn from *série M* of the Archives Nationales, which contains letters from the family to the Faculty of Theology in Paris. The Cardinal de Lorraine requested that Augustin Bullot be admitted as *lecture des sentences*.¹¹⁹ Similarly he asked that Jacques Berson be admitted to the theology course and shown favour "pour lamour de moy".¹²⁰ A pension list for 1570 shows a payment of twenty five *livres* to Frère Jacques Berson by the Cardinal de

¹¹⁶ Martin *Henry III and the Jesuit Politicians* Geneva, 1973.

¹¹⁷ B.N. ms.fr. 20514:96. The King's confessor at the time was Jean Hennuyer, who was probably a Guise associate - see below.

¹¹⁸ Pasquier.

¹¹⁹ A.N. M71:158. This was part of the programme of study for the priesthood. After many years of study the student proposed a doctrinal thesis and brought forward authorities for and against, such as Scriptures, Councils and Canons - Larissa Taylor *Soldiers of Christ* Oxford, 1992 :41-2. Alternatively Lorraine may have wished Bullot to lecture on the sentences (of Peter Lombard).

¹²⁰ A.N. M71:166 Charles Cardinal de Lorraine to the *maitres* of the Faculty of Sorbonne 9 November 1565 (thanks to M. Armstrong for this reference and sight of the document). Berson had previously gained which doctor were required teach as part the University curriculum. the intervention of Henri de Montmorency (A.N. M71:167 28 May 1560), who refers to Berson as "appartient a aucuns mes specaulx amis" and later of Charles IX (A.N. M71:132 30 November 1565).

Lorraine.¹²¹ Another letter from Lorraine to the Dean and Doctors of the Faculty in favour of Pierre Lenfant provides a useful insight into the structure of patronage. Pierre was the brother of Michel Lenfant, one of the Cardinal's secretaries, and had previously gained entry to the theology course through Lorraine's patronage. As Pierre had now completed the course Charles wished to favour and please Michel and acknowledge Pierre's capacity, by requesting his reception at the reading of the *sentences*. Charles apparently saw this as a completion of his patronage, asking for this favour "Affin que ceste grace que je luy ay desia procurer ne luy demeure Inutile".¹²²

Another group of possible clients are those whose career patterns tend to indicate some form of favour or association, although there is no evidence of these individuals soliciting or obtaining Lorraine-Guise support. This group includes the clerical personnel of the Court who gained or retained their position whilst the Guises enjoyed their greatest influence.¹²³ Radical changes occurred in this personnel on the accessions of Henri II and François II, which were clearly political. In the second case, at least, it would be reasonable to assume that the Guises took the opportunity to promote their "clients". An analysis of the Court's clerics would make a fascinating study in itself. Placement at Court was a valuable piece of patronage which talent and ambition could utilise, as the number of promotions from the Court's ranks shows. However, the absence of any members of the Lorraine-Guise family, or their intimate associates, among the Court's ecclesiastical personnel would tend to negate any suspicions that such offices were used in an attempt to influence the monarch.¹²⁴

Henri II's *premier aumonier* from 1553, Jean Hennuyer, had taught Charles de Lorraine at the Collège de Navarre and had been introduced to Court when Charles gained power and favour. In the same year Hennuyer also became the King's confessor, having performed the same function for Catherine de Medici. Guise favour is shown in the fact that he kept his position on the accession of François II and was considered to have some

¹²¹ B.N. ms.Dupuy 591:163.

¹²² A.N. M71:157.

¹²³ The information for this paragraph is drawn mainly from Oroux *Histoire ecclésiastique de la cour de France* Paris, 1777.

¹²⁴ The Cardinal de Lorraine's enthusiasm to present Auger to Henri III's service is an exception to this, but Auger's subsequent devotion to the royal cause shows that he was independent of Guise influence. See Martin *Jesuit Politicians*.

credit with Charles in the patronage request of Doré.¹²⁵ Later in the reign (1556) Louis de Brezé became *grandaumonier*, he was the son of Henri's mistress (disgraced when Diane fell from favour on the King's death), the brother-in-law of Claude Duc d'Aumale and several of his female kin had a connection with St. Pierre de Reims (see Chapter 8 and Appendix One Table 4).

Lorraine-Guise influence shows itself at the start of François II's reign. Hennuyer and the *maître de la chapelle musique*, Jean de la Rochefoucauld, kept their offices. The King's confessor was a monk from the Cardinal de Lorraine's Abbey of St. Denis, Crespin de Brichanteau. His ability as a preacher had attracted Charles's attention and favour and after taking him to Rome in 1555 the Cardinal attached him to the Dauphin. Another obvious Guisard candidate was the new *maître de l'Oratoire*, Louis Guillart. All, except Brichanteau, who died just before the King, kept their positions after François II's death - which in itself raises some interesting questions.

The Court is only one of the institutions which one might expect the Lorraine-Guises to have influenced and used as a source of patronage. This element of the dynasty's strategy can only be elucidated through research into the institutions themselves. Relevant material exists, as has been shown, in the extant records of the Faculty of Theology of Paris. The absence of anything approaching a detailed *inventaire* for many institutions and the vast scope of the possible field of study precludes a more thorough random search. The Lorraine-Guise correspondence did not suggest any areas of investigation.¹²⁶ Three areas which it might be interesting to explore are the Chapter of Notre Dame de Paris, the personnel of Saint Germain l'Auxerrois and the Sainte Chapelle. For example, is there any significance in the prominent positions of Jacques Belleau and then Louis de Brezé in this last institution?

The tenure record of the Bishopric of Avranches raises some interesting questions and may suggest that the family could control certain benefices without occupying them. In general there was no significant correlation between the areas where the Lorraine-Guises enjoyed political power and the placement of "clients" in corresponding bishoprics. However, four successive Bishops of Avranches, from 1561 to beyond the end of this

¹²⁵ Oroux :108-110; B.N. ms.fr. 20514:96.

¹²⁶ Megan Armstrong's research on the Capucins in France (University of Toronto) has not uncovered evidence of Lorraine-Guise sponsorship for individual Capucins or communities beyond that noted above.

study, had significant Guise links. Antoine Le Cirier (1561-1575) was a Guise agent¹²⁷ and his correspondence shows that he considered himself to be their client. In letters to Duc François and to Anne d'Este he said that the Cardinal de Lorraine had gained the promise of the office of a *conseiller* in the Parlement for him from the King, which he now wanted them to safeguard.¹²⁸ His brother François was also a family agent, acting as *procureur* for Anne, Duc Henri and Charles de Lorraine-Mayenne.¹²⁹ Antoine was succeeded as Bishop by a further brother, Augustus Le Cirier. The Le Ciriers were another Parisian bourgeois family. In 1583 the Bishopric passed into the hands of Georges Péricard, brother of Duc Henri's secretary.¹³⁰ He was replaced on his death by his brother François. The Lorraine-Guise ecclesiastics never held any benefices in the diocese of Avranches, but Normandy was an area where the family had influence. There is no suggestion why this bishopric should have been important to them.

Nicolas Boucher seems to have owed his rise completely to the favour of the Lorraine family.¹³¹ His case is interesting because it shows that there was a shared patronage policy as well as a shared dynastic policy in the wider family. Boucher came from humble Champenois origins, but having gained a Parisian education he was chosen by Charles de Lorraine for a position at his University at Reims. From this point the Cardinal seems to have supported his career as an academic, giving him important roles within his institutions. It seems almost as if he were the Cardinal's minister for education. Charles's confidence in him is reflected by the choice of Boucher as tutor to two Lorraine princes (variously identified as Charles (II) de Lorraine-Vaudemont / François de Lorraine-Guise / Louis II). It was this position which seems to have taken Boucher into the sphere of the main ducal house. In 1574 he accompanied Charles (II) de Lorraine-Vaudemont to the University of Pont-à-Mousson where he also supervised the studies of Charles (III) de Lorraine (the son of the Duke).¹³² His move into the Lorraine sphere was signified in 1581 by the resignation of his canonicate in the Chapter of Reims, which the Cardinal had given

¹²⁷ Eliane Deronne "Les origines des chanoines des Notre-Dame de Paris de 1450 a 1550" *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 18 1971.

¹²⁸ B.N. ms.fr. 20544:70 and :75 both first June 1553.

¹²⁹ A.N. M.C. VIII 380:395.

¹³⁰ Valois *Histoire de la Ligue* Paris, 1914 I:266.

¹³¹ The majority of this paragraph is drawn from B.M.R. ms. 1648 *Recueil des notes historiques de Jean Lacourt* :15-19.

¹³² Boucher dedicated his *Coniunction des Lettres et Armes...* to these two princes.

him in 1565, to take one in Verdun, where his pupil Charles II was Bishop. When Charles II died Boucher slotted into the family's dynastic strategy and held the Bishopric for the family. His humble origins may say something about the power of the Lorraine-Guises to appoint whomever they sponsored, whatever their social background. The episcopacy was more open to the socially mobile during this period and Boucher's academic credentials made him a suitable candidate, but this is still a notable promotion.

The Ecclesiastical Network

There was a group of leading ecclesiastics who had a long-term relationship with the Lorraine-Guises, particularly the Cardinal de Lorraine, and who can be said to have formed the core of the social network. They were the closest and most sustained contacts in the lateral group. The Cardinal de Lorraine's interest in Church affairs (see Chapter 6) involved him in an international network of theologians, which can be compared with the noble networks described by Neuschel. This was the environment in which the Cardinal operated, so these were the people with whom he had contacts. For example, Claude d'Espence was Lorraine's trusted advisor in theological matters and they shared similar ideas. He had entered Jean de Lorraine's household as Charles's tutor and then continued in Charles's household.¹³³ The evidence for this group is drawn not from letters of solicitation, but from references to "friendships" and the exchange of benefices. There is no suggestion of a hierarchy within this structure and no evidence of the members of this inner network requesting benefits for third parties. This may simply be a problem of source material.

The exchange of benefices was in itself a form of patronage, with the original benefice holder providing position and revenues for his successor by resignation or exchange. This does not appear to have been a method of promotion, but rather a means of advancing those already established in Church careers. The Lorraine-Guises were recipients of this kind of patronage as well as donors. There were two kinds of "clients" in this form of exchange. Firstly there were those who received only one benefice from a member of the family and apparently had no other close contacts with them. This was the

¹³³ Evennett :275-6;3-4; Espence's name is not among the ecclesiastics listed as members of Lorraine's household in 1561, but there is a Sieur d'Espence listed in another section, which also includes Cheminon - B.N. ms.fr.22436:3.

case with Joachim d'Availloles, who gained Montier-Neuf by cession of Charles de Lorraine in 1552, and Paul de Mesnil to whom Louis I ceded Fleury in 1571. The second group are those who can be considered as associates of the family and those who received more than one benefice from their hands. The benefices they received were ones which it might have been in the Lorraine-Guise dynastic and personal interest to retain. This was possibly a holding exercise, as Beaucaire's tenure of Metz suggests. However, Beaucaire held the Bishopric beyond the point at which Louis I could have taken his place, and these other benefices do not appear to reenter the family at a later date. These Churchmen seem to be the inner core of the Lorraine-Guise ecclesiastical network, although I would hesitate to label them clients. The examples concern involvement with Charles rather than with his brother or nephew because it is difficult to identify with whom they were associating.

Nicolas Psaume is the least prominent of this intimate network. His relationship with Charles only involved the exchange of two benefices. Jean de Lorraine gave Psaume the title of Bishop of Verdun in 1548 while giving Charles the revenues, and probably in exchange Psaume ceded his family's Abbey of St. Paul de Verdun to Charles in the same year.¹³⁴ However, their relationship was clearly more complex and long-lasting since Psaume was named as one of the executors of Charles's testament.¹³⁵ His membership of the ecclesiastical network included acting as an agent in the ecclesiastical affairs of the family. He performed episcopal functions at Reims during Charles's absence and took possession of Metz for Charles in June 1550 and for Louis I in October 1568.¹³⁶ The reports of Jean Vetus to the Cardinal also indicate that there ^{was} ~~is~~ a personal element involved in the relationship.¹³⁷

A very similar picture emerges for Jean de la Rochefoucauld, another of Charles's executors. The Cardinal resigned Marmoutier to him in 1562 with the reservation of 10,000 *livres* pension and collation rights,¹³⁸ probably after its ransacking by Huguenots. It is possible that Robert de Lenoncourt's transfer of Cormery to Rochefoucauld in 1557

¹³⁴ *Gallia* 13.

¹³⁵ Various references including Marlot:405.

¹³⁶ Marlot :405; *Gallia* 13; Calmet III:37;44 - he also presented the Bulls of Charles's coadjutorship to the Chapter of Metz in April 1548.

¹³⁷ B.N. ms.Dupuy 544.

¹³⁸ Anselme II; *Gallia* 9; Marlot :352 states the pension was only 6,000 *livres*.

involved Charles, from whom Lenoncourt had received it in 1550.¹³⁹ Rochefoucauld was also Louis I's vicar at Tournus until 1569, when he was succeeded by his nephew. It seems very likely that Rochefoucauld owed his Court position (*maître de la Chapelle musique*), at least in part, to Guise influence. As Bergin shows in his study of François de la Rochefoucauld,¹⁴⁰ the family enjoyed Court patronage from various sources, which included François de Guise and Anne d'Este. It would appear that for Jean Charles de Lorraine was a benevolent friend and patron.

A slightly more complex relationship developed between Robert de Lenoncourt and Charles. Both came from prestigious Lorraine families which had focused their ecclesiastical interests at Reims. It is an interesting association because through exchanges Robert allowed Charles to consolidate his position at Reims and replace the Lenoncourt influence there. He was compensated by the cession of Cormery (in direct exchange for the Abbey of Saint Remi de Reims) and the Bishopric of Metz. Some extant letters from Robert to Charles from the 1550s show that Lenoncourt considered himself as Lorraine's client. He called himself Charles's "tres humble serviteur" in 1553 and asks for an extension of the pension he received from Metz or the Abbey of Bonnefont de Comminges and for the Archbishopric of Sens, assuring Charles of his gratitude and perpetual servitude.¹⁴¹

The Lenoncourt family are believed to have been attached to the house of Lorraine for a long time and to have rendered them great service,¹⁴² but this relationship seems to have broken down with the move into the French sphere. A dispute over the *comté* of Nanteuil in 1560 was probably responsible. Robert's nephew, Philippe, looked to Antoine de Navarre for protection when he began proceedings against the Guises, and remained closely associated with him.¹⁴³ Later he attached himself to the Crown. Before this dispute he had received Montier en Der (a dynastic possession) from the Cardinal de Lorraine, being succeeded there by Louis II.

François de Beaucaire's case provides more evidence of a sustained and intimate connection with the Lorraine-Guises. Beaucaire seems to have fitted neatly into the

¹³⁹ *Gallia* 14; This transaction could well have involved a reserved right of regression on the part of Charles, who then handed the abbey on to Jean, which would not necessarily show up in the sources.

¹⁴⁰ *Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld* London, 1987

¹⁴¹ B.N. ms.fr. 20464:5;7;9.

¹⁴² Thou II:689 for example.

¹⁴³ Thou III:13;96;137 and IV:491; Davila I:71; Philippe claimed that Duc François had bought the *comté* from his mother on disadvantageous conditions - Thou II:689.

Lorraine family's ecclesiastical strategy by occupying the Bishopric of Metz from 1555 to 1568. Charles handed it over to him following his regression after Lenoncourt, but the Cardinal retained a great degree of control.¹⁴⁴ The Bishopric passed back into family hands via Louis I, who compensated Beaucaire extensively with the Abbeys of St. Germain d'Auxerre, Regny and Braine. Beaucaire also appears in a list of the members of the Cardinal de Lorraine's household in 1561¹⁴⁵ and apparently lent Charles money.¹⁴⁶ François and his brother, Jean de Beaucaire de Puyguillon, were both connected with the administration of Mary Stuart's French affairs.¹⁴⁷ The family connection was reinforced by the marriage of their niece, Marie de Luxembourg, to Philippe-Emmanuel de Lorraine-Vaudemont.

Nicolas de Pellevé was truly a Lorraine-Guise client and creature. He did not come from an established ecclesiastical dynasty - it was only in his generation and subsequently that the family moved into this area.¹⁴⁸ Contemporary sources say that he owed first his secular office and then ecclesiastical career to the Guises and Charles de Lorraine in particular.¹⁴⁹ Like his colleagues at the centre of the Lorraine-Guise ecclesiastical network he received benefices directly from their hands, most significantly the Archbishopric of Sens in 1563. Pellevé is cited as a member of Charles's household and was apparently a member of his *conseil* who could act as his vicar.¹⁵⁰ Chapter 3 also makes passing reference to his signature on acts concerning the administration of the temporal. His apparent intimacy with the family and his activities in Rome as an agent for the League clearly raise questions about the connection between the family and the party. This theme has been addressed above and it suffices to say here that Pellevé was acting for the Guise family's interests and was part of their strand of the League movement.

¹⁴⁴ *Gallia* 13. For Charles's control see *C.S.P.F.* 9:1280 and B.N. ms.Dupuy 335:51 and 550:20 in which Charles and Beaucaire jointly produce and sign documents concerning the temporal of the Bishopric.

¹⁴⁵ B.N. ms.fr.22436:3. As well as listing household servants this includes a number of dignitaries, such as the Bishops of Amiens (Pellevé), Senlis (Guillart), Autun (Marcilly-Cipierre), Chartres (Ch. Guillart), and the Sieurs d'Espence, Hangest, Vasse, Salles, and the Abbot of Cheminon.

¹⁴⁶ A.N. M.C. VIII 373:4 Charles states that he owes Beaucaire 15,000 *francs* for loans made to him (Charles) for his affairs.

¹⁴⁷ François was one of her *gens de conseil* - B.N. ms.Dupuy 591:168; Jean was her *premier maitre d'hôtel* - Greengrass "Mary, Dowager Queen of France":176.

¹⁴⁸ Anselme II : His brother Robert was Bishop of Pamiers and four sisters were nuns (see Chapter 8).

¹⁴⁹ *C.S.P.F.* 10 :2561; Marlot :440; Thou I:239.

¹⁵⁰ B.N. ms.fr. 22436:3; ms.Dupuy 335:52 - Pellevé signed and sealed an act concerning the bishopric of Metz as vicar counsellor and *maitre ordinaire des requêtes* at the Cardinal's hôtel.

CONCLUSION

The information furnished by a study of the Lorraine-Guise patronage network involving the Church provides some useful conclusions about noble society in the civil war period. We have seen how Church patronage, in the form of the provision of Church office and the provision of office by Churchmen, fitted into the general network. Church patronage was solicited by secular clients and from secular patrons just as secular patronage was solicited from ecclesiastical patrons. Although there is not enough evidence to add significantly to our knowledge of the Lorraine-Guise client network, it is clear that secular clients, such as Longvert, could expect Church patronage as part of the same package, drawing upon links established in the secular sphere. It is also clear that Church patronage and Church patrons were an integral part of the family's resources.

This chapter also illuminated elements of sixteenth-century noble culture. There seem to have been various types of client relationship, those with "inferiors" who were granted minor offices, and those with an "elite". The existence of this latter group favours the view of noble society outlined by Neuschel. The provision of patronage did not imply a hierarchical power structure, it demonstrated the superior status of the patron, which was acknowledged by the social group. The available evidence does not demonstrate whether there were practical implications of this recognition. The Lorraine-Guise Cardinals were part of a linear network of mutual recognition. At the core of this network major benefices were exchanged or passed on in transactions which imply equality rather than debt. The language used in the correspondence of the period and its content reflects this culture. Ties are reinforced by the use of formulas, less intimate ones for those with whom the writers had frequent and assured contact, more expressive for those with whom he had to confirm his relationship. By the use of these conventions and the identities of those with whom they are corresponding the Lorraine-Guise ecclesiastics are seen to be members of this society and culture.

Chapter Five

PATRONAGE: PART TWO

I now want to focus briefly upon a more general and traditional definition of patronage. This is placed in a different section because it represents a shift from the kinds of interpersonal relationships discussed in the previous chapter. This is an analysis of institutional patronage by which members of the elite sponsored the cause of the Arts, education and religious orders. Such sponsorship did lead to personal connections, but of a different quality from those experienced by members of the networks described above and from the individual approaching a benefactor. However, similarities can be drawn between the workings of the political patronage system just described and the approach of an individual, especially in the case of an artist, to one of the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals for protection and advancement of their cause - which the Cardinals' influence put them in a position to provide. Questions need to be asked about the nature of the relationship between the patron and the institutions, and more importantly the individuals within them. Such patronage clearly could provide the benefactor with prestige, but were there any ways in which a sense of gratitude and obligation could be used to the advantage of that benefactor? In the case of educational institutions the individuals who benefited from Lorraine-Guise patronage then left the structure and went out into society. Unfortunately the scope of my research does not allow me to provide answers to these issues, but it is important to acknowledge their existence and table them as a starting point for further investigation.

The Lorraine-Guise patronage which is discussed in this section connects with other themes discussed in this thesis. Firstly, patronage of the Arts was part of the aristocratic culture into which I wish to insert high ranking ecclesiastics, and it also reflects upon the wealth of the Cardinals and the expression of their prestige. The sponsorship of new religious orders and the foundation of educational institutions is an essential part of the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals' immersion in the environment of the Catholic and Counter Reformations, which is discussed, with reference back to this section, in Chapter 6.

The sources examined did not lead in the direction of a thorough analysis of patronage of the Arts by the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals and this is a different area of study and possibly a topic in itself. However, it is a part of the Cardinal de Lorraine's career

which is commented upon and one which must be acknowledged to give a fuller flavour of the culture of which the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals formed an active part. The nobility played an important role in the development of the French Renaissance. Their wealth was applied to the acquisition of the artifacts generated by the new culture, which they then displayed as a means of enhancing their prestige.¹ The Cardinal de Lorraine's enthusiasm for such activity seems to have echoed that which he showed in so many other areas of his life. When he returned from the conclave which elected Julius III in 1550 he brought with him twenty five cases of marble and bronze statues.² His patronage of the Arts and artists was inherited from his uncle, Cardinal Jean de Lorraine, and was an interest which he shared with contemporary ecclesiastics such as Cardinal François de Tournon.³

Cardinal Jean had been a renowned patron of writers in particular and this patronage formed part of the inheritance which passed to his nephew with ecclesiastical titles, with Charles inheriting the role of protector of certain individuals on his uncle's death.⁴ The younger Cardinal de Lorraine appears to have surrounded himself with a group of writers and artists (focused on his château at Meudon) which mirrors the circle of theologians and the network of members of the French elite which he collected in the ecclesiastical and political spheres of his life (see Chapters 4 and 6). His position as a benefactor is shown in the dedication of books to him, such as those produced by the Hellenists (those of the school of Guillaume Budé, such as Turnèbe, Daurat and Danès). He also provided support for Ronsard, whom he had met at the Collège de Navarre, Joachim du Bellay, Baif, and Rabelais, whom he provided with a cure at Meudon. Ronsard was one of the Cardinal's companions at table and had his own lodging at Meudon, which led to part of the château being called Ronsard's tower. To continue the theme of multiple patrons, Rabelais also received support from other Churchmen. Cardinal Châtillon defended him against the Sorbonne and Cardinal du Bellay attached him to his following as a doctor. There is no suggestion that Rabelais's presumed stay at Metz as a stipendiary doctor had anything to do with Lorraine.⁵ Clearly this kind of patronage could be very

¹ Wolfe *The Conversion of Henri IV* London, 1993 :68.

² Evennett : 12; Romier *Les origines* :47.

³ See Collignon *Le Mécénat du Cardinal Jean de Lorraine* Paris, 1910 and François Tournon.

⁴ Collignon : 152.

⁵ Cauly *Histoire du Collège des Bons-Enfants de l'Université de Reims* Reims, 1885 :257-258. Guillemin "Influence de Charles de Lorraine sur le mouvement philosophique et littéraire de son temps" *T.A.N.R.* 6 1848-49 :66-82. Abel *Rabelais Médecin stipendié de la cité de Metz* Metz, 1870

useful in the production of pro-Guise publicity. A more thorough and extensive study would be necessary to trace the extent to which sponsorship of an artist produced politically favourable works, but in 1559 Joachim du Bellay produced an Italian sonnet which introduced the image of a conjunction of arms and letters which became a theme in the hagiography of the Lorraine-Guise family.⁶

The Cardinal de Lorraine's concern for display and the physical expression of his prestige and status, which is discussed throughout this thesis, also meant that he patronised craftsmen. These include the unnamed architects responsible for the design and construction of the château which Lorraine had built at Meudon. One might even wish to extend the discussion of artistic patronage to the craftsmen who realised his designs and furnished this and the Cardinals' other residences.

Education

The scholars who have studied the Cardinal de Lorraine in greatest detail and those who eulogise him rather than following the attacks of Protestant propagandists gleefully catalogue his contributions to the wider community.⁷ A major element in this benevolence was the foundation of educational establishments, principally at Reims, and his continued (financial) interest in them. These foundations not only addressed the concerns aroused by the emergence of dynamic heresy in France, but also opened up a new level of patronage opportunities in the form of the appointment of teaching staff, which the Cardinal (and also Louis II as Archbishop of Reims) controlled in the case of the University of Reims.⁸

The patronage of education at Reims focused on the foundation of the University and the reform and development of the Collège des Bons-Enfants as a basis for the structure of the University.⁹ The existence of a University at Reims was due solely to the efforts of the Cardinal de Lorraine, who solicited for its foundation before the Pope and

⁶ Balsamo "Cultures italiennes dans la France du seizième siècle: quelque médiations rémoises" *T.A.N.R.* 165 1986 :29. The most prominent example of this theme is Nicolas Boucher's *La conionction ...*

⁷ Most notably Marlot and Guillemin *Lorraine* Chapter 21.

⁸ Among the rights of the Archbishop of Reims in the Bull of Foundation which is printed in Varin *Archives législatives de la ville de Reims* Part II *Statutes* vol.II Paris,1847.

⁹ My main source for the history of both and the relationship of the Cardinal with them is Cauly.

Henri II.¹⁰ Charles was prompted to this campaign through a desire to enhance the Archbishopric's prestige, since other, less prestigious dioceses, such as Montpellier and Toulouse, already had their own universities. A foundation in Champagne provided a focus within the province and meant that students did not have to leave the region to complete their educations. This objective (as well as financial needs) is reflected in a clause of the Bull of Foundation which required all the abbots of the diocese to send a quota of monks proportional to the size of their house to the University. The fact that this prestige and focus upon Reims would reflect upon the Archbishop (and the Lorraine-Guise family in general) is shown by the Cardinal's attribution of his coat of arms to the University. The foundation augmented the power and authority of the Archbishop (see Chapter 7), since the prelate controlled its statutes and had jurisdiction over it. Similar powers were given to the Cardinal de Lorraine in respect of the University of Pont-à-Mousson where the Bulls of Foundation gave him jurisdiction and powers of administration.¹¹

The actual establishment of the Faculties of Arts, Medicine, Law and Theology was a gradual process. The first to be founded was the Faculty of Arts, which the Cardinal de Lorraine built upon the Collège des Bons-Enfants, where he also seems to have sown the seeds for the Faculty of Theology by attaching four secular priests to the Collège's chapel of St. Patrice with the title of *boursiers*. Lorraine diverted financial resources from his Archbishopric and from his secular lands for the support of the officers and students at the Collège. Five hundred *livres* came from the temporal of the Archbishopric, made up from the revenues of thirteen *patronages* and various tithes and *surcens*, whilst a *rente* of one thousand *livres* a year was assigned on Chevreuse and Dampierre.¹² (Ecclesiastical revenues were also used to finance Pont-à-Mousson).¹³ When new resources were required the Cardinal de Lorraine provided further gifts, such as the acquisition and donation of a house in 1565 and two more in 1570.¹⁴ The growth of the institution can be seen in the addition of further *bourses* and the financing of a Professor of Theology in a

¹⁰ The Papal Bull of January 1548 was quickly followed by Letters Patent in the following March, which were registered in the Grand Conseil in September. Opposition from the Parlement of Paris delayed final registration until January 1549 and then with reservations and additions. Cauly :198 and Varin.

¹¹ Fouqueray I:606-607. The information for this institution is more limited and therefore it is less prominent in this discussion.

¹² Cauly :224;226 and Marlot :322.

¹³ Fouqueray I:606.

¹⁴ Cauly :233.

second act of donation in March 1559.¹⁵ The Faculty of Theology had been established with the appointment of two teachers in 1554, whilst the Faculty of Law was not organised until after 1568. Although the Faculty of Medicine was erected in 1550 it did not become a real presence until the start of the seventeenth century.¹⁶

Unfortunately there are insufficient surviving records of the Collège and University to allow for a thorough study of personnel, but some brief generalisations can be made from the material which does exist. Note is already made in the earlier chapter that Jean Boucher and Nicolas Boucher (apparently unrelated) both received the patronage of the Cardinal de Lorraine, which also took the form of a position in the University. Jean taught humanities and philosophy there before becoming rector in 1575, whilst in one of his many positions within the Cardinal's educational structure, Nicolas was the first principal of the Collège.¹⁷ There is a list of the rectors of the University reproduced by Cauly in Appendix H of his book, but it does not provide information on their origins and backgrounds. Several were canons of Notre Dame de Reims, although a prebend might have accompanied the granting of the post. Two rectors who were also canons, Jean Blavier and Pierre Wiet, were Doctors of the University of Paris. The priest-fellows of the Chapel of St. Patrice had to be Bachelors of Theology or hold a Masters degree from the University of Reims or another university.¹⁸

Charles de Lorraine was the first French bishop to establish a seminary in line with the resolutions of the Council of Trent.¹⁹ Whilst he was at Rome in September 1563 Charles obtained Pius IV's permission for the erection of a seminary at Reims for boys under the age of twelve, who were to be trained as clerics. Those without resources were to be supported as part of the foundation, whilst those who could were to pay for their education. On his return to Reims in 1564 Charles explained his project to the Chapter, who approved and promised to contribute to its establishment. However, the actual date of the seminary's establishment is unclear. Members of the seminary are mentioned as taking part in a procession at the end of the provincial council of 1564, but most sources cite the date 1567. In 1566 and 1567 Lorraine acquired various parts of a building in the Rue du

¹⁵ Cauly :228-229.

¹⁶ Cauly :269.

¹⁷ Lecouvert :218. Marlot :322.

¹⁸ Cauly :237.

¹⁹ See especially Hanneke "Le Premier des séminaires établis en France, à Reims en 1564" *T.A.N.R.* 158

Barbâtre where he installed the seminary in 1567.²⁰ The Cardinal made a number of financial arrangements for the establishment, including a proposal for the annexation of two prebends of the Cathedral, one for the support of the community, the other for the salary of the master. He planned to attach various revenues from the Archepiscopal temporal to the seminary, but died before this could take place.²¹ Louis II continued his uncle's sponsorship of the seminary. He decided that it was too far from the Cathedral and moved it to buildings near the Collège des Bons-Enfants in 1587.

The Cardinal de Lorraine's patronage of students was not limited to the support of the institutions which he established. Between six and twelve monks from the Abbey of St. Denis en France were traditionally supported at the expense of the Abbatial mense to follow a university course and take a degree. Therefore revenue can be expected to have been taken from the Cardinal's resources (and presumably those of Louis II) for this purpose. At Cluny the Cardinal de Lorraine used part of the Abbatial mense, the priory of Aulnay-lès-Bondy, to finance ten students, who he would nominate, to study in Paris.²² It would also be reasonable to speculate that the other abbeys held by the Lorraine-Guises had similar arrangements. In the case of St. Denis the monks returned to the Abbey after their education and usually provided the administrative personnel of the Abbey.²³

Printing

The introduction of printing into Reims by the Cardinal de Lorraine was associated with his promotion of education and educational establishments.²⁴ The first evidence of printing in the town occurs in the early 1550s, but a permanent press was not established until the arrival of Nicolas Bacquenois from Lyon. It is clear that his presence can be attributed to the Cardinal de Lorraine. It is possible that Bacquenois had been sent to Lyon

²⁰ A.D.M.(Reims) 2G178/1 & 2.

²¹ Marlot :413.

²² Charvin. The Prior of St. Martin des Champs also engaged to provide a thousand *livres* a year to support ten students drawn from his dependencies, which required the annexation of a priory and other priories were designated to each provide a hundred *livres* for the support of students.

²³ Ayzac :48.

²⁴ This paragraph is based upon Jadart "Notice sur Nicolas Bacquenois, le premier imprimeur de Reims (1552-1560)" *T.A.N.R.* 85 1891 :181-248. This article was duplicated and built upon by Fontaine "Les Imprimeurs rémois du XVI^e siècle" *T.A.N.R.* 165 and "Jean de Foigny, imprimeur à Reims de 1561 à 1586" *T.A.N.R.*168 1989.

by the Cardinal to learn the printing trade, but it seems more likely that he caught Lorraine's attention as the Cardinal returned from Rome via Lyon in 1550.²⁵ Bacquenois clearly considered himself to be the Cardinal's client and dedicated a number of his productions to the Guise family.²⁶ He published on a wide variety of subjects, specifically catering for the academic market. Perhaps surprisingly, he published books on jurisprudence and medicine before he had produced liturgical works, even though the latter were in greater demand. He published the work of canons of Reims, monks of different orders and authors who were connected with the notables of Reims or the Lorraine family. Among those whose works he published were Pierre Doré (confessor and ordinary preacher of Antoinette de Bourbon), Jean Vetus (Lorraine's secretary and a familiar of Psaume) and Claude de Saintes (a member of Charles's ecclesiastical network).²⁷ The connections of these authors show that publishing was in itself related to patronage, although such local associations would have ensured a ready audience. The printer's place within the Lorraine-Guise network described in the above chapter is shown by his move from the patronage of Charles to the protection of Nicolas Psaume. Bacquenois transferred his business to Verdun in 1560-1561 and was succeeded in Reims by his son-in-law Jean de Foigny. Psaume's patronage also included the granting of the office of receiver general of the Bishopric and *Comté* of Verdun.

Religious Orders

I hoped to find more evidence of Lorraine-Guise support for religious orders, such as donations to their houses in the form of *rentes*. However, the sources were once more disappointing. Whilst the notarial acts of the Minutier Central which were consulted contained occasional references to this kind of gift, none involved the Lorraine-Guise

²⁵ This is suggested by the dedication of Bacquenois' *Coustumier* of 1553: "retournant d'Italie et passant par Lyon, me commandastes, comme à vostre subject, à vous obligé et appartenant naturellement [Bacquenois was originally from Champagne], que pour vous faire service et aux vostres..." quoted Jadart 190.

²⁶ The works are listed by Jadart :221ff. They include *Coustumier de Reims* Reims, 1553 dedicated to the Cardinal; *Le livre des Précautions et forme de prier Dieu* Reims 1555 to Antoinette Abbess of Fontevrault; and *Le seconde livre du Recueil des Sermons...* Reims, 1560 dedicated to Renée de Lorraine.

²⁷ Doré *L'Observance de Religion Chrestienne...* Reims, 1554, *La vie et mort chrestienne...* Reims, 1556, *Dialogue entre le Samaritan et Dieu...* Reims, 1558; Vetus *Apologia Joannis Veteris...* Verdun, 1564; Saintes *Discours sur le saccagement des églises...* Verdun, 1562.

family or their agents. There are suggestions that the Lorraine-Guises, and the Cardinal de Lorraine in particular, took an interest in the attempts of the Capucins to gain acceptance in France and provided some sponsorship of the Minims. For example, the Papal nuncio noted Louis I's attempts to claim his brother's title of Protector of the Capucins in 1574²⁸ and Charles established a community of Minims on land belonging to St. Remi de Reims when their original convent at Bracancourt (diocese of Langres) was burnt down by Huguenots in 1569.²⁹ However, one group of religious which has not suffered from the historiographical obscurity of religious orders in France and one which had identifiable and frequently noted relations with the Lorraine-Guises is the Jesuits.

The perspective and aims of the Society of Jesus in relation to the religious troubles in France, and north-western Europe, coincided with those of the Lorraine-Guise family. Both advocated the introduction of the decrees of the Council of Trent in the face of Gallican opposition, and both wished to see Catholicism restored to Scotland and England, with Mary Stuart as the most obvious instrument. However, the Protestant propaganda of the League period and the anti-Jesuit polemic which succeeded it have distorted our image of the role the Society played in the politics of the time. A. Lynn Martin's work has demonstrated that personal preference rather than Society policy prompted individual Jesuits to become involved in Guise and anti-Protestant plans.³⁰ This assessment conforms with the general picture proposed above. It is on the personal, individual level that connections between the Lorraine-Guise family and the Jesuits can best be seen.

The Society of Jesus as an institution did enjoy Lorraine-Guise support. It was recognised Jesuit policy to gain the patronage of a country's elite to promote their mission.³¹ The Catholic image and pro-orthodoxy stance of the Lorraine-Guise family made them obvious targets in the Jesuit campaign. The Cardinal de Lorraine does not appear to have disappointed them. From his introduction to the Society and Loyola in Rome in 1548 the Cardinal applied himself to obtaining the Society's acceptance in

²⁸ A.N.G. 13 Salviati :451. Possibly the research of M. Armstrong (University of Toronto) into the Capucins and Cordeliers in France during this period may uncover information which I missed, but to date she has not been able to communicate any clarification of the Lorraine-Guise relationship.

²⁹ Marlot :416. Antoinette de Bourbon had often visited them and was informed of this misadventure by courier. Knowing of their merits Charles invited them to Reims, where he fed and lodged them in the episcopal palace before establishing them. Cocquault:395.

³⁰ Martin *Jesuit Politicians* This work provides the basis for the discussion which follows.

³¹ Martin *The Jesuit Mind* London, 1988 :17-18.

France.³² He was cited as their protector in France in the request made by his brother, Louis I, to take on this mantle in 1574.³³ Evennett believed that Lorraine saw the Jesuits as an “edifying and useful association of priests” rather than as a source of opinions on ecclesiastical affairs or politico-religious problems. They in turn supported him and advocated his plans for reform.³⁴ The Cardinal also provided more tangible support for the Society and, for example, involved them in the establishment of the University of Pont-à-Mousson.³⁵

The patronage of the Jesuits also involved the secular members of the family. In the 1580s Henri Duc de Guise invested considerable sums of money in the foundation of the Jesuit house at Eu at a time when his finances are understood to have been in a ruinous state. The Duc approached the Society and offered to found a college at the *comté* (which he had received as part of his wife’s dowry), financed from the revenues of the *comté* and the union of the priory of St. Martin au Bec, which he obtained from his brother, Louis II, who was Abbot of Bec. The French Jesuits involved in this negotiation insisted that the General accept the foundation because of the status of the benefactor and because of Eu’s good position on the Normandy coast. After the various arrangements had been made the definitive contract of foundation was signed in January 1582 and classes began in April of the same year.³⁶

Negotiations for this kind of patronage brought individual Jesuits into contact with the Guises. The discussions surrounding the Eu foundation introduced the Jesuit Provincial, Claude Matthieu, to the Duc de Guise. Their various meetings led to the formation of a close relationship, which later included Matthieu’s involvement in the Duc’s political schemes to restore Catholicism in Scotland and England through a military campaign in support of Mary Stuart. However, their intimacy was interrupted when Matthieu answered the superior call of Henri III, who wished the Jesuit to serve as his confessor, in August 1582. When the League revived in the mid-1580s Matthieu became one of the Jesuit agents who worked in its interests (first without the knowledge and then

³² Fouqueray I:166.

³³ A.N.G. 13 Salviati :451.

³⁴ Evennett :40 and 130. The quotation is Evennett.

³⁵ Fouqueray I:606.

³⁶ Fouqueray II:47ff and Martin *Jesuit Politicians*:63ff.

against the wishes of the General).³⁷ This role as an agent involved Matthieu in the negotiations for the organisation of “the Scottish enterprise” and then saw him acting as a courier of information between Rome and the Leaguer princes.

Henri Samier had also been involved in the Eu negotiations and was known to the Guises through his functions in various Jesuit colleges, so when Mary Stuart requested a Jesuit confessor from her English captivity he was sent to her.³⁸ This posting led Samier into the sphere of Lorraine-Guise politics. His activity as a Guisard agent began in 1582 when Mary sent him on a political mission to raise support for her in the Courts of Europe and his travels soon involved him in the affairs of the Duc de Guise. His role as a messenger between Catholic magnates continued after he ceased to be Mary’s chaplain in 1584. In this year he went to Rome (again without the General’s knowledge of the real nature of his business) and on his return journey recruited Swiss troops for the League before reporting to Duc Henri at Joinville.³⁹

Edmund Auger’s relationship with the family falls outside the efforts to impose the Counter-Reformation on the British Isles through a military invasion in Mary’s favour. He remained more closely attached to Henri III than Matthieu and opted for the royalist rather than the Leaguer cause. However, at one time he was closely associated with the Cardinal de Lorraine. His presence at the Cardinal’s bedside when he died conformed to the Jesuit practice of attending their benefactors in their last moments.⁴⁰ When Charles saw Auger preach in 1568 he immediately retained him to preach at Court. The two worked closely together over the next few years, with Charles inviting Auger to preach at Reims and Metz in 1570 and consulting him on the foundation of Pont-à-Mousson.⁴¹ The Cardinal’s patronage included an attempt in 1573 to get Henri de Valois to take Auger with him to Poland, but the prince refused, probably because of his Guisard associations. The role of individual Jesuits in the Society’s strategy for gaining advancement can be seen in Auger’s request to Lorraine in 1569 to obtain royal consent for a decree which favoured the

³⁷ Davila I:484 cites him as a League agent in Rome, as does Thou VI:460 and 493.

³⁸ Fouqueray II:47.

³⁹ Martin *Jesuit Politicians* and Pollen “Mary Stuart’s Jesuit Chaplain” *The Month* 559 and 560 1911.

⁴⁰ Martin *Jesuit Mind* :181.

⁴¹ Martin *Jesuit Politicians* and Fouqueray I:608.

Jesuits.⁴² Auger's links with the family seem to have been severed following the Cardinal de Lorraine's death and he moved into the service of Henri III.

Catholic Refugees

The Lorraine-Guise family were also patrons of the English Catholic refugees in France, specifically the English seminary at Reims and its off-shoot at Eu. The family provided an obvious focus for those who had had to flee their countries because of religious divergence from the ruling regime, because of their kinship with Mary Stuart and their firm stand against Protestantism in France. There is no indication in the surviving accounts of the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals of pensions being paid to English or Scottish Catholics. The latter at least were financed by Mary Stuart's French dowry and pensions, which the Cardinal de Lorraine administered. In a letter Mary thanked Lorraine for the favourable welcome he had made to the Bishop of Ross and asked him "le faciez assigner, comme il vous a pleu me mander, sur la pension de l'Espagne, jusques à la somme que je luy ay accordée sur ma pension."⁴³ Nor did I find evidence of English and Scottish Catholics being given benefices by the Lorraine-Guise ecclesiastics or being admitted to their benefices, although more extensive and detailed research would be necessary to conclusively state that this was not happening. Mary Stuart certainly requested this kind of support for her agents in France, both from the king and Lorraine. She requested a benefice for Ross from Charles IX so that he could have some means of support since she was unable to provide for him. She also solicited her uncle - "s'il vous plaisoit moyenner qu'il [Glasgow] eût quelque bon bénéfice du Roy, et apendant s'il n'en vacquoit si promptement, luy en donner quelqu'ung qui pourra vacquer à vostre don...".⁴⁴ It was clearly in the interest of the Lorraine-Guise family to be seen to support and sponsor these groups, both for the possible political implications and because it added another strand to their image as champions of the Catholic faith. However, politics also meant that they had to restrain their active enthusiasm and avoid being compromised or forced into actions

⁴² Martin *Jesuit Mind* :119 The decree prohibited anyone who left the Society from holding an office, benefice or a teaching position.

⁴³ For example Labanoff IV:125. Mary to Glasgow and Cardinal de Lorraine 29 March [1574]

⁴⁴ Labanoff III:41 Mary to Charles IX 30 April 1571; IV:254 Mary to Lorraine 9 January [1575] repeating a request of 8 November 1574

which were not necessarily advisable.

The English seminaries operated in the broad interests of the family since they were working for the restoration of Catholicism in England and Scotland. The political dimensions of the refugees' programme would have placed Mary Stuart on at least one throne and have satisfied the religious sensibilities of the family. The seminaries trained young Catholic Englishmen in theology and prepared them for missionary work in their homeland.

The English seminary which had established itself at Douai found conditions becoming increasingly difficult amidst the confessional troubles which afflicted the Low Countries during this period. Therefore negotiations began at the end of 1576 to determine whether a transfer to Reims was possible. The Archepiscopal town provided an obvious haven for the seminary because of its associations with the Lorraine-Guise family, its stable Catholicism and the emerging educational environment. Negotiations were completed in 1578 and in March of that year the college left Douai. Pope Gregory XIII had sent five hundred crowns to assist in the expenses of the removal and also sent letters warmly recommending the seminary, which was headed by William Allen, to the Archbishop and the Chapter. Once in Reims the studies and normal life of the seminary quickly resumed.⁴⁵ Allen was granted a seat in the Cathedral Chapter.⁴⁶ The seminary was funded, partially at least, by pensions from the Papacy and Spain. Although there was no evidence of their financial assistance it might be reasonable to assume that Lorraine-Guise resources contributed to the support of the seminary. The presence of the missionary training school in Reims meant that the town became a focus for those who criticised the Protestant regimes in England and Scotland. Catholic propaganda was produced in Reims, although the Archbishops' printers (Bacquenois and Foigny) do not appear to have officially produced this material. The focus on Reims and its production of propaganda were especially important when the missionary and political elements of the refugee movement fused, and following the death of Mary Stuart. These polemical skills were later used by the Guises and the League to promote their stance in the late 1580s.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Guilday *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent* London, 1914 :75-77.

⁴⁶ Marlot :448 and for the English seminary as a whole :444-454 including brief biographies of some of the most notable missionaries to have come out of Reims. One, Matthew Kelizon, followed Allen to Rome from Reims, where he was made a priest and returned to Reims to become professor and rector of the University.

⁴⁷ Guilday; and Cameron "La polémique..." :187.

The English seminary at Reims was fed by elementary schools in Pont-à-Mousson and Verdun, but a need was seen to create a new school to support the educational work done at Reims. This led to the foundation of an English college next to the Jesuit house at Eu in 1582. Negotiations with Duc Henri were conducted by Robert Persons, a Jesuit and one of the first missionaries to be sent to England. Their discussions included talks about the politico-religious situation in England and Scotland and plans for the restoration of Catholicism there. The foundation of the college was part of the wider activity, which involved the Duc de Guise, Matthieu, Allen and the Papal nuncio in military schemes and negotiations with Spain and Rome. Guise helped to fund the English college from his own resources, and apart from assigning an annual payment to the foundation he and Catherine de Cleves exempted it from all local charges which were due to them through the *comté*. However, the Guises were not the exclusive benefactors of the English college at Eu and two *rentes* were given by Anne de Roncherolles (widow of André de Bourbon) and Claude de Vendôme, Seigneur de Ligny. Again the location was chosen because of Eu's position on the Normandy coast, which allowed students easy access from England and missionaries easy exit through the nearby port of Dieppe. The patronage of the house of Lorraine-Guise and the support which the newly established Jesuit college could provide were other important factors.⁴⁸

This rather summary account of a broader sense of patronage provides a picture of the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals, and especially the Cardinal de Lorraine, acting as great magnates, extending their benevolence to the sponsorship of artists and institutions. There was clearly a political side to this patronage, which went beyond a display of aristocratic status and prestige. The artist, scholar and printer could disseminate an image of learning and orthodoxy which fitted the family's image of itself, as well as illustrating their appreciation of culture. Sponsorship of the religious orders which formed an essential part of the impulse towards Catholic reform promoted the image of the dynasty as champions of the Catholic faith and brought them into contact with individuals who were prepared to serve their political interests. In common with the patronage relationships described in the above chapter elements were picked or put themselves forward from the Cardinals'

⁴⁸ Fabre "The English College at Eu - 1582-1592" *The Catholic Historical Review* 37 1951 :257-280. The English college survived the Blois assassinations, financed by Philip II, but financial and political difficulties led to the decline of the house and its eventual transfer to St. Omer. Fouqueray II:50

environment when interests aligned. Patronage relationships of this kind were not exclusive and formed part of the society which the elite inhabited.

Chapter Six

THE LORRAINE-GUISES AS CHURCHMEN

Having discussed the more thematic dimensions of the relationship between the House of Lorraine-Guise and the Catholic Church this analysis now turns to a more personal and biographical area which looks at the careers of the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals within the Church. Here, as elsewhere in this study, the Cardinal de Lorraine monopolises the discussion. The sources point towards his central role in the affairs of the French and the wider Roman Church, whilst remaining somewhat quieter about the activities of his brother and nephew in these spheres. Three main issues dominate the history of the French Church during the second half of the sixteenth century: its development as an institution, the progress of the Catholic reform movement, and the struggle against Protestantism. These issues form the backdrop to the careers of the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals and also provide a useful schema for this analysis. The paragraphs which follow look at the role the Lorraine-Guises played in the leadership of the French Church and how they fitted into the picture of Reform.

I do not propose to duplicate or extend the work done by Evennett on the political and ecclesiastical policies of the Cardinal de Lorraine, since these are research topics in themselves. The consideration of the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals here is a relatively brief one and draws heavily upon the work done by Evennett and others, whose expertise and focus lies in the field of the Catholic/Counter-Reformation. The emphasis in this thesis is upon the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals as members of the French nobility and as an added dimension to their dynasty. It would, of course, be impossible not to look at the Cardinals' place in the Church during a period in which the Church was developing and facing the challenges of the Reform movements. Their role in the leadership of the French Clergy also has considerable bearing upon the power resources they were able to contribute to the family as a whole. Having examined the role of patronage in the maintenance of a network in the Church it is necessary to consider whether their positions as cardinals and bishops had any function in attracting support for the family. In addition, the prestige which was associated with these positions reflected upon the dynasty as a whole and should be considered as an

important asset in itself in a society which placed so much emphasis upon honour and status.

Previous historians have paid little attention to the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals as Churchmen and have focused rather more upon their careers as politicians, courtiers and members of the dynasty. This approach reflects upon the general neglect of the history of the French Catholic Church in this period. It is interesting to note that those historians, such as Guillemin and Evennett, who have taken the trouble to examine the Cardinal de Lorraine in detail and refer to Catholic sources, have provided a sympathetic picture, which focuses upon his Church career. Their approaches go beyond the natural affection of a biographer and demonstrate the limited perspective of the historiography of this period.

As with so much of their lives, the two Louis do not distinguish themselves in the ecclesiastical sphere. Historical attention is naturally focused upon the career of Charles because of his dominance in State affairs and because of his prominence at the Colloquy of Poissy and attendance at the Council of Trent. Church affairs might have been one area in which the Cardinals de Guise could have distinguished themselves independently. As the discussion below illustrates, Louis II did, to some extent, utilise the opportunities which the institutional development of the French Church provided, but it is possible to speculate that if he had shared his uncle's qualities he could have done much more. Louis I remains here the most shadowy of the three Cardinals and failed to fill the gap left by the death of Charles. A more detailed study of the sees he controlled might have produced a fuller picture, but the limitations of source material did not hold out much prospect of a successful search.

The correspondence of the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals preserved in French archives does not include a discussion of their views on ecclesiastical policy. Evennett appears to have comprehensively studied the material generated by Lorraine on the question of a Church Council and there was no major issue to parallel Poissy and Trent upon which Louis II could have corresponded. Therefore the following analysis is based upon contemporary accounts of the Cardinals' activities in the ecclesiastical dimension. Memoir sources do not focus on the Church unless it intersects with their "political" narrative, as in the case of Poissy and Trent, whilst the nuncial correspondence was disappointingly mute on the subject of the actions of the Lorraine-Guises as clerics. Marlot's history of Reims

was very valuable and informative on the careers of Charles and Louis II as Archbishops and was supplemented by the collection of synodial acts published by Gousset.¹ The creation of *L'Agence général du clergé de France* and of regular assemblies of the Clergy to administer the payment of subventions to the Crown fortunately generated documentation upon which to base some assessment of the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals' leadership role. However, the *procès-verbaux* of the Assemblies only provide an outline of what occurred at these meetings and are silent about the content and nature of the debates which took place.

Evennett's study of the Cardinal de Lorraine and the political factors at play in France in the period before the third phase of the Council of Trent remains a very important work, although it does not focus upon the questions of leadership and personal policy which I wish to draw attention to here. The book does appear to be somewhat dated in its assessment of the political situation, which Evennett's footnotes show quite clearly was based upon the work of Lucien Romier. However, this should not detract from Evennett's own analysis of the attitudes and policies of the French government towards a national and ecumenical Council. He is to be applauded for breaking away from the traditional view of the Cardinal and presenting a picture of a complex man, who rather than being an evil genius with a clear strategy and policy had to adapt to the political situation as it arose, ~~moving from one act of expediency to the next.~~ ~~replacing expediency with expediency.~~ Evennett's investigation of the sources relating to this topic is invaluable. It is only to be regretted that he did not produce the proposed second volume dealing with the Council itself and the struggle to have its decrees accepted in France.²

LEADERSHIP OF THE FRENCH CHURCH

The French Church was not a monolithic structure any more than other structures in sixteenth century France, but through the century it developed institutionally and gained an increased sense of corporate identity.³ This process was set in motion by the financial demands of the Valois monarchy, which created an environment in which representatives

¹ Gousset *Les Actes de la Province Ecclésiastique de Reims* vol. 3 Reims, 1844.

² Evennett mentions this proposed second volume in the preface to *Lorraine* :xvi-xvii.

³ The information for this section is drawn from Serbat, Peronnet I:407-10 and Baumgartner *Change and Continuity*

of the French Clergy met regularly to agree financial “gifts” to the Crown and monitor the collection and accounting of these contributions. The Clergy insisted upon administering the collection of this subvention itself and upon organising the necessary alienations which followed. This was not a process by which the Church was sucked into the State structure since it retained its independence from the Crown and insisted upon the retention of the (largely fictitious) claim that its contributions were voluntary and not automatic. The clerical estate also had the opportunity to meet at the *Estates Généraux* at Orleans in 1560, and at Blois in 1576 and 1588, and during the Colloquy of Poissy in 1561. Despite this development along institutional lines there was no leadership position as such, no post to be obtained which would give one ecclesiastic authority over the whole body of the French Clergy. The Church structure was very hierarchical, but, as in other sections of French society, leadership depended upon personal qualities and power.

This unparalleled right to assemble regularly meant that the clergy were the only Order to have the opportunity for concerted action and to develop a sense of cohesion which could allow them to pressure the Crown. These assemblies were intended to have a purely financial function and they were not supposed to form a forum for the debate of spiritual or ecclesiastical issues. Such discussions were meant to be limited to formally constituted Church Councils. However, as the *procès verbaux* of these assemblies show, they did address such questions. In 1567 the Clergy wanted to prepare a *cahier* advocating the publication and execution of the decrees of the Council of Trent (a request which they made at Blois in 1576 and 1588, reserving the liberties of the Gallican Church, and again at Melun in 1579 and in 1585). At Melun in 1579 they addressed the problem of simony and confidences.

The role of the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals in the national Church, and specifically in relation to the Assemblies of the Clergy, changed over time. In fact there is almost a generational split in the relationship between the Assemblies and Charles and Louis II. This reflects the growing importance of the Assemblies of the Clergy as an institution. Whilst they were limited to the administration of the subventions which the Clergy owed the Crown there was little reason for leading Churchmen to be involved. No leading cleric actively participated in the Assemblies during this early stage. As the Assemblies developed the opportunity or need for leadership was perceived. This shift may also represent the

decline in influence and status of the Guise family in the Church (and in general) which occurred after 1574. The Cardinal de Lorraine may have been capable and desirous of leading from outside the Assembly through his position in the centre of power, Louis II (or his contemporaries) did not occupy a parallel position. Clearly the status of leading Churchmen, such as the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals, would guarantee them a certain leadership role, but it is the nature of this role which I wish to explore.⁴ They were both members of the aristocracy and cardinals, which gave them a natural position in the dual hierarchy of Church and State. Indeed, this duality is an important factor in their relationship with the Clergy as an institution.

The role of the French cardinals in relation to the Assemblies of the Clergy until the 1580s was one of providing a link between the Assemblies and the Court. A cardinal occupied both worlds and thus had a natural function as a communication between them. This was a two-way process. The king could use the cardinals to address the Clergy and make his requests to them.⁵ (If the Assembly were proving resistant the king might also send other members of the Court to appeal for compliance.⁶) The Clergy would approach the cardinals if they wished to communicate with the king, although they did have access to him without a cardinal's intercession.⁷ This situation clearly reflects the society and culture within which the Assemblies and king operated. Communication did not have to filter through the various levels of a hierarchy, but the influence of suitable agents could be used to ensure the better reception of a request. A leading Churchman was always named as the president of the Assemblies, but this was an honorific position and he would have been replaced by a bishop who was actually a delegate. However, from the 1580s there is more

⁴ The deferential attitude of the Assemblies towards the cardinals seems to have been expressed by the Assembly of 1567, which wrote to the Cardinals de Bourbon, Lorraine and Guise, who were with the King, to ask them to be present if their affairs allowed, so that they might manage, authorise and negotiate. The Cardinals responded that they would gladly come if they could because it was a matter of the honour of God and the conservation of the Church. *Collection des procès verbaux* :44.

⁵ At the Estates General of 1576 the Cardinals de Bourbon, Guise and Este were present at the meeting of the First Estate to get them to give assistance to the King in the necessity of the war. *Collection des procès verbaux* :96. This role of intermediary was not limited to the First Estate, in 1558 the Cardinal de Lorraine was sent to the Tiers to ask for a contribution to the three million ecus the King needed for the war. Thou II:556.

⁶ *Collection des procès verbaux* in 1561 Charles IX sent the Ducs de Guise and Montmorency to the Assembly to further his request for financial aid. :96 The sending of the three Cardinals in 1576 was followed up by a visit from the Chancellor and then from the King's brother and the Ducs de Guise, Mayenne and Mercoeur.

⁷ An example of the Clergy making direct contact with the King comes in 1567 where on 11 October the Assembly went to the Louvre. Neither of the Guise Cardinals were present.

evidence of the presence and leadership of cardinals in the Assemblies. For example Charles, Cardinal de Bourbon was listed as one of the delegates for the province of Rouen at the Assembly of Melun in 1579-80.⁸ There was a physical shift from the space of the Court to the space of the Assembly, although it was far from a total move and the cardinals continued to occupy both spaces and form a bridge between them.

Although Louis I is not mentioned as being actively present at any of the Assemblies (in fact he is only mentioned in the *procès verbaux* of the Assembly at Poissy) he was sent by Henri III to the Estates at Blois at the end of January 1577 (together with the Cardinals de Bourbon and Este) as part of the package of Courtier pressure which the King applied to the Clergy to contribute financially to the war effort.⁹

The status of the Cardinal de Lorraine as France's most prominent and influential Churchman was recognised by the Assemblies of the Clergy, within the framework which left cardinals outside their actual meetings. He was chosen by the Clergy to be their speaker and present their opinions to the Crown, although he had not (apparently) actually taken part in their discussions. For example, in 1561 the Assembly of the Clergy at Poissy deputed Lorraine to negotiate with the Crown over the size of their financial contribution and he made the harangue on behalf of the Assembly at Fontainebleau in 1573. However, when he was elected to present the *cahiers* and make the harangue at the Estates General at Orleans in 1560 he declined and was excused. This decision has been attributed to the Cardinal's anger at not being accepted as common orator for all three Estates.¹⁰

The younger Cardinal de Guise had a much more participatory relationship with the Assemblies. The clearest indication of this is his presence on the list of delegates in 1584, 1585 and at the Estates General of 1588 (although apparently not at the Assembly in 1588).¹¹ His election as joint president with the Cardinal de Bourbon in 1584 had more substance than purely prestige since the two Cardinals divided the hearing of accounts. Louis II is noted as having presided over the Assembly on the twenty fourth of February and the tenth of April 1585 (and may have done so on more occasions which are not recorded) and sent his apologies to the Assembly for not attending more frequently. Despite

⁸ *Collection des procès verbaux* : 109-230.

⁹ *Collection des procès verbaux* : 96.

¹⁰ Evennett : 201.

¹¹ *Collection des procès verbaux*. It is interesting to note that the Cardinal de Bourbon was a delegate at the Assembly of 1588.

this evidence of involvement he does not appear from the rather summary evidence to have been as active in this Assembly as the Cardinals de Bourbon and Joyeuse. At the Assembly of the Clergy in 1588 the political situation seems to have prompted a return to practices with which Lorraine would have been more familiar, with the Clergy choosing Louis II as their president (again jointly with the Cardinal de Bourbon), to be deferred to if he should actually attend.¹² He was also an influential outsider in relation to the Assemblies of 1579 and 1582. In the former he was one of the leading ecclesiastics to whom the Clergy sent deputies to recommend their cause.¹³ However, in 1582 his presence is not noted with that of his brothers the Ducs de Guise and Mayenne when they attended, although he was visited by a couple of deputies from the Assembly.¹⁴

The duality of status as members of the Clergy and advisors and agents of the Crown became problematic with the monarch's demands for financial assistance from the Clergy.¹⁵ As noted in the above paragraphs the French Cardinals were used by the King to put pressure upon the Assemblies, and by the Assemblies to voice their discontent and to negotiate the best terms possible with the king. The exemptions from the subventions which the Cardinals claimed for their personal benefices meant that they were not interested parties (at least on one level) in these transactions.¹⁶ From the available evidence it appears that the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals were opposed to the Crown despoiling the Church in this way, but that they did act as the Crown's agents in negotiating the subventions. It is difficult to know whether they had any other option, but they probably did not.

At the Assembly at Poissy in 1561 the Cardinal de Lorraine was deputed (with several bishops) to go to the King and respond to his request for financial aid. When this offer was rejected and negotiated over again he was once more employed as the Assembly's deputy to make a second offer.¹⁷ L'Estoile notes that he acted to get the

¹² The preceding information was all drawn from the appropriate sections of *Collection des procès verbaux*.

¹³ *Collection des procès verbaux* :177.

¹⁴ *Collection des procès verbaux* :239 and 242.

¹⁵ It must also be noted that the Cardinals' dual position as members of the Clergy and members of the family contributed to this division of interests. The Guises advocated the repression of the Huguenots through war, the price of which was the effective taxation of the Church and the alienation of its property. For example, in 1585 the Clergy and Louis II were negotiating a subvention for the payment of Mayenne's troops.

¹⁶ See Chapter 3.

¹⁷ *Collection des procès verbaux* :22.

Clergy to consent to the alienation of 1574.¹⁸ However, two letters from the Cardinal to the Sieur de Mauné in May 1574 show that he was not the Crown's puppet. He wanted the King to know that he could not agree to the alienation, firstly because he could not give his consent without Papal approval and secondly because of the damage and poverty suffered by the Church. In the second letter he also spoke of his opposition to the *decimes*, again because of the absence of the Pope's approval, although he did prefer the despoliation of the Church through the *decime* rather than the ruin brought by alienation.¹⁹

Louis II seems to have taken a similar stance of cooperation, with objection. In response to Henri III's request for yet more money, Louis argued that it was not the King's intention to contravene the contracts he had made with the Clergy and that his request was a result of the "mévente" (slump/selling at a loss) of the Church goods previously alienated. He advocated that the Clergy provided half the sum Henri requested.²⁰ The Assembly had asked for his advice on the matter and on Henri's reply to their offer. Louis again took part in the financial negotiations conducted by the Assembly in 1585, being used as an agent in communications with Philippe de Castilles (the receiver general of the Clergy of France) and with Henri III.²¹ In February 1586 the Assembly resolved that if the Cardinals de Guise and Bourbon were pressed to pass the execution of the Papal Bull of alienation they should excuse themselves, and give a signed undertaking to do so. Louis II did agree to avoid proceeding with the execution of the Bull.²² However, in mid-March the two Cardinals came to the Assembly to put the King's case and explain that it was necessary to proceed with the alienation (because of the danger the kingdom was in and the absence of an alternative source of money).²³ After this Louis resumed the role of negotiator. His opposition to the alienation of Church property is suggested by a (undated) manuscript instruction from Louis to the deputies of the Clergy of Reims which echoes the letters of the Cardinal de Lorraine in its objections. This stated that the Pope was aware of the French Clergy's opposition to the Bull, the execution of which would ruin the Church. It

¹⁸ L'Estoile :51.

¹⁹ B.N. ms.fr.4736:24 and 26. Both letters dated 19 May 1574. It is interesting to note the order in which these objections come, although Papal approval was a solid argument upon which to base objections.

²⁰ *Collection des procès verbaux* :248-70.

²¹ *Collection des procès verbaux* :287;294.

²² *Collection des procès verbaux* :373-4.

²³ *Collection des procès verbaux* :380. The Papal nuncio promised Louis II dispensation from his promise not to consent to the sale *Lettres Catherine IX*:270.

acknowledged that the Clergy had promised to help the King, but that they had contributed over the past twenty years. This minute also suggests that if the Clergy did not profoundly revere the Pope they could disobey him and prevent the alienation.²⁴

Despite this increasing involvement in the Assemblies and the acknowledgement of the Cardinals' status in relation to the Clergy there is no evidence in the summary accounts provided by the *procès verbaux* to suggest that the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals were attempting to control the Assemblies. Indeed, this suggestion is not made in memoir sources either. Therefore the next question must be whether they were trying to direct the meetings in a more subtle way, from outside, using their influence to place agents among the deputies. A conclusive answer is once more hindered by the lack of evidence. Although the *procès verbaux* do provide lists of all the deputies who were present, there is no supplementary material to determine whether they were linked to the Guises or not. The lack of fuller minutes for the various Assemblies means that there is no evidence of the debates and discussions which took place, or of which deputies took a particular stance. The French Church during this period does not appear to have contained defined parties and factions. The lack of information on the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals' agenda (if indeed they had one) in ecclesiastical policy - beyond the general promotion of the decrees of the Council of Trent and an ambiguous stance towards the alienation of Church property - would also make the detection of Lorraine-Guise influence in the Assemblies difficult. From the available evidence I would favour the view that the Lorraine-Guises were not attempting to pack the Assemblies. It is hard to see what would have motivated them to do so, because their rivals were not. If the Assemblies were in line with Lorraine-Guise policy the Cardinals' influence would have been enough; if the Assembly took an opposing line then the Guises had no power to control them.

The idea of packing can be theoretically rejected. A study of the Estates of 1560²⁵ rejects the claim of Regnier de la Planche that the Guises managed the elections (he also claimed that they were planning to murder all the delegates from Languedoc and imprison or execute the Montmorencys and the Huguenot leadership). It would have been difficult to pack an Estates General, and therefore presumably an Assembly of the Clergy, because the scattered nature of political units and a hierarchical structure of representative assemblies

²⁴ B.N. ms. Dupuy 543:199. A similar picture of opposition is shown by the minute of the *procès verbal* of an assembly of the Clergy of Reims held at St. Remi, also undated - ms. Dupuy 543:201.

²⁵ Paul van Dyke "The Estates of Pontoise" *English Historical Review* 28 1913.

meant that the election process was not easy to control. Opponents to the Guises could have formed a party just as easily and the analysis of noble power structures in Chapter 4 rejects the presence of a nationwide Guisard party which could have been used to influence local elections. In the 1560 case there is evidence that any attempt to pack the Estates was unsuccessful, most obviously in the refusal of the Second and Third Estates to accept Lorraine as their joint orator.

The lists of delegates for the Assemblies do not show any obvious Lorraine-Guise connection until 1582 when Richer, *Prévôt* of Reims, was present. There was some problem over his attendance since the Province of Reims had also sent the Bishop of Noyon, which meant that the Province would have had two voices instead of the one which the other provinces had. It was decided that Richer could be present, but that his voice would carry no weight if Noyon was present.²⁶ This could indicate that the Lorraine-Guises were trying to push their influence, but 1582 was only a minor Assembly for the hearing of accounts, and in any event they were unsuccessful. In 1584 Gilbaut, the official of Reims, was present, but again he had no voice, unlike the Cardinal de Bourbon's assistant, who could speak if the Cardinal were absent. A Rémois deputy next appears at an Assembly of the Clergy in 1588 in the shape of Pierre Frizon, the Dean. At the Estates General of 1588 one of the deputies for the Duchy of Burgundy was Antoine Georges, monk, *procureur* and vicar-general of the Abbot of Cluny, Claude de Guise. Since the election of a deputy from Reims (or another Lorraine-Guise benefice) would seem the most straightforward way to place an agent in the Assembly this absence of recognisable associates is significant.

Nor do those identified as part of the Lorraine-Guise Church network appear in the lists of deputies in any significant numbers. The role of Nicolas de Pellevé as the deputy for Sens at the Assembly of 1567 might raise some question as to whether the Lorraine-Guises thought it advisable to have a member of their network in the Assemblies once their importance began to develop. Again I would wish to fall back on the conclusion that the Lorraine-Guises were part of a Church network whose members had status and interests of their own and who were as likely to seek membership of the Assemblies of the Clergy on their own initiative as through Lorraine-Guise manipulation.

As explained in the discussion of the League in Chapter 4 there were many personal

²⁶ *Collection des procès verbaux* :233.

factors involved in adherence to this opposition movement, and by its very nature the First Estate would be disposed to favour its Catholic position. Unfortunately there are no authentic *procès verbaux* from the Estates at Blois in 1576 and 1588, and the accounts presented in the *Collection des procès verbaux* are drawn from *mémoires*, combined with the *procès verbal* of the Tiers and, in the case of the 1588 Assembly, a collection of pieces relating to the Clergy. As Baumgartner's analysis of the bishops²⁷ suggests, the Clergy do not appear to have taken a radical stance in 1576, indeed they suggested that Henri III send representatives to Navarre, Condé and Damville. Their meetings were dominated by the question of financial aid to the Crown, although they did make the (unsurprising) request for one religion in the kingdom and asked for the Decrees of the Council of Trent to be accepted, reserving the liberties of the Gallican Church.²⁸ The Clergy again echo the position of the Bishops at the Estates General of 1588, with increased politicisation and support for a Leaguer programme. The Clergy requested that the Edict of Union became a fundamental law of the kingdom and that Navarre be declared a criminal and incapable of succeeding to the throne. However, there was no dramatic response to the assassinations of Duc Henri and the Cardinal de Guise, although protests were made at Henri III's actions. This stance seems to represent the natural position of the Clergy, rather than prove any connection between the Clergy and Lorraine-Guise influence.

The concept of leadership in the French Church cannot be limited just to the position of the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals in relation to the Assemblies of the Clergy and the meetings of the First Order at the Estates General. Clearly the Cardinal de Lorraine had a prominent role within the Church beyond the honorary presidency of the Assemblies. The sentiments expressed by the Assemblies could be present outside the formal meetings. In June 1561 the Chapter of Paris sent letters to the Cardinal de Lorraine complaining about the planned alienations, which they saw as the taxation of the Church. They stated that they were addressing him because of his perceived position in the Church:

Nous ne pouvons en ces afflictions nous adresse à autre que à vous, Monseigneur, qui tenés par deça le premier lieu en l'Eglise estant Légat nay du St. Siege Apostolique... Il vous plaira donc pour le zeile qu'aves a

²⁷ Baumgartner *Change and Continuity*

²⁸ *Collection des procès verbaux* :66-108.

l'Eglise, nous recevoir sous vostre protection.²⁹

The best expression of this prominence is the role Lorraine took at the Colloquy of Poissy and his leadership of the French delegation to the third period of the Council of Trent. Lorraine also seems to have led the groups of French cardinals who went to Rome for the conclaves electing new Popes. This position obviously had a lot to do with his political role and personal prestige (which is discussed in the next chapter). His personal abilities and his dedication to the welfare of the Church were also important factors. Lorraine's leadership of the delegation to Trent was not a question of favour, it was a necessity because of his personal prestige and abilities, and because of his status. He was the most considerable personage in the French Church and had devoted a great deal of energy to the negotiations for a General Council. He was also an aristocrat who was used to operating on the international stage, a familiarity which he had gained through diplomatic activity.³⁰ His dual status as Churchman and Statesman/Courtier also meant that he was an important contact for the papal nuncios to France.

Louis I never asserted himself in this kind of role. It seems that he did not share in the natural abilities of his brother and that his shadowy presence is not simply a result of Charles's dominance. The picture of a muddle-headed man who enjoyed the good things in life which his status brought him, such as wine, might need some qualification, but not much (see Chapter 7). Whilst Charles was occupied with the governance of the kingdom during the reign of François II, Louis did attend the 1559 papal election as the representative of the family, but it is not noted that he occupied a similar leadership position. A letter in which he responded to Charles IX's information that the Pope was ill betrays more of the negative side of his character. Louis answered that it was so long since he had been in Rome that he did not know who was friendly to the French. He explained that he was going to take a bath cure, but that he could delay this if what the King had written about was important.³¹ When Lorraine died Louis does appear to have made some

²⁹ Condé I:33-34. The Cardinal de Lorraine's response to this appeal continues the language of patronage and protection, whilst once again expressing the pro-Crown line that the Church should assist the King in a time of trouble and that his (the Cardinal's) concern was for the preservation of the faith. "Estant bien délibéré d'employer tous les moyens que Dieu m'a donné, pour y faire a tout le clergé de ce Royaume, toute l'ayde, faveur et secours qu'il me sera possible, tant pour l'obligation que j'y ay, que pour le bon opinion et fyançe que vous avez en moy, dont je mettray peine que ne vous decepvrés" Reims 3 June. :38-39.

³⁰ Victor Martin *Le Gallicanisme et la Réforme Catholique* Paris, 1919 :30-31.

³¹ B.N. ms.fr.6609:84 Louis to Charles IX Nancy 15 April 1572.

effort to take up the reins for the family by asking for his brother's title as cardinal, the legation of Lorraine and the position of protector of the Jesuits and Capucins.³² These requests were denied. Although he maintained the role of a Lorraine-Guise cardinal in the coronation ceremony he did not make any attempt to take a centre-stage position.

The position held by the Cardinal de Lorraine was never recovered. Louis II enjoyed more prominence than his namesake, but did not reestablish the preeminence held by Charles in Church affairs. This failure can be partially explained by the absence of any major issue such as the Council of Trent to propel him into the limelight. Possibly the championship of the cause of getting the Decrees of Trent received in France might have served the same purpose, but the political element in this struggle made it a less attractive opportunity. The absence of similar royal favour clearly had some role in Louis's inability to match his uncle's standing, but his promotion of himself as a leading ecclesiastic and theologian would not have relied heavily on the monarch's approval. The presence of the Cardinal de Bourbon may also have been a factor in Louis's more subdued role. There may have been some agreement, because of his close kinship and relationship with the Lorraine-Guises, by which the senior cleric took the leading role. As is noted above, the two shared a role at the head of the Assemblies of the Clergy, but Bourbon seems to be slightly more active and involved. However, the existing analysis of the Cardinal de Bourbon (which is very unsatisfactory) presents a picture of a man who was not interested in politics and lacked political ability.³³ Some clue to the situation may be provided by the dynastic strategy of the family for the succession to the Cardinal de Lorraine (see Chapter 2) whereby Louis was passed over for the Archbishopric of Reims in favour of his younger brother François. It may have been that this division was made because François showed more promise, or because Louis did not show enough promise.³⁴

CATHOLIC AND COUNTER REFORMATION

There were two main elements within the movement which historians have labelled the Counter-Reformation. The first, and oldest, was the urge for spiritual renewal which

³² A.N.G. 13 Salviati :451.

³³ F.J. Baumgartner "The Case for Charles X" *S.C.J.* 4 1973; Saulnier.

³⁴ Marlot :422 refers to François as "donnoit de grandes espérances d'estre un jour parfait imitateur des vertus de son oncle."

grew out of the same environment which spawned the Protestant Reformations and which produced such phenomena as the Society of Jesus. The second was a more institutional response to the emergence of the Protestant Reformation movement, which focused upon the Council of Trent and the Roman Catholic Church's attempts to reform itself and return to a historical ideal.

The historiography of France's involvement in this dual process is rather patchy. This is partially the result of the fact that the French Church as an institution did not begin a concerted campaign of Counter-Reformation until the seventeenth century, decades after the process had begun in other European States. Clearly the political instability experienced by France during the second half of the sixteenth century meant that there could be no consolidated attempt to put the Church in order. However, this emphasis upon the institutional approach ignores the fact that the French Clergy were making efforts in the direction of Reform before the appearance of figures such as Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld. There is no in-depth work of synthesis on the French Church in the sixteenth century and information on the impact of the Catholic and Counter Reformations in France has to be teased from studies of individual Churchmen and dioceses. There are some competent overviews, but detailed studies are too few to support an adequate synthesis.³⁵ Baumgartner's study of the French episcopate during the civil war period makes some attempt to fill this gap, but his focus is not upon the reform question.³⁶ He provides a picture of the French bishops' unsatisfactory response to the emergence of heretical movements, which took a variety of forms, from the embracing of the new religion, through ignoring the threat or a hostile response, to the advocacy of reform.

France's attitude to the Council of Trent underwent a change during the period upon which this study is focused, due to internal and political factors. The Crown had shown itself uninterested in or hostile to the Papacy's attempts to direct institutional reform until the French King found himself threatened by internal religious dissension. French bishops had not attended the Council prior to its resumption and final sessions in 1562. During the brief reign of François II and in the first years of Catherine de Medici's regency France, under the direction of the Cardinal de Lorraine, looked to a General Council (a new one rather than a resumption) to bring about confessional reunification. However, when it

³⁵ For example Venard "La grande cassure".

³⁶ *Change and Continuity*.

became apparent that the resumed Council at Trent could not achieve this aim France lost enthusiasm and turned attention back to finding a solely local and independent solution to her problems.³⁷ As in the rest of Europe the acceptance and application of the Decrees produced by the delegates at Trent depended largely upon local factors. The major objection to the formal publication of the Decrees in France came from those who championed the Gallican Liberties, a collection of exemptions, rights and ideas which had accrued over the years and guaranteed the French Church some freedom from the interference or intervention of the Papacy. The difficult political situation and the monarchy's attempts to steer a conciliatory course were another major factor in France's failure to execute the programme drawn up by the delegates at Trent.

Yet the absence of formal recognition of the Decrees did not mean that they were ignored by the French Church. The Assemblies of the Clergy and meetings of the First Order at the Estates General always petitioned the king for their reception.³⁸ The Clergy acted independently of the State and some sought to apply the Decrees on their own initiative.³⁹ Venard has noted that the Constitutions of Melun in 1579 are "fully identical" to the initiative of 1615 which is heralded as the start of the institutional Church's reforming programme.⁴⁰ This of course meant that the application of the Counter-Reform programme in France relied upon the dedication and co-operation of the individual bishop and upon local factors, such as the disposition of the cathedral chapter.

This section examines the ways in which the Lorraine-Guise ecclesiastics fitted into the ideal model, as priests, as bishops and as abbots. It then progresses to a general assessment of the degree to which they implemented the recommendations of Trent, specifically in the Archdiocese of Reims. In passing the question of their attitudes to the reform movement is also addressed. Exemplary behaviour and a reputation for piety could have formed part of the dynasty's resources in the Church. A Reformed style of priesthood could have given the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals authority within the Church as well as providing an added source of prestige. The Cardinal de Lorraine went some way towards

³⁷ A local solution to the problem of confessional divergence had always been a strong element in French policy, with a General Council being looked to to resolve wider issues and possibly heal rifts, which would have an impact upon the situation in France.

³⁸ As shown in *Collection des procès verbaux* passim.

³⁹ Peronnet :390

⁴⁰ Marc Venard "The Influence of Carlo Borromeo on the Church of France" in Headley and Tomaro *San Carlo Borromeo* London, 1988 :213.

this image, but remained too involved with worldly affairs and ambitions, and the dynasty's strategy as a whole does not appear to have been pointed in this direction. It could have been a way for the less politically able Cardinals de Guise to distinguish themselves, but the Lorraine-Guises never produced a Borromeo.⁴¹

Priests, Bishops and Abbots

The Concordat of Bologna had laid down certain conditions and ideals for the staffing of the French Church. A bishop was to be of legitimate birth, French by birth or naturalisation and of good moral character. Before he could attain office he had to have a degree in either theology or law and be at least twenty seven years of age. From 1591 (if not earlier) each candidate had to submit to examination of his qualification for office on these criteria, to which was added a profession of faith.⁴² This whole dossier was then examined in consistory before being passed to the Pope for approval. The Pope theoretically had the final power of approval, but it is not clear to what degree he could or did exercise this power.

Baumgartner's analysis of the French episcopacy shows that the French Church was in an unhealthy state. Only one-third of bishops were educated in law or theology, with the lawyers dominating. This thesis has already noted in passing the opportunities for those unqualified and unfit for ecclesiastical office to obtain important benefices, although by the same token there were those who gained office by royal favour who were worthy and able. The correlation between membership of the Church elite and of the Court aristocracy or of the machinery of the State meant that many high churchmen were rarely, if ever, resident in their benefices. This abuse was often compounded by pluralism and, in the case of abbeys, combined with the holding of a benefice in an order of which one was

⁴¹ Jean Balsamo "Cultures italiennes" addresses the question of Charles's conformity to the Borromean model and parallels Lorraine's response to Trent with that of Borromeo, such as the foundation of a seminary at similar times and the development of a school of Churchmen around both. He also detects Italian spirituality in the ecclesiastical framework of Charles and then Louis II. In the case of Charles at least it would seem better to view this style as an independent programme following the spirit of Trent. There was contact between the two Charles (see Pollen *Papal Negotiations with Mary Queen of Scots During her Reign in Scotland 1561 - 1567* Edinburgh, 1901 :156-8), but it is not known whether they discussed Church affairs. Louis II may have been influenced by the Borromean model which gained influence in France (see the discussion below) and formed part of the ecclesiastical environment from the 1580s.

⁴² Peronnet :400;420-421.

not a professed member. Aggressive French foreign policy in the Italian states meant that there were several younger sons of Italian aristocratic families who had moved into the French sphere and enjoyed French benefices. As the case of the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals shows, strict conformity to the rules of the Concordat did not apply to the sons of influential aristocratic families.

The Borromean style of episcopacy did not impact properly upon France until the seventeenth century. Then the example of the Bishop of Milan was absorbed into the French Church because it provided the most available model for the application of the reforming spirit of the Council of Trent. Borromeo's influence had emerged at the end of the sixteenth century, but it was only in the next century that it gained widespread emulation. Churchmen of the Milanese network such as Alexandre Canigiani, Archbishop of Aix-en-Provence, and the papal nuncios Giovanni Battista Castelli and Girolamo Ragazzoni had brought his example into France. Borromeo's provincial councils in Milan apparently provided the example for French provincial councils during the period 1581 to 1594 because of the use of the Milanese model in the drawing up of the Constitutions of Melun. The Bishop's reputation had arrived in France by 1579, since Henri III spoke of him to a delegation of French bishops, but it was not until the 1590s and beyond that the cult of Borromeo really developed and the French clergy became devoted to his example.⁴³

The main factor in the Counter-Reform programme formulated at Trent and expressed in its decrees was the restoration and enforcement of discipline. The key element in this was episcopal authority and therefore attention was paid to the proper role of the bishop. His chief duty was to preach; if he was legitimately prevented from doing so himself he was to delegate the duty to a suitable replacement. It was also his responsibility to ensure that adequate provision for preaching existed in each parish in his diocese. To ensure this prime obligation each churchman was to occupy only one metropolitan or episcopal office, of which he was expected to be a worthy and conscientious incumbent. Those promoted to such an office had to be consecrated within three months or face deprivation of the revenues of the see. Residence was advocated, but an absence of three months (continuously or throughout the year)⁴⁴ could be sanctioned with the written permission of the Pope or the metropolitan (in the case of an archbishop permission was to

⁴³ Information for this paragraph from Venard "The Influence of Carlo Borromeo..."

⁴⁴ For short absences spread through the year the preference was for a total limit of two months.

be gained from his senior suffragan). Authorisation for an absence which did not come from Rome was to be examined by the provincial council. The only exception to this regulation was in the case of public service to the state, a very large exemption considering the traditional role of leading churchmen in the affairs of the king.

Each bishop was to hold an annual diocesan synod and attend a provincial synod every three years. They also had a duty to perform a visitation of their diocese. The devices of synods and visitations served as a means of reinforcing episcopal authority, which was further enhanced by the bishop's control over appointments to the priesthood. Practices such as secular patronage had limited the clergy's control over the staffing of the lower clergy, but Trent reasserted the role of the bishop by giving him the authority to approve candidates. This took the form of an examination of the candidate's fitness for the priesthood and the confining of ordinations to the cathedral church. Further attempts to prevent abuse included the prohibition of any gift being exchanged when a priest was promoted to orders. Once in place the priest was then subject to episcopal supervision, ensuring that his conduct conformed with the expected standards.

As part of the programme to ensure the competence of the priesthood, seminaries were to be set up in every diocese. These were to take in boys of twelve years of age, of legitimate birth, who could read and write and who seemed likely candidates for the priesthood. Preference was to be given to poor boys. They were to wear the tonsure and clerical dress and study scripture, theology and the writings of the saints. For their establishment the bishop was to use revenues already assigned for education and annex other revenues, including those of benefices and abbeys with rights of patronage.

Trent also passed decrees on the discipline of the regular clergy. Each order was to observe its rule strictly and maintain residence. A year's novitiate was expected before profession, which could take place once the candidate was sixteen. Before profession the relatives of the novice were not allowed to donate anything to the religious house beyond what was necessary for the maintenance of the novice or religious, which was a measure designed to ensure that the profession was freely made. Anyone who either coerced or prevented a profession was declared anathema (there was a five year limit placed on the plea of coercion). The heads of houses were to be correctly elected. Monastic benefices were only to be held by regulars and those at the head of mother houses had to make profession within six months or relinquish their office. They were to receive regular

visitation from their ordinary or the local bishop.

The Lorraine-Guise Cardinals do not meet all of the basic criteria set down by the Concordat for the tenure of high ecclesiastical office. All three were of legitimate French birth and their orthodoxy cannot seriously be questioned. The Cardinal de Lorraine certainly had a reputation for moral rectitude, but, according to contemporary accounts, his brother Louis was possibly too fond of good living and the courtier lifestyle to strictly qualify, whilst their nephew had an illegitimate son. Although the three were apparently well educated it is not actually recorded that they obtained degrees of any kind (although the Cardinal de Lorraine frequently exhibited his learning). As sons of leading aristocrats it would be expected that they were exempt from this condition. The age qualification was not observed. Charles was only thirteen when he received the title of Archbishop of Reims, although he did not take up office until 1546, when he was twenty one. At eighteen Louis I was slightly older when he was provided with the Bishopric of Troyes in 1545. His nephew was a year older when he succeeded to the Archbishopric in 1574, although he was not consecrated as a priest until he was twenty four (1579) and only received consecration as Archbishop in 1583 when he was twenty eight. This would seem to indicate that, to some extent, the family was paying attention to Tridentine decrees in this respect and, as far as their dynastic policy would allow, moved to conform with expected practice. However, this did mean that the Archbishop of Reims from 1575 to 1583 was not consecrated, and indeed had not received consecration as a priest for the first four years of his tenure. Charles had been consecrated several months before making his entry into Reims.⁴⁵ There is no parallel information for the status of Louis I.⁴⁶

As the analysis of Lorraine-Guise tenure patterns in Chapter 2 shows, the Cardinals avoided episcopal pluralism, but only in theory. There was some occasional pluralism while these benefices were being exchanged, as in the case of Charles's arrangements for the Bishopric of Metz. Attempts were made to conform to expectations of propriety in the case of Charles's relationship with the Trois Évêchés, and he resigned the titles to Metz and Verdun to others while retaining a significant financial interest in the sees. Clearly this cheated the ideals which Trent championed, but at least it meant that there were bishops at

⁴⁵ Cocquault - Charles was consecrated as a priest at the same time as he received consecration as a Bishop in February 1545.

⁴⁶ Dates provided by Anselme vol.II. Neither Anselme nor *Gallia* provide dates for Louis I.

the head of each diocese rather than one shared between the three.

The Lorraine-Guise Cardinals were clearly absentee bishops for large periods of their tenure. The role of the Cardinal de Lorraine in the service of the state, as a key agent of Henri II, governor under François II and subsequently periodic advisor to the Crown, as well as his involvement in diplomatic missions, provided him with the exemption from residence allowed by the delegates at Trent. His brother and nephew do not appear to have had such roles. Although Louis I was employed on a diplomatic mission to Spain in 1568 and is cited as a councillor, the inadequacy of surviving sources leaves a picture of a courtier who did not fulfil any useful function (see Chapter 7). The role of Louis II in the League structure indicates that he was more politically active, but his contribution to government is unclear. Nevertheless, the Cardinals de Guise could still have claimed through their positions as councillors that they were employed in the service of the state and could therefore largely ignore the instruction to reside in their sees. Little material appears to survive relating to the amount of attention the senior Cardinal de Guise paid to his dioceses. He visited Metz for the first time in April 1571/2 and apparently stayed there only until the following June. He excused his absence by his ambassadorial duties.⁴⁷ A fairly full picture of the Cardinal de Lorraine's activities survive, enough to give one a reasonably sound impression of his style of episcopate, whilst his successor at Reims has left a more sketchy outline.

Despite his exemption from the regulations governing residence because of his activity in relation to the state, Charles did attempt to comply with expected practice. In 1565 (at least) he followed the guidelines for approval of his absence, asking permission from his senior suffragans.⁴⁸ Lorraine also seems to have shown general concern for his diocese and enthusiasm for playing the role of (arch)bishop. The sources are scattered with references to Charles's presence at Reims and give the impression of frequent visits.⁴⁹ His visits to Reims were not just the result of unfavourable situations at Court, although the Archdiocese certainly could perform the same function as a patrimonial estate when the Cardinal wished to withdraw from Court. In the early 1560s, once he was released from a primary role in the governance of France, Charles showed considerable attachment to

⁴⁷ Calmet III:61;64.

⁴⁸ Marlot :402.

⁴⁹ The best source for this impression is Marlot.

Reims, remaining there for extended periods, even when his return to Court was being requested. Catherine de Medici referred to his departure in 1564 to go to “son évêché faire l’office de bon pasteur”.⁵⁰ Louis II seems not to have attempted to follow in his uncle’s footsteps, although it is difficult to say whether it is the silence of sources or Louis’s inclination which make it appear that he was not equally conscientious. Louis’s ambiguous position in regard to the Archdiocese from 1575 to 1583 may be a factor in this apparent neglect. During this period he was unconsecrated and had not yet made a formal entry into the city.

Chapter 4 touched upon the subject of the personnel the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals left in their benefices to act as their deputies and substitutes in the performance of spiritual functions. Clearly the level of the Cardinals’ concern for the Church and their benefices would have been reflected in the quality of their vicars. The primary concern here is the Archbishopric of Reims. The leading canons from the cathedral Chapter would seem to have been ideal candidates for the position. The efforts of the Cardinal de Lorraine in the direction of the Chapter (see below) would have ensured that they were of a suitable standard in regard to orthodoxy and reform, although the absence of any assessment of their vicariat or personal qualities limits the strength of my conclusions. However, the choice of senior ecclesiastics from other dioceses and with other responsibilities is rather more questionable. The sources are somewhat vague as to the relationship of these Churchmen, such as Louis Guillart and Nicolas Psaume, to the Grand Archdeacon of Reims and the Archdeacon of Champagne in the function of vicar. Since Reims was a metropolitan see there may have been a need for a senior cleric to act as a vicar in the archiepiscopal functions, whilst the mundane functions of a vicar in a cathedral church were performed by a senior member of the Chapter. During the period of his extended absence during the reign of François II Charles also instituted a supervisory council at Reims which met weekly, and he kept a strict eye on the diocese.⁵¹

This brings us to the question of preaching and what provision was made for it in the cathedral and Archdiocese of Reims.⁵² The Cardinal de Lorraine has a certain reputation

⁵⁰ *Lettres Catherine II*:155 Catherine to the Bishop of Rennes 28 February 1563/4.

⁵¹ Evennett :18 and 227.

⁵² On preaching and preachers there is much valuable information in Taylor *Soldiers of Christ* - Chapter 2. Preaching regularly occurred on Sundays and feast days and was largely an urban phenomena. It was especially important during Lent and the four Sundays of Advent. After the arrival of confessional divergences the responsibility for selecting preachers passed from the civic authorities to the Church

as a preacher and is said to have enjoyed this part of his spiritual duties.⁵³ It is claimed that he restored preaching at Reims, reestablishing its dignity and regularity, setting the example by preaching himself.⁵⁴ He did not limit his activity to Reims, and English agents in France noted that he preached at Notre Dame in Paris on a number of occasions,⁵⁵ whilst Evennett records that he also preached daily at Marmoutier during his residence there in Holy Week 1560.⁵⁶ There is no collection of the sermons expounded by the Cardinal and the only orations which do survive are those which were prepared for a specific occasion, such as Poissy. There is no record of whether Louis II ever preached in his cathedral, or anywhere else.

Efforts also seem to have been made to ensure that the preaching in the diocese was of an adequate standard. In 1561 Lorraine instituted regulations for his canons, which included an instruction to give up their cures to priests who could properly fulfil their charges.⁵⁷ Unfortunately there is not enough information on the priests that Charles installed in the benefices within his collation to assess how strictly he examined their suitability for the post. The records generated by the enquiry into titles to minor benefices in the diocese of Reims in 1566-7 provides some kind of picture of the educational qualifications of parish priests, although the records vary from deanery to deanery.⁵⁸ Those holding the degree of *maître des arts* appear with reasonable frequency throughout the diocese. There are a few Doctors of Theology, such as Pierre Wyat, priest of the

hierarchy. If the bishop did not preach himself, and it was rare for him to do so, then either a great itinerant preacher or an advanced theology student would be engaged. It was most common to employ preachers from local religious houses, with Franciscans and Dominicans sharing the duties.

⁵³ Evennett :18-19 states that Lorraine had a European reputation as a preacher, because of his talent and the fact that not many bishops or cardinals preached during this period. He notes that his activity covered audiences of select groups in Paris, his canons, the people of Reims and remote rural congregations in the diocese of Reims.

⁵⁴ Henry *La Reforme et la ligue...* St. Nicolas, 1867 :46. Evennett :229 During Lent 1561 the Cardinal preached alternately with Jacques du Prés. Confirmed by *C.S.P.F.* V:984.

⁵⁵ *C.S.P.F.* VII:68 the Cardinal being at Court preached morning and evening on whit Sunday 1562; VII:86 William Saull to [Clough] 23 May 1562, the Cardinal preaches often, sometimes twice a day at Notre Dame.

⁵⁶ Evennett :113.

⁵⁷ Haton I:234. The record of those holding cures in 1566-7 shows that a number of canons still held cures, such as Jehan Tavernier priest at St. Hilaire and Guy Leveque at Tardenoys, whilst several canons appear to have resigned their cures, such as Jehan Dupuis (Ste. Marie Magdalen 1564) and Pierre Renonart (Paully 1564) - A.D.M.(Reims) 2G172/15 Deanery of Reims:3v; Deanery of la Montagne:1v; Deanery of Lavenne:4; Deanery of la Montagne:3v. There is no significant pattern of resignation of cures.

⁵⁸ A.D.M.(Reims) 2G172/15.

diocese of Reims, curé of St. Etienne (and also a canon of the cathedral Chapter), who held his doctorate from the Faculty of Theology of Paris, and Pierre Thomas, priest of the diocese of Reims, curé of St. Symphorien and Doctor of Theology of Reims.⁵⁹

Both the Cardinal de Lorraine and Louis II employed prestigious preachers at Reims, especially for the preaching cycles of Lent and Advent. In the discussion of clerical patronage in Chapter 4 note was made of the Cardinal de Lorraine's activity in selecting able preachers and bringing them to Court or to Reims, and also the ambiguity in Louis II's role in selecting preachers for Reims (i.e. whether it was his or the Chapter's hand behind the invitation to Jean Boucher). If Louis did not select the preachers himself then he was at least being informed of their appointment. In 1570 Emond Auger was invited to preach Advent at Reims, having already been retained by Charles to preach at Court in 1568.⁶⁰ Pussot's *mémoires* provide an almost complete list of those who preached at Reims during the tenure of Louis II such as a doctor of the Sorbonne (1576 and 1584) and the Cordelier Feuardent (1588).⁶¹

Care was also taken to apply the Decrees of the Council of Trent and other Church authorities to the priests of the diocese of Reims. The majority of synodial decrees dealt with the clergy and such matters as preaching and the administration of the sacraments. For instance, the priest could not be ordained unless he had received confirmation, knew the rudiments of the faith and could read and write.⁶² Mendicant friars were forbidden to hear confessions or give communion without the consent of the parish priest. No priest from another diocese was to be installed if a native priest was available. On Sundays and feast days the laity were to be exhorted not to frequent taverns or conduct business during the time of the divine service, a measure designed to reestablish the sanctity of the occasion.⁶³

Concern for suitable personnel is reflected in the establishment of a seminary at Reims, in line with the recommendations of Trent, to complement the other educational establishment which the Cardinal sponsored in the city (see Chapter 5).⁶⁴ It was regulated

⁵⁹ A.D.M.(Reims) 2G172/15 Deanery of Reims :4.

⁶⁰ Martin *Jesuit Politicians*.

⁶¹ Pussot examples :159 and 169; 177.

⁶² Gousset examples taken from:158; 159 (provincial synod of 1564); 350 (constitutions 1548-72).

⁶³ Evennett :17. On the question of priests from other dioceses A.D.M.(Reims) 2G172/15 shows priests from Laon (5), Soissons (2), Noyon (2), Paris (1), Sens (1) and Troyes (1).

⁶⁴ For a full discussion of this foundation see Hanneuse.

along the lines recommended by Trent and drew upon the Archbishop's resources and revenues, with some assistance from the Chapter. Pius IV granted the Bull of erection in 1563 whilst Lorraine was at Rome⁶⁵ and Charles discussed the matter with the Chapter and the provincial synod in 1564, but it is not clear exactly when the seminary was established. It was given permanent lodgings in the rue de Barbâtre in 1567 in a building which Charles had acquired piecemeal. It was one of the earliest seminaries established in France, which demonstrates particular zeal on the part of Lorraine. This is one area in which Louis II did follow his uncle and after Lorraine's death it was decided that the seminary was too far away from the cathedral so it was moved to the Collège de Bons-Enfants.⁶⁶

Another obligation imposed by Trent was for diocesan and provincial synods. Gousset's collection of the acts of synods in the province of Reims gives some indication of the Archbishops' attention to this area. He records provincial councils at Reims in 1564 and 1583, but there was no indication as to whether they were in fact held regularly every three years, as was expected. Louis II was unable to hold a provincial council until 1583 because he had not yet been properly consecrated or installed.⁶⁷ There is also no record of whether either Cardinal held regular annual diocesan synods. However, Gousset does publish statutes and synodial constitutions formulated under Charles over a period from 1548 to 1572, and specifically at the general assemblies of 1568, 1569 and 1570. At least some of these statutes were the result of a visitation of the diocese, which Gousset cites as having taken place in (at least) 1548 and 1572. In a letter to the Bishop of Rennes the Cardinal de Lorraine stated that he was going to Reims to perform a visitation at the start of 1561.⁶⁸

The Cardinal de Lorraine expressed his concern for his spiritual duties in other ways. In letters he explained that he was not at Court because he was attending to his flock and also declared a preference for his spiritual duties.⁶⁹ Indeed he spoke of his period at Reims after he left Court in 1561, when he occupied himself with preaching, spiritual

⁶⁵ Hanneke :92, citing A.D.M.(Reims) 2G351/19:1.

⁶⁶ Hanneke :94-5 citing A.D.M.(Reims) 2G351 - translation of the seminary, Henri III's authorisation for the transfer and a 1587 plan of the building of the new seminary. Also Marlot :413.

⁶⁷ The papal nuncio was apparently scandalised by this failure and would have suspected Louis II had it not been for his family's reputation. Boucher *Société et mentalités...*III:1350.

⁶⁸ B.N. ms. Vc Colbert 391:175 Charles to Rennes 31 January 1560 [old style].

⁶⁹ B.N. ms.fr. 6609:10 Charles to Niart, the French ambassador to Portugal, 8 March 1561; ms.fr. 6609:64 Lorraine to the Bishop of Limoges 23 May 1562.

reading and pastoral activity, as one of the happiest and freest periods of his life.⁷⁰ After the assassination of Duc François, Lorraine also wrote of an intention to retire from State affairs and dedicate himself to the Church when he returned from Trent.⁷¹ If Louis II attempted to follow this style and show similar zeal the fact has not been recorded for posterity.

The Lorraine-Guise Cardinals were exempt from the basic criteria of tenure because of their status. The most important factor in the spirit of reform was their functioning as bishops. Lorraine especially had wide-ranging interests and the Cardinals de Guise were distracted by Court activity, which meant that they were absentees. However, Charles and Louis II did make provision for adequate preaching and spiritual welfare in the diocese of Reims. Lorraine showed a certain degree of commitment to his role as Archbishop despite the many other calls on his time. His nephew was prevented from following his example by his youth, so it is unclear how committed he might have been.

The Lorraine-Guise Cardinals also failed to conform to the reformed ideal of what a cardinal should be.⁷² Again this was a result of the political factors involved in their nomination: the solicitation of the French Crown and their status as members of a leading French dynasty which was connected with the Church. The letters to Rome requesting such promotions echoed those asking for other favours by emphasising the qualities of the candidate, the devotion of the family to the Church and the family's service to the Catholic cause.⁷³ Therefore a cardinal's hat not only enhanced status, but also reflected spiritual prestige. A candidate was supposed to be thirty years old before he became a cardinal (twenty two for a cardinal deacon), whereas all three of the Lorraine-Guises were in their

⁷⁰ Report of the contents of a letter sent to Claude d'Espence in the dedicatory epistle of his *In Priorem D. Pauli Apostoli ad Timotheum Epistolam Commentarii* (1561) cited by Evennett :230-231.

⁷¹ A.M.R. Registre 42:147 and Cocquault:347.

⁷² A useful background is provided by Antonovics "Counter-Reformation Cardinals" *European Studies Review* 2 1972.

⁷³ For example *Lettres Catherine VII*:265-6 requesting the transfer of abbeys 23 June 1580, knowing of Louis II's qualities, merits and virtues; *Lettres Henri III* 2:1190 to Gregory XIII asking for the promotion of Louis II 3 January 1575 because of the loss of Charles, their house and the hope of successful service; 3:2372 Henri to Abain 28 March 1577 recalling the request for Louis' promotion "qui m'appartient de pres et est extrait de race si genereuse et catholique" (although he adds in a post script that he really wants the promotion of Birague); 3:2626 Henri to Gregory XIII 18 August 1577 soliciting a hat for Charles III because he had been devoted to the Church since his earliest days and showed piety, religiosity and other virtues.

early to mid twenties.⁷⁴ The three do qualify as being legitimate and not (at the time) having children. A cardinal was expected to be a cleric of the four minor orders, which Charles was, Louis I may have been and Louis II does not appear to have been. A Bull of January 1554 meant that two brothers were not allowed to be members of the College and formed part of a general move to prevent close relatives from holding the title. The senior Lorraine-Guise generation managed to sneak in under this just over a month before it came into effect, but it was a major factor in the failure of Louis II to gain promotion until 1578. It was explained that the refusal to give a cardinal's hat to Louis II in 1572 was because he was related to a member of the College, which was "molto indecente et contro le reforme".⁷⁵ A newly promoted cardinal was expected to visit Rome within a year of his promotion or lose his rank. Both senior Lorraine-Guise Cardinals did so, but Louis II never made the journey and thus received neither the insignia nor the title.⁷⁶

It is no surprise to find that the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals made far less attempt to conform to the decrees of Trent in their tenure of monastic benefices than in the episcopal sphere. Their position was in theory completely incompatible with monastic office. All three Cardinals were mass pluralists and none were ordained members of the houses which they headed. The only exception to this picture, and one worth noting, is Claude, the bastard son of the first Duc de Guise. He was a Benedictine monk and, after serving as Abbot of St. Nicaise de Reims, he was installed as Abbot of Cluny. His succession to his half brother was prepared for by his installation as coadjutor in 1562 and this arrangement of the family's dynastic strategy may very well reflect a concern to place an individual whom the Church would consider as a suitable candidate at the head of an important mother house. The approval of the Abbey for this arrangement (and the other coadjutorships outlined in Chapter 2) would probably be viewed as side-stepping the decree calling for the proper election of an abbot.

Given the number of abbeys which the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals held, and the short tenure of some, they could not have been resident and could only be expected to visit

⁷⁴ *Hierarchia* Charles was elevated on 27 July 1547 when he was twenty two, Louis I 22 December 1553 aged twenty six and Louis II, who was only a cardinal-deacon was twenty three when promoted on 21 February 1578.

⁷⁵ A.N.G. 12 :70.

⁷⁶ *Hierarchia*.

periodically. There are various examples of the Lorraine-Guise Abbots taking an interest in the spiritual administration of their Abbeys and making some action to implement reform. When Charles and Louis II were in Reims they would have been able to take some part in the affairs of the Abbey of St. Remi, although they would probably have stayed in the Archepiscopal palace rather than the Abbot's residence. There is some indication that other of their monastic benefices could also have enjoyed personal attention at least occasionally. The Cardinal de Lorraine's visit to the Abbey of Marmoutier and his preaching there in 1560 is noted above.⁷⁷ He also showed himself to be interested in the affairs of Cluny. At Trent he gained the renewal of the Abbey's privileges and the confirmation of its new statutes. The Cardinal was present at the general chapter of 1571 and took an active part in the deliberations and decisions. It was under his impulse that the Abbey worked seriously for the reform of the Order following the directions set out by the Council of Trent. Among the measures taken were efforts to ensure that the divine office was said at the prescribed time, that seculars were not admitted to places in the Abbey reserved for regulars and that chapters were held regularly twice a week.⁷⁸ The importance of St. Denis en France and its proximity to Paris would have ensured that it also received Abbatial attention. Charles's presence was clearly necessary whenever there was a royal funeral, but this was not the only occasion upon which he visited. Whilst the Cardinal was at the Abbey in October 1573 installing his nephew as coadjutor, he also presented rules which he had drawn up for the monks.⁷⁹ The dynastic importance of Fécamp is reflected in the attention it received. The Cardinal de Lorraine visited the Abbey shortly after he became Abbot and his presence was an active one since he filled various vacancies in the administration of the benefice. The relaxed character of monastic life at the Abbey gave him cause for concern and he took measures to rectify its interior organisation. However, the monks appear to have remained lax in their observance of the Order as there were frequent and repeated measures taken in the chapter to restore discipline, which implies that the monks were not observing them. Charles attempted to restore observance at Fécamp, and to correct lapses in discipline,

⁷⁷ Evennett : 113.

⁷⁸ Charvin : 16.

⁷⁹ Félibien : 402. These regulated meals in common, decreed that the monks sleep in the same dormitory and recommended that they wore modest habits. The Abbey held two chapters a year in October and February which had already made other statutes for the conduct of the Abbey's life.

orthodoxy and clausura, but was unsuccessful.⁸⁰ The presence of a bed made for Louis II in 1587 in the Abbey museum at Fécamp may suggest that the younger Abbot was also a frequent visitor.

Attitudes to Counter-Reform

Attention now turns to the more general attitudes of the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals to the movements of Catholic and Counter Reform. This encompasses a brief assessment of their reaction to the emergence of Protestantism and the Huguenot movement and their actions in relation to the Council of Trent. This discussion is of necessity a superficial one because these issues are so closely bound up with the political situation in France and so complex in their own right that they would form a substantial research project in themselves, as the four-hundred-plus pages of Evennett's study demonstrate. A more complex analysis would also deviate from the main thrust of this study which is to look at the Cardinals in the context of noble society and the dynastic structure. However, such issues cannot be ignored and it is interesting to see how the family's image of orthodox Catholicism appears in the light of these movements.

The Lorraine-Guise family as a whole has the reputation of being the instigators of a policy of persecution against the *religion pretendue reformée*, which they initiated during the reign of Henri II, pursued under François II, and continued to advocate and sponsor. Within traditional historiography all sorts of wild schemes are attributed to the Cardinal de Lorraine in a frenzy of conspiracy theories which reflect the fears and propaganda of the Huguenots. A more level headed approach to the subject, such as that undertaken by Evennett, reveals the complexities of the situation and the fact that the Cardinal de Lorraine, at least, was prepared to take a more conciliatory line until the failure of this approach (and the assassination of his brother) convinced him that force was the only option. The Lorraine-Guises cannot plausibly be credited with having inspired Henri II's policy, although they did support it and continued its implementation after his death when they found themselves holding the reins of power. The prime concern was to reunite the kingdom by removing confessional differences; until the early 1560s the Cardinal believed that this could be best achieved by dialogue. Thus he did not, according to Evennett, join

⁸⁰ Fallue :324-327. Daoust "La Réforme Mauriste a Fécamp" in Povremoyne ed. *L'Abbaye Bénédictine de Fécamp* I:194.

the Triumvirate.⁸¹ But when it became clear that the Protestant rebels could only be brought into line by force he was a strong advocate of military action and a political rather than an ecclesiastical or theological solution. Like all those at the centre of French government, he was reacting to the political situation as it arose, modifying his attitudes to the latest turn of events.

Evennett noted that the Cardinal de Lorraine was more interested in movements of active reform than he was in persecution.⁸² This point is illustrated by his sponsorship of the Jesuits and the Capucins, which is discussed in Chapter 5. This patronage fills out the picture of the Cardinal's zeal for the Catholic and Counter Reform movements, illustrated by his sponsorship of educational institutions and promotion of Tridentine measures in his diocese and in France as a whole. This was one area in which he was followed by his nephew, although on a much less prominent scale, for example in the reception of the English College at Reims.

The first part of this policy towards the Protestants led to the Cardinal de Lorraine's sponsorship of a Church Council to attempt a reconciliation between the deviant confessions and the Roman Catholic Church. His sights focused primarily upon a new ecumenical council which would contain representatives from the German states and new confessions as well as from the Roman Church. This meant that he advocated the rediscussion of all the issues previously debated by the Council of Trent and was opposed to the simple resumption of the Council because this would effectively exclude the very people he sought to bring into the process. His commitment to reintegration and compromise during the early 1560s is further evidenced by his promotion of the Colloquy of Poissy and his personal and independent attempts to formulate some kind of agreement at Saverne.⁸³ Alongside this approach he wanted a more immediate and local solution to France's pressing political situation through the holding of a national council. It was envisaged that this would solve local problems on a local level and that the general council, when it eventually met, would tackle the wider issues. Beyond the central religious element the history of the national and general councils is bound up with national and international politics. The national council was transformed from a diplomatic pawn to get the papacy to

⁸¹ Evennett :230.

⁸² Evennett :57.

⁸³ See especially Evennett :429ff.

act on the question of a general council into a serious undertaking (which resulted in the Colloquy of Poissy) when it became clear that Trent would simply be resumed and that a general council would not meet France's needs.

The Cardinal de Lorraine played a prominent role in both the national and the general councils, which was natural given his position in the French Church and the familiarity he had gained with the international stage through diplomatic missions. (Indeed a significant amount of his time at the Council of Trent was employed in diplomatic activity towards the Emperor). Given Louis I's political obscurity (and implied lack of ability) it is not surprising that he was not among the delegates sent to the General Council and that his presence at Poissy was only that required by his status as a Court cardinal.

The Cardinal de Lorraine clearly invested a lot in the Council of Trent, and therefore in its resulting decrees, in terms of personal prestige. Although the Council had not provided what France had looked for, it must still have been a significant blow to his honour to return to such a hostile reception (Catherine de Medici kept him waiting when he returned to Court).⁸⁴ I do not want to deviate too far into speculation about the Cardinal de Lorraine's psychological state, but it is necessary to reflect that he had just spent several months at the centre of the European stage in the midst of an international cast debating great issues. He had also just lost his brother through the confessional struggle. Then he returned to be neglected and have the reform programme he brought cast aside by the Crown. The attempts of the Cardinal de Lorraine to gain the acceptance and execution of the Tridentine decrees needs to be viewed in the light of this slight to his personal honour as well as his devotion to the reform movement.

On a local level he seems to have taken what measures seemed necessary to avoid contamination by heretical ideas. This took the form, as this chapter shows, of reforming measures and efforts to ensure that the Catholic faith was properly conveyed to the people of his diocese. Lorraine also took (non-violent) steps to counter heresy directly. One of the statutes he instituted at Reims concerned heresy and forbade the possession of heretical books on the pain of excommunication. If such books were found they were to be burnt and if any doubt existed as to their heretical nature the local *curé* was to be consulted.⁸⁵ The Cardinal de Lorraine banished from his temporal jurisdiction at Reims all those who would

⁸⁴ For the detail of France's response and attitude towards Trent see Martin *Le Gallicanisme*.

⁸⁵ Gousset :350 synodial constitutions 1548-72.

not conform to Catholicism (although he did not confiscate their goods). This tallies with the policy he advocated on a national level.⁸⁶ Louis II took action against prophecies and other things contrary to Christian piety.⁸⁷ This included intervening in and imposing proper procedures on the witch hunts which spread through Champagne-Ardenne in 1587, which led to the acquittal of those who had been accused in an atmosphere of apocalyptic fervour.⁸⁸ Reims was not seriously threatened by a strong Protestant group, but those who were suspected were kept under observation.⁸⁹ The absence of such a presence on their doorstep makes it difficult to assess how the Archbishops would have reacted had one existed. It is not clear whether Lorraine-Guise tenure of the Archbishopric was a major factor in the absence of heresy.

The above discussion emphasises the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals' attempts to introduce Tridentine reforms into their benefices, specifically the Archbishopric of Reims. In this Louis II appears to have made efforts to follow his uncle, although, of course, much of the work had been done and Louis was too young to be very active in this sphere in the first years of his tenure. One only has to look at the footnotes provided in Gousset's collection of synodial decrees and statutes to gain the impression that the Lorraine-Guise Archbishops were paying close attention to the work of Trent. In the preface to the 1564 provincial council it is made clear that Lorraine resolved to summon the council to have the Tridentine decrees received in the light of the opposition of the *Parlement* of Paris.⁹⁰ However, the Chapter proved resistant to certain of the proposals (as they had been to others after the Colloquy of Poissy) because they were prejudicial to their privileges.⁹¹ Aside from those decrees which related to the priesthood instituted by the Cardinal de Lorraine, the provincial synod of 1564 adopted the Tridentine decrees on clandestine marriage, although these were not published. (Statutes concerning marriage and the other sacraments were also issued by the Cardinal de Lorraine and by the Council held by Louis II in 1583). Other issues arising from Poissy and Trent were deferred until the

⁸⁶ Evennett :419 note 1.

⁸⁷ Gousset :cap.6 of Decrees of the Council of 1583.

⁸⁸ See Alfred Soman *Sorcellerie et Justice Criminelle (16e - 18e siècles)* 1992 articles XII, XIV and XV. A major concern here was jurisdiction - see next Chapter. In contrast Lorraine had burnt a young woman as a witch for claiming to have had a vision of the Virgin - Haton :418.

⁸⁹ For the history of the reformed faith in Reims see Henry *La Reforme et la ligue...*

⁹⁰ Gousset :151.

⁹¹ Marlot:353 and 345.

delegates had examined the proposals.⁹²

Environment

The Lorraine-Guise Cardinals must be placed in the context of an environment of spiritual energy and renewal. The sixteenth century as a whole was a remarkable period in terms of intellectual and spiritual enthusiasm. The Cardinal de Lorraine's reputation as a scholar indicates that he was a part of this environment, a fact which is also reflected by his association and friendship with a number of Churchmen and intellectuals who were inspired by the spirit of the age. This adds a spiritual dimension to the networks described in Chapter 4. Nicolas Psaume, whose relationship with the Cardinal ~~was~~ ^{is} elaborated in Chapter 4, gained a reputation as an advocate of Catholic and Counter Reform at Verdun.⁹³ The theologian Claude d'Espence was also a member of this network.⁹⁴

On the other side of the confessional divide Lorraine was associated with Jacques Spifame. Spifame had been a canon at Reims and vicar to Charles and subsequently left his Bishopric of Nevers to flee to Geneva.⁹⁵ Two letters from Peter Ramus to Lorraine also demonstrate the shared environment of reformers on both sides of the confessional divide.⁹⁶ In the first Ramus spoke of a friendship of thirty five years earlier (which draws upon the cultural model lying behind patronage structures where connections could lie dormant for long periods before being called upon) and said that the malicious would now declare that the Cardinal had deprived him of the other fruits and rewards of his former studies as well as his professorship. He implored Charles that the end of their lives should not be so different from the start. In the second Ramus defended himself against the charge of ingratitude (for former benefits) and that he had hastily changed his religion and

⁹² Gousset :153-4. The Statutes are printed :156-168.

⁹³ Raymond Darricau review of Bernard Ardura *Nicolas Psaume* Paris,1990 in *R.H.E.F.* 200 1992.

⁹⁴ Evennett :3-4; 275-6.

⁹⁵ Henry *La reforme et la ligue...*

⁹⁶ Pierre de la Ramée was a logician and had been a Protestant since 1561. Jean de Lorraine instigated an attachment which developed between Charles and Pierre at the Collège de Navarre. Ramus provoked controversy from 1544 through his denunciation of Aristotle, in the midst of which he had dedicated a book to Charles (an indication of Ramus's place in Charles's cultural patronage). When his lectures were suppressed Lorraine intervened with Henri II to restore Ramus to favour and literary liberty. Despite his Protestantism he was rejected by Beza and died during the Saint Bartholomew massacres. Evennett :13-14 and Cauly :257.

concluded by expressing the hope that the Cardinal would convert.⁹⁷

The absorption of the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals into the spiritual culture of their time is also reflected by Louis II's participation in the religious activities in which Henri III periodically immersed himself. There are references to Louis's presence at the convent in the Bois de Vincennes when the King was on religious retreat there.⁹⁸ Louis II, Louis I and Charles all participated in the culture of penitential processions which flourished in Catholic France during this period. The *Registres* of the Paris Bureau de Ville note Guise involvement in Parisian processions and in 1568 Lorraine organised a procession at Reims where all the town's relics were carried.⁹⁹ Charles died after participating bare foot in one such procession in the winter of 1574. Louis II participated bare foot in processions at Reims and he also ordered his own processions.¹⁰⁰

The involvement of Louis II in this religious and spiritual culture is particularly interesting in the light of Crouzet's discussion of the *processions blanches* which spread across northern France during 1583, with a minor revival in 1584.¹⁰¹ Crouzet describes a movement of collective piety which spread from east to west across the dioceses of the province of Reims (notably those whose bishops had attended the provincial council of that year). It was a spontaneous expression of popular devotion, which for a time had the city of Reims at its epicentre. The city welcomed over 72,000 pilgrims between July and September 1583, with a peak around the middle of August. During this time Louis II joined their processions and instigated his own. This participation reflects the general adoption of the popular movement by the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the towns through which the pilgrims passed. It also shows the way in which a popular movement could influence the actions of an elite. However, Louis did not go as far as his suffragan Charles de Roucy, Bishop of Soissons, who led 1,500 inhabitants of his episcopal city to Notre Dame de Liesse (which replaced Reims as a focal point) at the end of August.

⁹⁷ *C.S.P.F.* 11:1324 Summaries in English of letters dated 8 and 22 October 1570. It appears that there was a reply from the Cardinal between these two which it would be most interesting to find. If indeed he did reply it shows some interest in communication.

⁹⁸ *A.N.G.* 2 Ragazzoni :127;194.

⁹⁹ Marlot :404.

¹⁰⁰ Condé I:88;106;196; Marlot :462.

¹⁰¹ *Les Guerriers de Dieu* II:297-309.

CONCLUSION

The careers of the three Lorraine-Guise Cardinals help to illustrate some ways in which the French Church was making significant movements in the direction of reform before the major institutional impulse of the seventeenth century. This reform combined elements of Catholic renewal and measures designed to meet the challenge of Protestantism. It was a piecemeal process which relied upon the local rather than the national, the individual rather than the institutional. It was a process which was limited in its scope by the interests of the aristocratic dynasties which benefited from the ecclesiastical structure. In the case of the Lorraine-Guises this took the form of holding bishoprics below canonical age and the mass pluralism of monastic benefices. Although the system was open to abuse it could also allow those of the calibre of the Cardinal de Lorraine to take their place among the leaders of the Church, as well as support rather less active prelates such as the two Cardinals de Guise.

The Cardinal de Lorraine was a dominant figure in the French Church, employing his personal abilities to enhance the position which his dynastic context gave him. Personal ambition, concerns and preferences thrust him into the limelight and a leading role in the intersection of France with the movements of reform which spread across Europe. However, his predominant position was not given any institutional form and the development of the French Church as a consolidated institution had not yet reached a point where he could assume a significant role at its head. As with so much of early modern and aristocratic culture, birth, personal prestige and ability were the crucial factors in power and status. Lorraine had too many areas of action to be a fully committed Churchman and reformer. As well as giving him options, his multiple interests limited his ability to act because physical presence was necessary to get things done. His brother and nephew, the two Cardinals de Guise, had the birth and status, but they lacked the personal qualities to distinguish themselves and remained simply younger sons who were placed in the Church. The personal power of the Cardinal de Lorraine was a major asset to the dynasty. Although the two Louis were not as distinguished, the status they acquired as cardinals contributed to the prestige of the family.

Chapter Seven

PERSONAL POWER

It is the contention of this thesis that the elite of the French Catholic Church, and the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals in particular, should be considered as integral members of noble society and culture. An essential element in this society and culture was the possession of personal power, which in this period often took the form of displays of prestige and the assertion of honour. This chapter looks at the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals in this context and examines in what ways they fitted into this dimension of noble culture and to what extent their behaviour was governed by it. As members of a major family marked out by an exceptionally unified identity, their personal positions would contribute to the power and influence of the whole. The Cardinals also gained significantly from their membership of the Lorraine-Guise family. The position of the Cardinals is considered in relation to the power exercised by the Crown and central government; this is followed by a discussion of the power and authority they wielded through the temporal of their benefices as well as through their position at the head of these institutions. Some comments are also made about the Cardinals' actions as magnates and to what degree they too were concerned about demonstrations of prestige and the preservation of honour.

Neuschel's study of the sixteenth century French nobility attempted to shift our perception of them as being focused upon a Court which represented the developing and centralising state. Instead of the movement towards absolutism she provided a model of noble culture which sought its sense of status from within itself and from recognition of membership of the network of individuals which formed elite society. My understanding of the Cardinal de Lorraine's position conforms to this interpretation of aristocratic power. His status was not wholly dependent upon monarchical favour or presence at Court. Here, we are far away from the world of Versailles and the Court of Louis XIV; personal power and authority were just as important as the king's goodwill. Absences from Court did not mean political exile, although clearly they could represent exclusion from the inner workings of royal government. Noble power operated on a number of levels. These included the Court, but also, crucially, standing in the local community, authority in one's

chosen sphere of action and status in relation to one's peers. Royal favour was necessary for an individual to become established at the centre of national affairs, as the Cardinal de Lorraine's influence during the reign of Henri II shows, but it was also the case that those who enjoyed personal power and authority could not be excluded from the centre of state power. A position at the centre of royal government was far from being the whole story.

POWER IN RELATION TO THE STATE

Clearly the Cardinal de Lorraine's role at the centre of government was an essential factor in his status and power, but a thorough study of his activities and a precise analysis of his political importance at any given point lies beyond the scope of this thesis. Such an analysis would require the detailed examination of the political history of the French Court and government during the second half of the sixteenth century. Consideration would have to be given to a mass of material and the large quantity of available sources would have to be sifted for relevant information. Unfortunately no satisfactory study of this kind has been undertaken, leaving the field of sixteenth century French political history (particularly the period under discussion here) a rather obscure one, where the biases and inaccuracies of early historians and Huguenot propaganda have been allowed to remain. The intention here is not to correct the traditional view of the Cardinal de Lorraine; others such as Guillemin and Evennett have made such attempts without much effect on the myth. I will merely urge a reappraisal of his position and a more sympathetic approach to his actions.

Nor can I reconstruct the political careers of the two Cardinals de Guise, which are much more obscure than that of Charles and which only appear infrequently in the source material examined. It was my intention when I began this thesis to provide a clearer picture of their careers, but the sources diverted me from this through their silence and, as with the rest of this research, I have only been able to highlight their existence through the recording of one or two examples of their activity. Reluctantly I have to conclude that they were less significant figures than their relative, which was probably a result of personal inability to distinguish themselves as much as of the workings of royal favour or disfavour.

The Cardinal de Lorraine was a valuable member of the governing body of the French state, fulfilling important roles in both the administration of France and royal

diplomacy. He first rose to prominence under Henri II when royal favour and personal ability drew him into the dual role of administrator and diplomat. Romier would have us believe that there was a constant struggle for influence and power between the Lorraine-Guises and Anne de Montmorency during this reign and that the Cardinal finally asserted himself during the Constable's captivity following the defeat at St. Quentin (1557).¹ However, Baumgartner's rather cursory, yet revisionist, analysis of the reign dismisses this interpretation and replaces it with a picture of Montmorency and the Lorraine-Guises working together in government. Instead of a battle for influence over the King, Henri II used the perception of personal rivalry to explain his own manoeuvring between various policies.² Lorraine was the only one of the three left with Henri II after St. Quentin (François was in Italy), which clearly gave him more prominence, but this appears to be a necessary shift of role rather than a grab at influence. Indeed Baumgartner notes that although Lorraine was given the royal signet, which allowed him to control routine administration, and tradition holds that Lorraine governed France for the next fifteen months, there is no evidence of his influence in most major decisions and he showed his flexibility by surrendering power on Montmorency's return.

The greatest proportion of the Cardinal's correspondence preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale concerns routine administration during Henri II's reign and shows his presence at the heart of French government. There are no interesting discussions of policy, just the exchange of information and minor details concerning the running of the war, such as questions of finance. These letters confirm the view that Lorraine was one member of the royal administration, albeit an important one due to his noted skill in the management of finance, which is referred to repeatedly and which was a crucial factor in his continuing involvement in government. The majority of sources comment upon his management skills and his ability certainly seems to have been the most important factor in his position. The various ambassadorial dispatches which came from the Court during this period add weight to this picture, with the Cardinal frequently being cited as involved in government or being spoken to by the ambassadors in reference to government policy and activity.

During this reign the Cardinal was also frequently used for important negotiations,

¹ Romier *Les Origines* II : 191

² Baumgartner *Henry II* London, 1988.

a role which he repeated under Charles IX. His status as a Churchman was used to facilitate this activity, particularly with journeys to Rome being used to promote French policy in Italy. For instance, when Charles went to Rome in 1547 to receive his cardinal's hat he was also on a mission to cultivate support for Henri II in the Italian states. In the autumn of 1555 Lorraine was sent to Rome with the Cardinal de Tournon to negotiate a defensive and offensive alliance against the Spanish with Paul IV. On this occasion Lorraine was invested with general and entire authority over all the King's affairs in Italy.³ The Cardinal's attendance at the Council of Trent was combined with diplomatic duties, specifically negotiations with the Emperor for royal marriages. However, he could also be sent on diplomatic missions which had no connection with his position in the Church. In 1558 he was one of the French negotiators at the peace talks at Cercamp which led to the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis. His role in these negotiations seems to have been a significant one because of his family links with Christine, Duchess of Lorraine, who was a key player in the moves towards a cessation of the Franco-Habsburg wars.⁴

The death of Henri II placed the Lorraine-Guises in an extraordinary position. The new king, François II, was technically old enough to rule in his own right without the need for a regent, but at fifteen he clearly needed guidance and advice, if not someone to govern for him. The Cardinal de Lorraine and the Duc de Guise were in the best position to provide the support he needed and the administrative leadership the state required. The key element in their assumption of power was the influence and experience they had enjoyed during the reign of Henri II. Their position was undoubtedly strengthened by their relationship to the Queen, their niece Mary Stuart (this relationship was more a product of their status than its foundation). Although the actual transfer of power has not been studied (as it has been in the parallel case of Edward VI's succession to Henry VIII) it does seem that there was no challenge to the Lorraine-Guises' assumption of authority.⁵ The hostile propaganda which resulted from this period of power, as well as from the confessional troubles which followed it, portrays the Lorraine-Guises as power-hungry usurpers. A picture of the two brothers being virtually forced into government is more convincing. It is

³ Romier *Les Origines* I:43-4 and II:29. II:30.

⁴ *Papiers d'état du Cardinal de Granvelle* provides a good and valuable basis for tracing the progress of the negotiations and Lorraine's role in them.

⁵ Thou II:684 concedes that Lorraine-Guise power under François II was not usurped, but held uniquely from the King because they were judged worthy of the task and that Catherine consented.

hardly realistic to suggest that they could have abandoned Court and retired to their estates and benefices. To do so would have dishonoured them.

They were faced with a desperate situation. Years of warfare had left the Crown's finances in a ruinous state, heresy and confessional divergence were emerging as serious threats to royal authority, and the accession of a boy-king further threatened the hold of the Valois monarchy upon the kingdom. It was a situation in which the Duc and the Cardinal could scarcely hope to win. They applied themselves to the task out of a sense of duty to the Valois and to the preservation of the kingdom and the Catholic faith. If François II had lived to maturity they, and the dynasty, would have reaped the benefits in the degree of influence it would have given them.

The behaviour of the Cardinal de Lorraine after François II's death adds strength to this interpretation of events. As with the return of Montmorency in 1558, it seems that when power passed away the Cardinal adapted to the situation and stepped aside. There is no suggestion that the Lorraine-Guises attempted to hold on to power after 1560. Instead Lorraine waited until the meeting of the Estates General (at which he hoped to see the resolution of the problems which beset the Crown) and then retired to Reims for an extended period of time. It appears that he was exhausted after his period of governance and was happy to withdraw. He insisted on departing for Reims despite the requests of various ambassadors of the Catholic powers to stay at Court. He left Court on the first of February 1561, using the excuse of the need to be resident in his diocese for Lent. He showed no hurry to return to Court and did not follow it back to Paris after Charles IX's coronation, only returning in June.⁶ It should be noted that after 1561 Lorraine belonged to a different generation from the king and possibly did not want to be involved in government.

Absences of this nature clearly show the independent nature of an aristocrat's power and they were to characterise the Cardinal's relationship with the Crown during the reign of Charles IX. Lorraine returned to Court for the preparations for and the duration of the Colloquy of Poissy, but he left again on the nineteenth of October with the rest of the

⁶ Evennett :199-200 states that he submitted completely to Catherine's authority. As soon as it was seen that François was dying he made his intention to return to Reims known. :210-11 Evennett suggests that he was also keen to return to his Archbishopric and was aware of the unpopularity of his period in government. :212;230;249. *A.N.G.* 14 Gualterino :272 Lorraine left despite friends' wishes.

Lorraine-Guise family.⁷ He remained absent despite requests (from the nuncio and Catherine) that he should return, apparently refusing to return whilst the Court showed a Huguenot character.⁸ This period of retirement encompassed the signing of the January edict of St. Germain, which granted the Huguenots toleration. This is striking and raises questions about the Cardinal's image as a single-minded persecutor. If he had been determined to exterminate the Huguenots he would surely have made more effort to intervene and prevent the treaty. When he did eventually return to Court in April 1562 his presence had been desired and solicited by all parties. However, he had still delayed. This does not seem to have been simply a case of a temperamental prelate, who had retired from Court in the face of criticism, only coming back into the limelight after repeated requests. His actions make it clear that he decided when to return and that he could delay his return. He was welcomed enthusiastically by Catherine de Medici, who was in need of his skills in government, specifically in the field of finance.⁹

The Cardinal's attendance at the Council of Trent again took him away from Court and removed him from the centre of government. The politico-religious situation in France, and Catherine de Medici's attitude to the Council, meant that Lorraine was in an unfavourable position when he returned to Court in 1564. He was received with no pomp and was made to wait to see Catherine, and when he did gain an audience the Regent and the King did not spend much time with him.¹⁰ He left Court again on the twenty fourth of February, greatly displeased at his treatment (see Chapter 6).¹¹ This would seem to be an act which lies somewhere between independence and dependence upon favour at Court. Lorraine withdrew himself voluntarily, as he had done in 1561, but did so because Catherine de Medici opposed his influence. He was able to withdraw because his status did not depend upon presence at Court and Crown favour, but his prestige was diminished by

⁷ Evennett :391.

⁸ Evennett :419 Charles again cited ecclesiastical obligations.

⁹ Evennett :457.

¹⁰ Martin *Le Gallicanism* :30ff. *C.S.P.F.* IX:109.

¹¹ *C.S.P.F.* IX:230 Smith to Cecil 9 March 1564. In a letter to Antoinette de Bourbon consoling her for the death of François, Lorraine had spoken of his resolution to retire to Reims after the Council, to raise his brother's children and no longer be involved in State affairs - Thou III:404. It is difficult to know how seriously to take this letter and to know whether it was simply an emotional response to the loss of a dear brother and frustration at events in France. However, these sentiments surely must have been reinforced by his reception at Court and he does seem to have withdrawn to some degree. *Lettres Catherine* II:155-7 state that Lorraine has gone to attend to his diocese and was also ill in February 1564.

the Crown's failure to acknowledge his importance.¹²

One gets an impression that he remained distanced from the Court and government for the next couple of years. His status even appears to have been challenged in the Crown's responses to the incidents of 1565 (discussed below). Whilst his position was upheld in the case of Montmorency's challenge to his entry into Paris with an armed escort, it was recognised that Montmorency had only been doing his duty. In the case of the "Cardinal's War" and the resistance of Salcède to Lorraine's authority as Bishop-administrator of Metz the Crown seems to have favoured the lieutenant above the Cardinal. However, in November 1564 an English source notes that the Cardinal's position was a crucial one and that nothing was done without him.¹³ The following year he was at Court and present at a Council meeting on the first Monday in Lent where he had an explosive argument with the Chancellor about the reception of the decrees of Trent.¹⁴ The Cardinal was not present at the meeting with representatives of Philip II at Bayonne (1565), which possibly suggests some kind of eclipse. It also reflects the fact that he did not accompany the Court on the tour of France. This may indicate eclipse, but is more likely to represent a personal choice not to subject himself to physical hardship and discomfort. This again shows that personal status did not depend upon a relationship with the Court. Lorraine's status was supported by other factors, as the previous chapter and the rest of this one show, but the loss of royal favour during this period clearly had an impact upon his position.

The situation had apparently changed by the start of 1566 since it is reported that Lorraine was never far from the Regent's side.¹⁵ From this point on he seems to have been firmly at the centre of royal power and influence and, whilst it is important to be cautious about the statements of English observers in France, some weight needs to be given to

¹² Lorraine's inability to prevent the relics of Saint Eugène being returned from St. Denis en France to Toledo in 1565 may be an expression of this loss of influence. Despite Lorraine's protests and the objections of others, Catherine and Charles IX agreed to Philip II's request to transfer the relics. It was injurious to Lorraine's honour that the Abbey should have lost such important possessions during his tenure. See Depluvrez "Les Retours de Saint Eugène et Sainte Léocadie à Tolède en 1565 et 1587" in Demerson and Dompierre *Les signes de Dieu aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles*.

¹³ C.S.P.F.IX:793 Smith to Cecil 13 November 1564. Unfortunately there is a gap in the published correspondence of the papal nuncios from 1561 to 1568, which limits the impression of Lorraine's position, whilst the report of the Venetian ambassador Barbaro is too general to be of much assistance.

¹⁴ C.S.P.F.IX:123.

¹⁵ C.S.P.F.X:120. Letter to Smith 22 February 1566.

reports of Lorraine's intimacy with the King and his proximity to Anjou.¹⁶ Guillemin attributed this return to centre stage to Catherine's need for him in difficult circumstances. This is the start of a rather complex period in French politics and it is difficult to follow the twists and turns of favour and policy.¹⁷ It is difficult to determine what role the Cardinal played in the renewal of civil war in 1567. The shift in Crown policy made it more acceptable for him to be influential at the centre.

It would appear that Lorraine was out of favour again in the summer of 1570.¹⁸ There is a hint that he may have been experiencing the Queen Mother's displeasure when he was at Rome in 1572 negotiating for a dispensation for the marriage of Marguerite de Valois and Henri de Navarre.¹⁹ The tragic and unplanned events of St. Bartholomew's Eve and the period which followed altered the course of Crown policy. Expediency demanded that Catherine de Medici and Charles IX adopt a more Catholic stance, which meant that it was once again necessary, and politically safe, to have the Cardinal de Lorraine in government. When he returned to Court in mid-January 1573 his services were required to raise desperately needed money for the Crown, specifically from the Church. Yet this did not prevent him from leaving Court again at the end of February to spend Lent at Reims, and he only returned in May for the Assembly of the Clergy. His position then becomes somewhat uncertain again, with the nuncio reporting that all the Guises intended to leave Court in March, although Lorraine did not depart until April, at which time the Queen

¹⁶ *C.S.P.F.X*:1629 and 2178. The first report from Sir Henry Norris to the Queen, 23 August 1567, states that Lorraine is in great favour with the King, who will not ride, go or eat without him; whilst on 12 May 1568 (Norris to Cecil) he is identified as the leader of Anjou's *conseil* at a time when Anjou was a dominant force. The English were not well disposed to the Lorraine-Guises because of their kinship to Mary Stuart and their advocacy of orthodoxy. It needs to be remembered that any swing in royal policy towards a more Catholic line could have been attributed to Lorraine-Guise influence, whether their position had changed or not. Thou IV:5 and 8 also place Lorraine close to the King and state that Catherine was won over by the Cardinal in 1567.

¹⁷ Sutherland *St. Bartholomew...* attempts to explore the events of this period and does useful work in placing French politics in their European context. However, her reliance on Huguenot and Protestant sources and her blindness to the possibility of a benevolent explanation of Lorraine's position, when combined with a style which is often difficult, make this a disappointing book. These criticisms are widespread in the reviews of the book, see Martin "Papal Policy".

¹⁸ Bouillé attributes this to the suspected scheme of the Guises to marry Duc Henri to Marguerite de Valois, whilst Guillemin falls back on the argument that the Guises distanced themselves from Court whenever the Huguenots were in the ascendant. Haton II:627 - the Guises seeing Catherine and Charles IX's affection for the Huguenots in 1571 left Court for their various *places*.

¹⁹ Guillemin thought that Lorraine desired an absence because he was out of favour. There is a tone of frustration in a letter from Lorraine to Catherine in which he explained that he was doing all that he could to achieve his mission - B.N. ms.fr.16039:487;489;491;494.

Mother was speaking against Guise influence.²⁰

The career and activity of Louis I Cardinal de Guise are somewhat obscure and he has the reputation of having been rather incapable.²¹ His lack of significance as a Courtier and royal advisor did not mean that he lacked status, merely that it came from alternative sources, most significantly his membership of the dynasty. Whilst he clearly is not in the same league as his brother and never enjoyed the same kind of influence in government or role in state politics, he must not be dismissed entirely. On one level at least he may have played an important role in family strategy towards the Court. The sources frequently refer to the younger Lorraine-Guise brothers en bloc, which makes it difficult to determine who was at Court or who left Court at what time. However, there are a number of occasions on which it is stated explicitly that Louis I remained at Court when the rest of the family had departed, or when his solitary presence is noted. For instance, in December 1563 Somer informed Cecil that none of the Lorraine-Guise family were at Court, nor came there very often, except for the Cardinal de Guise.²² In February 1564, when Lorraine left the Court in displeasure, Louis remained behind.²³ It could well have been that he provided a link between the family and the Court when the other members of the family were absent attending to their interests. Yet when the Lorraine-Guises left Court as a body in protest at the turn royal policy was taking, Louis I is usually cited as having been among them.

Several historians have attempted to draw attention to Louis I's ability and activity in government. Bouillé believed that he was more politically able and agile than his reputation suggests²⁴ and whilst the Venetian ambassador, Contarini, stated that he was only notable because of his house and cardinal's hat,²⁵ other contemporaries provide a different picture. Brantôme suggested that in his old age (i.e. after the death of Charles)

²⁰ A.N.G. 12 Salviati :123 Salviati to Galli 14 January 1573; various letters on the question of money;140 Salviati to Galli 21 February 1573;170,173,175 on return to Court; :330 departure and :338 Catherine's opposition to influence.

²¹ See for example L'Estoile :184 reporting his title of "cardinal de bouteilles" and his absence from affairs which did not concern good living; and Thou V:478 which acknowledged his zeal for religion, but then concluded that he was debauched and enjoyed good food above affairs.

²² C.S.P.F.VIII:1471 9 December 1563.

²³ C.S.P.F.IX:230 Smith to Cecil 9 March 1564 referring to the departure of 26 February.

²⁴ Bouillé :415. However, Bouillé's final assessment is that he would have been insignificant if not for his brother and family, but that he was an able agent of dynastic policy.

²⁵ Alberi *Relazioni* IV:254.

Louis became involved in affairs and died with the reputation of having good sense and solid judgment, and of being someone who, like his brother, provided good advice and good counsel in the king's affairs.²⁶ These sentiments are echoed by another Venetian ambassador, Jérôme Lippomano, who reflected in 1578 that the Cardinal had been highly esteemed, particularly because of his age and experience.²⁷

Other evidence also indicates that Louis I had a more active role in government business. In a letter to Antoinette de Bourbon discussing the state of Louis's affairs after his death, Jehan Baptiste de Bonville claimed that the late Cardinal did not occupy himself much with his own affairs, but employed himself entirely with the affairs of the King. Bonville went on to claim that this activity was partially the cause of Louis's death and that Louis had received great apprehension and displeasure from it.²⁸ If this is indeed the case, then the sources have done Louis a great disservice. The most well-documented example of Louis's activity is his diplomatic mission to Spain in 1568, when, under the pretext of offering the French Court's condolences to Philip II on the death of his wife, Elisabeth de Valois, he undertook negotiations for the marriage of Charles IX.²⁹ However, Catherine de Medici's letters to the French ambassador in Spain, Fourquevaulx, imply that the Cardinal had not been fully informed, since she asked the ambassador not to say anything about her strategy for obtaining the marriage of her youngest daughter, Marguerite, to Philip, which she had just fully explained.³⁰ Apart from this the general tone is one of confidence in his abilities and a request that Fourquevaulx render him every assistance possible. Louis's own dispatches provide a picture of a capable agent, although in the first, an account of his journey dated 29 December, he apologised to the King for not doing better. His tone here is reminiscent of the letter cited in the previous chapter which he wrote to the King on his way

²⁶ Brantôme IV:279.

²⁷ Tommaseo *Relations* II:371.

²⁸ B.N. ms.fr.20468:329 26 May 1578.

²⁹ C.S.P.F.X:2660 Mr. Herbert to Mr. Alford 4 December 1568 - The Cardinal de Guise has gone to Spain to follow up Guise plans to marry Marguerite de Valois to Philip and generally plot an international anti-Protestant league. A better informed account of the mission can be found in *Lettres Catherine* III:205ff and Louis's own correspondence B.N. ms.fr.16103.

³⁰ *Lettres Catherine* III:207 Catherine to Fourquevaulx 15 November 1568 "ne lui dictes rien de ce que je vous mande cy-dessus" and :210 to Fourquevaulx 23 November "des choses que je vous ay jusques ici mandées ne lui en dites rien et s'il vous parle de ces propos, respondes-lui...mais qu'il ne pense que vous en ayez rien escript ny mandé." Catherine asked the ambassador to treat with Philip's closest servants to win them over to the marriage to Marguerite and thus use their influence on the King, but she was anxious that it did not look like a French initiative and that the man ask the woman, not vice versa.

to the baths about his lack of knowledge of Roman affairs.³¹

The close link between the Church and Crown finances discussed in the previous chapter and the acknowledged skill of the Cardinal de Lorraine in financial administration are echoed in the career of Louis I. At the start of 1563 he was being used as a Crown agent in a matter of 100,000 francs/*livres* of *rente*, and was sent to the Parlement of Paris to effect the registration of the edict by which the French Clergy made a financial donation to the Crown.³² Then in 1575 Louis was made superintendent of finances,³³ again to negotiate the alienation of Church goods. He also appears to have been politically active in Rome in 1555 when he attended the election of the Pope and received his cardinal's hat. Something of the balance of power and influence at Court at this time is revealed in the dispatches of the French ambassador in Rome, Avanson, who wrote that he would not send the King details since Louis has already sent them to his brother.³⁴

The younger Cardinal de Guise only appears to have been politically active in relation to the Catholic League. There were no references to him fulfilling the same kind of role in the apparatus of the state as either of his two ecclesiastical uncles. There are a number of reasons why he may have been excluded from government, some of which are touched upon in the discussion of his position in the French Church. Although there is no firm evidence to support the theory, it does seem probable that the younger generation of the Lorraine-Guise dynasty suffered politically because of the King's distrust. They were not allowed to build up the same kind of position in relation to the Crown and the same kind of influence as the Cardinal de Lorraine and Duc François had enjoyed. With the loss of the Cardinal de Lorraine the dynasty seems to have lost its grip on the centre of power. They could not be ignored because of their independent power and standing, but they were alienated from influence over the King. However, the Lorraine-Guises including Louis II,

³¹ B.N. ms.fr.16103:480 and ms.fr.6609:84 Louis to Charles IX 15 April 1572.

³² *Lettres Catherine* I:501ff. 9 February 1562/3 to Monsieur de Gonnor and the Parlement of Paris concerning the sending of Louis to Paris on important business. Followed by other letters to the same effect, see especially :510 Catherine to Louis 18 February 1562/3. In the first letter (:501) Catherine uses both the term *livres* and francs. See also B.N. Vc Colbert 24:74 Louis to M. de Gonnor 12 February 1563.

³³ A.N.G. 13 Salviati :536. Salviati to Galli 27 August 1575. Note 7 explains that from 1552 the superior administration of finance could be attributed, when the situation required, to the privy council as a whole, a section of it, or to an individual councillor, who became the superintendent of finances.

³⁴ B.N. ms.fr.20442:83 Louis to François 21 April 1555;85 Louis to King 22 April;90 Louis to King 30 April;106 Avanson to Henri 24 May;108 *ibid* 5 June. After this Charles arrived and seems to have taken centre stage.

were allowed a certain intimacy with Henri III because of their status, which can be seen expressed in physical proximity. In March 1579 Louis shared a carriage with the King and in January 1582 went hawking with him and ate at his table.³⁵ Henri III's erratic presence at Court must have had an impact upon power structures and adds greater significance to Louis II's stays at Vincennes with the King.

As is suggested in the discussion of Louis II's position in the Church and mentioned in the analysis of Charles, the question of ability seems to be an important factor in the acquisition and retention of power and influence. Louis II was a young man when he first came into a position to seek influence in government, and apparently lacked the remarkable qualities which had allowed Charles to gain prominence despite his youth. Age does not appear to have had the same improving effect upon him as it did upon his junior uncle (although he was only thirty three when he died). The intended succession to the Archbishopric of Reims by his younger brother indicates that he may not have been particularly politically able. This view is supported by his failure to distinguish himself within the First Estate. The events and political alignments of the League period dominate any discussion of Louis in the sources, which obscures his earlier career and prevents a more general and broad-based analysis of his character. The usual sources for such an assessment, ambassadorial reports and memoirs, are silent about his activity until the taking of Troyes and his assassination at Blois, both in 1588. The usual summing up of an individual's life after their death found in these sources concentrates upon the latter period of the League in Louis II's case. Here he appears as an active auxiliary to his brother. In the accounts of Lorraine-Guise League activity Louis appears in third place behind Duc Henri and the Cardinal de Bourbon, only mentioned as part of the scenery if he is mentioned at all. However, he seems to have come alive in 1588, securing Meaux for his brother and gaining Henri's access to Reims through his personal influence.³⁶

POWER IN RELATION TO BENEFICES

As benefice holders the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals had certain powers and authority, both over the personnel of the benefice (such as monks or canons) and the communities

³⁵ *C.S.P.F.* XV:619 and XVII:517. B.N. ms. Dupuy 549:60 Jehan de Piles to Nicolas Colin.

³⁶ *Lettres Catherine* IX:356 Catherine to Henri III 27 May 1588; Henry :71-2.

which lived on the temporal. This section describes some elements of this jurisdiction and also makes some assessment of the relationship between the Lorraine-Guise abbot or bishop and the monks and canons of his benefice. This second element is useful to determine how much authority and prestige the Cardinals gained in the community from high ecclesiastical office. In the pursuit of the continuing theme of leading Churchmen as members of aristocratic culture I aim to demonstrate that a position as the head of a benefice can be paralleled to a position as a secular magnate. Both held lands and both had jurisdictional rights and authority over those lands. The possession of extensive temporal properties combined with aristocratic birth could also mean that a bishop had a position in the community parallel to that of a provincial governor. He could be regarded by surrounding society as the most senior person in the region and also as the representative of Crown authority. This was particularly the case in Champagne where there were no local Estates nor a parlement. As is suggested in the discussion of dynastic holdings in Chapter 2, the tenure of certain benefices, such as St. Denis and St. Remi, also brought power and authority through association. That discussion is not repeated here, but I append a few comments on the added independent power which possession of benefices in the Trois-Evêchés, and Metz in particular, could bring. The question of whether the possession of benefices was used to supplement the dynasty's secular power base is also addressed.

The comprehensive study by Ayzac of the Abbey of St. Denis en France provides a most valuable insight into the internal structures of a monastic institution. In general, French monasteries and religious orders between the Middle Ages and the concerted efforts at reform in the seventeenth century do not receive any detailed attention from historians. It is not clear whether Ayzac's St. Denis can be taken as representative of the other religious houses over which the Lorraine-Guises presided, but she at least provides a useful model and case study upon which to base an assessment of abbatial power. The typicality of this example is suggested by the Abbey's adoption of the Cluniac constitutions, which regulated aspects of the community's life. This implies that the power structures inside the Abbey were institutional rather than individual. The range of powers and areas of authority which belonged to the Abbot were peculiar to St. Denis, but can be taken as representative of the kinds of rights and privileges enjoyed by the heads of other houses.

The Abbot of St. Denis possessed many rights both in the spiritual and the

temporal, within the Abbey and over the communities which inhabited the temporal. As well as being seigneur-chaplain of the town of St. Denis, the Abbot also reigned over twenty six towns, *places* or villages in the area. The Abbot had obtained the power to confer the tonsure and minor orders in the thirteenth century and was among the first of French abbots to wear the mitre, which marked his near-episcopal status. The most significant of his rights (as was the case with the other benefices within this study) was jurisdiction over the area within his control. In the case of St. Denis and the twenty six secular communities under his jurisdiction this was complete. It included judicial competence over crimes committed by clerics and nobles, questions touching marriage and the administration of the sacraments, and crimes of *lèse-majesté*, usury and false money. There was no appeal beyond him except to Rome.³⁷ This encompassed the right to condemn and to implement punishments, such as burning, hanging and decapitation.³⁸ These privileges were defended against the encroachment of other jurisdictions (a theme which characterises all the cases of ecclesiastical jurisdiction studied), which could mean the execution of a criminal in effigy or could go to the extent of asking for the return of a criminal's body once he had been executed so that punishment could take place within the Abbot's domain.³⁹

Although the Abbot held this absolute jurisdiction by right of his title, the practicalities of its administration were carried out in his name by a hierarchy of officials. This arrangement separated the Abbot as a priest and man of the Church from the Abbot as seigneur, roles which were incompatible when it came to the administration of justice.⁴⁰ In the case of the spiritual jurisdiction the Abbot's powers were delegated to the *official*, who was charged to represent the Abbot and pronounce in his name on all cases and affairs over which he had authority. He was assisted in this task by a hierarchy of officers.⁴¹ The *Grand Commandeur* was commissioned by the Abbot to exercise in his name direct surveillance and the rights of *haute*, *moyenne* and *basse* justice over all living within the Abbey enclosure.⁴² The temporal jurisdiction was administered by a different

³⁷ Ayzac:156;154 and :157 for the list of places under the Abbot's jurisdiction.

³⁸ Ayzac:157-8.

³⁹ Ayzac:163.

⁴⁰ Ayzac:160.

⁴¹ Ayzac:156-7.

⁴² Ayzac:216.

organisational structure. The Abbot's jurisdiction was delegated to the officers of the *prevôté*, *bailliage* and assizes, who formed another pyramid of officials. The purely secular charges were farmed out to those who took their fixed wage from the profits of justice. The *bailli* held assizes at fixed intervals at determined *châtellanies*, where he heard important cases concerning the Abbey's domain and nobles who were liable to the Abbot's justice. At another level in the structure the sergeant had responsibility for keeping prisons and prisoners and of taking vows.⁴³

Some of the Abbot's authority had been permanently delegated to other members of the Abbey, and the attributes of seigneurial power which they exercised had become attached to other offices within the community. This delegation and division of powers may have been an attempt to balance the omnipotence of the Abbot or have resulted from the need to assist him. Whatever its origins the possession of jurisdictional privileges by fifteen dignitaries or officers within the Abbey did mean that the Abbot was not absolute.⁴⁴ For example the *Grand Panetier* had the *haute police* of millers, *pâtissiers* and boulangers in the town of St. Denis, none of whom could operate without a licence from him.⁴⁵

The Cluniac constitutions institutionalised the Abbey's relationship with the Abbot. He was to be shown great reverence through actions, such as bowing upon meeting him and kissing his hands.⁴⁶ This kind of display can be placed within an elite culture of recognition and symbolism of honour and status. It was a formulaic expression of the Abbot's position as the head of a community and as an ecclesiastical magnate. A similar display of the Abbot's status was provided by his *entrée*, which paralleled that of a secular magnate into a town. The whole community, secular as well as ecclesiastical, came out to welcome the new Abbot and demonstrate their acknowledgement of his position and authority.⁴⁷ However, it is necessary to ask what was the nature of the relationship between the Abbot and the Abbey behind such formal actions. There were energetic expressions of the community's objection to the intrusion of commendator abbots.⁴⁸ Yet

⁴³ Ayzac:158-9.

⁴⁴ Ayzac:165 and 166, which lists the fifteen offices.

⁴⁵ Ayzac:234.

⁴⁶ Ayzac:154.

⁴⁷ Ayzac:190ff for a description of the entry. The entry of the commendator Abbots differed from that of the regular Abbot in that they had to present themselves to the Chapter first to present their Bulls before proceeding with the rest of the ceremony :193.

⁴⁸ Ayzac:199.

the Chapter accepted and gave unanimous consent to the Bulls granting Louis II coadjutorship and right of succession.⁴⁹ There does not appear to have been any significant friction between the monks of St. Denis and their Lorraine-Guise Abbots, although, again, a detailed study of the Abbey based on Chapter records which no longer appear to exist would be needed for a conclusive statement.

A similar profile does not exist for the Benedictine Abbey of Fécamp. The Abbot can be assumed to have enjoyed certain privileges and authority, although he seems not to have had rights of high justice and could only apply correctional policing to his domain.⁵⁰ As in the case of St. Denis, authority was exercised by a hierarchy of officers, over whom the Grand Prior could preside in the absence of the Abbot. Histories of the Abbey, however, do provide a clearer illustration of the relationship between the Lorraine-Guise Abbots and the community. When the Cardinal de Lorraine proposed that the religious name their own canons he was met with an interesting response. They replied

Qu'ils étaient les très humbles et très obéissant serviteurs de monseigneur, et qu'ils se soumettraient totalement à son bon vouloir et plaisir, fût des les faire chanoines ou de les laisser moines.⁵¹

By these words the community acknowledged the Cardinal's authority over them and phrased it in language which fits into the cultural model of verbal recognition of status described more fully in Chapter 4. There may have been internal reasons, other than social structures, which prompted this appeal to the dominant authority of the Abbot. The Abbey was somewhat lax in its religious observance and may have been looking to the Cardinal to impose some kind of order and regularity upon the community. This general laxity also demonstrates quite clearly that the Abbot did not have absolute authority over his monks, because repeated measures to impose discipline did not succeed. Louis II appears to have lacked the same kind of rapport with the Abbey, as a case in which the community flexed its privileged muscles illustrates. Louis appointed some officers and sent them to Fécamp to be received into their charges, but since they had not communicated their commissions to the Prior or religious, which was contrary to usage, the Prior gave orders to prevent their reception.⁵²

⁴⁹ Félibien:402.

⁵⁰ Fallue:312-3.

⁵¹ Fallue:325 quoting the *Registres capitulaires*.

⁵² Fallue:342.

It is in the role of bishop, and specifically as Archbishops of Reims, that we see the full extent of the personal power and authority which high ecclesiastical office could bring an individual. As in the case of an abbot, the bishop had certain privileges as the holder of a benefice, which can be paralleled to the rights enjoyed by the holder of a secular noble title. He was entitled to the ceremonial of an *entrée solennelle* when he first officially visited his episcopal town and took possession of his office and of the feudal rights which were attached to it, at which all the constituted bodies of the town welcomed him. As well as being a public display of the bishop's prestige and importance in the community it was also an inherent part of the privilege structure. The title of monseigneur also acted as a reminder and display of the bishop's place in society. There were also privileges which were unique to the ecclesiastical state, such as exemption from fiscal and judicial interference.⁵³ As a land holder through the temporal of the bishopric the bishop was a seigneur with the same kinds of jurisdiction as a secular seigneur, and he usually had important rights within the episcopal town. He also had vassals, who owed him oaths of faith and homage, and could (theoretically) be raised for military service in the same way as vassals of a secular seigneur.⁵⁴ The bishop's relationship with the principal seigneurs among his vassals retained a feudal character, since the Church preserved this culture after it had begun to decay in the secular world, a point which illustrates the bishop's concern to preserve his privileges and never allow any to drop.⁵⁵ The association of feudal authority with the ecclesiastical power structure was an important factor in the staffing of the higher ranks of the Church by nobles. They were familiar with this culture and had been born to exercise this kind of authority.⁵⁶

The rights of the bishop in the episcopal town and over the surrounding community were reinforced by social structures. The wealth of the bishop and his access to aristocratic culture and sources of patronage supported his jurisdictional and religious authority in placing him at the head of local society. This status was reflected in the bishop's precedence on nearly every ceremonial occasion and the presidency of local Estates, where they existed (for example in Languedoc). Indeed his status on occasions such as these

⁵³ Peronnet:403-5; 583.

⁵⁴ Peronnet:575.

⁵⁵ Peronnet:582.

⁵⁶ Peronnet:587.

equalled that of provincial governors and *premier presidents*.⁵⁷ As is noted above, a bishop or archbishop could be the preeminent figure in a region, if he was not rivalled by alternative focuses of authority and influence.

Did the Lorraine-Guises use their tenure of ecclesiastical benefices to reinforce a secular power base? In the medieval period the possession and politicisation of bishoprics and abbeys (*klosterpolitik*) could be used to extend a family's influence over a geographic area.⁵⁸ Although the significance of benefices as a means of political control had diminished by the early modern period, the role of the tenure of benefices in the politics of regional control still needs to be considered. Attention focuses upon Champagne because of the correlation of the Archbishopric of Reims with the Governorship. If the Lorraine-Guises were using benefices in this way anywhere, it would be here. As the analysis of tenure patterns in Chapter 2 shows, there was no strategy of consolidating benefices in areas of secular power, except at Reims and near Joinville. No effort was made to build up ecclesiastical structures in other family governorships, such as Burgundy. This could either suggest that the position in Champagne needed bolstering or point to the exceptional importance of the Archbishopric.

The Archbishopric came into the dynasty's hands whilst Claude Comte de Guise was Governor of Champagne, but he was transferred to the Governorship of Burgundy in 1543. Champagne only returned to Guise hands shortly before the assassination of Duc François (who had previously been Governor of Dauphiné) and was retained for the rest of this period.⁵⁹ The Guises did not enjoy unchallenged authority in the region. Their tenure was too recent and interrupted for them to have had the opportunity to establish a loyal following in the province. They also failed to dominate the region's administrative centre, Châlons-sur-Marne, as the city council's resistance to the League movement demonstrates.⁶⁰ Although there were no major institutional rivals for authority there were other nobles with status, such as the governors of *places fortes* and the Ducs de Nevers who held the *comté/duché* of Rethel. However, the Governor and Archbishop were still the dominant personalities in the province and the dual tenure ensured that there was no rivalry

⁵⁷ Peronnet:580-1 and Briggs "Church and State from Henri IV to Louis XIV" in *Communities* :186-7.

⁵⁸ Gerberding *The Rise of the Carolingians and the Liber Historiae Francorum* Oxford,1987 :94-97.

⁵⁹ Harding *Anatomy* Appendix One.

⁶⁰ See Konnert "Provincial Governors and Their Regimes during the French Wars of Religion: The Duc de Guise and the City Council of Châlons-sur-Marne" *S.C.J.* 25 1994.

between these focuses of influence. There are no examples of a combining of power to achieve certain aims, but it is clear that the holding of both the Archbishopric and Governorship enhanced the dynasty's status. The combined prestige of these offices and the honour they conveyed contributed to the overall standing of the family. It was this image that gave them power, influence and authority rather than the actual possession of the offices.

The Archbishopric of Reims

An analysis of the position which the Archbishop of Reims occupied is greatly facilitated by the work of Pierre Varin, who collected and printed a mass of documents relating to the jurisdiction of the Archbishop and his attempts to defend his privileges against the encroachment of other authorities. The Lorraine-Guise Archbishops of Reims had different types of jurisdiction within the town, firstly through the Archbishopric, but also as Abbots of St. Remi and as *archevêque-ducs*. This last, feudal title was the most important since it gave its holder sovereign authority over the town. The title brought considerable judicial and financial powers within the municipality. The Archbishop also had seigneurial power over a number of villages in the surrounding region.⁶¹ The foundation of the University of Reims brought another area in which the Archbishop could exercise his authority, since he was granted all civil, criminal and *mixte* power over its personnel.⁶² Varin has identified a period of conflict between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, which existed side-by-side in the town, encompassing this period. However, I would query whether such tension was not a normal state of affairs, especially as the period which Varin identifies is a rather long one - 1358 to 1636.⁶³ In acknowledging the independence of the secular municipal structure it is necessary to note that the election of the *échevins* was only legitimated when they took an oath to the Archbishop and if the candidate did not conform to the town's constitutions the Archbishop had the power to

⁶¹ For the complete list see Varin :*Coutumes*:875-6.

⁶² Cauly :196-8.

⁶³ For this and subsequent information see Varin "Esquisse Historique" :i-xxviii.

remove him and name his successor.⁶⁴

Reims was divided into a variety of jurisdictions which had grown up around monastic foundations and within the protection of the secular clergy, all of which, except for some enclaves over which the Chapter had jurisdiction, came under the authority of the Archbishop through his feudal title. The largest and oldest of these was the Bourg St. Remi, the property of the Abbey, which exercised all justice under the suzerainty of the Archbishop. Two further examples are the *ban* of St. Sixte, dependent of the Abbey of St. Nicaise, another vassal of the Archbishop, and the Bourg of St. Denis, which again took its name from one of the town's abbeys, which exercised only *basse* and *moyenne* justice over this area under the suzerainty and high justice of the Archbishop.

The other ecclesiastical institutions within the town had certain jurisdictions over which the Archbishop had no influence. The Chapter and the Abbots of St. Remi, St. Denis and St. Nicaise were *seigneurs hauts-justiciers* and were invested with powers which mirrored those of the Archbishop on a smaller scale. For example, the subjects of the Chapter appeared before their own *sénéchaux* and then their own *bailli*, and the subjects of St. Remi appeared before the *échevins* and mayor of the Abbey.⁶⁵ The seigneur of each *ban* had the *police* of his jurisdiction, which was an area in which conflict and tension sometimes arose (see below).

The Chapter had become increasingly independent from the Archbishop in the Middle Ages. It had its own structure of officials to administer its various jurisdictions. Various offices within the Chapter were invested with powers, which parallels the authority of certain officials within the Abbey of St. Denis en France discussed above. The *écolâtre* controlled all the teaching in the town (although with Lorraine's new foundations some of these powers passed to the Archbishop), whilst the *vidame* supervised art and medicine. Their colleagues, the *chancre* and treasurer had jurisdiction over specific locations, the former over the faubourg of Bethany and the latter over the faubourg of Cérès. The treasurer also had jurisdiction over all bourgeois *surpris en flagrant délit* in the Cathedral precinct. Each of the dignitaries in the Chapter, such as the dean, *prévôt* and *chancre*, was a vassal of the Chapter for his title and of the Archbishop for his emoluments. All owed an

⁶⁴ Varin :*Administratives* I:490 Declaration by the *procureur-fiscal* of the Archbishop 16 February 1563 by which he admitted that there were two distinct and separate jurisdictions, both belonging to the *échevins*, one as the judge of the Bourgeois under the *bailli* of the Archbishop and another concerning different charges and administrations concerning the public which were not subject to Archepiscopal jurisdiction.

⁶⁵ Varin :*Statutes* II:276 - list of villages dependent of St. Remi.

oath of faith and homage to the Archbishop for the temporal possessions attached to their offices.⁶⁶ By a privilege of the Chapter the canons had the right to chose, elect or deprive three bourgeois, called *bourgeois canons*, one each to the *ban* and territory of the Archbishopric, Chapter and St. Remi. Whilst they remained in this “office” the Chapter had the rights of spiritual and temporal justice over them, their families and any transgressors within their households.⁶⁷

Conflict could emerge between these jurisdictions when one was perceived to have trespassed on the authority of another. In cases involving the Archbishopric it is not always clear whether it is the officers or the Archbishop who direct the encroachments upon the jurisdiction of the other jurisdictions within Reims. Certainly it would not be possible to say that the Lorraine-Guise Archbishops were following a concerted campaign or policy of extending their power within the town. Various points were pushed and sometimes lines were crossed, but not in any systematic way. There was a long-running conflict between the *échevins* of Reims and the Archbishop, whom they perceived as attempting to claim jurisdiction over them. They were prepared to defend themselves against such an attack, which brought them into disputes with both Charles and Louis II and their officers. Louis seems to have come into conflict with the Chapter over jurisdictional matters where his uncle did not. Possibly the records have not survived, but there are no references to such disputes (as precedents) in later cases. This tension may have been a result of Louis’s youth and his failure to impose his authority and presence upon the Archbishopric. It is interesting to note that in at least one of the cases of the Archbishop asserting his authority over jurisdictions he did not control, the question of *police* in Reims, it was a question of the Archbishop doing so to maintain himself against the outside threat of royal authority.

In 1563 the Cardinal de Lorraine found it necessary to produce a statement recognising the two different kinds of jurisdiction under which the *échevinage* operated.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ A.D.M.(Reims) 2G133 - *vidame*, *chantre* and dean. 2G148 - (a general list of fiefs and examples of oaths) :254 *prevoté* :256 deanery :258 *chantrerie* :260 treasury :270 *vidamé* all dependent of the Archepiscopal palace, the château of Porte Mars.

⁶⁷ Varin :*Statutes* II:306.

⁶⁸ Varin :*Administratives* I:490 - see note 64 above. See also Rogier *Discovrs de l’antiquité de l’Escheuinage de la Ville de Reims Et des iustes raisons qui ont meu les Escheuins à maintenir ses droits et sa Jurisdiction* Reims,1628. The Edict of Roussillon in 1563 decreed that all seigneurs who exercised high justice and operated two degrees of jurisdiction in one place had to opt for one and suppress the other. Therefore the *bailli* had refused to receive the oath of the newly elected *échevins* and the Archbishop had suppressed them pretending that their jurisdiction belonged to him. An *arrêt* of 14 December 1564 ruled in favour of the *échevins*’ justice and jurisdiction.

This suggests that there had been some tension and confusion, which probably took the form of the Archbishop and/or his officers acting in a way which implied that separate, public charges and administration were subject to the Archbishop's jurisdiction.⁶⁹ The dispute flared up in the 1540s when the *bailli* excluded the *échevins* from his hearings, where they were accustomed to sit so that they could judge those who fell within their jurisdiction and cognizance. The *échevins* appealed to the Archbishop and in December 1544 an *arrêt* defined their authority. Another *arrêt* of March 1546 gave the *échevins* sole cognizance of all civil and criminal matters arising between the bourgeois of Reims and prevented the Archbishop's officers from troubling or inhibiting them. It appears from an *arrêt* of 1549 that the officers had taken cognizance of some cases and refused to hand them over when asked to do so. This tension appears to have continued through the 1560s with the Archbishopric attempting to assert and extend its predominant authority. The Edict of Moulins (1566) prevented *échevins* from having cognizance of civil causes, which were attributed to the high justices, but an *arrêt* of 1568 ruled that the Edict was not understood to apply to a town of Reims' quality and the *échevins* were restored to their former footing. In 1580 the *bailli* of the Archbishop took the *échevins* to Court in his own name, because an appeal had been made to him (from a civic court) in a case which he should have heard. (This action by an officer of the Archbishop in his own, rather than the Archbishop's, name may be connected to the ambiguous status of Louis II in relation to the Archbishopric at this time.)

Louis II came into conflict with the *échevinage* in 1585 over the same, long running question.⁷⁰ Again the officers of the Archbishopric were attempting to extend their powers in defiance of previous *arrêts* on the matter and found themselves brought before the Parlement of Paris by the *échevins* of the town. The officers then engaged Louis to solicit the *conseil du roi* for an *arrêt* returning the judgment of the case to the Archbishop's jurisdiction, which he obtained. The *échevins* appealed against this decision. When the arguments for both sides had been heard Louis realised that his officers had abused and compromised him and he accepted that he did not have jurisdiction over the *échevins* as seigneur. It was concluded that they did not hold justice from the Archbishop and did not owe faith and homage to him. They continued their pursuit of the Archbishop's officers,

⁶⁹ See Rogier. This history of the institution was prepared at the time to be used in the case against the Archbishop.

⁷⁰ Varin :*Statutes* II:327. See also Marlot:459-460.

but Louis refused to intervene or become involved.⁷¹ This dispute raises interesting questions about the power of the Archbishop, which do not necessarily emerge from the series of troubles between Charles and the *échevins*. It would seem that, although they acted in his name, Louis did not have much control over, or role in, the direction of the actions of his officers. The impression is given that they are independent agents, who pursued their own agenda in an attempt to increase their own power, rather than being puppets of the Archbishop in an attempt to expand his jurisdiction.⁷² It is also worth noting that an aristocrat of the status of a Lorraine-Guise Cardinal could be cited before the Parlement of Paris for an offence such as encroaching on the jurisdiction of the town's *échevins*.

Louis also found himself in conflict with the Chapter over jurisdictional matters. The officers of the Archbishop contested the rights of justice and *police* which the Chapter held in all the cantons of the town belonging to them. However, Louis gave way and made a transaction with the Chapter in September 1587 by which both the Chapter and the Archbishop recognised each other's judicial and police jurisdiction, each in their own properties and areas of the town.⁷³ In 1577 the *bailli* nonsuited Simon Petit and Jehan Lefebvre two bourgeois *canons* (see above).⁷⁴ Then in 1579 Louis pretended that he and his officers alone had the right of *police* in Reims. His officers had dealt with a purely civil matter which concerned Nicolas Routier, the Chapter's *franc-sergent*. There had also been a dispute about whether the Chapter or the Archbishop had jurisdiction over the drained wetland which adjoined the pont de Vesle.⁷⁵

Tensions over the *police* jurisdiction arose between the three authorities of the Archbishop, St. Remi and the Chapter. In 1569 the Cardinal de Lorraine presented a request to Parlement to be recognised in the jurisdiction of his *pairie* and to exercise *police*

⁷¹ Rogier and Varin :*Statutes* II:327. Also :330 "*arrêt* du refus de renvoyer ung bourgeois pardevant les *échevins* de Reims" - they took Louis before Parlement, but agreed that officers should be called in their own names because they were not necessarily acting for the Archbishop.

⁷² This independent action should be compared to the selection of preachers for Notre Dame in which Louis was informed by members of the Chapter of the engagement of Jean Boucher. This again reinforces the impression that Louis II was a less dedicated and applied Churchman than his predecessor.

⁷³ Varin :*Statutes* I:569. *Statutes* II:304-315. Accord for policing of *bans* of the seigneurie of the *marais*. Also :312 Transaction between Louis as Archbishop and Abbot of St. Remi and the Chapter.

⁷⁴ Varin :*Statutes* II:307. To nonsuit is to order the dismissal of the suit of a person when the plaintiff fails to show he has a good cause of action or fails to produce any evidence.

⁷⁵ A.D.M.(Reims) 2G9.

there, without interference from the officers of the King. This had as much to do with the maintenance of his position in relation to royal authority as it did about extending his authority within his enclave. An *arrêt* instructed the Cardinal of the King's rights and he abandoned this affair.⁷⁶ However, the question was not forgotten within the town and the Archbishop was seen to be attempting to claim *police* jurisdiction over the whole. In 1579 Louis recognised that the monks of St. Remi exercised justice and *police* over their *ban* (after their protests at his attempt to claim universal authority as Charles had done), but to have uniformity in the town the officers of both authorities would assemble to prepare common ordinances. This arrangement was superseded by a transaction between the Archbishop, Chapter and St. Remi in September 1587, which, whilst recognising the separate jurisdictions, established a common bureau of *police* composed of the officers of all three *bans*. This bureau was to meet monthly and produce regulations for all three jurisdictions.⁷⁷ Perhaps this move shows a consciousness that although the exclusive right to *police* the town could not be claimed it was possible to gain authority by taking this kind of initiative.

This question of jurisdiction over *police* in Reims was part of a wider tension which existed between the Archbishop as seigneur and the officials of the Crown, specifically those of the *bailliage* of Vermandois. It surfaced in 1569 when the Cardinal de Lorraine pursued these officials.⁷⁸ Lorraine was concerned about the cognizance of disputes taken by the King's officers through pretended rights and about jurisdiction over vacant goods and windfalls. He also demanded to be maintained in the right to appoint tutorships and generally oversee the legacies of those who died within his jurisdiction. Again this was resolved by a recognition of each party's authority and a couple of questionable cases in 1579 and 1583 were regulated according to this agreement.⁷⁹ A new dispute in 1584 led to another accord. In this year Jean Boileau, *receveur des aydes* at Reims, died in the justice of the Archbishopric leaving a will and naming two executors. These executors wanted to make an inventory (one of the disputed rights) and looked to the royal notary for this

⁷⁶ Varin :*Statutes* III:8-9.

⁷⁷ Varin :*Statutes* II:271-3. Also see :*Statutes* III:14-15.

⁷⁸ Varin :*Statutes* III:513ff.

⁷⁹ A.D.M.(Reims) 2G292:208 *arrêt* of Parlement given on the appeal of the Cardinal de Lorraine, taking cause for his *procureur-fiscal* of Courmicy, of the appointment by the lieutenant of the *bailli* of Vermandois on the occasion of a *tutelle* - 28 November 1569.

purpose. So when the officers of the Archbishop arrived to make an inventory they found a royal official in their place. The royal notary was called before an officer of the Archbishop, but appealed. An *arrêt* decreed that the royal notary was to proceed with the inventory in this particular case. The dispute continued until an *arrêt* of 1586 ruled that royal notaries were not to receive any contracts or wills or make any inventories within the *ban* and *finage* of the Archbishopric.

The second major civic structure in Reims after the *échevinage* was the town council, which was made up of elected bourgeois and the feudal seigneurs.⁸⁰ There were eighty ordinary councillors, sixteen elected directly by the people, two drawn from the *échevinage*, the Archbishop or his vicar, two *sénéchaux* of the Chapter, and the three Abbots of St. Remi, St. Denis and St. Nicaise. They deliberated and voted under the presidency of the lieutenant of the town who was, in theory, elected by a popular vote. Unfortunately the minutes of the council's meetings are not as useful as might be hoped, which is possibly an indication of the council's lack of importance.⁸¹ Neither the Cardinal de Lorraine nor the Cardinal de Guise appear to have ever been present at council meetings. It is not clear whether the Archbishops' vicars were present on a regular basis, especially during Louis II's tenure of the office. However, Thomas Cauchon was present frequently in the 1550s and Pierre Remy had a steady attendance in the mid-1560s. Although the minutes provide only the most summary account of meetings, the representatives of the ecclesiastical powers within the town do not seem to have had a dominant role in the council's deliberations.

However, the council's deliberations do provide a partial insight into the attitude of the town towards the Lorraine-Guise Archbishops, which provides a starting point for a discussion of the Cardinals' relationships, beyond the jurisdictional conflicts, with the institutions just discussed. Reims seems to have been on good terms with the Archbishops and the Lorraine-Guise family in general, whom they looked up to as the dominant aristocrats in their region. The fact that this recognition was a result of the family's predominance in Reims and Champagne rather than simply a result of affectionate ties is indicated by the evidence of similar reverence being shown to the Duc de Nevers when he

⁸⁰ Varin "Esquisse Historique" in : *Administratives* I.

⁸¹ A.M.R. Registres 39 - 44 (1544-1590 with some gaps, notably 1559-61, 1564-7).

was governor of Champagne.⁸² This acknowledgement of Lorraine-Guise power and the authority of the Archbishops is demonstrated through gifts of wine and through agreements to consult the Archbishop or approach him on certain matters.⁸³ For example, in October 1559 the council sent memoirs to Lorraine (and Nevers) to show the inconvenience of converting the water-meadow along the walls of the town to pasture.⁸⁴ Then in July 1562 they sent to Lorraine to warn and inform him of the an assembly of soldiers near Reims, who threatened to ruin nearby towns.⁸⁵ The town also approached the Cardinal to ask for favours and intercession. On 11 June 1568 the Council agreed to write to Charles (and Duc Henri) to ask for an exemption from the garrisoning of troops in Reims and in May 1571 asked for an exemption from the *taille* which the king was planning to impose.⁸⁶

Relations between the Chapter and the Cardinal de Lorraine appear to have been quite friendly apart from the jurisdictional disputes which are discussed above. This may be a further indication that there was no perception that the Cardinal was making a serious and planned attempt to increase his powers. In fact in 1565 the Chapter wrote to the Cardinal to ask him to help them protect their administration of the Hôtel-Dieu from encroachments by the town authorities.⁸⁷ The best evidence for the generally good nature of their relationship is the ease with which the Archbishop was able to get his plans passed by the Chapter. If there had been any serious hostility or discontent in the Chapter it would undoubtedly have resulted in delays and frustration. The absence of minutes or accounts of Chapter meetings means that it is not possible to track down opposition, but the impression is that these would have been isolated voices. Marlot presents a picture of a good relationship between Charles and the Chapter, with the Cardinal often being present at Chapter meetings, advising the canons and taking their advice. The Chapter agreed to the Archbishop's plans, even when it limited their authority. For instance, a treaty of 6 November 1561, approved

⁸² B.N. ms.fr.3212:51 Renée de Lorraine to Nevers 1554 asking for exemption from being charged with *gendarmes* on behalf of the town; and reference to Nevers in A.M.R. Registres.

⁸³ For gifts of wine, which also went on occasion to Nevers, the Constable, the Chancellor, Aumale and François de Guise see A.M.R. Registre 41:54 21 July 1558, :179 11 August 1559. There seem to be no examples after the 1560s. However, Herelle *La Réforme* II:77 a payment for wine given to Lorraine, Duc Henri and Catherine de Montpensier when they stayed at Vitry-le-François 25 April 1574.

⁸⁴ A.M.R. Registre 41:201.

⁸⁵ A.M.R. Registre 42:39 This reflects the town council's constant concern and nervousness about security

⁸⁶ A.M.R. Registre 43:39 and 160.

⁸⁷ A.D.M.(Reims) 2G356.

by the Chapter on 11 November, by which the *écolâtre* ceded to the Archbishop his rights over the newly founded university in recompense for which he received the Archbishop's part of the Rethel mill.⁸⁸ A much more striking example of this spirit of cooperation, which also demonstrates an augmentation of the Archbishop's power, is the cession by the Archdeacon of Champagne of his jurisdiction in the town and diocese of Reims, including his right to institute rural deans in the archdeaconry. In exchange the Archdeacon received an annual pension of two hundred *livres* from the Archbishop's revenues.⁸⁹ This image is reinforced by the report of Lorraine's preparations for the provincial council of 1564 where he was constantly telling the Chapter about his actions, an attention which they are said to have appreciated.⁹⁰ There is no similar evidence for the relationship between Louis II and the Chapter, which is, in part, a result of his minority and delayed entry into Reims. As the discussion of the use of language in correspondence in Chapter 4 points out, it is difficult to know how much substance can be put behind a letter from Louis to the Chapter in September 1583 in which he signed himself "vostre entièrement meilleur frère et ami".⁹¹

The Bishopric of Metz

The possession of the Bishopric of Metz brought the Lorraine-Guises into a completely different jurisdictional environment. The town itself was a small oligarchic republic under the sovereignty of the Empire, whilst the Bishopric formed a quasi-independent principality, which was centred on the town of Vic. Although the Bishop was a sovereign power within the Holy Roman Empire,⁹² he only had honorific privileges inside the city itself. The jurisdictional question remained a rather confused one throughout this period as a result of France's move into the Trois-Evêchés and her assumption of their protection. Friction surfaced in 1565 when the Cardinal de Lorraine as administrator of the

⁸⁸ Varin :*Administratives* I:663. A.D.M.(Reims) 2G180. Also A.D.M.(Reims) 2G399/10 Approval of a treaty by which the *écolâtre* ceded to Charles his right to name the principal, *procureur*, and four *boursiers* at the Collège des Bons-Enfants.

⁸⁹ A.D.M.(Reims) 2G388/3 Bull of Pius IV confirming the treaty between Louis Guillart as vicar and Pierre Remy - 26 May 1560.

⁹⁰ Marlot :353 and 354.

⁹¹ A.D.M.(Reims) 2G345/8.

⁹² He owed an oath of fealty to the Emperor, which was usually carried out by his representative, and had the right to representation at the imperial diet, a right Lorraine exercised in 1566 by sending Vetus to the Diet of Augsburg - Vetus' correspondence during his journey B.N. ms. Dupuy 544 *passim*.

Bishopric obtained an imperial safeguard for the city and its dependencies. There was a long tradition of such safeguards being granted and Charles was acting legitimately. However, this was viewed by one lieutenant, Salcède, as an act of treason against the French Crown and he took military action to defy the registration of the safeguard and the entrance of the Cardinal's officers into Marsal.⁹³ Tensions also existed between the Bishop and the Duke of Lorraine over the question of their respective jurisdictions, which were not prevented by the tenure of a member of the ducal family. These tensions were used as a pretext for the rearrangement of lands between the Duke and the Bishop outlined in Chapter 3.⁹⁴

The arrival of the French in 1552, unsurprisingly, had an impact upon the position of the Bishop and upon the relationship between the Bishop and the institutions of Metz. After 1552 the Bishopric of Metz still formed a distinct and independent state and did not become linked to France, except for the Crown's theoretical protection. The Bishops continued as sovereigns in their principality and as vassals of the Empire.⁹⁵ However, there were changes within the city. There had been long-standing antagonism between the city and the Bishop, which was aggravated by the tenure of the Lorraine-Guise family, and which continued despite a degree of cooperation brought about by the threat of heresy in the sixteenth century.⁹⁶ Prior to the French occupation of the city and Bishopric, Robert de Lenoncourt had been making efforts to restore the power and authority of his office (which Zeller sees as a personal initiative and not one prompted by Charles), and with the arrival of the French Lenoncourt looked to the Crown to support him. A quiet revolution followed when the oligarchic regime collapsed in the summer of 1553 and the Bishop stepped in to take over the municipal administration and justice.⁹⁷ Henri II was unconcerned about the administration of the city since his move into this region had been motivated by strategic and military considerations rather than a desire to expand his sovereignty. In Verdun he had

⁹³ The *Guerre Cardinale*, as this incident is called is widely reported by contemporaries and historians. The fullest account is provided by Condé V:332-367 This account is highly biased towards Salcède's position, but provides full details about what happened. Also Thou III:553ff. and Zeller II:212ff.

⁹⁴ See for example B.N. ms. Dupuy 577:22 - "to end differences and assure amity". Dupuy 335:59-60 The Primicier of Metz to Lorraine 27 February 1560 informing him of enterprise of the Duke's officers on the villages of Ottonville and Reichenappart, which belonged to the Primicier. Lorraine had previously written to Nicolas Vaudement as the Duke's tutor, but the officers continued.

⁹⁵ Zeller II:207.

⁹⁶ For this and what follows see Zeller vols. 1 and 2.

⁹⁷ Zeller II:6-7.

already delegated all power to govern the city to the Cardinal de Lorraine. However, Lenoncourt's activities created some discontent within the city and he did not return from the Conclave of 1555. Although the title was then passed to Beaucaire it was the Cardinal de Lorraine who succeeded Lenoncourt in relations with the King and city.⁹⁸ In December 1556 the Cardinal de Lorraine ceded all the rights of sovereignty he held in the city as Bishop and Abbot of Gorze to Henri II in return for a promise of protection for the Bishopric, Abbey and their subjects.⁹⁹

The relationship between the Lorraine-Guise Bishops and the Chapter of Metz appears, from the available evidence, to have been amiable enough. Charles consulted the Chapter on his intention to resign the title to Lenoncourt and they gave their agreement, in response to which Lorraine wrote to thank them.¹⁰⁰ As was the case with the Archbishopric of Reims the Chapter seem to have ratified the Bishops' decisions with little delay, although Louis I did encounter resistance in 1573 when he wished to elevate Hombourg and St. Avold into a perpetual fief. The Chapter objected because of the ruinous state the temporal was in and the erection was not ratified until 1578.¹⁰¹ This conforms to the picture presented in the Cardinals' relationships with their jurisdictions of amiable deference and acceptance of authority unless rights and privileges were being infringed. Yet even in the case of disputes, relations never became acrimonious.

POWER AS NOBLES

Having looked at the ways in which the behaviour and authority of the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals within the Church and their benefices mirrored that of secular seigneurs, I want to direct the discussion towards an examination of their involvement in secular noble culture. Inevitably there is some cross-over between this and the last section, but the emphasis here is upon those of the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals' actions which are typically noble and which draw upon traditional ideas of noble power. This includes displays of

⁹⁸ Zeller II:8;11-13. For Verdun also Calmet II:1307.

⁹⁹ Zeller II:14-15; B.N. ms. Dupuy 335:44 and Vc Colbert 440:66. The cession was conditional on continued French protection and did not include the sovereignty which the Bishop exercised in the other towns of the Bishopric, which included the right to mint coin.

¹⁰⁰ Zeller I citing Archives du Chapitre.

¹⁰¹ Calmet III:65.

personal honour and the protection of reputation, a certain independence of action and access to an independent following.

The most striking parallel between a secular magnate and an ecclesiastical seigneur to appear in a reading of the sources is the performance of faith and homage to a Lorraine-Guise Cardinal by his vassals. There are several examples of the vassals of the Cardinal de Lorraine through the duchy of Chevreuse swearing such oaths of fealty to his agents, who had been invested with the power of receiving this feudal duty by letters of procuration which parallel those given to the same agents to administer temporal resources.¹⁰² In 1569 there is also a notarial record of Jacques Ligier doing homage as Sieur de Clignancourt to Jacques Belleau as vicar for Charles at St. Denis en France.¹⁰³ There were also several fiefs dependent of the Archbishopric of Reims. In February 1561 Lancelot Noblet, Sieur de Tincourt, made an oath of faith and homage to Charles for the fief of *portage* of Porte Basée, which depended on the Archbishop through the château of Porte Mars.¹⁰⁴ All abbots and abbesses of the diocese of Reims had to swear an oath of submission and dependence to the Archbishop after their election and benediction.¹⁰⁵ In 1557 Charles himself had to do homage to the Bishop of Paris (Eustace du Bellay) through Louis Guillart because Maurepas was dependent on the Bishopric.¹⁰⁶ Vassals could be important noblemen in their own right, as this case and that of the Duc de Nevers (discussed below) shows. Among the vassals of the Bishopric of Metz were the Archbishop of Treves, the Dukes of Lorraine, Vaudement and Mercoeur, the Comte de Nassau and the Abbot of Marmoutier.¹⁰⁷ In 1566 Louis de Bourbon, prince de Condé swore faith and homage to Lorraine because of half and one third in the other half of the fief of *portage* of porte de Vesle, which was dependent of the Archepiscopal palace, the château of Porte Mars.¹⁰⁸

Such practices were not simply a throwback to a feudal past, they were rights

¹⁰² For example, faiths and homages to Hurault and Guillart in 1555-1557 in A.N. M.C. LXVIII 19-22.

¹⁰³ A.N. M.C. VIII 373:522.

¹⁰⁴ A.D.M.(Reims) 2G292:171.

¹⁰⁵ Varin :*Administrative* II:248-9. This only applied to Benedictines, Augustinians and the Order of Prémontrés, it was meant only for regulars, but was taken by the first commendators. Although the oath was not taken between the hands of the Archbishop it did need to be spoken at Notre Dame de Reims. There was an interesting exception to the diocese of Reims only application in 1564 when the oath was taken by an Abbot of St. Sauve of Montreil-sur-Mer (diocese of Amiens).

¹⁰⁶ A.N. M.C. LXVIII 23 17 October 1557.

¹⁰⁷ B.N. ms. Dupuy 334:15

¹⁰⁸ A.D.M.(Reims) 2G148:238.

which the seigneur pursued. In 1575 Louis II as Abbot of St. Denis constituted Jehan Besson to seize dependent fiefs for which homage had not been made.¹⁰⁹ Charles was also keen to protect his interests and wrote to the Duc de Nevers in 1564 to remind him of his duty. The Cardinal had assembled the vassals of the Bishopric of Metz at Vic a short time before in order for them to perform faith and homage. All had attended in person, or through a *procureur*, except for the Duc de Nevers, who was a vassal of the Bishopric through the seigneurie and barony of Aspremont. Proceedings had begun against Nevers for the confiscation of the fief, but because of the friendship and kinship between them Charles had intervened and wished to find an amicable solution. However, the Duc had then died. The letter informed the new Duc that Charles intended to hold a meeting of his vassals in September to discuss certain matters, including the administration of justice to vassals. Lorraine called on him to be present or send a representative and reiterated that he had written himself to maintain good relations and friendship, but that he would take action if Nevers absented himself.¹¹⁰

It is not entirely clear whether an ecclesiastic could call upon his vassals to provide military service, and therefore whether a bishop or abbot could be a military power in the sixteenth century. For example, I was unable to determine who constituted the armed escort that often accompanied the Cardinal de Lorraine and whether it was made up of mercenary guards or the Cardinal's vassals. However, there are references during the Cardinal's War to Charles's vassals taking up arms to avenge the injury against his honour by Salcède.¹¹¹ These troops were apparently raised on the Cardinal's authority as an imperial prince, which could imply that they came from the Bishopric. However, there is a report of the Cardinal raising troops (horse and foot) in the Bassigny area and in Champagne.¹¹² A small army formed under Lorraine, with his own troops being supplemented by those of his brother, the Duc d'Aumale, and by five hundred foot and fifty *chevalier legiers* sent by the Bishop of Verdun.¹¹³ After the affair had quietened down the Cardinal wrote to the Duc de Nemours that he had entirely disarmed his "bons amys et si bon nombre des mes

¹⁰⁹ A.N. M.C. VIII 380:401. 8 May This is probably part of the tidying up process after the death of Charles.

¹¹⁰ B.N. ms.fr. 3136:96. Lorraine to Nevers last May 1564.

¹¹¹ Thou III:553. Condé V:339 letter sent by Lorraine to all his subjects to declare war on Salcède; 341.

¹¹² Condé V:368 and 371.

¹¹³ Condé V:351-2. The troops from Verdun were technically Charles's own as administrator of the Bishopric of Verdun.

vassaus" in obedience to the Crown.¹¹⁴

The Lorraine-Guise Cardinals could move into the military sphere of noble action. The Cardinal de Lorraine probably became involved in military affairs through his central role in the administration of the kingdom during the reign of Henri II, which was a period of sustained warfare. The Cardinal acted as Governor of Languedoc during the imprisonment of the Constable in 1558.¹¹⁵ Another important factor was the standing of the Archbishopric within the Champagne region and the absence of alternative focuses of power and agencies of royal authority. Lorraine is identified as lieutenant general in Champagne and Brie in December 1567 during the absence of Duc Henri. Although his powers and service were financial rather than military, this type of position was usually occupied by a member of the noble military elite.¹¹⁶ Charles was not necessarily comfortable with this situation. In a reply to Crown instructions Lorraine found it strange that he was told to go with the soldiers (his nephew Henri, Charles de la Rochefoucauld and Tavannes) to meet Vieilleville because "je ne me congnois point à la guerre et que je ne suis point fort vaillant pour combattre des reistres."¹¹⁷ Charles showed more bravery and a greater willingness to become involved in 1573, since he is credited with suppressing a Protestant force which entered Champagne.¹¹⁸ Hearing of the arrival of horse and foot from the Low Countries the Cardinal warned the villages in the vicinity of Joinville (where he was staying) to be on their guard. The soldiers then murdered some priests, attacked merchants and took the château of Choiseul. The Duke of Lorraine raised troops, whilst the Cardinal in the King's name called upon the gentlemen and others of Champagne to tackle the threat. This is a good example of a Churchman acting as the most senior aristocrat in the region by using his own authority and that of the king to raise a defensive army.

Louis II, according to one report, demonstrated that he was fully acquainted with the military culture of the secular aristocracy. At the end of November 1588 trouble broke out in the château of Blois between the servants of the Duc de Guise and those of Henri III. The noise from this carried down to the town, where the Cardinal de Guise was staying.

¹¹⁴ B.N. ms.fr. 3232:43 Nancy 7 August - there is no year, but the context makes it clear that it is 1565,

¹¹⁵ Alberi *Relazioni* II:404.

¹¹⁶ A.M.R. Registre 42:424.

¹¹⁷ Barthélemy "Lettres inédits...":130. Lorraine to Charles IX Troyes 16 November 1567.

¹¹⁸ *Le Tvmvlte de Bassigni Appaisé et esteinct par l'auctorité, co[n]seil, & vigilance de Monseigneur le Cardinal de Lorraine...par I. Le Bon Hetropolitain, medecin de Monseigneur le Cardinal de Guise.*

Rouen,n.d.

He feared that an attack had been made upon his brother and so called his dependents together and, removing his clerical dress and pulling on some armour, headed off to the castle.¹¹⁹

Another way in which a noble could display his power and prestige was to be surrounded by a large household and suite. This part of aristocratic culture was readily adopted by the ecclesiastical elite, as is shown by the calculation that the average cardinal's household in the sixteenth century contained one hundred people.¹²⁰ There is no information on the followings of the two Cardinals de Guise, but some evidence of the Cardinal de Lorraine's establishment survives in a household pension list.¹²¹ The 1561 accounts show that Lorraine's household of gentlemen-in-waiting, *maîtres d'hôtel*, *escuyers*, *parmetiers*, cupbearers and *mareschaux des logis* were all from the minor nobility (all except one *comte* are entitled "sieur de..."). None of their titles correspond to lands held in fief by the Cardinal.¹²² The Cardinal's status was enhanced by the presence in his following of a group of bishops, abbots and nobles. In 1547 Lorraine is said to have gone to Rome with a large following and lived an almost royal lifestyle, as befitted a Cardinal.¹²³ Charles was certainly used to a Courtly lifestyle and to associating with princes, whether ecclesiastical or secular. The Court occasionally stayed at one of his residences and Lenzi, the papal nuncio, reported that the Cardinal was very well received by Philip II at the negotiations in May 1559. The King came down some steps to receive Lorraine and conducted him "chez lui" giving him his right arm.¹²⁴

The magnificent funeral which the Cardinal de Lorraine planned for himself was a further expression of his prestige as a member of the noble elite, as a Cardinal and as a duke. It was an excess of conspicuous consumption. His body was accompanied to Reims by a following which was dressed in black velvet decorated with a white cross-of-Lorraine. His death was marked by a lavish distribution of charity, not only to the religious houses

¹¹⁹ Davila I:626. Thou VII:303 records the same incident, but does not mention Louis wearing armour.

¹²⁰ Antonovics "Counter-Reformation Cardinals" :324.

¹²¹ B.N. ms.fr.22436:3 Statement of bishops, abbots and protonotaries of the household and of the wages of the gentlemen officers and domestics of the household made by Pierre Hotman for one year 1 January 1560 to 31 December 1562. A total of fifty three people. Also A.D.M.(Reims) 56H79 Statement of those of his following who Charles's executors were to deliver sums for attendance at the Cardinal's interment.

¹²² B.N. ms.fr.22436:3.

¹²³ A.N.G. 6 Introduction. Romier *Les Origines* I:43 says eighty people went with him.

¹²⁴ A.N.G. 14:149 Lenzi to Caraffa 27 May 1559.

and institutions with which he had some connection, but to the poor of the places the funeral procession passed through.¹²⁵ Parallels might even be drawn with a royal funeral.¹²⁶ Lorraine had already built an elaborate tomb behind the altar in the Cathedral (now destroyed).¹²⁷

In her study of noble society in sixteenth-century Picardy Neuschel has identified the display of the recognition of another individual's status as a key feature of aristocratic culture. The individual depended for his power and position upon the acknowledgement of his honour by the rest of society. Therefore any actual or perceived attack on this honour was regarded as a threat to the individual and redress had to be sought. If the Cardinal de Lorraine is placed in this environment the Cardinal's War takes on a new dimension. Salcède challenged him and queried his intentions in obtaining an imperial safeguard. He also looked to the higher authority of the Crown to regulate the Cardinal's behaviour in an area where he was theoretically sovereign. The Cardinal responded with a show of military strength to assert his authority and protect his honour. He also gained support from other dignitaries to reinforce his position.

Lorraine's reaction becomes even clearer when this challenge is seen as following the challenge by Montmorency in Paris earlier the same year. Again, Charles was acting legitimately when he attempted to enter Paris with an armed following, since, although armed escorts had been forbidden by royal edict, the Cardinal had obtained an exemption. Yet François de Montmorency, governor of Paris, refused to allow him to enter and challenged him on the streets of the city. A very undignified scene resulted in which the Cardinal was forced to flee on foot and hide until the commotion had settled, and then walk to his Hôtel. The trouble did not end there. Montmorency's men paraded in front of the Hôtel de Cluny and taunted the Cardinal, and a war of words ensued. One insulting feature of this was the claim by Montmorency that Charles should have warned him of his approach and shown him his letters of exemption. He went on to suggest that if Charles wished to enter he should designate the number of his following and provide a list of their

¹²⁵ Account of the funeral procession etc. Marlot :407-410.

¹²⁶ Giesey :172 notes that the 1550 funeral of Duc Claude de Guise used the funeral of François I as a model, but that Jean had an ecclesiastical funeral.

¹²⁷ Sarazin "L'autel et la chapelle 'du Cardinal' en la cathédral de Reims" *T.A.N.R.* 148 1933.

names.¹²⁸ In both cases Lorraine's status, dignity and authority were challenged. He did not regard himself as answerable to Salcède or Montmorency.

This encounter was clearly a battle among nobles to assert their predominance and superiority. According to Neuschel's model it was an attack upon the Cardinal by Montmorency, aimed at robbing him of his identity and status. It was regarded and expressed in terms of an affront to honour and reputation.¹²⁹ Warned of Montmorency's stance Lorraine replied that he had the honour of the house of Guise and his own reputation to consider and would not be obliged to show his letters to the Governor. In January 1566 the Cardinal demanded justice from the King for the outrage committed against him by Montmorency.¹³⁰ He was supported in his sense of grievance by other nobles of a status equal of that of Montmorency and himself. Condé expressed his outrage about the events in Paris at the time, and when Charles made his remonstrance to the King and Council in 1566 he was accompanied to Court by the Ducs de Nevers, Longueville and Montpensier, with his son, and Condé and his son (all of whom had ties of kinship with the Lorraine-Guises).¹³¹ This association with their status and prestige served to justify and reinforce Lorraine's position. The attacks on himself and his family (the supposed complicity of Coligny in Duc François's murder was also an issue at this time) had diminished Lorraine's prestige, so he enhanced it by association with the prestige of these other nobles. In this he acted like a nobleman, and was clearly considered by his peers to be an aristocrat of the highest standing who should be treated as such.

CONCLUSION

The Lorraine-Guise Cardinals were part of the same power systems as their secular

¹²⁸ Accounts of this in Thou III:533ff; Marlot:403; *C.S.P.F.* IX:941; Brantôme III:354-62 says little about the incident itself, but looks at what the two parties said about their positions. Compare this incident to Neuschel :65.

¹²⁹ Thou III:534.

¹³⁰ *C.S.P.F.* X:17.

¹³¹ *C.S.P.F.* IX:1016 Condé to his sister, the Abbess of Chelles, March 1565. As well as expressing his annoyance at the outrage committed against the Cardinal he said that if he had been with Charles he would have given proof of his goodwill by his deeds. If Neuschel's model of a noble society where words equal actions is true this is a significant statement. Condé and Lorraine had become close at this period. For 1566 B.N. ms.fr. 3951:95-100. He also demanded justice for the murder of his brother on this occasion. Compare Neuschel :100 the disastrous impact on Condé of the withdrawal of recognition by his peers in 1560, he was vulnerable because no one stepped in to support him.

peers. Power cannot be seen simply in terms of a position at Court and influence over the Crown. The noble gained status and authority from a variety of sources which were independent of the State. In the case of the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals position was a result of the combination of their significance as seigneurs of the temporal, their absorption into the noble culture of mutual recognition, personal qualities and, above all, their membership of such a prominent dynasty. Their power contributed to the overall stature of the family; but, especially in the case of the Cardinals de Guise, was largely dependent upon dynastic prestige. The Cardinal de Lorraine has been left with a greater reputation than either of the Cardinals de Guise because he combined these factors to a greater extent than they did. Lorraine's personal qualities also brought him royal favour within the Court centred power structure, which gave him added preeminence.

The Cardinal de Lorraine was influential during the reign of Henri^{II} and had a dominant position whilst François II was on the throne. Both these positions depended upon the favour and will of the Crown. With Catherine de Medici's emergence on centre stage Lorraine lost this favour and moved in and out of the core of royal government as the politico-religious situation and the needs of the Queen Mother dictated. His presence in the counsels of Catherine was not the cause of a more firmly Catholic policy, but its symptom. He often chose to distance himself from the centre of royal power and retired to Reims and he was able to leave Court for the Council of Trent (although this did temporarily weaken his position). He was able to do this and sustain his prestige because he did not rely solely upon Crown recognition for his authority and power. The fact that the Crown was important for operations on a certain level is demonstrated by the absence of Louis II from central politics during the reign of Henri III. However, the obscurity of Louis I, except for a diplomatic mission of some importance, points us in the direction of seeing the lesser stature of the junior Cardinal de Guise as a result of personal inability rather than the King's disfavour. Louis II fails to leave the same impact on history as his uncle. Youth and his assassination are clearly factors. But if we compare the position of Charles in 1557 and that of Louis in 1588, the years in which they were both thirty three, there is quite a contrast.

All three Lorraine-Guise Cardinals held alternative sources of power. As the examples from Charles's career show, they were immersed in the culture of honour, which provided the sixteenth century noble with an identity independent of his relationship to the

Crown. They were also seigneurs through their temporal possessions, which, in the case of the Bishopric of Metz, made Charles and Louis I autonomous princes under the suzerainty of the Holy Roman Emperor and then the protection of the French Crown. The powers the Cardinals enjoyed through their ecclesiastical offices varied according to the benefice, but could extend, as in the case of St. Denis and the Archbishopric of Reims, to a private jurisdiction. The position at Reims was greatly augmented by the standing of the noble Archbishop in the region and his shared predominance with the Governor. This power was far from absolute. The Archbishop of Reims had to live in coexistence with other authorities, who would take (successful) action to defend their rights and privileges against any encroachment, just as the Archbishop defended his from the expansion of royal authority.

Chapter Eight

THE WOMEN OF THE HOUSE OF GUISE AND THE CHURCH

This final chapter is devoted to an examination of the relationship between the female members of the Lorraine-Guise family and the Church. This reflects the general importance of the women within the dynasty and the significance of their role as revealed in the source material. It summarises many of the themes encountered in the discussion of the Cardinals and draws upon the same general sources. In the dynastic dimension the Abbesses fitted into the family structure and also into a wider network which extended to include their Bourbon relatives. The female religious practised patterns of dynastic strategy which can be related to those of their male relatives. As female provincial magnates they had control of traditional resources, in the form of patronage and financial assets, but on a lesser scale than their male relatives. A discussion of an abbess's role as patron adds a new dimension to the clientage debate. The patronage question also reveals the interaction of the secular female noble with the Church. The administration of the temporal resources of female benefices lacked the sophistication of male abbeys and bishoprics, but some parallels can be drawn. By nature of her gender the power of the abbess was local rather than national, but in the case of Renée de Lorraine (sister of Louis I), Abbess of St. Pierre de Reims, at least, it would seem that she could enjoy significant authority and prestige. The emphasis of this analysis falls on Renée because she had longer tenure during this period than her sister, Antoinette, or her Aumale nieces and also because there was more evidence for her than her female kin. However, the other Lorraine-Guise women religious (see Appendix One Table 2) are mentioned when appropriate.

The role of female nobles in the diffusion of the Reformed faith has been highlighted as a significant one, whereas the history of the relationship between the women of the Catholic magnate families and the Catholic Church has been neglected.¹ Unfortunately not much is known about the religious experience of Catholic noblewomen during this period. A Catholic noblewoman could operate in the Church on two levels, as a

¹ See for example Nancy L. Roelker "The Appeal of Calvinism to French Noblewomen in the Sixteenth Century" *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 2 (1972) and its companion article "The Role of Noblewomen in the French Reformation" *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 63 1972.

secular woman performing her devotions or as a member of a regular order. The paucity of works on sixteenth-century women and their relationship with the Catholic Church reflects upon the lack of attention given to French monasticism in general during this period and broader issues concerning the history of women.

Traditionally women only appeared in historical writing as individuals of some particular merit, or as a focus for the exploration of a particular period² (the same is also true of some studies of men). There was no analysis of the experience of women within their historical context until the development and expansion of social history. The new emphases placed on the analysis of the past have given significance to women's traditional roles and made them important and vital factors in a comprehensive picture of the past. Unfortunately the politicisation of gender issues has led to some apparently skewed views of the past. Women's experience is represented as a struggle for freedom from male oppression, a perspective which casts a career in the Church as an opportunity to escape male domination and introduce choice into a woman's life.³ Evidence from studies of Medieval monasticism demonstrates that this was not the case. This was not a golden age of female freedom, nor did it represent enslavement to a patriarchal system. Monastic women were still reliant upon men to administer their sacraments and they were subject to the authority of a bishop. But the office of abbess brought a woman status and prestige, and if this was backed by kinship with the social elite she was in a position to exercise her own authority over her own and the surrounding community and even challenge secular or ecclesiastical authority. Membership of such a community, even if it were determined by the demands of the family, did bring women a new identity which was not defined by their relationships with men.⁴

It seems anachronistic to speak in terms of a female struggle for autonomy in the early modern period and, as Natalie Davis has pointed out, women were already experiencing independence in many spheres of their lives.⁵ The preferred approach is one of synthesis, looking at the experience of women and men together, rather than ghettoising

² This paragraph draws heavily upon Gerda Lerner "Placing Women in History: Definitions and Challenges" in *Feminist Studies* 3 (1975) :5-14.

³ For example see Lina Eckenstein *Women Under Monasticism* Cambridge, 1896.

⁴ Johnson :2 and 99. See also J. Michael Hayden "States, Estates and Orders: the *Qualité* of Female Clergy in Early Modern France" *French History* 8 1994 on the status and identity of female religious.

⁵ Natalie Zemon Davis "City Women and Religious Change" *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* London, 1975 :81.

the majority of the population. This (limited) contribution to the study of the experience of women in the sixteenth century Church is placed in a separate chapter to emphasise it and prevent it from becoming an afterthought to the main text. However, it is linked with the themes of the rest of the study and shows that women's experiences are integral to an understanding of the relationship between the nobility and the French Church.

The conversion of a few significant noblewomen to reformed ideas played a very important role in the creation of a Huguenot nobility.⁶ These women were the matriarchs of networks of noblewomen, connected by blood, marriage and membership of groups formed in the household. The young members of these groups adopted not only the cultural practices of their role-models, but also their religious beliefs. It would be extremely interesting to examine whether Catholic noblewomen, such as Antoinette de Bourbon, fostered similar groups and what impact traditional religious practices had upon them. One way in which these networks were mirrored among the Catholic nobility was by membership of a group which formed inside an abbey. These circles are discussed below and form an essential part of female monastic experience and of female noble culture. It would also be valuable to discover what kept noblewomen orthodox and what separated them from their Huguenot peers. It has been suggested that Calvinism offered women greater freedom and opportunities for action. In fact noblewomen already enjoyed considerable authority, as did urban women,⁷ but the Huguenot movement did offer this elite a leadership role denied to their social inferiors and their Catholic cousins (only Catherine de Montpensier seems to have taken on a parallel role).⁸ On the other hand, Catholicism offered women a greater sense of community with its numerous female saints and emphasis upon the sanctity of the Virgin Mary, to whom women could speak.⁹

The general neglect of women's history combines with the absence of studies of sixteenth century monasticism to obscure the experience of female religious during this period. Insights have to be drawn from studies of female monasticism in the Middle Ages. Although the evidence is limited, it appears reasonable to make comparisons between the medieval period and the sixteenth century. The Catholic reform which permeated the French Church in the seventeenth century has drawn attention to women religious, but the

⁶ Roelker "The Appeal of Calvinism..." and "The role of Noblewomen..."; and also Davis.

⁷ Davis :81.

⁸ Roelker "The Appeal of Calvinism..." :395 note 10.

⁹ Davis :86.

focus is upon new orders rather than established houses.¹⁰ The new orders and the *dévo*t movement were not a feature of Lorraine-Guise female religious experience in the sixteenth century. The evidence from earlier studies shows that aristocratic nuns and abbesses were not isolated from the social world their lay siblings inhabited and they apparently continued to behave in the same manner as other women of their social rank. Johnson's study of female monasticism in the Middle Ages provides a picture of continued strong links between women inside the abbey and their families outside. Families also had strong connections with individual abbeys. These could house a variety of female kin, such as sisters, aunts and nieces, daughters and widowed mothers. The evidence indicates that this pattern was repeated for the Lorraine-Guises.

DYNASTICISM

Both the Lorraine and the Bourbon families had a tradition of very strong and able matriarchal figures. The women of the Lorraine family played an important role within the dynasty, which went beyond that of spouses and mothers. Constant has noted that the women of the Lorraine-Guise family contributed to the dynasty's prestige,¹¹ most notably in the case of Marie de Lorraine (wife of James V of Scotland and mother of Mary Stuart). The significance of Mary Stuart to the dynasty on a political level hardly needs to be emphasised, but it should also be remembered that her plight in English captivity and her "martyrdom" at the hands of Elizabeth I contributed to the dynasty's Catholic image.¹² The issue of whether the Lorraine-Guises viewed this Scottish alliance as an opportunity to gain access to the patronage potential provided by the Church in Scotland is worthy of further investigation.

The Lorraine-Guise women had a practical importance separate from dynastic union and regeneration. They were protectors of the dynasty's resources. Early modern aristocratic women traditionally remained on their husbands' estates, managing and administering while the men were away on campaign. This role can be seen in the registers

¹⁰ For example, Elizabeth Rapley *Dévot*es: *Women and Church in Seventeenth Century France* London, 1990. Wendy Gibson *Women in Seventeenth-Century France* London, 1989 Chapter 13 does provide valuable information on the experience of the old orders.

¹¹ Constant :23.

¹² Cameron "La polémique..." :185-194.

of the Minutier Central, where they act for their husbands and brothers in the drawing up of contracts.¹³ Women could also act in the administration of ecclesiastical possessions. For instance, Anne d'Este acted for her son by her second marriage, Henri de Savoie, in the management of the Archbishopric of Auch and of an abbey. The Duchesse de Guise arranged leases of the temporal of St. Denis during the minority of her son.¹⁴ These women also substituted for their male relatives in more politically prominent ways when the family was deprived of effective male leadership through assassination. The Lorraine-Guise women appear to have been particularly adept at mobilising the imagery of widowhood or grieving motherhood to activate support or sympathy.¹⁵ At the same time they preserved dynastic interests by being appointed as *tutrices* and *curatrices* of the next generation.¹⁶ These women were also significant figures in their own right, as studies of Antoinette de Bourbon and Anne d'Este have demonstrated.¹⁷ The Lorraine Abbesses need to be considered in the context of the important role of these women since, as Bergin has recognised,¹⁸ they formed an integral and influential part of the dynasty's ecclesiastical power. Unlike their brothers and secular sisters the Lorraine-Guise Abbesses did not fill the role of protectors of the main dynastic resources. Their role was a less tangible one.

Renée de Lorraine's correspondence, like that of her brothers, shows that she was an integral member of the family despite her ecclesiastical status. She was part of a consciously sustained kin network, which expressed itself through the exchange of letters. In various of her letters Renée discussed family news and business with Anne d'Este.¹⁹ For instance, Renée expressed concern about Duc Henri's safety and wrote about Mayenne's marriage. She also wrote in defence of the Cardinal de Guise (probably

¹³ For example Catherine de Cleves and Catherine de Lorraine-Montpensier in A.N. M.C. VIII401:127 and :243 and VIII400:469 and :449.

¹⁴ A.N. M.C. VIII400:350; VIII401:576 and Ayzac :515.

¹⁵ J. Munns and P. Richards "Exploiting and Destabilising Gender Roles: Anne d'Este" *French History* 6 1992 :210-211. Catherine de Medici is another notable example of the use of images of motherhood and widowhood for political means.

¹⁶ Anne d'Este was appointed with the Cardinal de Lorraine and Louis I for Henri de Guise and his brothers for example B.N. ms.fr..8182:149 and A.N. M.C. VIII355:67;207 and following the Blois assassinations Anne, Catherine de Cleves, Catherine de Montpensier and the Duchesse de Mayenne acted for the children of Henri de Guise M.C. VIII403 *passim* .

¹⁷ Pimodan *La Mere des Guises* Paris, 1889 and P. Richards "Anne d'Este and her *cercle*: gender and politics in sixteenth century France" unpublished PhD. thesis University of Birmingham.

¹⁸ Bergin "The Decline and Fall ..."

¹⁹ For example B.N. ms.fr.3233 *passim*

Louis II), who was in some kind of dispute with the Duc de Nemours, who had complained of his “bad offices”.²⁰ Similarly there was correspondence between her sister Antoinette, Abbess of Faremoutier, and Anne.²¹ The next generation also sustained the family network through letters, with Marie and Louise de Lorraine-Aumale writing to their niece, the Duchesse de Nemours.²² Small gifts were also part of this exchange, as they were in wider noble culture. Mary Stuart gave two of her old dresses to her aunts, Renée and Antoinette, to make *paremens*,²³ and Renée’s brother, the Cardinal de Lorraine, sent her a cross.²⁴ Gifts to St. Pierre de Reims also seem to have reinforced kinship links with Renée and the Abbey. Two examples of this are crosses given by the Cardinal de Bourbon and the Queen of Scotland.²⁵ Family unity was similarly reinforced by the occupation of the same physical space. Renée visited Joinville and in one letter even referred to a visit she had made to the Lorraine ducal family at Nancy.²⁶ The lay members of the family also visited the Abbesses. Antoinette de Bourbon told her eldest daughter, Marie of Scotland, that she planned to visit Reims to see “mes abbesses” (her daughters Renée and Antoinette, then Abbess of Faremoutier).²⁷

There was a practical side to the relationship between Renée and the family, which emphasises her significance within the dynastic structure and helps to place Reims as a dynastic centre. The Abbey church was used for the tonsuring of François de Lorraine, son of Duc François, a ceremony which marked his initiation into the ecclesiastical inheritance marked out for him.²⁸ In a reply to a letter from her brother, Duc François, Renée indicated that the Abbey of St. Pierre was used as a depository for family documents.²⁹ This theory is given further support by Charles depositing a copy of his testament with her, and the fact

²⁰ B.N. ms.fr.3233:1;7; and :13 and :15.

²¹ B.N. ms.fr.20467:149.

²² B.N. ms.fr.3233 - various. Anne d’Este’s son, Henri Duc de Nemours, married Anne de Lorraine-Aumale, the granddaughter of Duc François’s brother.

²³ Labanoff:29-32.

²⁴ B.N. ms.fr.20467:145

²⁵ H. Jadart “Le Trésor de l’abbaye de Saint-Pierre-les-Dames de Reims en 1690” *T.A.N.R.* 123 1907-8 :123ff.

²⁶ Pimodan:159 and letters dated at Joinville B.N. ms.fr. 3233:1;7;9; and Nancy - B.N. ms. fr. 3233:9

²⁷ Wood I:137.

²⁸ Cocquault :418.

²⁹ B.N. ms. Clair. 345:281

that Anne sent her copies of her marriage contract with the Duc de Nemours and of the donation she made to her elder children.³⁰ Renée also acted as an agent for her nephew, Louis II, arranging the lease of lands belonging to the temporal of the Archbishopric of Reims in the mid to late 1580s,³¹ fulfilling the role in the ecclesiastical dynastic sphere that her female relatives performed in the secular.

Appendix Three provides a list of the benefices which the female members of the Lorraine-Guise family held. The number of benefices held by the women of the family is smaller than for the Cardinals. Pluralism was not a significant feature of female monasticism and once a benefice was acquired it tended to be retained, rather than exchanged for another. At most an abbess held two abbeys during her career and if she held two simultaneously this was only for a year or two. Their holdings were located in the dioceses of north-eastern France, but interestingly not in the Trois-Evêchés. All, except St. Pierre de Reims, were rural houses and all were under the rule of Saint Benedict. Female tenure patterns cannot be used to illustrate any trends, or alterations, in the dynasty's ecclesiastical strategy because there were only a few abbeys involved and they were all in regions where the Guises traditionally held benefices. This preference for dioceses which coincided with the sphere of family action may reflect a policy in the female monastic sphere. A woman's abbey was more likely to be in an area with family associations because she only held one benefice and because it would have been more important for her to be close to her family for reasons of security and communication. Two of the family's abbeys - Chelles and Faremoutier - are close to Paris, whilst Origny is situated twelve kilometres from the town of Guise itself.

The pattern of female members of the Lorraine family who entered the Church is different from that seen in the male sphere. Possibly daughters were more expendable than their brothers or less likely to find a place in secular dynastic strategies. In her examination of the Montmorency family strategy Joan Davies notes that whilst the sons of the dynasty were necessary to ensure its continuity and to make profitable marriages, their sisters were more easily spared. In this case the Church does appear as a cheap option - the dowries for three daughters were set at 50,000 *livres* and another at 70,000; whilst a nun received an

³⁰ B.N. ms.fr. 3211:76

³¹ See the interesting run of contracts in A.D.M.(Reims) 2G32/3

annuity of 100 *livres* and the ceremony around her profession cost from 300 to 3,000 *livres*.³² Yet within this there was still a place for dynasticism and the preservation of family holdings. There do not appear to have been any abbesses in the senior branch of the Lorraine family. The genealogical and tenure records for the family and the Trois-Evêchés do not record any nuns or Lorraine heads of female religious houses. This is perhaps surprising given the dynasty's association with the Church and the power that an abbess could hold within the Holy Roman Empire. In the first generation in the French sphere there were two abbesses, Renée and her short-lived sister Antoinette. In the generation which contained Louis II the Guise ducal family did not provide any nuns, whilst the cadet branch of Aumale produced four. This was the result of a "surplus" of daughters. Catherine de Lorraine-Guise was needed for the marriage market and would have had no obvious place in the female ecclesiastic dynastic strategy. It was left to her niece to replace Renée as Abbess of St. Pierre at the start of the seventeenth century. As is shown in the discussion of male tenure, the houses of Elbeuf and later Mayenne did not provide personnel for an ecclesiastical policy.

As with male dynasticism there were certain benefices which once acquired by the dynasty were passed from generation to generation. For example, a Bourbon princess was Abbess of Fontevault for five generations from 1491 and in the seventeenth century the Guises established their tenure of the Abbeys of St. Pierre de Reims, Chelles, Jouarre and Notre Dame de Soissons. Interestingly the second of these, Chelles, passed from the house of Bourbon-Vendôme to the Lorraine-Guises in 1583.³³ A female ecclesiastical "patrimony" only developed in the Guise family in the seventeenth century on the foundations established by Renée and her nieces. Renée de Lorraine's generation was the first in which the Lorraine women had been active in the French Church, so there was no ecclesiastical inheritance. The absence of a tradition of female pluralism placed limits on this concept - an abbess could have only one heir to whom she passed her only benefice. This meant that the close relationship between Renée and her Bourbon kin, with their established place in the French benefice system, could not have had tangible implications. The Lorraine-Guise women, therefore, played an active role in the development and

³² "The Politics of the Marriage Bed: Matrimony and the Montmorency Family, 1527 - 1612" *French History* 6 1992 : 65 and 67. Of course the annuity and provision for its payment would add up to a significant figure, but not one as great as the dowry.

³³ Renée de Bourbon-Vendôme was succeeded by Marie de Lorraine-Aumale who had been a professed nun at the abbey since 1579.

expansion of the family's ecclesiastical patrimony in France, which contributed to the dynasty's power.

If coadjutorship was the means by which Lorraine-Guise bishops and abbots ensured the succession of their nephews to dynastic benefices, then an upbringing in an aunt's abbey seems to have ensured promotion or succession among the female religious. Fontevault was a hot-house for abbesses with Bourbon connections under Renée de Bourbon (Duchesse Antoinette's aunt). A group of future abbesses, which included Renée de Lorraine, grew up in the Abbey whilst she was Abbess.³⁴ Renée de Lorraine was in fact Grand-Prioress of Fontevault when she was appointed Abbess of St. Pierre in 1542 and she appears to have retained the post despite her promotion.³⁵ Under Renée de Lorraine St. Pierre seems to have taken on a similar, if less prominent, role. Among the lists of nuns who ratified land contracts are the names of the future abbesses Marie de Guise (Lorraine-Aumale),³⁶ Antoinette de Lorraine (Guise)³⁷ and Antoinette de Lorraine (Aumale).³⁸ The existence of a network of Guise-Bourbon abbesses is also suggested by an event in 1584. When Renée de Lorraine discovered a cache of relics, she distributed them to various religious establishments, including Chelles, headed by her niece, Marie de Lorraine-Aumale, and Notre Dame de Soissons, where her cousin, Catherine de Bourbon-Vendôme, was Abbess.³⁹ This kind of network appears to have mirrored the structures of female association identified in the aristocratic households which fostered the early reform movement and which must have been common throughout early modern female noble culture.

FEMALE NETWORKS

The whole area of female patronage has been largely neglected in theoretical models and historians' debates. In her agenda-setting work Kettering highlighted this omission and

³⁴ *Gallia* II

³⁵ *Gallia* IX

³⁶ A.D.M.(Reims) 87H48/1 - 18 June 1569.

³⁷ A.D.M.(Reims) 87H54/19 - 14 June 1550, "Prioress of St. Pierre" - Renée's sister.

³⁸ A.D.M.(Reims) 87H71/4 - 26 December 1583, "Grand Prioress of St. Pierre" - Renée's niece.

³⁹ A.D.M.(Reims) 87H53/2:2.

suggested that opportunities existed for highly placed women to become patrons.⁴⁰ However, she has not looked at the idea of women as clients (of men or of other women) or combined the ideas of female and ecclesiastical patronage. Neuschel does not consider a female dimension in her cultural analysis of the sixteenth century nobility and follows the traditional line of only examining the networks of a male warrior community. This is unfortunate because the women provide strong evidence of a noble society and culture maintained by kin and social networks. Women could use their connections and influence to gain favour and advancement for “clients”. As members of a politically significant dynasty with a wide network of influential contacts the Lorraine-Guise women were in a position to promote the interests of “clients”. Although pluralism and acquisitiveness were not significant features of female benefice holding, opportunities for exchange and promotion did exist, just as in the world of male tenure.

The Lorraine-Guise female religious were not isolated from noble society. The patterns of social contact and the continuity of noble culture inside an abbey which we have seen to be evident within the kinship structure were also extended to noblewomen outside the family. An unaddressed letter from Renée de Lorraine reveals the intended visit of two noblewomen (the *maréchale* and Madame de Roye) to St. Pierre.⁴¹ Religious women also demonstrate that they remained part of the noble network which reinforced its ties by the exchange of minor gifts. For example, Renée sent a book of sermons to the Duchesse de Montmorency in September 1548.⁴²

The language used in correspondence also places the aristocratic abbess within noble culture. To her family Renée signed herself with a formula expressing humility and obedience (“tres humble et tres obeissant soeur/fille”). She followed the structure of formulaic phrases, which reflect intimacy, and social and geographic distance, used by her male relatives (see Chapter 4) in her other letters. For example, she signed herself “votre humble cousin et amye” to the Duchesse de Montmorency⁴³ and “bon votre en notre sieur” to the *argentier* at Joinville, Rochereau.⁴⁴ The cloistered women of the Lorraine family appear particularly humble in their letters, employing expressions of their devotion. Renée

⁴⁰ Kettering “The Patronage Power...”

⁴¹ B.N. ms.fr. 20467:145 9 June 1548.

⁴² B.N. ms. fr.10239:33

⁴³ B.N. ms.fr. 3260:113.

⁴⁴ B.N. ms.fr. 20468:53.

wrote of her service to François, Anne and Nemours and went further by telling her brother that she held his *bonnes graces* dearer than her own life. These women also provide the best example of what I have termed “empty letters”, which contain no request or information, simply an expression of devotion.⁴⁵ Whereas this kind of letter from the Cardinals tended to accompany other dispatches these seem to have been sent on their own. This emphasises even more the use of correspondence to reinforce ties within noble culture. They also wrote requesting news and inclusion within the noble information network. Antoinette, Abbess of Faremoutier, wrote to Marie of Scotland expressing her sense of duty and obedience, hoping for an opportunity to do her service and requesting that Marie “me faire tant d’honneur me de partir de voz nouvelles”.⁴⁶

Female monasticism gives an insight into the concept of the extended family and a broad kin network. A genealogical analysis of the nuns at St. Pierre demonstrates the importance of extended kin. From this example it might be possible to conclude that, deprived of the opportunities to forge new relationships enjoyed by their male relatives, women drew upon existing links established by marriage alliances. It is in the female sphere that the continued links between the Lorraine-Guise and the Bourbon families can be seen most clearly. Antoinette de Bourbon, the dowager Duchesse de Guise, was a dominant figure in this structure. She was the matriarch of not only the house of Lorraine-Guise, but of a network of Bourbon relations as well. Her letters show that she remained involved with her birth-family. She was particularly interested in her grandniece Catherine de Cleves. Antoinette assumed Catherine’s protection and was responsible for negotiating her first marriage to the Prince de Porcien. During this marriage she remained closely involved in the couple’s lives.⁴⁷ Catherine’s second marriage to Antoinette’s grandson, Duc Henri de Guise, reinforced the connection which had been established between the two dynasties by the marriage of Antoinette to Claude, first Duc de Guise.

The Abbey of St. Pierre de Reims provided a focus for a network of extended kin. This group included women who were related to the Guise family by marriage and also their female relatives. Table 4 of Appendix One gives some impression of the interlinking of the Guises, Aumales, Poitiers, La Marcks and Clermonts. The lists of nuns who ratified

⁴⁵ For example Marie de Lorraine-Aumale to Montmorency B.N. ms.fr. 10239:38 and Renée to Marie of Scotland Wood:154.

⁴⁶ Wood:202.

⁴⁷ Neuschel :80.

land contracts involving the temporal of St. Pierre include not only the two Aumale nieces, but also their cousin, Françoise de la Marck.⁴⁸ (She was the granddaughter of Diane de Poitiers). Françoise's sister-in-law, Louise de Montmorency, daughter of Constable Anne, was also a nun at St. Pierre. Although Louise does not appear among the nuns who ratified contracts, there is a series of letters between Renée de Lorraine and the Duchesse de Montmorency discussing Louise and her profession.⁴⁹ This family connection was not as strained as a genealogical table might suggest. In 1567 and 1568 there had been discussions about the marriage of one of Louise de Montmorency's brothers to one of the Aumale daughters, which was favoured by Henri de Montmorency (Damville) because his wife was Antoinette de la Marck, first cousin of the Aumales (and Françoise's sister).⁵⁰ Another of Françoise de la Marck's sisters married Henri de Clermont, the son of Diane de Poitier's sister. Henri's aunt, Madeleine de Clermont, was also a nun at St. Pierre.⁵¹ The coherence of this family network was reinforced by the marriage of Diane de Poitier's other sister, Anne, to the cousin of her sister's husband, Antoine II de Clermont.

The analysis of the female dimensions of dynastic strategy notes that a kind of patronage took place in the form of the promotion of a niece, either internally or to another house. Such advancement was not limited to an abbess's family, and similar patterns seem to have applied on a more general scale. Nuns moved from St. Pierre to head their own abbeys. The role of an abbess and her family in such promotions can only be guessed at since there is no extant correspondence to support the idea of a Lorraine abbess (or one of her male relatives) suggesting or advocating the promotion of one of the nuns under her care. The abbeys which the former nuns of St. Pierre went to govern had some kind of connection with St. Pierre. This contributes to the impression of a female network operating within the Church, as well as suggesting that the Guise family had some role in the promotions.

Françoise de la Marck was very well connected without her kinship to the Guises, so it is unlikely that they were solely responsible for her promotion to Avenay.⁵² Her mother and her uncle (Louis de Brezé) spent large sums of money on the restoration of the

⁴⁸ A.D.M.(Reims) 87H48;54 - the years 1569 and 1572

⁴⁹ B.N. ms.fr.3260:113; ms.fr.10239:31;33;36. Anselme also notes Louise as a nun at St. Pierre.

⁵⁰ Davies :67.

⁵¹ A.D.M.(Reims) 87H17;18;38 - the years 1548, 1551 and 1586.

⁵² *Lettres Henri III* II:1885.

Abbey, which suggests that they were the prime movers in her career development. It has been argued that the Guises had no control over Avenay through St. Pierre and that when the Guises suggested union in 1567 Avenay rejected it.⁵³ However, there is an impression that there was some connection between the two houses even if Renée de Lorraine did not have any form of jurisdiction over Avenay. The Abbey was one of the recipients of the relics distributed by Renée in 1584 - the others all having identifiable links with the Guises - and was referred to as one of Renée's "parentes et filles de Religion".⁵⁴

The evidence for a connection between St. Pierre, the Guises and the Abbey of St. Jacques de Vitry en Perthois is stronger. A search of genealogical reference works did not reveal any information on the family background of a former nun of St. Pierre, Madeleine de la Haie, who was Abbess of St. Jacques from 1558.⁵⁵ If she was not from an influential family this promotion could point towards Guise intervention in the careers of nuns. The link between the two abbeys is demonstrated when Madeleine was followed as Abbess by Marie de Lorraine-Aumale and then Perrine de Nemours, both of whom had been nuns at St. Pierre. St. Jacques also received a share of the relics found by Renée. It is not clear whether any jurisdiction accompanied this connection.

A similar situation to that seen in the male sphere in benefices such as the Bishopric of Metz and Abbey of Montier en Der occurred at the Abbey of Origny. Its proximity to the town of Guise made it of obvious importance to the family, just as the Abbeys of Montier en Der and St. Urbain were important. The history of the Abbey in the family is not as distinguished as many of the male dynastic holdings because it only came into Guise possession in the 1550s. However, it was the only female benefice within the period of this study to be held by two members of the family. Renée held it very briefly around 1555, and Antoinette de Lorraine-Aumale in 1584-1585. Between these two Lorraine Abbesses came Françoise (or Madeleine) de Bellefourrière, a nun from St. Pierre,⁵⁶ whose family was connected to the Guises. These connections, combined with the benefice's location and the sandwiching of her tenure between two Lorraine Abbesses, suggests that Françoise was a caretaker, enjoying the Abbey until her death in the absence of a Lorraine candidate.

⁵³ Louis Paris "Histoire de l'abbaye d'Avenay" *T.A.N.R.* 61-63

⁵⁴ A.D.M.(Reims) 87H53/2:2.

⁵⁵ A.D.M.(Reims) 87H80.

⁵⁶ *Gallia* IX cites her as such and her name appears in 1548 and 1551 at St. Pierre A.D.M.(Reims) 87H17 and 38.

The picture is not clear because the Guise family did not then go on to establish control of the benefice. This could have been a result of a shortage of daughters. Another explanation of this arrangement would be to regard the Guise tenures as a distraction and describe the Bellefourrière tenure as straightforward patronage.

Françoise de Bellefourrière's mother was Madeleine de Coucy-Vervins, whose family were intimately connected with the Ducs de Vendôme. The Coucy-Vervins were one of the most central families in the military network of the Ducs, and its members also served the Bourbons in the non-military sphere. Both Françoise's uncle and father were *chambellans* to the Duc de Vendôme (Antoinette de Bourbon's father) whilst her mother was *dame d'honneur* to the Duchesse. The Coucy-Vervins evidently drew upon these connections and appealed to the (dowager) Duchesse de Guise for favours, such as the granting of an abbey and intercession with her son, the Cardinal. Patronage was clearly received through this channel, as letters to Antoinette show. Madeleine thanked Antoinette for what she had done for her nephews and nieces as well as soliciting for an abbey. When Françoise's uncle was accused of treason Antoinette did what she could to assist him, mainly in the form of looking after the interests of his children (one of whom she placed in the service of Duc François de Guise). There were some connections in the ecclesiastical sphere as well: Françoise's uncle had been Abbot of St. Michel en Thierarche before Louis II, and an aunt had died at Origny (although it is not clear whether she was a nun there).⁵⁷ The Coucy-Vervins were also vassals of the Archbishopric of Reims through the fief of Chemery.⁵⁸

Women religious exchanged benefices in the same way as the Cardinals, but on a much smaller scale because they had less material to operate with. This can be seen as a form of patronage, but there is no firm evidence in these exchanges of the kind of ecclesiastical network which surrounded the Cardinal de Lorraine. One example of such a transaction involves the Abbey of Poulengy. Marguerite de Salazar obtained the Abbey from Renée de Lorraine.⁵⁹ The *GalliaChristiana* gives the impression that Marguerite had

⁵⁷ Pimodan :408-9 three undated letters from Magdelayne, Jacques and Jehan de Coucy taken from B.N. ms.fr.20468:143;193;197. Potter "Luxembourg Inheritance":48 and "A Treason Trial" for the connection of the Coucy and Bourbon families. La Chenaye Desbois and Anselme VIII. There may be a further family connection in that two of Françoise's cousin's daughters married a Du Fay and an Aspremont, names which appear in the lists of nuns at St. Pierre.

⁵⁸ La Chenaye Desbois; A.D.M.(Reims) 2G134; 2G148:313.

⁵⁹ B.N. ms.fr. 20468:53 Renée de Lorraine to *argentier* Rochereau asking for a copy of the contract of exchange for the abbey of Poulengy with Sallezart.

been elected Abbess of St. Pierre de Reims and possibly this exchange was compensation for Renée's nomination. Marguerite later resigned Poulengy in favour of a nun from St. Pierre, Claudia de Roucy.⁶⁰ Another exchange of this nature occurred in March 1555 with the cession by Antoinette de Lorraine, Renée's sister, of St. Paul lès Beauvais to Magdeleine de Clermont. Antoinette had received it only a short time before from Caroline de Monceaux.⁶¹ Magdeleine, whose links with the St. Pierre kinship network are discussed above, had been a nun at St. Pierre.⁶² Caroline returned to St. Paul after Magdeleine, which would suggest that the right of regression was also a feature of female benefice holding.

There also seems to have been an element of patronage in the placing of girls within an abbey. There are two cases in which a Guise Abbess exchanged a correspondence with a secular noble concerning the patronage of a nun within her charge. In the first example Renée de Lorraine wrote to Anne d'Este about Perrine de Nemours and requested financial guarantees so that she could profess the girl. Perrine was also mentioned in a letter from Renée to the Duc de Nemours.⁶³ Her name might suggest that she was the bastard daughter of the Duc, but there is no trace of her in genealogical reference works. An explanation for this coincidence of names might be found in a previous generation. Philippes de Gueldres' testament left a pension for the support of a nun called Yolande de Calabre at the Abbey of Ste. Marthe lez Paris.⁶⁴ One of Philippes's titles was Duchess of Calabria. This suggests that a noble woman who adopted a young girl and provided for her religious career also gave her a name which indicated this adoption by associating her with one of the noblewoman's titles. The theory of adoption is supported by a letter which informed Anne that Perrine loved and honoured her like her (Perrine's) own mother.⁶⁵ The second case involved Louise de Lorraine, who made a request to the Duc de Nemours for the ratification of a pension which his wife (her niece) had arranged, so she could profess a "fille flamande".⁶⁶ She added that if the pension was not assured she would have to send

⁶⁰ *Gallia* IV Claudia was in turn succeeded by her niece Louise de Roucy.

⁶¹ *Gallia* IX. .

⁶² A.D.M.(Reims) 87H17;18;38.

⁶³ B.N. ms.fr. 3233:1; ms.fr 3233:3.

⁶⁴ Calmet III :ccclxxviii.

⁶⁵ B.N. ms.fr. 3233:7.

⁶⁶ B.N. ms.fr. 3233:64.

the girl away.

I hoped to find more evidence of the daughters and sisters of Guise associates being placed within abbeys headed by Lorraine family members.⁶⁷ The Pellevé family did make significant advances into the monastic sphere during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but not within Guise-headed houses. Four of Cardinal Nicolas's sisters became nuns. Three of them did pass part of their careers in abbeys which had some link with the dynasty. One, Antoinette, belonged to Notre Dame de Soissons (a Bourbon-Vendôme abbey which came under Lorraine-Guise control in the 1590s), whilst another, Marguerite, was a nun at Avenay before becoming Abbess of the Paraclet in 1568. In the 1590s one of their nieces became Abbess of St. Paul lès Beauvais, but the main family interest seems to have been Moncel. Pellevé was clearly in a position to ensure the promotion of his own family, but it is probable that the Guises also helped their advancement. One indication that an abbess could provide patronage for a female relative of a family client is given in one of Renée's letters. In writing a request to the *argentier* of Joinville for a copy of a contract, Renée referred to the presence of his "petite fille" at St. Pierre, and an Anne Rochereau appears on a list of nuns of the Abbey in 1551.⁶⁸

There was no intention to provide a biographical breakdown of the nuns within St. Pierre any more than to research the canons of Reims, so there is a limited amount of information about the backgrounds of the nuns under Renée's control. However, from the available information it appears that the nuns were drawn from local notable families, with a few coming from the nobility. This pattern conforms with the picture produced by more detailed studies of the Medieval period.⁶⁹ It is difficult to tell whether these local elite families had any connection with the Guises. There do not appear to have been any Scottish or Catholic refugees within the Lorraine-Guise establishments.

As well as being members of an aristocratic network which exchanged letters and

⁶⁷ Daughters placed within an abbey do not always show up in genealogical reference works since the documents they are based upon tend to exclude them. For example they will not appear in a father's will because they have already received their part of his inheritance.

⁶⁸ B.N. ms.fr. 20468:53. A.D.M.(Reims) 87H38.

⁶⁹ Marilyn Oliva "Aristocracy or Meritocracy? Office-Holding Patterns in Late Medieval English Nunneries" in Shiels and Wood *Women in the Church* Oxford, 1990 shows that in pre-Reformation Norfolk the aristocracy formed only one percent of nuns, the majority being formed by the upper and lower gentry. Hayden supports the picture of the nobility and upper bourgeoisie monopolising the membership of the older orders.

gifts, the Lorraine abbesses drew upon their connections and family influence to gain favours and advancement for those who can be termed their clients. There were no letters of solicitation to abbesses, but these women were clearly asked to use their influence and intervene on behalf of “clients” and various letters show these women acting as patrons. They solicited both men and women on behalf of men. Antoinette de Lorraine, Abbess of Faremoutier, asked the Duchesse de Guise for a favour for a third person.⁷⁰ Renée de Lorraine requested that her “povr subietz” be exempt from the expense of supporting gendarmes in a letter to the Duc de Nevers in 1554⁷¹ and in another interceded with her brother, François, to request that the *noblesse* of Reims be exempted from the *arrière ban*.⁷² In 1559 the town council of Reims concluded that, as well as writing to the Cardinal de Lorraine, they should also ask Renée to write.⁷³ The religious of a priory under the jurisdiction of Fontevault demonstrated another way in which a family connection could be invoked when they asked François de Lorraine (then Duc d’Aumale) to exempt them from the lodging of gendarmes as a favour to his aunt, the Abbess of Fontevault.⁷⁴ Renée’s influence in Reims is said to have helped to win an office for the son of her late *argentier*.⁷⁵ As managers of the resources of the benefices which they headed these women were in a position to employ the same sorts of officers and personnel as their male relatives.

Lay noblewomen played a part in obtaining ecclesiastical patronage for “clients”. Antoinette de Bourbon was a party to patronage exchanges involving her sons, which included Church office.⁷⁶ For example, Magdelaine de Coucy wrote to Antoinette to solicit the Abbey of Chauron for monsieur de Bonne-Fontaine.⁷⁷ As part of one of her religious foundations Antoinette promised to acquire a replacement benefice for a dislodged cleric from either the Cardinal de Guise or Claude de Guise, Abbot of Cluny.⁷⁸ Anne d’Este’s repeated intervention in the career of her almoner, Boturneo de’ Boturneo, is referred to in

⁷⁰ B.N. ms.fr. 20467:149. Antoinette recommends the affair of monsieur de Beruin to her mother.

⁷¹ B.N. ms.fr. 3212:51.

⁷² B.N. ms.Clair. 344:243.

⁷³ A.M.R. Registre 41:177.

⁷⁴ B.N. ms.fr. 20469:23.

⁷⁵ Pussot II:53.

⁷⁶ Pimodan *piece justificative* XIV and :408;409.

⁷⁷ Pimodan:408.

⁷⁸ A.N. KK908:283-4.

Haton's *mémoires*.⁷⁹ As Dame de Provins Anne also had the power to nominate and present to the benefices and offices of Provins, a right which she exercised in 1587 by nominating someone to the prebend and canonry of Saint Quirians of Provins.⁸⁰ L'Estoile claimed that Catherine de Montpensier was sponsoring the Parisian Leaguer preachers and promising them benefices for their political support.⁸¹ Although no proof for these claims was discovered, the suggestion shows that the idea of a noblewoman providing such patronage was an accepted one.

A major area in which the lay women of the house of Guise had contact with the Church was in displays of piety, especially in the form of donations to and foundations of religious establishments. This was true of women religious as well. The choice of beneficiaries reinforces the idea of female networks. Marie de Lorraine, dowager of Scotland, left 6,000 *livres* to St. Pierre in her testament. An inventory of family papers from Joinville conserved in the Archives Nationales bears testimony to Antoinette de Bourbon's reputation for piety.⁸² There were extensive gifts of money to religious foundations with which she had some association. The two major beneficiaries were abbeys headed by her daughter (St. Pierre de Reims) and her niece (Fontevrault), whilst other donations went to local establishments or to those with which we can assume she had personal contact. This latter group included Notre Dame de Joinville, St. Laurent de Joinville (her parish church) and Ste. Clair de Pont-à-Mousson (the abbey where her mother-in-law retired and where her daughter, Marie, was educated).

Renée de Lorraine seems to have continued her mother's devotions and made a donation to the Cordeliers of Joinville, who had previously received Antoinette's patronage.⁸³ A significant amount of this kind of patronage was focused upon the dynasty's benefices and can clearly be seen as a policy of increasing the family's spiritual credit. Renée added prayers to her brother's foundations of processions at Notre Dame de Reims⁸⁴ and founded prayers before the altar in Notre Dame where her nephew was

⁷⁹ Haton I:6 - for example he was named Prior of the Hotel Dieu of Provins on her recommendation in 1552.

⁸⁰ A.N. M.C. VIII 400:58.

⁸¹ L'Estoile :542.

⁸² A.N. KK908.

⁸³ A.N. KK908:286.

⁸⁴ A.D.M.(Reims) 2G359:22.

buried.⁸⁵ Cocquault notes in his *mémoires* that she made a donation to Notre Dame every year⁸⁶ although he only records the altar decorations she gave in April 1575.⁸⁷

Renée practised an interesting form of spiritual patronage in her restoration of the shrines of Saint Broue and Saint Dode in 1584. As well as attending to their shrines she also distributed their relics as a male noble might distribute more conventional spoils. As mentioned above, these were sent to family members and benefices under her protection (Avenay, St. Jacques en Perthois and Notre Dame de Joinville) as well as to the parish churches of dependent villages.⁸⁸

The Lorraine-Guise abbess may also have been a patroness of the Arts. The evidence for Renée's distribution of relics is drawn from a printed account by Antoine de Beauchesne, a canon of Notre Dame and Renée's almoner. The pamphlet is dedicated to Renée and noted her virtuous actions, exemplary life and singular devotions, all of which enhanced the family's spiritual prestige as well as that of the Abbess herself. Beauchesne explained that he had printed the account, and part of the special service which accompanied his foundation of a mass, "pour vous tesmoigner par les moy[e]nes possible à ma petitesse, le tres-humble service que de tout temps i'ay dedié et consacré a vos vertuz immortelles".⁸⁹ As with the Cardinals, evidence of patronage may also be revealed in the dedication of books to Guise Abbesses, either by the author or by the printer. If these dedications do not indicate patronage they at least serve the purpose of promoting the spiritual prestige of the family and diffuse an image of godliness. Nicolas Bacquenois translated Jean Fere's *Le livre des Prédications et forme de prier Dieu* in 1555 and dedicated it to Antoinette, Abbess of Faremoutier. The printer also attached a dedication to Renée to two devotional works by François le Picart, one of which, *Le second livre du Recueil des sermons*, emphasised her ecclesiastical status by using the words "tres illustre Princesse, et reverendissime Abbess".⁹⁰

⁸⁵ A.D.M (Reims) 2G359:6.

⁸⁶ Cocquault :476. See also A.D.M.(Reims) 2G359 for donations to Notre Dame, including some by Renée.

⁸⁷ Cocquault :441.

⁸⁸ A.D.M.(Reims) 87H53/2:2.

⁸⁹ A.D.M.(Reims) 87H53/2.

⁹⁰ Jadart "Notice sur Nicolas Bacquenois".

THE TEMPORAL

The Lorraine Abbesses had a much smaller landed interest than their brothers and uncles because of their avoidance of pluralism. One feature of their land holding practices not seen in the male sphere is the acquisition of land to help support ^{an abbey} ~~the house~~. One document from ^{St. Pierre de Reims} ~~the Abbey's~~ records provided a list for the king's commissioners in 1640 of all the properties acquired by the Abbey for the support of the ^{abbey} ~~house~~ since 1520.⁹¹ These had been bought outright, acquired for permanent rent or formed part of a legacy. The most interesting purchase was part of the Bois de Montreuil from the Abbey of St. Nicaise de Reims, using a portion of Marie of Scotland's legacy to St. Pierre. St. Nicaise sold this property to satisfy their share of the 1569 alienation of Church goods.⁹² The Cardinal de Lorraine was involved in supplementing the resources of the Abbey. In 1551 he and Renée exchanged houses ^(one belonging to the Archbishopric, the other to St. Pierre) because the Abbey buildings were too small for the seventy two nuns and there was no other way for the Abbey to expand. The two houses were of unequal value so the Abbey had to promise to add to the buildings of the property they were ceding.⁹³ This was not a gift, but an equal exchange.

Related to such transactions are the donations made by benefactors in their testaments. Frequently these benefactors were canons of Notre Dame de Reims. For example, in 1566 Simon Robert included a clause in his will which gave the Abbey part of a vineyard, with the charge of saying a service for him.⁹⁴ It appears that some of the land deals were an attempt to gain security in old age as well as spiritual credit. Property could be handed over to the Abbey whilst still being enjoyed by the donator, who was then supported by the Abbey.⁹⁵ It would seem that such a situation arose with Jehan Grignon, a canon at Notre Dame. In his testament he left lands to St. Pierre on two conditions: that the nuns said services for him, and that they allowed his nephew to use the lodging which he

⁹¹ A.D.M.(Reims) 87H6/16.

⁹² A.D.M.(Reims) 87H6/16; 87H48/1 and 3; and A.N. G8*1217.

⁹³ A.D.M.(Reims) 87H70/1-4. See also Givelet "Armorial des Lieutenants des Habitants de Reims" T.A.N.R. 78 1887 :210.

⁹⁴ A.D.M.(Reims) 87H6/16 and 87H36/5 - the donation was executed in 1574.

⁹⁵ One such example comes from the diocese of Rouen where *maitre* Guillaume Haudent made a foundation with the Carmelites for the redemption of his sins, the Carmelites in turn left him with the chamber where he was living and undertook to support him during his lifetime as one of the community. Charles Lormier's introduction to Guillaume Haudent *Trois cent soixante et six apologies d'Esopé* Rouen, 1877 :ix-x. - I owe this reference to Dylan Reid.

had constructed in the court of the Abbey and where he had lived during his lifetime.⁹⁶

The temporal of female abbeys was leased out in the same way as that of male establishments and seems to have been administered by the same sort of management team. The leases which survive for St. Pierre show that the revenues generated by the temporal were significantly less than those expected of male-headed resources, and indeed frequently came in the form of grain rather than money.⁹⁷ This probably reflects the different needs of female religious. The Guise abbess, who divided her time between her abbey and the family homes, did not need the revenues required for a Courtier lifestyle. As well as suggesting that the financial requirements of an abbess and her abbey were less than those of an abbot, the resilience of payments in kind to inflation protected the female institution, with its much smaller revenues, from hardship. The *fermiers* were locals rather than Rémois merchants, who were probably not interested in such small scale operations. It would be interesting to make a study of a larger and more prestigious house, such as Fontevault, to examine whether its accounts reveal a more complex and prosperous picture.

There is clear evidence in the records of St. Pierre of a management team. Extracts from the Abbey's accounts for Auberive during the period 1583-1590 contain a list of those who examined and verified the accounts, which were prepared by the receiver of the temporal revenues.⁹⁸ This *conseil* consisted of Renée's vicar general, *bailly*, almoner, *procureur fiscal*, *argentier* and *greffier* - all of whom were men. This group included members of the Rémois clerical elite, all of whom had some connection with the Archbishop. There was significant representation of those who received their offices through his patronage and the Abbey shared personnel with him. Renée's receiver was Antoine Baussainct, a canon at St. Symphorien. Other members of the *conseil* were François Brûlart and Pierre Remy, Grand Archdeacons of Notre Dame. Renée's vicar general was also the Archbishop's and in 1585 the two benefices shared a *procureur fiscal* in the person of Nicolas le Poivre.

⁹⁶ A.D.M.(Reims) 87H6/16.

⁹⁷ Two notable exceptions are a lease for 250 *livres* and 80 *livres* A.D.M. (Reims) 87H25/3 and 87H35/8.

⁹⁸ A.D.M.(Reims) 87H11/68-72.

THE CHURCH

The issues involved in a woman's relationship with the sixteenth-century French Church were different from those encountered by the Cardinals. The temporal resources attached to female benefices were not included in the alienations and female monastics were not expected to contribute to the subventions requested by the Crown. The details of this exemption are not apparent and the exclusion from this financial structure is not commented upon in general studies of the alienations. This exemption also meant that an abbess had no possible role in the Assemblies of the Clergy. Her status as a woman meant that she was excluded from having a significant national or international role within the Church. Aside from the important networks described above there was no sense of a female First Order within which a Guise abbess could have achieved a leadership role through prestige and ability. The one issue which did touch upon the experience of women religious was the question of reform. Here, as in the male sphere, the emphasis usually falls upon the seventeenth century, but perhaps with more reason. The absence of background studies of female monasticism during this period makes it impossible to ascertain whether there were any examples of abbesses and female houses implementing reforming measures and programmes. There is no evidence to suggest that the Lorraine abbesses were involved in Catholic or Counter Reform. This is a disappointing lacuna because such information would contribute to the analysis of the dynasty's projection of its Catholic image and might supplement the picture of a female ecclesiastical network. It would be interesting to know whether the Guise abbesses and their protégés developed a religious style which paralleled that of the Huguenot noblewomen.⁹⁹

The Council of Trent did turn its attention to female monasticism and produced decrees for its regulation. The delegates at Trent insisted on clausura and strict observance of the monastic rule. A girl had to be a novice for at least a year before her profession, at which time she had to be sixteen. No gift or donation was to be accepted by the abbey prior to a girl's profession beyond what was necessary for her subsistence. An abbess had to be elected by the community. She was expected to be at least forty years old and to have previously spent eight years in the abbey after her profession. A monastic benefice could only be held by a regular ecclesiastic.

⁹⁹ This idea was suggested by Natalie Davis in comments on a paper I gave to the Oxford Early Modern Europe Graduate seminar in February 1995.

It has already been shown that the Guise abbesses did not strictly observe the decree on residence, although they were not as blatant absentees as the Cardinals. There is not enough evidence to determine how much time they spent in their abbeys. Some concern for the affairs of the abbey is suggested by a letter written by Renée, in which she said that her mother had allowed her to go back to St. Pierre to attend to business.¹⁰⁰ Although the issue was the supervision of economic matters, this does demonstrate some commitment to the Abbey. It is unlikely that the Guise abbesses subjected themselves to the rigours of strict observance of the Benedictine rule and they probably maintained a lifestyle which mirrored that of lay noblewomen and marked their involvement in secular noble culture. This was the case at Remiremont in the seventeenth century.¹⁰¹ However, the Lorraine matriarch, Philippes de Gueldres, did insist upon living an austere monastic life when she entered an abbey as a widow, and she refused the moderating comforts which her children attempted to persuade her to adopt.¹⁰²

There are only the very vaguest details about what age the Guise women were when they took their vows and no indication at all of their ages when they entered an abbey. I am assuming that only nuns who had been fully professed were able to ratify contracts involving the temporal of an abbey, although the status of members of the Lorraine dynasty may have been the reason for their inclusion among chorist nuns. Antoinette de Lorraine-Guise occurs on the list of nuns ratifying a lease in 1550, when she was nineteen, but this provides no information about how long she had been professed. However, her nieces were probably very young when they took their vows. It is stated that Louise de Lorraine-Aumale became a nun in 1568 when she was only seven, although this could simply refer to the date at which she entered an abbey. No date of birth is given for her younger sister, Marie de Lorraine-Aumale, but her name appears on a list at St. Pierre in 1569 and she was said to have taken her vows at Chelles in 1579.¹⁰³ Frustratingly there was no evidence about the size of their endowments or whether the family made donations to the abbeys concerned.

The picture is a little clearer on the question of their promotions as abbesses. All the Guise Abbesses were professed members of the order to which their abbeys belonged. It

¹⁰⁰ B.N. ms.fr. 3233:9.

¹⁰¹ Gibson :222.

¹⁰² Rosalind Marshall *Mary of Guise* London, 1977 :27.

¹⁰³ Dates drawn from Anselme, with cross reference to *Gallia* and A.D.M.(Reims) série 87H.

was clearly much easier for an aristocratic abbess to comply with this injunction because her interests were purely monastic and concerned no more than two houses at any one time, or during her career. Renée de Lorraine-Guise was only twenty one when she became Abbess of Poulengy and twenty four when she took possession of St. Pierre. The position at the former is not known, but *GalliaChristiana* gives the impression that St. Pierre elected another Abbess from among its body and that Renée was an imposed candidate. She had not been a nun at Reims prior to her nomination. Her sister was also in her early twenties when she became Abbess at St. Paul lès Beauvais and then Faremoutier, but it is not known whether she was elected or not. Only one of this collection of Abbesses had been a nun at the Abbey she later headed, Marie de Lorraine-Aumale, who became a professed nun at Chelles four years before being elected Abbess in 1583. She could only have been just in her twenties. Her elder sister, Antoinette, would have been slightly older when she became Abbess of Origny, having previously been a nun at St. Pierre. The other Lorraine-Aumale Abbess, Louise, had to wait until 1593, when she was thirty two, before she acquired her own Abbey, Notre Dame de Soissons. This information suggests that dynastic policy was a more significant factor in a woman's Church career than the decrees of Trent. Her future in the Church was determined at a young age and she was given her own abbey when a suitable opportunity arose.

The question of whether these careers were willingly accepted or not needs to be addressed. Issues of personal choice were less prominent during this period because an individual tended to comply with dynastic strategy and adopt a role which benefited the whole. However, there were examples of young women protesting and escaping the vocation chosen for them. The most notable example was Catherine de Montpensier's step-daughter, Charlotte de Bourbon. When Charlotte took her vows she made a witnessed deposition of protest and again protested when she became an abbess. Although she carried out her duties conscientiously, Charlotte later resolved the issue by fleeing the Abbey and eventually married the Prince of Orange.¹⁰⁴ There is no evidence as to the attitude of the Guise women towards their careers. However, letters from Renée to the Duchesse de Montmorency attest to the willingness of Louise de Montmorency to take her vows. She asked Renée to be professed, which was reported to be a continuation of the wish of her

¹⁰⁴ Roland Bainton *Women of the Reformation In France and England* Minneapolis, 1973 Chapter 4.

POWER

By nature of her gender the abbess's power was local rather than national. Her membership of the elite and her place within the aristocratic culture of the early modern period has already been discussed. This gave her a certain position in society. Her dynasty and her status brought her power, influence and authority. Although there are no extant accounts to suggest whether or not the Guise Abbesses participated in display and conspicuous consumption, it would be reasonable to assume that their involvement in noble culture and their contacts with the secular world implied a visual demonstration of their prestige. The Guise Abbesses do not appear to have participated in courtier life or politics, although Henri III's sumptuary taxes on an abbess's clothing suggest that they could have done so. Their sphere of action was the provinces and the family homes. There is no indication that these women had households and followings which demonstrated their superior status, but such structures may have been replaced by the networks of women religious which formed themselves round an abbess.

The evidence from Reims, although scanty, gives some idea of Renée's standing within the city. Marlot does not attach any importance to Renée's position in the town, but other sources provide an indication of the influence she enjoyed there. It appears that she was deferred to as the representative of the aristocracy in general and the Guise family in particular within the city. Clearly her placement in one of the town's abbeys was part of the dynasty's policy of focusing on Champagne's ecclesiastical centre. The city's respect for members of the nobility in general is noted in Chapter 7, but there are more specific examples of the esteem accorded to Renée. The town council deferred to her and asked for her opinion, as in the case of a portrait which the town wished to present to the Queen, where they asked her which of the two possible pictures she preferred.¹⁰⁶ It has been seen how the nobility of Reims asked her to intercede with François de Guise for an exemption from the *arrière ban*¹⁰⁷ and she was again asked to intervene in the military world when

¹⁰⁵ B.N. ms.fr.10239:31.

¹⁰⁶ A.M.R. Registre 41:181 15 August 1559.

¹⁰⁷ B.N. ms.Claire. 344:243.

the town appealed to her to ask for continued protection.¹⁰⁸ Her role is highlighted following the Blois assassinations when she played a similar part in Reims to that of her sister-in-law and nieces in Paris, becoming a focus for the public reaction and inciting the people.¹⁰⁹ Yet despite her presence and encouragement it still took Reims six weeks to declare for the League, which shows that although she was an influential and respected representative of the family, providing a link between the absentee males and their “power base”, she lacked the authority that a warrior noble or magnate could have yielded.

CONCLUSION

The examination of female monasticism in the Guise family provides an interesting insight into the cultural experience of sixteenth-century French noblewomen. It provides an even clearer picture of a society constructed of networks of kin and other relationships. These structures could be defined by membership of an abbey or religious sisterhood which focused on the dynasty's central abbess. The abbess received status through recognition by her social group and through the religious reputation of herself and her protégés. These networks were probably the Catholic equivalent of the Huguenot circles of noblewomen, although the absence of a strong programme of Catholic reform meant that they could not be used as an instrument to combat heresy. Despite the taking of vows an aristocratic nun or abbess remained part of elite society and culture and of the dynastic structure. Family links were maintained although the women religious did not contribute significantly to family interests, in the way that their brothers, the Cardinals, did. Women were useful in enhancing the spiritual prestige of the dynasty and could broaden the family's resource base. Their presence in a community, their networks and their personal standing provided other avenues through which the family's status could be recognised.

¹⁰⁸ A.M.R. Registre 43:8 8 April 1568.

¹⁰⁹ Henry :103-4;124-5.

CONCLUSION

LORRAINE-GUISE DYNASTICISM AND THE FRENCH CHURCH

Sixteenth century French society was made up of a collection of communities and social networks, which all intersected and overlapped. They were related to each other not by rigid hierarchical bonds but through a complex web of relationships. Individuals could be connected by membership of the same social elite or institution, by the leasing of property and the management of affairs, or by the need to obtain or provide offices and pensions. Probably the most fundamental bond was that created by kinship and membership of a family or dynasty. The Church was one of the institutional elements within this social structure. As the above discussion has shown, the French Church was an important part of various communities for reasons other than spiritual ones. Its high-ranking members were landlords, patrons and employers. This thesis has centred upon the relationship and connections between the Church and aristocratic society and, specifically, the Lorraine-Guise dynasty.

My discussion of various aspects of the careers of the Lorraine Cardinals and Abbesses has integrated them into sixteenth century noble society and culture, and in doing so I have also shed some light upon that society and culture. Their lives contribute to an understanding of the structures which made up society and of those factors which gave an individual power within society as a whole. As well as providing an insight into such broad themes and issues I have also passed comment upon a neglected, but important, part of the Lorraine-Guise dynasty's activities during this period and looked in some detail at certain members of that family.

The Lorraine-Guise Cardinals and Abbesses fitted into a dynastic framework, which was the most important of the communities of which they were a part. The collection of kin relationships was, for the Guise family at least, the most immediate of the networks which characterised sixteenth century French noble society. This structure extended from the core of parents and their children to encompass the siblings of a parent and cousins of various degrees. There were no set rules as to which members of the kin group would be actively included in the network at any one time, and the strength of the ties which blood and marriage brought depended upon a sense of personal interest and affection. Noble

society during this period can be seen as a confusing and complex mass of interconnecting genealogical tables. The emphasis was always on the patrilinear line, but it is important to pay attention to the existence of strong bonds between female kin and the significance of matrilinear connections. The importance of kinship to noble culture is reflected in the existence of dynastic structures within the secular and ecclesiastical spheres.

I have described the transmission of ecclesiastical office from generation to generation and the existence of what can be described as an ecclesiastical patrimony in the male dimension and, to some extent, in the female. This inheritance focused upon the Archbishopric of Reims and the Abbeys of St. Remi and St. Pierre, which were located at the ecclesiastical centre of the family's sphere of influence. The former two, together with St. Denis en France, were intimately associated with the power and authority of the French monarchy. The other benefices within this structure were geographically close to family centres, such as Joinville (St. Urbain) and Guise (Origny) or were important in an area where the family had influence (Fécamp). This collection formed the core of the benefices accumulated by the designated ecclesiastical heir in each generation of the male religious, and the site of congregation for the female religious. The differences in the tenure practices of male and female religious led to different expressions of dynasticism by the genders. Women began their careers in an abbey headed by an aunt. One was chosen to take over the abbey, whilst others left to head abbeys which often had some connection with the aunt's. Men might join the household of an uncle, and again one would be selected to receive the dynasty's central holdings, whilst any other nephews destined for Church careers obtained benefices outside the family's established possessions. If a suitable guardian of the dynasty's assets could not be found from within the family (as was the case with Origny and Verdun during the period covered by this study) a benefice could be passed to an intimate member of the family's social network, who held it until a suitable family member appeared.

The above chapters have indicated the ways in which the Lorraine-Guise Cardinals and Abbesses fitted into the family and how their careers reflected dynasticism in action, and have given some idea of the contribution they made to the dynasty. This form of dynasticism created an intersection between the secular and ecclesiastical worlds and involved these Churchmen and women in secular noble culture. I would not want to suggest that this was the only basis for the involvement of the ecclesiastic in secular

culture. The Lorraine religious, like a great many of their fellows, had been born and brought up as nobles in noble households. Since the Church was not seen as a vocation, which meant that strict observance was not expected, there was no reason to alter their behaviour or outlook. A bishop, abbot or abbess also found himself or herself in a position which paralleled that of a noble landholder, with property, power and status at their disposal. This could be used to bolster the position of the dynasty to which they belonged. It also thrust them back into a culture with which they were familiar.

Within the secular sphere the Lorraine religious were closely connected with the activities and fortunes of the family. This is reflected in the partnership of a military leader and a cardinal in three generations, beginning with Claude and Jean and most forcefully expressed in the relationship between Duc François and Cardinal Charles. Such a structure, which must be seen as a strategy, alerts one to the importance of the Church for the family. As was the case with networks which were not based on kinship, the Guise family expressed and reinforced its bonds through the exchange of letters and small gifts, which assured both the sender and the recipient of their inclusion in the network. The Lorraine-Guise religious formed a part of this network and were in regular contact with their relations. The Cardinals and the Abbesses also frequently occupied the same physical space as their lay siblings and kin. This was especially the case with the Cardinals, who were part of the same Court world and were politically active. Their sisters, the Abbesses, also moved between the world of the abbey and the family sphere to visit kin, and they might be visited by their lay relations within the abbey. A female religious could also identify herself with her kin network within an abbey, where she might reside with sisters, aunts and cousins. This was the case, as Chapter 8 showed, in the Abbey of St. Pierre de Reims.

Further evidence of a continued sense of unity and common purpose is provided by the roles individual Guise played in the dynasty's affairs. For example the Cardinals, or their administrative agents, managed family business. However, there is no evidence to suggest that the family shared a single administrative structure. The various members of the family might use identical personnel and take action in the interests of their relatives, but I saw no sign of consolidation. Such a policy would require a sophistication which was beyond the administrative culture of the time. The presence of the same people in the management teams of both secular and ecclesiastical members of the family reflects the importance of personal ties and networks in this society. If a job needed to be done, the

post was not advertised, but rather a candidate was found from among those known to the noble and his associates. The most important example of an ecclesiastical member of the family moving into a management position is the role which the Cardinal de Lorraine assumed on his return from Trent after the assassination of duc François. He not only acted as a *tuteur* for the minor children of his brother, which meant the administration of the dynasty's patrimony, but also assumed the authority of the head of the family.

The majority of this thesis has been concerned with the resources available to the Lorraine-Guise religious and whether these were used for the benefit of the family. Clearly the independent status of the Cardinals, and to a lesser extent the Abbesses, reflected upon the dynasty as a whole. As the document settling the succession to Duc François indicated, the Church was used by the dynasty as a means of providing economic support for younger sons without draining patrimonial resources. These younger sons could thus sustain a lifestyle fitting to their rank, which was in itself viewed by contemporaries as a sign of status and power. Again a collective identity is seen to have been important. This was a two way process: the Guise religious obtained the ecclesiastical offices and resources they did because of their membership of the family, and their influence was to a large degree a result of the importance of their family. Meanwhile, their importance through these offices, as well as any influence and significance they gained through their own abilities (and here I am thinking especially of the wide-ranging prominence of the Cardinal de Lorraine), reflected back upon the family. Finally, the existence of Lorraine Cardinals, Bishops, Abbots and Abbesses demonstrated the family's attachment to the Catholic Church and supported their image of unwavering orthodoxy and devotion to the Papacy.

There is no evidence that the material resources which Church office brought were used to finance the family to any significant degree. Pensions were paid to family members from the Cardinals' shares of temporal revenues, and in the duchy of Lorraine properties could be exchanged or assigned to members of the family. None of the latter were outright gifts and although they may have been detrimental to the benefices concerned (principally the Bishopric of Metz) these were exchanges in which the benefice received compensation. The Cardinal de Lorraine may have given the properties grouped under the title of the duchy of Chevreuse to his nephew Duc Henri, but these were separate from his ecclesiastical holdings and had been accumulated by the Cardinal as a secular politician and magnate. It does not appear that the Guise religious diverted any of their temporal wealth to

financially support their secular relations. Possibly they were being put under too much pressure by the demands for money made by the Crown, for if they were exempt from the subventions granted by the French Clergy to the Valois monarchy, they still assisted in military expenses such as the payment of troops. It seems likely that the temporal revenues examined in Chapter 3 were, as B.N. ms.fr.8182:165 implies, for the support of the Cardinals themselves.

However, the Cardinals and Abbesses could supplement the family's resources in less tangible ways. Their position in society and their influence made them additional focuses for patronage networks. My discussion of clientage structures in Chapter 4 negated the idea that the provision of office, advancement or pensions for a third party implied political power and control. It did, however, contribute to a family's importance, since those who received such favours acknowledged the superior power and influence of the benefactor. It was this acknowledgement of status by the members of noble society which validated a noble's position within that society. By having so many members of the family in influential positions the family extended the base of those who looked to them for advancement and who considered them to be an elite within their society. The Guise attachment to the Church also broadened this base, although, as requests for ecclesiastical office made to Duc François indicate, a direct connection was not necessary for the disposal of Church patronage. It is clear that there was an interweaving of the networks and patronage in the secular and ecclesiastical spheres. My evidence shows that Charles and François were able to work in partnership in this as they did in government and the management of affairs, complementing each other. Here, in the distribution of patronage, they show a flexibility and ability to exchange roles which is not seen in their careers as politicians. This reflects the fluid nature of the culture of patronage and the shifting structure of the networks through which they dispersed offices and pensions.

The question of the power the family wielded and the contribution made by the ecclesiastical members comes into focus when authority and jurisdiction are considered, particularly in the context of the province of Champagne. Again the power held by the Guise ecclesiastics in relation to their benefices contributed to the overall status of the family because the power of the family's individual members combined to give them collective importance. However, in Champagne the regional prominence of the Archbishop of Reims, together with his jurisdictional powers in the town of Reims and the authority

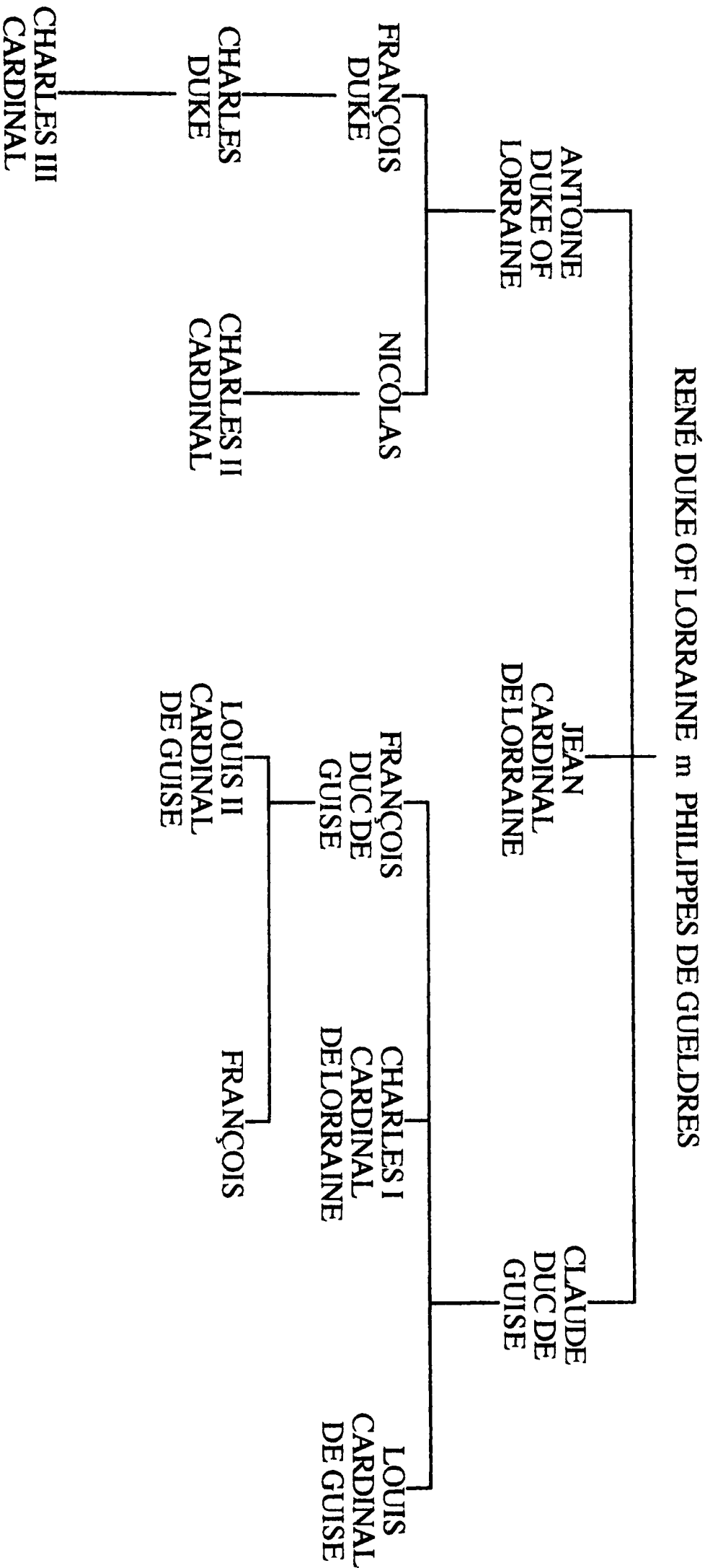
attributed to Renée by the town, enhanced the position the family already possessed through the tenure of the provincial Governorship. In the absence of alternative power structures (such as a parlement or provincial estates) or rival noble family the Lorraine-Guise were the most important institution in the region. This cannot be equated with political control, as the region's reaction to the League demonstrates, and it did not preclude members of the noble network from looking to alternative patrons, but it did mean that the family had a certain image in relation to this predominance. Even if they could not rely upon the devotion and service of the province it was recognised that the region was theirs in a sense which was important to their society and culture. The Archbishopric, like the Church careers of family members, was an important element in the dynasty's power and an intrinsic part of their strategies.

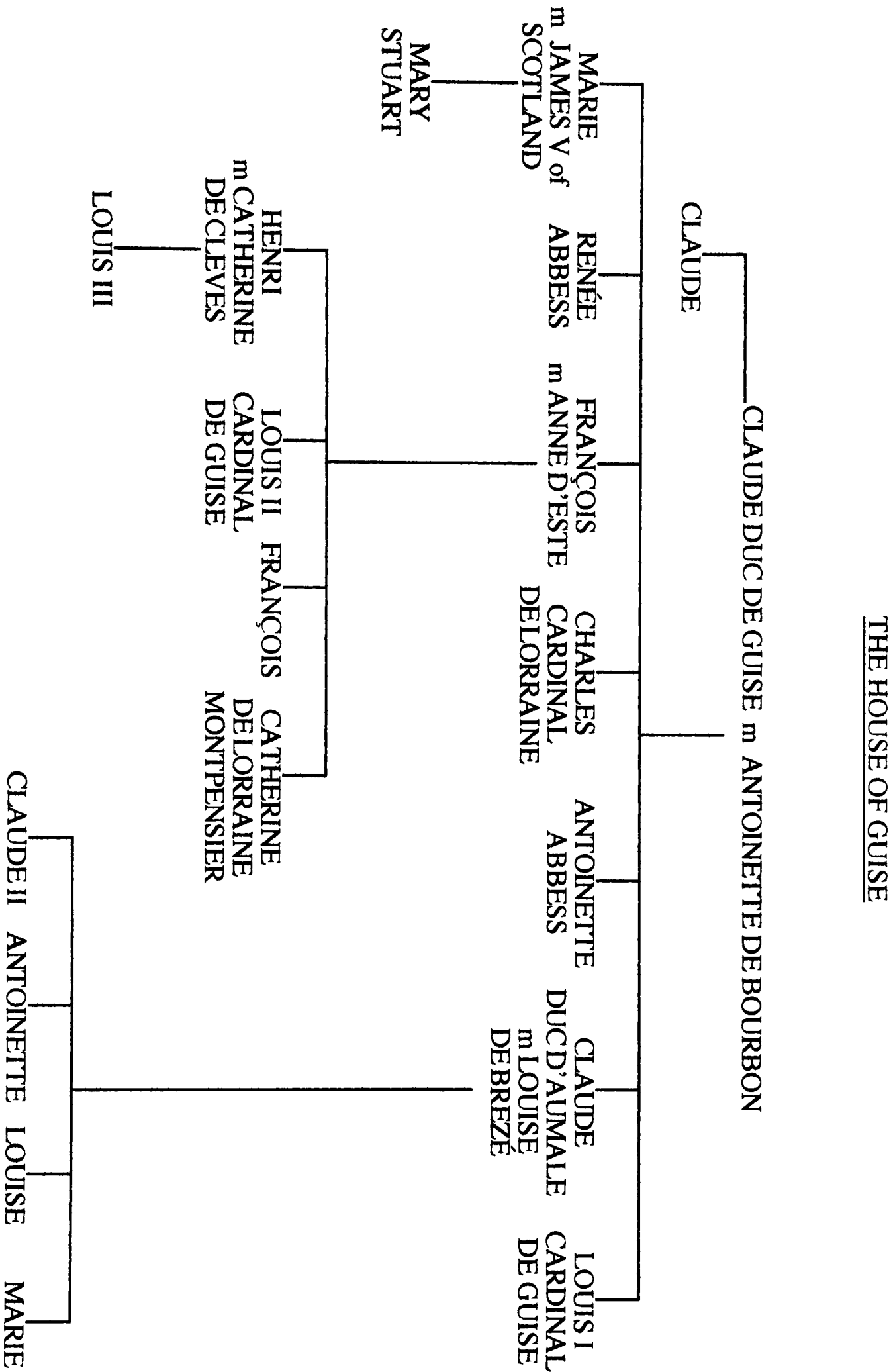
Appendix One GENEALOGIES

Explanatory Note:

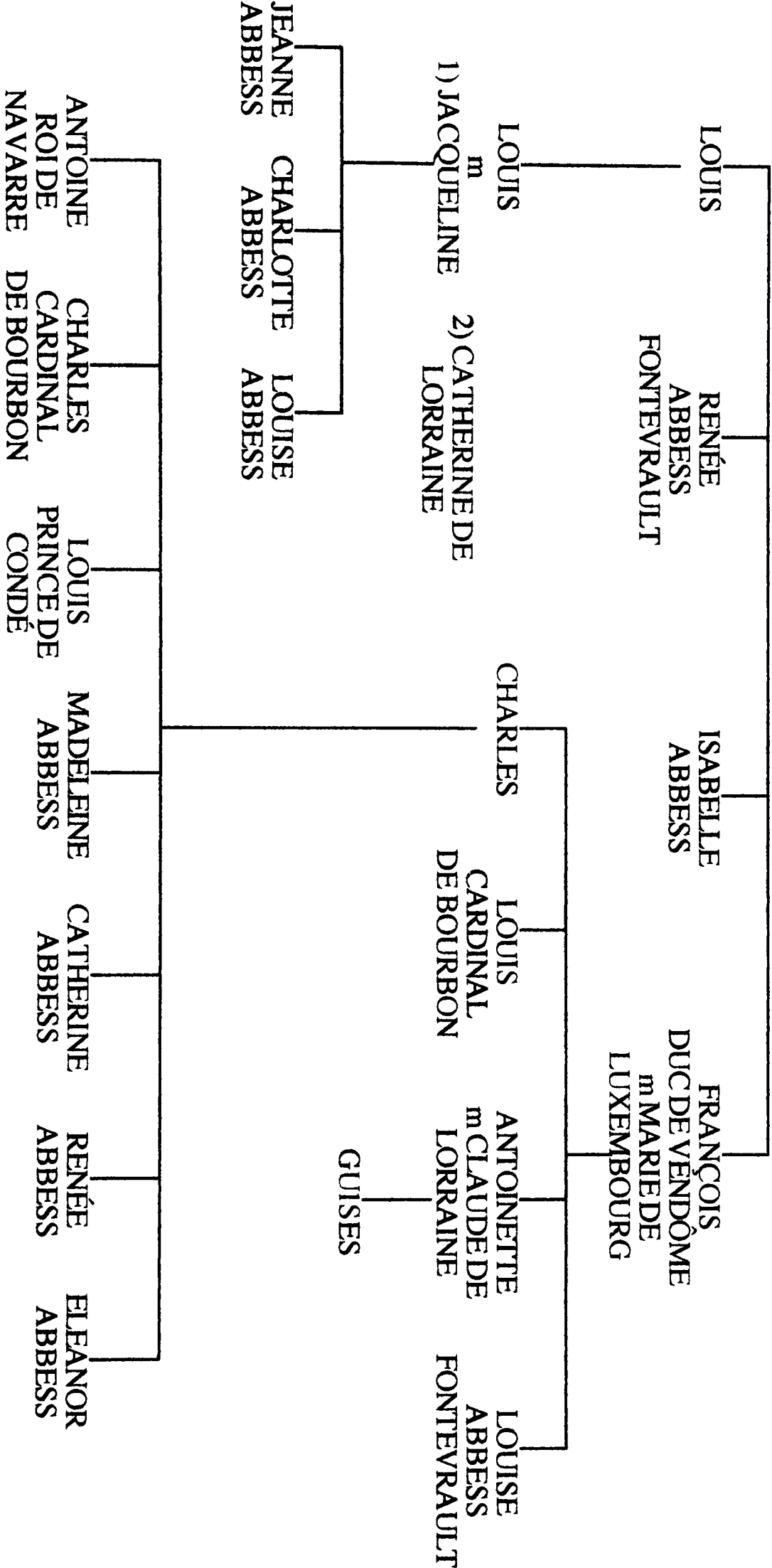
There are four genealogical tables in this appendix. All focus on the members of the family who entered the Church as nuns/abbesses or bishops/cardinals/abbots. The first focuses on the kinship ties between the senior ducal house of Lorraine and the cadet Guises. The second looks at the descendants of Claude, first Duc de Guise, who had ecclesiastical careers. For reasons of simplicity it omits Anne d’Este’s kin ties to the house of Ferrara and the kin of her second marriage to Jacques de Savoye, Duc de Nemours. The third table outlines the Bourbon dynastic structure within the Church and illustrates the Bourbon connection with the Guises. Table four provides an impression of the interconnecting kinship ties which focused on the Abbey of St. Pierre de Reims. The families involved were the Lorraine-Aumale, Poitiers-Brezé, de la Marck, Clermont and Montmorency. The Lorraine-Guise aunts of the Aumale nuns are not marked to avoid overcomplication and because their kinship is established in table two. The nuns who passed at least some of their career in the Abbey are marked with an asterix.

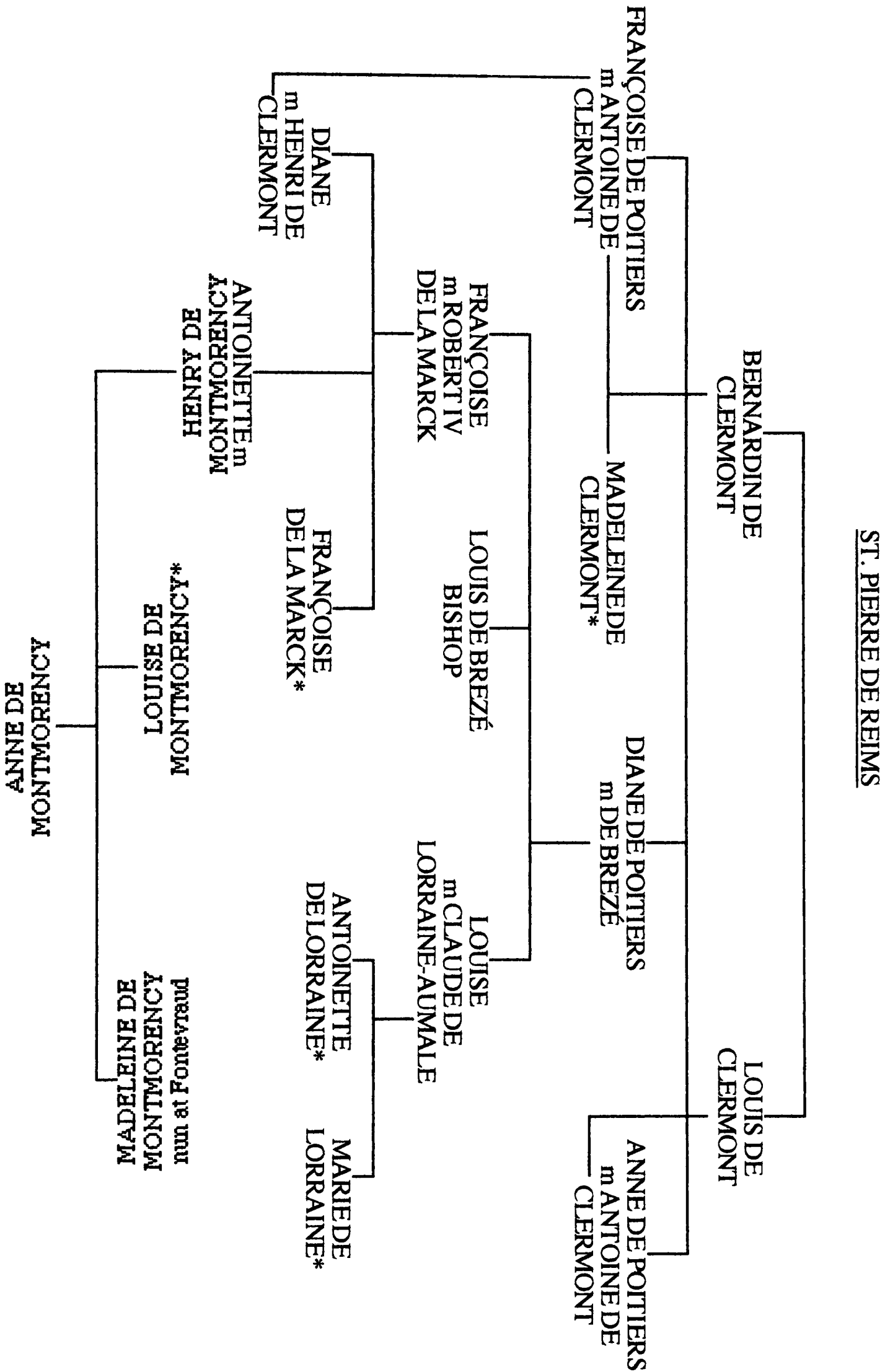
THE HOUSE OF LORRAINE





THE HOUSE OF BOURBON-VENDÔME





* denotes a nun at St. Pierre

Appendix Two

Appendix Two: The Benefices of the House of Guise.

Below are listed the benefices possessed by Charles Cardinal de Lorraine; Louis I Cardinal de Guise; and Louis II Cardinal de Guise during their careers. Each will be considered individually. The benefices are listed alphabetically, with archbishoprics first, followed by bishoprics and abbeys. The details following each benefice include the dates for which the benefices were held where these are available and the sources from which this information is drawn; for the abbeys note is also made of the order and diocese to which they belonged.

1: CHARLES, CARDINAL DE LORRAINE:

Reims (archbishopric) 1538 - 1574: Anselme II; *Dictionnaire*; *Gallia* IX; *Hierarchia*.

Metz (bishopric) 1550 - 1551 (administration continued until 1574): Anselme II;
Dictionnaire; *Gallia* IX; *Hierarchia*.

Abbeys:

Buzay 1552 & 1553; Cistercian; Nantes: *Gallia* XIV.

Cluny 1550 - 1574; Benedictine; Mâcon; Anselme II; *Dictionnaire*; *Gallia* IV and VII.

Cormery 1547 - 1550; Benedictine; Tours; *Dictionnaire*; *Gallia* XIV.

Fécamp 1550 - 1574; Benedictine; Rouen; Anselme II; *Dictionnaire*; *Gallia* VII and XI.

Fontenay no dates; Cistercian; Autun; *Gallia* IV (although it is not clear which Charles de Lorraine is being referred to).

Gorze 1551 - 1574; Benedictine; Metz; *Gallia* XIII.

?La Bussiere? no dates; Cistercian; Autun; *Gallia* IV cites "Charles Cardinal de Lorraine" as abbot, without specifying which.

Marmoutier 1550 - 1562; Benedictine; Tours; *Dictionnaire*; *Gallia* XIV.

Montier en Der 1538 - 1546 and 1557 - 1574; Benedictine; Châlons; Anselme II;
Gallia IX.

Appendix Two

Montier la Celle 1536 - 1538; Benedictine; Troyes; Anselme II; *Dictionnaire*;
Gallia XII.

Montier Neuf 1548 - 1552; Benedictine; Poitiers; Anselme II; *Dictionnaire*;
Gallia II and IX.

Montier Ramey ? - 1538; Benedictine; Troyes; *Gallia* XII.

Preaux 1559 - 1566; Benedictine; Lisieux; *Gallia* XI.

Prieres 1552 - 1571; Cistercian; Vannes; *Gallia* XIV.

St. Denis en France 1557 - 1574; Benedictine; Paris; Anselme II; *Dictionnaire*;
Gallia VII.

St. Martin de Laon 1548 - 1565; Prémontré; Laon; Anselme II; *Dictionnaire*;
Gallia IX.

St. Michel de Tonnerre no dates; Benedictine; Langres; *Gallia* IV.

St. Paul de Verdun 1548 - 1574; Prémontré; Verdun; *Gallia* XIII.

St. Remi de Reims 1551 - 1574; Benedictine; Reims; *Dictionnaire*; *Gallia* IX

St. Urbain 1536 & 1573; Benedictine; Châlons; Anselme II; *Dictionnaire*;
Gallia IX.

St. Valery 1557 - 1574; Benedictine; Amiens; *Gallia* X.

St. Vannes 1548 - 1554 & 1565 - 1572; Benedictine; Verdun; *Gallia* XIII.

Souillac 1546 - 1547; Benedictine; Cahors; *Gallia* I.

Bois de Vincennes Priory 1556 & 1557; Prémontré; Paris; B.N. ms.fr. 20327:188.

2. LOUIS I, CARDINAL DE GUISE:

Sens (archbishopric) 1561 - 1562; Anselme II; *Dictionnaire*; *Gallia* IV and XII;
Hierarchia.

Albi (bishopric) 1550 - 1561; Anselme II; *Dictionnaire*; *Gallia* I and IV.

Metz (bishopric) 1568 - 1578; Anselme II; *Dictionnaire*; *Gallia* XIII.

Appendix Two

Troyes (bishopric) 1545 - 1551; Anselme II; *Dictionnaire*; *Gallia* IV and XII; *Hierarchia*.

Abbeys:

Bec 1558 - 1572; Benedictine; Rouen; *Gallia* XII.

Bella Branca 1556; ?; Le Mans; *Gallia* XIV.

Bourg en Deols ? - 1578; Benedictine; Bourges; *Lettres Henri III* 4:3085.

Braine no dates; Prémontré; Soissons; *Dictionnaire*.

Châtillon 1569 - ?1578; Augustinian; Langres; *Dictionnaire*; *Gallia* IV; *Lettres Henri III* 2:1944 (request for resignation in 1576); but 3:2888 (disposing of abbey after his death).

Fleury 1569 - ?; Benedictine; Orleans; *Gallia* VIII.

Guistres 1557 & 1561; Benedictine; Bordeaux; *Gallia* II.

Moissac ? - 1578; Benedictine; Cahors; Anselme II; *Dictionnaire*; *Gallia* I (attributes benefice to Louis II); *Lettres Henri III* 3:2887.

Notre Dame de Trois Fontaines ? - 1578; Cistercian; Châlons; *Gallia* IX; *Lettres Henri III* 3:2890.

Regny no dates; no order; no diocese; *Dictionnaire*.

Ste. Colombe 1556 - 1560; Benedictine; Sens; *Gallia* XII.

St. Germain d'Auxerre 1539 - 1567; Benedictine; Auxerre; *Dictionnaire*; *Gallia* XII.

St. Julien de Tours 1566; Benedictine; Tours; *Gallia* XIV.

St. Pierre de Bourgueil 1564 - 1578; Benedictine; Angers; Anselme II
Dictionnaire; *Gallia* XIV; *Lettres Henri III* 4:3499.

St. Pierre de Châlons 1570; Benedictine; Châlons; *Dictionnaire*; *Gallia* IV.

St. Thierry de Reims 1554 - 1559; Benedictine; Reims; *Gallia* IX.

St. Valery 1574 - 1578; Benedictine; Amiens; *Gallia* X.

St. Victor de Paris 1549 - 1578; Augustinian; Paris; Anselme II; *Dictionnaire*;
Gallia IV and VII; *Lettres Henri III* 3:2889.

Appendix Two

Tournus no dates; Benedictine; Chalon; *Dictionnaire*; *Gallia* IV.

3. LOUIS II, CARDINAL DE GUISE:

Reims (archbishopric) 1574 - 1588; Anselme II; *Dictionnaire*; *Gallia* IX; *Hierarchia*.

Louis II is referred to as Bishop of **Troyes** during the League, however the *Hierarchia* records Claude de Bauffremont (1562-1593)

Abbeys:

Corbie 1580; Benedictine; Amiens; Thou VI:691; *Lettres Catherine* VII:265.

Gallia does not include him in the list of abbots and records that Charles de Bourbon kept possession throughout.

Fécamp 1574 - 1588; Benedictine; Rouen; Anselme II; *Dictionnaire*; *Gallia* I and XI.

Hermieres no dates; Prémontré; Paris; *Gallia* VII.

Lire 1588; Benedictine; Evreux; *Gallia*

Montier en Der 1574 - 1588; Benedictine; Châlons; Anselme II; *Dictionnaire*; *Gallia* IX.

Montoliou 1582; Benedictine; Carcassone; *Gallia* VI.

Orcamp 1580; Cistercian; Noyons; Thou VI:691; *Lettres Catherine* VII:265.

Gallia does not cite him as abbot. Saulnier states that Charles de Bourbon only divided revenues with Louis II.

St. Denis 1574 - 1588; Benedictine; Paris; *Gallia* I and VII.

St. Michel en Tiérache 1573 & 1574 (resigned 1576); Benedictine; Laon; *Gallia* IX; *Lettres Henri III* 3:2039.

St. Quentin lès Beauvais no dates; Augustinian; Beauvais; *Gallia* IX.

St. Remi de Reims 1574 - 1588; Benedictine; Reims; *Gallia* I and IX.

St. Urbain 1574 - 1588; Benedictine; Châlons; *Gallia* IX.

Vezelay 1573, 1575 & 1580; Benedictine; Autun; *Gallia* IV.

Appendix Three

Appendix Three: The Benefices of the Women of the House of Guise.

Since pluralism was not a major feature of female monasticism the arrangement of this appendix are different from the preceding one. The benefices involved are listed alphabetically, followed by the details of order and diocese, then the member of the Lorraine family who held it, and if appropriate her dates, concluding with the source, which in all cases is the *Gallia Christiana*.

Chelles Benedictine; Paris

Marie de Lorraine-Aumale; 1583 - 1627; *Gallia* VII.

Faremoutier Benedictine; Meaux

Antoinette de Lorraine; 1554 - 1562; *Gallia* VIII.

Origny Benedictine; Laon

Renée de Lorraine; ?1555; *Gallia* IX

Antoinette de Lorraine-Aumale; 1584 - 1585; *ibid.*

Pouleny Benedictine; Langres

Renée de Lorraine; ?1543 - ?1547; *Gallia* IV

St. Jacques de Vitry en Perthois Cistercian; Châlons

Marie de Lorraine-Aumale; 1585 - 1602; *Gallia* IX.

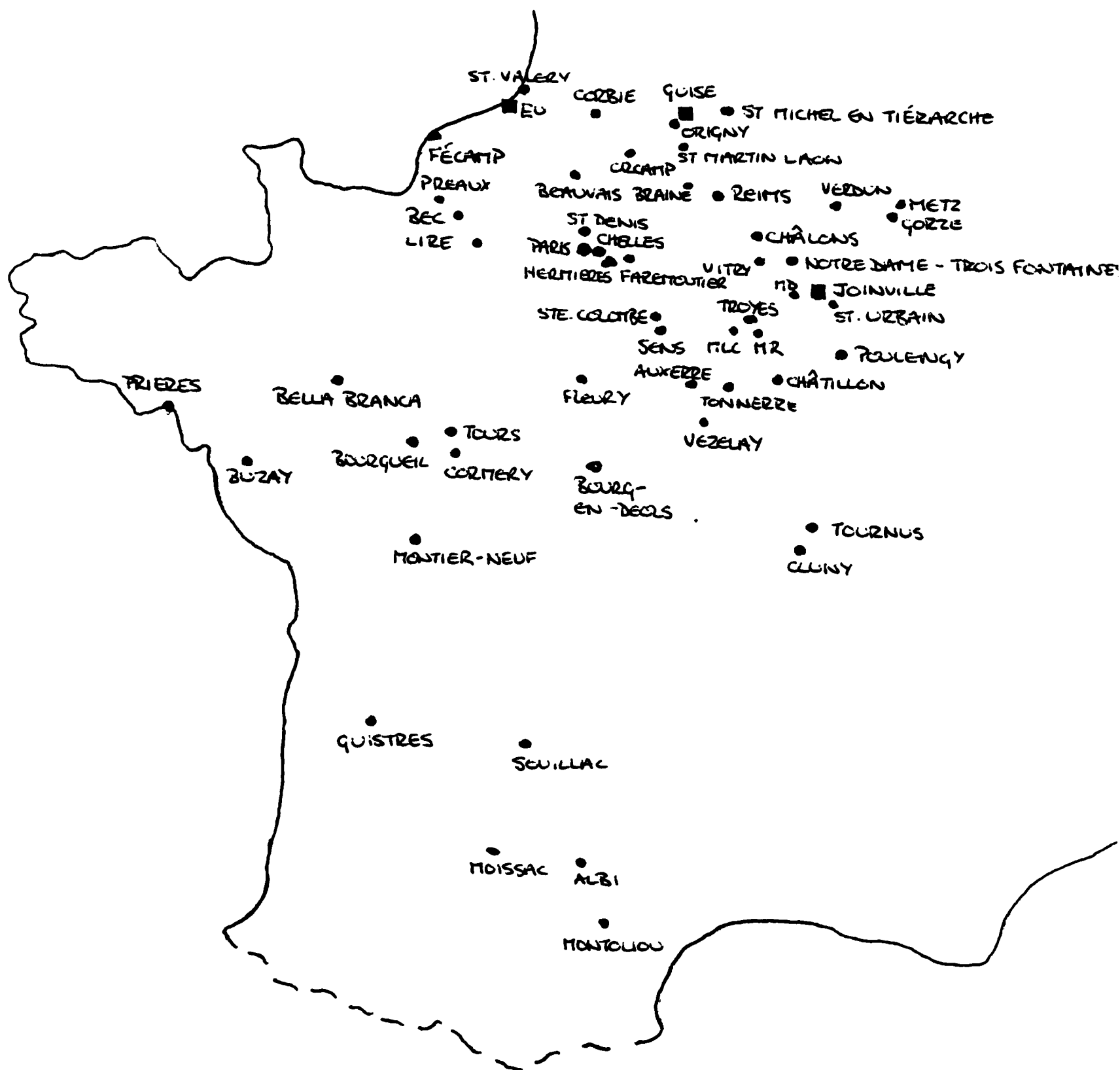
St. Paul lès Beauvais Benedictine; Beauvais

Antoinette de Lorraine; ? - 1555; *Gallia* IX.

St. Pierre de Reims Benedictine; Reims

Renée de Lorraine; 1553 - 1602; *Gallia* IX.

Appendix Four : Lorraine - Guise Benefices (Male and Female)



KEY:

● BENEFICES

■ SECULAR CENTRES

MD MONTIER EN DER

MLC MONTIER LA CELLE

MR MONTIER RAMEY.

BEAUVAIS ST. PAUL, ST. QUENTIN

REIMS ARCHBISHOPRIC, ST. PIERRE, ST. REMI, ST. THIERRI.

TOURS MARMOUTIER, ST. JULIEN

VERDUN ST. PAUL, ST. VANNES

SOURCE: GALLIA CHRISTIANA

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Série G* 18, 586, 587A, 1217, 2855.

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908 *Inventaire General des Titres Papiers et Enseignements qui sont en la chambre des comptes du chasteau de Joinville faict en lannee 1629*

Série L 35, 54, 59, 335-341, 831.

Série M 71

Minutier Central:

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Etude LXVIII 12 (April 1551 to April 1552), 14-16 (October 1552 to October 1554), 19-27 (April 1555 to April 1559), 29-38 (April 1561 to December 1570) Hervé Bergeon.

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Mss. Clairambault 344-352, 354, 754.

Mss. Dupuy 334, 335, 357, 543, 544, 549, 550, 557, 590, 591, 755.

Mss. Français 3123, 3136, 3157, 3211, 3212, 3228, 3231-3233, 3260, 3321, 3951, 4129, 4640, 4714, 4736, 5808, 6609, 6610, 6611, 6619, 6621, 6626, 6627, 6637, 8182, 10239, 15518, 15570, 15641, 15871, 15872, 15874, 15904, 16039, 16040, 16103, 20327, 20442-20444, 20451, 20458, 20459, 20464, 20467, 20468-20474, 20509, 20510, 20514, 20520, 20522, 20532, 20536, 20537, 20541, 20543-20545, 20640, 20645, 22430, 22436, 23191.

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Série 56H (Abbey of St. Remi de Reims) 75, 79, 97, 99, 100, 913.

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Ms. 1278 *Recueil de poésies latines de Nicolas Chesneau...*

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Ms. 1648 *Recueil des notes historiques de Jean Lacourt*

Ms. 1698 *Mémoire du progres et des suites de la Ligue dans la ville de Reims depuis 1585*

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