

WAR AND TOLERANCE: CATHOLIC POLEMIC IN LYON
DURING THE FRENCH RELIGIOUS WARS

by

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DEDICATION

I would like to thank Prof. Susan Karant-Nunn for her excellent support and advice, my mother for her constant interest in my work, and my children for their ever-ready comic relief. But, especially, this dissertation is dedicated to Julia for her boundless patience and encouragement, without which this would never had been possible.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation studies the content of Catholic polemic printed in the city of Lyon from 1560 to 1594, a period ranging from the first hints of wider Protestant unrest to the submission of the city to Henry IV and the resumption of royal control. The time frame corresponds to an era of zealous Catholic activity in which combating Protestantism, or heresy as they usually labeled it, was a primary focus of the Lyonnaise Catholic Church and the presses which supported it. By studying the thematic content of these cheap print sources, I will provide a glimpse into the types of issues that appear most prominently in this particular type of print medium and trace how such issues change, or remain static, over time. Most important of these themes are the importance of concord or unity and the willingness of God to punish his followers for their sins and, frequently, mankind's unwillingness to reunify the church and create concord through force. This dissertation has grown into a commentary on this dynamic more than any other single issue and readers will detect tangential comments concerning the importance of unity and God's punishment throughout earlier chapters. Time and again, polemicists make clear that the only means to a lasting "peace" is to achieve religious unity by any means necessary. Only this purity within the faithful will ease God's hand and cure France of its ills. Sources were drawn from the principal libraries in Lyon and the Rhone valley, in addition to occasional pieces scattered in Paris and other libraries throughout France.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADR – Library: Archives Departementales du Rhône

AML – Library: Archives Municipal de Lyon

BHR – Journal: *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*

BML – Library: Bibliothèque municipal de Lyon

BN – Library: Bibliothèque nationale

BSHPF – Journal: *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*

NBG – Book: Jeon Chrétien Ferdinand Hoefler, ed., *Nouvelle biographie générale depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours . . .* [1857], 46 vols. (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde et Bagger, 1963).

RHEF – Journal: *Revue d'Histoire de l'Eglise de France*

SOPR – Book: Jacques Quéatif and Jacobus Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Recensiti, Notisque Historicis et Criticis Illustrati . . .* [1719-1723], 2 vols. (New York: Burt Franklin, 1959).

CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

This dissertation studies the content of Catholic polemic printed in the city of Lyon from 1560 to 1594, a period ranging from the first hints of wider Protestant unrest to the submission of the city to Henry IV and the resumption of royal control. The time frame corresponds to an era of zealous Catholic activity in which combating Protestantism, or heresy as they usually labeled it, was a primary focus of the Lyonnaise Catholic Church and the presses which supported it. By studying the thematic content of these cheap print sources, I will provide a glimpse into the types of issues that appear most prominently in this particular type of print medium and trace how such issues change, or remain static, over time. It is, perhaps, as important to explain what a study is not as what it is, and I have chosen not to delve deeper into the printing industry itself, Protestant polemics, pre-war humanism, or royalist pamphlets after 1594. I made this decision principally in the interest of narrowing my focus to one of the more understudied aspects of Reformation printing. I have discussed aspects of those fields in my historiography below and throughout this text where appropriate.

In this introduction, I have four goals. First, I want to briefly introduce the city itself and summarize the historiography surrounding studies of Lyon and polemic during the French Wars of Religion. Second, I will discuss the theoretical framework and introduce some common problems and limitations of such a study. Third, I will introduce the methodology I use and explore the themes traced through this work. Lastly, I will briefly introduce my chapters and explain the organizational structure of the dissertation as a whole.

I. City History and Historiography

The city of Lyon sits along the advantageous junction of the swift Rhône river and the comparably lazy Saône, into which, it is said, Caesar had to throw his cloak to divine which direction it ran. Locals orient themselves around the city by referring to the right and left banks, meaning (looking downstream or roughly south) the banks of the Saône and the banks of the Rhône, with the peninsula in between. On the right bank lies Fourvière (known as “the hill that prays”) and the ancient medieval city, strategically pinched between the river and the high hills. The cathedral of Saint-Jean, the law courts, and the richest artisans resided here. The peninsula (*presqu’île*) comprised the second half of the city. The majority of the urban population made their homes and tended their shops on this stretch of land, including the publishing houses and the print workers along *la rue Mercière*.¹

The Romans founded Lyon as a military colony, Lugdunum, in 43 BC. It later became a capital city for the Gallic tribes and served as the center for the spread of Christianity throughout northwest Europe. Documents suggest that Christians were persecuted in the city under Marcus Aurelius as early as 177 AD. During the Merovingian period, Lyon was the capital of the Kingdom of Burgundy, and Charlemagne enhanced it further in the early ninth century by establishing a library and promoting it as a center of learning.²

The construction of two major bridges across the rivers at the end of the twelfth century enhanced its value as a crossroads of Europe, advantageously placed between Italy and France, and Spain and the Rhine valley. The thirteenth century marked a period

of rapid economic growth, which doubtless contributed to the worsening relations between ecclesiastical authorities and municipal powers. In 1269, the canons of Saint-Jean took refuge in their cathedral while urban crowds pillaged the surrounding farms and food stores.³ The papal legate and Louis IX negotiated a truce that technically enhanced the power of the municipal council, though it also brought the city further under monarchical control. Nevertheless, it failed to fully resolve the secular and diocesan conflicts, which continued until, ironically, the Protestant revolt.

An ecclesiastical center, Lyon hosted many important church councils throughout the medieval period, including the thirteenth and fourteenth ecumenical councils under Pope Innocent IV (1245) and Pope Gregory X (1274).⁴ It was also a thriving printing and economic center of Europe, famous during the late Renaissance as a hub of learning and publication, and for its four annual commercial fairs that hosted businessmen and merchants from all across Europe. Officially established in 1464, the fairs flourished due to the traditionally low tariffs, deep reservoirs of legal and clerical services, and substantial access to credit and advanced banking institutions.

Lyon's status as a financial and commercial hub affected the secular social hierarchy to a great extent. Preeminent, at least in the first half of the century, in both the social and political strata were the wealthy merchants, namely bankers and traders. Native merchants, wealthy nobles, store owners and wealthy master artisans comprised the upper-middle rung of society. Lawyers, officers of the courts, bureaucrats, and a host of successful artisans fell just below these. The largest segments of the population were

journeymen, laborers, and poorer artisans, all of whom lay at the bottom of the social hierarchy.⁵

There are a number of excellent city histories of Lyon. Chief among them is Richard Gascon's survey, *Grand commerce et vie urbaine au XVIe siècle: Lyon et ses marchands*. Gascon explored the growth and diminishment of the city's financial condition, concluding that the direct destruction of the civil wars (i.e. sieges, battles in the neighboring hamlets, and pillaging of either Catholic or Protestant churches and homes as a result of religious violence) was matched or perhaps even surpassed by secondary effects. After three decades of periodic conflict, the urban economy succumbed to the dismal commercial conditions created by the ever increasing tax burden used to finance the wars and the disruption to normal trade routes. A scholar firmly within the French social tradition, Gascon covers as many facets of economic and everyday social life of the city as the records allow. It is an excellent starting point for any historical work on Lyon or the Rhône valley.

There are other important historical narratives available for the city, including André Latreille's *Histoire de Lyon et du Lyonnais . . .* and, the most thorough and well documented, the three-volume series, *Histoire de Lyon*.⁶ Other works of note include Antoine Péricaud's numerous collections and commentaries of primary documents, as well as sixteenth-century historical narratives.⁷ Among case studies, three works stand out above the rest. Natalie Zemon Davis' *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* is a collection of essays influential for both French historians and the discipline itself.⁸ Her work, appearing early in the historiographic movement toward social and cultural history,

discusses and applies anthropological theoretical constructs to issues ranging from the carnival, legitimization of religious violence, adaptation of gender roles in a period of religious upheaval, and the meeting point of the oral and literary worlds. Philip T. Hoffman's ecclesiastical study, *Church and Community in the Diocese of Lyon, 1500-1789*, explores the composition of the clerical estate in the early modern period and attempts to gauge its support among the broader populace through an analysis of donations and funds left in wills and testaments.⁹ Finally, René Fedou, in *Les hommes de loi lyonnais à la fin du moyen âge: Étude sur les origines de la classe de robe*, studies the late medieval clerical estate, its rapid growth in power over the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and its increasing conflict with the secular, mercantile authorities as the city transitioned into the sixteenth century.¹⁰

Lyon was the second largest print producer in France, behind only Paris. It produced 16,000 titles in the sixteenth century compared to 25,000 at the capital and 40,000 in Venice.¹¹ Henri Baudrier's *Bibliographie lyonnaise* remains the most detailed and thorough examination of the entire body of published material from the sixteenth century.¹² Most useful as a reference work, the thirteen-volume series is sprinkled with analyses of many of the most important and prolific writers and publishers of the Religious Wars. From a broader perspective, the historical field has benefited immensely over the last three decades by a wealth of works within *Livre et Société* studies. For French and general book scholars, a fine starting point is still Lucien Febvre and, especially, Henri-Jean Martin's *L'apparition du livre*.¹³ The work is strong when discussing the economic and physical aspects of the publishing industry, such as the

development of the paper trade, the appearance of the necessary technological breakthroughs, illuminations, publication financing, the new printing labor force, geography and its role on dissemination, and methods of sale and trade. Henri-Jean Martin, who specializes in the technological and economic aspects of the trade, wrote almost the entirety of the work, which explains the relative weakness when it turns to the social impact of printing.¹⁴

Fortunately, a number of critical works have been written on this connection between printing and social and cultural change. Roger Chartier is perhaps the preeminent French scholar exploring this issue, and his *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France* is the best introduction available to his work.¹⁵ From a theoretical perspective, Chartier takes issue with the prevalent conception of “popular culture” as referring to that associated only with the lowest economic social strata, or even that various social strata themselves can be “sufficiently pure, homogenous, and distinct to permit them to be characterized uniformly and unequivocally.”¹⁶ His work, and these eight essays, work against the notion that society can be so easily categorized into an arbitrary division between “*populaire* versus *savant*.”¹⁷ Chartier instead sees constant blurring of social and literary boundaries when studying sources typically characterized as “popular” such as accounts of carnivals, apocalyptic literature, and cheap print. As such, many of the essays represented here use case studies, such as an analysis of the *fête* or death literature, to illustrate the confluence and interspersions of “high” and “low” cultural practices in published texts. These insights, and Chartier’s essays on readership,

oral participation, and publication types, proved indispensable to this dissertation and will be discussed further below.

No study relating to printing can proceed without mentioning Elizabeth L. Eisenstein's pathfinding book, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*.¹⁸ Eisenstein was one of the earliest historians to powerfully argue that the presses played a fundamental role in spreading, shaping, and propagating some of the most profound political, social, and religious changes of the early modern period, specifically those surrounding the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Scientific Revolution. Regarding the second of the three, she contends that printing prepared the way for Luther by disseminating bibles and shifting control over publication from religious to lay circles of influence. This, in turn, provided a critical support structure that empowered and distinguished Luther's "heresy" from failed earlier movements. Though criticized for dismissing other historical factors and leaning toward determinism, her work is a critical reference point for any study of the Reformation and the printed word.

Closer to my own work, a number of historians have worked to legitimize the study of printed literature previously neglected by older generations of historians. Tessa Watt's study of English cheap print discusses the production and sale of ballads, woodcuts, charts, broadsides, painted cloths, and chapbooks.¹⁹ She delves deeply into ownership practices and finds that nearly all members of society, except the very poorest members, purchased various forms of printed media. Robert Scribner's *For the Sake of Simple Folk* is a veritable classic among historians of cultural history for its study of the propagandistic uses of the woodcut broadsheet in the German Reformation.²⁰ And

Robert Mandrou's 1964 work, *De la culture populaire*, introduced the French cheap print trade (*bibliothèque bleue*) to a generation of scholars.²¹ Most influential on this dissertation, however, are studies by Luc Racaut and Larissa Taylor. Racaut's *Hatred in Print* investigates primarily Parisian polemic published during the Religious Wars. Among other points, he explores the use of the blood libel previously employed against Jews and the frequent call for a renewed anti-heretical crusade against Protestants, reminiscent of the Albigensian crusade in the early thirteenth century.²² Larissa Taylor's book, *Heresy and Orthodoxy in Sixteenth-Century Paris*, studies François le Picart and one of the few collections of sixteenth-century Catholic sermons extant today.²³ Her system of methodically tracing narrative content throughout an entire body of sources was the principal inspiration for this dissertation.

A great deal of historical work has focused on pamphlets published during the Religious Wars, though most address political manifestos, especially those written by Protestants as they developed detailed theories of resistance against tyrannical governments.²⁴ Will Grayburn Moore's *La réforme allemande et la littérature française* remains the standard reference point for the influence of Protestant printing on the French Reformation. Moore argues convincingly that France was awash in Protestant texts, especially French translations of critical Protestant figures such as Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, Hutten, and Sleidan.²⁵ Numerically, Catholic pamphlets greatly outnumbered their Protestant equals (at least after the first few years of the wars), though scholastic studies focused on the former have lagged behind. Religious polemics were even more

numerous than those of the political variety, but they have only very recently come under detailed scrutiny.²⁶

II. Theory and sources

The last generation of scholars has made significant strides in the usages and methodologies of printed source material, and efforts of historians to complicate and narrow research subjects have benefited us all. Roger Chartier usefully divides the historiography of subjects relating to books into three categories, roughly corresponding to the letters on the page, the making of the page, and the viewing of the page: first, the analysis of text themselves, their aims, and the study of their genres and motifs, second, the history of books, the devices that create them, and their dissemination, and third, the study of their absorption, their comprehension, and their significations.²⁷

I place this dissertation firmly within the first of these categories. I have analyzed various threads of discourse within a genre and a specific body of sources, cheap Catholic polemical pamphlets. Historians have covered, and continue to address, the second of these categories. The third, exploring readers and the ways in which they absorbed, challenged, and interacted with what they read, is a fascinating enterprise, but it is not the central thrust of my work, though I comment on it wherever appropriate and where my sources allow me to do so. Through my analysis of these texts, I have attempted to compile a brief study of the type of authors who wrote them and, through an examination of prefaces, dedications, and conclusions, the intended audience to which they were directed.

Nonetheless, while the rest of this work will limit itself to the narrative content of these sources, a number of questions must first be addressed concerning the second and third spheres of study to better illuminate the physical, social, and cultural context of the texts. Specifically, what exactly constituted a pamphlet? What is meant by polemic and how does it relate to propaganda? Who wrote these texts and for what purpose? Who purchased and read these texts? To whom were they addressed? What relation do the ideas expressed in them have to ideas held among the wider population? What is the historical value of these sources? I will touch on these questions in turn.

A pamphlet was a relatively cheap piece of literature from a production standpoint. In contrast to more expensive humanist or ecclesiastical texts, many of them Latin, pamphlets were meant primarily for local consumption.²⁸ Historians of the publishing industry have concluded that the rise in pamphlet publication during war is a demonstrable and repeated phenomenon. This process holds true whether the subject city is in Protestant or Catholic hands.²⁹ War disrupted trade routes and access to normal markets for expensive titles with higher profit margins: bibles, classical editions, legal and academic texts, commentaries, and theological collections, for example. Pamphlets required a lower capital outlay and could be sold locally more readily. The profit margins were not as high as more expensive texts created for universities, parliaments, and other far-flung destinations, but they could serve to tide over a printer until sunnier commercial days arrived.³⁰

Picture a typical book peddler's stall in the sixteenth century and you would see a variety of texts of various sizes, quality, and price. The costs of any book involved

authorship fees (if any), binding (though this service was optional), ink, cost of typeface and press (though these were fairly low when averaged over the course of all edition runs), labor costs, distribution costs, and paper, which was most important as it constituted half to three-quarters of the total cost.³¹ The most expensive (and least likely to find themselves on a public stall) would have been folio books in which the large individual sheets of paper were folded once to make two leaves, or four printable pages per sheet of paper. Bound in plain or leather bindings (or perhaps unbound for those wealthier clients who desired a custom binding), these texts largely fell under various religious categorizations: bibles, psalms, collections of commentaries, books of saints or hours. More common would be quarto (where the leaf of paper is folded twice, creating four leaves, or eight pages) and octavo texts (where the leaf is folded thrice, creating eight leaves, or sixteen pages).³²

Pamphlets were typically one to twelve sheets of paper, eight to ninety-six pages in quarto form (octavo pamphlets rarely used more than four or five sheets of paper at a maximum and typically contained sixteen to sixty pages of print). Copies of their front pages were affixed to boards as advertisements in sellers' stalls. Their content was diverse: news, sermons, polemics, warnings of vices, exhortations against fashionable dress or the theatre, plays, or proclamations.³³ Usually they were sold in loose-leaf form—the folded, uncut pages would be handed to the customer naked, tied with string, or perhaps wrapped in small envelope. The printer might hawk the texts himself or sell them to a publisher who would then post them in his store or go on to sell them to mobile vendors throughout the city.³⁴

What categorizes a pamphlet as polemic? I define the term “polemic” as any work produced with the intention of advancing and disseminating a political or religious message, often with political overtones, to an audience. This definition is closely related to that of “propaganda,” literally referring to the growth or spreading of something or, as Robert Scribner put it, something which aims toward “opinion formation.”³⁵ Among researchers, some define propaganda as distinctive from polemic in the sense that the former occurs, “with the connivance of those political figures whose interests were best served by the existence of such books.”³⁶ There are doubtless times when such a distinction is useful, but I have chosen not to differentiate between the two according to these definitions for a variety of reasons.³⁷ First, Lyon was distinct in the sense that its presses operated without strict oversight from the crown or a parlement until the final years of the wars. Fuller censorship and the authorial collaboration of interested political figures doubtless occurred under the height of the Catholic League, the radical conservative league under the leadership of the Guise family (also known as the Holy Union), and under Henry IV’s control after 1594. Dedications to high-ranking members of the League appear with some frequency in the source body in the early 1590s, for example. Still, the majority of texts throughout the wars and in these tumultuous last years do not contain dedications or salutations, nor are there clear internal literary markers to gauge any interference “from above.” Even when a work appears to have been commissioned or specifically sanctioned by a principal political figure or body, the narrative content does not change significantly. Many writers and publishers may have agreed with the major tenets of the League, or perhaps felt that publishing material which

propounded these same tenets had the greatest likelihood of succeeding on the market. Some writers were perhaps advised from “above” but wrote anonymously and without any dedication to make the work appear “popular.” The true situation likely encompasses all these scenarios, but the publishing records for these sources is simply too uncertain and chaotic to accurately judge directive interference from high political figures. Also, I have found that authors from Protestant, Catholic, *Politique*, and Royalists camps used many of the same literary motifs and conventions, despite their widely varying political and religious agendas or the political interference involved.

Other scholars working on propaganda, especially modern propaganda, use broader definitions and attach to the genre certain characteristics that can easily apply to many sixteenth-century polemics. Studying twentieth-century totalitarian states, Norman Davies defines propaganda as containing five broad characteristics or “rules”:

- 1) The rule of simplification: reducing all data to a simple confrontation between “Good and Bad”, “Friend and Foe.”
- 2) The rule of disfiguration: discrediting the opposition by crude smears and parodies.
- 3) The rule of transfusion: manipulating the consensus values of the target audience to one’s own ends.
- 4) The rule of unanimity: presenting one’s viewpoint as if it were the unanimous opinion of all right-thinking people: drawing the doubting individual into agreement by the appeal of star-performers, by social pressure, and by “psychological contagion.”
- 5) The rule of orchestration: endlessly repeating the same messages in different variations and combinations.”³⁸

Many of these rules characterize quite well Catholic polemic during the wars. As I will discuss in the narrative analysis of later chapters, polemicists routinely portrayed the struggle against heresy and the Reformed Church as a simple battle between good and evil, between good “Frenchmen” and “Rebels.” One important method of attacking their

opposition was to portray members of the Protestant side as monsters, demons, or sexual deviants. Writers evoked wide-spread feelings of nationalism, nostalgia for an idealized vision of a peaceful past, and support for unity, most familiar in the constant clarion call of “one king, one law, one faith.” Cheap pamphlets flooded the markets during the religious wars and worked to create a dynamic in which, as Andrew Pettegree has most recently described as, “the crowd made text.”³⁹ Because of the shared characteristics between various definitions of polemic and propaganda for my source body, and the inability to gauge literary interference from a higher political power, in my opinion it is not useful to attempt to distinguish between the terms “polemic” and “propaganda,” and I will use them interchangeably as synonyms.

Characterizing the authorship of polemics can be difficult as so many of the works are anonymous. In my sample, for example, nearly 40% of the source body is anonymous or composed under an unknown pseudonym. Members of the clerical estate account for nearly 30%, or 35% if this label includes those of the legal establishment. If a corresponding percentage of the anonymous tracts were also written by clergy, then more than half of polemics during the wars were written by men of the cloth from all sectors of the church hierarchy. Canons, deacons, mendicants, Jesuits, and bishops all participated in the burgeoning war of the presses.⁴⁰ Mendicant preachers were some of the very first to refute Protestantism in print.⁴¹ Jesuits also, especially in Lyon where they rejuvenated the College of the Trinity, rapidly expanded their preaching and their publications immediately after the wars began.⁴²

Catholic authorities believed even before the overthrow of the city that the Protestant deluge of printed pamphlets was putting them at a substantial disadvantage. In 1560, the canons of Saint-Jean complained to the city council that:

The malicious desire of the heretics to deceive the faithful is nowhere more evident than in the production of books full of heresy, for by them they preach and dogmatize even in places from which they are absent or which are forbidden to them, and imprint in the memory thoughts which time or sound teaching would make them forget, and in a more eloquent, attractive and memorable style than the spoken word.⁴³

While attempting to ferret out and ban Protestant pamphlets, the canons complained, booksellers (and the council) were stymieing their efforts to confiscate those texts deemed heretical. When membership of the council changed in the late 1560s to include a majority of Catholic figures zealous in their opposition to the Reformed Church, the same canons diligently expunged heretical books and burned them along the banks of the Rhône.⁴⁴ All in all, the surge of printing in Lyon after 1563 (when Catholics returned to power after the brief overthrow of city authorities by Protestants) played a critical role in the defense of orthodoxy against what contemporaries described as the heretical onslaught of Protestant pamphlets.⁴⁵

Ecclesiastics were by no means the only authors who delved into polemics. Humanists never adopted the cheap polemic medium with any vigor both because the height of their influence in Lyon had peaked before the outbreak of hostilities in 1562, and their intended audience and writing styles lent their works toward more expensive, Latin, and bound books.⁴⁶ Nobles, knights, and self-proclaimed “gentil-hommes,” penned approximately 10% of the titles.⁴⁷ Lesser political figures, i.e. magistrates, governors, or councilmen composed 8% of all polemics, the same percentage written by

professional writers (that is, authors who self-consciously label themselves first and foremost a “writer” or an “author” rather than a member of a particular social class). I can attribute only 3% of polemics to high-ranking men of the royal family, or of the Catholic League (Henry of Guise or Francois Alençon, heir to the throne, for example). The lowest percentage of polemics, as far as I can discern, were written by the non-robed classes of the third-estate, barely 1%. If one assumes that the 38.7% of the source body that was anonymously written can be divided into roughly the same percentage as the rest of the works attributable to an individual, then the percentages rise proportionally: Clergy (53% total, 37% by secular clergy, 8% by regular clergy, and 8% by lawyers and jurists), noble/knight (16%), magistrate (13%), writer (13%), high politician (4%), merchant/3rd estate (1%). All the authors wrote from a mix of financial considerations and religious or political interest. Few pamphleteers penned their text without any thought of compensation (including churchmen), and they were paid an immediate monetary sum or, often, with a certain number of free or discounted copies of their own work that they could then sell or distribute within the market as they desired.⁴⁸ Given that their payment was often linked to the sales of their works, and that they likely wished to mold the opinions of the readers, authors surely hoped their efforts sold well.

The central focus of this work is a narrative analysis of the source body on the whole, but it is quite tempting to try and explore differences in the pamphlets as they correspond to the social station of the authors. Clerical works, for example, appear to be slightly longer over all, and more focused on theological disputes between the confessions. Deep discussion of the doctrine of predestination or justification, for

example, is virtually absent outside of the works penned by the clergy. Noble authors argue even more frequently that the wars must continue until Catholicism gained a clear victory over the Reformed Church. Pieces written by magistrates, councilmen, and ranking figures in the monarchy or in the Catholic League seem less inflammatory than the average polemic, and less frequently dehumanize or demonize the opposition. They also place a somewhat heavier emphasis on the importance of unity (whether behind the monarch or the league) than the norm. Lamenting a world-turned-upside-down, a motif I will discuss in detail in later chapters, is more common in sources written by magistrates and councilmen. Perhaps one could speculate that, as political officials, they were wary of the potential for sectarian violence such rhetoric contained. Nevertheless, these are broad categorizations and exceptions abound. Moreover, far more similarities exist than differences. Works written by the various classes contain similarly high references to the importance of unity and the willingness of God to punish his enemies (or his faithful for failing him). Similarly few authors of any station discuss the apocalypse (i.e. portraying the chaos around them as heralding the second coming) or monetary concerns (the high tax burden or attributing the wars themselves to nobles' greed rather than religious conflict). On the whole, it is rather difficult to find noticeable differences between the narrative content of works as they correspond to social differences in class.

This lack of clear and dramatic differentiation hints toward a number of warnings in attempting to reach class-based conclusions judged on the content of these works. The effort to categorize the authors creates difficulty as the social distinctions employed above are by no means clear. Many of the Lyonnais secular clergy, for example, were

quite wealthy members of the social elite. Gabriel de Saconay, one of the most prolific polemicists in the first half of the wars was a “canon-count” who hailed from a distinguished family. All of the bishops and archbishops who took up the pen similarly came from noble families.⁴⁹ The regular clergy could also share this background, such as Abbot Jacques l’Espervier of Saint-Hilaire. Authors who labeled themselves as professional writers or poets, I categorized as such. Nevertheless, Léger Duchesne and Claude de Pontoux should not be seen as distinct from the nobility or, for that matter, the clergy. Duchesne, for example, was from a noble family and a professor of Latin eloquence at the French Collège Royal from 1561 to 1586. Claude de Pontoux was a noteworthy poet and writer but was born in Châlons to landed nobility and trained as a doctor of medicine. Magistrates and councilmen, such as Claude de Rubys or Antoine du Verdier also held noble status. Antoine du Verdier, for example, was the son of a merchant, attained noble titles, served on the Lyon city council, and yet occasionally calls himself a professional writer (in addition to other honorifics) in his polemics. Into which social category should he fall?

If members of the clergy, professional writers, and those in political office share many ties to the nobility, we should similarly beware of the assumption that there are necessary differences between “secular” and “religious” figures. Members of the nobility may not have taken religious vows or wear the vestments, but this says nothing to the depth of their religious conviction or knowledge. Indeed, the political and military struggles during the second half of the sixteenth century are inextricably linked to the religious foment of the time and it is unsurprising that polemics by “secular” authors are

suffused with religious issues. The same characteristic holds true for magistrates and writers, many of whom had religious backgrounds in their early lives.

What can be said categorically about polemical authors (for at least those sources that name the author and for whom any biographical information exists) is that they are all written by men, all men of high social station, and at least half of all the sources were penned directly by the clergy. The effects this homogeneity of authorship had on the narrative content of polemics are difficult to ascertain without a substantial body of similar works by the poor or middle classes with which we could compare findings. It is mistaken to assume that the content might not appeal to the population at large simply because the authors all belonged to the upper crust of society. For example, the levels of popular violence during the religious wars seem to indicate a similarly strong belief in the importance of religious unity and the dangers of tolerating heresy, themes on which polemicists focused heavily. On the other hand, it is possible that authors did not feel the financial strain of the rising tax burdens as keenly as did other segments of the population. To what extent might this difference have influenced their aversion to a negotiated peace and the tolerance of another religion even in the face of continued brutality and economic devastation?

On the whole, I am deeply reluctant to make broad statements concerning differences in the narrative based on social class. Labeling Verdier, Duchesne, Saconay, and numerous others one way or another would very likely change the overall conclusions of any comparison. The authors share enough in common that attempts to segment them *en masse* would likely create more distortions than it would illuminate

noteworthy differences. Far better, in my opinion, to compare individual authors and their work against the body of sources as a whole. Numerous opportunities for further research exist here, though my concern in this dissertation is with the entire body of literature and an investigation of the broad trends present within it.

Who, then, purchased these cheap tracts? Sadly, this question is the most difficult for historians to answer given the dearth of appropriate records. Will and testament inventories provide us with most of our data regarding sale and purchase of books. Critical for testing hypotheses and sketching trends over time, such sources tend to skew the broader picture as they are biased toward sufficiently large estates that needed an official document, and toward texts important enough to bear mention within a will. These records immediately put to rest the tempting assumption that “popular” or “cheap” print such as pamphlets were intended for the lower and middle classes. While the occasional literate artisan may have purchased a cheap price of writing, only the inventories of the wealthy provide us with hard data of consumption. Though the majority of texts in a probate record are usually more expensive tomes, cheap almanacs and the occasional sensational broadsheet appear even in the wealthiest of households.⁵⁰

In general, historians have found that roughly 10 to 20 percent of wills contain a mention of books within them, and perhaps half of that figure are for persons not of the robed classes, meaning clergy, nobility, and the “long robe” of lawyers, doctors, and clerks.⁵¹ Albert Labarre found in Amiens that only 887 out of 4,442 extant wills in the sixteenth century mentioned books, or roughly 20 percent. Within this smaller figure, 40 percent were from wills of merchants and artisans, though their libraries typically

contained fewer volumes (often only one) when compared to scholars and the religious.⁵² Henri-Jean Martin and Anne Marie Lecocq found a similar social breakdown among printers' records of those who reserved a text, to be paid for later.⁵³ Even among the artisanal classes, the majority of books owned were religious in nature: books of hours, bibles, breviaries, missals, books of piety, apologies, or saints' lives.

A quick glimpse into the first mentioned and most popular of these works, however, can illuminate the dangers of placing too much weight behind data gleaned from probate records. Books of hours were selections of scripture and liturgical texts and stand atop most publishers lists of religious publications by volume. Publisher and warehouse records indicate that as much as half of all religious publications may have appeared in this form.⁵⁴ The work was sold in a variety of forms: leather bound folios and quartos for the wealthy to unbound octavos for poorer clientele. Will and testament data from Amiens reveal that 15 percent of the listed books of hours cost between four and twenty *livres*, while more than 40 percent cost less than eighteen *sous*, with the rest falling in between.⁵⁵ Contrarily, however, other records from publishing houses indicate that the substantial majority of books of hours that reached the market were far cheaper than these, measuring in mere *deniers*.⁵⁶

Books of hours are by no means the only text underrepresented in testament data. Placards (large single-sided sheets with an image and accompanying text), *canards* (single sheet satires or news letters), *libelles* (polemics and other pamphlets), and the small tracts of the *Bibliothèque bleue* (histories, tales, plays, songs, or allegories) are all relatively rare in wills. Doubtless, though, they were present in the anonymous groupings

of texts “with no value.”⁵⁷ Or perhaps they were purchased and posted on some wall until they had served their purpose and were discarded, or were literally read to pieces.⁵⁸ It is tempting to assume that if works such as these cost mere *deniers*, or “pennies” then they might very well have been purchased by large swathes of the population. Again, our lack of appropriate records severely limits our ability to speak with certainty about readership. Given that some artisans might earn thirty to sixty *deniers* (three to five *sous*) per day, they were within the financial reach of a certain broad segment of the urban population. On the other hand, however, many artisans, and certainly poorer day-laborers, earned barely a subsistence income, as little as one or two *sous* per day. How often might a laborer have spent perhaps 10-20% of his daily salary on two pieces of ratted folded paper (which he almost certainly could not read himself) when the same money could go toward the all-important loaf of bread?

Still, historians can discern a number of reading practices from scattered traces of evidence. First and foremost, the majority of reading in the sixteenth century probably took place in a public or collective format.⁵⁹ The individual reader silently perusing a text is the aberration rather than the norm in this century. Royal proclamations and edicts were read aloud on the street corners and then affixed for public display. Workshop owners of all varieties typically purchased a few books about their trade that were housed in their shops. Churches posted various works of religiosity for public readership. Families bought texts to be shared throughout the household for pleasure and for educational and religious purposes.⁶⁰ Booksellers routinely read texts aloud at their stands during parades and, one assumes, at other advantageous times of the year. Larger

publishers hired speakers to read current events and news and, under the wary eyes of political powers, sanctioned propaganda.⁶¹ And confraternities published their own materials as well as recited verse and prose during festivals.⁶²

To this difficult question concerning the audience and consumer of sixteenth-century texts, historians agree that there is an existential gulf between two pictures of readership. On the one hand, records of private ownership point toward rather low figures of literacy and the desire to purchase books. Aside from the learned elite, very few people purchased books. They did not purchase them in large numbers and generally the texts pertained directly to their profession or their spirituality.

On the other hand, the printer and publisher records that do exist point toward large numbers of substantially cheaper, unbound texts specifically designed for more ephemeral ownership and never intended to be passed on to future generations. These texts rose in importance throughout the sixteenth century and publishers turned to them, and the local market, deliberately in an effort to salvage their financial fortunes in a difficult time.⁶³ Unfortunately, we simply do not know for certain who bought them all. They were cheap enough for many artisans to afford, though never so cheap as to constitute a frivolous purchase, and they were purchased by the wealthy as well. Given that they were consistently printed throughout the entirety of the Religious Wars, there is every indication that they were being readily consumed by an eager populace.⁶⁴

Another approach to gain an understanding of the purchaser of these works is to study the polemics themselves and the dedications, salutations, and epilogues for markers hinting of a target audience. A survey of my entire source body reveals that authors

directed their works toward a number of different groups depending on their purpose at hand. Only a handful of sources, less than 2%, self-consciously pitch their works toward the “simple people” or the lowest of the economic strata. Between 2% and 3% dedicate their content to a woman, and in these cases it is invariably a member of the royal family or the spouse of a high-ranking politician or authority figure. 3% are addressed to the Estates collectively, and these are usually copies of speeches delivered by various persons at the Estates Generals (held in Orléans in 1560, Pontoise in 1561, and Blois in 1576 and 1588/89). The 1588/89 Estates General inspired the largest percentage of these because of the importance of the political assassinations and their aftermath. Approximately 7% are dedicated to the clergy or to high-ranking church officials. The same percentage is addressed only to the reader, often specifically male (*amy Lecteur* or simply *Monsieur*). The rest of the remaining sources, approximately 80% of the total, can be divided into four broad categories: those with no addressee at all (25%), those dedicated to “France,” “All Frenchmen,” “All good French Christians,” and related epithets (26%), those written “To the King” (14%), and those addressed directly to the nobles or a single noble, often a high ranking member of Lyon or the author’s native city, or a patron (14%).

At first glance, an immediate conclusion one draws is that a large majority of them appear to orient themselves toward the upper levels of society, or at least their first sentences, titles, and dedications give them that impression. Beyond those pieces addressed to the king or the nobility directly, polemics addressed to the church are usually those dedicated to a bishop, archbishop, or the Pope. Rene Benoist’s *Brief*

Response, for example, is addressed to all the bishops and prelates of France, and he argues that the only cure for France's ills is to reform ourselves and motivate our pastors.⁶⁵ Francesco Panigarola dedicated his *Catholic Lessons* to Peter of Dondy, bishop of Paris. He notes that heresy is on the rise in France because "prelatures are not given to those who deserve them" and ambitious nobles are using the wars as an excuse to gain power.⁶⁶ Both authors make liberal use of complex doctrinal argumentation and sprinkle their text with Latin biblical and patristic quotations. Doubtless, such sources were intended for learned men of the cloth.

Works such as the quasi-polemic, quasi-historical accounts of the siege of Erwinter or La Rochelle are addressed simply to "Dear Reader" and *Messieurs*.⁶⁷ Much of these tracts, however, lists in detail the biographical and titular minutia of close to a hundred nobles and their retinue that fought in the battles, information that was perhaps more interesting to men of a similar background. Similarly, works addressed to women (rather rare to begin with) focus on issues of vice and chastity, especially in regard to dress and public behavior, issues which were also perhaps more relevant to those who can afford a variety of clothing and fashionable objects. Jérôme de Chastillon, in a discourse dedicated to the wife of Lyon's Governor Mandelot, bemoans current trends he sees in society. How foreign it is, he argues, "to see a man allow himself to take the dress of a woman, and for a woman to use that of a man. This is first and foremost contrary to God's law, who forbids that women wear men's clothing, and for a man to use the dresses of a woman. And anyone who does so is an abomination to God."⁶⁸ He continues to criticize those dressing outside of their "station," "usurping the dress of Gentlemen,"

and making their women into *Damoiselles*.⁶⁹ Cross-dressing and other subversions of social norms was common practice among urban middle classes and the poor during charivaris, but the tenor of Chastillon's entire work and the way that he holds Madam Mandelot up as an example to her peers hints that this is a polemic intended for a noble audience.

Many works are clear in their title, their dedication, and their content that they are intended for an audience of social elites. Léger Duchesne, in his *Remonstrance to French princes not to make peace with the mutinous and the rebellious*, urges all French men of station never to accept any peace with those who have hell as their temple, Satan as their idol, and war as their gospel.⁷⁰ Addressed to the Duke d'Aumale, uncle and father figure to the Catholic Leaguer general Henry of Guise, the work is clearly speaking to the nobility of the sword, urging them not betray the ancient race of French princes by joining the "perverters of truth."⁷¹ Those fighting on the side of God and the Catholic Church, he concludes, will see their military camps fortified with a holy host of angels.

If one adds together all the texts dedicated to noble men and women, to nobles as a group, to the King, or to elite members of the church, the total comprises roughly half of all the sources, excluding those with no dedication or addressee of any sort. It is difficult not to conclude that, in many cases, these pamphlets, despite their cheap status, are elites writing to elites. Even authors who attempt to be inclusive in their discussion and address their polemic to "all Catholics" or "all France" may, consciously or unconsciously be speaking primarily to other men of means. For example, Gabriel de Saconay, in one of his polemical treatises, begins with a justification of his publication, a

staunch reprimand against heresy and current society. He mentions that in the past he has often assembled his thoughts and comments “on the letters and edicts sent by our Sovereign Prince to the governors of his provinces,”⁷² But in light of the horrific “storm” that is Calvinism, he feels obliged to widen his audience and pen these polemics, “in the hope that I can better change opinions with my writings.”⁷³

Saconay does not dedicate the work to anyone or any social group in particular, describing it only as a “Catholic discourse” meant to address the reasons and the solutions for France’s ills (*les causes & remedes des Malheurs*). These problems, perpetrated by the rebellious Calvinists, threaten both the king and the “ruin of his people” (*escheus à son peuple*). The work begins in a highly inclusive manner. The list of prescriptions for society, however, reveals a more narrow band of people he has in mind. Saconay argues that the monarch must bear a strong responsibility toward his country and always strive to maintain the purity of the single faith. The powers of princes and kings, Saconay argues, are sacralized by the hands of an archbishop and anointed by heavenly oil.⁷⁴ In exchange, the monarch is duty-bound to purify the country and tolerate “no less division in the affairs of the state than love toward the holy church.”⁷⁵ The king and his advisors have been all too willing to tolerate heresy in the realm for the sake of a temporary “peace.”⁷⁶ Nobles are also to blame for their ambition and appetite for worldly rewards and achievements. Reformed pastors and preachers then play on these ambitions to urge them toward rebellion against their sovereign.⁷⁷ Catholic preachers, by allowing reformed preaching and writing to go unanswered, are no better. “Apathy among our preachers and spiritual fathers combines with their

scandalous way of living,” he argues, and creates a situation in which these heretical wolves have little problem raiding the defenseless Christian flock.⁷⁸ All members of the bureaucracy should “take a solemn oath of their faith and loyalty, first to God and his church . . . and then also to their princes.”⁷⁹ All those willing and able to write, those “good persons and people of great wisdom,” should follow in his footsteps and publish reprimands such as this one. Such works are a salve for society and counteract the “furious torment of [heretical] preachers.”⁸⁰

All the rest of society, other than the king, nobles, magistrates, Catholic preachers, and the literati, should simply cure their own wickedness. As Saint Cyprian observed, he notes, “neither heretics, such as Novatians, nor tyrants, such as Decius, threatened the church with anything other than God’s wrath and fury over the innumerable excesses of Christians.”⁸¹ All “good Christians” must reform themselves and stand up for the true faith. They must defend their religion zealously and question the powers and claims of the “pretend reformed” preachers and pastors.⁸² There is little to suggest that Saconay believed that this role of greater society was unimportant, but it is telling that such a small and quickly expressed prescription applied to the vast majority of society, while the rest of the work is so detailed in its suggestions for other elites.

This is certainly not to say that some authors never addressed their works to the lower and middle classes. Polemics against the war were occasionally so critical of the nobility that it is difficult to imagine that they were the intended audience. An anonymous tract from 1562 calls all warmongers detestable, without exception. Far from “noble” and “courageous,” the author concludes, they are thieves and worse than

pagans.⁸³ Other books were translated so that they could benefit a less well-educated audience. Jean la Vacquerie's published remonstrance was originally directed to the king, Catholic princes, and all magistrates and governors of the republics. However, the French translator wrote his own preface and aimed his efforts at a wider group of individuals: the provost of the university, magistrates, bourgeois and merchants of Paris. He translated Vacquerie, he mentions, so that "the simple people could, through it, be instructed and advised of the tricks and deceptions of the enemy. Then they can defend themselves from them."⁸⁴ Many pamphlets were copies of speeches delivered at the Estates Generals throughout the wars, speeches which were often quite similar in thematic content to published polemics. The original intended audience of these works were the present members representing the three estates and the king, but the readership audience of the reprints was obviously quite different. It is not unreasonable to assume that well paid literate artisans or merchants might have been interested in such works in addition to the nobility to whom they are always addressed. Sometimes the claimed audience is an intentional feint introducing a piece of satire. In a 1590 anonymous tract, the author pretends to be a *politique* member of the nobility writing to another noble of Rouen. The "*politique*" author of the letter remarks how amusing is the gullibility of simple Catholics.⁸⁵

In conclusion, then, internal evidence of the source body suggests that the target audience was wider than that of the authorial body, though probably not so wide as to routinely encompass the majority of society. While those writing these text were usually members of the church, and almost always among the upper classes, they recognized that

those purchasing and reading the texts could be from lower income groups and non-noble social stations. Often it is evident that these works are written by the powerful to the powerful, but it is also apparent that authors desired to be inclusive, frequently writing to “all of France” or writing to encapsulate a view they believed was held by the nation as a whole, or rather one they believed *should* be held by the entire nation. The authors frequently mention that their efforts were to spread their views to “the simple,” a relative designation which can be difficult to categorize—to the archbishop of Lyon, quite a few individuals are most likely considered “simple” in learning. We should not assume that authors intended their arguments to be purchased and read by the urban poor, but we do not have to exclude the possibility that middle class artisanry might have purchased the occasional polemic for edification or sheer entertainment.

Indications of purchasing and consumption are well and good, but can historians then argue that these sources open a crucial window into the mentality of the “average” sixteenth-century French individual? The strictest and appropriately cautious answer to that question is, no they cannot. If one assumes that publishers had an interest in printing what would sell to the general populace, then it makes sense that the content of polemic was not completely foreign to the people buying them. But this link between the content of published material and the prevalence of similar ideas within society is short or impassably long depending on the historian.

Robert Mandrou, for example, argued strongly that cheap books in Troyes could be used to weave a potent and descriptive world view, that is, a vision of “popular culture.”⁸⁶ The theory behind such an approach is that booksellers intentionally created

and managed these works for the poorer majorities of the population. Thus, the average citizen would identify more with these works than with “high-brow” works of doctrine or political argumentation. The flaws in this approach, however, have been made clear through the work of later scholars and theoreticians.⁸⁷ First, the authors of these cheap texts were almost never from the poorer strata of society themselves. Second, thematic elements of “popular culture” frequently appear in texts oriented toward the elite and the learned. Third, publishers likely did not aim even these cheapest of texts at the poor, but they may have been purchased by a variety of individuals with a certain level of disposable income.⁸⁸ Setting the artificially derived “popular culture” against an “elite culture” creates a false dichotomy that oversimplifies the realities of sixteenth-century social life.

At first glance, this critique might lead one to conclude that the content of cheap print more closely represents the views of large segments of society (possibly excluding the urban poor) as the sources could be purchased by wide varieties of the general population. Here, however, one encounters the difficulty in deciphering the differences between authorial intent and audience response. In the absence of detailed sociological data such as opinion polls, how can any researcher affirmatively tease out the extent to which a given reader agrees with a certain argument within a polemical text? How strongly does the author himself believe what he wrote, or is he writing for a marketplace that, not unlike today, might feature a piece of satire or inflammatory rhetoric for simple entertainment?⁸⁹ In the most stringent theoretical sense, then, these sources only

demonstrate the types of issues that authors (and by extension their publishers) felt would sell well to the public.

Concerning this perplexing issue, Andrew Pettegree, one of the foremost researchers of French books during the sixteenth century, makes a number of powerful arguments in his most recent work *against* placing too much weight behind the influence of the printed word in the sixteenth century. Doubtless one rationale behind this contrarian approach is to draw attention to under-utilized source material such as songs, sermons, and the theatre. On this front, Pettegree makes a fine point: “In the early modern world most information was conveyed in public, communal settings: the marketplace, the church, a proclamation from the town hall steps. And it was conveyed by word of mouth, sometimes subsequently reinforced in print.”⁹⁰ In a world with low levels of literacy, poor vision, and expensive paper and ink, it is only natural that oral forms of communication would reign supreme.⁹¹ *Chansons*, sermons, and plays have certainly received short-shrift in the historiographic tradition and our understanding of the period can only be enhanced by their study.

Pettegree also calls into question the widespread opinion among historians that “cheap” books and broadsheets were consumed and absorbed in a manner which the modern individual reflexively assumes—i.e., read word for word in order to absorb the arguments and points described in the text. He argues that we ourselves do not purchase books solely for the words and information they contain:

We buy as a badge of identity (the programme at a sports fixture) or as a memento (the opera programme). We buy books as a mark of professional status (the row of texts in the lawyer’s office), to signal social aspiration (Stephen Hawking’s *A Brief History of Time*), or as a fashion statement (Hawking again). We buy for

reassurance (books of reference), through a sense of obligation, to honour someone we admire. We buy out of idle curiosity; we buy as gifts. Sometimes we buy simply because people like us buy books.⁹²

Though somewhat anachronistic, Pettegree points out that many purchasers bound together polemics (often as many as twenty or more) addressing certain themes, defending or attacking a certain ideological camp, or which appeared in the marketplace during critical times of the Religious Wars.⁹³ Given the high-quality bindings used for these “cheap” sources, it is clear that many were assembled and kept as cherished works, possibly as show-pieces in libraries or as reference works.⁹⁴ Whether or not the sources were originally read as the authors desired, these cheap books were now employed for an entirely different purpose. Also, Pettegree furthers that publishers and authority figures desiring to mold opinion had every interest in creating a sense of undeniability of argument by limiting the number of opposing polemics—substantial efforts at censorship make it clear this was a foremost goal—and flooding the market with cheap books of the same view: “Their force lay in the power—or the appearance—of collective, irresistible might.”⁹⁵ Though I have found that there were certainly periods during the wars when polemicists disagreed strongly with one another, Pettegree’s point is valid that there are other times (notably the latter stages of the wars) when the flood of one-sided argumentation is so high, and the message so unified, that the sources seem to take on a purpose somewhat irrespective of the words they contain. This is a useful corrective for placing too much weight behind the argument that the content of such cheap print represented the views of larger society as a whole.

Nonetheless, to argue that these sources are not useful to our understanding of the period because only a minority of the urban populace could read, or because there is no absolutely clear way to link the content of a text to the views or “mentality” of the buyer of that text is, in my opinion, overly demanding of a historical source. Substantial evidence exists that printed texts could matter a great deal to the average individual. Consider the violent reactions to what was deemed the assault on the mass during the Affair of the Placards in 1534, or the raucous execution of a Parisian bookseller accused of publishing “seditious” books as well as the unfortunate soul who dared to speak on his behalf.⁹⁶

We should also keep in mind the powerful secondary effects of polemical literature. Léonard de la Ville’s polemic appears to have been intended for a learned audience.⁹⁷ Nonetheless, if the monarchy or members of the political hierarchy took his prescriptions to heart (for example, the slaughter of every man, woman, and child tainted by heresy, and widespread resumption of public burnings for all heretics), the results would matter a great deal to individuals who never read the text themselves. Less dramatically, but more commonly, polemics could influence those who had the freedom, because of their station and means, to worship in more public ways, or to pass legislation restricting or encouraging other public displays of religiosity. Pamphleteering could also influence other types of media more readily accessible to the broader public. Leonard Janier addressed his defense of the church directly to the Archbishop of Lyon.⁹⁸ However, he specifically asked that his tract be made required reading by the entire clergy: “It seems to us very reasonable and appropriate (with your better judgment,

most-cherished Seigneur), if you please, to command and decree on behalf of holy obedience and on pain of excommunication . . . that all those who have cure of souls diligently to study [this book], declare, and preach the points of doctrine written within it.”⁹⁹ Janier intended his book to influence those in a position to preach and propagate a message to the greater population. The publication contains, says the author:

Apologies against the new Dogmatists and Sacramentarians, who have separated themselves from us, and a response to their errors and invalid arguments. With these their heresies can be rejected and repulsed with the living reasoning and witness of the holy scriptures. For pastors and rectors who have cure of souls and legitimate [responsibility to] administer the Holy Sacraments and the holy word of the Church of God, there are also here certain speeches for the simple population.¹⁰⁰

In this fashion, a book could substantially influence, and pass on its arguments, in an oral form that would very likely be accessible to substantial numbers of the city.

Still, certain thematic elements of polemic can be more problematic than others when trying to draw a parallel between theoretical and actual existence of an idea or motif. The root causes of the war, for example, were widely debated within the literature, as they are among historians even today. That one pamphlet might argue that the nobles created and prolonged the wars due to their rapacious natures is no reason to assume such a sentiment was popular among the wider populace. Other motifs within the genre, however, are more likely to represent an aspect shared throughout society. The majority of all polemical pamphlets argue on behalf of social, religious, or political unity. I will argue that the Religious Wars became, for many authors, a fight to attain and enforce social and religious unity, or “concord,” in spite of disastrous consequences for the nation and its people.¹⁰¹ Concord in this sense is synonymous with unity and is significantly

different from “tolerance,” which refers to the temporary “suffering” of a state of affairs that is less than ideal but preferable to the alternative. In the case of the Religious Wars, tolerance meant the temporary acknowledgment of another religion and attached certain freedoms to its practice. Nonetheless, the term always implies that the recognition is limited and will exist only until “concord” can be achieved. Tolerance certainly did not mean religious tolerance in the modern sense, which I will call more aptly “religious freedom.”¹⁰²

Polemicists depicted the notion of tolerance almost always quite negatively, whereas the idea of concord or unity was a worthy goal and a divine directive regardless of their political and religious affiliation. The theme of unity appeared in a variety of other historical sources, such as royal edicts, books of hours, sermons, and council minutes. One can detect the notion of concord and the desire to define, ridicule, or attack that which deviates from it within censorship laws, the violent or mocking rites of charivaries, or tracts about monstrous births. Here, I argue, is a concept that holds some sway within larger society beyond polemical argumentation. Nonetheless, I have adopted a cautious attitude toward such connections on the whole. Both for the sake of clarity and for brevity, I have restricted myself to exploring the prevalence of certain issues only within this body of literature. A fuller description of these sources is useful to us as it enhances our picture of sixteenth-century urban life on the whole.

III. Methodology

In this work, I have attempted to add a small element of quantitative analysis to my study of the themes within religious polemic. This aim, I recognize, is a hazardous

one for historians, as it naturally raises fundamentally important questions regarding representationality. That is, how representative is this sample of sources that is being used? Discerning the extent to which the extant sources under scrutiny mirrors the entirety of the genre is a critical task, as failure to do so can lead to simplifications or false conclusions about even the most important issues facing Reformation historians today.

A fine historiographic example of the problems of a quantitative narrative analysis can be found in two articles addressing the doctrinal unity, or lack thereof, among early Protestant sermons in Germany. Bernd Moeller compiled a sample of sermons from twenty-six authors and twenty-seven cities and concluded from them that early sixteenth-century preaching displayed a high degree of doctrinal discipline and narrative orthodoxy. Protestant preachers, in other words, absorbed Luther's teachings and transmitted the principal doctrinal elements within them faithfully.¹⁰³ Susan Karant-Nunn, however, argued that Moeller's study was based on a limited source base of published sermons from only a handful of preachers across Germany.¹⁰⁴ By combing through the archives and including manuscript sources, references to "errant" preachers, and materials from preachers about others for whom there are no records, Karant-Nunn was able to conclusively argue that the early years of the German Reformation might not have been as unified as Moeller portrayed. Samples of preaching are further handicapped by poor existing records from Saxon and Thuringian cities, she went on, and an enormous number of sermons have been permanently lost because they were too unorthodox or, much more commonly, simply too boring and uninteresting to have been recorded.

Such criticisms are valid and are especially relevant for studies of preaching, when so few sermons were recorded and, even when they were transcribed, do not represent a word-for-word recording of a live sermon.¹⁰⁵ Pamphlets do not suffer from this problem—words as they appear on the page are the subject itself. Furthermore, the content of a polemic is naturally more controllable and predictable than a sermon, not necessarily because of censorship, which was woefully inadequate.¹⁰⁶ Rather, the market itself is a powerful standardizing force, as those sources that strayed too widely from what the public desired would not attract buyers and would gather dust. Also, the numbers of polemical titles published in Lyon over the thirty years of war may have numbered close to a thousand, but this is still a tiny number when compared to hundreds of thousands of sermons preached by all manner of churchmen over the same time frame.¹⁰⁷ Because of these limits on the polemical source body and its content, I believe it is possible to assemble, study, and analyze a representative sample and then point confidently toward narrative trends within it.

There are a number of methodological hurdles involved with estimating the representationality of a sample of literary works.¹⁰⁸ I first decided to cast as wide a net as possible and track down every polemic I could find; I have collected and analyzed more than three hundred propagandistic pamphlets printed in Lyon from 1560 to 1594. But is it possible to discern how many polemics total were published, thereby yielding a percentage of the total which my sample comprised?

Luckily, there are factors working in favor of allowing a more exact accounting. First, Lyon was a city at the “crossroads” of Europe; its easy access to the Saône, Rhône,

and the Mediterranean made it one of the premier European trading venues for the early modern period. As such, copies of its publications frequently traveled across not only France but much of Europe (though, given the costs of transport and the nature of these cheap print sources, the local market was always the primary one). This dissemination makes it likely that relatively fewer sources printed here have been permanently lost. When searching for sources from the most prolific polemic publishers (more on this effort below), I ferreted out works in France, Italy, Britain, Spain, Germany, and the United States.¹⁰⁹ Second, Lyon's archival and bibliographical records for the sixteenth century are unusually thorough and well-organized.¹¹⁰ With these tools, researchers can reach a level of exactitude difficult in many other regions.

To weigh the proportionality of my sample against an estimated total, I chose to focus on the four most prolific publishers of pamphlets in the second half of the sixteenth century: Benoist Rigaud, Michel Jove, Jean Pillehotte, and Jean Patrasson. I searched for every publication by the four printers mentioned above and arranged them in a database organized by genre. Records of their works appear in libraries around the world, in occasional publishing records of sales and inventories, censorship records, and in the contents of libraries from probate records.¹¹¹ Based on my research, Rigaud, Jove, Pillehotte, and Patrasson collectively printed 1,735 titles during the sixteenth century, of which 429 are polemical. Of these 429 (some of which appear only as a title in a library or a publication record without an extant textual copy), I was able to assemble and study 261 titles by these publishers for this book, or 61% of total.

I admit freely that it is highly unlikely that I have actually read 61% of all the polemics printed in Lyon during the Religious Wars. Permanent losses of titles, because they have not survived in either physical form or as an entry in a publishing journal or a probate list, will lower the number of total works, thus artificially inflating the percentage of my sample. Estimates for title loss in the sixteenth century vary widely, though it is unlikely to exceed one-fourth to one-third, and is more likely closer to one-fifth of my total above.¹¹² To be conservative, though, even if one-third of the polemical publications from the four most prolific publishers have been destroyed, that would mean there were approximately 650 titles rather than the 429 that I found. The 261 that I was able to read would then represent 40% of the of the complete body. I make no claims to be a statistician but, in my opinion, this figure is conservative and can be construed as safely representative.

The next issue in this work involves the methodology behind tracing the thematic content of these sources as it changes, or does not change, over time. When first embarking on this project, I perused a third of my sources, meanwhile establishing close to two dozen themes that I would record as I went through all the works in more detail. Some I chose because of particular relevance to recent historiographic trends. Others I traced because of their abundance.

Many motifs present in polemics address ideological perceptions of the enemy, who were usually Protestants but also *Politiques* (figures who argued for rapprochement between the Catholic League and the Reformed Church, and were therefore portrayed as casuists who would sacrifice religious unity for convenience) or royalists (who supported

Henry IV, the heir apparent after Henry III's death in 1589, whether out of respect for monarchical power or a belief that only a strong central government could bring peace to France):¹¹³ the characterization of Protestants as sexually licentious (this stems from a misunderstanding, intentional or not, of the Protestant doctrine of predestination); the demonization or dehumanization of one's opponents; the fear of the "secret," or "hidden" (e.g. midnight meetings of the Reformed Church or political intrigues of the *Politiques*); the concern for inflaming, and the danger of, public "opinion"; and the idea that Protestants should abandon their beliefs and return to the church and fold.

Other themes pertain to ideological perceptions of Catholics (i.e. themselves) or the characterization of current times: the world-turned-upside-down;¹¹⁴ the second coming or the end days;¹¹⁵ the importance of social and religious unity; the connections between religious uniformity, social peace, and the validity or preservation of secular power;¹¹⁶ that the current age is lamentable and far worse than those before (one measure of popular discontent); the metaphor of the body social or the body religious (another means to gauge discontent as it is most commonly used when there is a "sickness" in *le corps*); the belief that God regularly punishes his enemies (and his followers if they tolerate his enemies).

Still other topoi pertain to more tangible events and perceptions surrounding them: the shift from loyalty to the king to support of the Catholic League; the importance of preaching and writing in the efforts to combat heresy; the belief that money is evil and a root of France's ills (that is, that the instigators of the conflict are motivated by greed rather than religion);¹¹⁷ the concern over high tax rates caused by the war; the notion that

war is necessary to achieve lasting peace; and the opposing view that war is hell and should be ended at all costs (i.e. before a religious union is achieved).

As I was researching, I kept a database and worked through my sources year by year. I inserted a simple “present” or “not-present” label to each theme for each work. This method can create some distortions, since a single mention of any theme “weighs” the same as dozens of references to another theme if the work is largely focused on one central idea. A work of twenty pages or so explaining a justification for continued fighting may contain over fifty references to the notion that the Religious Wars must continue until the Reformed Church is completely eradicated. Yet it may contain one glancing reference that the wars are making life miserable because of onerous tax burdens. In this case the title in question would receive one mark for the theme of the necessity of war and one mark for the theme lamenting taxation levels.

While I would have liked to have incorporated a bit more distinction in my work, tallying every reference of these themes in so many works was too time-consuming. Also, accumulating references based on how many times they occurred would have led to even worse distortions when a single publication mentions an issue over a hundred times, though it may have appeared infrequently, if at all, in all the remaining polemics. Cataloguing each theme on a simple true/false basis allowed me to quickly process a large body of literature while simultaneously forming good estimations about the relative prevalence or rarity of any given theme across time. Cross-referencing each work with its publication date allowed me to trace any changes on a yearly basis.¹¹⁸

Recognizing the limitations of this approach, I have eschewed drawing theories from trends in the dialogue that I would characterize as “insufficiently dramatic.” For example, in the period from 1560-1571, 18% of the sources address the worries of the “secrecy” of the Protestant church or the “hidden and fake” nature of society. From 1572-1583, 22.5% of the sources make this argument. It is tempting to argue that the increase is related to the Bartholomew’s Day massacres and a period of increased concern among Huguenots and Catholics that the monarchy and Catherine de Medici are willing to use schemes and plots to advance their goals. This argument was, in fact, widely cited in many polemics, especially Protestant ones, but it cannot be supported from my particular sample and the methodology I employ. If anything, my hesitancy to lean too heavily on my data in this fashion leads me to pass over some interesting speculations that will have to wait for additional support from later research.

On the other hand, I find quite noteworthy the fact that over half of all the sources I read speak of the willingness of God to punish the faithful while less than 5 percent make even the slightest reference to the apocalypse. In this case, I am eager to point out that certain issues, such as God’s willingness to punish mankind, the importance of unity, or the demonization of one’s opponents, occur consistently and frequently throughout polemic over the entire period. References to the apocalypse, on the other hand, are almost entirely absent. I will explore my thoughts as to why this is so in later chapters. I point to these themes here only to illustrate the types of conclusions that I feel it prudent to make throughout my work.

While I am fascinated by literary topoi that remain constant throughout the wars, this is not to say that there are no intriguing changes in the frequency of some themes that bear mentioning. For example, a comparison of the number of sources that mention that war is necessary versus those that call war an evil that should be avoided reveals an intriguing relationship. In the first decade of the wars, after Protestants overturned established political governments in a number of cities in 1562, authors mention the two in nearly equal proportions. This proportion falls in the years following the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacres in 1572 to the point that calls for peace outnumber those for war almost two to one. In the late 1580s and the 1590s, however, arguments in favor of renewed war (advocated at this point by the Catholic League) outnumber calls for peace by two to one and, in the last five years, by eight to one. This type of dynamic change is too large, I think, to be a statistical aberration. Again, though, I am not a statistician by trade and, when in doubt, I will disclose my data openly in the hopes that readers can judge for themselves its value.

IV. Chapter Contents

Regarding the organization of this dissertation, I have broken it into seven parts, including this general introduction. The second chapter serves to introduce Lyon and the religious setting of the first half of the sixteenth century. It also explores the early efforts of the Catholic Church to reform itself and rally against a Reformed Church that was growing in popularity. Though this period of time from 1517 to 1560 represents more years than the following four chapters combined, only a handful of polemics are published. This chapter uses this dearth of material, however, as a way to establish the

comparative lack of an organized printed response to Protestantism by Catholic forces. The third chapter then runs through the general history of the Religious Wars and the specific urban history of Lyon from 1560 to the city's submission to Henry of Navarre in 1594.

With the fourth chapter, I turn to the thematic analysis of my sources. Immediately following my historical background chapter, the themes studied here are those most closely linked to political and military changes throughout the Religious Wars. The emphasis on the importance of printed propaganda as a religious tool, for example, leapt dramatically after the outbreak of violence and the overthrow of the Catholic city council by Protestants. The weight placed on the utility of the medium then remained steady throughout the rest of the wars. I also touch on the ways in which authors described the threat represented by their opponents. Early in the wars, writers focused on iconoclasm and rebellion against the monarch and city authorities but, as the brutality and chaos of the wars worsened over time, the most common types of written attack focused on "torture narratives." Polemicists changed their views on the monarchy throughout the wars as well, and the Catholic League became ever more popular as the crown proved incapable or unwilling to attain a decisive victory against Protestants. Finally, I look at the number of sources advocating that Protestants abjure their faith and return to the Catholic fold. This theme is particularly interesting as it matches military events well: rising steadily toward the end of the 1560s when Catholic forces appeared to have the upper-hand, peaking immediately after the St. Bartholomew's Day massacres,

and then plummeting throughout the 1580s as the threat of a Protestant monarch becomes ever more probable.

The fifth chapter studies common depictions of Protestants within the medium. The prevalence of these motifs is much more consistent throughout the wars. Authors continually dehumanized their opponents by describing them as animals, demons, or monsters. They also focused on their effect on societies and their means of infiltrating Catholic communities. Protestants, they alleged, hid or disguised their true intentions behind the guise of righteousness just as a charlatan or a prostitute might hide behind their words or makeup. Huguenots needed to operate from the shadows, polemicists continued, since their true intentions were to undermine religious and social concord. Finally, polemicists described their opponents as sexual libertines, free to commit any sin because of their views on predestination. If Calvinists believe that God had chosen them for salvation and heavenly reward before time itself, polemicists argued, they can act as they like and sin with whomever and however they please.

The sixth chapter focuses on how Catholic authors depicted their own times, the causes of the hostilities, and the solutions to the wars themselves. This chapter ties in at points with recent historiography regarding whether the prime motivation of the Religious Wars was, in fact, religious in nature or whether it was furthered by nobles and the monarchy. I also address the influential thesis of Denis Crouzet that late sixteenth-century France was awash in literature concerning the end times and the second coming of Christ. Without doubting that such literature existed in large numbers, I find notably few references to the end times in polemics. Authors do note readily that their own times

were brutal, sinful, and corrupt, and that the pervasive heresy of their times has turned their world “topsy-turvy.” But they also argued strongly that there was a solution to the Religious Wars and a way to return to the idealized Christian unity of the late medieval world. One can trace this formula for victory through an internal debate within polemics about whether or not war is necessary or a hell to be avoided at all costs. The ratio of these two arguments changes throughout the war but, perhaps counterintuitively, those in favor of continued bloodshed become more prominent toward the end of the conflict, even after three decades of fighting.

Chapter seven explores the two most prominent motifs throughout the entire source body: the importance of concord or unity and the willingness of God to punish his followers for their sins and, frequently, mankind’s unwillingness to reunify the church and create concord through force. This dissertation has grown into a commentary on this dynamic more than any other single issue and readers will detect tangential comments concerning the importance of unity and God’s punishment throughout earlier chapters. Time and again, polemicists make clear that the only means to a lasting “peace” is to achieve religious unity by any means necessary. Only this purity within the faithful will ease God’s hand and cure France of its ills.

CHAPTER 2 – A CITY DIVIDED, 1517-1562

Lyon offers an especially apt case for a study of polemic not only because of its prolific publication record, but also because of its intriguing political, social, and geographic characteristics, and its confessional dynamism throughout the century. Widely considered a stronghold of the Catholic Church through the fifteenth century, it transformed into a secular cosmopolitan city proud of its lay (*laïc*) customs and traditions.¹¹⁹ In the 1540s and 1550s, the Reformed Church flourished and expanded, eventually counting a third of the entire population as members. Protestants seized control of the city in 1562, only to make peace with royal forces the following year. Their power and influence deteriorated shortly thereafter. In the years after, culminating decisively in 1567, a Catholic majority again gained control of the city council and gradually worked to “cleanse” the city of the new religion. Lyon participated in the bloody massacres of 1572, which they called the Vespers massacres, and became one of the strongest bastions of the radically conservative Catholic League in the later years of the Wars of Religion. They submitted to the control of Henry IV only in 1594.

For the purposes of this work, a number of overarching questions come to the fore. How did a city renowned for its roots in the Catholic Church find itself under Protestant control in 1562? How robust were efforts by the Catholic clergy to counteract the burgeoning Protestant threat? Why did Catholic writers remain so hesitant to recognize the power of the presses and to utilize them to their own advantage?

This chapter attempts to illuminate these questions by first exploring the political, social, and economic status of the city and the ways these factors facilitated the growth of

Protestantism or, rather, the ways they undermined an effective response by Catholic authorities. In the first decades of the century, a small group of wealthy merchant families gained increasing amounts of power as the city grew in political and economic importance. The city and its environs served as a staging ground and a funding center of the Italian Wars. Lyon saw frequent social conflicts and riots among members of the poorer trades and day-laborers, and the city council and their bulwark of merchant supporters. The former felt that they unfairly carried the tax burden of the Italian Wars, while the latter benefited from their status as creditors to the crown. Printers in the city initially supported the Reformed Church, and they flooded the city, much of France, and southern Europe with Protestant sermons, catechisms, and cheap pamphlets. Lyonnais publishing houses sold works from local printers as well as reprints from Geneva with near impunity.

The Catholic clergy made repeated efforts to counteract the nascent growth of the new religion, but they faced much difficulty in this regard.¹²⁰ The fact that the secular clergy would occasionally ally themselves with the poor against the city council contributed to the hesitancy of the magistrates to join the clergy in any collaborative efforts to restrict Protestant activities before the commencement of civil war. Foreigners and those born in other French provinces, who represented a more significant percentage of the general population than in most French cities (close to half at mid-century), played a vital role in the city's economy and fairs; they, too, were disproportionately receptive to Protestant ideas.¹²¹ Lyon's economic lifeblood depended on the fairs. The fact that, at any given time, many merchants, traders, and artisans in the city harbored Protestant

sympathies fostered a city council that, fearing a disruption of trade and the contingent loss of tax revenues above other concerns, hesitated to implement laws repressing religious heterodoxy.

Ecclesiastics also faced no small amount of anticlericalism within the city. While criticisms of the church were certainly nothing new in the sixteenth century, the city clergy endured additional hardships because of their trans-regional and trans-national qualities. A majority of the secular clergy were native born and usually wealthy, characteristics which served them poorly in a half-foreign city with stark divisions between rich and poor. Statistical analysis of pious bequests reveals that members of the mendicant orders, who were predominantly foreign, were slightly more popular among society at large, but they too were not above reproach.¹²²

Nevertheless, it would be faulty to portray the local clergy as unaware and indifferent to heresy in their midst. A significant problem of the Counter-Reformation historian is that the extant sources are often biased against the established church. Historians build careers studying the early voices of the Protestant Reformation, often because finer details of these reformers' thoughts are preserved in the records of inquisitorial trials and ecclesiastical courts or in copies of sermons recorded to be used as evidence. The thoughts and sermons of the silent mass of orthodox clergy, on the other hand, are all too often lost to us, especially in the first half of the century.

This chapter analyzes Catholic polemic and pamphleteering published in the decades between Luther's 95 Theses and the first tremors of political unrest after Henry II's untimely death. While the rest of this study deals almost exclusively with the prolific

body of polemical works published in Lyon after 1560, this subject can only assume a part of this first chapter—the sources are simply too scarce for the detailed analysis I will conduct in later chapters. One cannot avoid the conclusion that there was a deep reluctance among the clergy of Lyon, and of France as a whole, to exploit the powers of the presses to reach a wider audience. Catholic authorities initially preferred attempts to censor the publication industry. Catholic works were scholastically designed and meant for learned readers, meaning those knowledgeable in Latin and familiar with the doctrinal treatises of the church fathers.¹²³ The books of Claude d'Espence and Ambrosius Catharinus were impressive expositions filled with pointed and logical arguments and refutations, but they were also ponderous and dense, clearly meant for fellow religious.

Catholic writers in Lyon also faced a publication industry largely sympathetic to their opposition. Newer and more literate trades—among these were printers, particularly—readily adopted the new religious ideas, as Natalie Zemon Davis has demonstrated.¹²⁴ Nevertheless, in the end printers were running a business and were not averse to favoring what would sell over what coincided with their theological beliefs. Certainly compared to later decades, Catholic writers simply did not pursue this medium as a useful means to counteract heresy. Other literary works such as funeral orations or entry procession accounts also tended to avoid the religious ferment of the day. Works in similar genres during the Religious Wars routinely commented on confessional divisions.

Nevertheless, certain motifs appeared in these infrequent pamphlets that will grow in importance after the outbreak of war in 1562. Themes such as the value of social and Christian unity, the willingness of God to punish his flock for fracturing that unity (or for

tolerating others who did so), and the demonization of the Protestant enemy became defining characteristics of much Catholic polemic in the second half of the century, but they were present in these early decades as well.

I. Politics, Conflict, and the Growth of Protestantism

This dissertation may focus on confessional division and religious dialogue as its subject, but concerns about religious orthodoxy were not the city's primary focus before the Religious Wars. Lyon stood at the heart of royal affairs and foreign policy. Until the treaty of Chateau-Cambrésis in 1559, it was a crucial strategic and funding center for the waging of the Italian Wars.¹²⁵

When Louis XII ascended the throne in 1498, Lyon's importance in the realm leaped to immediate new heights. From 1499 to 1503, Louis XII resided permanently in the city (in the archbishop's residence), the better to keep watch over affairs in Italy and to enable an expeditious intervention if necessary. Lyon became the effective capital of the realm.¹²⁶ As a staging ground and the host of the royal court, commercial traffic in and through the city expanded dramatically. With the growth of the printing industry and the increasing popularity of the Lyonnais fairs, it became one of the most prestigious cities in Europe.¹²⁷ The importance of the city's strategic position continued under Francis I, and the government resided in the city throughout the entirety of the Marignano campaign (1515-1518).¹²⁸ When the king was captured at the disastrous battle of Pavia, the regent conducted affairs from Lyon during his imprisonment (1525-1526). Lyonnais banking, another growth industry, lent heavily to support the monarch's military expenditures.¹²⁹

During the same period of economic growth, however, the city wrestled with social unrest due to readily apparent economic disparities and the rising tax burdens used to fund the wars. Conflicts between the “little people” (*menu peuple*), on the one hand, and the city council, merchants, and bankers, on the other, became more pronounced. The increasing vitality of the city attracted mounting numbers of poor day-laborers, despite inflationary pressures. In 1515, led by an apothecary named Jean Gauthier, the *menu peuple* marched through the streets and posted petitions through the city demanding that the council be opened to election by artisans without interference from the ruling merchant families, traditionally the dominant force in politics.¹³⁰ The council promised concessions to ameliorate the unruly workers, though the political power structure changed little in the end.¹³¹ Another, more destructive riot took place in April 1529, known as the Great Rebeyne, when placards were affixed throughout the city urging a solution to the dramatically rising costs of living, especially the escalating price of bread which the crowd blamed on speculating merchants on the city council.¹³² Over a thousand people answered the call to assemble at the convent of Cordeliers (the local name for the Franciscans of Saint Bonaventure) the following Sunday.

The convent itself was the first target of the crowd’s anger, and the rioters ransacked the stores of grain they found inside. Next they invaded the home of Symphorien Champier, a noteworthy doctor and humanist writer.¹³³ Here the mob methodically destroyed the statues and images of the saints that adorned the house. After this they raided a number of other private residences, the town hall, and grain storehouses. They were finally calmed by promises of concessions by the council, but

“weeks later it was busier with whipping and hanging the rebel leaders than with reducing the price of bread.”¹³⁴ Henri Hauser claimed that the seemingly iconoclastic destruction of images of the saints at Champier’s house was a sign of the linkage between the suffering of the poor and their openness to Protestant ideas.¹³⁵ Later historians have disputed this claim convincingly by pointing out that this particular type of violence was the only of its kind in three days of mayhem, and that nearly all other occasions of destruction and violence were focused on persons and edifices that contained, or were thought to have contained, large grain stores.¹³⁶ Also, most of those participating in the riots were unskilled laborers, women, and boys in their teens, groups that suffered the most during famines and economic downturns—they were also among the least likely to support Protestant ideas throughout the sixteenth century.¹³⁷

Nevertheless, the incident reveals a depth of anticlerical sentiment within the city.¹³⁸ The statuary of the saints was a definitive target of the mob’s rage, most probably because it embodied the perceived injustice of making lavish expenditures on art while the poor starved.¹³⁹ The fact that a mendicant convent was first on the rioters’ list points to an understanding that even the begging friars were better fed than they. Periodic outbursts of anticlericalism occurred in later decades as well, though conservative commentators increasingly placed these under the rubric of “heresy.” Guéraud saw the printers marching through the streets in 1551, singing psalms put to music by Clément Marot (popular among Protestants), and casting insults at the canons of Saint-Jean. He quickly assumed that they were members of the Reformed Church, indulging in their typical “mockery and shaming of [the Catholic Church’s] ministers and servants.”¹⁴⁰ But

this event was quite different from the hidden, secretive meetings of more devout Huguenots in their conventicles. It illustrates instead a profound discontent with ruling authority (both ecclesiastical and secular) on the part of these artisans, and the printers occasionally expressed their own dissatisfaction through anticlerical activity.¹⁴¹

Particularly relevant to the subject of this dissertation is the method the leaders of these riots used to organize them. The cheap printed page was evidently an effective method of disseminating ideas and calling to action. When Gauthier wished to spread the word and incite his rebellion, he went to the presses. Champier noted in his account of the Great Rebeune that it only occurred after the rioters “had seen and read the placards they had put in the town squares and the crossroads (*carrefours*) of the city.”¹⁴²

Despite these episodes of unrest, Lyon prospered significantly in the first third of the sixteenth century. Toward the end of the 1530s, however, the first symptoms of economic and political decline were visible. The printing strike of 1539 placed an enormous burden on an industry that had contributed mightily to the city’s prosperity. The introduction of silk manufacturing in 1536 was a boon, but its benefits were perhaps outweighed by the changes in the economic and political structure of the region in the same year. When the theater of the Italian wars shifted toward the South in anticipation of an invasion by Charles V in 1536, Francis I relocated his army and his court to Avignon. In his stead, the king established a viceroy of all the south-eastern provinces, centered on Lyon, under the command of Cardinal François de Tournon, who was archbishop of Lyon after 1551.¹⁴³

In addition to providing for general security, one of the principal tasks delegated to the cardinal was to raise two million *livres* for the war effort.¹⁴⁴ To fulfill this quota, the cardinal imposed tariffs in 1537 and 1540 on all goods entering the city. Under his influence taxes continued to rise throughout the decade. Still, historians tend to view the entry of Henry II into the city on 23 September 1548 as the shining height of Lyon's power and influence.¹⁴⁵ Yet even wealthy contemporaries, such as the humanist and merchant Jean Guéraud, felt that the ostentation of the lavish entry ceremony, paid for from the city coffers, was a cause of substantial discontent.¹⁴⁶ The entry perhaps marks the last moment of ebullience before the long economic and political decline of the sixteenth century.

Sadly, data for the growth of the Reformed Church in Lyon during the 1520s and 1530s are notoriously limited.¹⁴⁷ Protestants doubtless profited by the weak leadership in the archdiocese leading up to the civil wars. Archbishop François de Rohan died in 1536, the same year as the immensely popular Dominican Sanctes Pagnini, both of whom were widely regarded as warriors of the Catholic faith.¹⁴⁸ Rohan's successors, Cardinal Jean de Lorraine (1536-1539) and Cardinal Hippolyte d'Este (1539-1551) neglected their position, committed regular abuses of absenteeism and pluralism, and lacked the support of the city clergy.¹⁴⁹ Cardinal François de Tournon assumed the archbishopric in 1551 and was a more devout and conscientious ecclesiastic. Still, he remained consumed by duties to the crown and, as such, was frequently absent from the city.¹⁵⁰

The first substantive indication of Protestant activity in the city is a notice in the council records from 1521 that a Dominican, Valentin Levin, has come on behalf of the

king to investigate the prominence of heresy in the city.¹⁵¹ However, there is no further record of any actions on his part or as a result from any findings he made. Three years later the Dominican and doctor of theology, Aimé Maigret, was arrested for suspicion of heresy and sent to Paris to stand trial.¹⁵² Maigret had preached sermons in Lyon and Grenoble during Lent and Easter of 1524 that contained elements the ecclesiastical hierarchy found suspicious. Awarded the doctorate of theology in 1511 by Cajetan, the biblical humanist Maigret was likely influenced by the preaching circle at Meaux.¹⁵³ He was accused of having argued the crucial points of Lutheran theology and of having vehemently criticized the church in a sermon delivered in April of 1524 at the church of Saint-Croix.

Historians debate to what extent Maigret should be considered a “Lutheran,” or if distinctions among evangelical, humanistic, or Protestant preaching are even possible in these early decades of the *préréforme*.¹⁵⁴ Analysis of the published text he printed in November of that year (which, incidentally, was the final straw that caused the queen mother and the chancellor of France to order his arrest) and the testimony of Maigret and witnesses against him at his hearing certainly proved sufficient for the Faculty of Theology to label him a heretic. In a sermon centered on submission to God, he argued that faith could not be a conscious assent, but rather must be a deep belief in the salvatory power of Christ. He had maintained that the Church’s emphasis on the merits of works kept the faithful tied to Old Testament law.¹⁵⁵ He had also expounded important points of the doctrine of justification, arguing that good works were the natural result of faith and not efficacious acts in and of themselves.¹⁵⁶ Still, he never ceased to reject the

charges of heresy leveled at him and never sought to leave the Catholic Church, though he was banished from France for the remainder of his life.¹⁵⁷

In May 1534, a few months before the first of two rounds of placards was disseminated throughout Paris denouncing the Catholic Mass, Lyonnais authorities arrested a Swiss merchant and artisan, Baudichon de la Maisonneuve, and a Genevan weapon-maker, Jean Janyn, for spreading heresy and sedition during one of the fairs.¹⁵⁸ The former had letters in his possession addressed from Guillaume Farel to the merchant Etienne de La Forge in Paris, both of whom were known to support the nascent Protestant movement. In a rather popular trial (over 130 witnesses and spectators attended), the court charged the two with preaching heresy, mocking the saints and the Virgin, and rejecting ecclesiastical authority. Witnesses accused Janyn of attesting that he was as much a priest as any other man and that it was everyone's right to read the gospels in the vernacular.¹⁵⁹ It was only the intervention of their home city of Berne and the Lyonnais city council, fearing a disruption of the fairs and an erosion of merchant privileges, that saved their lives.¹⁶⁰

Later Protestants were not so fortunate.¹⁶¹ In 1546, one Lieutenant du Peyrat was apprehended because of some unclear "Lutheran" disturbance during a procession. The council fined him the sum of five horses as punishment.¹⁶² In 1549, six anonymous individuals attacked the host in the church of Saint-Georges. They were strangled and burned, the first executions for heresy in Lyon.¹⁶³ They were not the last, however, and occasional executions of individuals native to the city and those passing through (often on their way to or from Geneva) continued throughout the 1550s.¹⁶⁴ In 1553 five

students of the academy of Lausanne were burned alive for heresy in the Place des Terreaux.¹⁶⁵

The late 1550s represented the apogee of the Reformed Church in Lyon. Its membership included roughly one of every three adult residents and drew support from all social strata. Patricians, middle-ranking notables, and commoners joined the faith in approximately the same percentages as their share of the population at large. Protestantism was common in newer, more skilled and literate trades such as the printing industry, copying, cannon and gunpowder manufacturer, and silk weaving.¹⁶⁶ Based on their presence in the Protestant militias, Natalie Zemon Davis found that nearly all workers (apprentices, journeyman, and masters) of the presses “flirted” with the Reformed Church at one time or another.¹⁶⁷ Though the depth of Protestant sympathies in the printing trades and among foreigners was not the only reason why Catholic writers failed to match Protestant publications in the early decades of the Reformation in Lyon, it certainly worked against them.

II. The Difficulty of Opposition

Philip T. Hoffman, in his study of lay donations to the Catholic Church of Lyon, draws a noteworthy contrast between the royal entry procession of Henry II in 1548, and the entry of Henry IV nearly half a century later, in 1598. Participation, and the order of that participation, in processions and entries was a source of pride for those involved. Artisanal groups competed fiercely over placement in the order of the parade that wound its way through the streets. In 1548, except for Archbishop Hippolyte d’Este, the clergy were completely absent from the entire affair, even though it was the largest procession

of the century. Over seven thousand people partook of the celebrations from a city of perhaps fifty to seventy thousand souls. The parade took five hours to pass by any single point along its route, and spectacles marking the celebrations included an Italian comedy and gladiatorial combats. Yet the hundreds of canons, priests, vicars, monks, and nuns affiliated with the city and its environs made no appearance.¹⁶⁸ This absence stands in marked contrast to the entry of Henry IV in 1595, at which the clergy marched in the very head of the entry procession.¹⁶⁹

The absence of the clergy in the 1548 procession is indicative of their status within the city and the difficulties they had in dealing with the city council. Conflict between the archbishop and canons and the merchants of the city went back to disputes in the thirteenth century over the foundation of the city charter.¹⁷⁰ The balance of power between church and state had also shifted significantly since the late middle ages.¹⁷¹ In the 1520s and 1530s, for example, the city council assumed the tasks of secondary education and poor relief, traditionally administered by the cathedrals and parish churches.¹⁷²

Also, the clergy occasionally seized opportunities to side with discontents against the city council. They allied themselves with the *menu peuple* against the council and their fiscal policies, which were inordinately favorable toward the merchant class.¹⁷³ For their part, the city council complained that the clerical estate refused to contribute financially to the city coffers, even when the city's defense was at stake.¹⁷⁴ In 1505, city clerics had accused a number of councilmen of speculation in the grain market, a particularly offensive grievance akin to causing the starvation of the poor. Preaching

from the city churches, clergy went so far as to demand guilty magistrates' execution.¹⁷⁵ In 1546 the canons of the cathedral of Saint-Jean, the wealthiest and most influential church in the city, used their pulpits to encourage butchers to strike against the city council's efforts to raise taxes.¹⁷⁶ This strike was successful, and in 1551 the council reneged on its agreement with the king, using as their excuse the rising cost of meat and the recalcitrance of the clergy.¹⁷⁷ In 1558, the clergy of Saint-Jean again protested against the tax policies of the council, which favored free trade for luxury items while taxing basic necessities like wine, which hit the clergy particularly hard. Once more they justified their opposition (which is not to say that the sympathies of some clergy were not heart-felt) with an argument centering on justice for the poor. In sermons they publicly chastened the council, arguing that the latter's fiscal policy enriched the wealthy and the merchants: the councilors themselves "gave no thought to the poverty of artisans and day-laborers, dispensed with every semblance of Christian charity, and should have used their position to care for the little folk rather than oppress the weakest and most foolish of the republic for their own advantage."¹⁷⁸

The motivation for the canon-counts of Saint-Jean (so called because of their wealthy and noble backgrounds) went far beyond concern for the poor, however. In addition to fiscal policy, the row between the clergy and the city council centered on the method of governance in the city. The clergy maintained, correctly, that a mere few dozen individuals controlled the highest levels of power and manipulated the council to stay in power.¹⁷⁹ Henry II even sent his own emissary to suggest a reform of the election process to the council, doubtless to gain a foothold within the local political structure. In

the end, the clerics won the right to have a say in all future elections to the council and to review the city budgets each year, and a tax exemption from taxes on grain and wine (which, surely to the dismay of their parishioners, applied only to clergy).¹⁸⁰ In later years, and to great scandal, the canons were known to import wine within their tax free exemption and then sell it to residents at post-tax prices.¹⁸¹

Historians agree that even if these most powerful members of the secular clergy (the canon-counts of the cathedral of Saint-Jean) occasionally joined with the poor against the city council and the merchants, they were more akin to the latter than the former. These Lyonnais canons almost invariably descended from the wealthy landed nobility of the region. They and the native clerics of other city churches were sometimes as affluent as the upper echelon within the trade guilds.¹⁸² In other words, their occasional advocacy of fairer taxation policies did not necessarily endear them to the majority of the city, but their fomentation of social dissent surely did not ingratiate the clergy to the council either.

In addition to the social and economic gulfs between the secular clergy and the rank and file of the city (and admittedly there were many clerics and vicars who did not enjoy nearly the same level of means), there were important cultural and linguistic differences as well. The majority of the secular clergy were Lyonnais born and raised.¹⁸³ They moved from position to position with frequency in a rather closed system of advancement that alienated both foreign ecclesiastics (mostly members of monastic houses) and laymen.¹⁸⁴

There is a good deal of evidence that tensions between the city population and the ecclesiastical estate on the eve of the Reformation were high. Litigation in the city against priests was higher in the first half of the sixteenth century than in the second. Priests were hauled before church courts for all manner of crimes and excesses, such as assaulting parishioners, cursing in public, or absenteeism.¹⁸⁵ During the entry of the archbishop in 1540, anonymous city youths assaulted local priests, and the city made no apparent effort to punish those who committed the assault.¹⁸⁶ Afterward the council even moved to restrict the clergy's participation in future entries (the reason for their absence in 1548), arguing that since the city paid for them, they had no right to attend.¹⁸⁷

It is perhaps easy to look at the many difficulties the clergy faced in relating to the laity (such problems with the city council, conflicting interests between the seculars and the religious, native Lyonnais and foreigners, wealthy merchants and poorer majorities) and wonder why a new matrix of religious and social ideas was not even more popular than it was. But a recognition of the factors distracting and hindering the clergy should not lead to the conclusion that the population of the city was not pious or religiously motivated, nor that it was uniformly unhappy with the Catholic faith. Confraternities, lay groups constituted to a greater or lesser degree for a religious purpose, played a vital role within the city.¹⁸⁸ There were over sixty different organizations of this type in the city throughout the sixteenth century. By pooling their resources, members of confraternities could afford processions and tolling bells to commemorate various events. They also paid for masses and sermons, often conducted by members of the five mendicant houses.

These monasteries and the monks and friars who inhabited them were another important facet of Lyonnais religious life.¹⁸⁹ Mendicants were largely foreign-born and held relatively small amounts of landed wealth in the city compared to the large holdings of the secular clergy, a characteristic that contributed to their relative popularity among the population. A survey of wills and testaments indicates that from 1520 to 1555, immigrants gave 60 percent more to the mendicant orders and 86 percent less to local parishes.¹⁹⁰

When we turn to evidence of the thoughts and popular publications of these mendicants, however, the sources fall silent. Most of the Catholic propaganda from the sixteenth century issued from the pulpit, and mendicants were veterans within this medium. Yet, painfully few copies of sermons from the Religious Wars and the decades immediately preceding them survive.¹⁹¹ Aimé Maigret was a Dominican from the nearby monastery of Confort. Protestants did not publish their sermons in this period either, but we know more of Maigret than of his numerous fellow brothers solely because of the accusations of heresy against him.¹⁹² Indeed, his published sermon exists only because he wanted to use it in Paris as part of his defense. Maigret was a noteworthy religious figure of his day, a doctor of theology and accomplished author, but voluminous records sometimes exist of fairly minor religious figures as well. Jean Janyn was a simple artisan when he was arrested (a forger of pikes and javelins), and yet we know more about his religious beliefs than about those of most Catholic priests and monks who worked, taught, and preached in the city for decades. What do we know of Père Rollin, prior of the Dominicans of Grenoble? What information exists on the preaching efforts of Pierre

Chambert, Antoine Berlion, Jean Audry, or Pierre Héruard, Black Friars of Lyon and its environs who, like Rollin, found their brother Maigret guilty of heresy?¹⁹³ It stretches the imagination to suppose that they did not attempt to counteract the arguments Maigret had made and the damage they believed he had done. Still, their sermons and efforts went unrecorded and will remain unknown ironically *because* they adhered to the doctrines of the Catholic Church and because they avoided utilizing the print medium to further their arguments.

This lack of printed Catholic sermons raises substantial difficulties when one is trying to trace the Catholic reaction to Protestantism in this pre-war period. The paucity of sources is all the more surprising given the quantities of sermon collections printed in the decades before and shortly after the turn of the century. In the second half of the fifteenth century, there were more than five thousand volumes of sermons printed throughout Europe.¹⁹⁴ However, sermon editions in France peaked in the 1510s and did not recover until the seventeenth century. Larissa Taylor has speculated that this relative dearth of sermon publication may have resulted from a number of factors: a glut in the market after the prolific fifteenth century, censorship by the Faculty of Theology, the fear of royal reprisal for sermons inciting violence, a belief (held by many Protestants as well) that the Holy Spirit should guide sermons spontaneously and that transcribed versions would fail to capture their essence, or that the transition from Latin to the vernacular impaired publication for several decades.¹⁹⁵ Recording sermons represented a more dangerous step than simply delivering in person a speech from a pulpit—written records could easily be used against the deliverer if he strayed into unorthodoxy.¹⁹⁶ Antoine

Heyraud, a Dominican assistant to the reforming bishop of Carpentras, Jacopo Sadoletto, was assigned to counter-attack heresy but strayed away from doctrine concerning justification and predestination. Bishop Sadoletto publicly rebuked him, but, in the absence of a published record, no legal complaints were brought against him.¹⁹⁷

Whatever the reason may be, the absence of records of a practice does not indicate that the practice itself was in decline, nor does it point to an established church that was stagnant, uncaring, or unaware of the threat from Protestantism.¹⁹⁸

The paucity of sources, however, does leave us with a better picture of the minority than the silent majority.¹⁹⁹ Surely there were many zealous Catholics that denounced the “new opinion.” That more than 130 witnesses of various occupations and social strata testified against, and observed the trial of, Baudichon and Janyn in 1534 indicates an awareness among the general population of the presence of heresy, and what they thought that generally entailed.²⁰⁰ Their complaints most often addressed public displays of derision toward rituals of late medieval piety, rather than theological subtleties important in matters of doctrine. The accusations of the laity also contrasted markedly with that of the clergy—no layman even mentioned reports of heretical Protestant doctrines such as *sola scriptura*, *sola fide*, and *sola gratia* or noted Baudichon and Janyn’s opinion on predestination. Based on this evidence, what mattered most to the average citizen was “what [heretics] did rather than what they said, wrote or read.”²⁰¹ Lay Catholics in Lyon complained about Baudichon and Janyn’s rejection of the cult of saints, relics, and the Virgin Mary, their renunciation of the Mass, and their disregard for

Lenten observances. Such issues point to concerns over social rituals of the Catholic religion rather than doctrinal ones.²⁰²

Doubtless the *nouvelle opinion* antagonized the clergy at least as greatly as lay folk. Internal records of mendicant orders, for example, make frequent reference to the efforts waged against Protestantism through sermons delivered in the public squares and the *carrefours*, the crossroads and gathering places spread throughout the city.²⁰³

However, often one can discern only the slightest references to this activity in the archives and, because of the negative nature of activities warranting formal recording, not all of them are flattering. In 1516, for example, an Italian Cordelier named simply Brother Thomas was noted for praise by the city council for the numerous conversions he had achieved through his sermons among prostitutes.²⁰⁴ Three years later, a local priest named Pierre Boucher was similarly singled out for his work preaching and administering the sacraments to prostitutes working around the hospital, though in this case he was ordered detained by the city council for “encouraging them to engage in vice and sin” in the same building.²⁰⁵

The Lyonnais mendicant Sanctes Pagnini is better known than most because of his Latin translation of the New Testament and his prolific linguistic studies in Greek and Hebrew.²⁰⁶ We are told that he was quite active in the pulpit while in Lyon during the second half of his life. Symphorien Champier composed a eulogy to the Dominican after his death in the city in 1534 in which he praised the monk’s unflagging willingness to preach to the poor and the desperate.²⁰⁷ Immediately before his death he was awarded a large sum in the form of cases of wine as a token of gratitude for “the preaching that he

has done, and does daily, on behalf of the poor and the sick.”²⁰⁸ But even in Pagnini’s case, historians know precious little about the types of sermons he delivered or the arguments against heresy he made.

The mendicants had zealously guarded their right to preach in the past in the face of opposition from other Catholic priests, so there is every reason to suspect they would hardly have stood for heretics usurping their place in society. In 1525, the Cordeliers refused to relinquish their primacy in the diocese of Meaux when Bishop Guillaume Briçonnet, Jacques Lefèvre d’Etaples, and their reform-minded priests threatened their near monopoly on preaching. When Briçonnet filed suit in Paris against the mendicants for continuing to preach in his diocese against his orders, the Cordeliers successfully counter-attacked by accusing the bishop of “error and heresy leading to perdition” before Parlement and the Faculty of Theology.²⁰⁹ In contrast to the previous decade, the accused were without the protection of Francis I, who was a prisoner in Spain at the time. The Faculty of Theology was able to suppress the efforts of the Briçonnet and Lefèvre in Meaux, leading the latter to characterize the friars as “false prophets” who had proceeded to “enter, ravish, and seize by force or cunning the . . . authority of the pastor.”²¹⁰ How much more unlikely is it that the Cordeliers, Jacobins, or the Observant Franciscans in Lyon would have meekly accepted fully Protestant preachers in their midst?

Nor was the Catholic secular hierarchy unaware or unconcerned with the growth of “heresy” around them.²¹¹ As early as 1528, for example, the clergy urged the king to authorize a provincial council meant to formulate a plan against Protestantism in Lyon. The record of the Council of Lyon is a six-article recommendation by François de Rohan

(archbishop of Salerne at the time) and Claude de Longwy, bishop of Mâcon. While the transcripts clearly show an awareness of the problem and suggest a course for change, they also indicate that unrelated monetary concerns were equally, if not more, pressing.

The first article of the Council of Lyon recognizes the growing threat of Protestantism in the region and urges all members of the clerical estate to oppose “these most impure Lutherans” (*haec impurissima Lutheri*). All members of the clergy should “diligently investigate, employ judicial penalty, correct those things discovered with legitimate means but through harsh investigation, censure, [and] punish” what they find.²¹² The second and third articles threaten excommunication for all Lutherans and those that sympathize with them. They also forbid “everyone and anyone, of whatever grade, station, and current rank to own, preserve, read, or listen to the aforementioned books of Luther and his followers or books of the sacred scripture translated into any common French tongue.”²¹³ Article four requires all parishes to educate their flocks in proper doctrine, while articles five and six make clear the pressing need of the clergy to halt the seemingly constant flow of scandals within its ranks. These abuses create an atmosphere in which “a multitude of clergy are held in contempt by the laity.”²¹⁴

The accompanying response from the clergy of the Lyonnais provinces readily acknowledges these problems and accepts the pressing need to solve them: “First and foremost, regarding the eradication of this damned Lutheran sect, we are in total agreement, and we will dedicate ourselves to eradicating and abolishing it with all means at our disposal.”²¹⁵ Reforming the clergy is equally pressing and “not only reasonable, but also very necessary. Because truthfully there are many abuses, and each one appears

as a scandal for us all. [And it is necessary] for the laity as well, since through these scandals the ecclesiastical estate is held in contempt, reviled, and nearly suppressed.”²¹⁶

Here we see the advocacy of crucial elements of reform, but there is no record of any official actions taken by the secular clergy or the city council as a result. The clergy in Lyon had hitherto been unsuccessful in their efforts to hinder the publication of Protestant tracts, and no changes were enacted to improve these failings. In a printing and commercial town such as Lyon, in the absence of the controlling influences of a parliament, a college of theology, or a sympathetic city council, there was simply little that the clergy alone could do to hinder the ready availability of vernacular Bibles and Reformed pamphlets.²¹⁷ Anticlericalism was a staple topic among members of the Reformed Church. Public outrage over “scandals” increased, if anything, in successive years as Protestantism gained in popularity.

Moreover, aside from the brief general articles, very little of the church council dealt with Protestantism at all. Over three fourths of the record focused on a debate concerning additional funds requested by the crown for the ransom of Francis I’s children, who had been exchanged for the king in 1526. Not surprisingly, perhaps, the serious financial ramifications of the king’s ransom request took precedence over the still incipient manifestations of heterodoxy in the late 1520s. The church council’s recommendations, then, while indicating a clear recognition of the presence of “Lutheran” ideas, did not produce substantive changes in the situation within the city.²¹⁸

Royal efforts to combat heresy took a significant step forward in the publication of the edict of Châteaubriand, 27 June 1551. The edict mandated the expansion of the

royal présidial courts and charged them with addressing heresy cases without the possibility of appeal. Henry II also ordered bishops to conduct regular visitations in their dioceses to evaluate the effectiveness of instructions on matters of faith.²¹⁹ The edict instituted facets of the medieval inquisition including the inability for heretics to hold certain public offices, rewards for accusatory testimony, and the active pursuit of alleged heretics and heretical works.²²⁰ In response, the local clergy formed an ecclesiastical commission charged with reviewing and confiscating three times yearly heretical works printed and distributed in Lyonnais shops and libraries.²²¹

Despite these efforts, prosecutions of printers were exceedingly rare. The city magistrates opposed the full punishments prescribed by the edicts and instead fought for moderation, pushing lighter fines and punishments and very rarely banishment or execution.²²² Although the council rarely enforced the full force of the edict, it did provoke one of the first great waves of emigration to Geneva, along with the inevitable accompanying blow to the city's economic vitality.²²³ The clergy of Lyon complained to the city council that the wave of emigrants fleeing to Geneva were only biding their time until "Lyon became just like Geneva," and would meanwhile poison the city with heretical books readily smuggled from "Calvin's city."²²⁴ Henry II noted with anger in 1557 the ineffectiveness of repeated royal commands to the city to stop the endless exportation of Protestant texts: "How many times by our edicts and ordinances have we forbidden all people, whether our subjects or another's, to import into our realm and lands under our power any books from Geneva and other places widely recognized as apart from the union and obedience to the church of the Holy Apostolic See. . . ."²²⁵

Nevertheless, the king continued, even the threat of confiscation of property and corporal punishment was insufficient, and books continued to be smuggled through Lyon into France under cover of the city fairs.

The council's opposition did not waver until after the overthrow of the city. Jean Guéraud, a humanist writer with strong sympathies for the council, condemned the clergy for meddling in political affairs. In his mind, the clergy regularly proved "the disdain and malevolence they held for the council."²²⁶ As late as 1562, shortly before the Huguenots seized control, the canons of Saint-Jean and concerned laymen circulated a petition to require magistrates to sign an oath of orthodoxy and to have Protestant services officially banned in the city. They were quickly rebuffed.²²⁷

III. Pre-war Catholic Polemic

Simply in terms of quantity, religious polemic was at its lowest point in the decades before the war. While a number of Latin works were published by and for the clergy, especially collections of sermons before the 1520s, few of these address Protestantism in particular.²²⁸ Works in the vernacular were even rarer. The Catholic hierarchy distrusted the presses and favored censoring them over employing them for their own ends. Even before the turn of the century, in 1487 Innocent VIII ordered ecclesiastical courts to monitor the presses and censor books deemed heretical.²²⁹ Lateran V (1512-1517) noted the benefits of print to heal spiritual and worldly ills, but the members of the council also fretted that "poisons could be spread through medicines."²³⁰

When writers of the pre-war period would attempt a controversialist work, they often had difficulty finding willing publishers. This problem was by no means confined to Lyon. Johannes Cochlaeus complained about the difficulty Catholic writers had in finding publishers for their treatises. Cochlaeus once famously quipped, “Nearly all printers are secret Lutherans; they do not print anything for us without pay and nothing reliable unless we stand beside them and look over their shoulders.”²³¹ The zealous opponent of Luther became so frustrated at this state of affairs that he finally established his own presses in his basement.²³² However, publishers may have been hesitant to bring to market vernacular controversialist works because of their style rather than their own ideological leanings.

The Dominican Pierre Doré, an important early French Catholic controversialist, lamented this glaring absence in the written record.²³³ A noted preacher in Paris in the 1530s, Doré recognized, along with the doctors of the Faculty of Theology in Paris, the danger to Catholic orthodoxy of the printed page in the hands of Protestant writers and print shops. In his *Le collège de sapience fondé en l’université de vertu* he notes that “quite rightly such dangerous books, full of corruption, ought to be burned along with their authors.”²³⁴ In contrast to many of his colleagues, though, Doré emphatically rejected the position that doctrinal argumentation should be withheld from the laity. For him, it was essential that Catholic writers fought fire with fire:

Look how spiritual surgeons and doctors, that is to say good Latin doctors, have provided medicine for the wound right when it occurred, and wrote in the Latin language healthy books against heretical doctrine, propagated by several false prophets, themselves eloquent and [talented in] Latin. Similarly, it seems to me good and useful to put into French several fine books as an antidote against the pestilent lessons one can gather from these wicked books, which are printed in

various places in the common tongue. This is a very destructive practice and greatly endangers the Christian republic. Against it there is no other desirable remedy than to attack it with counter-poison, which is to say a book useful to the simple people, and one that does not disagree with our faith—which it must follow—or our spirit.²³⁵

His admonition, however, went largely unheard in Lyon before the outbreak of confessional violence.

The rare polemical tract of this period is a much more difficult read than those of the second half of the century. The two controversialist treatises below are laden with dense scriptural exegeses and Latin quotations from the Church fathers. Important refutations of Protestant doctrine they may be, but they surely proved quite difficult for all but the most well-educated. For example, the Italian Dominican Ambrosius Catharinus' 1520 attack against Luther has been called the first literary volley of the Counter-Reformation.²³⁶ The publication of a French translation in 1548 represented an impressive early attempt to respond to the Protestant challenge.²³⁷ One cannot deny the verve of this work. In a powerfully destructive counter-critique of Luther, Catharinus accuses Luther of “eleven deceptions,” linking them to the characteristics of the Antichrist prevalent in eschatological treatises circulating Europe at the end of the fifteenth century.²³⁸

Nonetheless, the book is clearly meant for fellow members of the ecclesiastical estate. Indeed, much of the problem of “this miserable current century” (*ce present siècle miserable*), in Catharinus' opinion, is that elements of society have been brought into a debate on difficult theological matters that are above them. In the sixteenth century, argues the Dominican, any fool feels that he can debate the grand mysteries of theology.

On account of such “human curiosity and presumption,” we justly merit whatever punishments God deigns to send our way: “It has come to this: everyone of whatever estate or rank, women as well as men, the idiot as well as the learned, can hear about the most profound questions of sacred theology and divine scripture. Anyone can be told about the causes and manners of justification, about virtue and the power of free will and grace.”²³⁹ The printing presses, allied with new vernacular translations, have thrust these dangerous topics into the lives of the simple, he believed. As I mentioned in the introduction, here we must keep in mind that the authors of polemics even in later decades were uniformly from the highest levels of society. Often, they appear to have written their works with fellow literate members of the upper strata in mind. Nonetheless, Catharinus was quite worried that this new media would open the door for the uneducated and expose them to complicated religious mysteries from which they should be shielded. Greed for money, power, and knowledge is inextricably linked to the debased nature of man. Though every reputable tract of the ancient fathers repudiates Luther’s tenets, he maintains, Protestant ideas are gaining ground because of the “extreme weakness and desire for harm among simple souls.”²⁴⁰ Luther has convinced the “simple folk” (*simples gens*) that they are capable of understanding the divine mysteries of the faith.

In Catharinus’ opinion, it would be far better if the “simple” would simply accept the judgment and leadership of those appointed over them. The faithful should trust in the wisdom and tradition of the past. God appointed leaders, he continued, so that we might know no more than we absolutely need to. As an author, he represents quite well

the category of the French Catholic polemicist of the first half of the sixteenth century: one who debates largely with fellow members of the cloth, and who is concerned about the distance between complex theological ideas and an unlearned lay society ill-prepared to handle them. Accordingly, his detailed discussion of predestination, with which he concludes his treatise, is left in Latin so as not to pollute the “simple.”²⁴¹ In a city bristling with unruly printers, proud of their learning and clamoring for more power and influence, it is not difficult to imagine the anger that such an argument might foster nor that it might not sell well in a broader forum.

This same method of polemical debate—frequent reference to the Latin fathers, lengthy passages of point and counterpoint addressing all aspects of an argument, and a hesitancy to involve the weak-minded—characterizes Claude d’Espence’s *Traicté contre l’erreur . . . des predestinez* as well.²⁴² This Parisian doctor of theology was much respected for his efforts to combat Protestantism. Indeed, he was summoned to the Colloquy of Poissy in 1561 to argue against Theodore Beza.²⁴³ He criticized many priests for failing to adequately engage their parishioners, noting in his commentary on I Timothy, “Why are we surprised if the flock is ripped apart when the shepherds sleep for so long If they do not rouse themselves from their slumber, things will have gone so far that they, like Ulysses, will find only their own dogs upon their return.”²⁴⁴ Still, he filled his own book with nuanced points and arguments clearly intended for fellow clergymen.²⁴⁵

D’Espence’s and Catharinus’ works illustrate the importance clergymen placed on refuting Calvinist doctrines like predestination and the moral havoc they believe such a

doctrine would inevitably cause. In the trial of Baudichon de Maisonneuve, however, the common folk made clear that they cared more about the sanctity of outward displays of religiosity and social/religious concord. Heretics are not such, in their view, because of their divergence from orthodox doctrine on issues such as justification and predestination. Rather, heretics make themselves known by intentionally removing themselves from the collective practice of rituals and traditions, such as observance of fast days and displaying respect for the saints and the Virgin. This disjuncture between what polemicists and their audiences felt was most important surely contributed to controversialists' evident lack of popularity in the publishing houses in the first half of the century.

Other treatises and books from Catholic authors published in Lyon in the decades before the outbreak of war make little if any mention of the religious turmoil of the 1540s and 1550s. Opportunities that would come in later decades to be regularly used for polemical purpose (funerals, records of processions or entries, public speeches), are now passed over and address no more than their stated purpose. Odes written to the city in times of trouble praise the richness and cosmopolitan nature of the city rather than urging the purification of the social body.²⁴⁶ Accounts of entries and processions commemorating important political events make few references to religious controversy.²⁴⁷ Even funeral sermons of political figures or announcements of important political events were non-confessional, quite different from similar publications of later decades that were used to instruct the audience on proper steps to take against heresy.²⁴⁸

Despite the general scarcity of polemical works, one can find important themes in these sources that became more and more crucial as the war progressed. These include

the necessity of Christian unity and the willingness of God to punish his people when they fail to enforce this concord.²⁴⁹ As early as 1533, for example, Lyon obviously fragmented to some degree along religious lines. In the report of the entry of the queen of that year, the anonymous author waxes eloquent about the beauty of the Christian charity the entry produced among those that witnessed it. The manner in which he expresses his awe is interesting—the procession was reminiscent of another long past “golden century” (*siècle d'ore*), when everyone lived in harmonious unity. This statement implies a recognition that the current status of the social body was less than healthy.

Moreover, the division of this Christian body carried with it the risks of divine wrath. Benoit Textor, a Bressan doctor writing on methods of containing the plague, noted that it was beyond any doubt “that the plague, among other calamities, [is] an evident sign of God’s anger. His just judgment and vengeance for so many iniquities and enormous sins committed daily and at all times by everyone.”²⁵⁰ God can and will pour down his wrath upon mankind if it forsakes him. Plagues, Textor argues, are simply the inevitable price mankind must pay for blaspheming His name and those of the saints, for wallowing in pride and arrogance (combined with brutal ignorance), and for adopting “foreign and false opinions and doctrines” (*opinions & doctrines estranges & faulses*).²⁵¹ In the decades after war begins, the interplay of these two themes (the importance of Christian and social concord and God’s willingness to punish those who divide that unity) will become more common and more blatant.

Another important if nascent theme in this period is the belief that predestination was simply an excuse to license any and all deviant behavior. The core of Lutheran

theology, as Catharinus sees it, is a belief in predestination and a rejection of any notion of the efficacy of good works. Far from an honest interpretation of scriptures, though, the Dominican alleges that Luther urged this message as a means to excuse general licentiousness. Knowing that any vice or evil can be justified by a “poorly heard sentence of scripture” (*sentence de l’écriture mal entendue*), he has “translated the holy scriptures into the vernacular language, twisting them with his commentaries according to his own heresies which are so pleasing to the flesh.”²⁵² Even if they describe themselves as evangelicals of Christian freedom, the friar contends, “in truth it is the freedom of the devil, and the freedom of the world.”²⁵³ Luther only wants his followers to be as debased and depraved as he.²⁵⁴

Though Claude d’Espence did not phrase his argument as bluntly, the logic he sees behind the belief in predestination is the same. Those who believe themselves saved will fall into the danger of presumption. They will grow “nonchalant” about the care of their own soul. The reprobate, on the other hand, will believe they can do nothing to avert their own damnation. If anyone is surely damned, d’Espence concludes, it is the author of this work and all those following his doctrine.²⁵⁵ They will “throw the feather to the wind” (*l’ettent la plume au vent*) and indulge themselves in the sins of the flesh.²⁵⁶

Even if the urban laity was more concerned about verbal and physical attacks on the saints, the Virgin, and the observation of various rituals, the accusation of wanton immorality did have its adherents. After his home was ransacked, Symphorien Champier lamented the recent introduction of this doctrine as a direct contributing factor. The lusts of the flesh were the reason why “several heresies have been revived to find an excuse to

live the life of Sardanapalus and the Epicureans—that is, to drink, eat, and whore around, because without delicious meats and wine, Venus is too cool and cannot rule.”²⁵⁷ This method of characterizing members of the Reformed Church became increasingly prominent in later decades.²⁵⁸

IV. Conclusion

In fine, then, there were a number of factors that made Lyon ripe for a robust Protestant movement: there was no faculty of theology or parlement in Lyon that was actively suppressing Protestantism; the secular clergy were presided over by an archbishop greatly distracted by the political and fiscal concerns of the crown and frequently absent from his diocese;²⁵⁹ the nature of Lyon as a printing center provided easy access to Protestant books and ideas, while Reformed preachers and polemicists found ready cover for their operations under the protection of the fairs;²⁶⁰ and reformers found support in a merchant-dominated city council that had little patience with efforts to suppress heretical sentiments, which were held, in any case, by a distinct majority among foreign-born members of the populace.

The Catholic clergy made frequent attempts to counter the increasing popularity of the reformers, but they worsened their own situation by antagonizing the magistrates. Also, Catholic publications from the decades prior to war were, first and foremost, surprisingly rare. Those that appeared were oriented toward fellow ecclesiastics and concentrated on issues that were not of overriding concern to the majority of the laity. It would take the outbreak of confessional war to spur the clergy to the realization that the

presses could be used as a powerful propagandistic tool and that with it they could marshal the support of wider swaths of the population.

Other segments of the population shared the clergy's concern that something had to be done. Ominously, many Lyonnais began to take matters into their own hands in light of the council's perceived inability or refusal to condemn heresy, a common occurrence during the Religious Wars.²⁶¹ In 1558, for example, butchers and boatmen in the parish of Saint-Vincent attacked Protestant churchgoers returning from services.²⁶² In 1561 a similar mob would play a crucial role in the Protestant seizure of the city the following year.²⁶³

CHAPTER 3 – LYON IN CONFLICT, 1560-1594

Before turning to an analysis of Catholic polemic published during the Religious Wars, a brief exploration of the political, social, and economic events taking place in and around the city during this turbulent period will prove useful. Lyon sat at the crossroads of Europe and, at least in the first half of the sixteenth-century, was a vital economic and publishing center. By the end of the century, however, the ravages of the conflicts and the oppressive taxes needed by the crown to support the war effort had diminished its standing in Europe significantly.

The city remains a fascinating case study for historians, however, not only because of its rank as the second most populous urban center, behind only Paris, but also because of its violent religious conflicts for more than thirty years after a Protestant revolt that seized control for just over a year. Catholic writers and religious authorities overcame a self-admitted sense of apathy and disorganization before the outbreak of war in 1562 to transform it into a bastion of defense against heresy. Lyon was among the cities that participated in the brutal St. Bartholomew's Day Massacres in 1572, and zealously supported the Catholic League during the 1590s.

I. The Outbreak and Aftermath of War, 1560-1572

During the city fair in August 1560, conspirators posed as merchants and acquired lodging in hotels and taverns scattered throughout the city. Roughly five hundred Protestants and mercenaries “little by little gained entry to the city under the cover of religion and with great subtlety” took up arms on the nights of 4 and 5 September.²⁶⁴ This coup narrowly failed, but the executions immediately afterward were numerous and

included a few Protestant preachers.²⁶⁵ Afterward, Catharine de Medici assigned François d'Agoult, Count de Sault, as governor of the city, hoping that the placement of a moderate would ease confessional tensions. Like so many of these conciliatory efforts, the appointment of de Sault proved amenable to neither side.²⁶⁶

Confessional violence grew, and one of the most famous incidents occurred in the summer of the following year, during the Corpus Christi procession on 5 June. City magistrates had hired two hundred harquebusiers for the event “to insure that no *emotion* and scandal would occur that day under the guise of religion.”²⁶⁷ Nevertheless, the Catholic crowd reacted violently when, as the procession passed by Saint-Nizier, Denis Valois attempted to grab and destroy the ciborium. Denis was quickly arrested, strangled, drawn and quartered, and his head was affixed to a lance and posted on the bridge crossing the Saône. This resolution failed to mollify the crowd, however, who broke into the local humanist college of the Trinity and murdered the noted nationalist poet Bartholomew Aneau, suspected (incorrectly) of harboring Protestant sympathies.²⁶⁸

Tensions remained high in the first two years of the decade, and we hear indirectly of pitched oratorical battles in the streets and in the pulpits.²⁶⁹ Archbishop Tournon preached sermons against heresy numerous times at Saint-Nizier, Saint-Jean, and the convent of the Cordeliers.²⁷⁰ Gabriel de Saconay, canon of Saint-Jean and the most accomplished polemical author in the city, drew fire from John Calvin himself, who named Saconay as leading the charge against the Reformed Church.²⁷¹ Catholic ecclesiastics pleaded with the council during the fall and winter of 1561 to suppress the increasingly vocal Protestant forces. Specifically, they wanted to banish Reformed

preaching and increase the city's defenses.²⁷² Protestants responded that Christ should not be banished to the suburbs and that there was no need for expensive "militarization."²⁷³ The council agreed with the latter and refused both requests. Governor de Sault recognized the dangerous escalations of tensions and urged Protestant ministers to halt their "sermons and assemblies . . . until they receive the good pleasure of his majesty."²⁷⁴

The Easter feasts from 30 March to 1 April 1561 belied the notion that confessional tensions were manageable with the security forces in place at the time. Jean Guéraud reported that "there arose enormous sedition and fighting because of these unhappy Huguenots and the favor they had received from our unhappy Lieutenant Governor of this land, M. de Sault. From him, [Huguenots] get all the favors, assistance, and comfort that they want. And these Huguenots want nothing other than the means to stir up sedition and havoc and see this city fall prey to thieves and pillagers."²⁷⁵ On the night of 28 April 1562, Lyonnais Protestants seized the chance to revolt and quickly took control.²⁷⁶ Two days later, only the canon-counts of Saint-Jean still resisted. Protestant forces bombarded the cathedral with artillery and arquebus fire. The canons of Saint-Jean surrendered that evening, and mercenaries sacked the cathedral. Though Protestants would later portray their own coup as nearly bloodless compared to the 1572 massacres, the pillaging and demolition of Catholic churches and monasteries, the imprisonment of a number of Catholic preachers, and the banning of the mass proved more than sufficient to inspire angry polemicists for decades.²⁷⁷

Since most instances of the violence and destruction during this period were reported after the fact in a biased manner, it is difficult to gauge the extent of the damage. Tellingly, however, it was significant enough to convince Calvin to chastise Protestants for excessive rioting: “We understand that with such emotions, it is very difficult to calm oneself so that one doesn’t commit acts of excess. And it is easy to excuse if you have not reined in your passions as tightly as had been hoped for. But there have been incidents so indefensible that we are impelled to address you more harshly than we would like.”²⁷⁸ Calvin condemned the pillaging of religious and private houses, the theft and destruction of crops and livestock, and the lack of “Christian spirit” exhibited by the new masters of Lyon. The Genevan reformer recalls that when he read the report of Jacques Ruffy, an influential Reformed minister, leading a militia against the consul with sword in hand “like a monster” (*comme un monstre*), he recoiled in horror.²⁷⁹ Jacques Ruffy and those carrying out acts of violence in the name of the Reformed faith only lent credence to the view of many that heresy and sedition were inextricably linked.²⁸⁰ He concludes that “if you do not want to be hated and despised by all good people, issue orders and remedy these offences.”²⁸¹

In addition to transforming Lyon, if only briefly, into the most prolific Calvinist printing center in all Europe, Protestants were able to enact a number of much-needed reforms.²⁸² The council abolished all power of the Archbishop over matters of secular justice, a much-needed change of an issue that had constantly vexed the relationship between church and state.²⁸³ Though the destruction of Saint-Just and the cloister of Saint-Jean was decried throughout the populace for decades to come, the removal of a

number of buildings allowed for the widening of major thoroughfares and enhanced urban defenses, actions which served it well in the coming decades.²⁸⁴ Financial difficulties continued to burden secular authorities, however. The revolt interrupted the renowned fairs, imposts of which (*droits d'entrée*) comprised the lion's share of the city's tax revenue. Charles IX moved them to Chalon.²⁸⁵ Fiscal council records indicate that import taxes contributed 55,000 *livres* to the coffers from 1560-1561 and only 11,000 *livres* in 1562-1563.²⁸⁶ Desperate for funds, Protestant magistrates seized assets of the Catholic Church.²⁸⁷

Protestants held power until the entry of Charles IX and the effective resumption of royal control on 13 June 1563.²⁸⁸ On 24 June 1563, town criers proclaimed the Edict of Pacification through the streets.²⁸⁹ Protestants, who at their height had numbered approximately 15,000, lost support among their adherents over the course of their occupation. Historians have debated the reasons for this erosion of support, but a few conclusions may be drawn. Evidence points to a disillusionment that grew when no progress was made on the social changes promised or, more accurately, perceived to have been promised by the Protestant church.²⁹⁰ Though the church attracted a large proportion of literate and newly formed artisans, groups Davis characterized as "arrogant and proud of their skills," Protestants were opposed to sharing power with them.²⁹¹ Moreover, the consistory and the council pushed reforms meant to improve morality, but these efforts to suppress public lewdness, blasphemy, prostitution, confraternities, and "superstitious" activities connected with the ecclesiastical calendar year were all wildly unpopular among the *menu peuple*.²⁹² The consistory, led by the ex-bishop of Nevers,

Jacques Spifame, was also almost entirely foreign, which reinforced the widespread concern that Lyon was dominated by the interests of foreign merchants.²⁹³

On 18 July 1563, the Jesuit Edmond Auger gave the first Catholic sermon in the city cathedral since the Protestant rebellion and, according to Rubys' admittedly biased history, brought his audience to tears. The "fiery" Jacobin Jean Pyrus, who had been recently released from his imprisonment imposed during Protestant control, followed Auger's oration with his own sermon.²⁹⁴ The worst plague of the century, which struck in April of 1564, quickly muted the celebration of the peace, however.²⁹⁵ Claude de Rubys, a vehement critic of the Reformed Church and one of the most vocal supporters of the Catholic League, lamented that after the siege and during the plague, "the city of Lyon was so different from what it had been. Immediately after one could not even recognize it, so greatly had ruin and death disfigured and disguised it."²⁹⁶ Rubys even insinuated that Protestants had intentionally introduced the contagion into the water supply.²⁹⁷ Huguenots and Catholics blamed each other, but both confessions agreed that the devastation was God's hand at work.²⁹⁸

The four years from 1563 to 1567 were relatively bloodless, especially compared to those to come, but they were certainly not without confessional conflict.²⁹⁹ Ironically, Protestants had solved many of the problems that had poisoned the relationship between Catholics and the council for decades. The contest between secular and ecclesiastical justice was settled by the removal of the archbishop's jurisdiction. By destroying Saint-Just and other religious edifices to make painful but necessary defense and transportation changes to the urban sphere, Protestants had removed this bone of contention as well.

After the occupation, and in light of the new sentiment that religious union was vital to church and state, the council granted the church a number of tax privileges, which resolved several outstanding legal disputes.³⁰⁰

As part of the peace agreement, the crown split the council evenly between six Huguenot and six Catholic magistrates, but Protestants watched their influence gradually erode over the next four years.³⁰¹ No longer stymied by the council, Catholic authorities began to support Catholic pastoral and educational efforts, and to censor Protestant printing more rigorously. The council suspended the Easter processions of 1564, fearing religious violence.³⁰² Jacques Ruffy and Jean Terrasson, another influential Calvinist minister, were both expelled on 29 June 1565 after police discovered an alleged conspiracy to overthrow the council.³⁰³ In 1565, the College of the Trinity, “ruined by the religious troubles” was converted from a Protestant school to a Jesuit college, led by Edmond Auger.³⁰⁴ On 17 October of the same year, the council censured M. de Birague for selling Protestant tracts in his stores. Auger used the opportunity to hold an *auto-da-fe*. For three consecutive nights, large crowds gathered thousands of books proclaimed by the Jesuit as heterodox and burned them on the bridge crossing the Saône.³⁰⁵ From 1565 to 1567, the king appointed conservative Catholics to the council as replacements for moderates of both faiths.³⁰⁶ By 1567 Catholics outnumbered Protestants on the body by eight to four.³⁰⁷ Still, though, there were few overt acts of violence taken against the Protestant community.

Nevertheless, one characteristic of the Religious Wars is that, in the absence of clear religious policies from the crown, zealous members of communities all across

France took matters into their own hands.³⁰⁸ In February of 1567, anonymous citizens discovered an underground tunnel leading from the home of a Protestant to the citadel, which sparked an opportunity for spontaneous popular justice.³⁰⁹ A Catholic mob sacked and razed the Protestant church of Terreaux, the principal Reformed structure in the heart of the city.³¹⁰ The next largest churches, Paradis and the Fleur de Lys, suffered the same fate in September.³¹¹ Before the end of the year, the council had arrested prominent Protestant leaders and confiscated their property. Punitive taxes were levied against those who remained, but by 23 December 1567 half of the Huguenot population in the poorer *quartiers* and nearly all those in the wealthier ones had recanted and rejoined the Catholic Church.³¹² Governor Birague, who had replaced the de Sault in 1565, ordered those that remained to convert or leave. It was at this time that many fled the city for safer locales, namely La Rochelle and Geneva.³¹³ In 1568, after Chancellor Michel de L'Hospital withdrew from the royal court, Catherine appointed Birague in his place and replaced him in Lyon with François de Mandelot, a man remembered for never once failing to support even the most radically zealous Catholic members in his charge in the twenty years of his governorship.³¹⁴

The council worked with the governor and the clergy to chip away at remaining vestiges of Protestant power. At the governor's request, the cathedral of Saint-Jean held ceremonies honoring all "victims of the civil and religious discord" in lavish ceremonies that September.³¹⁵ Magistrates banned Protestants from holding political office and began confiscating homes and assets of the Reformed Church and its members.³¹⁶ In 1570, the council voted to subsidize the mendicants in their efforts to "further the

Catholic religion.”³¹⁷ A year later, in 1571, councilors formally banned all practice of the Protestant faith and forbade the burying of non-Catholic dead within the city walls.³¹⁸

II. St. Bartholomew’s Day and the Vespers’ Massacres, 1572

By the end of the 1560s, Catholics had regained control of all municipal structures in Lyon. The seizures of property and the official ban of the Reformed Church in the early 1570s had weakened the Protestants who remained after the emigrations of the previous decade, but some were still present and asserting their rights to practice their religion under royal edicts. Despite the death of the foremost Huguenot general, Louis of Bourbon, the Prince of Condé, in the battle of Jarnac in 1569, Catholics were unable to further their successes.³¹⁹ Catherine signed the Edict of Saint-Germain in August of the following year.³²⁰

The 1570 peace treaty concluded the third war since 1561. Commentators and polemicists viewed this latest conflict as more destructive and brutal than those of the early 1560s. Writers mockingly referred to the 1570 edict as the “lame and sickly peace,” an expression of their doubt that it would hold any longer than those before it.³²¹ The edict essentially returned to the Huguenots the privileges they had won in previous treaties, including the right to hold religious services in various cities (Lyon among them) and to control outright La Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charité.

The third war was the most stressful since the Protestant seizure eight years earlier. Many of its battles were fought in the Rhône valley and the Huguenot leader Gaspard de Coligny menaced Lyon for months at a time before the truce. The Protestant general avoided confronting the city directly, however, thanks in no small part to the

defensive improvements constructed during the brief period of Protestant control.³²² Nevertheless, the Catholic council and, it is widely suspected, Governor Mandelot were loathe afterward to adhere to the peace accords and the crown's command to balance administrative bodies equally between Catholics and Protestants. Catholics refused as well to construct an official church for Reformed services, dithering over the proposed location in a deliberate attempt at delay.³²³ Seizing on the protections offered by the treaty, Protestants demanded redress of grievances endured in the recent past, including compensation for illegally seized property, appointment to public offices previously held from their grasp, and a refund of prejudicially high taxes.

The governor and Catholic magistrates defied the crown and the appointed enforcer of Charles IX's will, François de Scepeaux, Marshal of Vieilleville, and refused to take any steps to compensate Huguenots apart from an ineffectual and unenforceable edict.³²⁴ In July of 1572, two Protestant delegates left for Paris to voice their complaints to the royal court. To rebut their claims, Catholic authorities sent Guyot de Masso, a lawyer and magistrate, and Claude de Rubys. The St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, which took place on Saturday and Sunday, 23-24 August in Paris and then spread to a number of other cities throughout the kingdom, put a swift and brutal end to these efforts of reconciliation.³²⁵

On August 27, Governor Mandelot received a letter from Charles IX containing an acknowledgement of the assassination of Coligny.³²⁶ What occurred in the next few days is a matter of some speculation with very few demonstrable facts on which to base a detailed narrative. Word of the massacres in Paris spread through the population and

appears to have quickly aroused sectarian hatreds. Thursday night, 27 August, a crowd of artisans assassinated the Protestant preacher and the head of the consistory, Jacques Langlois, on the bridge over the Saône and threw him into the river.³²⁷ The next day, the Catholic general Jean du Peyrat arrived with instructions for Mandelot from the king, though it is unclear what these entailed. Mandelot immediately convened the city council, which unanimously ordered the seizure of a number of Protestants and their property. Arrests continued until Sunday 30 August, now with the assistance of the city militias, assembled hastily on order of the governor. Mandelot commissioned a brief edict, proclaimed throughout the city, ordering all Lyonnais Protestants to report to the city hall and receive the orders of the king. A few hundred souls reported as ordered and were summarily arrested and imprisoned in a number of locales, including the religious houses of the Celestines, Cordeliers, and Carmelites. Historians of the city disagree as to whether these arrests were preparations for the massacre or drastic measures meant to protect local members of the Reformed Church from popular violence.³²⁸

Sunday, perhaps the most dangerous day of the week when shops and businesses were closed, brought with it the first major wave of popular violence. A crowd stormed the convent of the Cordeliers and killed all Huguenot prisoners they found there. After this first incident of violence, Governor Mandelot attempted in vain to halt the bloodshed, and he was undermined by the council.³²⁹ Catholics perhaps took this confusion among the political authorities as a sign that their actions were sanctioned by political authorities. The violence escalated; the ritualistic and brutal nature of the slaughter was on par with that in the capital. Catholics forced the sons of a merchant, François des

Couleurs, to kill their father as he knelt and prayed to God. At the place de Roanne, which contained a municipal jail and a few dozen members of the Reformed Church, the crowd stood on either side of the door, grabbed and tied Protestants together around the neck as they exited the jail, and then drove and threw them headlong into the Saône to drown, the better to remove the heretical “pollution.” Catholics cut away the fatty portions of one Protestant apothecary after his death and boiled them into candles.³³⁰ The Protestant composer and hymnist Claude de Goudimel also died in what became known as the Lyonnaise Vespers Massacre, named after the bells that tolled for the evening church services that Sunday despite the chaos in the streets.³³¹ With the exception of Mandelot, authorities in the city, both secular and ecclesiastical, made no attempts to stem the violence, which continued until Tuesday 1 September.³³²

The final toll is also unclear, but estimates range from the 263 dead reported by the Archbishop to the 1,200 to 1,500 tally quoted in the Protestant martyrology, *Discours du massacre de ceux de la religion réformée*.³³³ Historians lean toward the archbishop’s figures, while admitting that it is likely low, since artisans and others from the lower economic strata are probably underreported.³³⁴ Local Huguenot notables Jean de La Bessée, Benoit Scève, and Georges Renoard were arrested a few days after the massacres when they approached the city council and demanded justice. Unknown assailants strangled them in their jail cells weeks later. A Protestant pamphlet asserted that the people were roused anew to this bloodshed by several placards that were affixed and read on the street corners, “plunging the city into rumor.”³³⁵

III. Religious fervor and the burdens of war, 1572-1584

Lyon continued to decline economically in the 1570s and 1580s. Plagues wracked the city in 1573, 1577, 1580, and 1581.³³⁶ Simultaneously, the Catholic majority moved toward an increasingly fervent religious position. Far from quelling antagonism toward Protestants, the massacres granted renewed life to ecclesiastical efforts to combat the Reformed Church. The city reveled when parishioners miraculously discovered the relics of Saint-Irenaeus among the rubble of the cathedral of Saint-Just, demolished during the Protestant occupation.³³⁷ Pierre d'Épinac assumed the archbishopric from Antoine d'Albon in 1573 and immediately implemented Trentine reforms to the best of his ability.³³⁸ Francesco Panigarola, an Italian friar, preached his *Calviniques* during Easter of 1573 at the convent of Cordeliers, which won praise in Rubys' history.³³⁹ Jacques de Maistret blessed the foundation of the White Penitents of Confalon, a large confraternity of artisans in 1577.³⁴⁰ He also served on the commission in charge of censoring and granting doctrinal approval of polemic printed in the city.³⁴¹ In 1579 the council passed a resolution to sell the rights to the Jesuit college for the proceeds of two granges.³⁴²

Archival records mention complaints from the laity about priests who failed to provide adequately for their community. In 1573, parishioners at Saint-Nizier denounced priests who left services prematurely. In 1572, members of Saint-Georges cathedral complained that they were frequently forced to find their priest from a local house of vice and corruption when he was needed.³⁴³ Nevertheless, despite the economic hardships, or perhaps because of them, popular religious participation in the form of confraternities

among the poorer folk and donations to the Catholic Church among the wealthier was on the rise.³⁴⁴ They might complain of moral abuses, but the people also admired and mourned those who pursued the case against heresy. The deaths of Jean Maheu, a Dominican, in 1577 and Gabriel de Saconay, the prolific writer and canon-count of Saint-Jean in 1580, were marked with lavish funeral processions and orations.³⁴⁵ When Henry III, who assumed the throne in 1574, proclaimed an end to the fourth civil war in May of 1576 with the Edict of Beaulieu, Catholics resisted implementing the crown's commands even more passionately than before, vowing to oppose any attempts to recognize the Reformed Church.³⁴⁶

Popular antagonisms toward attempts at sectarian tolerance meshed with those arising from increasing fiduciary pressures. *Subsides extraordinaires* demanded of Lyon to support the crown had become so frequent that they were now anticipated as regular yearly taxes. In 1575, Henry III ordered Governor Mandelot to raise an unprecedented 150,000 *livres* for the war effort, an enormous sum that represented far more than the city could hope to raise through taxation of the fairs in even the best of years.³⁴⁷ Desperate efforts to raise revenue placed heavy burdens on merchants and participants in the fairs who, as a result, began to do business elsewhere.³⁴⁸

In October of 1576, the council appointed a commission, led by Claude de Rubys, to draw up a list of official grievances of the Catholic bourgeoisie against the crown. The letter requested the reexamination of royal finances and expenditures, prohibited all sects save Catholicism, and commanded that Huguenots assist in efforts to institute the reforms of the Council of Trent.³⁴⁹ The letter concluded with a request that

the king create an organization of like-minded ultra-zealous princes and cities that would dedicate themselves to ending division in the kingdom through the annihilation of the Protestant faith—an approximate definition of what the Catholic League would become.³⁵⁰

There were few incidents of religious rioting after 1572, but anti-fiscal and anti-seigniorial violence, especially among the peasantry, was on the rise. A significant rebellion, the instigators of which were known *Ligue des vilains*, took place within and immediately outside the city in 1580. Governor Mandelot brutally suppressed the unruly farmers.³⁵¹ There are no documented cases of confessional violence of the sort that was so common in the first decade of the Religious Wars, though the rhetoric of the day was no less violent or inflammatory. Based on his studies of Rouen, Philip Benedict hypothesized that after the 1572 massacres, “the religious struggle was essentially settled on the local level.”³⁵² Lyon largely confirms this hypothesis, though it is unclear whether the drop in violence was due to a change in mentality among the people or a lack of opportunity—the 1560s and 1570s saw at least three substantial exoduses to Geneva and more tolerant cities, leaving far fewer Protestants to persecute.

IV. The development of the Catholic League, 1584-1589

Though the first hints of Catholic League activity in Lyon in 1576 failed to develop into a larger movement at the time, ultramontane sentiments gathered force quickly after 1584, a watershed year for the nation.³⁵³ That summer, Henry III’s younger brother Francis—heir apparent, duke of Alençon after 1566, and of Anjou after 1576—died on 10 June 1584 of tuberculosis, at the young age of 30. Aside from the King, he

was the only remaining Catholic son of the Valois dynasty. Francis was certainly not the first choice for the throne among zealous French Catholics.³⁵⁴ At certain times in his life, he had strong ties to *Politique* figures, opposed Franco-Spanish ties, and even assisted the Dutch in their revolt during the last six years of his life. After the Estates General meeting in 1576, however, he turned his back on the moderate and Protestant camp and cast his lot with his brother, who favored the revocation of the edict of pacification and military enforcement of religious orthodoxy.³⁵⁵ He also led the armies sent out shortly afterward that destroyed the Huguenot cities of La Charité and Issoire.

Contemporaries viewed the prince as an ambitious scoundrel with no strong opinions on the religious conflict of any sort. Despite his lack of a fervent ideology, though, he was at the very least a member of the Roman Catholic Church. The same, of course, could not be said of Henry of Navarre, a capable military leader since 1570, who, at age seventeen, led the first Protestant cavalry charge at the Battle of Arnay-le-Duc.³⁵⁶ Polemicists branded Navarre a shadowy and untrustworthy figure in their pamphlets since he first converted to Catholicism during the dangerous massacres in Paris but then later returned to the Reformed Church in 1575. Thus, in addition to mourning the loss of the fourth male member of the royal family in 25 years, the country faced an uncertain future with a prominent general of the Protestant camp in line to inherit the throne of *Tres-Chrestien* France. Henry III was notoriously unpopular by 1584 and, despite ten years of marriage to Louise of Vaudémont, remained childless. Excepting an act of God, for which polemicists repeatedly prayed, that allowed Louise to conceive or Navarre to die on the battlefield, Catholic writers fretted that a Protestant king would spell certain

retribution for the bloodshed of the St. Bartholomew's Day massacres and would permanently remove any prospect of unifying the country behind a single faith.

The exact circumstances and nature of the development of the Catholic League is one of the more intractable mysteries of the French Religious Wars. Prominent figures of the League were quick to play down their involvement once Henry IV's ascension was assured. Reading the writing on the wall in 1594, immediately before Lyon's capitulation to the monarch, they destroyed numerous sources documenting their involvement. Most historical accounts date the official commencement of the Holy Union to late summer in 1584, when the dukes of Guise, Mayenne, and Nevers and the baron of Senecey met at Nancy to officially band together in defense of the Catholic Church. The Treaty of Joinville of 31 December 1584, between Philip II and the League cemented its formation, as well as provided a much-needed 50,000 *écu* monthly stipend from Spain. In 1585, the Holy Union forced Henry III to sign the Treaty of Nemours, which dictated that Catholicism alone would be practiced in the realm and it forbade any Huguenot from holding public office. This treaty created a legal precedent, however thin, to deny Henry of Navarre's claim to the throne.

In Lyon, Leaguer sentiments were stoked by the failed attempt of Henry III to gain control of the citadel and depose Governor Mandelot.³⁵⁷ In May of 1585, Henry III sent the duke of Épernon, one of his close friends and councilors (pejoratively titled a *mignon* or "cutesy-boy" by polemicists), and lieutenant Du Passage to station at the citadel immediately outside the city walls. From this vantage, they attempted a coup to dislodge the governor and magistrates who favored the Guise alliance.³⁵⁸ They were

betrayed by an unknown informant and encountered a ready and armed citizenry who had erected barricades at critical junctures—Du Passage's entire force was captured.³⁵⁹

Afterward, the city council thought it best to demolish the citadel. This would, they argued, remove an attractive military stronghold from their region and curtail such stratagems in the future. To assuage the city, Henry III paid all the expenses needed to remove the fortifications.

1585 and 1586 were difficult years for the Lyonnais. France had been at war with itself intermittently for a generation. While we should not forget that violence during this period was sporadic and punctuated by almost fifteen years of relative peace, it is difficult to overestimate the hardships placed on the people by the wars.³⁶⁰ Sickness and famines were persistent problems due to sieges and looting armies in the countryside. Huguenot control of the Languedoc region cut vital supply lines along the Rhône, which, combined with poor harvests, led to skyrocketing grain prices, famine, and disease. At the same time, the crown levied increasingly onerous tax burdens to fund its military needs. Governor Mandelot appears to have questioned his own loyalty to the crown (certainly with reason given Henry and Épernon's attempt to supplant him) and began contacting the dukes of Guise and Mayenne to discuss an alliance. In early 1587, Mandelot and the archbishop of Lyon, Pierre Épinac, met with local nobility and agreed to fund the procurement of a private army. When Henry III snubbed Guise in favor of Épernon for the governorship of Normandy, Épinac too threw his lot in with the ultramontane faction.³⁶¹

Nevertheless, the city council and the governor hoped to avoid outright confrontation with the crown if at all possible. Unlike other cities such as Paris, they avoided any formal requirement of an oath to the League among the citizenry. In the fall of 1587, Henry III gambled and sent Guise to battle with inferior forces against German mercenaries. He ordered another of his *mignons*, Anne Joyeuse, with crack troops to counter Henry of Navarre. His plan to enhance Joyeuse's and his own standing while simultaneously diminishing that of Guise backfired. Joyeuse was killed at the battle of Coutras, while Guise engineered a stunning victory against superior forces. Fearing Guise's now soaring popularity among Parisians, Henry forbade him to enter the capital. Guise promptly ignored his decree and was greeted in the capital as the presumptive savior of France. When the Parisians rose up against Henry III in May of 1588, an event known as the Day of the Barricades, only Guise's sway with the crowds secured the monarch's escape. In July, Henry III surrendered to the League's demands and signed the Edict of Union, which reaffirmed his duty to combat heresy, outlawed any succession of the French throne to a heretic, and pledged to devote all available resources to waging a war against the Protestants. It also adopted as a fundamental law that no heretic could assume the throne of France. Guise was appointed lieutenant general of the country in early August.

Though the Lyon city council sent notice of their allegiance to the king shortly after the Day of the Barricades, it was a hollow gesture. The list of complaints drawn up against the king shortly thereafter, designed for presentation at the Estate General at Blois, made this clear. Among the council's demands were that Henry III ally himself

completely with the League; declare the impossibility of any heretic assuming the throne (or even of any Catholic known to carry Protestant sympathies); force all governors, magistrates, and officers to swear allegiance to the League; and dismiss all those who refused.³⁶² The political goals of Blois were soon superseded by the death of Governor Mandelot on 23 November 1588.³⁶³ Against the desires of the city to offer the governorship to Mandelot's son, François of Alincourt, Henry III appointed Charles-Emmanuel, duke of Nemours, an inexperienced and younger half-brother of the duke of Guise as a sop to the Catholic League.³⁶⁴

The city was not allowed long to mourn the passing of the immensely popular governor. In 1588, Henry III confirmed their worst fears—that he harbored secret Protestant sympathies—when he murdered the duke and the cardinal of Guise, heroes to scores of zealous Catholics.³⁶⁵ Perhaps emboldened by the recent defeat of the Spanish Armada and facing serious threats to his reign from Guise and his supporters, Henry III lured the duke to his chambers and had him assassinated on 23 December 1588. He then murdered Guise's brother, Louis II, cardinal of Guise, the next day. Among the Leaguer prisoners taken by king at the same time were archbishop Épinac and Cardinal Charles of Bourbon (dubbed "Charles X" by his supporters among the Catholic League), who was second in line to inherit the throne behind Henry of Navarre. The latter of these was transferred to a prison in Fontenay-le-Comte in Poitou under Henry of Navarre's diligent attention.

The following year, a young Dominican assassinated the king, to resounding applause in the pamphlet literature. The trauma felt in 1584 surrounding monarchical

succession returned with even greater immediacy, since Henry of Navarre was now the king of France by bloodline. Nevertheless, the party of the Catholic League, which officially began in 1584 but had developed through the late 1570s and early 1580s behind the Guise family, held high hopes that they might unify the country around a new successor, Cardinal Charles of Bourbon.³⁶⁶ During this turbulent period, Leaguer cells took control of a number of important French cities, including Le Havre, Rouen, Meaux, Rheims, Chartres, Nantes, Bourges, Dijon, Troyes, Mâcon, Toulouse, Arles, and Marseille.³⁶⁷

On 12 January 1589, the Lyonnais city council swore a public oath “to God, king and to you, sir [Charles-Emmanuel, later dubbed Charles X after Henry III’s death], as the representative of his person, not to be led astray or to desert the apostolic Roman Catholic religion, in which we desire to live and die, and to defend it to the very last drop of our blood.”³⁶⁸ The “treachery,” as it was universally labeled in polemic printed the following year, of Henry III combined with the persistent worries caused by the presence of the army of Épernon so close to the city worked in tandem to push the council toward the Ultra-Catholic faction. The council met on the morning of 23 February 1589, and assembled a group comprised of itself, local notables of city hall, the secretary of the archbishop, and fifteen members of the bourgeoisie.³⁶⁹ They voted to officially declare the city in support of the *Sainte Union*.³⁷⁰

Moderates were quickly excluded from positions in the city council, judiciary, and the police forces in favor of zealous Catholics.³⁷¹ In this period, for example, Claude de Rubys was made procurer general. Such purging of moderates was common in cities

allied with the League across France. On 16 January 1589, for example, the radical members of the Holy Union in Paris, collectively known as “the *Seize*” as they represented, in theory, all sixteen quarters of Paris, invaded the Parlement of Paris and seized a number of its members who refused to swear oaths of loyalty to the Holy Union.³⁷² They were promptly tried and imprisoned in the Bastille.

V. Declaration for the League and Submission to Henry IV, 1589-1594

Lay piety appears to have enjoyed a burst of activity after the declaration for the League. Laymen founded another confraternity in 1589, the Black Penitents of the Crucifix.³⁷³ This new organization won the approval of the papal legate in France and Jacques Maistret, the suffragan bishop and famed Lyonnais preacher. The Black Penitents counted among their number a group of esteemed laymen, including a member of the city council.³⁷⁴ This confraternity, comprised largely of elite urban laymen, was the second such organization in twelve years.³⁷⁵ Statistical analysis of wills and testaments also indicate that pious bequests among the nobility and wealthier merchants were rising in the 1580s and 1590s, even while those among poorer elements continued to decline.³⁷⁶ While it can be difficult to assess the depth of popularity for the League among the poor and middling income groups, there is little doubt that the political, ecclesiastical, and economic elites were well represented among the Union’s adherents.³⁷⁷

It can be difficult to know for sure if the support for the Union crossed socio-economic boundaries. However, most historians agree that the ultra-conservative party gained control of the city with at least some highly visible support from a broad spectrum of social classes. On 23 February 1589, when the city council voted in favor of formal

allegiance to the Holy Union, politicians acted, perhaps in part, with the support of protests and processions throughout the city, organized in response to Henry III's assassination of the Guise brothers at Blois. In response to a perceived threat from Huguenots and royal forces on the night of the council's declaration of Leaguer support, anonymous crowds erected barricades and stationed watches along bridges and other strategic points of entry.³⁷⁸

Bourgeois figures such as Claude de Rubys and Benoist du Troncy, procurer general and the council secretary, worked diligently to further the city's independence from the crown. Crowds of workers occasionally marched to support military decisions of the council when faced by opposition from the more moderate lieutenant governor, the duke of Saint-Sorlin.³⁷⁹ The urban center was not the only supporter of the League; the surrounding agricultural regions of Forez, Beaujolais, Puy, Vienne, and Mâcon all signed letters of allegiance to the Holy Union. Calls for public avowals of support for the Catholic League grew in late 1589 and early 1590. Jean Pillehotte, the most prolific of the Lyonnais Leaguer printers of polemic and pamphlets, began publishing city censuses of all those who publicly swore oaths to the Holy Union.³⁸⁰

The death of Cardinal Charles of Bourbon ushered in a new wave of desperation, however. Suddenly the League had no clear claimant to the throne. The most likely candidates then became either the duke of Mayenne, commander of Holy Union forces, or Philip II of Spain, who, at the very least, held Catholic credentials that could not be questioned. At any rate, Charles' death lent renewed passion to the League's cause, as it thrust Henry IV even closer to the throne. The return of another ranking member of the

League hierarchy, Archbishop Pierre d'Épinac, in November 1590, who had been held prisoner by royal forces since the Estates General at Blois, further entrenched Leaguer control over the clergy.³⁸¹ As is evident from the number of publications in the last five years before the city's submission to Henry IV, the Catholic League made full use of the presses to promote their views. Pamphlets streamed out of publishing houses justifying regicide and arguing in favor of opposition to "tyranny." Ironically, these writers used similar arguments made by Huguenots after the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacres of 1572.³⁸²

The Jesuit order also became a passionate ally of the League during these years.³⁸³ Father Laurent Maggio headed up the Jesuit College of the Trinity and pushed for stronger censorship measures on the presses. He worked diligently to transform the college into a veritable "castle against the Huguenots."³⁸⁴ In addition to regular preaching, the Jesuits offered, at the council's bequest, courses on theology open to the broader public. Claude de Rubys approved of the measure as a means to indoctrinate the young on issues of the faith and to "return [Lyon] to the grandeur it has known and give it back its historical fame and brilliance."³⁸⁵ Members of the college also performed public readings of secular works, often translating them from Latin to French.³⁸⁶ They frequently chose works, however, that commented on the religious struggles of the day. On Archbishop Épinac's return to the city from his captivity, the Jesuits performed a play entitled *The Death of Julian the Apostate*, a fiercely harsh critique of the fourth-century Roman emperor who abandoned his earlier conversion to Christianity.³⁸⁷ The reference

to Henry IV's earlier rejection of his conversion to Catholicism at sword point in 1572 was clear.

The Jesuits' popularity and reputation continued to grow throughout the late 1580s and the early 1590s.³⁸⁸ Archbishop Épinac noted approvingly that the influence of the Jesuits and Italians such as the Franciscan bishop of Asti Francesco Panigarola and papal legate Cardinal Gaetano had made common measures of enhanced religious zeal such as "inflammatory sermons, spectacular processions, and frequent communion."³⁸⁹ A zealous Gaullist, Épinac had occasionally expressed his anti-Italian tendencies in the past, but these were political rather than spiritual. He confirmed all these changes to further support the Catholic League.³⁹⁰

By 1593, the Jesuits succeeded in gaining permission and funding from the papacy for a new priory, Saint-Irenaeus. The order chose Pierre Coton, a star student at Trinity and future confessor of Henry IV, to head the monastery. The archbishop, however, found Coton's sermons simply too effective at combating heresy to approve of a position that might hinder his preaching. Épinac convinced the young Jesuit to continue his pastoral work for the good of "Catholic Lyon."³⁹¹

Under the direction of the duke of Nemours, one of the principal military generals of the Catholic League, and with the full support of Rubys and Troncy, the council purged more moderate members from their body. The council approved the acquisition of four companies of Swiss harquebusiers, multiple cannon crews, and a frigate to patrol the Saône. In addition to the construction of new defensive fortifications, such military expenditures severely strained a city budget already overburdened. Despite seizing taxes

and tariffs that had been due to the crown, the council felt compelled to seek out new sources of revenue. In March of 1589, they confiscated the homes and goods of all those suspected of Protestant or *Politique* sympathies, but this failed to balance the account books.³⁹² In 1590 they raised taxes on iron and wine over the objections of the clergy.³⁹³ The council then doubled import taxes on bulk goods. Later that same year import taxes were doubled again.³⁹⁴ Such measures failed to raise sufficient amounts of capital but further depressed trade and commerce. In desperation, the council sent letters requesting foreign assistance from the duke of Savoy, the pope, and Philip II of Spain.³⁹⁵

Military threats loomed large around Lyon as well. Royal forces menaced the access to trade routes along the Rhône from both the North and the South. The primary protector of the city, the duke of Nemours, often left the area to campaign in the North near Paris, much to the annoyance of both the city council and Archbishop Épinac.³⁹⁶ 1589 and 1590 saw a steady stream of small military setbacks, and by the fall of 1590 the council begged Nemours to return and protect the region.³⁹⁷ Cracks began to show in the support of the League, and the council narrowly fended off a coup attempt that winter—six members of the plot were executed.³⁹⁸ Another rebellion attempt in 1591 was also defeated.³⁹⁹

The duke of Nemours returned to Lyon in April of 1591, flush with pride at the successful defense of Paris against Navarre. But when the duke of Mayenne refused to compensate him for his services, Nemours taxed the Lyonnais instead. Personal animosity between Nemours and Épinac grew, with the latter accusing the duke of squeezing city revenues for personal crusades rather than critical defense projects and

offensives aimed at loosening the grip royal forces held over trade routes. This hindrance to trade and onerous tax burdens effectively ruined the former financial health of the city. By 1592, the once great fairs were non-existent, foreign merchants had largely deserted the city, and financiers were headed for calmer waters. Only a single Italian bank remained behind in what had once been a financial center of Europe.⁴⁰⁰

18 September 1593 marked an important turning point in the city's history as the urban crowd and a number of councilors revolted against their League-appointed protector, the duke of Nemours. During the morning of the 18th, rumors spread that Nemours planned to abandon the city in the face of an imminent royal attack. Barricades were thrown up throughout the city, and the leaders of Nemours' forces were caught by surprise and arrested. Nemours became a prisoner in his own home, and the council appointed Archbishop Épinac as governor in his stead.⁴⁰¹

Polemicists for the Union, such as Pierre Matthieu, argued that the revolt against Nemours was not at all a betrayal of Lyon's allegiance to the League and that Nemours had brought such actions on himself by co-opting city resources for his own aspirations. This explanation failed to convince the duke of Mayenne and the duke of Savoy, both of whom increased troop strength in the region.⁴⁰² Suddenly the city faced threats by both Leaguer and royal forces.

A temporary truce was struck with Mayenne in October 1593, but increasing calls for intervention from Spain seem to have further eroded support for the League.⁴⁰³ Claude de Rubys' *Apologie du duc de Nemour*, proclaimed at an emergency council meeting, called for Spain or any Catholic power to assist France and Lyon against

Navarre.⁴⁰⁴ Such tactics elicited a nationalistic backlash against the conservative union. Épinac began a secret correspondence with royal forces to negotiate the city's surrender to Navarre. During the nights of 6 and 7 February 1594, anonymous mobs erected barricades throughout the city, and protestors against the Catholic League took to the streets. On the morning of the 7th, moderates and royalists forcibly chased the most radical Leaguer figures from the city council, including Claude de Rubys.⁴⁰⁵ On the morning of the 8th, the crowd cried "Vive le Roi!" through the streets.⁴⁰⁶

Because of their zealous loyalty to the Catholic League, Jesuits were principal targets of royalists and *Politiques* in the changing political climate at the end of 1593 and the beginning of 1594.⁴⁰⁷ Public mood toward the order had already changed significantly during the day of the barricades on 18 September 1593, when rumors spread that the Society, whose primary members had left for Italy a week earlier, was conspiring with the duke of Nemours against the city council.⁴⁰⁸ The rumors were largely untrue, though Jesuits vocally opposed the house arrest of the Leaguer general. As the royal and *Politique* faction became more prominent in the winter of 1593/1594, public antagonism increased to the point that the city council had to appoint a permanent guard in defense of the College of the Trinity.⁴⁰⁹

When the city succumbed to royal forces and pledged its loyalty to Henry IV, Jesuits refused to sign the required oath of fealty and halted all preaching and lecturing.⁴¹⁰ The most vocal critics of Navarre left for Paris. Finding no support from the papal see, however, the order eventually succumbed to pressure to normalize relations

with Henry IV and the council. The college resumed its normal activities after a few months of political stalemate.⁴¹¹

All in all, recriminations against the Leaguer faction were less harsh than one might have expected. Henry IV's famous statement that paying off or mollifying his opponents was far cheaper than making war against them seems to have applied to political opponents in Lyon, as well. He expelled only the most vehement Leaguer figures.⁴¹² The king did, however, quickly clamp down on the poison press. Jean Pillehotte and Jean Patrasson both fled to safer locales, and Henry appointed Guichard Jullieron and Thibaud Ancelin, previously printers of textbooks and formulaic religious texts, as the official *imprimeurs du roi*.⁴¹³ The surge in Catholic religious polemic ended abruptly thereafter.

VI. Conclusion

With the ascension of Henry IV's royalist and *Politique* faction in Lyon, a new age of polemic began. The numbers of titles overall began to dwindle toward the end of the decade, and censorship remained harsh so that printers could not return to the works of vitriol present during the Religious Wars. Nevertheless, such works formed an impressively prolific medium of expression for religious thought, the characterization of the enemy, and ridicule of secular and religious forces. I will now turn to a deeper analysis of the content of such works, and trace the changes, or consistencies, of the works as the wars progressed from the overthrow of the city to its submission to royal control.

CHAPTER 4 – THE FORTUNES OF WAR: CHANGES IN POLEMIC

If Catholics were wary of utilizing the printing presses in the first half of the sixteenth century, the overthrow of the Lyonnaise government by Protestant forces in 1562 effectively ended such restraint. For Catholic contemporaries it was difficult to imagine a more disturbing yet more effective message than that heterodoxy was flourishing within the city walls and had assumed a significantly more aggressive tone. The early 1560s mark the time of the church militant, the pinnacle of power of Protestantism in France. Huguenots held the city for barely fourteen months, but the political, economic, and physical changes they forced on a largely hostile populace engrained into the popular mentality the notion that this was the consequence of Catholic religious apathy. No longer would ecclesiastics only hesitatingly venture into a polemical debate with their counterparts. Catholics would match, and eventually widely exceed, Calvinist publications.

Although the measurable extent to which published polemic directly influenced public opinion is impossible to determine based on the records available to us, we can measure the number of arguments within the medium specifically extolling the value of polemic and urging its furthered use as a weapon against Protestantism. Furthermore, we can measure the physical output of publishing houses to ascertain the growth of both supply and, as I argued earlier, demand for these works. Both these gauges point toward a significantly higher valuation of polemic within the publishing industry and among those writing and purchasing such works.

Enthusiasm for cheap pamphlets of this nature never wavers over the course of the wars, but it was the revolution of 1562 that initially spurred the explosion of such publications. Other important themes in the literature change significantly as the dimensions of the military and political struggle shift throughout the wars. Major events such as the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacres and the succession crisis of the late 1580s and the early 1590s changed the rhetoric employed in cheap pamphlets. The ways in which authors highlight the direct danger of Protestants to society, for example, shifts from recalling the dramatic acts of iconoclasm during the early 1560s to vicious personal attacks as the Religious Wars devolved into smaller guerrilla engagements and city sieges toward the end of the hostilities. The extent to which polemicists supported the monarchy steadily falls over the course of the war as Lyon threw its support increasingly behind the Catholic League. Finally, the number of pamphlets arguing in favor of abjuration and reconciliation of the Protestant camp spikes immediately after the massacres, when victory of the Huguenots seemed probable, and then plunges when Henry of Navarre's assumption of the throne becomes more and more likely.

I. The Importance of Public Argument

Catholic polemic changed dramatically after the Wars of Religion began. The Protestant revolt in 1562 provided an impetus for Catholic churchmen and laymen to utilize all the tools at their disposal in their struggle against the Reformed Church.⁴¹⁴ Reformed authors argued that the book was critical to their early successes and compared the printing press to a grape press from which a "noble vintage" gushed.⁴¹⁵ Catholics evidently saw the value of the printed page, and they used and controlled the presses

much more effectively after they had regained control.⁴¹⁶ The style of these works changed as well: they were smaller (usually twenty to forty pages or less), were more oriented toward a wider readership and avoided overly complex theological arguments, and became every bit as “inflamed” as the Huguenot works before them.

The most immediate difference one sees between Catholic polemic after the outbreak of violence is a dramatic change in quantity. Printing expands significantly in the years immediately before the start of the Religious Wars in 1562 and remained fairly brisk—aside from a brief two-year hiatus when Protestants were totally or partially in control of Lyon. While from 1530 to 1559 fewer than five works of polemic were printed, in the 1560s Lyonnaise publishers averaged this many per year. Such a reversal reflects a significant change in attitudes regarding the usefulness of these works in theological argumentation, though Protestants deserve credit for establishing a market for such works that Catholic authors could then fill. Authors say as much in the works themselves. One of out every three pieces of polemic explicitly confirms the importance of preaching and writing as a means to stem the tide of heresy.

The city council, archbishop, and lay elites sympathetic to the need to improve pastoral care and combat Protestantism aided ecclesiastics after the Protestant revolt.⁴¹⁷ The official introduction of the Jesuits in 1565 was a boon as well. In addition to the work of Edmond Auger, the Italian Jesuit Antoine Possevin strove to clarify the Real Presence of the host in the Eucharist, defend the cults of saints, and deliver sermons in his native tongue at the convent of Confort.⁴¹⁸ Philip Benedict credits the work of the Jesuits with almost single-handedly winning back Lyon from the Protestant camp.⁴¹⁹

Laymen became increasingly involved in furthering Catholic preaching. At Saint-Nizier, canons and laymen organized regular meetings to discuss upcoming religious events. First held in the 1530s to gain financial support, in the 1560s they became a forum for laymen to voice their opinions about the organization of processions, charity, and, especially, the choice of preachers for high-profile sermons.⁴²⁰ Pious bequests provide further evidence that lay enthusiasm for the church was on the rise during the 1560s. The number of wills granting funds to the church descended to a low of 68 percent in the 1550s, but rose to 87 percent in the last quarter of the century. The average amount donated also increased, despite the general economic downturn due to inflation, increased taxation, and economic disruption.⁴²¹

Polemic after the Protestant revolt starkly reverses the hesitancy of previous decades. Authors avoid characterizing debates and attacks on heretics as undignified. Rene Benoist, a doctor of theology in Paris, states unequivocally that the “troubles” of the day can only be stopped through pastoral efforts: “The current troubles will never be appeased, and in fact all will be lost if pastors and prelates do not perform their duty to nourish their flock with the sound and sincere word of God, and [instruction about] how to lead a good life.”⁴²² Writing one year before the start of the Religious Wars, Benoist still views the priesthood as asleep and failing in its duties. Because of priests’ failure to preach and instruct their flocks, he argues, Christians “have become obstinate, factious, seditious, and have corrupted the true faith.”⁴²³ The clergy and all of France are paying the price: “I think that God, to punish negligent preachers and an ungrateful and disobedient people, has sent upon us these afflictions which now trouble us so greatly.”⁴²⁴

Heretics, a particularly painful form of punishment for a society that placed such a high value on unity and concord, are Christians who have fallen into “blindness” (*cecité*), because “pastors [are] clearly too negligent in performing their duties.”⁴²⁵ The derivation of the word “heretic” is interesting in this regard. From the ancient Greek *hairetikós*, meaning able to choose or factious; a heretic chooses a belief other than majority opinion, especially in matters of religion. Through their conscious choice, they introduce division and conflict into society and the body religious.

Claude de Rubys agreed that Catholics could not sit idly by. In 1565 he wrote a response to a Protestant tract printed in Lyon two years earlier, *La mort et enterrement de la messe . . .*⁴²⁶ In a poem prefacing his work, *Resurrection de la sainte messe*, he praises the city for retaking control despite Protestants’ many efforts to sway the populace to their side: “They put before us / A scandalous book / So stinking and infecting / And looking just like poison.”⁴²⁷ By the publication of his own “excellent book,” the people may turn from the lies of “these dogs” and learn the truth. Rubys argues that any failure to respond to inflammatory Protestant tracts attacking the mass would give the impression that “we would seem too ungrateful and ignorant of such a wonderful sacrament.”⁴²⁸ As a celebration of the renewed faith of Lyonnais Catholics, he concludes, “[Let us] publish in the public squares and the crossroads the glorious resurrection of this holy mass, just as we saw our adversaries do, even if they did sing their triumphs before they were victorious.”⁴²⁹

Perhaps the finest exposition on the necessity to preach and write in response to Protestantism came from Gabriel de Saconay, canon of Saint-Jean.⁴³⁰ The most

important Lyonnaise polemicist of the 1560s and 1570s, little is known of him beyond his lineage and publications. Born sometime around the turn of the century, he hailed from a long line of canons at the cathedral of Saint-Jean.⁴³¹ On 17 April 1564, Gabriel and his brother Amé bought from the Church a tract of land nestled between the hamlets of modern Chazelles-sur-Lyon and Saint-Symphorien-sur-Croise twenty miles southwest of the city.⁴³² They built a substantial manor on the land, which still exists today. The home played a role as a defensive structure toward the end of the sixteenth-century.⁴³³

In 1546 he was made precentor of Saint-Jean, and arch-deacon in 1572. In 1547 he confirmed the new king, Henry II, on behalf of Lyon. In the 1570s he held the title of Censor and Approver of Books (*Censeur & Approbateur des livres*) and worked to suppress insurrectionary and “heretical” publications.⁴³⁴ He died at an advanced age on 3 August 1580.⁴³⁵ In addition to his works of polemic, Saconay is most well known for his historical asides that have aided historians of Lyon and for his brief association with Nostradamus.⁴³⁶ In his 1573 publication, *Généalogie et la fin des Huguenaux et découverte du Calvinisme*, Saconay noted that Nostradamus predicted the 1562 sacking of the cathedral of Saint-Jean during a dinner attended by the canon in 1560.⁴³⁷

Doubtless his most important historical contribution, however, are his polemical works published in Lyon. Saconay recognized the power of accomplished preaching and pamphleteering. Like many ecclesiastics, he blamed Catholic priests and bishops for failing to inspire and instruct their flocks before the wars, abandoning their posts to vicars of no ability, who “like crippled men, cannot fight wars.”⁴³⁸ Quoting Saint Bernard, he

argues that “pastors who are negligent toward their flocks become wolves,” and Protestants need no assistance in their struggle to corrupt the faithful.⁴³⁹

It was the absence of Catholic preaching and writing in the 1540s and 1550s that allowed heresy to fill the void, he argues. Protestants played on the natural greed and ambition of men, infecting the foolish with perverse visions of a holy war.⁴⁴⁰ Their “writings and books, histories and pictures” against the Catholic faith were so “abominable, evil, and diabolic” that they are an insult and a danger to every social estate.⁴⁴¹ Clergy must do their part, he continues, to instruct “the souls and consciences about this poison, and to cauterize the wound which has appeared because of these Reforming Ministers and the false light of their ignorance and divisiveness.”⁴⁴² Laymen and, like himself, other “fine persons and those of great prudence” (*bons personnages & gens de grande prudence*) can provide works that provide “good and relevant cures to an evil which has finally caused our France to be overwhelmed as quickly as it did our neighbors.”⁴⁴³

After the Protestant revolt, all indications point toward a rejuvenated Catholic clergy that opposed Protestant ministers in the streets and through the printing press. They became so involved in the struggle against religious and political sympathizers of the Reformed Church that moderate Catholics such as Jacques de Silly, a local knight, urged them to return to their monasteries and resume their quiet studies of the scriptures: “Priests must pay attention to the [purpose of] their estate, which is to pray to God, and not to run up and down the streets soliciting support so they can mess with and involve

themselves in temporal and worldly matters.”⁴⁴⁴ Writers resolutely rejected this advice and continued to emphasize the importance of their craft throughout the Religious Wars.

An anonymous tract promoting a justification of the massacres, written in 1572, argues that the murders were necessary since Protestant letters, harangues, and public petitions were a crucial cause of the civil wars. According to the writer, these publications perverted many individuals and turned them against the king: “They have printed proclamations and letters concerning the state of the realm and with these they have altered the hearts of the king’s subjects and led them to sedition”⁴⁴⁵ He further alleges that the writers and speakers for the Reformed church even threatened the king with war: “[They use] memoirs, indiscrete letters, libels, and furious petitions. And with haughty requests and pleadings, they basically say, ‘If you do not do this, you will have war. If you do not give us justice, we will give it to you.’ They have used similar means to speak and do things full of bravado and rebellion.”⁴⁴⁶ Far from the hesitancy exhibited toward the printed medium before the outbreak of war, authors after St. Bartholomew’s fully recognized the dangers of allowing polemical challenges to go unanswered.

This sentiment continues unabated until the submission of the city to Henry IV and, as witnessed by the proliferation of *Politique* and royalist tracts immediately after that point in 1594, it continued further on the other side of the ideological divide. The Jesuit Michel Coysard, in his *Sommaire de la doctrine chrestienne*, first published in 1591, argued that “little books” like his and others were indispensable in the fight against heresy:

It is imperative that heretics (staunch enemies of the truth) learn by experience, to their great displeasure and confusion, that we find in the mystical army of

Catholics not one or two, but many valiant champions of Jesus Christ. Champions who dare to courageously display a united front of defiance and bravely charge them right up to their bunkers, to slit their throats with their own blade as the little hero David did to the enormous Goliath, and as the chaste and giving Judith did to the wanton Holofernes.⁴⁴⁷

Catholics should pick up the “blade” of the Protestants, another reference to the widespread admission that the Reformed Church first popularized the cheap pamphlet, and use it against them. Though some may still disapprove of the heated discourse present on virtually every corner (*carrefour*) of the city, Coyssard continues, Augustine proved in the fight against Aryanism how important was argumentation through the written and spoken word. Such usage is no less relevant today, he argues.

II. Perceived Protestant Threats to Society

Argumentation of one ideology against another was one goal of Catholic polemic, but another objective of writers was surely to remind audiences of the destruction surrounding the outbreak of civil war. Of the two opposing ideological camps, Catholics exit the sixteenth century as the bloodier of the two. The St. Bartholomew’s Day massacres and other examples of popular violence were never matched by members of the Reformed Church—understandable given their significantly smaller numbers. Doctrinal differences between the confessions, however, made outbreaks of iconoclasm, especially in the heady years of the Protestant church militant, fairly common and provided useful fodder for Catholic polemicists. Writers blamed the Protestants, especially after the seizure of the city, for direct physical attacks on the church, whether this entailed assaults on priests, the host, the saints, or ecclesiastical structures.

Léger Duchesne, a French poet and professor at the royal college of France, composed a number of odes attacking and ridiculing the Protestant faith and its adherents.⁴⁴⁸ In his *Remonstrance aux princes francoys* he urges the nobility neither to surrender nor to make peace with the Calvinists. Their gospel, he argues, is one that urges them “to pillage every home of every family, / to raze cities, and sack the suburbs, / burn every refuge, and level the tall towers.”⁴⁴⁹ Worse, in the poet’s estimation, their doctrine of predestination removes the fear of sin and allows them to abuse even the most innocent members of society: “And their grand sanctity only caters to their whoring nature, / when like goats burning with lust / they satisfy their desires by violating young nuns / and then on their sacred bodies they place their filthy hands.”⁴⁵⁰ The very nature of the Protestant faith, Duchesne contends, is one that seeks out base pleasures and destruction. Protestants seek “to burn and destroy / the temples of great God. To mock and laugh / at pillaged holy relics, burnt / and profaned altars, and razed churches.”⁴⁵¹

Catholic crowds had already shown their willingness to punish those that profaned holy relics and priests, as they did during the Corpus Christi procession of 1561 when they demanded the prompt execution of Denis Valois after his attempted assault on the ciborium. Even Leonard Janier, who frowned on inflammatory rhetoric, noted with extreme displeasure the way that Huguenots held holy processions “in grand derision and mockery.”⁴⁵² Janier was less forgiving in his sermon on the last judgment, in which “blasphemers of the name of God, of the Virgin, and of the male and female Saints of Heaven will hold in derision and mockery the pitiable mystery of the woeful death and anguishing passion of Jesus Christ.”⁴⁵³

Polemicists continued to recall the destruction of the 1560s throughout the entire Religious Wars. As the wars ground on, however, and cities and regions of France fell sway to one confession or the other, overt acts of iconoclasm diminished. As a result, writers lamented the cost of religious division in viscerally human terms, rather than in terms of the cost to the nation, the church, or the social body. Reports of Protestants sacking churches or defiling relics and the Eucharist, for example, were supplanted by torture narratives that detailed the horrific violence that took place in the decentralized local skirmishes characteristic of the Religious Wars.⁴⁵⁴ This shift became increasingly common as the Religious Wars degenerated into widespread guerrilla engagements in the 1580s.⁴⁵⁵ Perhaps this thematic shift was due to the fact that most of the worst iconoclastic violence had taken place almost twenty years earlier and so was no longer as instantly arousing. More likely, the shift in the pamphlets merely reflected the changing nature of the wars as many engagements were fought increasingly by small bands of poorly controlled mercenaries and undisciplined troops.⁴⁵⁶ One anonymous pamphlet described how difficult it is for Catholic soldiers to control their rage when Huguenot soldiers brag of the number of rapes and mutilations they have committed on campaign.⁴⁵⁷ Another accuses Protestants of cheering with glee as they beat Catholic children and then threw them into the air, trying to “catch their half-dead bodies on the points of their lances and halberds.”⁴⁵⁸

Another pamphlet describes in gory detail the cruelties of the Huguenots on exhibit during a city siege, often a type of military engagement likely to result in extreme retributions. The author describes how Protestants corralled all the priests in a conquered

city together. When one of them proclaimed that he would never abandon his faith, “they seized him and, after tying him down, these butchers slit open his belly while he was still alive in front of all the other priests.”⁴⁵⁹ According to this unverifiable report (it is very likely that many of these horrific events did occur on both sides of the confessional divide, but it is impossible to confirm the particulars), the Protestants then beat the remaining priests in an effort to have them desert their faith, “but all these poor people stood firm and invincible like rocks.”⁴⁶⁰

One woman, after Huguenots murdered her husband, responded that “the torments of this world were only dreams, shades of evil when compared to the truth of heavenly paradise that awaited all Christians.”⁴⁶¹ Enraged by her religious constancy, “these butchers devised a death, which devils themselves would not have thought to recommend. They filled her womb with canon powder and watched as they lit it. In this fashion they made her explode, shooting out her own guts as they let her die. Oh, God what a torment for a martyr”⁴⁶² Acknowledging the clear propagandistic purpose of the work, the anonymous author proclaimed that publishing such grim accounts was necessary “to awaken the courage of good Catholics, so they can oppose the furious rage of the heretics”⁴⁶³

Such gruesome sources are common in the 1580s, but during the 1590s polemicists readily evoked the fear that the ascent of Henry to the French throne would foreshadow the destruction of the “Mother Church.” This shift in focus returned writers to earlier subject matter, and they again lamented the assault on churches and buildings, except they foresaw destruction on a much larger scale. Alessandro Farnese, duke of

Parma and regent of the Netherlands for Philip II from 1578-1592, urged *Politiques* to “dwell on the damage done to the land, the ruin of villages and homes, the destruction of churches, and the profaning of holy altars.”⁴⁶⁴

Robert Parsons, a professor at the University of Oxford who fled England for Italy in 1575 and became a Jesuit, wrote in the early 1590s that England would inevitably join with Navarre to persecute Catholics in France.⁴⁶⁵ Henry and Elizabeth, in Parsons’ argument, have “sided with the violence and tyranny of tyrants who have vowed and shown themselves opposed to the Church. They sack our cities, they massacre Catholics, they ransom some, and imprison and garrote others.”⁴⁶⁶ Worse still, he continues, they do not believe in any immutable truth. Instead, they will say anything and adopt any religious or political position as long as it furthers their own goals: “. . . they declare some vile, charge others with slander, they endure these, while they flatter those, they will contort themselves to any position they can, provided that it profits them and that it allows them to exercise their wickedness.”⁴⁶⁷ The inevitable consequences of this amorality, argued another satire, are wanton destruction and continual strife. Walking by the ruined churches and monasteries of the Lyonnais suburbs, he laments, makes one wonder how it has all happened: “How? By heaven, I say, have the Turks and mischievous imps passed by here? Has Mohammed become a Huguenot? Have swine and their entourage (sausages, bacon, and pork chops) destroyed the kingdom of France?”⁴⁶⁸ In short, he concludes, Henry IV’s ascension to the throne of France will usher in a new wave of iconoclasm and destruction of the Catholic Church in France far surpassing all the damage that has come before.

III. Recant and Rejoin the Faith

The political struggles of the Religious Wars similarly shaped discussion on whether or not Huguenots should abjure their heresy and return to the Roman Catholic faith. This possibility in the discourse of the time neatly traces the military fortunes of Catholic forces. Immediately after hostilities broke out there is scarcely a mention of returning to the fold. During the 1560s, the Huguenots achieved their greatest victories and were as uninterested in abandoning their faith as Catholics were in allowing them to return. By the 1570s, however, as Catholic forces strengthened and, at least, stalemated Protestant forces on the battlefield, this issue changes. No pieces of polemic I examined from the 1560s hold out the prospect of heretics abandoning their errors and rejoining the Catholic faith. During the 1570s, one in five sources discusses this possibility. Antoine Emmanuel Chalon, a magistrate of neighboring Forêt, pleaded for a return to peace in a sermon delivered in the Church of Saint-Nizier at Lyon. He leaned toward what would be characterized later as *Politique* sentiments, longing for a *plus grand union de religion*, but he would settle at the moment for an end to the butchery.⁴⁶⁹ He urged his rebellious countrymen to return to the fold and “republican union and peace” (*l’union & la paix de la republique*).⁴⁷⁰ May God also, he prayed, help us “maintain this peace and goodwill among citizens.”⁴⁷¹

A rare moderate voice within the genre, Chalon offered his overture of peace and reconciliation shortly before the St. Bartholomew’s Day massacres. But the bloodshed of 1572 breathed new life into this theme. For zealous and militant Catholics, the massacres were a decisive victory for France, Charles IX, and the Catholic faith.⁴⁷² It sparked a new

genre of conversion and abjuration literature, celebrating famous or miraculous conversions from the Reformed Church. In the *Histoire Miraculeuse de trois soldats*, three blaspheming Protestants attacked a statue of St. Antoine near Chastillon: “They were saying to [St. Antoine] these atrocious and haughty blasphemies: ‘If you have the power, show us right now and defend yourself.’ And while saying this they attacked the image with several blows of their weapons.”⁴⁷³

St. Antoine’s response was prompt and memorable. One assailant spontaneously burst into flames and fell dead. The second went mad and threw himself into a river and drowned. The third fell to the ground with a scalding fever. At this point the story noticeably changes form. Rather than sacrificing the third soldier or watching St. Antoine or God finish him off, the pious crowd picks him up off the ground and transports him into a local church. The community then holds a hastily arranged mass to unite in pleading for mercy and forgiveness on behalf of the soldier and his folly. The soldier repents and pledges allegiance to the Eucharist, the saints, the Virgin, and the holy Roman Catholic Church. His fever immediately breaks and he is welcomed back into the body of the faithful.⁴⁷⁴ That he is saved holds out the message that all Protestants can recant and return to the fold.

Other authors urge heretics to abjure and return to the church, even if for less inspiring reasons. According to Jean le Masle, inquisitor at Bagué and poet, the “victory” of St. Bartholomew’s in Paris and throughout France was decisive and one-sided, proving where God’s true allegiances lay. Masle’s poem, “Exhortation to Rebels and the Seditious, to Immediately Abjure their Heresy and Make a Solemn and Public Profession

of Faith to the Roman and Catholic Religion,” certainly holds open the prospect to Huguenots of rejoining the faithful. He asks rhetorically, “Is it not a good season to abjure heresy, / that up to now has seized your soul.”⁴⁷⁵ But the sentiment is only half-hearted, and well over half the poem is devoted to mocking their slaughter in Paris and elsewhere. This is not the voice of reconciliation but rather the condemnation of the victorious: “Remove then, remove this vain hope, / and return to the bosom of the Roman church, / (outside of which one cannot hope for salvation) / Vomit out the error which has plagued your soul, / and make a public and solemn profession of faith / to live and die in the church.”⁴⁷⁶ In 1573, there was every indication that Catholic forces could finally put an end to the wars by furthering their advantage. The “signs are obvious” (*signes euidens*), Masle concludes, that God has turned against the Reformed Church, and their only hope for salvation and avoidance of death at the hands of the righteous is to rejoin the faithful.⁴⁷⁷

To Masle’s and others’ disappointment, the massacres were not the final blow to French Protestantism they were thought to be. Even worse, when Francis of Anjou, the last remaining Catholic heir, died in 1584, it left Henry of Navarre, a Protestant general, as successor to the throne. After this point, calls for Protestants to rejoin the body religious diminish significantly. Much more common, in fact, are arguments explicitly rejecting any efforts at reconciliation. Many polemicists denied the ability of Huguenots to recant even if they had wished to do so—those who had “converted” to the Catholic Church were very likely wolves in sheep’s clothing. With Navarre as the presumptive

heir, Henry III's pleas for rapprochement appeared in the eyes of many as a request to rally behind a heretical heir.

The stark drop in the number of sources in the 1580s asking, or even permitting, Huguenots to reject their faith and rejoin the Catholic fold must be placed within this context. In fact, the sole honest plea for Protestants to return to the church during this six-year period comes from Renaud of Beaune, the moderate bishop of Bourges, who was specifically appointed by Henry III to address the Estates General on his behalf.⁴⁷⁸ Beaune remarks that “we do not call for war, as they put it, against others of the church . . . no, no. The church does not seek blood. We prefer that those who left return and live.”⁴⁷⁹ But even this conciliatory message is couched in a clear understanding that the moderate policies of the crown cannot accept open rebellion (Henry III was under enormous pressure from the Guise faction to abandon the attempts at religious toleration characterizing the 1560s and 1570s). Those who refused to lay down their arms must be excised from the social body: “The intent of a surgeon is to save the entire body and its members. But when the body cannot be saved without removing a gangrenous and rotten appendage, he must cauterize it or cut it away.”⁴⁸⁰ Beaune makes clear that the king would, at the very least, pursue those who refused to put aside their arms.⁴⁸¹

Other authors were less generous. One writer notes that the king has extended the olive branch numerous times in the past: “In his edicts and by way of example, our king has invited back to the sanctity and union of the Catholic religion all those who return to the bosom of the church”⁴⁸² The author only mentions such gestures, however, to illustrate that Huguenots have consistently rejected them. This, in his mind, negates the

possibility of any future peace with the Reformed Church. They have proven that they are unwilling to abandon their heresy. As such, the only option for a lasting end to warfare is a solidarity imposed by force: “These diversities of opinions and religions have upset not only the republic and its citizenry, but even members of the same family. Thus, a single Catholic religion *must be* our peace and concord. This union must be enforced and protected . . . no other solution will work. When this peace leaves us, we are terribly afflicted.”⁴⁸³ For this anonymous author, there is no distinction between unity and peace—one cannot exist without the other. If unity is the ultimate goal, and Huguenots have proven that they are unwilling to truly abjure their heresy, then their extermination or removal from society is the only remaining option.

This argument that Huguenots are incapable of recanting surely anticipated the possibility that Henry IV might once again abjure and proclaim himself a Catholic in a “ploy” to legitimize his claim to the throne. Given the threat of this occurrence, another anonymous author argued that, “there is no other possible choice than to be separated forever from their presence. We must leave these vermin to the horrifying judgment of God.”⁴⁸⁴ Heresy, he continues, has poisoned generations of French men and women for well over fifty years, and those who recant can never be trusted to live among “honest Catholics.” All those *Politiques* wanting to forgive and forget “must burn with shame to want to excuse [the heretics] Because if you can judge the sons by the character of their father, then we can rest assured that that fruit is definitely not sweet. It fell, after all, from the bitter trunk that is heresy.”⁴⁸⁵

Before Navarre became heir to the throne, polemicists seemed willing to entertain the notion that Huguenots could recant and assume their previous lives as law-abiding members of society. But being ruled by a man who, in their eyes, would adopt any religious position if it suited his purposes would be a disastrous occurrence for themselves and the entire nation. Far better to continue the wars, they assert, than to yield to domination by a heretic. Such sentiments only increased toward the end of Lyon's resistance to royalist forces. The belief that heretics cannot return to the fold and can never be trusted is often framed in political discussions against Navarre's legitimacy. After Cardinal Charles of Bourbon died in 1590 and left France with no legitimate candidate for king, a political compromise or any recognition of the legitimacy of Henry's abjuration could open the door to his ascension. The number of sources specifically denying any offer to Protestants to return to the fold dramatically increases in these last years of the wars.

Guillaume le Blanc, bishop of Grasse, resolutely denied the prospect of any heretic returning to "Catholic" society.⁴⁸⁶ Calvinists, he argues, are iconoclasts and "sworn enemies of the true Church of God, and they will work with all their power to extinguish it, banish it, and chase it from France."⁴⁸⁷ *Politiques* are in some ways even worse than Protestants, he continues, since they are inviting destruction on their own. Any Frenchman who has sworn his loyalty to Henry IV should immediately recant. The bishop argues that betraying one's oath to Henry IV is much less worse than the alternative, because ". . . when you swore allegiance and obedience to a heretic and recognized him as your king, you have done the following: you have sworn to murder

like David, sworn to the murder of your daughters like Jephthah, sworn to the decapitation of Saint Jean the Baptist like Herod, and you have sworn to the destruction of holy images like these bishops [who support Henry IV].”⁴⁸⁸ Guillaume is clear that there can be no rapprochement with Protestants, and any effort to recognize their leader as king is “swearing to the violation of the sacred Virgin, since heretics want to rape and defile her as much as they possibly can.”⁴⁸⁹ Protestants, he maintains, have no interest in converting to the Catholic faith. Any profession of such intent, in the bishop’s opinion, is merely a chameleon’s disguise. Protestants will soon turn on the Catholic Church and kill all “good Christians” that they cannot convert to their heresy:

Are you so thoroughly blind that you do not see that if a heretic has complete power in France, not only your own daughters but all your children will, little by little, be put to death and offered as sacrifices, not to God but to the Devil? That is to say, giving yourself over to heresy—and that’s exactly what this is—means the death of the soul. This is effectively a sacrifice to the Devil. And even if you resist, in the end, your children will follow this heresy and thus will themselves fall into the shadows.⁴⁹⁰

As such, moderates who argue for the veracity of Henry’s conversion are damning themselves and their children. This denial of any possibility of Protestants normalizing relations with Catholic France reached a fever pitch in the last years before Lyon’s submission to royal authority. Not surprisingly, after the city succumbed to Navarre in 1594, expression of such arguments abruptly ceased. Royalist writers stressed the legitimacy of Henry’s claim to the throne and the necessity to unite again as one people, regardless of religious differences.

IV. Turning Toward the League

Matching the progression of the lines of thought regarding Protestants' possible conversion back to the Catholic faith are polemicists' views concerning the strength and legitimacy of the monarchy. Virtually all Catholic writers concerning themselves with political power link, in some fashion, royal warrant to religious orthodoxy. Though the specific political argument asserting the primacy of the "fundamental law of Catholicity" reached its zenith in the late 1570s and 1580s, when it became necessary to discredit Henry of Navarre from the throne, the theory had adherents as early as 1560.⁴⁹¹ Polemicists did not hesitate to urge the king to remember his oath to uphold the Catholic faith taken during his coronation ceremony. These reminders to the king transformed into overt criticism as the wars ground on and the regent and her sons continue to pursue stratagems of appeasement.

From 1560 to 1571, the only polemical source relatively critical of the monarchy is Saconay's treatise comparing contemporary religious turmoil to that of the Middle Ages. Rather than appeasing heterodoxy, Catherine should rouse the country for another Albigensian Crusade and destroy heresy once and for all. Even then, the censure of Catherine's conciliatory efforts is couched in careful terminology. While commendable that the king would seek peaceful solutions to the current problem, these efforts are doomed to failure because of the nature of the enemy. France is "sorely troubled and distressed by these seditious monkeys,"⁴⁹² as he calls them. Hoping to prod a sleeping monarch into military action, Saconay suggests that the "Lion of Judaex" must devour the

“monkeys” plaguing France, thereby “attaining healing” (*chercher garrison*) for the nation.⁴⁹³

After the 1572 massacres, demands that the monarchy take decisive action against Protestants become more incessant and intrepid. In his 1573 *Genealogie et la fin des Hvgvenavx* Saconay is more explicit about the consequences of continuing efforts to reconcile implacable foes and belief systems. “Our most Christian King, you call on them every day, you exhort, you reach out to help yourself rebuild. You have often offered grace and pardon for past faults, forgotten past wrongs, injuries and felonies committed against Your Majesty. You promised reconciliation with your brothers, and imposed silence on them, forbidding them to quarrel with you.”⁴⁹⁴ Nevertheless, he contends, these efforts have produced little fruit. France is still torn by sectarian hatreds and warfare, which, in the mind of the canon, appears to be worsening.

He urges the monarch to examine his situation and ask himself who his true allies are: “I say to you who are your natural subjects? Who are not satanic and obstinate in their evil? With whom among all your subjects can Your Majesty more want and depend on for any assistance? Who will expressly defend your divine majesty?”⁴⁹⁵ For Saconay the only solution is to join with these devout Catholics and extinguish the source of division. Failure to do so no longer imperils merely the health and well-being of the king’s subjects—the king’s own throne is at stake. Charles IX should “use the powers that God has given you and exterminate these heretics, and deliver your worthy subjects from their chains and tyranny.”⁴⁹⁶ Failure to do so, he continues, will only call down

terrible calamities on the nation and the king himself, leading the king to ponder poor Job's statement that, "Happy is the man who is punished by God."⁴⁹⁷

Bishop Langelier notes in a national harangue that history readily demonstrates that God will punish his people for failing to cleanse their societies of religious heterodoxy. The Bible demonstrates that "as vengeance for these crimes, God overthrew first the kingdom of Israel, casting them into the hands of the Assyrians. Then in the kingdom of Judah, along with the destruction of their capital Jerusalem, he enslaved their people and subjugated the land to the Babylonians."⁴⁹⁸ By the same logic, the French monarch is equally vulnerable: "Sire, we do not think that you want to imitate such kings [that fail to extinguish rebellion and heresy] since in the end this rarely succeeds. Such plots against God and his church have so profoundly provoked God's anger that he has withdrawn the crown. In his good judgment he did just that to Saul, transferring the kingdom of Israel from his house to the house of David, because David was the better man."⁴⁹⁹ In Langelier's opinion, the most pressing concern facing the crown is to ensure that "all those under your subjection and obedience are brought to believe and are persuaded that the true religion and the Catholic Church is the single and sole foundation of your crown. Without this foundation, the crown cannot survive, neither for you nor for any of your successors."⁵⁰⁰

Pierre d'Épinac, archbishop of Lyon, is even more explicit. He reminds Henry III in 1577 of the coronation oath he took to extirpate heresy and uphold the Catholic faith. France's current civil strife is a direct result of the monarchy's failure to uphold this commitment. "Don't you understand," he contends, "that all these tribulations that we

have endured take their origin from God's just judgment?"⁵⁰¹ Épinac further argues that the monarch's secular power on earth is directly contingent on his willingness to defend the faith: "Don't you see that he has given you this scepter under certain conditions, and that he threatens to take it again from your hands if you do not fulfill for him this promise that you have made so solemnly?"⁵⁰² Polemical criticisms of the monarch clearly escalated by the late 1570s, not only in sheer frequency, but also in the explicitness of their censures. Épinac's harangue, for example, was printed for general readership, but was originally delivered directly to the Estates General in Blois.

After 1584, polemicists in Lyon widely discussed their loss of faith in the king and voiced their support for the Catholic League.⁵⁰³ Criticisms of the king and Henry of Navarre both reinforced the notion that religious orthodoxy was inextricably linked to royal legitimacy and power.⁵⁰⁴ In the 1560s, no Catholic polemic overtly criticized the monarch. In the 1570s, only one out of ten of my sources signaled a disillusionment with Catherine or Henry III. After 1584, however, one third of all the pamphlets published over the next decade admonished the monarch or signaled a clear preference for alternate Leaguer leadership.

At times, authors couch their disapproval of Catherine and Henry III in sarcasm and satire. Pierre Chastain hypothesized that only a self-destructive fool would contemplate a union with the heretical prince of Navarre, precisely what Henry III was pursuing at the time. Chastain notes that "a secret pact with the heretics forged under the guise of a desire for peace and tranquility for our times" would be terribly ill-founded.⁵⁰⁵ Anyone can plainly see, he continues, "that this supports heresy, which only leads to the

diminishment of the Catholic religion and thus the state, with which it is inseparably united.”⁵⁰⁶ Such accusations and criticisms would only be valid, of course, “*if we were dealing with a king who loved his own station, health, and security more than the defense of his own people.*”⁵⁰⁷

More often than not, however, condemnations of the monarch became explicit, especially after Henry III murdered the heroes of the radical Catholic faction, the duke and the cardinal of Guise.⁵⁰⁸ Pierre Matthieu, a noted playwright, poet, and one of the most zealous Leaguer publicists in Lyon, denied the possibility of France ever falling into the hands of a heretic or a tyrant.⁵⁰⁹

The scepter of France has never been known to permit
A Huguenot or a Tyrant to wield it.
The sacred flower of the crown hates a heretic
As much as a Turk, Pagan, Barbarian, or a Nero.
It would rather suffer to be ruled by a woman,
Contrary to Salic Law, than to have him for its King.
Just as the Church cannot have a head against itself,
So France cannot have a heretical Monarch.⁵¹⁰

Claude de Rubys also felt no need to restrain himself after the assassinations at Blois.

The very worst type of man, he argues, is one who “is stricken with the vice of ingratitude and who has forgotten the benefits that he has received . . . [such a man is like] a young wolf who sucks and grows from the milk and the breasts of a poor sheep. But when he grows up, he wants to rip apart the poor innocent creature who has so lovingly raised him.”⁵¹¹ Referring to Henry III’s subsequent death at the hands of an assassin, all Catholics should fall to their knees and praise God for sending a ‘David’ to slay this horrible ‘Goliath’: “This good and holy religious, brother Jacques Clement (the memory of whom be forever honored in the Christian church), has taken an action

meritorious and agreeable to God, sacrificing his own life to deliver the realm from the persecution of a Tyrant.”⁵¹²

Allegiance to the Catholic League remains unchallenged in the early 1590s. There was doubtless some censorship imposed on the Lyonnais presses by the Leaguer-dominated council from 1590 through 1593, but enthusiasm for the Leaguer political movement and the polemics produced by their adherents appears genuine.⁵¹³ After the death of Henry III at the hands of Jacques Clément, Leaguer polemicists sought to discredit Henry of Navarre and outlined arguments that no “heretic,” repentant or not, could ever sit on the throne of most-Christian France. In “The Scourge of Heretics,” an anonymous author argues that “it is more impossible that a heretic be king of France than a woman, because we are all required to obey the law of God even more than Salic law.”⁵¹⁴ Good Catholics, the author argues, must turn their backs on royalists, Protestants, and *Politiques* who have solicited for moderation and acceptance of Henry IV despite his religious background. Previous peace treaties sculpted by accommodationists at court have created more problems than they have solved: “For all the evils that Catholics endure, and have endured, and will endure in the future, you *Politiques* who call yourselves Catholics are solely to blame. Because without your assistance and the aid of the cities on your side, [Henry], and the rest of his heretics, would now hold only La Rochelle and his kingdom of Bearn.”⁵¹⁵ The author contends that moderation and a failure to fully exterminate those seeking to install a Protestant on the throne of France have brought the current troubles to France’s doorstep. Had Catherine and other appeasers cleansed the nation of heresy when they had a chance, and

if *Politiques* were not continuing to offer him political and military backing, “[Henry] wouldn’t have raped the kingdom as he has done in the last seven or eight months. He wouldn’t have ruined entire cities that you besieged and stole for him. He wouldn’t have murdered so many good Catholics.”⁵¹⁶

In advocating an heir other than Henry IV, Leaguer polemicists argued for a clear break from the hereditary line. Polemicists forwarded a number of arguments justifying this change. In one anonymous treatise, an author argues that the French monarchy is actually elective rather than hereditary. It is only because the French people have had no sufficient cause in the past to reject the monarch that they have not done so.⁵¹⁷ Choosing a monarch based on religion does contradict hereditary succession, the author continues, but it upholds a more important divine law that commands his people to defend the Catholic faith.⁵¹⁸

Most members of the League were by no means in favor of radical political change, such as a form of democracy or a republic. They simply wanted to shift the hereditary line to someone more trustworthy and *Tres-Chrestien*. History is not without precedents for changing dynastic bloodlines either, the author argues. “When God wants to punish a people, he sends them impious princes. All histories provide ample witness of this. Even the greatest monarchies and kingdoms have fallen in this way.”⁵¹⁹ Paving the way for Charles X or Philip II to take the crown (the polemicist is in favor of either, or any other king chosen by the Estates General), he argues that the overthrow of the Merovingian dynasty by Pepin legitimizes removing secular power from the next heir in line, Henry of Navarre. Pepin’s actions prove, in the author’s argument, “first, that the

monarchy was elected and, second, that the Estates of France were not required to pass down the crown to the next relative of the preceding king.”⁵²⁰

V. Conclusion

Of all the themes I traced through this body of polemical sources, writers’ views concerning the importance of printing and preaching, the dangers of iconoclasm and the external threat to the physical institutions of the Catholic Church, the willingness for Protestants to recant and rejoining the religious and social body faithful, and criticism of the monarchy are the most closely tied to political and military events. The first is consistently high throughout the wars. Nevertheless, there is little doubt that the initial outbreak of hostility served as the catalyst to immediately spur on publications and convinced polemicists of the necessity to openly debate the religious issues of the day. When Protestants destroyed monasteries and churches in and around the city, they provided useful material for writers in the immediate aftermath and toward the end of the wars when the threat of a renewed assault on church buildings and priests lingered around the possible assumption of a “heretic” to the throne of most-Catholic France.

The massacres of 1572 provided a moment in which writers chided and encouraged Protestants to abjure their error and return to the Catholic faith. Many did so, but the inability of the monarchy and the Guise family to solidify their military gains meant that the wars continued, and the increasingly likely possibility of Henry of Navarre’s ascension animated those authors who believed that Huguenots could never return to the Catholic Church. By this logic, Henry IV’s desire for the throne of France could never “rightfully” come to fruition because a confirmed heretic could never assume

the throne. Increasing criticism of the monarchy dovetailed with political arguments denying the line of succession to anyone who acted against “God’s will” or the Holy Union.

CHAPTER 5 – MONSTROUS ABOMINATIONS AND SOWERS OF DISCORD

In the previous chapter, I analyzed issues important to polemicists that changed as the vagaries of political and military power shifted throughout the Religious Wars. The way in which Catholic writers characterized themselves and their opponents also changed as the events on the ground made some arguments more or less relevant. But there are certain themes that emerge in the discourse of the poison press, even if the application of those “truisms” may change.

For example, writers routinely describe the enemy as monstrous or otherwise subhuman. Doubtless any war propaganda seeks to “dehumanize” the enemy (Huguenots and royalists also employ this same tactic in their pamphlets), but it is doubly important in civil war when the justifications for killing fellow countrymen are harder to argue. Catholic writers utilized popular fears of the hidden or subversive and also characterized their enemy as infiltrating society from the shadows, hiding their true intentions. Their ultimate goal was to destroy Christian and social unity and concord by sowing divisiveness. Often, polemicists found it more effective to highlight the insurrectionary results of Protestantism rather than address any particular theological tenet. One bit of Reformed doctrine, predestination, was used to portray Huguenots as sexual deviants and libertines. Free from the threat of sin possible with free will, they argued, Protestants believe they will be forgiven any transgression.

I. The Hidden, the Deceptive, and the Divisive

Writers excelled at the art of characterization in their polemics. Claude d’Espence’s and Ambrosius Catharinus’ treatises in the 1540s, for example, centered on

complex doctrinal debate, and in this respect were oriented more toward their fellow clergymen. They also aimed their barbs at the progenitors of the Protestant Reformation, Martin Luther and John Calvin. In contrast, authors in the 1560s attacked Protestants living among them directly and collectively in a number of specific ways.

Catholic authors highlighted the “secrecy” of the Protestant faith, capitalizing on the common impression in the sixteenth century that anything intentionally hidden from view, from night-time church services to a woman’s face underneath a layer of makeup, was devious and suspect. Necessarily cautious, members of the Protestant faith had little choice but to meet in each other’s homes and in small conventicles away from prying eyes. Despite the obvious reason for this discretion, polemical authors argued that this practice illustrated the basic falsity and corrupt nature of their faith—if their religion was the one truth, they would proclaim it from the rooftops.

One of the most common methods of denigrating Protestant ministers was to play on the metaphor of the shepherd and his flock. Rather than protecting those in their charge, Protestant preachers dress themselves in the guise of truth: “their cloak is nothing other than sheep’s clothing, under which is hidden and concealed a ravenous wolf.”⁵²¹ Their motivation, Benoist argued, was not to save but to condemn. Thus, “. . . like poison [their doctrine] would be rejected by everyone if it were plainly presented.”⁵²² Just as any good doctor or apothecary, he argued, Protestant ministers disguise their foul-tasting goals in something sweeter, their oratorical skill: “*Voilà*, this is why our adversaries hate the truth and why they fall back on rhetoric and pretty words: to disguise their lie. And because of this they make themselves highly suspect of lying and deception”⁵²³

Gabriel de Saconay charged that Huguenots hid their intentions “under the guise of being reformers” (*soubs couleur de gens Reformés*).⁵²⁴ The title of “reformer” was an honored one long before the sixteenth century, but Protestants, Saconay alleged, called themselves such to disguise their true intentions.⁵²⁵ Whatever these intentions are, it is difficult to say much of anything about their faith because they carry out their “plots and designs” (*entreprinses & menées*) in secret.⁵²⁶

Regardless of the particulars of what happens during their services, however, their aims for the nation are clear, according to the writer and poet Claude de Pontoux. Their goal is to corrupt the second estate and turn it against the crown: “These are the gentlemen of means that assist the prince / they mean to take over the kingdom or some province, / Under the guise of wanting the church to reform. / Voila the pretty cloak which they carry in arm / to conceal their designs that are all too apparent.”⁵²⁷ Like the father of lies, says Claude de Rubys, they are willing to pervert the scriptures to further these goals, and, sadly, they were successful. In 1562, he notes, Lyon fell under the sway of those pastors who spread through the city, “with their ‘makeup-painted’ faces, dressed in sheep’s clothing, carrying an appearance of the gospel right up front, and, like their tutor Satan, always some passage of scripture in their mouth.”⁵²⁸

In many ways, the threat of Protestantism after the death of the remaining Catholic heir in 1584 brought a frightening immediacy to the religious conflict that had not existed in the decades before. Writers described the new threat that a heretic might assume the French throne as an unmitigated tragedy. Compounding this concern was a

sense that Henry III was either, at best, sympathetic to the Reformed Church or, at worst, plotting to overturn the Catholic Church altogether.

References to the fears of plots and subversive efforts of Protestant leaders double after 1584. In much the same way as their predecessors in the 1560s and 1570s, polemicists continued to attack the Protestants for their adherence to a “so-called” religion that couched its poison under a “shadow” of peace and biblical literalism.⁵²⁹ Writers depicted Henry of Navarre as irredeemably villainous when he pledged that he would support Catholic freedoms were he to assume the throne. This, said one anonymous author, is simply the prince of Satan spouting “poison that he wants to slip into your souls after making it appear to be sugar-sweet.”⁵³⁰ Authors routinely voiced the belief that all men caught in the “shadowy abysses of heresy” (*les tenebreux abysses de l’heresie*) were capable, or indeed compelled, to lie and deceive.⁵³¹

What changes after 1584, however, is that those supporting an immediate peace and some form of religious toleration, as well as the monarch himself, are depicted in much the same fashion.⁵³² Governor Mandelot, for example, was praised by an anonymous author for “vigorously hating the motleys, that is to say those who favor the heretics under the guise of Catholicism.”⁵³³ These “motley” *Politiques* are nothing more than men “without faith or conscience, who screw around as readily as a chameleon changes his colors according to the object you put him on.”⁵³⁴ In this context, the governor won accolades for refusing to assent to “devious” *Politique* efforts toward religious toleration for the sake of peace.

Another anonymous writer used the death of the prince of Condé, a leading general of Protestant military forces, as an opportunity to attack Protestants for their “ruses.” With their skillful deceptions, he continues, members of the Reformed Church “have seduced the most important princes and lords with their flatteries and their honey-tongued speech. And they have instilled in these men the errors of their divisiveness, which they call zeal for the purely preached word of God.”⁵³⁵ Even worse than such duplicity, the author continues, is that when Protestants fail to instill their “stinking cause” through their “sweet intentions,” they persistently fall back onto their secondary plan of action, which is to “take up cruel and bloody arms, without respect to the king, the law, religion, piety, or charity, and rebel against their own blood, neighbors and friends.”⁵³⁶ Similarly, Jean Masle attacked the seemingly sweet reformed preachers he had heard as a child as cruel deceivers.⁵³⁷ Their “hypocrisy, pestilence, and heresy” were hidden behind their evangelical façade. But in the end it was nothing more than the make-up (*fard*) of a charlatan: “And as for me, when I was much younger, I was willingly seduced by their words: But soon I realized it was the make-up and lies of the deformed.”⁵³⁸

Pamphlets published after Henry III assassinated the Guise brothers in late 1588 brim with references to the shape-shifting deceivers of the times.⁵³⁹ In one anonymous pamphlet, Henry III is lumped together with the *Politiques* and the very worst of the princes who have turned against Catholic France in the pursuit of wealth and power. These people, the pamphlet argues, hold no consistent views of any kind, and all France must vow to oppose them in any way possible:

No, no. All cities must swear themselves against all these whores, *Politiques*, Catholic hypocrites, Catholics who assist them, and any manner of people who typically follow the heretics. Pledge yourself against anyone who is cool to the service of God, or who is little concerned with the public state, people who change their color as they choose and serve anyone in any circumstances, and all those who only keep an eye out for their own future and particular gain.⁵⁴⁰

For Catholic writers, the uncomfortable knowledge that the presumed future king of the realm had already converted once and then quickly abjured Catholicism contributed to such concerns.

Immediately after Henry IV's conversion to Catholicism, polemicists lamented what they saw as the certainty that Navarre would turn away from his conversion and wage war on the Catholic Church, assaulting priests, destroying churches and burning icons and relics in a new wave of iconoclastic fury. In this atmosphere, Henry IV's calls for unity (though in this case unity in support of the legitimate hereditary monarch rather than religious orthodoxy) were ruses to catch the nation unaware. Royalists and Catholic moderates, by this line of reasoning, were charlatans, plotters, and deceivers who assumed the mantle of peace only until it suited them to reveal their true natures. Navarre's abjuration was nothing but a ploy and, like all Protestants, he only wanted to lull the nation into a false sense of security before unleashing his destruction on the Holy Roman Catholic Church.

Authors argued that the assassinations and treachery at Blois were typical of heretics and *Politiques*. The memory of that event, wrote one anonymous author, is engraved in all those fortunate enough not to have fallen into the "flatteries" (*allechemens*) of the heretics and "worldly vicissitudes" (*considerations mondaines*) of the *Politiques*.⁵⁴¹ Military narratives, increasingly popular in the last years of the

Religious Wars, often refer to this theme. The duke of Mercure, in his battlefield account *Discovrs de la deffaicte de l'armée du Prince de Dombes*, maintains that a renewed campaign to annihilate the Reformed Church is the only lasting means to protect the nation “against the violence of the *Politiques* and the tricks that the heretics use to seduce so many people from the holy cause.”⁵⁴² Fortunately, however, the Catholic League and all Catholics willing to assume the task of cleansing the nation of the “contagion” of heresy, can count on God’s assistance in their task: “Behold how God protects his own, having three times broken the plots of the heretics and those who think it possible that they might ever possess this land, plant their heresy in Brittany, and turn it into an eternally miserable province.”⁵⁴³

Doubtless the emphasis placed on Henry’s own willingness to change his religious confession contributed heavily to the use of this theme in the 1590s. Many authors from this period write satires which purported to be confidential letters of Henry written to mentors or generals in the Protestant army. In such sources, criticism of secrecy and deceit is pervasive. In a satire published in 1590, the author, writing in the guise of one *Politique* confiding to another, laments the present difficulties facing Henry IV. Navarre’s army weakens day by day, the *Politique* complains, and his coffers are running low since “most of the nobility have discovered that the king only pretends to want to be Catholic. All the better to seize cities and fortresses so he can abolish the performance of the Catholic religion through the entire kingdom.”⁵⁴⁴

In another faux correspondence between Henry IV and his pastor, Henry listens approvingly to advice that he should slyly make war on the religious orders by declaring

them incompatible with the pursuit of peace. The king should also put all his Catholic French forces in the vanguard of any siege so they will be either killed or the first to pillage the city, thereby gaining the enmity of the populace.⁵⁴⁵ The king pledges to take all these suggestions to heart, affirming repeatedly that his faith in Protestantism has never wavered: “I received my religion from the milk and womb of my mother, and it is so bound, established, and unified within me that I would abandon thirty kingdoms and crowns before losing the faith and promises I have made for it.”⁵⁴⁶ His only true goal as monarch of France, he continues, is to ruin the papacy and overthrow the temples of Catholic “idolaters.”⁵⁴⁷

II. Moral Deviance and Libertinism

This secrecy fed into a second characterization of the Protestant faith, at least in the early years of the Religious Wars, that it was an excuse to permit sexual deviancy.⁵⁴⁸ Protestants met in secret, at night, and invited congregations of mixed genders. With little other clear knowledge of the specifics of these gatherings, imaginations ran wild. Certainly some authors did not believe the rumors and were only exploiting them for propagandistic purposes, but there is evidence that some people believed the allegations or, at least, felt the allegation was substantial enough to use it in a ploy to avoid arrest. Criminal records point to at least one occasion when an accused “heretic” arrested at a meeting was, in fact, only a single man hoping to enjoy the delights which popular rumor assured him took place.⁵⁴⁹ Partly because of this depiction, Protestant women faced substantial risk of rape and were unable to accuse their attackers for fear of reprisal.⁵⁵⁰

Polemicists portrayed the doctrine of predestination, interpreted incorrectly as simply the freedom to commit any manner of sin since the salvation of one's soul had already been decided, as a horrific doctrine that would open the floodgates of vice and release the very worst of humanity into society. In 1562, the senate of Savoy passed an edict ordering all families to attend the sermons and religious functions of the Catholic Church on pain of a monetary fine of 10 *livres*.⁵⁵¹ The purpose of the measure was to forestall the effects of the dangerous "Huguenot sect," which sought the freedom of the flesh rather than the law of God.⁵⁵² As Saconay contended, "The words of the Heretics are only the words of carnal freedom, covered only in some simulated appearance to deceive the less prudent. [These words] are embellished into some pleasing songs, decorated in pretty sayings, and painted in the make-up of worldly knowledge."⁵⁵³

The perception of Protestants as sexually deviant was reinforced by the secrecy of their religious services. Meetings were often held in private homes, at night, and Catholic neighbors and passersby caught only the occasional candle-light or the sound of a hymn. Jean Dedehu, a local doctor of theology, composed a defense of the Eucharist in the form of a battle between virginal truth and the sexual corruption of the world.⁵⁵⁴ In Dedehu's treatise, Calvinists want "to play" (*jouëz*) at performing a Mass, that "holy virgin, the Mass" (*Ceste sainte vierge, la Messe*) for the most perverted of purposes: "These most abominable sects of our times . . . [want] to deflower and prostitute [the Mass], to take away its flower, virginity, its innocence and purity, to mock, dishonor, defame, and degrade its virtue, truth, power, and sanctity. [They want] to kill, murder, and abolish it for everyone, and leave it a horrible, stinking, rotting corpse."⁵⁵⁵ Whereas

the Catholic Mass is holy and pure, a Protestant's service is nothing more than "a Bacchanalian tavern" (*vne pure tauerne Bacchique*).⁵⁵⁶ In the final measure, he maintains, the goal of Protestants is to "create free, deliberate, fearless, insolent, fierce, and impudent sinners."⁵⁵⁷

In 1570, Leonard de la Ville, a local teacher at Trinity and poet, published a tract against Protestants and the doctrine of predestination that, "makes God the author of sin."⁵⁵⁸ This perverse logic, he continues, has encouraged a host of libertines, so much so that they now challenge the majority of god-fearing Catholics: "one can perceive the beginning [of this slide toward atheism] because Libertines today outnumber true Christians and Catholics."⁵⁵⁹ Such logic absolves the usefulness of all laws and punishments, and for this crime alone Calvin deserves not only death, but a heretic's execution on the pyre.⁵⁶⁰

The use of this particular libel fades as the wars of religion progress. Some older writers, like Gabriel de Saconay, still discuss the sexual immorality of Protestants in their polemics into the 1570s. In 1573, Saconay argued that, in exchange for the doctrine of good works and the charity of the Catholic Church, Protestants substitute the easy life of luxury: "In order that this adversarial cult could more easily deceive people, they crafted their lies according to the disposition of specific people. As much as charity is the neighbor of voluptuousness, the sect proposes sensuality to the handsome . . ."⁵⁶¹

Protestants have stained the Gospels and tempted the simple with the freedom of the flesh (*liberté charnelle*). He concludes by alleging that members of the Reformed Church are more worthy of "cleaning the feet of Mohammed, and are falsely called evangelical."⁵⁶²

Even here, though, the emphasis on the sexual immorality of Protestants lacks the explicitness and focus of the previous decade. Attacks on Protestants for their sexual immorality fall by more than half in the second decade, reflecting probably a better understanding of the “enemy.” This theme occurs in one in five sources during the first decade of the wars, half of that figure in the second decade, and in the 1580s and 1590s is almost entirely absent. There is a brief mention that women of looser morals are naturally attracted to Protestantism, but little else.⁵⁶³ Perhaps a decade of war, polemical and oratorical debate, and sectarian popular violence had raised awareness among Catholic authors that Protestants were not motivated by a belief that predestination licensed immorality.

III. Protestants as Monstrous or Subhuman

The most popular and virulent literary attack against Protestants however, and one of the most important to help explain the shocking violence of the Religious Wars, was that Huguenots were at best non-Christian or, more usually, demonic or animals.⁵⁶⁴ Useful for defining the “other,” a monster is “the living example of negative value” whose purpose is to define and reinforce the concept of normality.⁵⁶⁵ In marked contrast to the sexual slanders against member of the Reformed Church, characterizations of the enemy in dehumanizing verbiage remains constant throughout the course of the Religious Wars. In the pages of the “poison press,” approximately one-third of the time Protestants appear as perversions of nature; they are certainly no longer Christian, or often even human, and the salvation of Christian and social society required their extermination.⁵⁶⁶

Immediately after war began in 1562, Anthoine Cathélan, a Franciscan monk, accused Calvin of behaving more like a Jew, a Turk, or a pagan than a Christian.⁵⁶⁷ After Catholics resumed control of the city at the end of the 1560s, Jacques de l'Espervier, an abbot of Saint-Hilaire in Dauphin, described the atrocities of the Protestant forces and marveled at “the murder and blood, the fury and carnage / that they truly seem to contain in their rage. / It almost appears to come from the aid and assistance / of all the demons of hell.”⁵⁶⁸ In 1570 an anonymous author, writing an account of the siege of Bourges, reports that Huguenots proposed actions after they “held the city to their whim that were so astounding, inhumane, and cruel, even barbarians had not thought to invent them.”⁵⁶⁹ According to the pamphlet, after Protestants killed all men and boys that were old enough to carry a weapon, they forced all the new widows to marry them.⁵⁷⁰ Even Leonard Janier, the normally moderate canon of Saint-Rambert in Forêt outside of Lyon, delivered a scathing sermon in 1567 on “his times.” He maintained that “now is the hour when heretics, the children of perdition, spread their wickedness and plant their bastard seed . . . a generation of vipers, enemies of all good will.”⁵⁷¹

The characterization of Protestants as demonic took on an important role during the Wars of Religion when linked with exorcism. Public exorcisms were popular during the first decades of the war and were frequently staged performances meant to paint the reformed church as inspired by Satan. They served as a warning not only to all Catholics about the danger of heresy, but also to those *moyenneurs* and Gaullists who dared to advocate the toleration of religious division within the body politic.⁵⁷²

Far from fellow Frenchmen who may disagree on matters of faith, Huguenots are, in Saconay's mind, like the demons that Christ silenced because he "did not want the truth to be pronounced by their unfit mouths."⁵⁷³ They are "ravenous wolves" seeking to devour the faithful; or, claimed Saconay, they are "enraged dogs, serpents that crawl on their belly, and dragons covered in enormous scales. [They are] asps, basilisques, and scorpions. They are foxes and monkeys imitating human form. Look at how this disciple of the Apostles [St. Ignatius] called heretics monkeys (among many other fine epithets)."⁵⁷⁴ In this treatise, Saconay explored historical precedents to discover how heretics such as Gnostics and Albigensians had been signified and defeated in earlier epochs.⁵⁷⁵ The image of the monkey comes from a classical bestiary by Philostratus, who claimed that "the sick Lion cannot find medicine to soothe himself, so he will eat a male monkey or a female monkey, or drink the blood of one."⁵⁷⁶ In Saconay's mind, the country and the king are sick from the heretical infection and the evil antics of these "perverse monkeys." The cure is for the king of France, the "Lion of Judaex," to devour the monkeys plaguing the realm, even if they are sure to cause "indigestion" (*mauvaise digestion*):

The means to attain healing . . . is to devour and exterminate these evil male and female monkeys, who are heretics and enemies of the divine majesty. This is the same remedy [Ignatius] proposes to maintain peace, union, and concord, and to recover the health of his little lions and faithful subjects, who have been sorely troubled and distressed by these seditious monkeys. Thus, one makes a sacrifice to God, chastising with good and exemplary justice their loathsome blasphemies.⁵⁷⁷

Here Saconay explicitly joins dehumanizing rhetoric with the recommendation that political power be used to exterminate the "non-human" enemy within the country. In

this fashion, polemic during the first decade of the wars served to legitimize an uncompromising and violent stance against Protestantism.

After the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, the same rhetoric was used to justify and praise political leaders thought to have orchestrated the killings. One anonymous author urged all good Catholics who were considering leniency or forgiveness to remember "how very easily these foxes operate. They may push their case with evangelical zeal, but this is rather a bloody desire to ruin everything, and to wage the siege of Satan against the reign of Jesus Christ. They want to ruin everyone, and to infect the world with venom from their whorish and filthy heresy, with which they are inseparably united."⁵⁷⁸ They are animals, or even "devils incarnate," capable of the most savage of crimes. Who can forget, he laments, "how up to now they have violated the marriages of both women and girls, and then slaughtered them. They have cut off their arms and their fingers . . . an act more cruel and terrible than man can imagine."⁵⁷⁹

IV. Conclusions

Polemicists demonstrate narrative consistency when they depict their enemy. The attack on members of the Reformed Church as sexually deviant is an exception, and it diminishes, perhaps, because general awareness of Protestantism and its adherents grows. Accusations pertaining to Huguenots' desire to foster disobedience and sow discord from the shadows is consistently popular, though it does become more prevalent during the chaotic late 1580s and early 1590s.

However, one can detect other, more static, threads of discourse within polemics in the depictions of Protestants and their effect on society. The accusation of Protestants

as monstrous or subhuman remains high throughout the wars. Polemicists employ this characterization when describing royalists and *Politiques* as well. Doubtless, these types of depictions are powerful from the simple standpoint that they immediately grab a reader's attention and make for viscerally interesting images. Given the nature of civil war, the dehumanization of the enemy provides polemicists with an effective argument lessening the moral implications of waging war against a fellow citizen, countryman, or family member. The accusations that Protestants foster discord within society and that they routinely hide or disguise their true intentions is also a prevalent theme that, even if it may become more frequent during the chaotic last years of the conflict, is one of the most popular themes throughout this body of literature.

These depictions share the view that the present times are a perversion from the idealistic norm that was present in France before the Wars of Religion began. Polemicists routinely depict the first half of the century as a golden age where France was strong, pure, and, perhaps most importantly, unified from a social, religious, and political standpoint. Working from this initial standpoint, however fictionalized it may be, members of the Reformed Church shattered this idealized, unified world.

CHAPTER 6 – “LES INTESTINES GUERRES”

I would now like to turn to an overview of the ways in which polemicists conceptualized their own times, the causes of the wars, and the debate within the genre regarding whether the wars should continue toward “victory” or end immediately. The causes of the Religious Wars have been debated within historiography for centuries. For much of this time, explanations focusing on economic or political factors remained the most popular. Protestants were, at the root, rebelling members of a new urban proletariat, or wealth-hungry nobles who began and sustained the wars in the absence of a powerful monarchy.⁵⁸⁰ Polemical authors usually do not describe the wars in this way, however.

Rather, pamphleteers reiterate over and over that religion is the central point of contention throughout the wars. Denis Crouzet’s influential work, *Les guerriers de Dieu*, argued persuasively that sixteenth-century France was awash in cheap religious texts, especially those brimming with apocalyptic themes and content. While I agree that religion is doubtless the most important issue on the minds of polemicists, I found surprisingly few references to the end times or the second coming. Writers during the wars agreed that their present times were one of unparalleled destruction and destitution, but they accredit their woes to Protestantism and, more specifically, the disunity it created within the social and spiritual body of the country.

The current state of the nation, they maintain, is one in which all manner of social, political, and religious hierarchies have been turned “topsy-turvy,” but this does not presage the coming of the apocalypse. Rather, there is always an important message contained within most polemic addressing the means to rectify the situation, namely the

extirpation of the contagion creating division. This goal, as I will discuss further in the next chapter, influences writers heavily when they debate whether the civil wars should end immediately regardless of any long term goals such as religious unity, or if they should continue on in the hope that, eventually, Catholic forces will prove victorious and eliminate the “heretical cancer” blighting the land.

I. Money is the Root of all Evil and the End Times

The relative scarcity of expressions of tax concerns or that money is a root cause of the wars in France by contemporaries is intriguing. During the first two decades after the outbreak of hostilities, only 10 percent of Lyonnais polemics mention tax concerns of any kind. Less than 5 percent in the same period portray economic concerns (nobles greedy for wealth and power, for example) as an important motivation in the wars—also, these 5 percent overlap with the 10 percent discussing taxes, so only 10 percent total mention either of these issues. An anonymous pamphlet addressed to the gentlemen of Paris hypothesizes that perhaps some among the Protestants “were drawn into their abominable sect” for monetary reasons: “And they tempted to their side (*à leur cordelle*) many people, whether because they were young, or had a weak will, or because they were so indebted that they could never free themselves without pillaging the goods of others.”⁵⁸¹ But the argument is simply a passing insult in a piece of inflammatory rhetoric focusing much more heavily on religious and social solidarity.

Philibert Bugnyon wrote poems in which he discussed the rapacious nature of Protestants and, perhaps even worse, war profiteers.⁵⁸² He notes, “Against the law of charity / they have sacked their neighbors and their stores / and those of merchants and

noblemen. / Because they want such huge sums of money”⁵⁸³ The poet begged God for retribution and just punishment against “those who profit from the wars, / and who have increased their lands, . . .” especially nobles who have placed their own selfish considerations over those of the nation and religious truth.⁵⁸⁴ Pierre d’Épinac also complained to the king of rising tax burdens, arguing that “as Hadrian once said, the budget, or the public finances, is the spleen in our body: the more it is fattened and swollen, the more the rest of the body becomes dry and feverish. And when the budget grows to enrich favorites, the people resent it and are impoverished.”⁵⁸⁵ The “favorites” (*les particuliers*) in question were members of Henry III’s retinue, especially Jean-Louis de Nogaret, Duc d’Epernon, and Anne, Duc de Joyeuse.⁵⁸⁶ Criticism of Henry III’s “cutesy-boys” (*mignons*) became ever more strident as the wars ground on and the Catholic League grew in popularity.

Though polemicists failed to discuss monetary concerns in their writing, taxes were high and growing higher throughout the war, and cost of living increases, inflation, or other economic difficulties were a source of hardship for the majority of the French. In reality, the falling bequests to the church, rising costs of living, the intense financial pressures on the city, and the peasant revolts over taxation and the price of grain all indicate severe strains. While it may be tempting to speculate that financial issues were not prime considerations for churchmen, who penned a significant portion of religious polemics, the Catholic Church experienced significant financial pressures along with everyone else. The king’s demands for *decimes* (meant to be a tenth of the annual

revenue, these contributions varied widely as the monarchy had no idea of the true value of total ecclesiastical assets) became more common over the course of the civil wars.⁵⁸⁷

Nevertheless, polemicists chose to portray the conflicts in largely religious terms. On the one hand, the fact that this practice continued despite the clear indication that financial pressures were the source of a number of local upheavals comments on the dangers of viewing these sources as a measure of public opinion.⁵⁸⁸ Those penning these texts are almost all from the upper crust of society. While everyone in France doubtless felt the horrors of war in some fashion, their independent wealth surely insulated them from some of the worst privations. On the other hand, though, authors desired to sell their works in a public market and also to shape opinion in some fashion. They evidently felt that emphasizing the religious controversy was integral to those goals.

The source body does indicate a rise in these themes as the monetary pressures rose even further in the 1580s and municipalities faced increasing needs to fund local militias to protect their populaces from the guerrilla warfare tactics common toward the latter stages of the wars. Complaints of rapacious nobles continuing the wars for their own ends increased. The economic costs of the fighting, measured in lost harvests, rising costs of living, or increasing taxation levels, were substantial burdens, and condemnations of these costs appear more frequently as well.⁵⁸⁹ Nobles and members of the church hierarchy became reluctant to support Henry III with the funds necessary to combat the Protestants, especially as authors viewed the monarchy's penchant for appeasement as contradictory to the end-goal of religious orthodoxy imposed through force.

In the 1580s just over 15 percent of sources discuss money as a root cause of France's difficulties (as opposed to heresy or God's wrath) or lament the tax burden.⁵⁹⁰ Nonetheless, authors continued to voice strident calls for the king to mount a crusade against the pollution of heresy. This comments on the danger in assuming that complaints over financial hardships can translate into an argument advocating an end to the wars. Even as they lamented the dismal financial conditions of the nation, many of these same authors simultaneously called for an end to clerical taxation, which was an important source of revenue for the crown and would doubtless prove even more so in the event of a renewed campaign against the members of the Reformed Church. Bishop Angennes argued that the king too should render to God what is God's and to Caesar what is Caesar's. "That is to say to your majesty [we owe] obedience, service, and our submission as is due; but do not think anymore that you can justly and reasonably use the wealth of the Church to pay those whom you have employed for the wars or other purposes."⁵⁹¹ Bishop Langelier also urged an end to the *decimes*. In the past this tax had only been levied in *extraordinaire* circumstances, the bishop noted, but now every year appeared quite extraordinary.⁵⁹² The tax burdens on the poor clergy and the lay folk have also spiraled out of control, argued polemicists. A petition from a lesser cleric made to the duke of Épernon during his visit at Rouen complained that the priests of the city were reduced to drinking water instead of wine.⁵⁹³

Writers occasionally argued that greed was a cause itself of the civil wars, or at least a worsening factor. Pierre Chastain complained about how the gluttony of warmongering noblemen and their rapacious mercenary forces worsened the plight of the

poor: “This hailstorm and tempest [of mercenaries] lays waste to harvests, vineyards, and fruits, tears down trees, destroys roofs and roads, and pillages and burns churches and homes.”⁵⁹⁴ As part of his recommendations for a lasting peace, he urges the king to oppose all those who have a selfish interest in war (among mercenaries, Chastain also singles out foreign political leaders, whores, and war profiteers). The majority of the time, however, polemicists overwhelmingly attributed the horrors of war and the evils plaguing France directly to Huguenot perfidy and divine punishment for mankind’s sins and the toleration of division.

Another important theme that received surprisingly little treatment in polemic is the apocalypse or the second coming of Christ. Recently historians have made much of “putting religion back in the Wars of Religion,” accentuating the religious aspects of the French Religious Wars in contrast to earlier emphases on economic motivations or political struggles.⁵⁹⁵ Mack Holt, Barbara Diefendorf, and Denis Crouzet among others have furthered this interpretation.⁵⁹⁶ Renewed historical interest in religious writings such as sermons and religious polemic owes no small debt to their efforts.⁵⁹⁷

Denis Crouzet’s *The Warriors of God* is a masterful work that played a substantial role in reorienting the field of sixteenth-century French history toward issues of religion and spirituality.⁵⁹⁸ In it he argued that sixteenth-century Catholicism was infused with apocalyptic dread. Crouzet sees in the almanacs, astrological tables, and books of predictions a culture “panicked” by the imminence of Judgment Day and filled with mental anguish as it anticipated the coming of the end.⁵⁹⁹ Calvin and the Reformed religion, on the other hand, represented a force for *disanguissement*, or “disanguishment.”

According to Crouzet, Calvinism, with its doctrine of predestination, its requirement to focus solely on Christ, and its advice that the faithful turn away from thought of the future and the anguish such thoughts caused, was a source of relief for many.

Does religious polemic uphold this model of pervasive anguish in the Catholic community? Discussions of the second coming are quite common in the sixteenth century, to be sure. Almost a tenth of all titles published by Michael Jove, Benoist Rigaud, and Jean Patrasson (all of whom specialized in religious polemic) are works of the prophetic genre: contemporary disaster literature (the shocking flood of the Rhône, for example), almanacs, prophetic books, comet and dragon sightings, and astrologies. Such sources played a central role in Crouzet's scholarship.

Nevertheless, specific references to the apocalypse or the second coming of Christ are surprisingly rare in religious polemic. Barely five percent of the sources from 1560 to 1594 contain any eschatological reference and, except for Leonard Janier's 1577 sermon on judgment day, each reference is present only once or rarely within the text. Jean de la Gessée in a battle account concludes with a fatalistic call for the reader to remember the temporal nature of this world: "Nevertheless, know that the sky must fall at some point. So too the earth, the mountains and the seas will crumble, and all those things created from nothing will return to nothing." Only God's kingdom will prove immune for all eternity to the kind of seditions, wars, and sieges afflicting France.⁶⁰⁰

An anonymous pamphlet published in 1574 also mentions the end times, but here it serves as a rhetorical flourish, as a call for renewed opposition. "It may be," the author concludes, "that this is at long last the time of the Antichrist and that [Christ's] eternal

sacrifice [in the Mass] may be suspended for a time . . . but let it at least be said that it didn't happen on our watch!"⁶⁰¹ Finally, Gabriel de Saconay describes Martin Luther as the henchman of Satan and the dragon of the Apocalypse, a man who, under the pretext of proclaiming the gospel and the word of God, has "vomited from his stinking mouth" these new heresies onto the world.⁶⁰²

These references to the end times read more like asides than as central arguments or even prominent sub-themes. While apocalyptic references were present in Catholic polemic, they appear to represent only a minor theme in this genre on the whole. This is surprising given the popularity of the motif in other works of literature. Nevertheless, the question remains to be answered: if apocalyptic works evidently sold reasonably well in other genres, why did religious polemicists so carefully avoid this theme? It seems to me that portraying the world of the late sixteenth century as one step away from the second coming diminishes the possibility of a human solution or a cure to France's ailments. Polemicists routinely described their society and their times as destitute, polluted, troubled, and generally inferior to those that came before. But those same authors rarely shied away from providing the solution to this situation. After all, France had endured similar periods of heretical pollution in its past. Writers frequently alluded to the Cathar heresy and trumpeted impassioned pleas to Charles IX or Henry III to take up the cross of their predecessors and launch a sixteenth-century version of the Albigensian crusade.⁶⁰³ Only after cleansing the faith of the "new opinion" or the "Lutheran heresy" could France return to its initial purity. Only then would God lift his hand of vengeance from the nation.

II. The Intestinal War and the World Upside-Down

It is not surprising that polemicists characterized their world and their society in dire terms. A religious civil war pitting neighbor against neighbor could hardly be described otherwise. However, the depiction of the state of France as worse than that of the past was a motif that proved increasingly popular among writers in the latter stages of the Religious Wars. Such characterizations jumped dramatically, in fact, after St. Bartholomew's Day. In fact, the number of Catholic sources that make a point of lamenting their contemporary times and those that compare France or Lyon to a sickly human body, a common way to speak to the social health of the nation, both more than triple after 1572 and appear in more than half of all sources printed. While these two motifs are not explicitly connected, they both address concerns that France and its political head (the king and his advisors) were in a period of decline.

One anonymous poem bemoans that France has become a body at war with itself against all its own best interests, "so enraged, fighting against itself, / and its two fists are its own butchers."⁶⁰⁴ Another anonymous pamphleteer places the blame squarely on the shoulders of religious heterodoxy. "This diversity of two religions was an easily sufficient cause for creating these enormous troubles, wars, and afflictions, since it has always been clear that it is impossible for two religions to exist together in one country."⁶⁰⁵ But Protestants knew this and proceeded to tear France asunder regardless, "[deliberately] spreading this evil humor into the larger body in order to ruin and destroy it."⁶⁰⁶

The metaphor was a popular and ancient one, familiar to both ecclesiastics and lay audiences.⁶⁰⁷ The notion of France as a body became more common in polemic after the massacres as the wars continued and the likelihood of a religious compromise receded. Rather than a brief resurgence of a temporary heretical movement, or a dispute over doctrine that could be solved by religious council, the situation in the 1570s must have appeared even more intractable. Even the massacre of thousands of Protestants and a good many of their most important commanders in 1572 failed to end the civil wars. It was, Saconay maintained, “for good reason that the misfortune[s] of our times [are] characterized as the intestinal wars.”⁶⁰⁸ Protestants, too, depicted France as a body with a terrible sickness at the head, or the king.⁶⁰⁹ François Hotman remarked on the violence of his day:

For as I gave increasing attention to the cause of these calamities, it seemed to me that, even as our own bodies decay (whether by external blows and shocks, or by the inward corruption of humors, or by old age), so too, do commonwealths perish, some by hostile attack, some by internal dissension, and some by senescence.⁶¹⁰

Whether or not the rising use of the body metaphor was inspired by the horrors around them, authors clearly became more willing to point out the unfortunate nature of their times. This shift represents one of the more dramatic changes in the discourse within polemics in the Religious Wars. Expressions that the present time is worse than that before, and that the body of the nation is terribly sick and unhealthy, increase from just 15 percent of all sources before 1572 to over half after the massacres.

It is a motif employed to good effect by all sides. In the 1590s, both Leaguer and royalist forces agreed that France’s current economic, social, and religious situation was

truly dire. The anonymous author of the *Politique* commentary *Satyre Ménippée* introduced his work as an effort to help cure “the miseries” of France.⁶¹¹ Only in days as dark and hopeless as these, he argued, are assassins and mercenaries proclaimed “heroes” and celebrated for their “thievery and their wickedness.”⁶¹² The present times, says Pierre de Bollo, a Dominican from the local monastery of Confort, are the worst France has ever seen.⁶¹³ “Gaul” has traditionally been spared the horrors of religious conflict and the “monsters of errors” that is heresy. But now “this vermin runs through all the districts and all the crossroads of the nation, to the great detriment and loss of all Christianity.”⁶¹⁴

One Leaguer polemicist in 1593 broke from his satirical attack on Henry of Navarre to mourn the chaotic nature of his times. It is nearly impossible to discern anyone’s true allegiances and find men of purity and goodwill, he argues. It is as if “the Devil has made out of [*Politiques*] and other men a fricassée, with chunks of half-Catholics and half-Huguenots.”⁶¹⁵ Everyone just does whatever they please in this “soup” of a world: “Some cry, ‘Live the King’—others, ‘Live the League.’ The unfortunate cry, ‘Live who can.’ Rebels cry, ‘Live Satan.’ Those with gout cry, ‘Live health.’ Drunkards cry, ‘Live wine,’ and soldiers cry, ‘Live war.’”⁶¹⁶ In 1594, after Henry IV clamped down on Leaguer polemicists, Royalist writers highlighted the destitution of the current era just as heavily as polemicists of the Holy Union did before them. Antoine du Verdier, the son of a merchant who attained noble status and membership on the city council, argued that the last four years had been especially difficult on France. The kingdom, he notes, is bringing on itself “the worst disasters: it

witnesses the closing of borders to one another, the abolition of commerce, the cessation and impediment of farming, the ruin of homes, the destruction of castles and suburbs, the burning of villages, the murder and rape of women and girls, and the wielding of arms, that used to protect the fatherland, against itself.”⁶¹⁷ Antoine Loisel also noted that “during these last years there have been so many miseries, afflictions, and hardships that a good many of those that we judge can foresee the future think that the body of the state might be beyond all hope of salvation.”⁶¹⁸

One of the most common ways to describe this brutal and chaotic world was the image of the “world turned upside down.”⁶¹⁹ Protestants, Catholic polemicists argued, set brother against brother, father against son, wife against husband. Diversity of opinion, then, can easily impinge on the orderly functioning of society. It can turn the world “upside-down,” or topsy-turvy from what it should be. Protestants, according to Gabriel de Saconay, speak only in lies and argue that “night is day, death is health, despair is hope, disloyalty is a pretext for faith, and [argue on behalf of] the Antichrist under the name of Christ. So while they are pretending things are true, they really pervert the truth with subtlety.”⁶²⁰ For Catholic polemicists, this propensity for lying arises naturally from the Protestant doctrine of predestination and the “freedom of life and conscience, or to speak more accurately, the abandonment and dissolution [of morality] and the right to commit evil.”⁶²¹ The result of such moral “freedom” destroys the laws that hold society together and results in a state in which “children are against father and mother, servants are against their masters, citizens are against justice, and subjects and vassals are against their kings, princes, and lords.”⁶²² This characterization of societal

upheaval is surely common in a civil war and appears almost word for word in five other titles from this decade. Heresy, Saconay continues, has corrupted the “entire world,” with its affront to God:

The Calvinist poison has taken root so effectively, and through it the Sacraments of God have been profaned, and shocking blasphemies have been uttered so frequently that it has surpassed the impiety of all other heresies. Now such a grand iniquity abounds that the earth (as in the time of the great flood) has been fully corrupted, swelled with iniquity, and is crying out for the vengeance of God.⁶²³

Like many of his fellow polemicists, the inevitable result from such a perversion of the natural order is God’s vengeance.

In this topsy-turvy world, princes have forgotten the noble purpose they are supposed to uphold. In a wrenching pamphlet calling, in 1576, for an end to the brutality of the wars, an anonymous author attacks the perversion of the nobility, who are supposed to maintain the laws passed down to them by God and the king. In this day and age, he states, “who can see you [nobles] as anything other than bastards, since you maintain neither morals, nor reason, nor the manner of behavior of those that we call your fathers? They have no desire other than to dictate laws and order around their betters. You welcome in the lackeys of wolves, reject those that rule, and make laws yourself in your own lands.”⁶²⁴ Claude Angennes, bishop and count of Noyon, argued in 1585 that “of all sorts of divisions and disagreements, religious ones surpass them all.”⁶²⁵ France has witnessed first-hand, he continues, how our religious discord has caused “the father to turn against his son, sons against their father, it has created armies of brothers against their brothers, and husbands divorced from their wives”⁶²⁶ Catholic pamphlet

writers used the world-turned-upside-down motif in almost one third of all their sources during the span of the Religious Wars.

Though the depiction of society in this fashion is consistently prominent throughout the wars, it does change slightly according to political and military developments. In the early phases of the wars, polemicists used the world-turned-upside-down argument to highlight the rebellious nature of the Protestants. The latter cited their allegiance to the king despite the open warfare taking place around them. Writers used these professions of loyalty against the Reformed Church, arguing that they were blatantly hypocritical and that rebellion would inevitably occur in such a topsy-turvy world. After succession to the French crown fell into Protestant hands after the death of Francis of Anjou in 1584, however, many Catholics supported “rebellion” against Henry of Navarre and, by extension, against Henry III’s conciliatory policies toward the Protestant camp.

Within this context, then, the argument surrounding the use of the topsy-turvy world shifts. No longer is the prescription to end the current period of troubles a return to the clearly established and divinely delineated hierarchy. To fix the upside-down world in the 1580s meant the obliteration of the forces interpreted as having created the chaos to begin with, even if doing so meant disobeying a monarchy calling for tolerance and peace. Claude Angennes, while noting the hardships caused to families by the wars, points out how difficult it was for “good” Catholics to live under the failed royal edicts of toleration: “We have suffered, endured, and accommodated ourselves to living with the heretics, because it was necessary at the time But it is foreign to us and completely

abhorrent to our profession and our flock that we must tolerate our enemies and those that hate us so.”⁶²⁷ The bishop can only hope that this abominable countenancing of religious contagion has not left God “irreconcilably angered against us” (*qu’il n’est pas irreconcilablement irrité contre nous*).⁶²⁸

Nicolas Langelier, the bishop of Saint-Brieux, even paints the topsy-turvy world in a positive manner. As Saint Cyril noted, he argues, “when religion is perverted, the good Christian does not obey his parents, since this is a useless and dangerous choice. In fact, the good man abandons all love for his children and brothers and prefers death over life, hoping to find a resurrection to a better life in death.”⁶²⁹ For this reason, he maintains, “the old peace we must hope for is that which joins us with God. If a peace is made that dishonors him and is contrary to his will, then such a peace is abominable and poisonous. Instead of such a peace, we should wish for and praise war.”⁶³⁰ While Langelier addressed this petition to the king in an effort to rouse him toward a new conflict with the Protestants, it is not difficult to imagine the implicit threat to the king’s own throne and legitimacy. Catholics employed the same arguments of resistance theory against Henry III and, later, Henry IV that were developed by Protestants after the St. Bartholomew’s Day massacres. Faced with a choice between religious orthodoxy and loyalty to parents, children, or even, by implication, the monarch, Catholics must choose the former, even if this contributes to the creation of a topsy-turvy world.

The metaphor of the world-turned-upside-down was clearly a powerful one in the sixteenth century, and royalist writers used the motif in their own polemics after 1594. After the submission of the city to royal authority and his censorship, writers

characterized their world as topsy-turvy and out of control, but religious dissention was not the cause of the chaos. Rejection of monarchal authority, they argue, is the direct source of similar breakdowns of judicial, parental, and spousal authority. In fact, royalist polemicists describe their world as upside down in every one of the sources published after the monarch resumed control. The cause of the problems in France, they argued, was not the religious controversies of the period, which can be easily solved with a council or at some later date. Rather, disobeying the hereditary monarch, the head of the divinely instituted social and political order, has caused all of France's ills.

Antoine du Verdier found common themes in Catholic polemic during the 1570s and 1580s, such as the fear of the secret and the hidden and distrust of "opinion" or emotion, useful to further his arguments against the Holy Union. He argued in his pamphlet (composed under the pseudonym of Peter the Axe and addressed to John the Stump), that it was the Catholic League, and not Henry IV, who had pulled the wool over the eyes of France: "Truly [this text] largely attacks those authors of the League who, under the cloak of religion, hijacked the simple, good faith of the people for their own particular ends and schemes. A people, I say, who walked (as Seneca said) not so much where they wanted to go, but rather to the place where another is going or where one leads them. They fought a civil war more because of opinion than reason."⁶³¹ Verdier also focuses on the notion that the rejection of the hereditary monarchy has overturned the natural order of society. He asks a critic of his writings (it is unclear whether this critic is real or imagined because the counter-argument does not exist) what inaccuracies the critic is referring to: "[Was one of these "inaccuracies" my claim] that the League has

divided this beautiful kingdom, violated its laws, overturned all divine and human rights, desolated our cities, besmirched their inhabitants with crimes of betrayal and rebellion, and tortured and bullied the poor? Was it that they have called down a hailstorm of all sorts of miseries on our heads?”⁶³²

Antoine Loisel, Parisian lawyer and former chairman of the tribunal charged with enforcing the various edicts of pacification, voiced similar thoughts in his 1593 *Remonstrance*.⁶³³ The League turned the mentality of the ecclesiastical estate, for example, completely on its head. Rather than preaching goodwill and charity, which, Loisel argues, is the heart of the gospel, clergymen are urging war, suffering, and vengeance: “Because even worse than the destruction of so many homes, villages, castles, and nearly entire cities, even worse than an entire world, full of thorns and bristles, we see and hear a faction of the ecclesiastical estate, those dedicated to teaching others, preaching in public for war, fire, blood, carnage, and pillage. Some among them have even soiled their hands with human and Christian blood.”⁶³⁴ This madness has infected the poor and the peasantry as well, he furthers. If any social group has any incentive to avoid the war, it is them. But they are acting suicidally, delighting in their own destruction: “The common people, who truly pay the costs of this tragedy, are so crazed and beside themselves that they seem to take pleasure in seeing themselves torn to pieces, ruined, and destroyed.”⁶³⁵

Loisel concludes with an allusion to the end days, arguing that the chaos of the 1590s may seem to presage the apocalypse, one of the very few examples of polemics to refer to the end times. “In sum,” he laments, “all the estates of the realm are so corrupted

and changed, the bonds of obedience and authority so loose, the buttresses [of society] so decayed and broken that one can only await the ruin of the last days.”⁶³⁶ But, in the end, he turns away from this description as too defeatist, just like his Leaguer counterparts before him. Where they had urged the extermination of the Protestant “contagion” as a means to restore purity and God’s favor, Loisel argues that returning to a strong monarchy will ease France’s hardship. He concludes that “all of a sudden God gives to us an occasion of more hope than ever” in the abjuration and conversion of Henry IV to Catholicism.⁶³⁷ France can once again unite behind a strong, Catholic king and heal itself.

III. Peace Now or Peace Later

If there was agreement among Catholic polemicists that the present age was one of social and political chaos, destruction, and hardship, there was not always agreement on whether or not the Religious Wars were a cause or a solution to France’s ills. One of the most intriguing and dynamic threads of discourse among these sources concerns the interpretation of the usefulness of a military solution to a fundamentally religious issue. From 1560 to 1571, the sources demonstrate a roughly equal percentage of two views: first, that the wars are a necessary evil, the fires that will purify France of heresy and division and, second, that they are destructive forces from which nothing positive can result. While those in the second camp advocated an immediate end to hostilities, even if this entailed the temporary tolerance of two faiths, writers in favor of continued war believed that only the submission and recantation of Protestants or their annihilation held any chance of providing a lasting peace.

After 1572, polemic leans noticeably toward the opinion that the wars should cease immediately. Argumentation along these lines is almost twice as frequent as those encouraging the wars. This sentiment and the first tentative expressions of the desire for peace and reconciliation presage the development of the *Politique* political movement. Authors express opinions, at least in the early years after the massacres, that the tide had fatally turned against the Protestants and that they should interpret the bloodshed as a sign from God that their doctrine and their resistance was unjust. More often, however, calls to abandon violence stem from a visceral distaste for the horrors of the previous wars.

One intriguing hypothesis concerning the second half of the Religious Wars is that French society and their political allegiance divides along a generational line. Philip Benedict has posited that a large number of the Catholic League during the 1570s and 1580s were members of the older generation who proved unable to cope with or accept the new ideas of the *Politiques*. Despite the influence of the League in political and magisterial circles, Benedict maintains that it continually lost influence with the broader population in the 1580s as the wars degenerated further into relentless struggles marked by nearly constant guerilla engagements fought in the countryside.⁶³⁸

His hypothesis works well in explaining the steadfast dedication to the notion of holy war that Gabriel de Saconay maintained throughout his life and writings.⁶³⁹

Saconay was almost sixty years old when he wrote his *Genealogie et la fin des Hvgvenavx* shortly after the Vespers massacres. For his day, he had already been considered an elder when Protestants seized control of Lyon ten years earlier and sacked

his beloved cathedral of Saint-Jean. It is clear from this work, his longest and most vitriolic, that he was unprepared to forgive them. This polemic is very similar in its argumentation and imagery to numerous others in the 1560s arguing for the complete destruction of the Reformed Church and its members.

The gist of the piece is that previous royal efforts at appeasement and conciliation have failed. Though charity and mercy are certainly noble qualities—ones present in the lions seated on the French throne as much as in their animal cousins—this approach has failed to unite the kingdom once more:

This is the natural goodness of the lion, unless he is too provoked he will not revenge an offense given to him, as he well could. He'll content himself with making menacing gestures towards those who have dared insults against him, so long as they do not continue to abuse his patience. The royal most-Christian lion Francis II, used just such clemency when he did not take insult on occasion and chose not to punish the rebellion of his subjects to the full severity of the laws. Rather, according to his natural generosity, he thought he could assuage the disloyal and the seduced and lower their numbers, concede to them a general pardon, and forgive them their offense against his majesty. What happened? Could this royal clemency soothe the obstinate hatred of these warrior-monkeys? . . . The monkey is always a monkey, and he must live accordingly even if he is robed in purple!⁶⁴⁰

There is little, in Saconay's opinion, that can change for Protestants. By adopting heresy they have lost that fundamental part of what makes them Christian and human. They have become mindless animals, he asserts.

Borrowing another allusion from antiquity, Saconay argues that many Protestants are like the compatriots of Odysseus after they were tricked by Circe and changed into pigs. "The poet Homer once famously recounted the story of Ulysses," he notes, "and how he changed his companions back into human form after Circe, the enchantress, had transformed them into pigs. And look how, though this story may be largely fantastic, it

is full of good advice and well suited to comment on our unfortunate times.”⁶⁴¹ In this comparison, “voluptuous Circe” is the evil temptress who operates in the same fashion as those “ministers of heresy” of the Reformed Church.⁶⁴² Just as Circe tempted the sailors with her sexuality, wine, and food, so too do these ministers tempt the faithful with the promise of consequence-free actions, power, and wealth. But as Odysseus’ sailors soon learned, and as now has the rest of France, such promises are pure deceptions and encourage the faithful into “opinion”: “Because if any man becomes a beast, like those who were enchanted by Circe, he has also abandoned being a man of God and faithful to the Lord. He becomes resistant to ecclesiastical tradition and so stumbles into the opinions of human heresies.”⁶⁴³

Saconay declines to take the allusion of Odysseus and Circe to its logical conclusion. Odysseus saved and redeemed his friends and comrades and they regained their humanity. Saconay does mention that the “simple” and the foolishly misguided are capable of redemption. But, obviously in his mind, Protestant ministers, princes, and the devout are too corrupt to return to the fold.⁶⁴⁴ He could use the story of the transformations to portray the “bestial” nature of the Reformed Church and its actions in the worst possible light. But in the end Protestants are more akin to Circe herself, a temptress, whore, and unredeemable sinner. As such, the only sane and productive course is to mount a war against them all. Quoting Hosea 13, he urges the king to adopt the same vengeance God once reserved for his own people:

These misfortunes have come to the French for very good reasons. The Prophet once warned the people of Israel [Hosea 13:6-8]: They have become proud, said God, and have forgotten me. So I will be to them like a lion and like a leopard which lurks by the road. I will come before them like a bear robbed of her cubs,

and I will rip apart their hearts. I will devour them like the lion: the wild animals will tear them to pieces. In short, our sins have earned us this chastisement. Our sins are our own executioners.⁶⁴⁵

We have deserved all the horrors we have witnessed in the last ten years, he concludes, but if we turn back toward God and cleanse his most-Christian France of the heretics, he will relent.

Despite the powerful imagery, Saconay's views were not the norm after 1572. He never dwells on the horrors that another sectarian war would entail. For him, the pain of civil war is worth the eventual benefits of peace that only orthodoxy can bring. The majority of his fellow polemicists, at least in the 1570s, disagreed. Many admitted that the only long-term solution to religious conflict was concord and unity, though they supported a negotiated peace in the short term until religious differences could be addressed by a council or other peaceful means.

Some authors chose not to address how best to solve the religious conflict at all. Many simply called for an end to the killing regardless of all other considerations. In the 1570s, the best example of this is the anonymous treatise *Remonstrance avx Francoys, povr les indivire a vivre en paix à l'aduenir*, published in 1576. The title of the work makes clear its central thrust, and the author makes no effort to place blame on one sect or another: "Do you [Frenchmen] have no horror to see your hands bloodied with your own blood? Do you have no regret for the loss of your own lives and wealth? Do you not pity yourselves?"⁶⁴⁶ Both sides have committed terrible inhumanities. He asks the former guardians of the country, the princes, "Haven't you killed women, which by pity have always been guarded and spared the fury of combat. Haven't you murdered little

children? Haven't you smashed, dismembered, burned, smothered, shot, and exposed to the wild beasts those whom you deem your enemies?"⁶⁴⁷

It is the nature of civil wars, he continues, to create the most vicious manner of behavior: "What manner of cruelty, [princes], what place of torture, what sort of execution have you not invented to tyrannize each other? What new means haven't you found to torment each other?"⁶⁴⁸ He concludes the work with a terrible exposition on the futility and the meaninglessness of war. Over a decade of fighting has brought France no closer to healing the rifts that divide it. What the wars have done is impoverish the nation, kill the weak and the defenseless, and leave the country open to possible invasion from exterior forces: "What have we gained in our battles? What good has come of such a long war? What possible satisfaction can we receive? We were all alive, and now we die of starvation. We had so much gold and silver, and now we have nothing. We had such fine buildings, and now we do not even have a bed to sleep on. We were so strong and now can no longer be."⁶⁴⁹

Such strident calls for an immediate cessation of hostilities diminish abruptly after 1584. With the death of Francis of Anjou, the last Valois male heir to the throne, Henry of Navarre became the presumptive monarchal candidate, opening the door to the possibility that a "heretic" would lead most-Christian France. From this point on, even in the face of the horrors of civil war, Catholic writers would begin to argue in favor of renewed conflict, seeing lasting peace only in the utter annihilation of the French Reformed Church. Calls for peace first and foremost and a reconciliation appear less frequently. Whereas the ratio of those in favor of and opposed to war are roughly equal

in the 1560s, with the latter outnumbering the former in the 1570s and early 1580s, after 1584 and until the end of the decade there are more than twice as many calls for a renewed and more thorough offensive against the Protestants. In fact, almost half of all the sources from the late 1580s specifically address this issue.

Admittedly, almost 20 percent of the sources in the late 1580s continue to point out the terrible costs of war.⁶⁵⁰ In the epitaph of the duke of Joyeuse, André Derossant, a Lyonnais judge and poet, bemoans that the French have turned against one another so cruelly—sacking, raping, and murdering each other without remorse and without reason: “Tigers, lions, panthers, and wolves / truly have more humanity and goodwill than you, / because at least they live in harmony, and their rage does not wound / animals of the same kind and species as they.”⁶⁵¹

Nevertheless, over twice as many make clear that war is the only answer for the problems that plague France, and the only solution leading to concord and harmony. Renaud de Beaune calls for France to treat the Huguenots with no more respect than they will be accorded in the last days, when they will all “be put to the grand jury, and the chaff will be cast into the fire, and the good grain into the silo.”⁶⁵² Other Leaguer figures, such as Pierre Matthieu, celebrated a just and fruitful war:

How welcome is the combat that produces concord,
 How evil is the peace which nourishes dissent,
 This [peace] easily harms itself since it calls “friends”
 Those who have conspired against us as our enemies.
 It is a sacred duty, it is a holy war
 To put battalions to field under a brilliant standard,
 To stand fast in the party of the Church and the king,
 And to banish far from our midst the schisms of the earth.⁶⁵³

In the minds of the majority of pamphleteers of the late 1580s, any “peace” that leaves “the wolves mixed in with the sheep, foxes with the chickens, heretics with the Catholics” is “Machiavellian” and doomed to failure and continual strife.⁶⁵⁴ The proportion of writers in favor of continued fighting only rises higher in the 1590s, after the death of “Charles X,” the proposed heir to the throne and the Catholic League’s ascendancy in Lyon.

IV. Conclusions

One might expect that decades of civil war instilled a sense of despair and, eventually, the tolerant view that compromise or religious freedom were preferable to slaughter. In fact, Catholic polemic illustrates quite the opposite effect. More than 50 percent of all sources from 1590 to 1594 bemoaned the status of their country and its people. This type of commentary was one of the most persistent and frequent themes of the medium in the second half of the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, not a single source after 1589, until Henry IV imposed his censorship controls, argued that the Religious Wars should end without a clear victor. In contrast, arguments that war is necessary, that it is the only solution for a “permanent peace,” occurred in nearly 60 percent of all polemic in the 1590s (excluding the year 1594 under royal control, in which there is not a single call to continue the fighting).

As a way of comparison, strident calls for war against their religious opponents registered in only one out of every four sources even in the aftermath of the initial Huguenot rebellions of 1561 and 1562. The lower percentage of sources calling for war in the 1560s possibly reflects the expectation that war was inevitable. Surely, the

understanding that the head of the state was still firmly in the hands of a Catholic king (or regent) was a source of confidence as well. The prospect of Navarre, the heretic king, ruling France threatened to shatter this unity forever. It is my contention that the prevalent beliefs in the overarching importance of unity and concord on the one hand and, on the other, an equally prevalent notion that there could be no peace without that solidarity contributed to the impetus for continued bloodshed. The following chapter addresses this dynamic in further detail.

CHAPTER 7 – UNITY AND PUNISHMENT

In the previous chapter, I examined the relationship between two opposing threads dominated discourse within religious polemics: arguments urging an immediate end to the hostilities and further rallying calls to continued war and the obliteration of the “heresy” polluting the realm. As the wars ground on, polemicists opposed any negotiated peace more and more vehemently. Authors argued that the only option for a lasting peace was the annihilation of those creating division and “opinion” within society.

The rationale for this view is best explained by examining two themes that exist in over half the sources from this period and remain consistently common regardless of shifts in political and military fortunes. The first of these, present in every other polemical source, is the emphasis on the importance of social, political, and religious unity or concord. Unity is an unmitigated good in the mind of sixteenth-century polemicists, whether it is referring to unified support of a single political figure, religious orthodoxy, or social cohesion. There can be no peace without it.

Also, polemicists accept as a truism that God hates division—he makes it very clear that “a house divided against itself cannot stand.”⁶⁵⁵ The second most popular motif within religious polemic throughout the Religious Wars is that God is more than willing to intervene into human affairs to punish his enemies and his faithful for creating or failing to impose the unity he demands. This theme also occurs in fully half of all cheap print pamphlets published during more than three decades of civil war.

Dynamic polemical topoi are fascinating as they may hint toward a reflected change within broader society. The drop in descriptions of Protestants as sexual

libertines, for example, could indicate an increasing familiarity with members of the reformed church and the central tenets of their belief structure. But equally important are motifs within the source body that remain constant. The unwavering concern for social, religious, and political concord and the willingness for God to punish his faithful for failing to impose that unity can shed light on both the ultimate failure of the crown's attempts at appeasement through edicts of toleration, and the enduring nature of the violence throughout the wars.

I. Unity, Tolerance, or Freedom?

Understanding the terminology behind the issues of religious choice is critical for understanding the French Religious Wars as a whole. The differences between concord, tolerance, and religious freedom, however, are sometimes blurred or conflated.⁶⁵⁶ Concord or unity (used synonymously in polemics) refers to a singularity of belief or practice whether discussing political systems or religious practice. The intrinsic benefits of concord have been recognized explicitly or implicitly in a host of religious and political systems. The concept was worshipped in personified form in the Greco-Roman era in the form of the Roman goddess, Concordia, or the Greek equivalent, Harmonia. Christianity, in contrast to the Greco-Roman faiths, placed a great deal of importance on unity of belief. Paul urged his followers in Ephesians to “live a life worthy of the calling you have received Make every effort to keep the unity of the Spirit through the bond of peace. There is one body and one Spirit—just as you were called to one hope when you were called—one Lord, one faith, one baptism; one God and Father of all, who is over all and through all and in all.”⁶⁵⁷ By the sixteenth century, this notion was deeply

ingrained in society at large and is manifest, as one example, in the familiar dictum of one king, one law, one faith.⁶⁵⁸ French monarchs pledged in their coronation ceremony to uphold that single faith and defend the realm against heresies that threatened that unity.

Religious freedom can be placed at the opposite end of the spectrum from unity and concord. This goal allows the permanent and unfettered belief and practice of not only Catholicism and Protestantism, but also atheism and many belief systems in between. However, the only figure who seriously promoted this concept was Sebastian Castellio and his small band of followers.⁶⁵⁹ In between these two, but in stark contrast to them both, lies the concept of tolerance.

Tolerance was traditionally the second best policy for those who practiced it; the ideal was having things completely ordered one's own way. One might dislike, distrust, even detest some idea or practice but tolerate it because one cannot eliminate it at an acceptable price.⁶⁶⁰

Tolerance also always involves a power dynamic that is not present in the concept of religious freedom. Toleration of a minority group or idea is implemented by the majority, usually with their explicit disapproval. In contrast, religious freedom recognizes the explicit right of all collectives and individuals to pursue their religious choice indiscriminate of the majority's opinion. Tolerance rarely can exist as such without the continual enforcement of political powers, and the threat of its revocation is ever-present.⁶⁶¹

One difficulty arising from the use of the term is its changing definitions over the course of history. From the Latin *tolerantia*, tolerance initially referred to the suffering or bearing of a physical or mental burden and was prominent in Stoic texts.⁶⁶² In early Christianity, the term could refer to a similar burden of mental or physical

impairments: “We suffer in the hope that you will be comforted and saved. And because we are comforted, you will also be comforted, as you patiently tolerate suffering like ours.”⁶⁶³

These definitions refer to individuals, but Augustine developed the concept of tolerance as it referred to societies, especially to the tolerance of minority groups: the immoral, heretics, or infidels.⁶⁶⁴ In the twelfth century, the usage of the term increased within the context of Gratian’s Decretals. The text delineates occasions when it is acceptable for certain sins or crimes to go unpunished, or to allow their toleration. The term continued to appear throughout canon law in various formats, such as the practice of accepting one evil to prevent the occurrence of a greater one. Prostitutes, for example, must be tolerated because lust would otherwise run amok through society. The scholastics applied these juridical concepts to political theory as well.⁶⁶⁵

As the sixteenth century introduced the Protestant Reformation and its religious divisions, tolerance came to imply the recognition of another religion and certain of its practices. Throughout the Wars of Religion, tolerance is laden with pejorative connotations as most equated it with sanctioning heresy, whereas unity and concord is always positive. The edicts of toleration during the Religious Wars, then, were always imperfect and temporary.

Political efforts to attain peace and control by means of religious tolerance represent the views of very few cheap print authors. Quite the contrary, polemicists were strongly predisposed against the notion. William H. Huseman, in an intriguing semantic study, traced the use of the term *tolérer* and its related forms in literature during the

Religious Wars and compared this usage to that of synonymous or antonymous words in the same sentences or context.⁶⁶⁶ He concludes that the vast majority of writers use tolerance in the same way that they used words such as *souffrir* and *endurer*. Tolerance, for polemicists, stands in clear opposition to the enforcement of “*loi, chastoy, justice, commandements*—in short, in opposition to what the lawful authority should do.”⁶⁶⁷ A working sixteenth-century definition of tolerance, then, is a “conscious refusal to act against extraordinary, recognized evil, thereby seeming to grant it legitimacy.”⁶⁶⁸ At the very best, “Protestants could be ‘tolerated’ much as one would tolerate, bear, endure, put up with intense pain, tyranny, sickness, or bordellos in a city.”⁶⁶⁹ So offensive was the concept that even its proponents preferred to use the terms *permettre* and *permission* instead.

Catholic polemicists by no means held a monopoly in their rejection of tolerance. Calvin and Beza themselves never advanced a coherent theory of tolerance.⁶⁷⁰ Concord played a crucial role in Calvin’s thought, every bit as much as in Roman Catholic doctrine. The reformer’s advocacy of tolerance at the Colloquy of Poissy was, in this light, not an end in and of itself, but rather was a stalling mechanism to avert the goal of many at Poissy, which was the reform of Catholicism and a compromise with the Reformed Church that would lead to reunification. Calvin felt tolerance was a necessary evil that would create a window of opportunity. Within this window, reformed preachers could continue their conversions, pamphleteers could continue distributing their works, and, eventually, the truth would spread and the papacy itself would fall.⁶⁷¹

The failure to reach religious concord at the Colloquy of Poissy in 1561 greatly diminished the possibility of reunification through doctrinal reform and compromise. Frequently depicted as a struggle between augustoconfessionalists (named for their desire to impose a solution similar to the Augsburg Confession) and those unwilling to compromise regarding doctrinal issues, the factions at Poissy were more multifaceted and serve as an excellent case study for clarifying the various aspects of concord and toleration. The queen, Chancellor l'Hospital, and the cardinal of Lorraine sought peace in the realm above all other considerations and were willing to accept formal confessional divisions, similar to the Confession of Augsburg. Nonetheless, they all looked toward reunification in the future. German princes agreed, almost certainly in order to weaken France as a political force—opponents and neighbors, too, believed that France would be more powerful as a religiously unified country. Here is an excellent example of religious tolerance in the sixteenth-century sense.

Most figures at the council disagreed, however. There were others, also in the minority, whom Calvin derogatively deemed the middling folk, or the *moyenneurs*, who sought peace and agreement in the realm but through a reunification behind a single improved Catholic faith. They included figures such as Claude d'Espence and Jean de Montluc, bishop of Valence, who argued for a church council to reach a final compromise.⁶⁷² This group pursued concord and immediate reunification, though by non-violent means.

Others, and they represented a majority among the delegates at the council, argued for neither immediate concord through compromise nor a confessional division,

i.e. tolerance. For these men, the imperative was to unite behind one faith or the other, knowing that it would require the annihilation or conversion of the opposing faith.⁶⁷³

Either side “really only believed in the possibility of agreement provided the other could be made to see the truth.”⁶⁷⁴ Even before the Religious Wars began, “unity” still means the elimination of the other, whether that “other” is Catholic superstition or Protestant heresy. This vision of concord was as prevalent among Catholics as it was among Protestants.

In large part because of the political edicts which ended, temporarily, warfare between Catholics and Protestants, it is tempting to assume that the Religious Wars concluded with the first inklings of religious tolerance. At the very least, some authors have argued, France collectively resigned to the toleration of more than one religion in the realm for the sake of pure survival. Torn by vicious civil war for more than three decades, this line of reasoning follows, any conclusion and truce was better than the alternative, further destruction and endurance of a host of privations. Religious toleration came about “in the end through *exhaustion*, spiritual as well as material,” as one scholar put it. Religious heterodoxy was “for those who often still hated one another but found it impossible to go on fighting any more.”⁶⁷⁵

In my opinion, however, this outlook assumes a widespread popular mentality based on a political settlement imposed from above, by a very small number of political elites in favor of it.⁶⁷⁶ Henry IV may have purchased or fought his way to significant political power to impose the Edicts of Nantes, but the forced imposition of an edict of toleration (and the Edict of Nantes was simply one of many such edicts issued throughout

the wars) says nothing toward the views concerning toleration among polemicists or the broader population. Polemics from the period overflow with rhetoric that tolerance can only lead to misery, continued fighting, and divine wrath. In this sense tolerance is no different, and is usually portrayed as even worse, than continued bloodshed, which may at least hold out the possibility of eventual victory and social and religious concord.

II. Unity through Purification

Immediately after the wars began, polemical sources focus on an imperative to unite against the new “heresy” and the traitors to the realm. Such sentiments continue unabated through the Bartholomew’s Day massacres. Authors cited the importance of unity and its direct correlation to the health of the kingdom. The inevitable consequence of heterodoxy, indeed the goal of “heretics” according to Polemicists, was to foster “opinion.” This term refers to the agitation of social, religious and political dissent, or multiplicity of belief leading to disunity. After the wars began, Leonard Janier saw the danger in the fervent ideological battles taking place in the pulpits and the street corners around him. The canon praised the renewed efforts of the clergy, but he also expressed sentiments of concern because of the “deplorable and miserable calamity of these times, where there are such diverse *opinions* of religion and false prophets and preachers.”⁶⁷⁷

In an account of the siege of Bourges, the forces plotting against the king are members of the *nouvelle opinion*. Some time after the initial takeover of the city, according to the source, Protestants began conspiring to further exploit the city by seizing the homes and valuables of Catholic notables. “God in his divine good will and providence, preserved and saved the poor inhabitants of the city.”⁶⁷⁸ The lieutenant

governor, M. de Châtre, arranged festivities and feasts to “remove all opinion and suspicion from his adversaries, so that no one would know anything of his plan.”⁶⁷⁹ Here opinion represents armed resistance itself and, in much the same way that political and religious authorities felt popular unrest could be controlled, it could be mollified through bread and circuses.⁶⁸⁰

According to Saconay, “a heretic must in his very nature (says Saint Augustine) fabricate and follow false and new opinions.”⁶⁸¹ Bishop Nicolas Langelier of Saint-Brieuc states that the “diversity of opinions” in France are a direct result of mankind’s sins and is tearing the Christian body asunder: “Today for the penalties of our sins, our grand, constant, and united faith of the past is miserably troubled and diminished”⁶⁸² Jean-Papire Masson mourns the fact that Cardinal de Lorraine died when France was so terribly troubled by these “new emotions and troubles.”⁶⁸³

In fact, one clear indication of the falsity of the Protestant religion, in Gabriel de Saconay’s mind, is their own disunity. The Huguenots are heretics according to St. Irenaeus’ description: they fall outside the collective truth and thus cannot be members of the true church of Christ. “Our God,” he argues, “was the God of peace and union, not of dissention. We were assured that where there are diversity and contrariety, sects and divisions, God is not there. That is the church of Satan.”⁶⁸⁴ Luther, he continues, assured us that his truth was the correct one. His dependence on *sola scriptura*, Saconay sarcastically states, was supposed to cleanse theology from the distortions that have accumulated over the centuries. For the canon, however, if that were true then all other

Protestant sects that disagreed with Luther in any fashion could hold no claim to the truth:

Voila, Luther assures us that his doctrine is from God and not himself, and that anyone who cannot accept his doctrine cannot be saved. [He assures us] that his judgment is the same as God's, and that Christ calls and cherishes him as an evangelist. If what he said were true, then all the other diverse sects sprung from his own that maintain a doctrine totally contrary to his own (such as among others the Calvinists and who knows how many more that came from Luther), these sects are thus condemned and damned by the judgment of God.⁶⁸⁵

For Saconay, Luther's doctrine is every bit as heretical and false as Calvin's, but within a framework of belief in which there can be only one absolute truth, at least one of them must be wrong. This disunity, then, calls the entire religious movement into question.

Arguments supporting the belief that unity is paramount in society and in religion remained high after 1584 and the beginning of the succession crisis.⁶⁸⁶ Renaud of Beaune argued in 1589 that no possible good could come of two religions existing side by side and fervently denounced Henry IV: "O God! Is it actually possible that France, so holy and Catholic France, might tolerate and anoint this monster of heresy? . . . What careless madness or malicious ignorance could persuade someone to support and protect two religions existing together, in the same realm, under the same monarch?"⁶⁸⁷ Beaune was not as radical as many of his colleagues; he supported the Catholic league after 1588 but eventually argued in favor of Henry IV after the monarch's abjuration of Protestantism. But even he points out the folly of those who have attempted to ameliorate both sides, "approving of one party now, then the other. They have only enhanced our division and fomented and spread the heresy, thinking wrongly that it is

possible to support two factions in a single realm. This is a defilement and has been proven elsewhere to arise from either ignorance or hatred.”⁶⁸⁸

Some authors, such as Pierre Chastain, argued that the Religious Wars were caused and maintained by numerous factors. Chastain urged the country to reform, and criticized a host of institutions and social groups ranging from the clergy and secular teachers to surgeons and apothecaries.⁶⁸⁹ Nevertheless, the final goal leading to any lasting peace was not another peace treaty guaranteeing religious toleration, but rather the reunification of French society.⁶⁹⁰ The pursuit of this unity should not be carried out merely for its own sake, argues Chastain, but also so that France can soothe the “anger and fury of Jesus Christ our Lord.” Who can doubt, he continues, that the current state of France is clear evidence that God is punishing us with war and “famine and pestilence, which are the scourges used by divine justice to correct and humiliate his people.”⁶⁹¹

François Perrin, a noted French poet, canon of the cathedral of Autun, and Leaguer sympathizer, compared the plight of France to Israel in slavery.⁶⁹² In his mind, France’s subjection to the “slavery” of German mercenaries was a similar punishment from the almighty: “Now have come the times of affliction! / Where we see the time of punishment coming / after us furiously seeking out all our offenses!”⁶⁹³ This conception of the world pervaded sixteenth-century France.⁶⁹⁴ Even some of the most stringent royalist supporters were known to convert to the Catholic League after the assassinations of Blois because of their fervent faith that the wars, famines, and plagues of the late 1580s stemmed from the hand of God. The most famous of these figures was Jean Bodin, author of the *Six livres de la République* and one of the most important political

theorists of his day.⁶⁹⁵ Bodin expounded the theories of sovereignty and absolutism that would become so vital to seventeenth-century political theory, and he supported the Valois dynasty through the early decades of the Religious Wars. Yet he converted to the Holy Union after 1588 out of personal religious conviction.⁶⁹⁶ The ensuing wars in 1589 and the 1590s were “God’s descent from heaven to do justice on earth,” and a chance for God himself to determine the political outcome of his most-Christian France.⁶⁹⁷

It is a testament to the deeply ingrained belief in the importance of unity that both Leaguer and, in 1594, royalist polemics argue that unity is the only true path to peace. Royalist writers argued that only uniting behind the rightful monarch would lead to an end to the conflict and the beginning of the healing process. Pomponne de Bellièvre can only hope that “God will not withdraw from [Navarre] his favorable aid, so that he may reunite us all behind the same will, hope, and desire to save this state, and may inspire in all our hearts at the end of this last unfortunate war a good and lasting peace.”⁶⁹⁸

Obedience to the monarch, he continues, and adherence to the divinely appointed political hierarchy is the lasting solution to civil war: “We must also realize that there is nothing more important for the protection of the Catholic religion and the state than the obedience which is universally given to his Majesty by all the subjects of his crown. Without this obedience we cannot resist any evil, ruin, weakening, dissolution, and disorder in neither religion nor the state.”⁶⁹⁹

An anonymous *Politique* pamphlet also urged the last redoubts of the Catholic League to abandon their faction. The horrors Spanish forces have inflicted on the countryside, the author contends, are proof that anything is preferable to continued war.

Observe, he says, how “these old pricks have spread over here a whole host of new hardships for our wives and daughters.”⁷⁰⁰ If we continue along our current path, “it will be a just punishment if the youth of France (like the degenerate bastards of ancestors they are) become miserable slaves rooting around in the mines of the Indies, their freedom sold to another country for gold and silver.”⁷⁰¹ “God has opened and extended his arms” to the rightful heir to the throne, the author maintains, and, for the sake of the nation, all Frenchmen should do the same.⁷⁰²

Calls to end the conflict do not exist before 1594, however. While the Catholic League maintained control in Lyon, the solution to France’s problems was continued war and the eventual erasure of the “contagion” from the country. Alessandro Farnese in 1590 urged his audience of Catholic princes to “save the sad kingdom of France and to deliver Catholics from the hands of bloodthirsty heretics, to chase from the churches those who would destroy them.”⁷⁰³ The League should wipe even the memory of religious dissonance from the kingdom: “In sum, to attempt to abolish the memory of this horror, to achieve a grand victory over the heretics of France that pillage, murder, and ruin all good Catholics.”⁷⁰⁴

III. Divine Punishment

Weaving through polemics alongside this consuming demand for unity and concord is the conviction that God interjects himself into human affairs and punishes his followers for their transgressions. Disaster literature, for example, routinely begins with prefaces meant to call attention to the evident wrath of God on earth: a wrath, “so horrible and shocking that [the reader] (unless his spirit is completely numb) will be

forced to confess that it is indeed God that has come here.”⁷⁰⁵ The royal edicts of pacification regularly attributed the current troubles of the kingdom to “the chastisements of God for the sins of mankind” (*châtiments de Dieu pour . . . les péchez des hommes*).⁷⁰⁶ In the arguments of Catholic polemicists, the harshest divine punishments are reserved for those who fail to enforce unity in most-Christian France. Religious movements emphasizing devout asceticism flourished during the wars as men, women, and even the monarch himself sought to assuage holy anger.⁷⁰⁷ The intersection of the belief in the importance of unity and an equally fervent belief in God’s constant threat to punish those that fail to uphold that unity represents a powerful call to arms and an impetus for the brutal violence of the Religious Wars.

Even before the outbreak of war in 1562, Leger Bontemps, a doctor of theology, commented on the horrors of the day and the divisions within society caused by discord.⁷⁰⁸ He begins his work by quoting Psalm 85, which he describes as “a psalm to pray to God for spiritual peace in the Church:”

[God] has spoken of peace to his servants, whose health, consolation, and joy will live with us.
 Kindness and peace meet together, justice and truth kiss one another.
 Kindness and peace have chased war from the civil republic, truth and justice instill peace in the Christian republic.⁷⁰⁹

There can be no such peace, in Bontemps’ mind, without unity and the enforcement of justice and truth. Psalm 82, after all, makes clear that God resides in the congregation of the mighty (here the magistrates and the nobility): “God takes His stand in His own congregation; He judges in the midst of the rulers. How long will you judge unjustly and show partiality to the wicked? . . . Arise, O God, judge the earth! For it is You who

possesses all the nations.”⁷¹⁰ Secular powers, he argues, are appointed by God, and any assault on the church is a direct challenge to their authority. He poses the question: is there nothing more appropriate to punish than an affront to the honor of God and the faith of his church?⁷¹¹ Protestants all across France, he continues, have waged war on the Catholic Church, its clergy, and its institutions. “With wickedness and perversion, [they desire] to pillage and murder all those who give offense to their doctrine . . . look how they have polluted and profaned your temples, and how they have robbed and abolished and overwhelmed your ministers and servants of God.”⁷¹²

However, against God’s church, “neither the gates of hell, nor the machinations of Satan” can prevail.⁷¹³ Bontemps notes that God cast Satan from heaven to end one insurgency against his authority. Now the princes of France should act in a similar fashion. Only “Christian and Catholic truth” matched with “good and harsh justice” can end the violence and fulfill the God’s promise of peace in his society. In the end, “all schisms and errors must be rejected, and the errant must be converted or punished.”⁷¹⁴ In general, polemicists agreed with Claude de Vuitart that France was paying the price for the toleration of heresy: “Who can fail to conclude that this war, which is the scourge of God, will never be ended while God is so angered against us for our disobedience and contravention of his laws.”⁷¹⁵ Only a reunification of the faith can cure France of its ills, and for most this meant the eradication of the Protestant faith.

Fortunately, in the eyes of polemicists, God punishes those who create division as much as those who tolerate it. An anonymous pamphlet published in 1572 immediately after the slaughter in Paris notes how God chose to enforce his will through Charles IX,

even if it was a bit tardy: “Now all can know the just judgment of God because of this, the later punishment that waits in heaven for the enemies of his Church, plotters and rebels . . . [God] inspired the heart of [Charles IX] to offer us a prompt antidote and to apply it with a quick and resolute plan of action.”⁷¹⁶ In another anonymous piece of polemic published in 1574, the author praises the divine judgment of God, arguing that “because of [the massacres] the city of Paris above all others in the realm has the best case and argument for thanking God for the way it was preserved by divine goodwill.”⁷¹⁷ The author points out that Paris endured the infuriating and, in view of God’s justice, the dangerous activities of Protestants on a regular basis: “[Paris] had seen their evil faces, and had heard the atrocious words of their preachers and ministers of the devil, who blaspheme the holy sacrifice of Jesus Christ and all the other sacraments. [Paris] knew from experience what it was like (at least a little bit) to have the enemies of God and his church in its entrails, that is inside the girdle of its walls.”⁷¹⁸ The presence of the heretic could easily prove as destructive to the faithful as the offender.

The preface for the 1577 statutes for the Lyonnais Catholic Church clearly states that reforms must be implemented to combat the heresy that is provoking the wrath of God.⁷¹⁹ In such an atmosphere, it is not surprising to see the council adopting Edmond Auger’s suggestion that it suppress moral abuses. The council passed a mandate ordering all “workers and inhabitants” to avoid blaspheming the name of God, the Virgin, or the saints. Everyone was commanded to attend Sunday mass and all solemn feast days. Failure to do so meant four hours in the stocks for the first offense and piercing of the lips and tongue for the second.⁷²⁰ Five years earlier, the council formally laid the blame for a

plague on the fact that a single unnamed Protestant refused to obey quarantine orders.⁷²¹

Auger, for his part, felt strongly that the plague was the scourge of God. He declined to flee the city (in contrast to many administrators and his fellow ecclesiastics) and “performed admirable works to help the poor who were afflicted with the plague. He visited, preached, consoled, and delivered the mass to them.”⁷²²

Exhortations to the monarchy to end its policies of toleration frequently appear within the context of God’s wrath against the nation because of its division. One example is the funeral oration given by the popular bishop and preacher Arnaud Sorbin on the death of Marie Elisabeth of France in 1578.⁷²³ Sorbin indirectly chastises Henry III and his country for failing to revenge the tragedies of the last decades as the great French kings of old would have done. Marie Elisabeth’s death is God’s punishment for this laxity. God, indeed, warned mankind in Isaiah, “I will take away . . . from Jerusalem and Judea, the strong man and the warrior, the old, the wise, and the soothsayer.”⁷²⁴

Similarly, the losses of Francis I, Henry II, and even the hand of God himself, Charles IX (so named for his decisive actions against heresy in the massacres two years before his death), are all works of divine retribution for the continuing sanction of division in the Christian faith. Sorbin’s description of Charles IX as God’s agent is telling. In his view, the Massacres of 1572 were an important first step, but Catholic France must again unite against its enemy if it ever wants to free itself from the anger of the Almighty.

The bloodshed of 1572 did not lead to the complete destruction of the Protestant faith as many authors had hoped. The civil wars continued and Catholic religious polemic after the massacres is suffused with references to the plagues, rapes, pillages,

famines, and general destruction that has befallen France, frequently as the wages of sin and tolerance of division. In short, lamented Bishop Langelier, “God is scorned, and the holy religion trampled under foot. His testament is prophaned, justice prostituted, and the poor people are stepped on and oppressed. Today in our kingdom blasphemies, excuses for murder, sacrileges and other travesties are, without shame or scruple, publicly perpetrated and go unpunished.”⁷²⁵

The pursuit of unity as a means to avoid God’s wrath did not always precede an argument for continued violence to exterminate the Protestant camp. Pierre Chastain, for example, uses the threat of God’s wrath to urge his readers to support peace, unity, and reform of all French society, in effect pushing peace before the achievement of religious orthodoxy as the means to make God relent.⁷²⁶ This perspective, however, is quite rare in the polemic of the Religious Wars. Much more common is the explicit declaration that religious concord must be attained first by any means necessary. This sentiment is clear in Claude Angennes’ displeasure with previous edicts of “peace” that only encouraged division and, inevitably, divine punishment:

It was such a shameful thing to see in our day services for both God and Baal, temple erected against temple, choir against choir, altar against altar. To see the slut and the whore enjoying no less honor than the legitimate wife, heresy put side by side with the true, holy and apostolic Roman Catholic Religion. This is not merely shameful, but also certain proof that God was strongly angered against us. And it is an assured foreshadowing of the next stage of our ruin and desolation, as well.⁷²⁷

Alessandro Farnese expressed similar sentiments in his 1590 harangue. Only the destruction of every remaining citadel and fortress in Huguenot hands, he argued, can

ensure the final end of the Religious Wars. Fortunately, he continues, God is on their side:

Steel yourselves, my brothers and friends, to avenge the murder of your own, and with the blood of the heretics to appease the spirit of our friends who cry out for revenge. We go to deliver our brothers, prisoners and slaves under the tyranny of the heretics. With their tears and their heavy sighs they ask for our aid and beg us to release them from this miserable servitude. We depart into a service agreeable to God, which will ensure us a grand victory, and that will return France to its pristine state.⁷²⁸

That the assurance of the divine assistance in this goal cannot be questioned was argued by the anonymous author of *Le Fovet des heretiques*, as well. God would never charge his people with a task they are unable to complete, and “ever since the kings received the Christian religion and, like other Christians, placed themselves in obedience to the church, they received the commandment to exterminate all opposing religions.”⁷²⁹

In another anonymous pamphlet published in 1590, the author urges the princes of the nation to extinguish members of the Protestant church to the last man. Only this action can create the religious “unity” that God desires. Consider the case of King Saul of Israel, he argues: “Saul had been commanded to kill the Amalechites until the very last man . . . but King Agag was spared by the mercy of Saul. In doing so Saul lost his life and the prosperity of his kingdom. The war being waged against Henry, bastard of Albret, is just the same”⁷³⁰ Ominously, Saul could not assuage God by killing Agag after he had realized his error. Samuel, and God, completely abandoned King Saul (or the French nobles in this analogy) after his indiscretion.⁷³¹ France is not destitute at present, he concludes, because of the Religious Wars—these were necessary and ordered

by God to extinguish evil in the kingdom. The horrors of the last three decades have continued for so long because of the periodic efforts at “peace” and reconciliation.⁷³²

Now that Henry IV is next in line for the throne, said the duke of Mayenne in 1591, *Politique* Catholics are again adopting a moderate position that only perpetuates religious division. It is horrific, he argues, that “. . . the princes of France have allowed themselves to drift to the arguments of the preachers of Calvin, the firebrands causing all our divisions. And who with false rumors are hindering our re-union, upon which depends the universal health of our country.”⁷³³ There can be no lasting peace without unity, and that unity can only be achieved through the utter annihilation of the opposition: “It is assumed as a verifiable fact that wherever there is a diversity of religion there can be nothing other than disorder, ruin, and confusion. To avoid this, there is no better means than to join all our forces together and, under the great unity, to extinguish heresy from the kingdom.”⁷³⁴

Writers for the League, who admittedly were working feverishly to discredit Navarre’s succession, argued that a failure to enforce this unity would ensure the wrath of God against the entire country. Jean Richard argued that Huguenots and the “half-Catholics” that now supported them within the *Politique* party are “are ungrateful, villains, liars, and wicked, fully unfit to speak with men . . . you are scandalous and you pervert the Christian republic.”⁷³⁵ The Reformed church, he maintained, is a cancer on the social body. It will only spread if it is not excised by force: “what you have accomplished with your dangerous, contagious cancer [of heresy] will be incurable if it is not quickly remedied.”⁷³⁶

Even the Jews, Richard notes, have surpassed us in purity now, since even they follow biblical laws.⁷³⁷ By failing to follow the law of Moses and exact “the vengeance of God” by burning heretics and cleansing the realm, we have invited God’s fury against us instead.⁷³⁸ Richard then dedicates over ten pages of his pamphlet to a detailed argument in favor of renewing the practice of consigning all “heretics” to the flames. Such a practice will serve as a powerful example to others but, more importantly, it will cleanse the nation in the same manner that God uses the fires of hell to remove sinners from the saved after death. Indeed, he concludes, we should return to such exemplary practices because “France has never prospered since that moment when we halted and dismantled the burning chamber.”⁷³⁹

IV. Conclusion

When Lyon submitted to Henry IV in the beginning of 1594, the content of the polemic printed on its presses changed significantly. No longer did authors urge a continuation of the Religious Wars. Peace would be, must be, achieved through a strengthened monarchy and unity behind that institution. War, in these polemics, was an irredeemable evil that had plagued France for too long. Religious unification must be secondary to political unification.

Yet it would be wrong to conclude from this distinctive shift in argument that some lesson in tolerance had been learned through decades of sectarian violence. Leaguer polemic was unwavering that the war must be continued to the death of the last remaining “heretic.” Despite the desire on the part of publishers to bring to market what the public wanted to purchase, the uniformity of content in these five years during the

1590s suggests some censorship and sponsorship practices of the day. Thus, these sources cannot, in the end, be used to hypothesize concerning what the broader public felt about the Catholic League or Henry IV. Archival evidence points in many different directions, and we can suppose that the Lyonnais were divided and conflicted on this issue as they were on so many others. What conclusions we can draw are related to broader issues that reflect how polemical authors viewed their world. For Huguenots and Jesuits, Leaguers and *Politiques*, the path to peace was one that unified the people and withdrew God's hand of vengeance from the earth. The interpretation of what this unity meant changed, but the goal itself never wavered.

CHAPTER 8 – CONCLUSION

Despite the enormous upheavals in the French political structure after 1584, and the economic hardships and personal tragedies that accompanied the brutality of the chaotic wars of the late 1580s, Catholic Polemicists in Lyon continued to argue that religious unity was the only true path to peace. This study is limited to publications originating in this one city, so additional regional studies would be required to posit how closely such an opinion mimics the political allegiance of writers' host cities. Paris appears to have enjoyed a good deal more dissent by anti-Leaguers than Lyon, but the "crossroads" to both Geneva and the Mediterranean remained staunchly opposed to any *Politique* notion of toleration.

I propose that the most prevalent themes within polemical literature, especially the primacy placed on unity of belief and practice, can be placed usefully within a historiographic debate concerning confessionalization or, even more aptly for the French experience, "normative centering." Since it was formulated in the late 1970s and 1980s by Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling, the confessionalization paradigm has enjoyed no small amount of print in the historiography of the Reformation, especially in that addressing the tripartite division of Germany into the Lutheran, Reformed, and Catholic faiths. Crucial for both their theses was the action of strong governing bodies allied with religious control and indoctrination. For Schilling, "Confessionalization" entails both social and political elements and denotes, "a fundamental process of society, which had far-reaching effects upon the public and private life of individual European societies. In most places this process ran parallel to, though occasionally in opposition

to, the rise of the early modern states and the formation of an early modern society of disciplined subjects.”⁷⁴⁰ Confessionalization helps to explain the dynamic wherein social groups that formed the rank and file of the early Reformation were largely disenfranchised from religious and political authority as the century wore on. As theological doctrines became standardized and the ties between religious faiths and political entities strengthened, efforts to “discipline” and “instruct” the population in proper religious, social, and political behavior increased. Reinhard promotes a freer periodization more amenable to French history. In this framework the period of confessionalization begins in the 1520s and does not end until definitive resolutions in the seventeenth or even eighteenth century. For England this event is the assurance of Protestant monarchy with the invitation of Mary and William in 1688, for Germany it is the expulsion of Protestants from Salzburg in 1731, and for France it is the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV in 1685.⁷⁴¹

Though Reinhard and Schilling tied confessionalization into the growth of the early modern state theoretically throughout all Europe, the particular characteristics of the Holy Roman Empire after the peace of Augsburg created a political situation that begs for a comparative approach and a methodology that can tie together the experiences of three prominent faiths intermixed throughout Germany. Critically, both models involve strong direction from above, meaning political secular authority matched with centralized religious institutions. Schilling defined the process in Germany as a collection of “princely confessionalizations”; Reinhard also argued that the Catholic side of

Confessionalization depended on a strong link between political power and the clergy and religious orders.⁷⁴²

Immediately problems arise when the German situation, one in which the faiths are attempting to define themselves and compete against each other in a period of relative political peace (at least until the Thirty Years War), is transferred too literally onto conditions in France. The three faiths were not equitably balanced in the Empire, of course, but the ratio was of greater parity than the religious demography in France. Here, the reformed church never attracted a sizable minority of the population.⁷⁴³

More importantly, the top-down, authoritative orientation of the confessionalization thesis clashes noticeably with the French experience. Barbara Diefendorf has demonstrated that there was a profound disconnection between monarchical authority and the religious masses. Far from the notion that the violence during the wars, and the St. Bartholomew's Day massacres in particular, culminated in the birth of the moderate *politiques*, evidence points to a divergence regarding the importance of religious purity and political order. Rather than working together as confessionalization would predict, the radical preachers and polemicists of the Catholic League constantly stressed that "justice was the sword of secular authority that the French kings had received from God. As agents of the king's justice, the magistrates had the right and obligation to use this sword to restore the religious unity on which the Christian commonwealth must rest," while the magistrates' notion of justice "incorporated a belief in an orderly state, effectively governed and legitimately ruled."⁷⁴⁴

Additionally, it would be a mistake to attribute the violence of St. Bartholomew's to a radical clerical element alone. Throughout the 1560s, magistrates across France struggled futilely to implement policies of religious toleration on a population that had no intention of abiding by them. Ordinances against vandalism and mob violence were issued and ignored.⁷⁴⁵ In Paris, when Philippe and Richard de Gastines and Nicolas Croquest were hanged for heresy and their property confiscated in 1569, the Parisian crowd took it upon themselves to physically tear down the former's house (where Reformed assemblies were assumed to have been held) and sanctified the previously polluted ground with "a monument in the form of a massive stone pyramid topped by a cross."⁷⁴⁶ The cross of Gastines found able defenders in the population, who violently and methodically resisted all the King's efforts to remove it as required by the Peace of Saint-Germain in 1570.⁷⁴⁷

Berndt Hamm, recognizing the limitations of the confessionalization thesis, formulated another model he called "*Normative Zentrierung*," or "normative centering."⁷⁴⁸ Defined as "the alignment of both religion and society towards a standardizing, authoritative, regulating and legitimizing focal point," Hamm uses the concept to order a wide variety of processes in the late medieval and early modern world, including those affecting politics, law, humanism, and the arts. Within the religious sphere, Hamm contends that a number of developments working toward "normative centering" are "geared above all toward fulfilling a need for certainty and assurance."⁷⁴⁹ Hamm describes the late medieval and early modern world as one full of fears of death and the wrath of God, the ever-present menace of Satan and the breakdown of social

order.⁷⁵⁰ As a solution, he contends, people turned toward that “which was considered central, that which was necessary and helpful, was held up as the core and key for the shaping, measuring, and determining of individual life and of social, political and economic relations.”⁷⁵¹ Examples of this process can be found in Erasmus’ Christocentric program, or Wyclif’s interpretation of the scriptures as the sole basis for religious and social life. In the Reformation era, Hamm continues, the movements toward norms becomes the “*dominant* conceptions and phenomena” of the times.⁷⁵² Individuals and collectivities intensified their search for “the ‘best’ (and thus *only*) way of life, efforts toward reform, religious confessions, and confessional states.”⁷⁵³

Hamm’s characterization of the era in general fits well with the most prevalent thematic issues within polemics in the Religious Wars. Studying the source body as a whole makes clear that there are issues that exist as steady undercurrents to the entire medium. The pamphlets were awash with references to God’s punishment on earth and, doubtless, the apparent truth of this reality was all too obvious to those that wrote and purchased them. For more than a generation, France fought against itself, to the point that some were prepared to hand over the throne to Spain if it would only end the bloodshed under a resolutely Catholic monarch. The solutions polemicists repeatedly emphasized were always those that achieved unity, concord, and harmony, and the achievement of this idealized state usually entailed the complete destruction of the opposing side.

Polemicists of all various social stations and pamphlets addressed to various audiences contain heavy influences of these themes throughout the entire second half of

the sixteenth century. Even the royalist camp, after they assumed control of Lyon and the presses in 1594, rarely advocated tolerance (sanctioned division) as a salve for society. Rather, achieving unity so as to end God's wrath was still the prescription for the nation. In this case, though, the unity in question was allegiance to Henry IV as the legitimate and Catholic heir and a rejection of all those figures sowing discord and pitting brother against brother, here the Catholic League. Other motifs in this dissertation are perhaps best understood as working toward these "norms." The dehumanization of the enemy, for example, works well within an overall argument that the annihilation of the other is the only true solution for peace. The shift from allegiance to a Catholic monarch toward the Catholic League matches growing disillusionment with Catherine and her sons' policies of toleration. Depicting members of the Reformed Church as devious plotters sowing discord attacks them directly for instigating discordance.

Most importantly, the weight placed on religious unity led the majority of writers to favor further war over an immediate peace, even after three decades of brutality. Here one must remember the social station of the authors and the intended audience of these works before assuming that the majority of Catholic France agreed with this unsettling conclusion. As mentioned earlier, there are glimpses of evidence in the form of grain riots and disaffection with religious orders tied closely to the league that hint toward variance of opinion on this score. Elite authors of these works, while surely suffering hardships due to the wars, may have been insulated from the worst deprivations. Still, without much more detailed sociological data, it is impossible to know the extent of agreement for any of these issues among the larger population. Popular riots against the

edicts of religious tolerance throughout the wars point toward at least some agreement with the rejection of religious plurality among a wide segment of society.

In fine, however, polemics speak most affirmatively about the opinions of the authors and publishers that penned and distributed them. In their opinion, even after more than a generation of periodic fighting, rising tax rates, economic ruin, destruction of trade (felt especially keenly in Lyon), death and illness, the consensus view was that division was the underlying cause of all France's ills. France had been punished by God from the moment "heresy" was first introduced decades before. In the end, only the removal of that instigating element could bring peace at last.

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¹⁴ For more on Martin's particular forte, see his *Livre, pouvoirs et société à Paris au 17e siècle (1598-1701)*, *Histoire et civilisation du livre*, no. 3 (Geneva: Droz, 1969). For a similar study of the early German press, see Rudolf Hirsch, *Printing, Selling, and Reading, 1450-1550* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1967).

¹⁵ *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane, History e-book project (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987) is a rare example of a translation that is better than the original, *Lectures et lecteurs dans la France d'Ancien Régime*, *Univers historique* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1987). The former includes an expanded introduction, a more thorough discussion of theory, and some of the eight articles present have been expanded and edited.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 3. Chartier's definition of the classic use of "popular culture" is based on "three presuppositions: first, that it is possible to establish exclusive relationships between specific cultural forms and particular social groups; second, that the various cultures existing in a given society are sufficiently pure, homogeneous, and distinct to permit

them to be characterized uniformly and unequivocally; and third, that the category of ‘the people’ or ‘the popular’ has sufficient coherence and stability to define a distinct social identity that can be used to organize cultural differences in past ages according to the simple opposition of *populaire* versus *savant*.”

¹⁸ *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1979).

¹⁹ Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History (New York: Cambridge UP, 1991). Watt’s conclusions are that such cheap print mediums in England tended to be conservative in their religious presentation and, the majority of the time, reinforced existing social and religious conceptions rather than challenged or presented new ones.

²⁰ *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation*, Cambridge Studies in Oral and Literate Culture, no. 2 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1981).

²¹ *De la culture populaire aux XVIIe et XVIII siècles: la Bibliothèque bleue de Troyes* (Paris: Stock, 1964). Mandrou’s work examines a time period beyond my own, but he provides a great deal of referential background to the sixteenth century. Also, he argues that Benoist Rigaud, the most prolific cheap print publisher in sixteenth-century Lyon, was a predecessor to the industry in Troyes.

²² Luc Racaut, *Hatred in Print: Catholic Propaganda and Protestant Identity during the French Wars of Religion* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2002). I will use the term “heresy” and its variants frequently in this dissertation and, following the lead of Luc Racaut, Barbara Diefendorf, Andrew Pettegree, and other scholars, will not use quotations around the word to signify that it is only the view of sixteenth-century writers rather than my own. It certainly is not my view or intention to imply that Protestantism was nothing more than a heretical movement, a claim which would understandably offend modern Protestants. But sixteenth-century Catholics used this term more than any other in describing the Reformed Church and its practices. Any reader may please assume that whenever the term is used I mean explicitly that it is only in the view of the sixteenth-century author of the source.

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²⁴ For an introduction to political pamphlets in the French Reformation, see Robert M. Kingdon, “Pamphlet Literature of the French Reformation,” in *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research*, ed. Steven E. Ozment (St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1982), 233-48. For an older but more detailed introduction and a collection of primary

sources, see Henri Hauser, *Les sources de l'histoire de France. XVI^e siècle (1494-1610)* (Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1906). The most important treatise of the Religious Wars for the development for the political theory of justified opposition to a tyrant is *Vindiciae contra tyrannos*. This text has been recently translated into English with the fullest examination of the contested authorship of the piece. Stephanus Junius Brutus, the Celt, *Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos: or, Concerning the Legitimate Power of a Prince Over the People and of the People Over a Prince*, ed. and trans. George Garnett (New York: Cambridge UP, 1994). For a wider examination of political Protestant treatises, see Julian Franklin, *Constitutionalism and Resistance in the Sixteenth Century: Three Treatises* (New York: Pegasus, 1969).

²⁵ *La Réforme allemande et la littérature française, recherches sur la notoriété de Luther en France* (Strasbourg: La Faculté des lettres à l'Université, 1930). Moore does tend toward describing the early Reformation movement in France as more unified than it most likely was. David Nicholls has convincingly argued that the reception of the wide variety of Protestant tracts, which included more than those written by seminal Protestant figures, was much more varied and appealed to a wider base of those discontented with the Catholic Church: "The Nature of Popular Heresy in France, 1520-1542," *Historical Journal* 26 (1983).

²⁶ Luc Racaut's aforementioned work is the most focused treatment of Catholic polemics. Denis Crouzet's, *Les guerriers de Dieu: la violence au temps des troubles de religion, vers 1525-vers 1610*, 2 vols. (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 1990), includes Catholic polemics on occasion as it attempts to study a wide variety of source material, but most of the work is devoted to other genres.

²⁷ Roger Chartier, *Culture écrite et société: L'ordre des livres (XIV^e-XVII^e siècle)* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1996), 134.

²⁸ Andrew Pettegree, "The Sixteenth-Century French Religious Book Project," in *The Sixteenth-Century French Religious Book*, eds. Andrew Pettegree, Paul Nelles, and Philip Conner (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2001), 8. For humanists and their link to early printing and the growth of the Protestant movement in France, see Jean-François Gilmont, *Le livre et ses secrets*, Cahiers d'humanisme et renaissance, no. 65 (Geneva: Droz, 2003), 45-57 and his classic survey, *La Réforme et le livre: l'Europe de l'imprimé (1517-v. 1570)* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1990), *passim*.

²⁹ In Geneva during the most difficult periods for Protestantism in France, Calvin's opus, bibles, and other large tomes for the academic world (staples for the industry under normal circumstances) fell in popularity compared to cheap political and religious broadsides. Hans Joachim Bremme, *Buchdrucker und Buchhändler zur Zeit der Glaubenskämpfe: Studien zur Genfer Druckgeschichte, 1565-1580*, Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance, no. 104 (Geneva: Droz, 1969), 89-93; idem, "Genfer Drucke aus dem 16. Jahrhundert," *BHR* 38 (1976): 113-44. Dennis Pallier reached the

same conclusions, except here from the opposite confessional standpoint, for the printing industry in Paris during the height of the Catholic League: *Recherches sur l'imprimerie à Paris pendant la ligue, 1585-1594*, *Histoire et civilisation du livre*, no. 9 (Geneva: Droz, 1975), 119-30.

³⁰ Mandrou, *De la culture populaire*, 47.

³¹ Jeanne Veyrin-Forrer, "Fabriquer un livre au XVI^e siècle," in *Histoire de l'édition française*, eds. Henri Jean Martin, Roger Chartier, and Jean-Pierre Vivet, 4 vols. (Paris: Promodis, 1982), 1:281; Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2003), 72.

³² Veyrin-Forrer, "Fabriquer un livre," 1:285; Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 53.

³³ Hirsch, *Printing, Selling and Reading*, 43.

³⁴ Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 55.

³⁵ Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk*, xxii.

³⁶ Jason Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers: Propaganda during the English Civil Wars and Interregnum* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 2.

³⁷ For examples of studies specifically oriented toward political interference and direction in propaganda, see Keith Cameron, "L'illustration au service de la propagande contre Henri III," in *Le Livre et l'image en France au XVI^e siècle*, *Cahiers V. L. Saulnier*, no. 6 (Paris: Presses de l'École normale supérieure, 1989), 89-104. Cameron explores the work of the Guise family in discrediting Henry III as a capable monarch. Jeanne Harrie analyzes a commissioned painting and reaches similar conclusions, though in this case oriented toward Catherine de Medici and her, in the Guises' opinions, doomed efforts toward accommodation: "The Guises, the Body of Christ, and the Body Politic" *Sixteenth Century Journal* 37 (2006): 43-57. The central message of the painting was that the Guises would create and enforce doctrinal unity throughout the realm. "Unlike Catherine and her family, the enamel proclaims, the Guises recognize that the unity of the realm necessitates the preservation of the unity of the faith." *Ibid.*, 55.

³⁸ Norman Davies, *Europe: A History* (Oxford, UK: Oxford UP, 1996); quoted in Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2005), 183-84.

³⁹ Pettegree, *Reformation*, 162-63. Denis Pallier estimates that Paris, with a population of 500,000, produced 2 million pamphlets in the two years from 1589-1590. *Recherches sur l'imprimerie*, 87. Lyon, with a much smaller population of 50,000-60,000, was the

second largest printing center in France. If one assumes, as Pallier does, a 1000 count edition run of each title, then the top four publishers alone accounted for over a hundred thousand copies in the same two year span.

⁴⁰ Martin, *Livre, pouvoirs et société*, 20.

⁴¹ Megan C. Armstrong, *The Politics of Piety: Franciscan Preachers during the Wars of Religion, 1560-1600* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2004), 23 and *passim*; Denis Pallier, “Les réponses catholiques,” in *Histoire de l’édition*, 1:335.

⁴² John W. O’Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1993), 92.

⁴³ ADR, BP 9339, no. 1; quoted in Timothy Watson, “Preaching, Printing, Psalm-Singing: the Making and Unmaking of the Reformed Church in Lyon, 1550-1572,” in Raymond A. Mentzer and Andrew Spicer, eds., *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559-1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002), 14.

⁴⁴ Rubys, *Histoire veritable*, 413.

⁴⁵ Pettegree, “The Sixteenth-Century French Religious Book Project,” 12. Prof. Pettegree has since given his massive endeavor a less restrictive title, *The French Book Project*.

⁴⁶ Martin, *Livre pouvoirs*, 20-24. Andrew Pettegree has found that Latin, and more expensive books in general, declined substantially after the wars began in France. Publishers shifted to cheaper polemics as they were more likely to sell in local markets. “The Sixteenth-Century French Religious Book Project,” 8. Humanists also never engaged with the polemics of the Religious Wars, in no small part because their movement was seen to have colluded with Protestants. In the words of Nicolaus Baechem of the Brabant Commission for the Extirpation of Heresy, for example, Erasmus or Lefèvre d’Etaples became, “cranes, asses, beasts, blockheads, and Antichrists.” Erika Rummel, *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate in the Renaissance and Reformation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 5

⁴⁷ I placed authors into certain categories based largely on how they described themselves. I.e., an individual introducing himself as a canon-count of Saint-Jean I included as a secular religious author, even though he is also obviously both a “writer” and a noble. Similarly, a person labeling himself as simply a humble “author” I placed in the “writer” category. Admittedly, this method is fraught with problems and, in my opinion, creates more potential for misrepresentation than enhanced understanding of the sources. These problems are discussed in further detail below.

⁴⁸ Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 57. For the early types of payments to authors of a variety of works and how the system interacted with political forces

throughout the early modern era, see Dustin Griffin, *Literary Patronage in England 1650-1800* (New York: Cambridge UP, 1996).

⁴⁹ As a general note, we should not assume that a member of the “clergy” or the “nobility” was necessarily powerful or wealthy. Some nobles were impoverished and illiterate as were many common priests. In respect to authors of pamphlets, however, every author for whom I could locate biographical data appears to have been far wealthier than the average citizen. This is not surprising given the educational requirements, the leisure time, and the materials cost of pen, paper, and ink involved in writing. Biographical and historiographic information for all the authors mentioned here is discussed in greater detail in later chapters.

⁵⁰ See, for example, Albert Labarre, *Le Livre dans la vie amiénoise du seizième siècle: l'enseignement des inventaires après décès, 1503-1576*, Publications de la Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de Paris-Sorbonne, no. 66 (Paris: Nauwelaerts, 1971); Leslie Hotson, “The Library of Elizabeth’s Embezzling Teller,” *Studies in Bibliography* 2 (1949-1950), 49-61.

⁵¹ These studies overwhelmingly focus on cities. For efforts to hunt for literacy in the countryside and the difficulties historians face, see Henri-Jean Martin, “Culture écrite et culture orale, culture savante et culture populaire dans la France d’Ancien Régime,” *Journal des savants* (1975): 225-82; Jean-Luc Marais, “Littérature et culture ‘populaire’ aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. Réponses et questions,” *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l’Ouest* 87 (1980): 65-105.

⁵² Febvre and Martin, *L’apparition du livre*, 285-6; Henri-Jean Martin, *Livre, pouvoirs et société*, 319-26; Natalie Zemon Davis, “Publisher Guillaume Rouillé, Businessman and Humanist,” in *Editing Sixteenth-Century Texts*, ed. Richard J. Schoeck (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), 72-77; Roger Doucet, *Les bibliothèques parisiennes au XVIe siècle* (Paris: Picard, 1956), 171-75.

⁵³ Henri-Jean Martin and Anne Marie Lecocq, *Les registres du libraire Nicolas, 1645-1668: livres et lecteurs à Grenoble*, 2 vols. (Geneva: Droz, 1977), 1:137-265.

⁵⁴ Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print*, 150.

⁵⁵ Regarding monetary usage, I defer to the standard practice of using accounting terminology of *deniers*, *sous*, *livres*, and *écus*, rather than the more complex and dynamic actual currency of the time. Similar to the English duodecimal system, one *écu* equals five *livres*; one *livre* equals twenty *sous*; and one *sous* equals twelve *deniers*. For a survey of coinage in France, see E. Wesley O’Neill, Jr., “French Coinage in History and Literature,” *The French Review* 39 (1965): 1-14. The purchasing power of units of coinage is difficult to ascertain given the highly inflationary nature of the sixteenth century. In 1520, however, one *écu* would have purchased two sheep or two hundred

liters of wine. One or two *sous* would have purchased roughly a single liter of wine, and a *denier* or two a loaf of bread. A royal poet might expect to earn a hundred *écus* per year, while a stone mason might subsist on fifteen *écus* per year, or four to five *sous* per day. Poorer artisans or laborers might work for less than a single *sous* per day.

⁵⁶ Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print*, 150.

⁵⁷ Paul Nelles, “Three Audiences for Religious Books in Sixteenth-Century France,” in *The Sixteenth-Century French Religious Book*, eds. Andrew Pettegree, Paul Nelles, and Philip Conner (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2001), 302. Nelles finds evidence for pamphlets in some probate records, but agrees that such data is rare and greatly downplays the role of pamphlets and other cheap print within the publishing world of the sixteenth century.

⁵⁸ Hirsch, *Printing, Selling and Reading*, 11.

⁵⁹ Chartier, *Culture écrite*, 139.

⁶⁰ See, for example, Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England; Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005) for the uses of print in family education and the manuscript notations in the margins that open a critical window into reading practices and their goals.

⁶¹ Denis Pallier, “Les réponses catholiques,” in *Histoire de l’édition*, 1:339.

⁶² Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print*, 158-82; Davis, *Society and Culture*, 97-123.

⁶³ Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 26. On the fiercely competitive nature of the printing market, see Hervé Campagne “Savoir, économie et société dans les *Diverses Leçons* d’Antoine du Verdier,” *BHR* 57 (1995): 623-35.

⁶⁴ If one assumes 1000 copies per edition of a cheap title, there would have been close to a million polemical tracts printed in Lyon during the religious wars. Polemics were a smaller percentage of the total number of cheap-print titles, sharing the market with almanacs, news, Books of hours, plays, sensational religious sightings, and others.

⁶⁵ Rene Benoist, *Brieve response à la remonstrance faicte a la Royne Mere du Roy, par ceux qui se disent persecutez pour la parole de Dieu . . .* (Lyon: Michel Jove, 1561). For titles that are discussed in later chapters, I will forgo detailed information about the author or the source and only provide the work and page number if cited.

⁶⁶ “Les prelatures n’ont esté donnees à ceux-là qui les meritoient.” Francesco Panigarola, *Lecons catholiques svr les doctrines de l’Eglise* (Lyon: Antoine Tardif, 1585), 25.

⁶⁷ *Discovrs de la prinse d'Erwinter, ville situee en Flandre, & autres forteresses, avec la deffaicte de plusieurs Anglois, Irlandois, & Gueux du Pays bas, par Monsieur le Prince de Parme. Avec la reduction de plusieurs Huguenots reünis à la Foy Catholique* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1587). *Discours et recveil dv siege de la Rochelle en l'annee 1573. Contenant les assaux donnés à ceux de la ville, ensemble les sorties par eux faictes, avec le nombre des Chefs plus remarquables qui y sont morts : & de l'ordre qui fut donné pour les blessez* (Lyon: Iean Saugrin, 1573).

⁶⁸ “. . . de voir l'homme se licentier de prendre l'habit de la femme, et la femme celuy de l'homme. C'est en premier lieu contre la loy de Dieu, qui defend à la femme vestire les habits de l'homme, et à l'homme vser des robbes de la femme: et celuy qui le fait, il est abominable enuers Dieu.” Jérôme de Chastillon, *Bref et vtile discovrs svr l'immodestie & superfluité d'habits . . .* (Lyon: Antoine Gryphius, 1577), 16.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 60.

⁷⁰ Léger Duchesne, *Remonstrance aux princes francoys de ne faire point la paix avec les mutins & rebelles . . .* (Lyon: Michel Jove, 1567), A1v.

⁷¹ Ibid., A3r.

⁷² “. . . sur les lettres & patentes enuoyées par nostre Souuerain Prince aux Gouverneurs de ses Prouinces.” Gabriel de Saconay, *Discovrs catholique, Sur les causes & remedes des Malheurs intentés au Roy, & escheus à son peuple, par les rebelles Caluinistes* (Lyon: Michel Jove, 1568), 3.

⁷³ “. . . que pour esperance que i'aye de persuader mieux par mes remonstrances les opiniastres.” Ibid., 4.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 14.

⁷⁵ “. . . ny moins de diuision pour les affaires d'estat, ny plus d'affection enuers la sainte Eglise.” Ibid., 15.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 36.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 26.

⁷⁸ “. . . la nonchalance des Pasteurs & peres spirituelz, mesléé avec une façon de vivre si scandaleuse,” Ibid., 30.

⁷⁹ “. . . feissent vn solennel iurement de leur foy, & loyauté, Premierement enuers Dieu & son Eglise . . . & puis consecutiement enuers leurs Princes,” Ibid., 83.

⁸⁰ “. . . la tormente furieuse des Predicans.” Ibid., 18.

⁸¹ “. . . ny les heretiques, comme Nouatiens, ny les Tyrans, comme Decius, s’estoient armez pour ruiner l’Eglise, que par le courroux & ire de Dieu contre les exces des Chrestiens innumerables.” Ibid., 20. In 250 AD the Roman Emperor Decius launched a persecution of the Christian Church. Among the victims was Pope Fabian (r. 236-250). Pope Cornelius was elected as his successor, though he died in exile a mere two years later. His election was contested by a Roman priest named Novatian, who believed Cornelius was too forgiving of Christians who abjured their faith during persecution. Novatian proclaimed himself a rival pope, which spawned the Novatian heresy that persisted for centuries. For a survey of the controversy, see Ronald E. Heine, “Cyprian and Novatian,” in *Cambridge History of Early Christian Literature*, Frances M. Young, ed. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2004): 152-60. Novatian was a talented scholar and penned a spirited defense of the doctrine of the trinity. Geoffrey D. Dunn, “The diversity and unity of God in Novatian’s *De trinitate*,” *Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses* 78 (2002): 385-409.

⁸² Ibid., 74.

⁸³ *Les loanges et recommandations de la paix, extraites de l’escrivre sainte. Remonstrant que cest chose fort deshonneste que les Chrestiens ayent guerre ensemble. Avec ample suasion a iceux de se contenir en paix, pour le repos du corps & d’ame* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1568), B2v-B3r.

⁸⁴ “. . . que le simple populaire fust par ce moyen aucunement instruit & aduise/ des ruses & finesses des heretiques, a fin de soy garder d’iceux.” Jean de la Vacquerie, *Remonstrance adressee av roy, avx princes catholiques, & a tous Magistrats & Gouverneurs de Republicques, touchant l’abolition des troubles & emotions qui se font aujourd’huy en France, causez par les heresies qui y regnent & par la Chrestenté* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1574), 2.

⁸⁵ *Copie des lettres d’un Politicque de Tours, enuoyees à vng Politicque de la ville de Roüen. Esquelles sont descouverts les desseins & pretentions du Roy de Navarre, & l’estat de ses affaires. Surprises à Vernon, Par ung Capitaine du Regiment de Monsieur le Marquis de Pienne* (Lyon: n.p., 1590).

⁸⁶ Mandrou, *De la culture populaire, passim*.

⁸⁷ See Natalie Zemon Davis’ seminal article “Printing and the People,” collected in *Society and Culture*, 189-226; Robert Darnton, “Reading, Writing and Publishing in Eighteenth-Century France: A Case Study in the Sociology of Literature,” in *Historical Studies Today*, eds. Felix Gilbert and Stephen Richards Graubard (New York: W. W. Norton, 1972): 238-50; Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print*, 1-5; idem, “La beauté du mort. Le concept de ‘culture populaire,’” *Politique aujourd’hui* (1970): 3-23; Michel de Certeau, “La lecture absolue (Théorie et pratique des mystiques chrétiens: XVIe-XVIIe

siècles),” in *Problèmes actuels de la lecture*, eds. Lucien Dällenbach and Jean Ricardou (Paris: Éditions Clancier-Guénéaud, 1982), 65-79.

⁸⁸ Chartier, *Culture écrite*, 142-6.

⁸⁹ I occasionally use the masculine pronoun when referring to the authors for polemics because, to my knowledge, women never wrote within this medium in Lyon. Among the sources I have assembled, I cannot find a single text written by a woman. Women did play a substantial role in the book trade itself and have likely been underrated as far as their reading abilities are concerned. Susan Broomhall, *Women and the Book Trade in Sixteenth-Century France* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), *passim*.

⁹⁰ Pettegree, *Reformation*, 8.

⁹¹ Historians debate the literacy rate, arguing for urban levels between 10-30%. Mark Edwards and Andrew Pettegree maintain that the level is closer to 30%. Edwards, *Printing, Propaganda and Martin Luther* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 39; Pettegree, *Reformation*, 160. Robert Scribner estimates literacy to fall in this range (10-30%) in German towns, but only 4% nationally: “How Many Could Read? Comments on Bernd Moeller’s ‘Stadt und Buch,’” in *The Urban Classes, the Nobility and the Reformation: Studies on The Social History of the Reformation in England and Germany*, ed. Wolfgang J. Mommsen (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1979), 44. Large centers in Italy might have reach literacy levels between 30 and 40%. Carlo M. Cipolla, *Literacy and development in the West* (Baltimore, MD: Penguin Books, 1969).

⁹² Pettegree, *Reformation*, 157.

⁹³ Bound collections of Protestant tracts published in the first heady years of the conflict are our best records for these elusive sources. *Ibid.*, 161-63.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 162.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 163. Pettegree argues that pamphlets “collectively took on a different life from their status as individual texts.” While an intriguing argument, it is not without inconsistencies that bear mentioning. Such a view downplays the disagreements within the literature. Authors disagreed vehemently on the possibility for Protestants to recant and join the fold, whether or not Henry IV’s abjuration could be considered valid, and whether the wars should end immediately irrespective of religious purity, or continue until heresy was eliminated and the nation cleansed of “pollution.” I argue that these debates strike to the core issues of the time and point toward a dialogue among the authors reflecting substantial differences of opinion among them. Also, Pettegree’s argument is stronger if one assumes that third parties occasionally supplied the market with subsidized publications or paid for an entire edition run on their own. He quotes a reference to a Cathedral Chapter of Utrecht paying a local printer 105 *stuivers* for a 500

copy run of a single page advertisement. If a *stuiver* was 5 or 6 pennies, this is equal to approximately 40-50 *sous* or 2-3 *livres*, by no means an inconsiderable sum. Citing other examples of distributed printing, such as proclamations and the broadsheets of the Affair of the Placards of 1534, he concludes that “It is quite possible in this case that these small publications were intended not for sale but to be distributed free of charge, and this practice was far from uncommon in the age of polemical print,” 153. Nonetheless, the Utrecht Cathedral Chapter in this case was publicizing the local indulgence trade, so there is a clear financial incentive in this case, and the potential to realize a net gain overall. Monarchs and councils subsidized proclamations to inform the populace and publicize the laws (which is not to say they did not often contain polemical material). In this case, expecting their subjects to purchase them is unrealistic and counterproductive (and their tax dollars paid for their printing in the first place). Regarding the Affair of the Placards, there was no other way for Protestants to propagate sacramentarian broadsheets so dramatically and suddenly than to pay for their printing ahead of time and distribute them throughout the city at night. Though data for printing records and their financing is notoriously sparse, I have come across no records of third parties paying for Catholic polemics. There were also market realities that Pettegree appears to downplay. His argument that we purchase sources for purposes other than to “read” the information they contain is valid for our time, but this can create a dangerous assumption if projected back onto the sixteenth century. If a fairly well paid artisan makes 4 *sous* per day (48 *deniers*), and he can purchase a cheap “book,” meaning a single page of paper folded three times into 16 printable pages, for 2 or 3 “pennies,” then it is certainly within his grasp to do so. In our world, however, a person earning the median income in the United States would be paying, as a percentage of his or her daily average income, \$6-\$10 for the same item. This purchase also applies for only the very cheapest form of written mediums available in the sixteenth century. Gabriel de Saconay’s *Discours Catholique* ran to 96 pages (six pages in Octavo), so would cost perhaps 10 to 18 *deniers* at a minimum. In the modern world, such a text may cost \$30-\$50 as a percentage of daily income. Such comparisons to the modern world are rather unreliable and should be treated with all due skepticism, but it is very likely that our relationship with books would be quite different were they still so expensive.

⁹⁶ Barbara B. Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris* (New York: Oxford UP, 1991), 56.

⁹⁷ Léonard de la Ville, *Declaration evidente et manifeste par l’Escriture Saincte, des blasphemés faicts contre Dieu par Iean Calvin en son Traicté de la Predestination & Reprobation diuine: auec certaines contrarietez d’iceluy en ce mesme Traicté* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1570).

⁹⁸ Leonard Janier, *Probation des saints sacremens de l’Eglise Catholique & Romaine, instituez par Iesus Christ nostre Seigneur & Sauueur* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1566).

⁹⁹ “Il nous a semblé chose trespropre & raisonnable (sauf vostre meilleur iugement, tresvenerable seigneur) qu’il vous pleust ordonner & commander en vertu de sainte obedience, & sur peine d’excommunication . . . que tous ceux qui ont la cure des ames . . . pour diligemment estudier, declarer, & prescher à leurs suiects la doctrine dans iceluy escrete.” Leonard Janier, *Probation des saints sacremens de l’Eglise Catholique & Romaine, instituez par Iesus Christ nostre Seigneur & Sauueur* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1566), †4r.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, †3r.

¹⁰¹ The use of the term concord in this context may cause some confusion as the modern usage implies a sense of mutual understanding and positivity which is incongruous with the notion of achieving religious orthodoxy through the elimination of the opposing side. Sixteenth-century authors, however, used the terms interchangeably. In polemics published at the time, there is no difference between the terms *union* and *concorde*, and *paix* is the natural fruit of their institution. I have followed this example and used unity and concord as synonyms.

¹⁰² This terminology and historiography will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7 below.

¹⁰³ Bernd Moeller, “Was wurde in der Frühzeit der Reformation in den deutschen Städten gepredigt,” *Archive for Reformation History* 75 (1984): 176-93.

¹⁰⁴ Susan Karant-Nunn, “What Was Preached in German Cities in the Early Years of the Reformation? *Wildwuchs* versus Lutheran Unity,” in *The Process of Change in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honor of Miriam Usher Chrisman*, eds. Phillip N. Bebb and Sherrin Marshall (Athens: Ohio UP, 1988), 81-96.

¹⁰⁵ Sermons could easily last for two, three, or even four hours. O’Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 92. One Observant friar records that his sermons typically lasted four and a half hours. Corrie Norman, “The Social History of Preaching: Italy,” in *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period*, ed. Larissa Taylor (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 141. Given that the average published sermon is usually thirty to fifty pages in octavo format (which would take perhaps one to two minutes per page to read deliberately, or half an hour to an hour and a half in printed form), most published sermons are epitomes. Pettegree, *Reformation*, 11.

¹⁰⁶ Many sermons come to us in polemical form. Mark Edwards estimates that 40% of Luther’s works before 1526 were originally sermons: *Printing, Propaganda and Martin Luther*, 27; Pettegree, *Reformation*, 11. While this does indicate that much of the content of polemic (at least that published by men of the first estate) would have been delivered at some point in the pulpit, it does not necessarily mean that the narrative content of polemic mirrors that of preaching on the whole. The number of sermons delivered was vast. Published polemics are few in comparison.

¹⁰⁷ If the 500 or so ecclesiastics in Lyon each gave only twenty sermons per year as an average, the figure approaches well over 300,000. Hoffman, *Church and Community*, 11; Kleinclausz, *Histoire de Lyon*, 1:488-89.

¹⁰⁸ My methodology is inspired in part by Natalie Zemon Davis' similar approaches to measuring the prevalence of various genres within single printing or publishing houses: "Le monde de l'imprimerie," 1:256. Mark Edwards has asserted that similar quantitative results can be achieved from different samples, even when the collections of sources vary widely in origination. Similar results from different source bases, he argues, hints of representationality: "Statistics on Sixteenth-Century Printing," in *The Process of Change in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honor of Miriam Usher Chrisman*, eds. Phillip N. Bebb and Sherrin Marshall (Athens: Ohio UP, 1988), 149-63. Edwards is more aggressive than I am in terms of the purported link between texts and "popular mentality." He argues that, "the sheer mass of the printing effort and its wide geographic distribution—and the amount of trade that this production and distribution represents—allows us to draw with some assurance inferences about the popularity of certain beliefs and convictions." *Ibid.*, 161. Regarding Luther's voice in the industry, Edwards reasons that if each run of a printed title numbered two hundred to one thousand copies, then there were some 620,000 to 3,100,000 copies of the reformer's works circulating in Europe.

¹⁰⁹ Those works I could not read do not form part of my thematic analysis, but do influence my final estimate of how many titles were printed and how many of those I have studied.

¹¹⁰ For this particular century, due to fewer catastrophic losses and outstanding archival databases, Phillip T. Hoffman argues that Lyon's records are second to none in France: *Church and Community*, iv. Natalie Zemon Davis remembers fondly the "splendid" collections in Lyon: *Society and Culture*, xi. And Richard Gascon begins his study with a large introduction to the plethora of resources readily available to researchers: *Grand commerce*, 1:8-46. Henri-Louis Baudrier's attempt to catalogue every source printed throughout the entire century is a rare and indispensable resource: *Bibliographie lyonnaise*.

¹¹¹ I readily admit my dependency on archival databases and works of previous researchers in this matter. Records from personal libraries or publishing receipts, for example, come entirely from Baudrier's bibliography and other secondary sources. For example, see A. H. Schutz, *Vernacular Books in Parisian Private Libraries of the Sixteenth Century According to the Notarial Inventories*, University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 25 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955). I was also able to avail myself of new sources found in the libraries of south-east France as well as the advances of the electronic age, which enable searches by publisher in a wide range of countries.

¹¹² Rudolf Hirsch estimates that perhaps 10-25 percent of titles were lost in the fifteenth century and a bit more in the sixteenth century. Cheap and small books in general are more likely to have been lost. Those most likely to be destroyed, literally read to pieces, or recycled as reinforced bindings or old paper are: household books such as cookbooks, pseudo-science books, dream books, or almanacs; technological books for trades; medical books for popular consumption; cheap school books; and vernacular literature. Hirsch, *Printing, Selling and Reading*, 11. Moreover, the occasional publisher's list of titles yields surprisingly good results for posterity. No more than ten to fifteen percent of titles in these lists fail to appear as an extant copy or in a will, leading me to conclude that a similarly small percentage or only slightly higher for my source body is reasonable. Hotson, "The Library of Elizabeth's Embezzling Teller," 49-61; Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 26.

¹¹³ The labels *Politique* and royalist were used almost interchangeably in the final years of the Religious Wars. *Politiques* appeared earlier in the conflict and were closely allied with Catherine de Medici's strategy of religious appeasement. The term "royalist" became common only after 1589, when Henry IV inherited the throne. Both designations are distinct, however, from "Protestant" in that they indicate a practicing Catholic who sacrificed religious orthodoxy in pursuit of peace. This notion was anathema to the Catholic League, the members of which believed that there could be no peace without religious unity.

¹¹⁴ The inspiration for this theme comes from a fascinating chapter in Robert Scribner's *For the Sake of Simple Folk*, 148-90.

¹¹⁵ This theme is vital to the seminal work by Crouzet, *Les guerriers de Dieu*, and I wanted to see for myself how often it appeared in this one genre versus the totality of printed sources that Crouzet amassed.

¹¹⁶ Christopher Elwood's *The Body Broken: The Calvinist Doctrine of the Eucharist and the Symbolization of Power in Sixteenth-Century France*, Oxford Studies in Historical Theology (New York: Oxford UP, 1999) is essential reading for understanding the threat posed, in most Catholic contemporaries' eyes, to French monarchical authority by the doctrines of the Reformed church. This theme draws from these ideas. Essentially, rituals surrounding the monarchy incorporated the Real Presence in the Eucharist. Calvin's denouncement of transubstantiation can be read, then, as a challenge to royal legitimacy.

¹¹⁷ One of the more important issues in the historiography of the French Religious Wars in the last few decades has been a return to "religion," or religious motivations, as a primary cause of the conflict. Mack P. Holt, "Putting Religion Back into the Wars of Religion," *French Historical Studies* 1993 18(2): 524-51. The present consensus, with which I wholeheartedly agree, is that while there were doubtless individuals who fought out of personal ambition or greed, the vast majority of individuals who participated in the

violence of the wars did so largely because of the religious issues surrounding the Protestant and Catholic Reformations. I chose this theme and the one tracing the mention of financial difficulties due to the tax burdens as an interesting tangent touching on this debate. For a recent work arguing that economic and political motivations have been slighted in this historiographic paradigm shift, see Henry Heller, *The Conquest of Poverty: The Calvinist Revolt in Sixteenth-Century France* (Leiden: Brill, 1986).

¹¹⁸ As a quick note to the nature of the sample and my database, I should point out that the volume of publication varies from year to year. Over forty pieces of polemic were published in 1594, for example, but only six from 1579 until 1584. Obviously, data from that five-year period is more unreliable, since the absence or presence of a theme in a single source will change the average substantially. For the rest of my period, I can easily compensate for irregularities in the data by analyzing change in two- or three-year increments. But I must mention that the late 1570s and the early 1580s are simply a darker period of time for these sources. Averages from these years should be treated with this issue in mind.

¹¹⁹ For this *république des clercs* and the growing importance of secular authorities after the turn of the century, see René Fedou, *Les hommes de loi lyonnais à la fin du moyen âge: étude sur les origines de la classe de robe* (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1964). For Lyon's sixteenth-century cosmopolitan pride and lay customs, see Lucien Romier, "Lyons and Cosmopolitanism at the Beginning of the French Renaissance," in *French Humanism 1470-1600*, ed. Werner L. Gundersheimer (London: Macmillan, 1969), 90-109. For a bibliography of historical studies and research sources for Lyon through all time periods, see Philippe Dollinger and Philippe Wolff, eds., *Bibliographie d'histoire des villes de France*, Commission internationale pour l'histoire des villes (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1967), 379-89; for all of Burgundy, see *Ibid.*, 353-92.

¹²⁰ Though Catholic authorities of France occasionally acted to dispel circles they deemed heretical in the early decades of the sixteenth century, namely the reforming circle of preachers at Meaux, historians generally agree that there was a noted lack of a unified response against heresy before the outbreak of the French Wars of Religion. Frederic J. Baumgartner, *Change and Continuity in the French Episcopate: The Bishops and the Wars of Religion, 1547-1610*, Duke Monographs in Medieval and Renaissance Studies, no. 7 (Durham: Duke UP, 1986), 122; Mark Greengrass, *The French Reformation*, Historical Association Studies (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1987), 26; Robert Jean Knecht, *The French Wars of Religion, 1559-1598*, Seminar Studies in History (London: Longman, 1989), 2; *idem*, *Francis I* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1982), 141.

¹²¹ Analysis of marriage contracts from 1557 to 1561 indicates that approximately 38% of the population was born in Lyon, 20% in its environs, 23% from other provinces of France, and 19% from outside the country. The 19% of foreigners and the 23% from

greater France, however, represented 32% and 29%, respectively, of the number of Protestants between 1550 and 1575. Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Sacred and the Body Social in Sixteenth-Century Lyon," *Past and Present* 90 (1981): 48-9.

¹²² Philip T. Hoffman, *Church and Community in the Diocese of Lyon, 1500-1789* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1984), 18-20.

¹²³ I refer here only to the few Catholic treatises printed in Lyon during the period and make no categorical parallels to the style or the behavior of the clergy in general, especially in regards to their attempts to instruct and preach to their parishioners and audiences. What few sermons do exist for this period throughout France indicate that their thematic content and style of delivery were quite mixed. Larissa Juliet Taylor, "God of Judgment, God of Love: Catholic Preaching in France, 1460-1560," *Historical Reflections* 26 (2000): 266-8.

¹²⁴ Natalie Zemon Davis, "Strikes and Salvation at Lyon," in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1975), 1-16; idem, "The Sacred and the Body Social," 47-8.

¹²⁵ Arthur Jean Kleinclausz et al., eds., *Histoire de Lyon*, 3 vols. (Lyon: Librairie Pierre Masson, 1939), 1:363.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 1:365.

¹²⁷ Though much ink has been spilled discussing the importance of the Lyonnais printers for disseminating books and ideas throughout Europe, the reverse was also true. It was through the local presses that Italian and Spanish ideas spread into France. Marie-Ange Etayo-Pinol, "Impact du siècle d'or Espagnol en France a travers l'édition Lyonnaise," *Revue Historique* 286 (1991): 35-41. On the introduction of the printing industry in Lyon, see Charles Perrat, "Barthélemy Buyer et les débuts de l'imprimerie à Lyon," *Humanisme et Renaissance*, 2 (1935): 103-21, 349-87. For an introduction of printing into France as a whole, see Marie Dureau, "Les premiers ateliers français," in *Histoire de l'édition*, 1:163-77.

¹²⁸ For Francis I and the Italian Wars, see R. J. Knecht, *Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1994), 69-87 and *passim*; Danielle Boillet, ed., *Les guerres d'Italie: histoire, pratiques, représentations; actes du colloque international (Paris, 9-10-11 décembre 1999)*, Centre Interuniversitaire de Recherche sur la Renaissance Italienne, no. 25 (Paris: University de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 2002).

¹²⁹ Kleinclausz, *Histoire de Lyon*, 1:370.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 1:377; Richard Gascon, *Grand commerce et vie urbaine au XVIe siècle: Lyon et ses marchands (environs de 1520-environs de 1580)*, 2 vols., Civilisations et sociétés, no. 22 (Paris: S. E. V. P. E. N., 1971), 2:538-48.

¹³¹ Maurice Pallasse, *La sénéchaussée et siège présidial de Lyon pendant les guerres de religion: essai sur l'évolution de l'Administration Royale en province au XVIe siècle* (Lyon: Emmanuel Vitte, 1943), 144.

¹³² Davis, *Society and Culture*, 8-9, 27-8; Gascon, *Grand commerce*, 2:478; Henri Hauser, "Etude critique sur la Rebeine de Lyon," *Revue Historique* 61 (1896), 265-307. Archival sources for the Rebeine have been reproduced in M.-C. and Georges Guigue, *Bibliothèque historique du Lyonnais* (Lyon: n.p., 1886).

¹³³ For a study of Champier and a bibliography of his writings, see Paul Allut, *Étude biographique et bibliographique sur Symphorien Champier* [1859] (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1972); Richard Dubuis, "Symphorien Champier, pédagogue, moraliste et poète," in *Actes du colloque sur l'humanisme lyonnais au XVIe siècle* (Grenoble: Presses universitaires de Grenoble, 1974), 23-40. Champier's account of the events is hardly unbiased, which is not surprising given his immediacy to the events. Still, his narrative is the most vivid telling available, *S'ensuyt ung petit traicté de la noblesse et ancienneté de la ville de Lyon* (Paris: n.p., n.d.), 8.

¹³⁴ Davis, *Society and Culture*, 28.

¹³⁵ Hauser, "Etude critique," 270. Kleinclausz argues the same: "though it was a revolt of the starving poor against the so-called monopolizers (of the city grain supplies), there was, it seems, some symptoms of religious agitation to which some official documents make allusion," *Histoire de Lyon*, 1:380.

¹³⁶ Symphorien Champier disputed the notion that the mob was a simple grain riot, though he is hardly an objective witness. He noted that another neighbor's house had no bread but some fine wine, which "these common evildoers . . . loved more than bread anyway," 6v.

¹³⁷ Henri Hours, "Procès d'hérésie," 20-1; Gascon, *Grand commerce*, 2:463; Davis, *Society and Culture*, 8.

¹³⁸ Anticlerical sentiments were by no means restricted to the poor or even the laity. Reformed and Catholic clergy both criticized their immodest and undisciplined brethren, often quite harshly, Hervé Martin, "Un Prédicateur au début de la Renaissance: Jean Cleree O.P. (1455-1507)," *RHEF* 77 (1991): 192-7. On the distinction between medieval (or indeed post-pagan) anticlericalism and that of the Reformation age, see Susan C. Karant-Nunn, "Clerical Anticlericalism in the Early German Reformation: an Oxymoron?," in *Anticlericalism in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds. Peter

A. Dykema and Heiko A. Oberman, *Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought*, no. 51 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993), 521-34. For examples of anticlericalism directed toward Protestant ministers in Geneva, see Robert M. Kingdon, "Anticlericalism in the Registers of the Geneva Consistory, 1542-1564," in *Ibid.*, 617-23.

¹³⁹ Gascon, *Grand Commerce*, 2:538-48.

¹⁴⁰ Jean Guéraud, *La chronique lyonnaise de Jean Guéraud, 1536-1562*, ed. Jean Tricou (Lyon: l'imprimerie Audiniene, 1929), 66.

¹⁴¹ Davis, *Society and Culture*, 4-5. Natalie Zemon Davis has argued that the popularity of the Reformed faith among the printers had much to do with optimistic expectations of meaningful shifts within the social order. When the Protestant authorities turned out to be just as tight-fisted as Catholics in respect to the sharing of power within the secular hierarchy (and much more vehemently opposed to "superstitions" and all manner of popular rituals to which artisans were so given), their popularity waned quickly. *Ibid.*, 14-20.

¹⁴² ". . . qu'ilz eurent veuz et leux les tilletz qu'ilz avoient mys et affichez par les places et carfourcz . . ." Champier, *S'ensuyt ung petit traicté*, 2v. On a general note, I have chosen to leave all direct quotations and titles in the original form as they appear on the page. The original form is most often how such titles are indexed in libraries, so this decision is in the interest of allowing others to trace the work in question. Authors names, however, have been changed to modern spelling whenever necessary.

¹⁴³ For Cardinal Tournon, see Michel François, *Le cardinal François de Tournon, homme d'état, diplomate, mécène et humaniste, 1489-1562* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1951); Alice Saunier-Seïté, *Le cardinal de Tournon: le Richelieu de François Ier* (Paris: Editions des Deux mondes, 1997); *NBG*, 46:542-5.

¹⁴⁴ For an analysis of the correspondence between the crown, royal authorities, and the city council, especially in regards to the pursuit of taxation and patronage issues, see Timothy Watson, "Friends at Court: The Correspondence of the Lyon City Council, c. 1525-1575," *French History* 13 (1999): 280-302.

¹⁴⁵ Maurice Scève, *The Entry of Henri II into Lyon, September 1548*, ed. Richard Cooper, *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies*, no. 160 (Tempe, AZ: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1997), 14.

¹⁴⁶ After the court left the city, a mob of people complained to the council about the "arrogances and irritations" (*les insolences et fascheryes*) caused by the royal court, Guéraud, *La chronique lyonnaise*, 49.

¹⁴⁷ There are, however, good historical surveys of early Protestantism in France. For a succinct introduction and bibliography, see Greengrass, *The French Reformation*. For a bibliography and commentary on early Protestant tracts and religious texts, see Francis M. Higman, *La Diffusion de la Réforme en France: 1520-1565* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1992) and idem, *Piety and the People: Religious Printing in French, 1511-1551* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996). For reception of Calvin's writings in France, see idem, *The Style of John Calvin in His French Polemical Treatises* (New York: Oxford UP, 1967). For a positive interpretation of the possibilities Protestantism held out for France, see Janine Garrisson, *Les Protestants au XVIe siècle*, Nouvelles études historiques (Paris: Fayard, 1988). For the most detailed narrative, see Pierre Imbart de La Tour, *Les origines de la réforme . . .*, 4 vols. (Paris: Hachette, 1905-1935). Alfred Aeschmann's work on early Protestantism in Lyon, *Les Origines et le Développement de la réforme à Lyon* (Lyon: Imprimerie Nouvelle Lyonnaise, 1916), has been supplanted by the work of Natalie Zemon Davis and Richard Gascon.

¹⁴⁸ Rohan presided over the Church Council of Lyon in 1528 addressing heresy, see below.

¹⁴⁹ Hippolyte d'Este "didn't give a fig for Lyon," Jacques Gadille, ed., *Le Diocèse de Lyon*, Histoire des Diocèses de France, no. 16 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1983), 123.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 123-4.

¹⁵¹ AML, BB 39, 1521.

¹⁵² Henri Hours, "Procès d'hérésie contre Aimé Maigret (Lyon-Grenoble, 1524)," *BHR* 19 (1957): 14-43; James K. Farge, *Biographical Register of Paris Doctors of Theology, 1500-1536* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1980), 292-96; *SOPR*, 2:58. For the full text of the sermon, see Henry Guy, ed., "Le sermon d'Aimé Maigret," *Annales de l'Université de Grenoble* 15 (1928): 181-212.

¹⁵³ Farge, *Biographical Register*, 292.

¹⁵⁴ Farge feels there is little in the sermon that is overtly unorthodox; Ibid., 292. Henri Hours argues that his sermons were deliberate and heretical: *Procès d'hérésie*, 24-5. Larissa Taylor also maintains that he was, "a man who had drunk the new wine offered by Luther": *Soldiers of Christ: Preaching in Late Medieval and Reformation France* (New York: Oxford UP, 1992), 208. In the end, I agree with a later statement of Larissa Taylor that "it is virtually impossible to differentiate" between these categories: "Dangerous Vocations: Preaching in France in the late Middle Ages and Reformations," in *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period*, ed. Larissa Taylor (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 101. The 1520s and 1530s in France were more akin to the period of "wild growth" (*Wildwuchs*) in the German Reformation, roughly 1518 to 1525, wherein Lutheran thought was more varied and heterodox than it would come to be. For

this debate in Germany, see Bernd Moeller's "Was wurde in der Frühzeit der Reformation in den deutschen Städten gepredigt?," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 74 (1984): 176-93, and a challenge, arguing that heterogeneity reigned in the incipient Reformation, by Susan C. Karant-Nunn, "What Was Preached in German Cities in the Early Years of the Reformation? *Wildwuchs* versus Lutheran Unity," in *The Process of Change in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honor of Miriam Usher Chrisman*, eds. Phillip N. Bebb and Sherrin Marshall (Athens: Ohio UP, 1988), 81-96.

¹⁵⁵ Hours, *Procès d'hérésie*, 24; Taylor, *Soldiers of Christ*, 200-208. Regarding biblical passages, I have referenced only chapter and verse, but all correspond to Michael D. Coogan, ed., *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books*, 3rd ed. (New York, 2001).

¹⁵⁶ Guy, "Le sermon," 207.

¹⁵⁷ Kleinclausz, *Histoire de Lyon*, 1:396.

¹⁵⁸ Jean Guillaume Baum, *Procès de Baudichon de la Maison Neuve: Accusé d'hérésie à Lyon, 1534* (Geneva: Jules-G. Fick, 1873); William G. Naphy, "Catholic Perceptions of Early French Protestantism: The Heresy Trial of Baudichon de la Maison neuve in Lyon, 1534," *French History* 9 (1995): 451-77.

¹⁵⁹ Baum, *Procès de Baudichon*, 20-1, 52-4.

¹⁶⁰ AML BB 52, 1534. Baudichon's brother Thomas arrived from Geneva and argued in the archiepiscopal court that merchants were all afforded safe conduct while at the fairs and that the arrest would create significant economic damage within the city, Baum, *Procès*, 28-30.

¹⁶¹ For a list of executions in France for heresy, see David Nicholls, "The Theatre of Martyrdom in the French Reformation," *Past and Present* 121 (1988): 49-73. For the use of martyrdom in literature and the doctrinal discussions of the practice, see Ole Herrenschmidt, "Sacrifice symbolique ou sacrifice efficace," in *La Fonction symbolique: essais d'anthropologie*, eds. Michel Izard and Pierre Smith (Paris: Gallimard, 1979), 171-92; David ElKenz, "Les martyrs protestants (1523-1560): du texte hagiographique au rituel de la mort volontaire," *Cahiers d'Histoire: Revue d'Histoire Critique* 67 (1997): 73-86.

¹⁶² AML BB 64, 1546.

¹⁶³ AML BB 70, 1549.

¹⁶⁴ Much of our evidence for these executions, though, comes from Jean Crespin's *Histoire des martyres: persecutez et mis a mort pour le vérité de l'evangile, depuis le*

temps des apostres jusques a present [1619], 3 vols. (Toulouse: Société des Livres Religieux, 1885-1889), notorious for its unreliability. Still, Lyon had a lower body count than many French cities, and the reported violence was not unusual for the period. Kleinclausz, *Histoire de Lyon*, 1:404-5.

¹⁶⁵ Gascon, *Grand commerce*, 2:464; Henri Martin, *Les cinq étudiants de l'académie de Lausanne brûlés vifs à Lyon sur la place des Terreaux le 16 Mai 1553* (Lausanne: Georges Bridel, 1863).

¹⁶⁶ Davis, *Society and Culture*, 6-8. The shifts in the printing industry often appeared during changes in ownership of the presses. When Barnabé Chaussard died in 1527, for example, his printing house changed emphasis from devotionals to secular love poetry. When Oliver Arnoullet died in 1547, his son, Balthazar (a convert to the Reformed Church) stopped printing small French devotionals and conduct manuals and began producing, instead, copies of humanist works and a French bible: Gadille, *Le Diocèse de Lyon*, 123.

¹⁶⁷ Both these factors seem to have significantly increased the chances of the adoption of reformation ideas. Through an analysis of signatures on a collective legal form in 1580, Natalie Zemon Davis concludes that approximately two-thirds of all printing workers were literate enough to sign their own names, *Society and Culture*, 5.

¹⁶⁸ Estimates of the total number of ecclesiastics in Lyon are difficult to figure, but for two approximations, see Hoffman, *Church and Community*, 11; Kleinclausz, *Histoire de Lyon*, 1:488-9.

¹⁶⁹ Hoffman, *Church and Community*, 7-9.

¹⁷⁰ Gascon, *Grand Commerce*, 1:407-35; Pallasse, *La sénéchaussée*, 144-7.

¹⁷¹ For an exploration of this process in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, see Fédou, *Les hommes de loi lyonnais, passim*; Gascon, *Grand commerce*, 1:407-8.

¹⁷² Davis, *Society and Culture*, 17-62.

¹⁷³ Gascon, *Grand commerce*, 1:427. It should be noted, however, that the first half of the sixteenth century witnessed the emergence of an important third group between the ecclesiastical and secular hierarchies: lawyers. They grew in importance along with the economic vitality of the city and found themselves in difficult and often advantageous positions between the church and the merchant-dominated council. The doctoral *oraisons* delivered from the church of Saint-Nizier on 21 December, the feast of Saint Thomas, provide an interesting example of this shift. In the fifteenth century these speeches, falling shortly after the annual election of the city council, addressed moral and ecclesiastical concerns. By the mid-sixteenth century, they were dominated by issues

most relevant to the secular magistrates. Fedou, *Les hommes de loi lyonnais*, 253-5. Antoine de Masso's speech of 1556, for example, rails against the disproportionately high taxes levied on the merchants of the city: *Orationes dvæ, comitiis consvlaribvs, lvgdvni habitæ, ab Antonio Masso, Lugduneo, Iurisprudentiæ studioso* (Lyon: Guillaume Rouille, 1556).

¹⁷⁴ Gascon, *Grand commerce*, 1:428; AML, BB 30, 1512.

¹⁷⁵ Kleinclausz, *Histoire de Lyon*, 1:377.

¹⁷⁶ Gascon, *Grand commerce*, 1:428.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*; AML BB 72, 1551.

¹⁷⁸ “. . . que vous n'avez égard que à ce qui concerne votre prouffict particulier et votre trafic de marchandise sans considérer la paouvreté des artisans et laboreurs sur lesquelz rejecté la charge contre la charité chrestienne et le debvoir de voz estatz de conseillers et tuteurs du peuple qui ne vous permet de opprimer la plus faible et imbecille partie de la république pour solager et avantager la plus forte,” AML BB 439, 1558, quoted in Gascon, *Grand commerce*, 1:429.

¹⁷⁹ Pallasse, *La sénéchaussée*, 146.

¹⁸⁰ AML CC 309, 1559.

¹⁸¹ Hoffman, *Church and Community*, 17; Antoine Péricaud, *Notes et documents pour servir à l'histoire de la ville de Lyon*, 9 parts. (Lyon: n.p., 1838-1846), 1:3-4.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 18.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 15.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 27-30, 171-84.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 19-20.

¹⁸⁶ Guéraud, *La chronique lyonnaise*, 12.

¹⁸⁷ Hoffman, *Church and Community*, 20.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 25-7; Davis, *Society and Culture*, 184-5.

¹⁸⁹ In the first third of the century these were the Augustinians at Saint-Vincent, the Carmelites in the parish of Notre-Dame-de-la-Platière, the Dominicans (called the Jacobins) and the Franciscans of Saint-Bonaventure (called the Cordeliers) both in the

parish of Saint-Nizier, and the Observant Franciscans near Saint-Paul. Hoffman, *Church and Community*, 15. The order of the Minims of Saint-François de Paule was founded in 1553 by Simon Guichard. Jean-Baptiste Vanel, *Histoire du Couvent des Minimes de Lyon* (Lyon: Bridagy, 1879), 8-15.

¹⁹⁰ Hoffman, *Church and Community*, 14-16, 27.

¹⁹¹ Simon Vigor's collections of sermons delivered in Paris is the only significant survival from the post-war period. Wylie G. Sypher, "'Faisant ce qu'il leur vient à plaisir': The Image of Protestantism in French Catholic Polemic on the Eve of the Religious Wars," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 11 (1980): 61; Barbara B. Diefendorf, "Simon Vigor: A Radical Preacher in Sixteenth-Century Paris," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 18 (1987): 400. For collections of sermons of the late medieval period and the first third of the sixteenth century, see the bibliography provided in Taylor, *Soldiers of Christ*, 328-31; Hervé Martin, *Le métier du prédicateur à la fin du Moyen Age, 1350-1520* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1988), 629-37.

¹⁹² For an institutional study of heresy proceedings in the first half of the sixteenth century, including the procedures used and types of documents produced, see Raymond A. Mentzer, *Heresy Proceedings in Languedoc, 1500-1560*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, no. 74 (Independence Square, PA: The American Philosophical Society, 1984).

¹⁹³ J. D. Levesque, *Les Frères Prêcheurs de Lyon* (Lyon: Couvent des Dominicains, 1978), 212-13.

¹⁹⁴ Lawrence Duggan, "The Unresponsiveness of the Late Medieval Church: A Reconsideration," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 9 (1978): 19. Miriam U. Chrisman has found that one fourth of all books printed in Strasbourg before 1500 were sermons: *Lay Culture, Learned Culture* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1982), 84.

¹⁹⁵ Larissa Taylor, "Out of Print: the Decline of Catholic Printed Sermons in France, 1530-1560," in *Habent sua fata libelli, or Books have their own destiny: Essays in Honor of Robert V. Schnucker*, eds. Robin Bruce Barnes et al., *Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies*, v. 50 (Kirksville, MO: Thomas Jefferson UP, 1998), 121-9. For an intriguing hypothesis that Catholic polemical writings drove this linguistic advancement of the French language, especially as a language of debate, see F. M. Higman, "Theology in French: Religious Pamphlets from the Counter-Reformation," *Renaissance and Modern Studies* 23 (1979): 128-46. Polemic aided in the development of French historiography as well. Arlette Jouanna, "Histoire et polémique en France dans la deuxième moitié du XVIème siècle," *Storia della Storiografia* 2 (1982): 57-76.

¹⁹⁶ In addition to the dangers of heretical statements of varying degrees, late medieval and early Reformation preachers often found themselves under perilous scrutiny for their

criticism of secular and ecclesiastical powers. Taylor, "Dangerous Vocations: Preaching in France in the late Middle Ages and Reformations," in *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period*, ed. Larissa Taylor (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 92-96.

¹⁹⁷ Taylor, *Soldiers of Christ*, 211; Marc Venard, *L'Église d'Avignon au XVI^e siècle*, 5 vols. (Lille: Service de reproduction des thèses, Université de Lille, 1980), 1:457.

¹⁹⁸ This debate, the beginning of which is characteristically attributed to Johan Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages* [1919], trans. Rodney J. Payton and Ulrich Mammitzsch (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), is a well-worn one and need not be addressed again here. For the argument that the Catholic Church was more robust and alert to the needs of the faithful than is commonly portrayed by Reformation historians and bibliography, see Lawrence Duggan, "The Unresponsiveness of the Late Medieval Church" and "Fear and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 75 (1984): 153-75; Jacques Chiffolleau, *La comptabilité de l'au-delà: les hommes, la mort et la religion dans la région d'Avignon à la fin du Moyen Age, vers 1320-vers 1480*, Collection de l'École française de Rome, no. 47 (Rome: Farnese, 1980). For the opposing view, that the Church failed to provide for parishioners or fostered an oppressive guilt system through confession and eschatology, see Steven E. Ozment, *The Reformation in the Cities: The Appeal of Protestantism to Sixteenth-Century Germany and Switzerland* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1975); Jean Delumeau, *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture, 13th-18th centuries* [1983], trans. Eric Nicholson (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990). This debate has received a new lease on life thanks to the important work on the French Reformation by Denis Crouzet, *Les guerriers de Dieu: la violence au temps des troubles de religion, vers 1525-vers 1610*, 2 vols. (Seysssel: Champ Vallon, 1990); idem, "La violence au temps des troubles de religion (vers 1525-vers 1610)," *Histoire, Economie et Société* 8 (1989): 507-25.

¹⁹⁹ The lack of printing of Lyonnais clergy before the wars is particularly pronounced, but sources from Paris, notably the corpus of François Le Picart, are somewhat better. Larissa Taylor, *Heresy and Orthodoxy in Sixteenth-Century Paris: François Le Picart and the Beginnings of the Catholic Reformation*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, no. 77 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1999), *passim*; idem, *Soldiers of Christ*, 210-25.

²⁰⁰ Naphy, "Catholic Perceptions," 460-463; David Nicholls has demonstrated the passionate reactions of Catholics against Protestant tendencies to mock the saints and the Virgin: "The Nature of Popular Heresy in France, 1520-1542," 268-69.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 462 and *passim*.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 463. This issue is dealt with in detail in Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual: An Interpretation of Early Modern Germany*, Christianity and Society in the Modern World (London: Routledge, 1997), 190-201 and *passim*; John Bossy, *Christianity in the West, 1400-1700* (Oxford, UK: Oxford UP, 1985), 169-71 and

passim. Jesuits and post-Tridentine Catholic reformers seeking to eradicate “superstitions” found this process no less difficult. Jean Delumeau, *Catholicism Between Luther and Voltaire: A New View of the Counter-Reformation* [1971], trans. Jeremy Moiser (London: Westminster Press, 1977), 175-202 and *passim*.

²⁰³ In later decades, most of the polemical pamphlets would be written by the friars, Hoffman, *Church and Community*, 42. For an example of these internal praises, see *SOPR*, 2:146; Levesque, *Les Frères Prêcheurs*, 206.

²⁰⁴ AML, BB 036, 1516.

²⁰⁵ AML, CC 0664, 1519.

²⁰⁶ For an etymological analysis of Pagnini’s biblical translation, see Anna Morisi Guerra, “Santi Pagnini traduttore de la Bible,” in *Théorie et pratique de l’exégèse*, ed. Irena Backus (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1990), 191-8.

²⁰⁷ *SOPR*, 2:115.

²⁰⁸ Pagnini’s Italian cousin, Thomas de Gadagne (Pagnini came to Lyon from the convent of Fiesole and studied under Savonarola), was so moved by his sermons that he pledged funding for a new hospital for plague victims: AML, CC 0849, 1534.

²⁰⁹ BN, nouvelles acquisitions françaises, n. 6528, 99v-106r; quoted in Samuel Berger, “Le procès de Guillaume Briçonnet au Parlement de Paris en 1525,” *BSHPF* 44 (1895), 12.

²¹⁰ Jacques Lefèvre d’Etaples, *Epistres et Evangiles pour les cinquante et deux dimanches de l’an*, eds. Guy Bedouelle and Franco Giacone (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), 269-70; quoted in Louise Salley Parker, “The ‘False Prophets’ of Lefevre d’Etaples,” *BHR* 45 (1983): 484.

²¹¹ Even if, as mentioned above, no unified response was made against Protestantism in this early period, “warnings of its rapid diffusion were repeatedly made by secular and ecclesiastical authorities.” Knecht, *The French Wars of Religion*, 2.

²¹² “. . . diligenter inquirant, poenale iudicium exerçant, & severa animadversione deprehensos per legitimos tramites corrigant, castigant, [et] puniant. . .” Joannes Dominicus Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio* [1901-1927] (Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, Graz, 1960-1961), 32:1126-7.

²¹³ “. . . omnibus & quibuscumque personis, cujuscumque gradus, status, & conditionis existant, ne praedictos libros Lutheri & sequacium, nec non translaticivos hujusmodi in

Gallicum idioma sacrae scripturae libros habeant, teneant, legant, audiant” Ibid., 32:1127.

²¹⁴ “. . . laicis vero contemtibilem sacerdotum multitudinem” Ibid., 32:1128.

²¹⁵ “Et premierement quant à l’extirpation de ceste maudite secte Lutherienne, sont d’opinion de toutellement, & par tous moyens, se y employer, pour l’extirper & abolir.” Ibid., 32:1130.

²¹⁶ “. . . que c’est chose non seulement raisonnable, mais aussi tresque necessaire. Car à la verite il y a des abus beaucoup, que chacun voit avec scandaile à tous, mesmement aux laycs, dont l’estat ecclesiastique en est meprise, villipande, & quasi supprime” Ibid.

²¹⁷ When the tribunal of Seville began confiscating foreign Bibles in 1522 for the Supreme Council of the Spanish Inquisition, they found more than four hundred. Almost three-fourths of the total had been printed in Lyon, and over 90 percent came from France. Saragossa collected just over half that many, but the percentages of Lyonnais and French editions were nearly identical. Both districts had developed Protestant communities by the end of the decade. William Monter, “French Bibles and the Spanish Inquisition, 1552,” *BHR* 51 (1989): 147-52.

²¹⁸ Despite claiming that the council played a more substantial role in combating Protestantism than portrayed here, Hubert Jedin admits that there was never the effort in Lyon to combat the robust Protestant propaganda machine, which was “becoming ever more intense in the 1550s.” Paul Broutin, *L’Évêque dans la tradition pastorale du XVI^e siècle*, trans. of Hubert Jedin, *Das Bischofsideal der Katholischen Reformation* (Desclée de Brouwer L’édition universelle, 1953), 81.

²¹⁹ For an analysis of one of the most thorough visitations, conducted in the eastern diocese of Grasse, see Katharine Jackson Lualdi, “Obéir aux commandements de Dieu et de l’Église: Culte paroissial et contre-réforme Gallicane,” *RHEF* 84 (1998): 5-20.

²²⁰ Articles 17 and 42 of the edict specifically refer to Lyon as a dangerous center of Protestant publication. Nicola Mary Sutherland, *Princes, Politics and Religion, 1547-1589* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1984), 25.

²²¹ Kleinclausz, *Histoire de Lyon*, 1:406.

²²² Sutherland, *Princes Politics and Religion*, 25-8.

²²³ For an analysis of the waves of emigration and immigration between Geneva and Lyon due to shifts in official policy toward the Reformed Church, see Paul-F. Geisendorf,

“Lyon et Genève du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle: Les foires et l’imprimerie,” *Cahiers d’Histoire* 5 (1960): 65-76.

²²⁴ Gascon, *Grand commerce*, 2:465.

²²⁵ “Combien que par noz édictz et ordonnances nous eussions entre aultres choses deffendu à toutes personnes tant noz subjectz que aultres d’apporter en noz Royaulme et pays de nostre obéissance aucuns livres quelz qu’ilz soient de Genefve et aultres lieux et pays notoirement séparés de l’union et obéissance de l’esglise du saint Siège Apostolique” Quoted in Pallasse, *La sénéchaussée*, 124-5. Henry II’s frustration was well warranted. Francis I ordered that all printed works first clear a review by Parlement in 1526. From that point, dozens of royal edicts forbade illicit publications on penalty of confiscation and monetary and capital punishments. In Lyon there was no discernable effect of these efforts before the wars. Constant Leber, *De l’État Réel de la Presse et des Pamphlets, depuis François Ier jusqu’à Louis XIV . . .* (Paris: Techener, 1834), 8-20.

²²⁶ “. . . desdain et malveillance qu’ils ont contre Messrs de la Ville,” Guéraud, *La chronique lyonnaise*, 202.

²²⁷ Hoffman, *Church and Community*, 31; Gascon, *Grand commerce*, 2:464-5; Pallasse, *La sénéchaussée*, 126; AML, BB 82, 1562. The suspicion of the canons was warranted. During the 1551 riots, for example, council member Hugues de La Porte publicly voiced his sympathy with the “blasphemous” crowd and urged a wider cause of church reform. Davis, *Society and Culture*, 35.

²²⁸ One notable exception is Alfonsus de Castro’s *Adversus omnes haereses . . .* (Lyon: Antonium Vincentium, 1546), first published in Cologne in 1539.

²²⁹ C. J. Pinto de Oliveira, “Le premier document pontifical sur la presse,” *Revue des Sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 50 (1966): 629. For the early reluctance of Catholic authors to publish in the vernacular, see Francis M. Higman, “‘Il seroit trop plus decent respondre en latin’: les controversistes catholiques du XVIe siècle face aux écrits réformés,” in *Langues et nations au temps de la Renaissance*, ed. Marie-Thérèse Jones-Davies (Paris: Klincksieck, 1991): 189-210; idem, “Theology in French,” 129; Guy Bedouelle, “Le débat catholique sur la traduction de la Bible en langue vulgaire,” in *Théorie et pratique*, 39-76.

²³⁰ Guy Bedouelle, “L’accès à la Bible du milieu du 15e siècle aux environs de 1530,” in *Temps des Réformes et la Bible*, eds. Guy Bedouelle and Bernard Roussel (Paris: Éditions Beauchesne, 1989), 45-6.

²³¹ Rudolf Hirsch, *Printing, Selling and Reading 1450-1550* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1967), 98.

²³² Ibid., 98-100.

²³³ On Doré, see James K. Farge, *Biographical Register*, 137-42; John Langlois, “Pierre Doré, écrivain spirituel et théologien des laïcs,” *Les Dominicains en France devant la Réforme 1520-1563*, Mémoire Dominicaine Histoire-Documents-Vie dominicaine, no. 12 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1998), 39-47; Marie-Madeleine Fragonard, “Pierre Doré: une stratégie de la reconquête,” in *Calvin et ses contemporains* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1998): 179-94; *SOPR*, 2:204-5

²³⁴ “Et a bon droict telz livres dangereux, & plains de corruption, ce doibvent brusler avecques leurs aucteurs.” (Paris: Antoine Bonnemere, 1539), 15r.

²³⁵ “Voyant que les chirurgiens & medecins esprituelz, cest assavoir les bons docteurs latins, ont donné la medecine contra la playe, ainsi quelle estoit venue, & ont escript en langaige latin livres salutaires contre l’heretique doctrine, dogmatizee par plusieurs faulx prophetes, eloquens et latins. Pareillement ma semblé bon & convenable, donner en francoys quelques bons livres, comme anthidote contre les pestiferes enseignemens qu’on peult prendre meschans livres, qui en divers lieux se impriment en langue vulgaire, qui est chose trespernicieuse, & qui fort endommaige la Republique chrestienne: a quoy ne puis remedier (comme desireroye) sinon que en baillant le contrepoison, c’est a dire livre utile au simple peuple, lequel ne discorde a nostre foy, qu’il fault suivre, & non pas nostre esprit” *Les Allumettes du feu divin, pour faire ardre les cueurs humains en l’amour de Dieu* (Paris: A. Bonnemère, 1540), 4.

²³⁶ Patrick Preston, “Catharinus versus Luther, 1521,” *History* 88 (2003): 364. Born in Sienna, a renowned theologian and preacher, Catharinus fought bitterly against the findings of Cajetan’s translation of the Bible, such as an allegorical interpretation of the first chapters of Genesis, though Cajetan argued that working from a literal translation was the best method to combat heresy. In 1534 the vicar general of the order ordered him to stop his published attacks against Cajetan. For Catharinus’ perspective on scriptural authority versus papal authority, see George H. Tavard, *Holy Writ or Holy Church: The Crisis of the Protestant Reformation* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), 179-84; Guy Bedouelle, “L’introduction à l’Ecriture sainte du dominicain Ambrosio Catharino Politi (1543),” *Protestantesimo* 54 (1999): 273-84. For his refutation of Luther’s doctrine of *sola fide*, see Martin W. Anderson, “Luther’s Sola Fide in Italy: 1542-1551,” *Church History* 38 (1969): 35-9. For a comparison of Martin Bucer, as a former Dominican, and Catharinus in respect to their Thomistic exegetical heritage and the possible influence this may have had on Calvin, see David C. Steinmetz, “Calvin among the Thomists,” in *Biblical Hermeneutics in Historical Perspective*, eds. Mark S. Burrows and Paul Rorem (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 198-214. For bibliography, see *SOPR*, 2:144-51; Levesque, *Les Frères Prêcheurs*, 153-5.

²³⁷ The vernacular version printed in Lyon is Ambrosius Catharinus, *Tresutile traicté de Frere Ambroise Catharin de Sienes . . .* (Lyon: Sebastien Gryphius, 1548), and was a

translation of *Apologia pro veritate catholicae et apostolicae fidei ac doctrinae, adversus impia ac pestifera Martini Lutheri dogmata*, first printed in Florence, 1520, ed. J. Schweizer and August Franzen (Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1956).

²³⁸ Preston, “Catharinus,” 370-72.

²³⁹ “Car iustement merite telle peine la curiosité & presumption humanine, qui est venue aujourdhuy iusques là, que vn chacun de quelque estat ou condition quil soit, autant femme comme homme, autant l’idiot comme le scauant, veult entendre les plus profondes questions de la sacree theologie & diuine escriture: & estre informé des causes & manieres de la iustification, de la vertu & efficace du libre arbitre, & de la grace.” Catharinus, *Tresutile traicté*, 3.

²⁴⁰ “. . . volonté & cupidité extreme de nuyre aux simples ames,” *Ibid.*, 73.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 84.

²⁴² Claude d’Espence, *Traicté contre l’erreur vieil et renouvellé, des predestinez* (Lyon: Sebastien Gryphius, 1548).

²⁴³ Claude d’Espence fell under suspicion for his 1543 Lenten sermons, and was accused of Lutheran sympathies for his criticisms of the emphasis of works over faith and Christian piety. Even in this treatise against predestination, d’Espence praises God for keeping his judgments secret and practically quotes Luther’s famous phrase, “Grace will not be denied to those doing what they are capable of” (*facientibus quod in se est non denegat gratiam*), 180. In the end, Claude d’Espence never left the church and routinely contradicted the crucial tenets of justification by faith, placing him the category of “*moyenneur*” or Erasmian. Marc Venard, “L’abjuration de Claude d’Espence (1543),” in *Les Dissidents du XVIe siècle entre l’Humanisme et le Catholicisme*, ed. Marc Lienhard, *Bibliotheca Dissidentium scripta et studia*, no. 1 (Baden-Baden: Éditions Valentin Koerner, 1983), 118. For bibliography and biography, see Henry Outram Evennett, “Claude d’Espence et son discours du Colloque de Poissy,” *Revue Historique* 164 (1930), 40-78; *NBG*, 8:410-1.

²⁴⁴ Claude d’Espence, *In priorem D. Pauli apostoli ad Timotheum epistolam commentarii et digressiones . . .* (Paris: M. Vascosani, 1561), 5r; quoted in Paul Broutin, *L’Évêque dans la tradition pastorale du XVIe siècle*, trans. and adapt. of Hubert Jedin, *Das Bischofsideal der Katholischen Reformation* (Desclée de Brouwer L’édition universelle, 1953), 82.

²⁴⁵ D’Espence, *Traicté contre l’erreur*, 180.

²⁴⁶ For example, Charles Fontain, a Parisian writing to Lyon during a drought and heat wave, offers no explanation for the oppressive weather. In later decades such natural disasters are almost always blamed on the punishment of God for religious division. *Ode de l'antiquité et excellence de la ville de Lyon* (Lyon: Jean Citoys, 1557).

²⁴⁷ The anonymous *La grande & triumpante entree des enfans de france . . .* (Lyon: n.p., 1530) stays on subject and describes only the details of the procession and the celebrations of the successful ransom of Francis I's children from Spain. Similarly the record of the queen's entry into the city in 1533 displays no confessional agenda. *L'entrée de la Royne faicte en l'antique et noble cite de Lyon . . .* (Lyon: Gilbert du Plaix, 1553).

²⁴⁸ The Lyonnais funeral accounts of Charles V, the announcements of the peace of 1559, and the conquering of Calais all make no mention of the religious conflict. *Les Obseques et grandes Pompes funebres de l'Empereur Charles cinquième . . .* (Lyon: Jean Saugrain, 1559); *Svytte de la description des grands triomphes faitz à Lyon, apres la publication de la Paix . . .* (Lyon: Jean Saugrain, 1559); *Le Discovrs dv grand triomphe fait en la ville de Lyon, Pour la Paix . . .* (Lyon: Jean Saugrain, 1559); Pierre Tolet, *Exultation et louange à Dieu, de la prinse de Calais . . .* (Lyon: Antoine du Rosne, 1558). Tracts published about the treaty of Chateau-Cambrésis avoid nearly all mention of the religious controversies so readily apparent in 1559. They work instead to emphasize a nation united and at peace. Hélène Frernandez, "Une Paix Suspecte: La célébration littéraire de la paix du Cateau-Cambrésis," *Nouvelle Revue du Seizième Siècle* 15 (1997): 325-41.

²⁴⁹ Religious thinkers of the sixteenth century on both sides of the confessional divide, "even so-called moderates like Michel de L'Hospital," saw religious heterodoxy as abhorrent. Timothy Watson, "'When is a Huguenot not a Huguenot?': Lyon 1525-1575," in *The Adventure of Religious Pluralism in Early Modern France: Papers from the Exeter Conference, April 1999*, eds. Keith Cameron, Mark Greengrass, and Penny Roberts (Oxford, UK: Peter Lang, 2000): 161-76. L'Hospital believed strongly in religious unity and expressed such a view in his speeches and poetry that this goal was best achieved by a doctrinal compromise and reform of the Roman church. Loris Petris, *La Plume et la Tribune. Michel de L'Hospital et ses discours (1559-1562)* (Geneva: Droz, 2002), 27 and *passim*. Elisabeth G. Gleason argues that papal recognition, under Pope Paul III, of the incapability of reunion among the faiths marks the beginning of the ecclesiastical Counter-Reformation: "Who was the First Counter-Reformation Pope?" *Catholic Historical Review* 81 (1995): 173-84.

²⁵⁰ "Qve la peste entre autres calamitez ne soit vn signe tout euident de la fureur de Dieu, vn iuste iugement diceluy, se vengeant tellement des iniques pour les pechez enormes, qui iournallement & à toutes heures se commettent par tout le monde . . ." Benoit Textor, *De la maniere de preserver de la Pestilence . . .* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes et Guillaume Gazeav, 1551), A2r.

²⁵¹ Ibid., A2r.

²⁵² “. . . à traduire en langage vulgaire les saintes escritures, y adioustant par ses commentaires selon ses propres heresies, choses plaisantes à la chair.” Catharinus, *Tresutile traicté*, 5-6.

²⁵³ “cest de la liberté diabolique, de la liberté de ce monde.” Ibid., 5.

²⁵⁴ “Cestuy propos non seulement est faux, mais aussi est horrible, evnu de l’esprit de mensonge & d’erreur, qui se delecte à rendre les hommes semblables à soy-mesme” Ibid., 12.

²⁵⁵ D’Espence, *Traicté contre l’erreur*, 178.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., 1.

²⁵⁷ “plusieurs hérésies sont renouvellez pour trouvez occasion de vivre de la vie de Sardanapalus et des Epicuriens, c’est à boire, manger, et pailardé, car sans les viandes délicieuses et sans le vin, Vénus est refroidie et ne peult régner.” Champier, *Sensuyt ung petit traicté*, 4r.

²⁵⁸ One related effect of this shift is an increase in the misogynistic portrayal of women in sermons from the period. While fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century sermons had used biblical women or popular tales as a means to reach a largely female audience, post-Reformation Catholic preachers jettisoned these images and plied the Pauline epistles in an effort to combat Protestantism. Paul’s forbiddance of female preachers and his stress on their subservient nature became more prominent in sermons in the mid-century period. These tenets joined with the familiar slander of the hedonistic believer of predestination with unfortunate results for women. Larissa Taylor, “Images of Women in the Sermons of Guillaume Pepin (c. 1465-1533),” *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 5 (1994): 265-76.

²⁵⁹ For the first condemnations of central Protestant ideas by the Faculty of Theology in Paris, see Yves Tatarenko, “La predestination censuré: une ‘congregation’ Genevoise condamné par les theologiens Parisiens en 1553,” *BSHPF* 136 (1990): 523-46; idem, “Les ‘Sorbonnistes’ face à Genève. La perception de Calvin et de la Réforme genevoise par les théologiens catholiques parisiens (1536-1564), in *Calvin et ses contemporains*, ed. Olivier Millet, Cahiers d’Humanisme et Renaissance, no. 53 (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1998), 135-48.

²⁶⁰ The receptivity of Lyon to Reformation ideas due to these factors is widely cited. Gascon, *Grand commerce*, 2:465; Kleinclausz, *Histoire de Lyon*, 1:394-5.

²⁶¹ Barbara Diefendorf argues that this popular desire to exact justice when the authorities failed to do so explains a good deal of the worst violence of the wars: *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris* (New York: Oxford UP, 1991), 171-75; see also Davis, *Society and Culture*, 152-88. The city council of Lyon, ever concerned with harming trade and the popularity of the city fairs, provided an ideal situation in which these notions could flourish. Attempts at moderation created a similar problem in Paris. Even before Protestantism had asserted itself in France, various Catholic figures urged the faithful to work on their own to purify the Christian body and force reforms on the church even over the objections of secular powers. Marie-France Godfroy, "Le passage à Foix du prédicateur Franciscain Thomas Illyricus (1520)," *Annales du Midi* 104 (1991): 69-72; idem, "Le prédicateur Franciscain Thomas Illyricus à Toulouse (Novembre 1518-Mai 1519)," *Annales du Midi* 97 (1985): 101-14.

²⁶² Théodore de Bèze, *Histoire ecclésiastique des églises réformées au royaume de France* [1883-1889], eds. Guillaume Baum and Eduard Cunitz, 3 vols. (Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1974), 3:253.

²⁶³ For other examples of Catholic opposition "from below" to the Reformation, see Philip Benedict, "The Catholic Response to Protestantism: Church Activity and Popular Piety in Rouen, 1560-1600," in *Religion and the People, 800-1700*, ed. James Obelkevich (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 168-90; idem, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1981), 190-208; Robert Harding, "The Mobilization of Confraternities against the Reformation in France," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 11 (1980): 92-104.

²⁶⁴ ". . . par subtilz moyens, peu à peu seroient entrez dans la ville et, soubz l'ombre de la religion, se seroient esmeuz et levez en armes . . ." AML BB 81, 1560; Jean Guéraud, *La chronique lyonnaise de Jean Guéraud, 1536-1562*, ed. Jean Tricou (Lyon: l'imprimerie Audiniene, 1929), 235-38; Antoine Péricaud, *Notes et documents pour servir à l'histoire de la ville de Lyon*, 9 parts. (Lyon: n.p., 1838-1846), 5:35; Claude de Rubys, *Histoire veritable de la ville de Lyon . . .* (Lyon: Bonaventurs Nugo, 1604), 386, 390.

²⁶⁵ Guéraud, *La chronique lyonnaise*, 239-40; Kleinclausz, *Histoire de Lyon*, 1:413-4.

²⁶⁶ Claude de Rubys voiced the popular suspicion that de Sault was a Protestant in Catholic clothing. After the Peace of Amboise was passed in March 1563, Rubys reports that "having removed his mask, [de Sault] no longer went to Mass, and even made a profession of Calvinism": *Histoire veritable*, 399. Like many accusations against "sympathizers" during this period, de Sault was most likely a moderate attempting to maintain the peace by striking a middle ground. Richard Gascon, *Grand commerce et vie urbaine au XVIe siècle: Lyon et ses marchands (environs de 1520-environs de 1580)*, 2 vols., *Civilisations et sociétés*, no. 22 (Paris: S. E. V. P. E. N., 1971), 2:470.

²⁶⁷ Péricaud, *Notes et documents*, 6:3; Rubys, *Histoire véritable*, 389.

²⁶⁸ AML BB 82, 1561; Péricaud, *Notes et documents*, 5:5. Aneau disavowed allegiance to either religious party in his writings and was held in disdain by both Protestant and Catholic theologians. Gascon, *Grand commerce*, 2: 469, 514. It is possible that Aneau and other classical humanists provoked the incensed reaction from Pierre Viret that many Lyonnais were “deists,” meaning in this case those who believe that God did not intervene in the religious disputes of mankind, or “atheists,” “mocking all religion” (*moquent de toute religion*): *Instruction chrestienne en la doctrine de la loy et de l’Evangile*, 2 vols. (Geneva: Jean Rivery, 1564); quoted in Christopher J. Betts, *Early Deism in France: From the So-Called “Déistes” of Lyon (1564) to Voltaire’s “Lettres Philosophiques” (1734)* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1984), 7. Viret may also have conflated a number of “heretics” along with humanists into one atheistic group. There are occasional references to anti-trinitarians in the city, who denied the divinity of Christ. *Ibid.*, 6-15. While the crowd may have had their own reasons for murdering Aneau, evidence of which has not survived for us, it is also possible that he was unfairly conflated with the Reformed movement due to confusion about his true allegiances. In fact, he was a poet and humanist who, along with Joachim du Bellay and Pierre Ronsard, extolled the virtues of France, contributing to the growth of nationalism in the early modern period. Michel Zylberberg, “Sentiment national et identité culturelle dans la France du XVI^e siècle,” *Cahiers d’Histoire: Espaces Marx* 63 (1996): 7-29. For the growth of the idea of nationalism in France during the Religious Wars, see Myriam Yardeni, *La conscience nationale en France pendant les guerres de religion, 1559-1598*, *Travaux du Centre de recherches sur la civilisation de l’Europe moderne*, no. 8 (Louvain: Éditions Nauwelaerts, 1971); Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France* [1985], orig. *Naissance de la nation France*, trans. Fredric L. Cheyette (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

²⁶⁹ Jacques Gadille, ed., *Le Diocèse de Lyon*, *Histoire des Diocèses de France*, no. 16 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1983), 126.

²⁷⁰ Tournon never lived to see the overthrow of the Lyonnaise government. He died six days before the Protestant revolt in Paris, 22 April 1562. *Ibid.*, 126.

²⁷¹ John Calvin, *Gratulatio ad venerabilem presbyterum dominum Gabrielum de Saconay, praecentorum ecclesiae lugdunensis . . .* (n.p.: n.p., 1561), 3; quoted in, Péricaud, *Notes et documents*, 5:15. Calvin sarcastically praised Saconay in his work for neatly embodying all that was wrong with Catholic doctrine and practice. For biographical information on this important, yet virtually unknown canon-count and polemicist, see my introduction to Saconay below in Chapter 4.

²⁷² ADR, 10 G 125, 1561; Gascon, *Grand commerce*, 2:472

²⁷³ AML BB 82, 1561.

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

²⁷⁵ “. . . se levarent grandes seditions et querelles par le moyen de ces malheureux huguenots et par la faveur qu’ils reçoivent de notre malheureux lieutenant au gouvernement de ce pays, M. de Sault, duquel ils ont toutes les faveurs, aydes et confort qu’ils veulent, lesquels huguenots ne cherchoyent autre chose que le moyen pour émouvoir la sédition et grabuge en ceste ville voyre jusques à la mettre en proye et pillage” Guéraud, *La chronique lyonnaise*, 293.

²⁷⁶ Protestants successfully gained control of the town hall and all major points of entry to the city in a few quick hours in simultaneous coordinated assaults. Rubys, *Histoire véritable*, 294; Guéraud, *La chronique lyonnaise*, 300-10. Mark Greengrass has shown how an almost identical plot in Toulouse failed: “The Anatomy of a Religious Riot in Toulouse in May 1562,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 34 (1983): 367-91. Rather than succeeding quickly and rather bloodlessly as the revolt did in Lyon, Protestants in Toulouse gained control of only half the city and fought on the losing side of an urban insurgency for weeks. Though hundreds were killed in the fighting within the city, thousands of Protestants were butchered after their surrender. In contrast to Lyon, Calvinists in Toulouse had no nearby safe haven to which they could flee. The level of violence in Lyon, even taken cumulatively over the next decade, pales in comparison to that during one month in Toulouse. Tours was also rather similar to Lyon, even competing with it in the silk industry. It had no parlement and no university, and it too underwent a similarly brief Protestant takeover in the early 1560s. In contrast to both Toulouse and Lyon, the city was fairly peaceful and Protestants were able to live in relative harmony in a city dominated politically by orthodox Catholics. It remains unclear what happened during the Bartholomew’s Day massacres, since the records were all ordered destroyed, but there does not seem to have been a full scale riot like that in Paris or Lyon. “After 1572, Protestants survived largely unmolested while the Catholic majority, firmly in command of the city, was confident enough to feel no need to liquidate what was left of the heretical infection in the body politic.” David Nicholls, “Protestants, Catholics and Magistrates in Tours, 1562-1572: The Making of a Catholic City during the Religious Wars,” *French History* 8 (1994): 14. For a comparative historical essay studying Caen, Lyon, Montélimar, Nyons, Orange, Orléans, and Valence, see Olivier Christin, “La Coexistence Confessionnelle 1563-1567,” *BSHPPF* 141 (1995): 483-504.

²⁷⁷ The most notable example was the destruction of the Church of Saint-Just and the cloister of Saint-Jean. Both were destroyed to help defend the city and widen dangerously narrow roads. Nevertheless, Catherine de Medici’s view that the occupation resulted in the “total ruin and desolation” of the city was widely believed. Gascon, *Grand commerce*, 2:491. The Catholic mass was banned in the city. Protestant sermons took its place in the convents of the Cordeliers and Augustines, Saint-Nizier, Saint-Paul, and Saint-Just. Guéraud, *La chronique lyonnaise*, 325.

²⁷⁸ “Nous sçavons bien qu’en telles esmotions, il est bien difficile de se modérer si bien qu’il ne s’y commette de l’excès, et excusons facilement si vous n’avez tenu la bride si roide qu’il eust esté à souhaiter. Mais il y a des choses insupportables dont nous sommes contraints de vous escrire plus asprement que nous ne voudrions.” Jules Bonet, ed., *Lettres de Jean Calvin*, 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie de Ch. Meyrueis et Compagnie, 1854), 2:466.

²⁷⁹ Bonet, *Lettres*, 2:466. The Genevan reformer and French Protestants in general found themselves in a delicate position in the early stages of the war in respect to armed rebellion. Scripture, it was widely held before the St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacres of 1572, could not justify rebellion against a divinely appointed regent. For a fine overview of this tension and the development of the doctrine of resistance, see Hugues Daussy, *Les Huguenots et le Roi: Le Combat Politique de Philippe Duplessis-Mornay (1572-1600)* (Geneva: Droz, 2002). See also Roland Mousnier, *The Assassination of Henry IV: The Tyrannicide Problem and the Consolidation of the French Absolute Monarchy in the Early Seventeenth Century* (London: Faber and Faber, 1973); Oreste Ranum, “The French Ritual of Tyrannicide in the Late Sixteenth Century,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 11 (1980): 63-82; idem, “Guises, Henri III, Henri IV, Concini: Trente ans d’assassinats politiques,” *Histoire* 51 (1982): 36-44. Kathleen Parrow analyzes the development of the doctrine of resistance from its classical and medieval traditions in “The Use of Defense and Just War Concepts during the French Wars of Religion: A Preliminary Study in the Justification of Violence” (Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, 1986). For a purely political analysis of pamphlet literature that focuses on issues of justification of resistance, see Robert Kingdon, “Pamphlet Literature of the French Reformation,” in *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research*, ed. Steven E. Ozment (St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1982), 233-48. For bibliography and location of political pamphlets, see Robert O. Lindsay and John Neu, *French Political Pamphlets 1547-1648* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969).

²⁸⁰ Timothy Watson, “Preaching, printing, psalm-singing: the making and unmaking of the Reformed church in Lyon, 1550-1572,” in *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559-1685*, eds. Raymond A. Mentzer and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002), 22.

²⁸¹ “Par quoy si vous ne voulez estre hays et détestéz de tous gens de bien, mettez ordre que telles offenses se réparent.” Bonet, *Lettres*, 2:468.

²⁸² For a concise analysis of the Protestant presses in Lyon during the revolt, see Andrew Pettegree, “Protestant Printing during the French Wars of Religion: The Lyon Press of Jean Saugrain,” *The Work of Heiko A. Oberman: Papers from the Symposium on his Seventieth Birthday*, eds. Thomas A. Brady, Jr. et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 109-29; Gascon, *Grand commerce*, 2:485.

²⁸³ Gascon, *Grand commerce*, 2: 489-90. For a detailed account of this historical issue and the manner in which it was finally resolved by the Protestants, see Maurice Pallasse, *La sénéchaussée et siège présidial de Lyon pendant les guerres de religion: essai sur l'évolution de l'Administration Royale en province au XVIe siècle* (Lyon: Emmanuel Vitte, 1943), 262-6.

²⁸⁴ Gascon, *Grand commerce*, 2: 490-1. The relics of Saint-Just were said to have miraculously appeared in the city immediately after Catholics regained control. Arthur Jean Kleinclausz et al., eds., *Histoire de Lyon*, 3 vols. (Lyon: Librairie Pierre Masson, 1939), 1:399.

²⁸⁵ Gascon, *Grand commerce*, 2:486.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

²⁸⁷ Pallasse, *La sénéchaussée*, 263, 266-72.

²⁸⁸ For the negotiations between the crown and the Protestant powers in Lyon, see Ibid., 283-5. Despite the sometimes confrontational relationship between city authorities and the crown that appeared over matters of political control and taxation, Catholic polemic from this first decade of the wars in Lyon was supportive of the crown overall. This trend markedly changed as the wars continued. This finding supports Hervé Martin's claim that writers and preachers in the first half of the sixteenth century were deferential to, and even celebrated, royal power: *Le Métier de prédicateur à la fin du moyen âge, 1350-1520* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1988), 471. This is in contrast to the argument that early preachers and writers were, in fact, rather critical of the crown, even to the extent of stirring up dissent against it. Larissa Juliet Taylor, "Comme un Chien Mort: Images of Kingship in French Preaching," *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History* 22 (1995): 157-70. Gabriel de Saconay's treatise, *De la providence de Dieu svr les Roys de France treschrestiens, Par laquelle sa sainte religion Catholique ne defaudra en leur Royaume. Et comme les Gotz Arriens, & les Albigeois, en ont esté par icelle dechassés* (Lyon: Michel Jove, 1568), supports Taylor's argument and is rather critical of Charles IX. Saconay strongly urges the king to take more drastic measures against heresy, but the treatise is an exception and not the rule. Taylor's article does not address Saconay but does look at Leonard Janvier, a Lyonnaise preacher and writer whom she correctly labels a moderate voice, particularly in respect to the authority of the crown. Other than the single treatise of Saconay's, I find no voices in Lyonnais Catholic polemic in the first decade of the Religious Wars willing to harshly criticize the king. Sources supporting Taylor's hypothesis are all delivered or published in Paris, which suggests a regional differentiation. Perhaps due to the Protestant revolt, Lyon was more receptive to strong royal authority, while Parisians were less forgiving. Additional regional studies would help answer this question. For a study of derogatory polemic directed toward the Valois kings in the later stages of the wars, see David L. Teasley, "Legends of the Last Valois: A New Look at Propaganda Attacking the French

Monarchs during the Wars of Religion, 1559-1589" (Ph.D. diss., Georgetown University, 1986).

²⁸⁹ It bears mentioning that political edicts, like the Peace of Amboise of 1563, regularly ended with the command that they be published, posted, and publicly recited in the “*carrefours* (crossroads) and public squares” so that “no one may claim ignorance” of their contents: “Et afin que personne n’en prétende cause d’ignorance, avons ordonné les présentes estre publiées à son de trompe et cry public ès carrefours et lieux accoustumez en cettedite ville.” Guillaume Paradin, *Histoire de Lyon* [1573] (Roanne: Horvath, 1973), 373. A political edict was one of many types of documents treated in this fashion, and it points to the profoundly auditory nature of sixteenth-century society.

²⁹⁰ Gascon, *Grand commerce*, 2:477. Whereas Catholic authorities had largely kept above the fray regarding artisanal strikes, Protestants attempted to control this element of social resistance, even withholding the Lord’s Supper from them: “It was much easier for Satan to torment people cut off from the sacrament, Lyon Protestants were being told In short, strikes had become relevant to salvation.” Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1975), 14.

²⁹¹ Their return to the Catholic Church was lukewarm at best. In the 1580s and 1590s, these converts would ally themselves with the *Politique* faction against the Catholic League. *Ibid.*, 16.

²⁹² Catholic authorities were usually more tolerant of such activities, and tended to suppress popular displays only when directly threatened or ridiculed. Protestants, like those in Rouen, were more active in repressing the *fêtes*. Calvinists proudly described the way they halted the “insolent masquerades,” of a confraternity during Mardi Gras in 1562. *Ibid.*, 119-21. Catholics too, especially later in the post-Tridentine period, began to suppress rowdier confraternities and other “superstitious” activities. Marc Venard places the majority of these efforts toward the end of the sixteenth century and at the beginning of the seventeenth, after Protestantism was largely defeated: “The Influence of Carlo Borromeo on the Church of France,” in *San Carlo Borromeo: Catholic Reform and Ecclesiastical Politics in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century*, eds. John M. Headley and John B. Tomaro (Washington: Folger Books, 1988), 208-27; *idem*, *Le Catholicisme à l’Épreuve dans la France du XVIe* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2000), 187-204. Nevertheless, there are frequent examples of Catholic repression of confraternities even during the Religious Wars: *Ibid.*, 249-68. It is worth noting, however, that many lay religious organizations flourished after the Religious Wars, especially those connected with the Jesuit order, know as the Marian congregations or sodalities. These groups spread dramatically across Catholic Europe in the seventeenth century and crossed economic strata, and played a crucial role in the individualization of Catholicism. They mark a change from sixteenth-century confraternities, which were often connected to guilds and known for their public displays of zealous piety and incitements to various

types of violence. Louis Châtellier, *The Europe of the Devout: The Catholic Reformation and the Formation of a New Society*, trans. Jean Birrell, Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1989).

²⁹³ Gabriel de Saconay, *Discovrs catholique, Sur les causes & remedes des Malheurs intentés au Roy, & escheus à son peuple, par les rebelles Caluinistes* (Lyon: Michel Jove, 1568), 51; Gascon, *Grand commerce*, 2:480.

²⁹⁴ Pyrus was an “ardent flame illuminating the church of Jesus Christ.” Claude de Rubys, *Histoire veritable*, 400; J. D. Levesque, *Les Frères Prêcheurs de Lyon* (Lyon: Couvent des Dominicains, 1978), 221-5.

²⁹⁵ Rubys, *Histoire veritable*, 402. Auger returned to the city to minister and preach during the plague even when most other clergy had fled; he became one of the leading members of the Catholic Counter-Reform movement. For general biography and historiography, see Antoine Péricaud, *Notice sur Edmond Auger* (Lyon: Barret, 1828); Henri Fouqueray, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus en France: des origines à la suppression (1528-1762)*, 3 vols. (Paris: Librairie Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1910), 1:359-62; *NBG*, 4:629. Though never printed in Lyon, Auger's *Pedagogue d'Armes. Pour instruire vn Prince Chrestien à bien entreprendre & heureusement achever une bonne Guerre, pour estre victorieux de tous les ennemis de son Estat, & de l'Eglise Catholique* . . . (Paris: J. Nivelles, 1568), was one of the most forceful polemical calls for a renewal of the Religious Wars and the utter annihilation of all French Protestants. Emile V. Telle, “Un Manifeste Anti-Irenique a la veille de la Saint-Barthelemy,” *BHR* 53 (1991): 695-707. Auger in fact argues that the only just war was one waged for religion. Yardeni, *La conscience nationale*, 130. The Jesuit is most well-known for his catechism, which was printed in dozens of editions in printing centers throughout all of France. Henri Hours estimates that close to 40,000 copies of Auger's catechism, the first of its kind in French, were printed in the eight years following its initial publication. Gadille, *Le Diocèse de Lyon*, 129; Marc Venard, “Le catéchisme au temps des Réformes,” in *Transmettre la foi: La catéchèse dans l'Église*, eds. Franco Bolgiani et al., *Les quatres fleuves: Cahiers de recherche et de réflexion religieuses*, no. 11 (Paris: Éditions Beauchesne, 1980), 42.

²⁹⁶ Claude de Rubys, *Discours sur la contagion de peste qui a esté ceste presente annee en la ville de Lyon* . . . (Lyon: Jean d'Ogerolles, 1577), 30. For Rubys, see Claude Bréghot du Lut and Antoine Péricaud, *Biographie lyonnaise: catalogue des lyonnais dignes de mémoire*, 4 vols. (Paris: Techener, 1839), 4:177; Pallasse, *La sénéchaussée*, 265; *NBG*, 42:851.

²⁹⁷ Rubys, *Discours sur la contagion*, 28.

²⁹⁸ For a Protestant tract to this effect, see the anonymous *Discours du massacre de ceux de la religion réformée, fait à Lyon par les catholiques romains, le 28 du mois d'aoust et*

jours suivans de l'an 1572 . . . (n.p: n.p., n.d.). For similar Catholic sentiments, see Rubys, *Histoire veritable*, 399; Paradin, *Histoire de Lyon*, 375.

²⁹⁹ Council records demonstrate a desire to quell confessional violence. The council, for example, passed an ordinance forbidding soldiers to call each other Papists or Huguenots on penalty of treason in 1564. Gascon, *Grand commerce*, 2:504.

³⁰⁰ Philip T. Hoffman, *Church and Community in the Diocese of Lyon, 1500-1789* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1984), 34.

³⁰¹ Lyon falls into the category of cities that had political power forcibly divided between Catholic and Protestant factions, despite the distinct demographic advantage Catholics held over Protestants. Such practices seem to have worsened confessional violence. Cities that enjoyed outright majorities of one faith or another were generally more peaceful. Christin, "La Coexistence Confessionnelle," 488-9; Mark Greengrass, "The anatomy of a Religious Riot in Toulouse in May 1562," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 34 (1983): 390-1.

³⁰² ADR 13 G 38, 1564.

³⁰³ Rubys, *Histoire veritable*, 406.

³⁰⁴ AML BB 84, 1565.

³⁰⁵ Rubys, *Histoire veritable*, 413.

³⁰⁶ Kleinclausz, *Histoire de Lyon*, 1:421.

³⁰⁷ For the gradual Catholicization of the city council, see Pallasse, *La sénéchaussée*, 285-95.

³⁰⁸ In Troyes, Lyon, and other cities, "the situation was confused . . . by vacillating royal policy at the centre, alternating between toleration and suppression, which encouraged local elements to seize the initiative." Penny Roberts, "Religious Conflict and the Urban Setting: Troyes during the French Wars of Religion," *French History* 6 (1992): 262.

³⁰⁹ The "discovery" was doubted at the time and does stretch the imagination, but there are no verifiable records either way. Gascon, *Grand commerce*, 2:519. Charles IX built the citadel just outside the city walls and stationed artillery and 400 troops there immediately after the resumption of royal control in 1563. It was the first time royal forces had resided in the area on a permanent basis. Pallasse, *La sénéchaussée*, 290.

³¹⁰ Gascon, *Grand commerce*, 2:519.

³¹¹ Gabriel de Saconay saw these events as a victorious reply to the destruction of the cloister at his beloved cathedral of Saint-Jean: *Discovrs catholique*, 5.

³¹² Gascon, *Grand commerce*, 2:520-1.

³¹³ Religious repression was not the only cause of emigration. Geneva drew many tradesman from Lyon because of its stable fiscal policies and lower taxes. Regardless of the motivation, the exodus of many skilled artisans was an economic catastrophe for the city. The loss of a good portion of printers sympathetic to the Reformed Church also meant that, “after 1567 it became almost impossible to print Huguenot works.” Gascon, *Grand commerce*, 2:627. Though certainly not the norm, some printers returned to the city after the 1567 exodus. Antoine Vincent, the successful and wealthy Protestant printer, fled to Geneva shortly after war began. His ability to resume a life in Lyon in 1568 illustrates that the repression of “heresy” was not absolute, especially when directed toward those of means. Geisendorf, “Lyon et Genève,” 70.

³¹⁴ For a contemporary work illustrating Mandelot’s conservative Catholic tendencies, see *Discours de la vie, mort et derniers propos de feu monseigneur de Mandelot . . . Gouverneur & Lieutenant general pour sa Majesté en la ville de Lyon, pays de Lyonnais, Forests, & Beaujolois* (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1588). For biographical information, see Alexandre Puyroche, *Le Saint-Barthélemy à Lyon et le gouverneur de Mandelot* (Paris: C. Meyrueis, 1869); Antoine Péricaud, *Notice sur François de Mandelot, gouverneur et lieutenant-général du Lyonnais, Forez et Beaujolais, sous Charles IX et Henri III . . .* (Lyon: n.p., 1828); *NBG*, 33:165-6; For the correspondence between Charles IX and the governor during the massacres of 1572, see Paulin Paris, ed., *Correspondence du roi Charles IX et du sieur de Mandelot, gouverneur de Lyon pendant l’année 1572, époque du massacre de la Saint-Barthélemy* (Paris: Crapelet, 1830). For his approach to the governorship, see Pallasse, *La sénéchaussée*, 307-11.

³¹⁵ AML BB 087, 1568.

³¹⁶ Gascon, *Grand commerce*, 2:525.

³¹⁷ AML BB 127, 1570.

³¹⁸ AML BB 89, 1571.

³¹⁹ Louis I de Bourbon, prince of Condé was born May 7, 1530 and was the brother of Antoine de Bourbon, Henry of Navarre’s father. Condé fought valiantly against the Spanish at the siege of Metz in 1552 and the Battle of St. Quentin in 1557 during the Franco-Habsburg wars. He was involved in the Conspiracy of Ambroise in 1560, in which he attempted to kidnap the young King Francis II.

³²⁰ On the delicate language of Saint-Germain and its preamble, carefully sculpted to try and assuage the demands of both sects, see Marianne Carbonnier-Burkard, “Les preambules des edits de pacification (1562-1598),” *BSHPPF* 144 (1998): 79-82.

³²¹ The *paix boiteuse et malassise*, the sarcastic moniker of the Edict of Saint-Germain, was a play on the names of the two moderate royal negotiators, Henri de Mesmes de Malassise and the lame Armand de Gontaut-Biron. John Hearsey McMillion Salmon, *Society in Crisis: France in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1975), 176.

³²² Kleinclausz, *Histoire de Lyon*, 1:425.

³²³ *Ibid.*, 1:426.

³²⁴ François de Mandelot, *Ordonnances du Roy, et Monsieur de Mandelot, gouverneur pour sa Maiesté en la ville de Lyon . . . pour l’obseruation et entretenement de l’Edict de pacificiation du Roy nostre Sire* (Lyon: Michel Jove, 1571). There is no evidence that this edict, which simply commands that the king’s will be upheld on penalty on nondescript punishments, was ever enforced. No mention of it occurs in the consular records.

³²⁵ The 1572 massacres spread to many regions in France but were by no means pervasive. In the end, there were occasional killings in rural areas, with the highest death tolls confined to thirteen cities and Paris: La Charité, Meaux, Orléans, Bourges, Angers, Saumur, Lyon, Troyes, Rouen, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Gaillac, and Albi. Robert R. Harding, *Anatomy of a Power Elite: The Provincial Governors of Early Modern France* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1978), 65. Many recent works have spurred debate concerning the ultimate responsibility for the deaths of thousands of French Protestants, the bloodiest religious massacre of the sixteenth century. J. L. Bourgeon has attempted to absolve Catherine and Charles from guilt, placing the blame squarely on the ultra-Catholic Guise faction and their allies: *L’assassinat de Coligny*, *Travaux d’histoire éthico-politique*, no. 51 (Geneva: Droz, 1992); *Charles IX devant la Saint-Barthélemy*, *Travaux d’histoire éthico-politique*, no. 55 (Geneva: Droz, 1995). Denis Crouzet has placed the massacres more squarely on the shoulders of fanatical lay Catholics fearing the end times: *La nuit de la Saint-Barthélemy: un rêve perdu de la Renaissance* (Paris: Fayard, 1994). I side with the majority of scholars on this issue and find Barbara Diefendorf’s approach the most sound and convincing. The massacres were the bloody result of a frustrated, afraid, and angry lay population incited to vengeful fury by the assassination of Coligny, which was sanctioned, if perhaps not solely planned, by the royal court. “The massacre of Saint-Bartholomew’s Day was an unplanned—though not unforeseeable—explosion of hatred and fear touched off by the events surrounding the attempt to kill Coligny. In the end, the best explanation for these events is the simplest one.” Barbara Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris* (New York: Oxford, UP 1991). For a humorous but well-argued call to end wild speculation

concerning the massacres, see Marc Venard, “Arretez le massacre!” *Revue d’histoire moderne et contemporaine* 39 (1992): 645-61.

³²⁶ Unfortunately the crucial documents relating to the 1572 massacre in Lyon have been destroyed: the results of Governor Mandelot’s ordered investigation, the summary of a similar investigation launched by the council, and the minutes of the council most relevant to the event have been torn out of the logs. We are left with a few letters written from Lyon mostly to the royal court and two competing, heavily partisan narrative accounts. On the Protestant side, there is the anonymous *Discours du massacre de ceux de la religion réformée* (Lyon: n.p., 1574). From a Catholic perspective, Claude de Rubys recounts the events in his *Histoire de Lyon*, 310-4. For a discussion of Mandelot and the council’s role in the massacres, see Antoine Péricaud, *Notice sur François de Mandelot*; idem, “Notice sur François de Mandelot . . .,” *Archives historiques et statistiques du département du Rhône* 7 (1829): 348-80; Pallasse, *La sénéchaussée*, 295-303; Gascon, *Grand commerce*, 2:502-35; Davis, *Society and Culture*, 152-87.

³²⁷ Gascon, *Grand commerce*, 2:528.

³²⁸ Kleinclausz, *Histoire de Lyon*, 1:428. The modern consensus holds Mandelot as largely innocent of the crimes, though his efforts to quell the violence were ineffectual. The city council, on the other hand, very likely encouraged the Catholic militias in the slaughter: Harding, *Anatomy of a Power Elite*, 65.

³²⁹ Arthur Puyroche, “Le Saint-Barthélemy à Lyon et le gouverneur Mandelot,” *BSHPF* 18 (1869): 355-67.

³³⁰ *Discours du massacre*, 48-50. The violence during the massacres is impossible to prove definitively, and reports of the event were regularly exaggerated for propagandistic purposes. Still, at least 200 deaths are recorded in both Protestant and Catholic accounts as well as will records from the period, which easily makes the massacre the largest single act of religious violence in Lyon throughout the entire span of the Religious Wars. The nature of the violence is not incredible for the time, and examples of similar cruelty are well documented in Paris and elsewhere. Interestingly, national biases surface even in such polemic, and the author of the *Discours du massacre* credits the Italians with the most “bestial” acts of the massacres, 51.

³³¹ Kleinclausz, *Histoire de Lyon*, 1:429. For Goudimel and his work on the Protestant Psalter and his efforts to form a synthesis of ideology (informed by the Renaissance and Humanism) and functionality (necessitated by the implementation of hymns in worship services), see Édith Weber, “Le style ‘Nota contra Notam’ et ses incidences sur le Choral Luthérien et sur le Psautier Huguenot,” *Jahrbuch für Liturgie und Hymnologie* 32 (1989): 73-93; Orentin Douen, *Clement Marot et le Psautier huguenot, étude historique, littéraire, musicale et bibliographique . . .* (Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1967). For technical analyses of Goudimel’s work and his contribution to French music, see Egan-

Buffet, *Les Chansons de Claude Goudimel: Analyses modales et stylistiques* (Ottawa: Institution of Mediaeval Music, 1992); Eugene Roan, "Claude Goudimel: French composer," *Hymn* 19 (1968): 86-9; Pierre Pidoux, "Polyphonic Settings of the Geneval Psalter: Are They Church Music?" in *Cantors at the Crossroads: Essays on Church Music in Honor of Walter E. Buszin*, ed. Johannes Riedel (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1967).

³³² In many cities, the violence was used by Catholics as a final thrust to purge remaining municipal posts of Protestants. The ensuing dearth of moderates in parlements led to a resurgence of heresy trials. William Monter, *Judging the French Reformation: Heresy Trials by Sixteenth-Century Parlements* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1999), 230-8. Edmond Auger, the most influential Jesuit in Lyon, delivered a sermon on St. Michael's Day in 1572 at Bordeaux, where he claimed that the Angel of the Lord had brought God's judgment on Huguenots in Paris and Orléans and that the same would soon take place in Bordeaux, which it did. Henri Hauser, "Le père Edmond Auger et le massacre de Bordeaux, 1572," *BSHPF*, 5th series, 8 (1911): 289-306. A. Lynn Martin credits Auger with aiding and approving of the massacres in Bordeaux and elsewhere, a matter of some contention in the historiography of the Jesuit. This eventually led to his dismissal from Henry's favor. He moderated significantly by the time he came back to court in the 1580s: *Henry III and the Jesuit Politicians*, *Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 134 (Geneva: Droz, 1973).

³³³ Previous historians often attributed the 1572 massacres, and popular riots in general, to a response to famine or severe economic hardships: Charles Verlinden, ed., *Documents pour l'histoire des prix et des salaires en Flandre et en Brabant*, 3 vols. (Brugge: "De Tempel," 1959-1965); Janine Estèbe, *Tocsin pour un massacre. La saison des Saint-Barthélemy* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1968). Numerous authors have since questioned this view. The historiographical debate has shifted to consider more complex motivational factors, placing the difficult monetary conditions in a wider sphere of religious and social turmoil: "In short, grain prices are relevant to religious riot in France only in the general and indirect sense that the inflation of the last 40 years of the sixteenth century had an effect on many aspects of life, as did the Religious Wars themselves." Davis, *Society and Culture*, 170. For studies demonstrating that grain prices were actually recovering from relative low points the year before the 1572 massacres, see Georges and Geneviève Frêche, *Les prix des grains, des vins et des légumes à Toulouse (1485-1868), extraits des Mercuriales, suivis d'une bibliographie d'histoire des prix*, *Travaux et recherches de la Faculté de droit etudes sciences économiques de Paris*, no. 10 (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1967), 46; Micheline Baulant and Jean Meuvret, *Prix des céréales extraits de la Mercuriale de Paris, 1520-1698*, 2 vols., *Monnaie, prix conjuncture*, no. 5 (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1960), 1:56-7.

³³⁴ Davis feels 200-300 is a fair estimate, *Society and Culture*, 176; Gascon believes 700 is closer to the true figure, *Grand commerce*, 2:528. Another problem for the theory of

economic motivations for the violence is that there appears to be no class-based prejudice either in the crowds performing the violence or their victims. Natalie Zemon Davis analyzed the reported dead in Jean Crespin's *Histoire des Martyrs* and found that only Orléans had a higher number of nobles, lawyers, and merchants killed than artisans, day-laborers, and servants. In Rouen there were five times as many deaths among the *menu peuple*. Contemporary sources also lament the death of unknown hundreds among the poor, which, due to their anonymity, fail to show up in official records. Davis, *Society and Culture*, 176-7.

³³⁵ *Discours du massacre*, 56.

³³⁶ Gascon, *Grand commerce*, 2:530.

³³⁷ AML, BB 090, 1572.

³³⁸ On Épinac, see "Notice sur Pierre d'Épinac," *Archives historiques et statistiques du département du Rhône* 9 (1831): 204-22.

³³⁹ Rubys, *Histoire véritable*, 422. Panigarola delivered another set of "violent and seditious sermons pronounced at Paris," during the latter years of the Religious Wars praising the Catholic League that have since been lost. Péricaud, *Notes et documents*, 6:85. A Franciscan preacher and controversialist, Panigarola died in 1593 as the bishop of Asti. For biography, see *BNG*, 39:134-5.

³⁴⁰ Rubys, *Histoire véritable*, 429-30. The White Penitents were founded by two wealthy artisans, Maurice du Peyrat and Justinien Panse. Péricaud, *Notes et documents*, 7:39. Like so many of the crown's proclamations designed to suppress unsanctioned popular expressions of zealous (and potentially dangerous as the court saw it) religiosity, the prohibition of "Leagues and confraternities" in the 1568 peace edict was ignored by most cities and regions of France. Harding, *Anatomy of a Power Elite*, 62.

³⁴¹ Pierre Gregoire Tholosain's response to the king's council in favor of the adoption of the decrees of the Council of Trent, for example, was vetted by Maistret before it was allowed to be published in Lyon. *Response au conseil donne par Charles des Molins, sur la dissuasion de la publication du Concile de Trante en France . . .* (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1584), 287.

³⁴² Granges were farmhouses or barns which held tithes and rents collected as percentages of harvests. The value of the income depended on the location of the grange and the fiscal jurisdiction it held. ADR D 8, 1579.

³⁴³ Hoffman, *Church and Community*, 19; ADR, 15 G 29, 1573; ADR, 4 G 22, 1572.

³⁴⁴ Pious bequests to the Catholic Church among officers and merchants rose from 68% in the 1550s and 1560s to 87% in the 1570s and 1580s. At the same time, bequests from wealthier artisans fell from 76% to 60%, donations from artisans fell from 61% to 48%, and those of commoners fell from 57% to 17%. Evidence demonstrating a rise in confraternities and alignment with mendicant houses in the cities suggests that poorer elements were seeking a different medium for their religious zeal and not rejecting the institutional church. The worsening economic condition surely contributed to the fall in pious bequests among the poor. *Ibid.*, 30-42. Confraternities blossomed in the late medieval and early modern period, reaching a high point around 1500 that would remain unmatched until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. André Vauchez, "Conclusion" in *Le Mouvement confraternel au Moyen Âge: France, Italie, Suisse. Actes de la table ronde organisée par l'Université de Lausanne . . .*, ed. Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, Publications de la Faculté des lettres, no. 30 (Geneva: Droz, 1987), 397-8. They held a renewed importance, especially in the second half of the Religious Wars, as they provided an outlet for lay religious participation and were often associated with the Catholic League. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that they held the backing of ecclesiastical authorities. The Catholic Church attempted to repress them in the 1510s and 1520s as a dangerous force that encouraged immoral behavior and heterodoxy. Marc Venard, *Le Catholicisme à l'Épreuve dans la France du XVIe* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2000), 250-59. They had some reprieve after wars broke out, though it is unclear if this was due to a desire to use the organizations as a force against Protestantism or because of an inability to enforce acts of repression. At any rate, church leaders resumed efforts to dismantle them after the turn of the century. *Ibid.*, 197.

³⁴⁵ Péricaud, *Notes et documents*, 7:30, 62. Rubys called Maheu the light of the church of Jesus Christ: *Histoire véritable*, 391.

³⁴⁶ Kleinclausz, *Histoire de Lyon*, 1:431. For the best introduction to Henry III and his milieu, see Jacqueline Boucher, *Société et mentalités autour de Henri III*, 4 vols. (Lille: Atelier reproduction des thèses, 1981). For source material surrounding his reign, see Pierre Champion and Michel François, eds., *Lettres de Henri III, roi de France*, 4 vols. (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1959). For an intriguing study of Henry's relationship with Jesuits, especially Edmond Auger, and the Counter-Reformation movement, see Martin, *Henry III and the Jesuit Politicians*, *passim*. The four-hundredth year anniversary of the monarch's death in 1589 generated a wealth of new scholarly interest in an intriguing figure whom scholars call one of the most intelligent, pious, and least successful kings in French history. For an introduction to the most pressing historical issues surrounding the figure today, especially his role in Polish politics which has been neglected in early treatments, see Robert Sauzet and Jacqueline Boucher, *Henri III et son temps: actes du colloque international du Centre de la Renaissance de Tours, octobre 1989* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1992). For a study of his contentious relationship with the Catholic League in the later 1580s, see Xavier le Person, "Pratiques" et "practiqueurs": la vie politique à la

fin du regne de Henri III, 1584-1589, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, no. 370 (Geneva: Droz, 2002).

³⁴⁷ Kleinclausz, *Histoire de Lyon*, 1:432.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 1:435. For a more detailed analysis of the taxation situation and economic decline of Lyon in the 1570s and 1580s, see Pallasse, *La Sénéchaussée*, 327-54; Gascon, *Grand commerce*, 2:535.

³⁴⁹ Kleinclausz, *Histoire de Lyon*, 1:434.

³⁵⁰ AML, BB 096, 1577. Governor Mandelot opposed these efforts as he recognized them as initial breaks away from the monarch toward the Catholic League. He would continue to oppose the Catholic League until his death in 1588. "Notice sur François de Mandelot," 374.

³⁵¹ Rubys, *Histoire véritable*, 430. Rubys mistakenly cites the year of this outbreak as 1581: "Notice sur François de Mandelot," 368. If urban violence appears more motivated by sectarian hatred, rural violence seems more attuned to cost of living increases and famine. Evidence exists of Catholics and Huguenot peasants (though the latter were rather rare in France) in Agenais joining forces against their seigneur. Davis, *Society and Culture*, 178; Claude Haton, *Mémoires de Claude Haton contenant le récit des événements accomplis de 1553 à 1592, principalement dans la Champagne et la Brie*, ed. Félix Bourquelot (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1857), 190-3; Harding, *Anatomy of a Power Elite*, 56.

³⁵² This type of violence "largely disappeared from the civil wars for fifteen years after the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacres." Benedict, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion*, 242.

³⁵³ On the importance of political succession and the death of Anjou, see Jean-Pierre Babelon, "Le Royaume de France en 1584," *Revue de Pau et du Béarn* 12 (1984): 13-22.

³⁵⁴ The only work specifically studying Francis of Anjou is Mack Holt's *The Duke of Anjou and the Politique Struggle during the Wars of Religion*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1986). For an analysis of the prince's relationship with the Netherlands, including many biographical details and sources, see Pieter Lodewijk Muller and Alphonse Diegerick, *Documents concernant les relations entre le Duc d'Anjou et les Pays-Bas*, 5 vols. (Utrecht: Kemink & Zoon, 1889-1899). For Francis' relationship with *Politique* philosophy and his ultimate rejection of that school of thought, see Jeanne Harrie, "Guy le Frevre de la Boderie's Vision of World Harmony and the Policies of François d'Anjou," *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History* 11 (1983): 25-35.

³⁵⁵ Mack P. Holt, *The Duke of Anjou and the Politique Struggle during the Wars of Religion*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History, 13 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1986), 138.

³⁵⁶ For Henry's role in formulating the most successful of the military campaigns of the last third of the Religious Wars and his careful wooing of an alliance with Henry III, see Ronald S. Love, "A Game of Cat and Mouse: Henri de Navarre and the Huguenot Campaigns of 1584-1589," *Canadian Journal of History* 34 (1999): 1-22.

³⁵⁷ Kleinclausz, *Histoire de Lyon*, 1:437. Governors and lieutenant governors played an important, yet poorly understood role in the politics and diplomatic intrigues of the Religious Wars. Their status as intermediaries between the crown, urban centers, and high-ranking nobles opened significant opportunities for advancement and influence, but the position could prove perilous. For a study of one such lesser known official from Languedoc, Mathurin Charretier, which demonstrates the surprising degree of power wielded by the functionaries in local circles, see Mark Greengrass, "Mathurin Charretier: The Career of a *Politique* during the Wars of Religion in France," *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London* 23 (1981): 330-40.

³⁵⁸ For an analysis of royal favor during the Religious Wars, especially as it related to Henry III's relationship with Joyeuse and Épernon, see A. Jouanna, "Faveur et favoris: L'exemple des mignons de Henri III," in *Henri III et son temps: actes du colloque international du Centre de la Renaissance de Tours, octobre 1989*, eds. Robert Sauzet and Jacqueline Boucher (Paris: J. Vrin, 1992), 155-65.

³⁵⁹ Kleinclausz, *Histoire de Lyon*, 1:438.

³⁶⁰ France is unique in Europe for the length and scale of its civil wars. While many nations were involved in military conflict in the sixteenth century, these were usually the result of foreign interventions or were waged by professional soldiery. They also never approached the degree of violence and duration of the French Wars of Religion. For a discussion of this question and an argument that the wars resulted from a much larger Protestant constituency than in most countries (approximately one million French men and women joined the Reformed Church at its height) and poor and vacillating leadership from the crown, see Holt, *The French Wars of Religion*, 191-3.

³⁶¹ Robert Jean Knecht, *The French Wars of Religion, 1559-1598*, Seminar Studies in History (London: Longman, 1989), 69.

³⁶² AML, BB 121.

³⁶³ Pallasse, *La sénéchaussée*, 375.

³⁶⁴ Kleinclausz, *Histoire de Lyon*, 1:441.

³⁶⁵ Many French revisionist histories have focused on Henry III recently, placing him more in line with Pierre de l'Estoile's opinion of the monarch that he would have made a fine ruler in another, less tumultuous, time. Pierre Chevallier, *Henri III: roi shakespearien* (Paris: Fayard, 1985); Jacqueline Boucher, *La cour de Henri III* (Rennes: Ouest France, 1986) and *Société et mentalités autour de Henri III*, 4 vols. (Lille: Atelier reproduction des thèses, 1981); David Potter, "Kingship in the Wars of Religion: The Reputation of Henri III of France," *European Historical Quarterly* 25 (1995): 485-528. This revisionist view is coming under increased scrutiny of late. For the monarch's repeated errors in judgment when performing diplomatic negotiations, see Edmund H. Dickerman and Anita M. Walker, "Mission Impossible: Pomponne de Bellievre and the Policies of Henry III," *Canadian Journal of History* 35 (2000): 421-39.

³⁶⁶ Sixty-six years old in 1590, the aged cardinal and Henry IV's uncle never avidly promoted his own cause as heir. Quite the contrary, he appears to have been a victim of political struggles he would rather have avoided all together. On the Leaguer arguments in favor of Charles X, see Frederic J. Baumgartner, "The Case for Charles X," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 4 (1973): 87-98.

³⁶⁷ Mack P. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629*, New Approaches to European History, no. 8 (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge UP, 1995), 134-5. The degree to which these cities embraced, or were cajoled by, the Catholic League varied widely. Toulouse, for example, sided fervently with the Holy Union. They only accepted Henry IV's eventual rule grudgingly. Carole Delprat, "Les magistrats du parlement de Toulouse durant la ligue," *Annales du Midi* 108 (1996): 39-62. On the other hand, despite the fact that Orleans had one of the bloodier provincial participations in the 1572 massacres, it resisted Leaguer control and experienced a brief civil war between zealous and moderate Catholic parties in 1591. Christopher Stocker, "Orleans and the Catholic League," *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History* 16 (1989): 12-21. Angers, Rennes, and Nantes opted for the League, but in these cases the dynamic of lower functionaries leading the charge against older royalist figures (as occurred in Paris and Dijon) did not take place. For this "social-war-of-the-bourgeoisie" theory of the support for the League, see Henri Drouot, *Mayenne et la Bourgogne, étude sur la Ligue (1587-1596)*, 2 vols. (Paris: Auguste Picard, 1937); Denis Richet, "Aspects socio-culturels des conflits religieux à Paris dans la seconde moitié du XVIe siècle," *Annales: économies, sociétés, civilisations* 32 (1977): 778-80; John Hearsey McMillion Salmon, "The Paris Sixteen, 1584-1594: The Social Analysis of a Revolutionary Movement," *The Journal of Modern History* 44 (1972): 566-7. Contrary to this theory, Robert Harding argues convincingly that Angers, Rennes, and Nantes joined the League because they believed that the true threat to the nation lay in the royal court and its unwillingness to confront heresy and promote church reform: "Revolution and Reform in the Holy League: Angers, Rennes, Nantes," *Journal of Modern History* 53 (1981): 379-416. This last analysis is closest to the perspective developed in my pamphlet sources, which focus

principally on the necessity of religious purity and unity as the only lasting solution to the civil wars.

³⁶⁸ This oath stopped short of rejecting Henry III as their king, but primacy is clearly placed on religious adherence rather than royal allegiance. AML, BB 124. Pallasse, *La sénéchaussée*, 376.

³⁶⁹ Kleinclausz, *Histoire de Lyon*, 1:442.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 1:441.

³⁷¹ For changes in Lyon's political structure under the Catholic League, see Pallasse, *La sénéchaussée*, 377-82.

³⁷² William McCuaig, "Paris/Jerusalem in Pierre de l'Estoile, the *Satyre Ménippée*, and Louis Dorleans," *BHR* 64 (2002): 299-301. On the political radicals and the shifts in their popularity among the Parisian majorities, see Elie Barnavi and Robert Descimon, *La Sainte Ligue, le juge, et la potence: L'assassinat du président Brisson (15 novembre 1591)* (Paris: Hachette, 1985). For a prosopographical analysis of the members of the *Seize* and the fullest narrative of their ascention and loss of power, see Robert Descimon, *Qui étaient les Seize? Mythes et réalités de la Ligue parisienne (1585-1594)* (Paris: Au siège de la Fédération, 1983).

³⁷³ Hoffman, *Church and Community*, 39.

³⁷⁴ Richard, *La papauté et la Ligue*, 65-7.

³⁷⁵ The White Penitents of Confalon, founded in 1577, were also comprised of wealthy merchants, officers, and magistrates. Hoffman, *Church and Community*, 38.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 40. Hoffman argues that concomitant to this flowering of pious bequests was a small decline in requests for older, more ritualistic funeral ceremonies such as the saying of the penitential psalms, participating in processions, and the tolling of bells. This evidence, he argues, supports the notion that late sixteenth-century French religiosity began to turn toward a more individualist, Christocentric form more widely associated with the François de Sales school of the seventeenth century.

³⁷⁷ The divergence of the popularity of pious bequests along economic lines could also indicate varying support for the Catholic League across social strata. Hoffman, *Church and Community*, 40. Such conclusions are dangerous, however, since the tax burden and the rising cost of grain placed disproportionately heavy burdens on those with smaller amounts of disposable income. Mack Holt has argued that the League was less popular among the general population in Paris than has been assumed, and the purging of the Parlement of Paris is evidence of paranoia among the *Seize*: *The French Wars of*

Religion, 134-5. In contrast, Frederic J. Baumgartner found that just over half of the magistrates at the Parlement of Paris opposed the League, while just under half supported it: "Party Alignment in the Parlement of Paris, 1589-1594," *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History* 6 (1978): 34-43. In Baumgartner's opinion, personal factors played the largest determining role in the decision to support the Holy Union. I generally agree with this appraisal, though other factors were obviously more or less important depending on the circumstances and the individuals involved. Nevertheless, the view that religious motivations were the primary factors for most is controversial. For the opposing view, that nobles often opposed or supported the king for purely political purposes, see Nicolas LeRoux, "The Catholic Nobility and Political Choice during the League, 1585-1594: The Case of Claude de la Châtre," *French History* 8 (1994): 34-50. LeRoux demonstrates that this governor adroitly opposed the king in a way to force him to buy back his favor with wealth and appointments. In Lyon, at least, we do know that many of the nobility, city officials, religious, and many wealthy artisans and merchants (including the most prolific publisher of polemical pamphlets, Jean Pillehotte) joined the League wholeheartedly and do not seem to have had many political aspirations beyond Lyon. The fact that they too purged some sixty merchants and nobles deemed "sympathetic" to heresy does argue for some division within the city. Kleinclausz, *Histoire de Lyon*, 1:443. For a social analysis of members of the League, see Elie Barnavi, *Le parti de Dieu: Etude sociale et politique des chefs de la Ligue parisienne, 1585-1594* (Brussels: Éditions Nauwelaerts, 1980).

³⁷⁸ Kleinclausz, *Histoire de Lyon*, 1:442.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 1:446.

³⁸⁰ Péricaud, *Notes et documents*, 8:5.

³⁸¹ Kleinclausz, *Histoire de Lyon*, 1:443.

³⁸² *Ibid.*, 1:444-5.

³⁸³ The historiography of the Jesuits in France during the Religious Wars is quite extensive. For an introduction to the order and a fine bibliography, see Étienne Pasquier's sixteenth-century catechism in the critical edition, *Le catéchisme des Jésuites*, ed. Claude Sutto (Sherbrooke, Québec: Éditions de l'Université de Sherbrooke, 1982). For a collection of modern French work, see the essays in *Les Jésuites parmi les hommes aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles: actes du Colloque de Clermont-Ferrand (avril 1985)* (Clermont-Ferrand: Association des publications de la Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines, 1987). For the Jesuits and their influence at court and as political figures in the Catholic League, largely refuting, or at least complicating, the black legend of their calls for violence, see A. Lynn Martin, *Henry III and the Jesuit Politicians*, *Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance*, no. 134 (Geneva: Droz, 1973); *idem*, *The Jesuit Mind: the Mentality of an Elite in Early Modern France* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1988). Martin's work

is based on over 5,000 personal letters of various Jesuits in France which reveal the order in a refreshingly human light.

³⁸⁴ Henri Fouqueray, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus en France: des origines à la suppression (1528-1762)*, 3 vols. (Paris: Librairie Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1910), 2:215.

³⁸⁵ “. . . pour remettre ladite ville en la grandeur où elle a esté et luy rendre son ancienne renommée et splendeur.” AML BB, 129.

³⁸⁶ Péricaud, *Notes et documents*, 8:69, 70.

³⁸⁷ Fouqueray, *Histoire de la Compagnie*, 2:257.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 2:260.

³⁸⁹ Gadille, *Le Diocèse de Lyon*, 133.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 134.

³⁹¹ Fouqueray, *Histoire de la Compagnie*, 2:261.

³⁹² Kleinclausz, *Histoire de Lyon*, 1:457.

³⁹³ Claude de Rubys promoted this particular tax. He argued that it would prove beneficial not only because of the revenue generated, but also because the lessening of public drunkenness would ease the anger of God against the city: “. . . et pour retrancher cette ivrognerie, de laquelle procède une infinité de blasphèmes, meurtres et autres scandales publics, il est d’avis qu’il y soit mis un gros et lourd subsid, comme de deux écus par botte.” BB 125, 1590

³⁹⁴ Kleinclausz, *Histoire de Lyon*, 1:448.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1:448.

³⁹⁶ During one such venture, in July of 1589, Nemours ordered that fortifications be constructed around the city. The city constructed a new gate on the bridge across the Rhône engraved with VN DIEV. VN ROY. VNE FOY. VNE LOY. Péricaud, *Notes et Documents*, 8:40.

³⁹⁷ Kleinclausz, *Histoire de Lyon*, 1:450.

³⁹⁸ Péricaud, *Notes et documents*, 8:59.

³⁹⁹ Kleinclausz, *Histoire de Lyon*, 1:450.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., 1:454.

⁴⁰¹ AML AA, 111.

⁴⁰² Kleinclausz, *Histoire de Lyon*, 1:457.

⁴⁰³ Pallasse, *La sénéchaussée*, 386.

⁴⁰⁴ AML BB, 1593.

⁴⁰⁵ Pallasse, *La sénéchaussée*, 387.

⁴⁰⁶ AML BB, 131.

⁴⁰⁷ Though the official disapproval of the Jesuits in 1594 is accurate, the depth of popular resentment against the order throughout France has been overstated by historians. The Jesuits, like many other people and institutions of the Catholic League, quickly moderated their political views. Unfortunately for their historical reputation, Jean Chastel, who attempted to assassinate Henry IV in 1594, and François Ravailac, who succeeded in killing the monarch in 1610, were both associated with the order though their views were much more radical than those of the Jesuits as a whole. Claude Sutto, “Le père Louis Richeome et le nouvel esprit politique des Jésuites Français (XVIe-XVIIe siècles),” in *Les Jésuites parmi les hommes*, 175-84.

⁴⁰⁸ Fouquieray, *Histoire de la Compagnie*, 2:264-5.

⁴⁰⁹ The mood of the populace shifted rapidly against the Jesuits. Though there is no archival evidence of earlier anger expressed toward the order, the rapidity of change could indicate a latent discontent with the Catholic League, or at least with the ever-increasing financial burdens of the war, which the League supported continuing. Fouquieray, *Histoire de la Compagnie*, 2:265. As I will discuss in later chapters, polemics in the early 1590s were almost universally opposed to any peace with Protestants or Henry of Navarre. The depth of ill will toward the Jesuits among the broader populace, however, hints toward a disconnection between the content of polemics and the realities of life for the average citizen. This is one example reinforcing my view that polemics were written by the elite and, often, for the elite.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid., 2:258.

⁴¹¹ Ibid., 2:271.

⁴¹² In addition to Claude de Rubys, Henry expelled from the city the lieutenant of police de Touvéon, councilor Léaucourant, heads of various guilds, and the suffragan bishop Jacques Maistret. In general, though, an oath of loyalty to the crown and a pledge to

forgo assisting the Holy Union in any way was sufficient to retain one's station. For a detailed analysis of the political changes among the city council members through 1594 as the political restructured itself under the crown, see Pallasse, *La sénéchaussée*, 389-94.

⁴¹³ Péricaud, *Notes et documents*, 8:50.

⁴¹⁴ Almost immediately after the first shots were fired, Catholic printing in France reigned supreme in France, outpacing Protestant tracts substantially. This dynamic is the opposite of the German situation in the early sixteenth-century. Andrew Pettegree and Matthew Hall, "The Reformation and the Book: A Reconsideration," *Historical Journal* 47 (2004): 3.

⁴¹⁵ Henri Hauser, *La naissance du protestantisme*, Mythes et religions, no. 5 (Paris: Leroux, 1940), 86.

⁴¹⁶ Religious texts in general leapt from twenty percent of all titles in 1550 to forty percent of all titles by 1650. Denis Pallier, "Les réponses catholiques," in *Histoire de l'édition*, 1:330.

⁴¹⁷ Antoine d'Albon assumed the archbishopric after the death of Tournon in 1562. Though "surely not a passionate reformer himself," Albon was "an honest man who consistently encouraged those seeking to restore the Catholic faith, beginning with the Jesuits." Jacques Gadille, ed., *Le Diocèse de Lyon*, Histoire des Diocèses de France, no. 16 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1983), 129. It is difficult to overestimate the importance of a reform-minded archbishop (or at least one willing to allow reforms to move forward) in the success of local institutional changes. On this point, see David Nicholls, "Inertia and Reform in the Pre-Tridentine French Church: the Response to Protestantism in the Diocese of Rouen 1520-1562," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 32 (1981): 185-97; Frederic J. Baumgartner, *Change and Continuity in the French Episcopate: The Bishops and the Wars of Religion, 1547-1610*, Duke Monographs in Medieval and Renaissance Studies, no. 7 (Durham: Duke UP, 1986), 8 and *passim*.

⁴¹⁸ Jean Guéraud, *La chronique lyonnaise de Jean Guéraud, 1536-1562*, ed. Jean Tricou (Lyon: l'imprimerie Audiniene, 1929), 290. On Antoine Possevin, see Fouqueray, *Histoire de la Compagnie*, 1:335-47; *NBG*, 40:876-8. Possevin censored printed tracts in both Lyon and Savoy during the 1560s. Richard Gascon, *Grand commerce et vie urbaine au XVIe siècle: Lyon et ses marchands (environs de 1520-environs de 1580)*, 2 vols., Civilisations et sociétés, no. 22 (Paris: S. E. V. P. E. N., 1971), 2:502; Savoie Sénat, *1562, 21 février. Arrest du Souverain Sénat de Savoye, avec l'ordre de son Altesse, sur le fait de la Religion* (Lyon: Michel Jove, 1562).

⁴¹⁹ Philip Benedict, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1981), 5.

⁴²⁰ For the earliest record of these meetings, see ADR 15 G 19-37, 1525-1599. In the late 1570s, the lay congregation threatened to withhold contributions if the inflammatory preacher Jacques Maistret, a Carmelite and suffragan bishop, was not allowed to deliver the Lenten sermons. ADR 15 G 28, 1579; Philip T. Hoffman, *Church and Community in the Diocese of Lyon, 1500-1789* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1984), 37.

⁴²¹ The largest increases occurred in the highest social strata in the city. Middling artisans and the poor donated less throughout the century. This trend possibly had something to do with the lukewarm feelings toward the church among Protestants who converted back to Catholicism or a displeasure with the more tightly regulated Tridentine faith, but it was certainly influenced by the increasingly difficult financial pressures as the Religious Wars ground on. *Ibid.*, 40, 171-84.

⁴²² “. . . que les troubles soyent iamais appaisez, & que tous soyent remis, si les pasteurs & prelatz ne font leur deuoir de nourrir leurs troupeaux de la saine & sincere parole de Dieu, & de vie exemplaire.” Rene Benoist, *Brieue response à la remonstrance faicte a la Royne Mere du Roy, par ceux qui se disent persecutez pour la parole de Dieu . . .* (Lyon: Michel Jove, 1561), A6r. For Benoist, see Luc Racaut, *Hatred in Print: Catholic Propaganda and Protestant Identity during the French Wars of Religion* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2002), 33-38, 83-94; Sypher, “Faisant ce qu’il leur vient à plaisir,” *passim*; Denis Crouzet, *Les guerriers de Dieu: la violence au temps des troubles de religion, vers 1525-vers 1610*, 2 vols. (Seysssel: Champ Vallon, 1990), 201-206.

⁴²³ “. . . les obstinez, factieux & seditieux, corrompans la droicte foy.” Benoist, *Brieue response*, A6r.

⁴²⁴ “. . . ie pense que Dieu en punition & du peuple ingrat & desobeissant, & des pasteurs negligens nous enuoye des afflictions.” *Ibid.*, A6r.

⁴²⁵ “. . . pour punir les pasteurs, lesquelz manifestement sont trop negligens à fair leur deuoir.” *Ibid.*, A6v. On the mass as a celebration of this social unity, see John Bossy, “The Mass as a Social Institution,” *Past & Present* 100 (1983): 29-61.

⁴²⁶ This tract is a fine example of the sacramentarian approach of early Reformation polemic. It is “through the Papal mass that the entire world (God willing, may it soon be remedied) has been completely desolated, ruined, lost, and thrown into the abyss.” *La mort Et enterrement de la messe detestable et plvs qu’abominable heresie Papale. Auec articles trescertains, declairans les abus damnables qui sont en la Messe, contraires à la sainte Cene de nostre Seigneur seul mediateur, & seul Sauueur Iesus Christ* (Lyon: n.p., 1563), A1r. According to the anonymous treatise, the mass is perpetuated by the vermin of the Catholic Church, false prophets, damnable apostates, and murderers of souls more detestable than the devil himself, who should all be consigned to the flames. *Ibid.*, B2r-B3r. The publisher of this tract is also anonymous, though it was likely Jean Saugrain, the most prolific publisher of Protestant polemic. Andrew Pettegree, “Protestant Printing

during the French Wars of Religion: The Lyon Press of Jean Saugrain,” *The Work of Heiko A. Oberman: Papers from the Symposium on his Seventieth Birthday*, eds. Thomas A. Brady, Jr. et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 113.

⁴²⁷ “Ils ont mis en auant / Vn liuret scandaleux, / Tresinfect, & puant, / Et d’aspect veneneux.” Claude de Rubys, *La resvrrection de la saincte messe: Contenant la Response à certain traicté des aduersaires de la saincte Eglise catholique & Romaine, intitulé: La mort & enterrement de la Messe* (Lyon: Michael Jove, 1564), A1r.

⁴²⁸ “Il m’a semblé que nous serions par trop ingras, & mescognoissans d’vn si grand benefice” *Ibid.*, x. One argument of Rubys’ treatise is that Protestants could never be men of God when they preach and write in such crude and provocative ways. He quotes a particularly heated line of the Protestant tract and responds, “O good God, what evangelical modesty! They have not a shred of modesty. They abuse and usurp the name evangelical, and stomp on the holy gospel!” (*O bon Dieu, quelle modestie Euangelique: N’ont point de honte ces pauvres abuser et vsurper le nom d’Euangelistes, & ainsi fouler au pied le saint Euangile!*). *Ibid.*, 3v. Despite Rubys’ condemnation, after the wars began Catholic polemic incorporated many of the same ad hominem attacks denounced in this work. Such tactics were perhaps more effective than the measured and scholastic responses in the 1540s and 50s.

⁴²⁹ “Publions, par les places & carrefours, la glorieuse resurrection de ceste saincte Messe, comme nous auons veu que nos aduersaires chantans le triumphe auant la victoire.” *Ibid.*, x.

⁴³⁰ While overseeing the reconstruction efforts of the cathedral, Saconay published five pamphlets between the resumption of Catholic control in 1562 and the massacres of 1572. For biographical and bibliographical info on Saconay, see Claude Bréghot du Lut and Antoine Péricaud, *Biographie lyonnaise*, 1:383; *NBG*, 42:985; Perneti, *Recherches pour servir à l’histoire de Lyon, ou Les Lyonnais dignes de mémoire* (Lyon: Chez les freres Duplain, 1757), 383-7; Louis Boitel, “Gabriel de Saconay,” *Revue du Lyonnais* 2 (1836): 62; Nicolas-François Cochard, *Notice historique et statistique du canton de St-Symphorien-le-Château . . .* (Lyon: J.-M. Barret, 1827), 201; Jean Beyssac, *Les Chanoines de l’église de Lyon* (Lyon: P. Grange, 1914), 241.

⁴³¹ Jacques Perneti contends that his family originated in Gex, and that Gabriel was the eighteenth Saconay canon-count of Saint-Jean, though he provides records for only thirteen. The list is rather illustrious and includes François de Saconay, Archbishop of Narbonne (d. 1427), and Henry de Saconay, delegate of Lyon to the Estates General of Orleans in 1439 (d. 1444). Perneti, *Recherches*, 383-87.

⁴³² ADR, D 8, 1560.

⁴³³ Boitel, “Gabriel de Saconay,” 62.

⁴³⁴ Ibid., 63; Perneti, *Recherches*, 383.

⁴³⁵ Cochard, *Notice historique*, 201.

⁴³⁶ On the former of these two, for example, Saconay reported and described the great plague of 1557. Boitel, “Gabriel de Saconay,” 66.

⁴³⁷ “Deux ans deuant lesdits premiers troubles, Nostradamus estant à Lyon, fut donuié à disner en vne maison des plus plaisantes et aërees de Lyon, en bonne compagnie. Après disner, il mit la teste à la fenestre et demeura quelque temps contemplant ladite ville, laquelle quasi toute il pouvoit descourir. Estant lors enquis quelles estoient ses pensées, respondit: Je contemple cette belle église de S. Jean, la ruine de laquelle est iuree, et n’estoit qu’elle est en la protection de Dieu, à cause du seruice divin qu’on y celebre si religieusement, il n’y demureroit en brief pierre sur pierre. Qu’on dise maintenant que Satan n’estoit pas de la partie quand ces menees se brassoyent, puisqu’il en donnoit si bon aduertissement à son favori Nostradamus.” *Genealogie et la fin des Hvgvenavx, & descouuerte du Caluinisme: Où est sommairement descrite l’histoire des troubles excitez en France par lesdits Huguenaux, iusques à present* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1573), 96r.

⁴³⁸ “. . . comme gens à qui le dommage n’attouchoit gueres.” Gabriel de Saconay, *Discovrs catholique, Sur les causes & remedes des Malheurs intentés au Roy, & escheus à son peuple, par les rebelles Caluinistes* (Lyon: Michel Jove, 1568), 34.

⁴³⁹ “Les Pasteurs . . . seront negligens enuers leurs ouailles, Ilz deuiendront comme loups.” Ibid., 33.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid., 26.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid., 66.

⁴⁴² “. . . sur les ames & consciences, la poison & cautere, desquelles à esté présenté, & appliqué par ces Ministres Reformeurs, souz couleur de leur ignorance dissolution.” Ibid., 76.

⁴⁴³ “. . . bons & pertinens remedes à vn mal, qui de loing encores costoit nostre France pour l’accabler de pareille vistesse que noz voisins.” Ibid., 18.

⁴⁴⁴ “Il fault que le prestre regarde à son estat, qui est de prier Dieu, & non qu’il coure le long des ruës pour solliciter, qu’il s’entremesse & embrouille des affaires temporelles & du monde . . .” *La Harangue de par la noblesse de toute la France, au Roy tres-chrestien Charles neufiesme . . .* (Lyon: n.p., 1561), 15-6.

⁴⁴⁵ “. . . levee de deniers, proclamation & publication de lettres & papiers concernans l’Estat du Royaume qu’ils ont alterez les coeurs des suiets, & iceux esmeus à seditions . .

..” *Discours sur les causes de l’exécution faite ès personnes de ceux qui quoyent coniuuré contre le Roy et son Estat*, (Lyon: Michel Jove, 1572), B4v.

⁴⁴⁶ “. . . cayers, & parfacheuses, iniurieuses, & picquantes Remonstrances, & par superbes Requestes & plaidoyers, iusques à dire: Si vous ne faictes cela, vous aurez la guerre: Si vous ne nous faictes iustice, nous la nous ferons: & ont vsé d’autres semblables façons de faire & de parler pleines de brauerie & rebellion.” *Ibid.*, C2r.

⁴⁴⁷ “Parce qu’il est expedient, que les Heretiques (fiers ennemis de la Verité) sçachent par experience, & esprouent à leur dam, & confusiion, qu’au Camp mystique des Catholiques on trouue non pas vn, ou deux, mais plusieurs vaillans Champions de Iesvs Christ, qui leur osent courageusement presenter le Cartel de Defy, & valeureux les assaillir iusques dans leurs Casamattes, pour leur y couper la gorge de leur propre cousteau, comme fait le petit grand Daudid au superbe Goliath, & la chaste & magnanime Iudith au voluptueux Holoferne.” Michel Coyssard, *Sommaire de la doctrine chrestienne, mis en vers François. Avec Les Hymnes, & Odes spirituelles, qu’on chante deuant, & apres la Leçon d’icelle. Le tout reueu, & augmenté de beaucoup en ceste quatrisme Edition. Par Michel Coyssard, de la Compagnie de Iesvs, natif de Besse en Auvergne* (Lyon: Pillehotte, 1591), 4. Coyssard was a Jesuit arguing for the use of hymns, chansons, in efforts against heresy. Georges Grente and Michel Simonin, eds., *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: Le XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2001), 135; *NBG*, 11:130

⁴⁴⁸ On Duchesne, see *NBG*, 14:953.

⁴⁴⁹ “. . . piller tout lieu toute famille, / A raser les Citez, à saccager les bourgs, / Les Cabannes brusler, aplanir les grands tours.” Léger Duchesne, *Remonstrance aux princes francoys de ne faire point la paix avec les mutins & rebelles . . .* (Lyon: Michel Jove, 1567), B3r.

⁴⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, B3r.

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.*, B3r.

⁴⁵² Leonard Janier, *Probation des saincts sacremens de l’Eglise Catholique & Romaine, instituez par Iesus Christ nostre Seigneur & Sauueur* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1566), 57r.

⁴⁵³ Leonard Janier, *Sermon du iugement final, vniuersel & general, de Iesus Christ nostre Seigneur & Sauueur . . .* (Lyon: Pierre Merant, 1567), 30. Assaults on the Eucharist challenged not only the foundations of the Catholic view of the Christian religion, but the foundations of royal power as well. Christopher Elwood, *The Body Broken: The Calvinist Doctrine of the Eucharist and the Symbolization of Power in Sixteenth-Century France*, Oxford Studies in Historical Theology (New York: Oxford UP, 1999).

⁴⁵⁴ While there were numerous Catholic writers in Lyon graphically detailing the abuses and horrors perpetrated by the Reformed Church, there was no equivalent anti-League voice like Pierre de l'Estoile's in Paris. Estoile remains one of our primary sources for the history of the League: *Mémoires-journaux. Édition pour la première fois complète et entièrement conforme aux manuscrits originaux*, ed. by Gustave Brunet et al., 12 vols. (Paris: Librairie des bibliophiles, 1875-1896). For selections of his journals, see Nancy Lyman Roelker, ed., *The Paris of Henry of Navarre, as Seen by Pierre de l'Estoile; Selections from his Mémoires-Journaux* (Cambridge, UK: Harvard UP, 1958). Estoile has been criticized by authors for exaggerating the greed and cruelty of the Catholic League in Paris. Roger Trinquet, "La méthode de travail de Pierre de L'Estoile," *BHR* 17 (1955): 286-91; P. M. Smith, "Réalisme et pittoresque dans le Journal de Pierre de L'Estoile," *BHR* 29 (1967): 153-6. Later work, however, has lent credibility to his journals since they support other evidence found in the archives. Roelker, *The Paris of Henry of Navarre*, 21.

⁴⁵⁵ Philip Benedict, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1981), 90.

⁴⁵⁶ Pierre de l'Estoile, for example, frequently noted in his journals acts of barbarism, theft, and rape committed by the Catholic League in Paris and across France on the battlefield. William McCuaig, "Paris/Jerusalem in Pierre de l'Estoile, the *Satyre Ménippée*, and Louis Dorleans," *BHR* 64 (2002): 304. In one particularly horrific instance, he records that German mercenaries, during the siege of Paris in 1590, killed and ate a child. Estoile, *Mémoires*, 5:52.

⁴⁵⁷ *Discovrs de la deffaicte des rochellois par monsieur le dyc de ioyevse. Faicte le Premier iour d'Aoust . . . , Ensemble le nombre des Rochellois qui y ont esté prins prisonniers, & tuez* (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1587), A3r.

⁴⁵⁸ ". . . de receuoir leurs corps demy morts sur la pointe de leurs picques & halebardes . . ." Louis Orléans, *Premier, et second advertissements des Catholiques Anglois aux François Catholiques & à la Noblesse qui suit à preisent le Roy de Nauarre* (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1590), 26r.

⁴⁵⁹ ". . . le prindrent & apres l'auoir lie ferme ces bourreaux l'ouurent tout vifs par le ventre en la presence des autres prestres . . ." *Discovrs pitoiable des execrables crvavtes et inhvmaines barbaries comises par les hereticque huguenotz & leurs complices contre les catholicques de la ville de Nyort en Poitou apres la prinse de ladite ville* (Lyon: Jean Patrasson, 1589), 6.

⁴⁶⁰ ". . . mal toutes-fois ses pauvres gens fermes & inuincibles comme rochers." *Ibid.*, 7.

⁴⁶¹ “Ceste femme leur fist responce que les tormens de ce monde n’estoient que songes, & ombres de mal, aupris de la verité, de la gloire celeste que attendet les Chrestiens.” Ibid., 8.

⁴⁶² “. . . ces bourreaux, voyans sa constance, excogitarent vne mort, de laquelle les diables mesmes ne se sçauroient aduiser qui est qu’ils luy emplirent par la nature le ventre de poudre à canon, & y mirent le feu, la faisant par ce moyen creuer, & iaillir les boyaux la laisant mourir, en vn tel martier O Dieu qu’el torment . . .” Ibid., 8.

⁴⁶³ “. . . resueillant les couraiges des bons Catholiques, à s’opposer à la rage de ces heretiques.” Ibid., 4.

⁴⁶⁴ “. . . contemplez les desgastz des terres, la ruyne des villages & Maisons, la desmolition des Eglises, la profanation des saintz Autelz.” Alessandro Farnese, *Harangve de Monseigneur le duc de Parme & de Plaisance faicte à Peronne aux Seigneurs, Gentils-hommes, Capitaines, & Soldalts de l’armee, que le Catholique Roy d’Espagne enuoye en France pour le secours de la Sainte VNION* (Lyon: Louis Tantillon, 1590), 5. There are numerous historical studies of Farnese, one of the most capable diplomats and military strategists of his day. For the most thorough treatment and bibliography, see Léon van der Essen, *Alexandre Farnèse, prince de Parme, gouverneur général des Pays-Bas (1545-1592)*, 5 vols. (Bruxelles: Librairie nationale d’art et d’histoire, 1933-1937); for a concise summary of the previous work, see idem, *Alexandre Farnèse et les origines de la Belgique moderne (1545-1592)*, 2nd ed. (Brussels: Office de publicité, 1943).

⁴⁶⁵ For biographical information on Parsons and his effect on the English religious debate, see Michael L. Carrafiello, *Robert Parsons and English Catholicism, 1580-1610* (Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna UP, 1998); Ernest Edwin Reynolds, *Campion and Parsons: the Jesuit Mission of 1580-1581* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1980). For a study of the later moderation of Parsons’ views toward English Protestantism, adopted in order to work toward gaining toleration for English Catholics, see Michael L. Carrafiello, “Robert Parsons and Equivocation, 1606-1610,” *Catholic Historical Review* 79 (1993): 671-80. For an intriguing glance at the way Robert Parson’s Catholic devotional was co-opted and adapted to Protestant doctrines, see Brad S. Gregory, “The ‘True and Zealouse Service of God’: Robert Parsons, Edmund Bunny, and *The First Booke of the Christian Exercise*,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 45 (1994): 238-68.

⁴⁶⁶ “conioincte à la violence & tyrannie des Tyrans qui se sont declarez & manifestez contre l’Eglise, ils massacrent les Catholiques, ils massacrent les Catholiques, ils saccagent, ils rançonnent les vns, ils emprisonnent & garrottent les autres . . .” Robert Parsons, *Responce a l’iniuste et sangvinaire edict d’Elizabeth Royne d’Angleterre, Contre les Catholiques de son Royaume . . . En laquelle sont descouuertes & refutees les calomnies & impostures dont se seruent les Heretiques contre les Princes Protecteurs de la Religion Catholique* (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1593), 5v.

⁴⁶⁷ “. . . ils font declarer les vns infames, ils chargent les autres de calomnies, ils souffrent ceux-cy, ils flattent ceux-la, ils sont conturnalles à tout ce que l’on veut, pourueu qu’ils fassent leur proffit, & qu’ils exercent leur meschanceté.” *Ibid.*, 6r.

⁴⁶⁸ “Comment? vertu de Paradis, disois-ie, les Turcs & Farfadets, ont ils passé par icy? Mahomet est il deuenu huguenot? Les pourceaux & leur suite, comme saulcisses, jambons & ceruelats, sont-ils exterminés du Royaume de France?” Jean Cicquot, pseudonym. *Les Paraboles de Cicqvot, en forme d'advis, svr l'estat dv Roy de Navarre* (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1593), 30.

⁴⁶⁹ Antoine Emmanuel Chalon, *De ciuili administratione Oratio* (Lyon: Michael Jove, 1572), 51. This speech was delivered at Saint Nizier in December of 1571, though it was printed some time later in 1572. Chalon’s religious views are not known, but the fact that he was chosen to deliver a speech at a Lyonnais Catholic Church makes it highly unlikely that he held heretical opinions and certainly would not have voiced them openly in such a forum. Many Protestants urged a simple peace after the St. Bartholomew’s Day massacres, asserting that God would eventually decide the matter himself. This argument was common to the *Politique* faction as well, which grew substantially after the massacres. This group—derisively named by members of the Catholic League to portray them as caring more for political gain than divine truth—were not widely known as such until the late 1580s, though elements of their thought, mainly that the importance of obedience to succession and the crown trumped sectarian considerations, appear much earlier. For an introduction to the *Politique* movement, see Louis-Xavier de Ricard, *L’esprit politique de la Réforme* [1893] (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970); Mack P. Holt, *The Duke of Anjou and the Politique Struggle during the Wars of Religion*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History, 13 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1986). For the derogatory depiction of this political faction by the Catholic League, see Philippe Papin, “Dubplicité et trahison: l’image des ‘politiques’ durant la ligue,” *Revue d’Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* 38 (1991): 3-21.

⁴⁷⁰ Chalon, *De ciuili administratione Oratio*, 37.

⁴⁷¹ “O Dieu eternal qu’il sera aisé en gardant ceste egalité, d’entretenir la paix & l’amitié entre les citoyens!” *Ibid.*, 24.

⁴⁷² For Protestant authors, the massacres initiated a wave of “victimization literature” that fed into the discussions of resistance to tyranny. Denis Pallier, “Les victimes de la Saint-Barthélemy dans le monde du livre parisien: Documents,” in *Le livre et l’historien: Etudes offertes en l’honneur du Professeur Henri-Jean Martin*, eds. Frédéric Barbier et al. (Geneva: Droz, 1997), 141-63.

⁴⁷³ “. . . luy disans ces mots avec grans & execrables blasphemes: Si tu as de la puissance, monstre la presentement contre nous, & defens: & ce disant, ruerent plusieurs coups des armes qu’ils auoient sur ladicté image.” *Histoire Miraculeuse de trois soldats punis*

diuinement pour les forfaicts, violences, irreuerences, & indignitez par eux commis, avec blasphemés execrables contre l'image de Monsieur saint Antoine (Lyon: Michel Jove & Jean Pillehotte, 1576), 4.

⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 5-7.

⁴⁷⁵ “N’est il pas bien saison d’abiurer l’heresie, / Qui iusqu’à maintenant vous a l’ame saisie?” Jean le Masle, *Brief discovrs svr les trovbles qui depuis douze ans ont continuellement agité & tourmenté le Royaume de France . . . Avec vne exhortation à iceux mutins de bien tost abiurer leur erreur & heresie* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1573), 11v.

⁴⁷⁶ “Ostez donques, ostez ceste esperance vaine, / Et rentrez au gyron de l’Eglise Romaine, / (Hors laquelle esperer de salut point ne faut) / Et, vomissans l’erreur qui le coeur vous assaut, / Faites profession publique & solennelle / De viure constamment & de mourir en elle” *Ibid.*, 14v.

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁸ On Renaud of Beaune and his initial support and later criticism of Henry III, see Frederic J. Baumgartner, “Renaud de Beaune, Politique Prelate,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 9 (1978): 99-114.

⁴⁷⁹ “Nous ne cornons pas la guerre, comme l’on dict, nous autres de l’Eglise non, non: l’Eglise ne cherche ne demande le sang. Nous desirons plustost que les desuoiez se retournent, & vivent.” Renaude de Beaune, *Briefve exhortation faite avx estats de ce Royaume, par Monsieur l’Archeuesque de Bourges, par commandement du Roy . . .* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1588), 12.

⁴⁸⁰ “L’intention du Chirurgien est de conseruer tout le corps & les membres: mais quand le corps ne se peut conseruer sans couper le membre gangrené & pourry, il faut lors le cautere ou le razoir” *Ibid.*, 13.

⁴⁸¹ For the comparison of religious heterodoxy to bodily contagion and the way that toleration of religious division invited divine retribution, see Dalia M. Leonardo, “‘Cut off this rotten member’: The Rhetoric of Heresy, Sin, and Disease in the Ideology of the French Catholic League,” *Catholic Historical Review* 88 (2002): 247-62.

⁴⁸² “. . . par ses edits, par son exemple, inuité à ceste seule reuerence & union en la religion Catholique, tous ceux qui se sont retirez du giron de l’Eglise.” *Svr la mort inopinée de magnanime Prince, Henry de Bourbon, Prince de Condé, Remonstrance à la France* (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1588), 11-2.

⁴⁸³ “Car par la diuersité d’opinions & de religions, non seulement la Republique est troublee & ses concitoyens, mais les familles entre mesmes domestiques. Donc vne seule religion Catholique doit estre la paix & la concorde, par vne vnion renforcee, & soustenue, & non autrement: la paix ostee, elle est cruellement affligee.” *Ibid.*, 12.

⁴⁸⁴ “. . . il ne meriteroit autre chose que d’estre à iamais bány de vos compagnies, & de laisser telle vermine à l’espouventable Iugement de Dieu.” *Advertissement aux François Catholicques* (Lyon: n.p., 1589), 3.

⁴⁸⁵ “Et ceux qui font profession d’estre Catholiques deuroyent rougir de honte de les vouloir excuser . . . mais si nous pouuons iuger du fils par les meurs du pere, nous asseurerons que le fruit n’en peut estre doux, estant issu d’un tronç si amer qu’est l’heresie.” *Ibid.*, 8.

⁴⁸⁶ Archival evidence raises questions concerning the extent to which the broader public shared this notion, possibly pointing to a distinction between the treatment of *Politiques* and Protestants. The city council in Lyon, for example, offered clemency for moderate Catholics (after the initial proscriptions of early 1590) to return to the city and their homes: “Le Consulat, après en avoir délibéré avec les capitaines penons de la ville, arrête que les catholiques absents de Lyon, à cause des présents troubles, comme suspects du parti contraire à l’Union, seront reçus en cette ville et en leurs maisons.” Huguenots, however, were absolutely unwelcome: “mais quant à ceux qui ont été une fois huguenots, et qui ont une fois absenté la ville, encore qu’ils soient réduits, et qu’ils se présentent pour jurer et souscrire l’Union, ils ne seront pas admis à rentrer dans cette ville.” BB 125, 1590.

⁴⁸⁷ “. . . les ennemis iurez de la vraye Eglise de Dieu, ils tascheront de tout leur pouuoir de l’exterminer, bannir, & chasser hors de France . . .” Guillaume le Blanc, *Copie d’une lettre pastorale de Monseigneur le Reuerendissime Guillaume le Blanc Euesque de Grasse, & de Vance, Escrite à vn Heretique, & l’ont recogneu pour Roy, en datte du vingt septiesme Mars, 1593* (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1593), 5v.

⁴⁸⁸ “. . . en iurant foy, & obeysance à vn Heretique, & le recognoissant pour Roy, vous auez fait tout ce que ie viens de dire. Vous auez iuté l’homicide comme Daud: le meurtre de voz filles, comme Iephté: la decollation de saint Jean Baptiste, comme Herode: le brisement des saintes images, comme ces Euesques.” *Ibid.*, 4v.

⁴⁸⁹ “. . . n’est-ce pas iurer le violement de ceste Vierge sacrée, laquelle les Heretiques cherchent de forcer, & violer tant qu’ils peuuent?” *Ibid.*, 6r.

⁴⁹⁰ “Estes-vous si aueuglez d’entendement, que vous ne voyez si vn Heretique commandoit absolument en France, que non seulement voz filles vniques, mais aussi toute vostre posterité seroit peu à peu mise à mort, & offerte en sacrifice, non à Dieu, mais au Diable, c’est à dire, s’addonneroit à l’heresie, qui n’est autre chose, qu’une mort

de l'ame, & vn sacrifice d'icelle au Diable? Et si non vous, pour le moins voz successeurs se feroient en fin Heretiques, & par ce moyen seroyent assis en tenebres” Ibid., 5r.

⁴⁹¹ Frederic J. Baumgartner, “The Case for Charles X,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 4 (1973): 90.

⁴⁹² “. . . fideles subiectz, troublez & grandement esmeuz par ces Guenaux seditieux” Ibid., 22. For extended treatment of this metaphor, see below in Chapter 5.

⁴⁹³ Gabriel de Saconay, *De la providence de Dieu svr les Roys de France treschrestiens, Par laquelle sa sainte religion Catholique ne defaudra en leur Royaume. Et comme les Gotz Arriens, & les Albigeois, en ont esté par icelle dechassés* (Lyon: Michel Jove, 1568), 22.

⁴⁹⁴ “Nostre Roy treschrestien vous y appelle tous les iours, vous exhorte, vous tend la main pour vous aider à releuer: vous a souuent offert grace & pardon des fautes passees, & oubliance des tors, iniures & felonniees par vous commises contre sa maiesté: vous promet reconciliation avec vos freres, leur imposera silence de ne quereler aucune chose contre vous.” *Genealogie et la fin des Hygvenavx, & descouuerte du Caluinisme: Où est sommairement descrite l’histoire des troubles excitez en France par lesdits Huguenaux, iusques à present* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1573), 149r.

⁴⁹⁵ “Je dy à vous qui estes ses suiects naturels, qui n’estes des sataniens obstinez en malice, avec lesquels sa maiesté ne veut & n’entend que ses suiects ayent aucune participation, le defendant expressement la maiesté diuine.” Ibid.

⁴⁹⁶ “. . . ains employera les forces que Dieu luy a donnees pour les exterminer, & deliurer ses bons suiects de leurs liens & tyrannie.” Ibid.

⁴⁹⁷ “. . . Bien heureux est l’homme qui est corrigé de Dieu.” Ibid.

⁴⁹⁸ “Pour la vengeance de ces crimes, Dieu a renuersé premierement l’estat d’Israel, le liurant en la main des Assyriens, & puis celuy de Iuda, avec la destruction de la ville capitale de Ierusalem, captiuant le peuple, & assuiectionnant la terre aux Babyloeniens.” Nicolas Langelier, *Seconde harangve faicte par Monsievr l’evesqve de saint Brieu au Roy* (Lyon: Michel Jove and Jean Pillehotte, 1580), 28.

⁴⁹⁹ “Sire, nous ne croyons que veulliez estre imitateur de tels Roys, ausquels en fin est mal succedé: car telles entreprinses faictes contre Dieu & son Eglise, ont si fort prouoqué son ire, qu’il leur a osté la Couronne, & par son iuste iugement leur a faict ce qu’il fait à Saul, transferant le Royaume d’Israel, de sa maison en la maison de Daud, parce qu’il estoit le meilleur.” Ibid., 13.

⁵⁰⁰ “En quoy Sire, vous auez plus d’interests qu’aucun qui soit soubz vostre subiection & obeysance, qui debuez croire & estre persuadé, que la vraye religion & Eglise Catholique, est le vray & le seul fondement de vostre Couronne, sans laquelle elle ne subsisteroit, ny en vous, ny en aucuns autres de voz successeurs.” *Ibid.*, 4.

⁵⁰¹ Pierre d’Épinac, *Harengve prononcée devant le Roy, seant en ses Estatz generaux à Bloys . . .* (Lyon: Michel Jove et Jean Pillehotte, 1577), 21.

⁵⁰² “Ne cognoissez vous point que tous les maux que nous auons enduré, prennent leur origin de son iuste courroux? & ne voyez vous pas, que vous ayant donné ce sceptre avecques telles conditions, il vous menace de le vous arracher des mains, si vous ne luy tenez ceste promesse que vous luy auez faicte si solemnellement?” *Ibid.*, 21-22. The Bishop refers here to the traditional coronation oath to uphold the Catholic faith and the faithful.

⁵⁰³ For a recent survey of the Catholic League, see Jean-Marie Constant, *La Ligue* (Paris: Fayard, 1996). For Leaguer thought as it relates to the justification of resistance and monarchical power, see Frederic J. Baumgartner, *Radical Reactionaries: the Political Thought of the French Catholic League*, *Études de philologie et d’histoire*, no. 29 (Geneva: Droz, 1976). Ann Ramsey’s *Liturgy, Politics, and Salvation: The Catholic League in Paris and the Nature of Catholic Reform, 1540-1630* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1999) studies last wills and testaments in Paris, many from the 1590 siege of the city. Her work is an excellent exposition on the fundamental theological differences between, on the one hand, Calvinism and the *Politique* faction, both of which argued for a religiosity largely independent of material items and practices, and, on the other, Leaguer Catholicism, which was heavily dependant on liturgical ritual and the use of relics and devotion to the saints. Crucially, the Calvinist and *Politique* belief structure allowed for a separation of orthodoxy and political power, which was vociferously opposed by the League. As is clear from Lyonnais pamphlets, polemicists during the League frequently argued for an absolute tie between orthodoxy and royal authority, which adds regional support to Ramsey’s description of Leaguer doctrine.

⁵⁰⁴ The subject of this dissertation naturally leads me to discuss the religious motivations of members of the League and their pamphleteer mouthpieces, since their publications in Lyon were far more numerous than those of the Huguenots or the *Politiques*. I do not want to downplay the historiographic debate, which is large and well-developed, concerning the motivations for joining the Catholic League, as such reasons were sometimes political, familial, or economic. For a fine introduction to this debate, see Barbara Diefendorf, “The Catholic League: Social Crisis or Apocalypse Now?” *French Historical Studies* 15 (1987): 332-44.

⁵⁰⁵ “. . . vne secrette prattique avec les heretiques, soubz couleur d’vn désiré repos & tranquillité de son temps.” Pierre Chastain, *Exhortation aux catholiques François* (Lyon: Benoit Rigaud, 1588), 9.

⁵⁰⁶ “Car qui ne veoit que fomentier l’heresie, laquelle ne tend qu’à subuersion de la Religion Catholique, & consequemment de l’estat, qui y est inseparablement vny” Ibid., 9-10.

⁵⁰⁷ “Toutes ces considerations seroyent bonnes, si l’on auoit affaire à vn Roy qui aymast mieux son repos, son contentement, voire sa seureté, que la conseruation de son peuple” Ibid., 18.

⁵⁰⁸ For a hypothesis that adherence to the League among provincial cities may have been preferable to royal control not only for religious motivations but for the political autonomy it granted due to poor centralization Leaguer power, see Elie Barnavi, “Centralisation ou fédéralisme? Les relations entre Paris et les villes à l’époque de la ligue (1585-1594),” *Revue Historique* 259 (1978): 335-44.

⁵⁰⁹ On Matthieu and his anti-royalist plays *Vasthi*, *Aman*, and *La Guisiade*, see Louis Lobbes, “Pierre Matthieu: dramaturge phénix (1563-1621),” *Revue d’Histoire du Théâtre* 50 (1998): 207-36.

⁵¹⁰ “Le sceptre des François n’a iamais sceu permétre / D’auoir vn Huguenot, ny vn Tyran pour métre: / L’heretique est haï de ce sacré fleuron / Comme vn Turc, vn Payen, vn Barbare, vn Neron, / Il souffriroit plustost contre la Loy Salique / Vne femme regner, que de l’auoir pour Roy, / Comme l’Eglise n’a vn chef contraire à soy / La France aussi ne veut vn Monarque heretique.” Pierre Matthieu, *Stances sur l’heureuse publication de la paix et sainte vnion* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1588), 6.

⁵¹¹ “. . . c’est d’estre taché du vice d’ingratitude & oubly des benefices receuz l’homme ingrat à vn Louueteau, lequel nourry & allaicté du laict & des mamelles d’vne pauvre Brebis, en fin deuenu grand, deschire par morceaux la pauvre innocente qui l’a si tendrement esleué.” Claude de Rubys, *Le Bouclier de la reuision des vrais Catholiques François, contre les artifices du Bearnoys, des Heretiques & leurs fauteurs & adherantz* . . . (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1589), 2r.

⁵¹² “. . . ce bon & saint religieux frere Iacques Clement (la memoire duquel doit estre à iamais honoree en l’Eglise Chrestienne) a aussi fait oeuvre meritoire & resagreable à Dieu, sacrifiant sa vie pour desliurer ce Royaume de la persecution de ce Tyran.” Ibid., 6r.

⁵¹³ Denis Pallier, “Les réponses catholiques,” in *Histoire de l’édition*, 1:332.

⁵¹⁴ “. . . il est plus impossible qu’un heretique soit Roy de France, qu’une femme: de tant que nous sommes plus tenus de garder la loy de Dieu que la loy Salique. . . .” *Le Fovet des heretiques, politicques, et traistres de la France associez du feu Roy de Nauarre* (Lyon: Louis Tantillon, 1590), 14.

⁵¹⁵ “De tous lesquels maux, que les Cathliques ont souffert, qu’ils souffrent, & qu’ils souffriront cy apres, vous seuls Politiques qui vous dites Catholiques estes cause & seuls coupables. Car sans vostre assistance, & la contribution des villes de son parti, il seroit maintenant reduit avec le reste des heretiques en la Rochelle, ou en son pais de Bearn . . .” Ibid., 16.

⁵¹⁶ “. . . [Henry] n’eust pas rauagé le Royaume comme il a fait depuis sept ou huict moys, il n’eust pas ruiné les villes que vous auez prises & forcees pour luy, il n’eut pas fait mourir tant de bons Catholiques.” Ibid., 16.

⁵¹⁷ *Discovrs, par lequel il apparoistra que le Royaume de France est electif, & non hereditaire* (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1591), 4-5.

⁵¹⁸ Ibid., 6.

⁵¹⁹ “. . . quand Dieu veult punir vn peuple, il luy enuoye des Princes impudiques. Toutes histoires en rendent si ample esmoignage: que si les plus grandes Monarchies, & Royaumes ont prins fin de ceste sorte” Ibid., 36.

⁵²⁰ “. . . la premiere que le Royaume estoit electif: la seconde que les Estats de France n’estoient pas tenus de deferer la Couronne au plus prochain parent du precedent Roy.” Ibid., 37.

⁵²¹ *Recueil de l’abivration de la secte lvtherienne, Confession d’Ausbourg, & toutes autres heresies de nostre temps . . .* (Lyon: Michel Jove, 1567), 9.

⁵²² “. . . comme le poison seroit de tous reiecté, si ouuertement estoit proposé” Rene Benoist, *Brieve response à la remonstrance faite a la Royne Mere du Roy, par ceux qui se disent persecutez pour la parole de Dieu . . .* (Lyon: Michel Jove, 1561), A2v.

⁵²³ “Voila pourquoy noz aduersaires destituez de verité, ont recours à la rhetorique & aux paroles attrayantes, pour deguiser leur mensonge, ce qui les rend grandement suspectz de tromperie & mensonge” Ibid., A2v. The charge of casuistry and rhetoric for rhetoric’s sake was one of the principal insults thrown at Humanists in the sixteenth century and marked a noted change in the dialogue between theologians and classical scholars from the century before. Erika Rummel, *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate in the Renaissance and Reformation*, Harvard Historical Studies, 120 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1995), *passim*. For the emphasis on oration in the humanist movement, see Hanna Holborn Gray, “Renaissance Humanism: The Pursuit of Eloquence,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 24 (1963): 497-514.

⁵²⁴ Gabriel de Saconay, *Discovrs catholique, Sur les causes & remedes des Malheurs intentés au Roy, & escheus à son peuple, par les rebelles Caluinistes* (Lyon: Michel Jove, 1568), 4.

⁵²⁵ For the use of the term in the medieval period and its popularity in the sixteenth century among Protestants, see Gerald Strauss, “Ideas of *Reformatio* and *Renovatio* from the Middle Ages to the Reformation,” in *Handbook of European History 1400-1600*, eds. Thomas A. Brady, Jr., Heiko A. Oberman, and James D. Tracy, 2 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 2:1-30.

⁵²⁶ Saconay, *Discovrs Catholique*, 65. Saconay’s claim not to know the major tenets of the Protestant faith is a rhetorical ploy using fears of the hidden. His own writings demonstrate a full understanding of the differences between the Reformed Church and Catholicism regarding predestination, the Eucharist, and justification: *Dv vray corps de Iesv Christ av S. Sacrement de l’avtel, Par les propres paroles d’iceluy, contenues au sixième chapitre de l’Euangile S. Jean . . .* (Lyon: Guillaume Rouille, 1567) and *Dv principal et presqve sevl different, qvi est à present en la religion Chrestienne, Et diuersités d’heresies, qui ont si fort troublé la Chrestienté* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1575). The Protestant revolt and resolutions passed by the Protestant city council and the consistory also helped to clarify matters among the Lyonnais population. Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1975), 15. Even if Protestant arguments regarding justification by faith, grace, or predestination were still a mystery to some, few laymen by this time were unaware of the Reformed Church’s views toward the Eucharist, cult of saints, and the sacraments. Philip T. Hoffman, *Church and Community in the Diocese of Lyon, 1500-1789* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1984), 40.

⁵²⁷ “Ce sont les gents de bien desquelz s’ayde le Prince / Pour s’emparer du regne ou de quelque Prouince, / Soubz couleur de voulois l’Esglise reformer. / Voila le beau manteau dont il se veut armer / Pour couourir ses desseins qu’il fait trop apparroistre.” Claude de Pontoux, *Le Philopoleme, ov exhortation à la guerre : A tous les chefz & Capitaines de l’armée du Roy & à tous leurs Soldats leués pour ces derniers troubles, affin de se monstrier vaillants à la bataille, pour extirper les ennemys de Dieu & du Roy . . .* (Lyon: Melchior Arnoullet, 1569), B4r. On Pontoux, see *NBG*, 40:791-2.

⁵²⁸ “. . . quand nous les voyons avec les faces pasles, vestus en habit de brebis, portans vne espece de l’Euangile escrite au front, & comme leur precepteur satan, tousiours quelque passage de l’Escriture à la bouche.” Claude de Rubys, *La resvrrection de la sainte messe: Contenant la Responce à certain traicté des aduersaires de la sainte Eglise catholique & Romaine, intitulé: La mort & enterrement de la Messe* (Lyon: Michael Jove, 1564), †5r.

⁵²⁹ See, for example, the anonymous, *Discours de la vie, mort et derniers propos de feu monseigneur de Mandelot . . . Gouverneur & Lieutenant general pour sa Majesté en la ville de Lyon, pays de Lyonnois, Forests, & Beaujolois* (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1588), 7-8.

⁵³⁰ “C’est icy le poison que lon vous veut faire glisser dedans l’ame soubz apparence de douceur.” *Advertissement des catholiques de Bearn, avx catholiques francois, vnis a la*

Saincte Vnion. Touchant la Declaration faicte au Pont Saint Clou, par Henry deuxiesme Roy de Nauarre . . . (Lyon: Jean Patrasson, 1589), 25.

⁵³¹ *Allegresse et resiovisance pvblique des vrais & Zelez Catholiques François, sur l'heureuse venue de Monseigneur l'Illustrissime Cardinal Caietan . . .* (Lyon: Louis Tantillon, 1589).

⁵³² For the common depictions of the *Politique* faction—false devout, whores and profiteers, and political traitors—from a largely Parisian perspective, see Philippe Papin, “Duplicité et Traîtrise: l’image des ‘politiques’ durant la ligue,” *La revue d’histoire moderne et contemporaine* 38 (1991): 3-21. Though France is not known for its woodcuts in the same degree as is Germany, David ElKenz has assembled a number of woodcuts from both a Leaguer and anti-Leaguer perspective: “Du temps de Dieu au temps du Roi: l’avenir dans les placards ligueurs et anti-ligueurs (1589-1595),” *Matériaux pour l’Histoire de Notre Temps* 21 (1990): 3-11.

⁵³³ “Il hayssoit mortellement les bigarrez, c’est à dire ceux qui sous le manteau de Catholiques fauorisoient les Heretiques.” *Discours de la vie*, 19.

⁵³⁴ “. . . sans foy & conscience fout comme le Chamaleon faict la couleur la diuertissant, selon l’obiet que luy est presente.” *Discovrs pitoiable des execrables crvavtes et inhvmaines barbaries comises par les hereticque huguenotz & leurs complices contre les catholicques de la ville de Nyort . . .* (Lyon: Jean Patrasson, 1589), 4.

⁵³⁵ “A ceste opinion ils ont appellé par langages flateurs & emmiellez les plus grands Princes & Seigneurs, lesquels ils ont imbus avec leurs erreurs de diuisions sous vn zele de la parole de Dieu, preschee (comme ils se vantoient) purement.” *Svr la mort inopinée de magnanime Prince, Henry de Bourbon, Prince de Condé, Remonstrance à la France* (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1588), 5.

⁵³⁶ “. . . ne pouuant establir par douceur leurs intention, le recours a esté aux armes cruelles, sanglantes, sans respect d’obeissance au Roy, loix, religion, pieté, charité: mutins contre leur propre sang, voisins & amis.” *Ibid.*, 6.

⁵³⁷ This fear of the disguised and the hidden manifested itself in tracts addressing other aspects of social behavior. Jérôme de Chastillon, head of the city council, wrote approvingly to the wife of Governor Mandelot for trying to be nothing more than a good, pious woman. Avoiding the unfortunate tendencies of these “troubled times” to cast aside tradition and morality, the governor and his wife never “pretended” to belong to a gender or class other than their own. The civil wars, Chastillon continues, are perverting the natural order and encouraging non-nobles to dress like nobles and, probably less likely, women and men to adopt the fashion of the other: “But aside from [men wearing] perfumes, it is even stranger to see a man choosing to wear the dress of a woman, and a woman that of a man. In the first place this is contrary to the laws of God . . . and is

abominable to him” (*Mais outre ces parfums, il est encores plus estrange, de voir l’homme se licentier de prendre l’habit de la femme, et la femme celuy de l’homme. C’est en premier lieu contre la loy de Dieu . . . il est abominable enuers Dieu*). Jérôme de Chastillon, *Bref et vtile discovrs svr l’immodestie & superfluité d’habits . . .* (Lyon: Antoine Gryphius, 1577), 16.

⁵³⁸ “. . . Et au regard de moy, qui lors bien ieune estois, / Leurs propos ensucrez volontiers i’escoutois: / Mais tost ie descouury le fard & tromperie / De ces difformateurs” Jean le Masle, *Brief discovrs svr les trovbles qui depuis douze ans ont continuellement agité & tourmenté le Royaume de France . . . Avec vne exhortation à iceux mutins de bien tost abiurer leur erreur & heresie* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1573), 11v-2v.

⁵³⁹ For a sympathetic interpretation of the Blois murders as Henry III’s failed attempt to reassert his masculinity in the face of emasculating propaganda, see Anita M. Walker and Edmund H. Dickerman, “The King Who Would be Man: Henri III, Gender Identity and the Murders at Blois, 1588,” *Historical Reflections* 24 (1988): 253-81. For a look at this particular type of humiliating propaganda directed against Henry III, see David L. Teasley, “Legends of the Last Valois: A New Look at Propaganda Attacking the French Monarchs during the Wars of Religion, 1559-1589” (Ph.D. Dissertation: Georgetown Univ., 1986); Keith Cameron, *Henri III, A Maligned or Malignant King?: Aspects of the Satirical Iconography of Henri de Valois* (Exeter, U.K.: University of Exeter, 1978). For propaganda as a means to undermine political authority and oaths of loyalty, see David A. Bell, “Unmasking a King: The Political Uses of Popular Literature under the French Catholic League, 1588-1589,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 20 (1989): 371-86.

⁵⁴⁰ “Non, non, il faut que les villes serment le pas à tous ces courtisans, politiques, catholiques ypocrites, catholiques associez, & à tous ces manieres de gens qui suient ordinairement les heretiques, gens froidement affectionnez au service de Dieu, & peu soucieux du public, gens qui changent de couleur comme bon leur semble, & se seruent de tout en toutes occurrences, & en tout ne regardent que de paruenir à leur proffit particulier.” *Advertissement aux François Catholicques* (Lyon: n.p., 1589), 5-6.

⁵⁴¹ *Discovrs veritable de la Deliurance miraculeuse de Monseigneur le Duc de Guyse, nagueres captif au Chasteau de Tours* (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1591), 3.

⁵⁴² “. . . contre la violence des Politiques & contre tous les stratagemes don’t les Heretiques vsent pour distraire beaucoup de personnes de ceste Saincte cause.” *Discovrs de la deffaicte de l’armée du Prince de Dombes. Avec le nom des Villes, & Chasteaux prins sur les Heretiques en Bretagne. Par Monseigneur le Duc de Mercure* (Lyon: Louis Tantillon, 1590), 5.

⁵⁴³ “Voila comment Dieu defend sa cause, ayant rompu par trois fois tous les desseins des Heretiques, qui pensoyent se rendre paisibles possesseurs dudict païs, & Duché de

Bretaigne pour y planter l'heresie, & rendre à jamais ladicte Prouince miserable." Ibid., 13.

⁵⁴⁴ ". . . la pluspart de la Noblesse a descouuert, que sous le pretexte que le Roy se veut faire Catholicque, il ne tasche qu'a s'emparer des villes & places fortes, pour abolir par apres l'exercice de la Religion Catholicque par tout ce Royaume." *Copie des lettres d'un Politique de Tours, enuoyees à vng Politique de la ville de Roüen. Esquelles sont descouverts les desseins & pretentions du Roy de Nauarre, & l'estat de ses affaires. Surprises à Vernon, Par ung Capitaine du Regiment de Monsieur le Marquis de Pienne* (Lyon: n.p., 1590), 4.

⁵⁴⁵ *Discovrs entre le Roy de Navarre, et Marmet son Ministre, sur l'instruction par luy demandee en forme de Dialogue* (Lyon: Jean Patrasson, 1590), 12.

⁵⁴⁶ ". . . i'ay pris ma religion avec le laict au ventre de ma mere, & y suis tellement lié fondé & consolidé, que ie quitteray plustost trent Royaumes & Coronnes, que de manquer à la foy & promesse que i'ay faict pour ma religion." Ibid., 9.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid., 30.

⁵⁴⁸ There are some studies exploring the use of sexual libels in propaganda. Miriam Usher Chrisman noted the tactic in both Catholic and Protestant pamphlets in Strasbourg, Wittenberg, and Nuremberg: "From Polemic to Propaganda: The Development of Mass Persuasion in the Late Sixteenth-Century," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 73 (1982): 175-96. The fullest treatment of the issue and the one most closely related to my own study is Racaut, *Hatred in Print*, 33-35, 58-63. Racaut's sources are Parisian and he links the accusation of sexual perversion to the inversion of gender roles. Protestant women, polemicists argued, are the aggressors in the sexual relationship which contradicts the natural order and biblical order that women should submit to their husbands. See also Barbara B. Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris* (New York: Oxford UP, 1991), 54.

⁵⁴⁹ Jacques de Pleurre, a councilman in Troyes, swore that he attended the Protestant service that was raided by the city authorities only because he had heard night-time orgies regularly took place. The church council, laughing at his explanation, released him. Penny Roberts, *A City in Conflict: Troyes during the French Wars of Religion* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1996), 84.

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid., 84.

⁵⁵¹ Savoie Sénat, *Arrest du Souverain Sénat de Savoye, avec l'ordre de son Altesse, sur le faict de la Religion, 1562, 21 février* (Lyon: Michel Jove, 1562), 3.

⁵⁵² Ibid., 7.

⁵⁵³ “. . . les paroles des Heretiques ne sont que paroles de liberté charnelle, couuertes seulement de quelque apparence simulée, pour deceuoir les moins prudens, embellies de quelques chansons plaisantes, ornées de beaux dictz, & fardées de sçauoir mondain.” Gabriel de Saconay, *Dv vray corps de Iesv Christ av S. Sacrement de l’avtel, Par les propres paroles d’iceluy, contenues au sixième chapitre de l’Euangile S. Iean. Et comme se doibt entendre ce qu’il dit, C’est l’esprit qui viuifie, la chair ne profite rien. Les paroles que ie vous ay dict, sont esprit & vie. Selon qu’ont exposé ledict sixième chapitre de Saint Iean, les Saints & anciens Martyrs & Docteurs de l’Eglise Catholique, inspirés par l’esprit de Dieu, en l’vñion d’icelle* (Lyon: Guillaume Rouille), 267.

⁵⁵⁴ Jean Dedehu, *Antithetes de la S.S. Evcharistie et de la cene des Sectaires modernes, Auec Discours Catholiques, pour reduire les deuoyez en l’ancienne Religion, & vraye pieté de l’Autel* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1570).

⁵⁵⁵ “. . . le abominable des sectes de nostre temps . . . pour la deflorer & prostituer, pour luy oster sa fler, sa virginité, son innocence & pureté, pour la demouer, deshonorer, diffamer & degrader de sa vertu, verité, force & sainteté : pour la tuer, homicider & abolir du tout, & la laisser comme vne charongne puante & pleine d’horreur.” *Ibid.*, 4.

⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁵⁵⁷ “. . . engendrer des libertins, volontaires, temeraires, & des insolens, hardis, & impudens pecheurs.” *Ibid.*, 218.

⁵⁵⁸ Léonard de la Ville, *Declaration evidente et manifeste par l’Escriture Saincte, des blasphemés faicts contre Dieu par Iean Calvin en son Traicté de la Predestination & Reprobation diuine: auec certaines contrarietez d’iceluy en ce mesme Traicté* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1570), 4.

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 172. For the medieval use of the term “libertine” and its employment against the “new heresy” of the late sixteenth century, see Jean Wirth, “‘Libertins’ et ‘epicuriens’: aspects de l’irréligion au XVIe siècle,” *BHR* 39 (1977): 601-27.

⁵⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 214.

⁵⁶¹ “A celle fin donques que l’occulte aduersaire puisse plus facilement deceuoir, il appreste les tromperies, selon les dispositions des personnes: & pour autant qu’allegresse est voysine de volupté, il propose luxure aux ioyeuses complexions . . .” Gabriel de Saconay, *Genealogie et la fin des huguenaux, & descouerte du Caluinisme . . .* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1572), 51v-r.

⁵⁶² “. . . ainsi qu’ils auoyent taché à attirer le peuple à eux par vne liberté charnelle, faulsement appellée Euangelique, esuyant Mahomet.” Gabriel de Saconay, *Discovrs, ov Epistre à Messievr de Paris, & autres Catholiques de France, sur les nouvelles*

entreprises, n'agueres descouuertes, d'aucuns rebelles, & seditieux, lesquels sous couleur & pretexte qu'ils disent en vouloir aux Ecclesiastiques, & vouloir reformer le Royaume, entreprennent contre le Roy, & son Estat (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1574), 7-8.

⁵⁶³ Louis Orléans, *Premier, et second advertissements des Catholiques Anglois aux François Catholiques & à la Noblesse qui suit à preisent le Roy de Nauarre* (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1590), 8r.

⁵⁶⁴ The etymology of the term “monster” comes from various Latin roots: *monere* (to warn), *monstrum* (that which is worth of warning), and *monstrare* (to point to that which is worthy of warning). For introductions to the term and its early uses in literature, see Jean Céard, *La Nature et les prodiges: L'Insolite au XVIe siècle en France* (Geneva: Droz, 1977), 158; John Block Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1981), 108-30.

⁵⁶⁵ Georges Canguilhem, “La Monstruosité et le monstrueux,” in *La Connaissance de la vie*, ed. Georges Canguilhem (Paris: J. Vrin, 1992), 172.

⁵⁶⁶ Ambroise Paré, the King’s surgeon, published a treatise, *Des Monstres et prodiges*, in which he delineates thirteen causes of monstrosity: “The first [cause] is God’s glory. The second is God’s wrath. The third, too great a quantity of semen. The fourth, too small a quantity. The fifth, imagination. The sixth, narrowness or smallness of the womb. The seventh, the mother’s indecent sitting position when, being pregnant, she sat for too long with her thighs crossed, or pressed against her belly. The eighth, falls or blows on the mother’s belly when she is pregnant with child. The ninth, hereditary or accidental diseases. The tenth, rotten or corrupted semen. The eleventh, through compounding or missing semen. The twelfth, through the artifice of evil beggars; the thirteenth, through Demons and Devils.” More often than not, however, and especially in times of war and religious conflict, Paré argued, God sends monsters as a warning of his displeasure. Marie-Hélène Huet, “Monstrous Medicine,” in *Monstrous Bodies/Political Monstrosities in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Laura Lunger Knoppers and Joan B. Landes (Ithaca; Cornell UP, 2004), 131.

⁵⁶⁷ Antoine Cathélan, *Epistre Catholique de la vraye et reale existence du precieux corps & sang de notre Sauuer . . .* (Lyon: Anthoine du Rosne, 1562), B4r. Cathélan was a Franciscan who appears to have dabbled with Protestantism in Geneva and Lausanne before returning to the Catholic Church in France. He published other attacks, now lost, against Calvin and the Reformed church. Despite claiming that “it is not my lot to silence all the baying dogs of the world,” Calvin felt obliged to respond to one of these: “Correction To Impose Silence On A Certain Scoundrel Named Antoine Cathélan, Former Gray Friar of Albigeois,” trans. Rob Roy McGregor, *Calvin Theological Journal* 35 (2000): 66-75. Based on the context of this response by Calvin, Cathélan’s lost treatise accused the Genevan reformer of sexual deviancy and of ridiculing chastity and spiritual vows.

⁵⁶⁸ “De meurdre & sang, de furie & carnage, / Qu’à bon droit semble eux auoir en leur rage / Presque euoqué à leur ayde & secours / Tous les Demons infernaux.” Jacques de L’Espervier, *Triomphe heroïque avec trophees, de Monseigneur le Duc d’Anjou & de Bourbonnois, frere du Roy . . .* (Lyon : Benoist Rigaud, 1569), 8.

⁵⁶⁹ “. . . l’auoir desia à leur discretion, proposent faire choses merueilleuses, inhumaines & cruelles, telles que les barbares n’en ont inuenté.” *Discovrs de l’entreprinse*, B3r.

⁵⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, B3r.

⁵⁷¹ “C’est l’heure où les heretiques enfans de perdition, semence meschante, plante bastarde, generation de viperes, ennemis de toute bonté.” Leonard Janier, *Sermon du iugement final, vniuersel & general, de Iesus Christ nostre Seigneur & Sauueur . . .* (Lyon: Pierre Merant, 1567), 32.

⁵⁷² Jonathan L. Pearl, “‘A school for the rebel soul’: Politics and Demonic Possession in France,” *Historical Reflections* 16 (1989): 286-306; Robert Mandrou, *Magistrats et sorciers en France au XVII siècle, une analyse de psychologie historique*, Civilisations et mentalités (Paris: Plon, 1968); E. William Monter, *Witchcraft in France and Switzerland: The Borderlands during the Reformation* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1976). For an overview of some of the more spectacular of these examples, and the counter-attack in Protestant pamphlets, see Philip M. Soergel, “The Counter-Reformation Impact on Anticlerical Propaganda,” in *Anticlericalism in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds. Peter A. Dykema and Heiko A. Oberman, *Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought*, no. 51 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993), 639-53.

⁵⁷³ “. . . il n’a voulu la veité estre prononcée par la bouche impropre.” Saconay, *Dv vray corps*, 284.

⁵⁷⁴ “Voyez ces chiens enragés, ces serpen se trainans sur leur ventre, dragons conuerts de grosses escailles, Aspicz, Basilisques, Scorpions: ce sont Renardz & Singes imitans choses humaines. Voila doncq par le disciple des Apostres les Heretiques (entre leurs autres beaux epithetes) nommés Singes . . .” Gabriel de Saconay, *De la providence de Dieu svr les Roys de France treschrestiens, Par laquelle sa sainte religion Catholique ne defaudra en leur Royaume. Et comme les Gotz Arriens, & les Albigeois, en ont esté par icelle dechassés* (Lyon: Michel Jove, 1568), 20.

⁵⁷⁵ For a study of the use of the Albigensian crusade in this propaganda, see Luc Racaut, “The Polemical Use of the Albigensian Crusade during the French Wars of Religion,” *French History* 13 (1999): 261-79.

⁵⁷⁶ Saconay, *De la providence*, 20.

⁵⁷⁷ “Voila le moyen que luy propose pour chercher guerison . . . c’est de deuorer & exterminer ces Singes & Guenaux malfaisans, Heretiques ennemys de la maiesté diuine. C’est aussi le remede qui luy est propose, pour maintenir en paix, vnion, & concorde, & recouurer santé à ses petitz Lions, fideles subiectz, troublez & grandement esmeuz par ces Guenaux seditieux: que d’en faire sacrifice à Dieu, chastiant par bonne & exemplaire iustice leurs blasphemes excecrables.” Ibid., 22.

⁵⁷⁸ “. . . asin qu’on voye avec quelle simplicité marchent ces Renards. Et si c’est le zele de l’Euangile qui les pousse, mais plustost vn desir sanglant de tout ruyner, & du regne de Iesus Christ bastir le siege de Satan, & ruyner tout le monde, & du venin infaict de la prostitution de la paillarderie heresie, avec laquelle ils se sont vnis inseparablement.” Saconay, *Discovrs, ov Epistre à Messievr de Paris*, 14.

⁵⁷⁹ “Et ce sont ces diables incarnez, oubliez iusqué à là que pour auoir les anneaux des filles & femmes qu’ils auoient violees, & puis massacrees, ils leur ont coupé les bras, & les doigts, avec vn exemple le plus cruel & effroyable qu’homme sçauroit imaginer.” Ibid., 19.

⁵⁸⁰ For this older Marxist interpretation, see Henri Hauser’s classic article, “The French Reformation and the French People in the Sixteenth Century,” *American Historical Review* 4 (1899): 217-27. For one of the few modern historians still promoting this interpretation, see Henry Heller, *Iron and Blood: Civil Wars in Sixteenth-Century France* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1991). For the Huguenot struggle for political recognition, see James Westfall Thompson, *The Wars of Religion in France, 1559-1576: The Huguenots, Catherine de Medici, Philip II*, 2nd ed. (New York: F. Ungar Publishing Co., 1957). While religious motivations are not discounted, the focus is on the struggle between noble factions in John Hearsey McMillion Salmon’s narrative, *Society in Crisis: France in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1975). The best introduction to the historiographic trends regarding the causal factors in Religious Wars remains Mack P. Holt, “Putting Religion Back into the Wars of Religion,” *French Historical Studies* 18 (1993): 524-51.

⁵⁸¹ “. . . & ayans tiré à leur abominable secte: & ayans tiré à leur cordelle plusieurs, lesquels ou pour ieunesse, ou legereté d’esprit, ou pource qu’ils sont si fort endebtez, que sans piller le bien d’autruy ne se peuuent acquitter . . .” Gabriel de Saconay, *Discovrs, ov Epistre à Messievr de Paris, & autres Catholiques de France, sur les nouvelles entreprises, n’aguere descouuertes, d’aucuns rebelles, & seditieux, lesquels sous couleur & pretexte qu’ils disent en vouloir aux Ecclesiastiques, & vouloir reformer le Royaume, entreprennent contre le Roy, & son Estat* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1574), 8.

⁵⁸² A lawyer and accomplished poet, Bugnyon’s most significant work is his playful collection of poems, *Erotasmes de Phidie et Gelasine* [1557], eds. Gabriel Pérouse and Maurice-Odile Sauvajon (Geneva: Droz, 1998). One of the more famous writers in Lyon during the 1550s and 1560s, he was invited to deliver the prestigious annual sermon for

the feast of St. Thomas' at Saint-Nizier in 1557. Though accused later in the century of Protestantism, Bugnyon clearly opposed the Reformed Church and referred to the "new sect" of Calvin as "monstrous," xv-i. He was an impassioned critic of abuses in the church and of the radicalism of the Catholic League, xvi; *NBG*, 8:755.

⁵⁸³ "... qui contre la loy / De charité, les magazins / Ont saccagez de leurs voisins, / Et sont de marchans gentiles hommes: / Car ilz ont d'argent si grands sommes" Philibert Bugnyon, *Remonstrance et advertissement aux estatz generaux de la France*. . . (Lyon: Pierre Roussin, 1576), 7v.

⁵⁸⁴ "A ceux ont profité les guerres, / Qui en ont augmenté leurs terres, / Et accru leurs francz reuenus, / Des fonds roturiers prouenus." *Ibid.*, 10v.

⁵⁸⁵ "Et le fisc, ou les finances publiques, comme disoit l'Empereur Adrian, est comme la ratelle en nostre corps, laquell plus elle est grosse & enflée, & plus le reste du corps deuiet sec & ethic: ainsi quand le fisc s'augmente pour enrichir les particuliers, il faut que le commun s'en resente & s'apauurisse." Pierre d'Épinac, *Harengve prononcée devant le Roy, seant en ses Estatz generaux à Bloys*. . . (Lyon: Michel Jove et Jean Pillehotte, 1577), 61.

⁵⁸⁶ John Hearsey McMillion Salmon, *Society in Crisis: France in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975), 205-6.

⁵⁸⁷ Frederic J. Baumgartner, *Change and Continuity in the French Episcopate: The Bishops and the Wars of Religion, 1547-1610*, Duke Monographs in Medieval and Renaissance Studies, no. 7 (Durham: Duke UP, 1986), 56.

⁵⁸⁸ On the difficulties placed on the city council and their need to harvest taxes for the crown's war efforts, see Maurice Pallasse, *La sénéchaussée et siège présidial de Lyon pendant les guerres de religion: essai sur l'évolution de l'Administration Royale en province au XVIe siècle* (Lyon: Emmanuel Vitte, 1943), 327-54. For the bakers' and printers' strikes in the 1580s, see Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1975), 42-54.

⁵⁸⁹ The price of bread, for example, doubled from 1578-1586, indicating a 9 percent yearly inflation rate. Robert Jean Knecht, *The French Wars of Religion, 1559-1598*, Seminar Studies in History (London: Longman, 1989), 67.

⁵⁹⁰ Henry III and the Valois were, by no means, the only noble family experiencing significant financial difficulties in the 1580s. The Guise family themselves fell prey to the same problems of reckless spending and mortgaging property and goods to disastrous effect in the seventeenth century. J. A. Bergin, "The Guises and Their Benefices, 1588-1641," *English Historical Review* 99 (1984): 34-58. For their sixteenth-century success within the church and the seventeenth-century diminishment of this strength, see *idem*,

“The Decline and Fall of the House of Guise as an Ecclesiastical Dynasty,” *Historical Journal* 25 (1982): 781-803.

⁵⁹¹ “. . . c’est à dire, à vostre Majesté l’obeissance, service, & subiection que luy deuons, ne penser plus que iustement & avec raison vous puissiez user des biens de l’Eglise, pour recompenser ceux qui vous on faict service aux guerres, ou ailleurs.” Claude Angennes, *Remonstrance dv Clergé de France faicte au Roy le xii. Octobre 1585 . . .* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1586), 23v.

⁵⁹² Langelier, *Remonstrance dv clergé*, 30.

⁵⁹³ *Remonstrance faite à Monsieur D’Espéron, entrant en l’Eglise Cathedrale de Rouen* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1588), 5.

⁵⁹⁴ “Car comme la gresle & tempeste abbat & ruine les bleds, les vignes, les fruicts, arrachent les arbres, cassent tuilles & voirrieres, & saccagent & bruslent les Eglises & maisons . . .” Pierre Chastain, *Articles generavx de la paix universelle* (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1585), 20.

⁵⁹⁵ The thesis of lower-class revolt is largely accredited to Henri Hauser, “The French Reformation and the French People in the Sixteenth Century,” *American Historical Review* 4 (1899): 217-27. See also Lucien Febvre, “Une Question mal posée: Les Origines de la Réforme française et le problème général des causes de la Réforme,” *Revue historique* 141 (1929): 1-73; Henry Heller, *The Conquest of Poverty: The Calvinist Revolt in Sixteenth-Century France* (Leiden: Brill, 1986). While religious motivations are not discounted, the focus is on the struggle between noble factions in John Hearsey McMillion Salmon’s narrative, *Society in Crisis*.

⁵⁹⁶ For a narrative survey from a largely religious perspective, see Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge UP, 1995).

⁵⁹⁷ Marc Venard, “Catholicism and Resistance to the Reformation in France, 1555-1585,” in *Reformation, Revolt, and Civil War*, eds. Philip Benedict, Guido Marnef, Hans van Nierop and Marc Vernard (Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1999), 133-48; Denis Pallier, *Recherches sur l’imprimerie à Paris pendant la Ligue, 1585-1594* (Geneva: Droz, 1976); Luc Racaut, *Hatred in Print: Catholic Propaganda and Protestant Identity during the French Wars of Religion* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2002); and the body of Larissa Taylor’s work are all examples of this new emphasis.

⁵⁹⁸ *Les guerriers de Dieu: la violence au temps des troubles de religion, vers 1525-vers 1610* (Seysssel: Champ Vallon, 1990).

⁵⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1:164-235, and *passim*.

⁶⁰⁰ “Et neantmoins veu que le ciel doit vne fois tomber à bas, que la terre, les montaignes, & les mers seront esmeuës, & que les choses créées de rien seront reduites en rien.” Jean de la Gessée, *Novveau discovrs svr le siege de Sanserre, depvis le commencement qu’il fut planté deuant la Ville au mois de Ianuier 1573, iusques à present, le Camp du Roy estant encores aux enuiron d’icelle. Plvs vne complainte de la France en forme de Chanson* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1573), C4v. A Protestant preacher in Mauvezin, Gessée adopted pacifist leanings after returning to the Catholic Church. After fleeing briefly to Geneva shortly after the 1572 massacres, he returned to Paris, renounced his previous “errors,” and proclaimed religious views more in line with the attitudes of court. He is most well known for his love poetry and biting satire lamenting the destruction of the civil wars. For an example of the latter, see Guy Demerson and Jean-Philip Labrousse, eds., *Les Jeunesses* (Paris: S.T.F.M., 1991); J. Vignes, “Le pastiche des regrets dans *Les Jeunesses* de Jean de la Gessée,” *Oeuvres et critiques* 20 (1994): 209-23. For general biography of Gessée, see Guillaume Colletet, “Vie de Jean de la Jessée,” *Revue de Gascogne* 3 (1866): 197-216; Demerson and Labrousse, eds., *Les Jeunesses*, vii-xxv.

⁶⁰¹ “. . . si le temps est venu, ou à tout le moins s’approche de la venue de l’Antechrist, auquel Daniel vostre Prophete a prophetyzé, que pour vn temps cesseroit vostre eternal sacrifice, que cela n’aduienne point en nostre endroit.” Saconay, *Discovrs, ov Epistre à Messievr de Paris*, 30.

⁶⁰² “Si nous voulons vn peu discourir des diuerses sortes d’heresies forgees en nostre temps par Sathan, & soufflees au monde par l’aleine puante de Luther, comme du dragon de l’Apocalypse, souz pretexte d’Euangile & parole de Diu, enuahissant & corrompant de toutes parts les Prouinces Chrestiennes (lequel Euangile chacune secte s’attribue à part, arrogamment en condamnant autrui) nous n’en trouuerons pas moins, touchant la foy de la Trinité, des Sacremens, & de Iesus Christ, mesmes que du temps de S. Augustin, assauoir six vingts & huict, vne partie desquelles ont esté puisees & renouvellees des plus remarquables heretiques, & condammes par l’Eglise ancienne & Apostolique.” Gabriel de Saconay, *Dv principal et presque sevl different, qvi est à present en la religion Chrestienne, Et diuersités d’heresies, qui ont si fort troublé la Chrestienté* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1575), 66-7.

⁶⁰³ Luc Racaut, “The Polemical Use of the Albigensian Crusade during the French Wars of Religion,” *French History* 13:3 (1999): 261-79.

⁶⁰⁴ “Qui furieux, va son corps offensant, / Et ses deux poings sont bourreaux de sa peine.” *Les Memoirs et Parletemens de la Paix . . .* (Lyon: Pour Antoine du Prat, 1581), 2r.

⁶⁰⁵ “Et bien que ceste diversité de deux Religions fust vne cause assez suffisante pour esmouoir de grands troubles, guerres, & malheurs, pour ce qu’il s’est tousiours veu qu’il est impossible que deux Religions puissent demeurer ensemble en vn Estat.” *Discours*

sur les causes de l'exécution faicte ès personnes de ceux qui quoyent coniuéré contre le Roy et son Estat, (Lyon: Michel Jove, 1572), A2v.

⁶⁰⁶ “. . . qui ont esmeu ceste mauuaise humeur en ce grand corps, pour le ruiner & destruire” Ibid.

⁶⁰⁷ For an excellent starting point for use of the metaphor of the body as it related to royal power and religious society in Europe, see Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1957). Though the conceptualization of a political state as a human body is an ancient one, extending at least as far back as Plato's *Republic* and the *corpus mysticum*, Kantorowicz's work details the development of the theory of the political body in Europe, with the king at its head, from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries. He places the root of the concept within the Christian tradition, stemming from the medieval characterization of the church as the “body politic.” Gradually secular powers appropriated the metaphor to characterize their own realm. For a survey of the concept extending back to classical times, see Paul Archambault, “The Analogy of the ‘Body’ in Renaissance Political Literature,” *BHR* 29 (1967): 21-53; Francis Oakley, *Politics and Eternity: Studies in the History of Medieval and Early-Modern Political Thought*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought, 92 (Leiden: Brill, 1999); Joseph Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought, 300-1450* (London: Routledge, 1996).

⁶⁰⁸ “. . . par la licence que le malheur du temps a apporté soubs la longueur des intestines guerres” *Harengve prononcée devant le Roy*, 10-1. For an analysis of a Protestant painting by François Dubois of Saint Bartholowme's Day Massacre in Paris and its use of the theory of the body, see Denis Crouzet, “Imaginaire du corps et violence aux temps des troubles de religion,” in *Le corps à la Renaissance: actes du XXXe colloque de Tours 1987*, eds. Jean Céard, Marie-Madelaine Fontaine, and Jean-Claude Margolin (Paris: Aux amateurs de livres, 1990), 115-27

⁶⁰⁹ Many thanks to Mack Holt for his assistance in clarifying my thinking on this point and pointing out the connections between the use of this theme as it related to the bloodshed of 1572. For the use of the body in François Hotman's influential political historiography, *Francogallia*, see Pierre Mesnard, *L'essor de la philosophie politique au XVIe siècle* (Paris: Furne, Boivin & cie, 1936), 329-33.

⁶¹⁰ *Francogallia*, eds. Ralph E. Giesey and John Hearsey McMillan Salmon, trans. John Hearsey McMillan Salmon (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1972), 142-3.

⁶¹¹ *Satyre Ménippée* (n.d.: n.p, 1594), ii.

⁶¹² Ibid., 112.

⁶¹³ Pierre de Bollo, *Le rosaire de la tressainte Vierge Marie Mere de Dieu. Extraict de plusieurs graues Autheurs, par F. P. De Bollo Theologien de Paris, & Prieur du monastere de nostre Dame de Confort à Lyon* (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1604), 13.

⁶¹⁴ “. . . ceste vermine par tous les cantons & carrefours d’icelle, au grand detrimant & preiudice de tout le Christianisme.” *Ibid.*, 13.

⁶¹⁵ “. . . le Diable a faict de ces hommes là, comme de vous, vne fricassee fournie de demys Catholiques, & demis Huguenots . . .” Jean Cicquot, pseudonym. *Les Paraboles de Cicqvot*, 19.

⁶¹⁶ “Les vns crient: Viue le Roy, les autres chantent: Viue la Ligue, les mal’heureux, Viue qui peult: les de sesperer, Viue le Diable. Les goutteux, Viue la santé: les yurongnes, Viue Bacchus, & les soldats, Viue la guerre.” *Ibid.*, 21.

⁶¹⁷ “. . . grandes incommoditez, assauoir que se fermans les vns aux autres les passages, le commerce est aboly, la culture des terres empeschee & cessante, les maisons ruinees, les chasteaux abbatu, les bourgs, & villages bruslez, meurtres & forçement de filles & femmes commis, & les armes avec lesquelles on deuroit conseruer sa patrie, employees à la ruine d’icelle.” Antoine du Verdier, *Discouers svr la redvction de la ville de Lyon à l’obeissance du Roy* (Lyon: Thomas Soubron, 1594), 7. For biography, see *NBG*, 45:147; Claude Longeon, *Les écrivains foréziens du XVIe siècle: Répertoire biobibliographique* (Saint-Etienne: Centre d’Etudes Foréziennes, 1970), 288-302. For his most important work, *Diverses Leçons d’Antoine Du Verdier*, see Florent Pues, “Claude Gruget et ses *Diverses leçons de Pierre Messie*,” *Les Lettres Romanes* 13 (1959): 371-83. Antoine du Verdier’s extensive library also serves as one of the most important windows into sixteenth-century book and pamphlet ownership: François Grudé, sieur de La Croix du Maine, *Les bibliothèques françoises de la Croix du Maine et de Du Verier, sieur de Vauprivis*, 6 vols. (Paris: Saillant & Nyon, 1772-1773). Hervé Campagne has studied the awareness of market forces in Verdier’s work in “Savoir, économie et société dans les *Diverses Leçons* d’Antoine du Verdier,” *BHR* 57 (1995): 623-35. Campagne argues that Verdier, in addition to extolling the values of the rule or order, promoted investment, mercantilism, and speculation. Verdier was also well aware of the book publishing industry and provides evidence that authors and publishers regularly placed their ability to sell a title above their ideology and politics. Such conclusions are important as they provide evidence that the content of polemic appealed to the broader populace on some level. *Ibid.*, 628-35.

⁶¹⁸ “. . . pendant ces dernieres annees, tant de misereres, d’afflictions & de trauaux, qu’vne grande partie de ceux que l’on estimoit clairvoyans, pensoyent que le corps de l’Estat fut du tout hors d’esperance de salut.” Antoine Loisel, *Remonstrance faicte en la grand chambre*, 6.

⁶¹⁹ This use of this concept in polemic and propaganda, *verkehrte Welt* in the German Reformation, was explored by Robert W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1981), 148-89.

⁶²⁰ Gabriel de Saconay, *De la vraye idolatrie de nostre temps* (Lyon: Michel Jove, 1568), 18-9.

⁶²¹ “. . . ceste liberté de vie & de conscience, ou pour parler plus proprement, cest abandon & dissolution à mal faire . . .” *Recueil de l’abivration de la secte lvtherienne, Confession d’Ausbourg, & toutes autres heresies de nostre temps . . .* (Lyon: Michel Jove, 1567), 20.

⁶²² “. . . les enfans contre pere & mere, les seruiteurs contre leurs maistres, les habitans contre la iustice, les suiets & vassaux contre leurs Roys, Princes & Seigneurs . . .” *Ibid.*

⁶²³ “Mais quand la poison Caluiniste a eu prins tel accroissement, que par icelle tous les Sacremens de Dieu ont esté prophanés, & si grandz blasphemes issuz, qu’elle à surpassé en impieté toutes autres Heresies, lors a si grande iniquité abondé, que la terre (comme au temps du grand deluge) en a tellement esté corrompue, & remplie d’iniquité, quelle en a crié vengeance à Dieu.” Gabriel de Saconay, *De la providence de Diev svr les Roys de France treschrestiens, Par laquelle sa saincte religion Catholique ne defaudra en leur Royaume. Et comme les Gotz Arriens, & les Albigeois, en ont esté par icelle dechassés* (Lyon: Michel Jove, 1568), 160.

⁶²⁴ “Qui vous iugera autres que bastards, puis-que ne retenez, ny moeurs, ny façon, ny maniere de faire de ceux que vous dictez estre vos peres? Ils n’auoyent autre desir que de commander & donner la loy à ceux mesmes qui estoyent estimés les plus puissans: Et vous inuitez des varletz des larrons, & rebut des peuples pour commander & vous donnet la loy en vostre propre païs.” *Remonstrance avx Francoys, povr les indivire a vivre en paix à l’aduenir* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1576), 5-6.

⁶²⁵ “. . . entre toutes les diuisions & discords, celle de la Religion surpasse . . .” Angennes, *Remonstrance*, 5v.

⁶²⁶ “. . . nous auons veu le pere diuisé d’avec le fils, le fils d’avec le pere, & en armées contraires les freres contre les freres, les maris diuisez d’avec leurs femmes . . .” *Ibid.*, 5v-6r.

⁶²⁷ “Nous l’auons soufferte & enduree, & nous sommes accommodez à viure avec les heretiques, parce que le temps le vouloit . . . C’est chose aliene, & du tout abhorrente de nostre profession & de nostre bergerie, & que deuons laisser à nos ennemis & ceux qui nous haissent.” Angennes, *Remonstrance*, 6v-7r.

⁶²⁸ Ibid., 7v.

⁶²⁹ “. . . où la religion est violee, le bon Chrestien ne fait estat de la reuerence de ces parens, comme estant chose inutile & perilleuse, il quitte l’amour enuers ses enfans & ses freres, prefere la mort à la vie, esperant trouuer par ceste mort, vne resurrection meilleure & plus glorieuse.” Nicolas Langelier, *Remonstrance dv clergé de France, faite avRoy le xix. Novembre 1585 . . .* (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1586), 11.

⁶³⁰ “. . . n’y a paix à desirer que celle qui nous conioinct avec Dieu: que si elle est faicte avec son deshonneur, & est contraire à sa volonté, telle paix est abhominable & vituperable: & au lieu de telle paix, la guerre est à louer & souhaiter.” Ibid., 10-1.

⁶³¹ “A la verité il taxe en general les Autheurs de la Ligue, lesquels soubs le manteau de religion quoyent embarqué la simplicité & bonne foy du peuple entre leurs pretentions & desseins particuliers, le peuple dy-ie qui chemine (comme dit Seneque) non pas où il faut aller, mais là où l’on va & ou l’on le mene, & qui en vne guerre ciuile combat plus par opinion que par raison.” Antoine du Verdier, *Response de Pierre la Coignee a vne lettre escripte par Iean de la Souche à l’Auteur du discours faict sur la reduction de la ville de Lyon soubs l’obeissance du Roy* (Lyon: Roland le Fendant, 1594), 13.

⁶³² “La Ligue, qui a desuny ce beau Royaume, violé les loix d’iceluy, renuersé tout droict diuin & humain, desolé nos villes, souillé les habitans des crimes de perfidie & de rebellion, gehenné & pressuré le pauvre peuple, & faict gresler sur nos testes toute sorte de miserres?” Ibid., 14.

⁶³³ For biography of Antoine Loisel, see Michel Reulos, *Etude sur l’esprit, les sources et la méthode des Institutes coutumières d’Antoine Loisel* (Paris: Librairie du Recueil Sirey, 1935). Loisel’s speeches given before each session of his tribunal are noteworthy for their advocacy of peace and respect for political and legal institutions, see *La Guyenne, qui sont huict remonstrances faictes en la chambre de justice de Guyenne sur le subject des Edicts de pacification* (Paris: n.p, 1605). Rather than advocating a solution to religious controversy, he argued on behalf of an immediate end to the wars and a lasting peace through respect for the monarchy and the law. Malcolm C. Smith, “Early French Advocates of Religious Freedom,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 25 (1994): 48-9. Evidence suggests, however, that Loisel’s views changed as he grew disillusioned with the ineffectualness of legal authority. The applied force of a strong central power became a preferable system of authority as the wars ground on. Jotham Parsons, “The Political Vision of Antoine Loisel,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 27 (1996): 453-76. For Antoine Loisel’s role in the Parisian lawyers’ strike of 1602 and the decline of the political importance of the profession throughout the seventeenth century, see Michel Reulos, “Le Dialogue des Avocats d’Antoine Loisel, ouvrage humaniste et d’actualité,” in *Mélanges sur la littérature de la Renaissance à la mémoire de V.-L. Saulnier*, Travaux d’Humanisme et Renaissance, no. 202, ed. Pierre-Georges Castex (Geneva: Droz, 1984),

153-7; Myriam Yardeni, "L'Ordre des avocats et la grève du Barreau parisien en 1602," *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale* 44 (1966), 481-507.

⁶³⁴ "Car outre la destruction de tant de maisons, de villages, de chasteaux & d'aucunes villes presque toute entieres, & la face vniuerselle de la terre espineuse & herissee, nous voyons & oyions vne partie des Ecclesiastiques, & de ceux qui font profession d'enseigner les autres, prescher tout publiquement la guerre, le feu, le sang, le carnage, & le pillage & quelques vns d'entre eux souille leurs mains au sang humain & Chrestien." Antoine Loisel, *Remonstrance faicte en la grand chambre à la publication des Edict & declaration du Roy sur la reduction de la ville de Paris soubz son obeyssance, & des lettres de restablissement de son Parlement, le xxviij. iour de Mars 1594* (Lyon: Guichard Iullieron and Thibaud Ancelin, 1594), 5.

⁶³⁵ "Le peuple, aux despens duquel ceste tragedie se ioüoit, pour la pluspart si forcené & hors de soy, qu'il sembloit prendre plaisir à se voir deschirer par pieces & à sa ruyne & destruction." *Ibid.*, 7.

⁶³⁶ "En somme tous les Estats du Royaume tellement corrompus & alterez, les liens de commandement & d'obeissance si desliez, & les arcs-boutans si relaschez & retirez, qu'on n'en attendoit que la ruine au premier jour." *Ibid.*

⁶³⁷ "Et toutesfois en fin Dieu nous a faict la grace d'auoir occasion de mieux esperer que iamais . . ." *Ibid.*, 8.

⁶³⁸ Benedict, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion*, 90.

⁶³⁹ I will argue here and in the following chapter, however, that Benedict's thesis is not as applicable to polemics in the last decade of the wars. After 1584, the thematic content of religious polemics reflects a hardening of attitudes in favor of continued fighting and against any negotiated peace or toleration of heterodoxy.

⁶⁴⁰ "Ainsi est bon le naturel du lion [to avoid vengeance and wrath unless overly provoked], mais qu'il ne soit par trop provoqué de ne venger l'offense qu'on luy a fait, comme il pourroit bien: & se contente de menasses enuers ceux qui ont osé attenter contre luy, mais qu'ils ne continuent d'abuser de sa patience. De ceste clemence vsa le lion Royal François deuxieme, treschrestien, lequel lors n'eut faute de iuste occasion de punir par la seuerité des loix, la rebellion de ses suiets: mais selon son genereux naturel, pensant attirer & reduire les desuoyez & seduits, leur ottroya vn pardon general, & leur remit l'offense faite contre sa maiesté. Qu'en aduint il? Ceste clemence royalle peut elle adoucir la malice obstinee des guenaudiers? . . . Le singe est tousjours singe, fust il habillé de pourpre." Gabriel de Saconay, *Genealogie et la fin des huguenaux, & descouerte du Caluinisme . . .* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1572), 32v.

⁶⁴¹ “Homere Poëte fameux recite comme proceda Vlisses pour faire recouurer à ses compaignons la forme humanine, lesquels Circe l’enchantesse auoit transformé en pourceaux. Et combien que ce discours soit en beaucoup de choses fabuleux, si est il (comme l’experience peut demonstrier) rempli de bonne erudition, & fort propre pour estre accommodé à l’infortune de nostre temps.” Ibid., 144r.

⁶⁴² “. . . ministres d’heresie (que nous pouons nommer Circe voluptueuse). . .” Ibid., 144v.

⁶⁴³ “Parquoy si comme aucun d’homme deuiet beste, ainsi que ceux qui furent enchantez par Circe, aussi celuy delaisse d’estre homme de Dieu & fidele au Seigneur, lequel recalcitre contre la tradition ecclesiastique, & est trebusché aux opinions des heresies humanines.” Ibid., 144r.

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid., 145r-v.

⁶⁴⁵ “Telles maledictions sont aduenues sur les François, pour raisons semblables, desquelles le Prophete se plaignoit du peuple d’Israel, Ils ont esleué leur coeur, disoit Dieu, & m’ont mis en oubli. Je leur seray aussi comme le lion & comme le leopard qui est appareillé au chemin. Je viendray au deuant d’eux comme l’ourse priuee de ses petits, & deschireray l’interieur de leur coeur, & les deuoreray illec comme le lion: la beste des champs les mettra en pieces. Bref nos pechez ont merité qu’ayons esté chastiez, & les leurs qu’ils ayent esté nos bourreaux.” Ibid., 131r.

⁶⁴⁶ “N’avez-vous horreur de veoir voz mains ensanglantees de vostre propre sang? n’avez vous regret à la perte de voz vies & de voz biens, n’avez pitié de vous mesmes?” *Remonstrance avx Francoys*, 3.

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid., 7.

⁶⁴⁸ “N’avez vous en vos guerres inhumainement tue les femmes, lesquelles par commiseration auoyent de tout temps esté sauues & garenties de la fureur des armes & n’avez vous fait mourir les petis enfans? N’avez vous precipité, desmembré, bruslé, estouffé, hacquebuzé & exposé aux bestes ceux que vous estimiez estre vos ennemis? Quel genre de cruauté, quelle espee de tourment, quelle sorte de supplice n’avez vous inuenté pour vous tyranniser? Quels nouueaux moyens n’avez vous trouué pour vous tourmenter? Qu’avez vous oublié?” Ibid., 7.

⁶⁴⁹ “Qu’auons-nous gagné à nous battre? Quel bien nous est reuenu d’vne si longue guerre? Quel contentement en pouons-nous receuoir? Nous auions tant de viures, & nous mourons de faim: nous auions tant d’or & d’argent, & nous n’auons plus rien. Nous estions si bien meublez, & nous n’auons pas vn liect pour nous coucher: nous estions si gaillards, & nous n’en pouons plus.” Ibid., 11.

⁶⁵⁰ The French Wars of Religion also motivated the development of political doctrines eschewing violence and assassinations under any circumstances. Penny Roberts, “Marlowe’s *The Massacre at Paris*: a Historical Perspective,” *Renaissance Studies* 9 (1995): 430-41.

⁶⁵¹ “Les Tigres, les Lyons, les Pantheres, les Loups / Sont vrayement plus humains, & plus benignes que vous, / Car ils vivent vniz, & leur fureur ne blesse / Les animaux qui sont de mesme ost, & espece.” André Derossant, *Le tombeau et éloge du Tres-illustre et Tres-magnanime Duc de Joyeuse, accompagné de plainctes, & regrets de la France . . .* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1587), 7.

⁶⁵² “. . . de mettre l’iuraye & la paille au feu, & le bon grain en son grenier.” Beaune, *Briefve exhortation*, 7.

⁶⁵³ “Bienheureux le combat qui produit la concorde, / Malheureuse la Paix qui nourrit la Discorde, / Celuy s’abuse bien qui estime estre amis / Ceux qui ont coniuéré d’estre noz ennemis. / C’est vn sacré dessein, c’est vne sainte guerre / Dresser des bataillons sous vn superbe arroy, / Pour tenir le parti de l’Eglise & du Roy, / Et pour bannir bien loin le schisme de la terre.” Matthieu, *Stances*, 7.

⁶⁵⁴ *Remonstrance faite a Monsievr d’Espernon*, 7.

⁶⁵⁵ Matthew 12:25. “And knowing their thoughts Jesus said to them, ‘Any kingdom divided against itself is laid waste; and any city or house divided against itself will not stand.’”

⁶⁵⁶ The seminal survey on the development of religious tolerance remains unsurpassed. Joseph Lecler, *Histoire de la tolérance au siècle de la Réforme*, 2 vols., Théologie, no. 31 (Paris: Aubier, 1955). Lecler’s conclusion is that important steps were taken during the Religious Wars to further the conceptualization of tolerance, though such voices were always in the minority: “[Evidence] montre assez clairement, croyons-nous, que la question du pluralisme religieux est posée dans l’opinion publique, même si, pour le plus grand nombre, protestants et catholiques demeurent résolument attachés au principe de l’unique et exclusive religion d’État,” 2:392. Lecler does not, however, expand greatly on the overwhelming numbers of those specifically arguing against tolerance. Mario Turchetti has provided the best and fullest exposition of these terminological concepts: *Concordia o tolleranza?: Francois Bauduin (1520-1573) e i “moyenneurs”* (Geneva: Droz, 1984); “Concorde ou tolérance?,” *Revue historique* 56 (1985): 341-55. A number of other critical articles offer synopses of Turchetti’s thought on various related issues. On the notion of freedom of conscience and its intersection with monarchical power, see “A la racine de toutes les libertés: la liberté de conscience,” *BHR* 56 (1994): 625-39; on the dangers of viewing Erasmus as precursor of Sébastien Castellio’s views on religious freedom (Erasmus was firmly in favor of tolerance, looking toward eventual concord), see “Une question mal posée: Erasme et la tolérance,” *BHR* 53 (1991): 379-95; on the

emphasis within even the 1598 Edict of Nantes, a document long interpreted as having established “religious tolerance” as a permanent institution, see “Une question mal posée: la qualification de perpétuel et irrévocable appliquée à l’Edit de Nantes (1598),” *BSHPF* 139 (1993): 41-78.

⁶⁵⁷ Ephesians 4:1-6.

⁶⁵⁸ For theoretical underpinnings for social cohesion linked to religious belief, see Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, trans. Carol Cosman and Mark Sydney Cladis (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford UP, 2001). For an introduction to Durkheim’s thought, see Steven M. Lukes, *Emile Durkheim: His Life and Work* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972).

⁶⁵⁹ Hans Guggisberg’s biography is the definitive source for information on Castellio: *Sebastian Castellio, 1515-1563: Humanist und Verteidiger der religiösen Toleranz im konfessionellen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997) and the English translation *Sebastian Castellio, 1515-1563: Humanist and Defender of Religious Toleration in a Confessional Age*, St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History, trans. Bruce Gordon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003). The work is a magnificent window in the very personal differences between John Calvin and some of his contemporaries. Guggisberg addresses the conflict with the Genevan council over the execution of Michel Servetus in Geneva and the publication of the French bible, but truly shines when discussing Castellio’s views on religious freedom and his ties to pre-enlightenment thought.

⁶⁶⁰ Alan Levine, ed., *Early Modern Skepticism and the Origins of Toleration*, Applications of Political Theory, no. 5 (New York: Lexington Books, 1999), 6. For an analysis of the theme of unity in the Edicts of Pacification, see Marianne Carbonnier-Burkard, “Les preambules des edits de pacification (1562-1598),” *BSHPF* 144 (1998): 75-92. Even in the edicts, the crown noted that toleration was only a temporary solution. *Ibid.*, 91.

⁶⁶¹ The revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the expulsion of Huguenots in 1685 is the most applicable case in point.

⁶⁶² István Bejczy, “Tolerantia: A Medieval Concept,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 58 (1997): 368.

⁶⁶³ 2 Corinthians 1:6.

⁶⁶⁴ Bejczy, “Tolerantia,” 368.

⁶⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 372.

⁶⁶⁶ William H. Huseman, "The Expression of the Idea of Toleration in French During the Sixteenth Century," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 15 (1984): 293-310.

⁶⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 300.

⁶⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 301.

⁶⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 306.

⁶⁷⁰ Mario Turchetti, "Religious Concord and Political Tolerance in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 22 (1991), 19.

⁶⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁶⁷² In 1553 Montluc was made bishop of Valence and Die, and was the confidant and consul of Catherine after Henri II's death in 1559. It is difficult to ascertain his precise view of Protestantism due to the moderate expressions of his thought. He was accused of heresy by the court of Rome, though the Parlement of Paris overturned this in 1560. A moderator at the Colloquy of Poissy, he wrote pastoral sermons and pamphlets on doctrine rather than polemic. He consistently avoided confrontational descriptions of Protestants, preferring to focus on spiritual tenets on which both faiths could agree. He condemned outright, however, permanent division in the church. Those who separate themselves from the true Christian faith are heretics (again, without being overly clear on what this means in regards to justification and other critical doctrines), and "Such monstrous mockers are definitely not children of the good Father, and they have no hope of enjoying part of his heritage." *Sermons de l'evesque de Valence svr l'oraison dominicale . . .* (Lyon: Guillaume Regnoul, 1561). On Montluc, see Hector Reynaud, *Jean de Monluc, évêque de Valence et de Die. Essai d'histoire littéraire* (Paris: Thorin, 1893); *NBG*, 35:323-26. For his role in the colloquy, see Donald Nugent, *Ecumenism in the Age of the Reformation: the Colloquy of Poissy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1974), 105-18.

⁶⁷³ Mario Turchetti, "Une question mal posée: La *Confession d'Augsbourg*, le cardinal de Lorraine et les Moyenneurs au Colloque de Poissy en 1561," *Zwingliana* 20 (1993): 53-101.

⁶⁷⁴ N. M. Sutherland, "The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Colloquy of Poissy, 1561: A Reassessment," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 28 (1997): 288.

⁶⁷⁵ Herbert Butterfield, *Toleration in Religion and Politics* (New York: Council on Religion and International Affairs, 1980), 4-8. One scholar succinctly quipped: "Better tolerance than desolation." Roland Bainton, "The Struggle for Religious Liberty," *Church History* 10 (1941), 108.

⁶⁷⁶ Perez Zagorin's thesis in his recent survey is similar to my own view. "The sixteenth century, which witnessed the Reformation and the beginning and spread of Protestantism was probably the most intolerant period in Christian history, marked not only by violent conflict between contending Christian denominations but by an upsurge of anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism in western Europe": *How the Idea of Religious Toleration Came to the West* (Princeton UP, 2003), 2. Zagorin goes further than I would, though, in claiming that religious freedom could not appear before the growth of other movements in the seventeenth century such as skepticism, libertinism, latitudinarianism, rationalism, scientific theory, deism, and natural religion. I lean more toward the view that the medieval world, while voicing its approval of orthodoxy, was much more heterodox and forgiving of divergent views in practice. The Reformation era represented a step backward in regard to the practice of religious freedom with the process of confessionalization. For this argument, see István Bejczy's "Tolerantia: A Medieval Concept," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 58 (1997): 365 and *passim*.

⁶⁷⁷ Leonard Janier, *Probation des saincts sacremens de l'Eglise Catholique & Romaine, instituez par Iesus Christ nostre Seigneur & Sauueur* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1566), 24.

⁶⁷⁸ "Mais Dieu par sa diuine bonté & prouidence, en a preservé & gardé les pauvres habitans de ladicte ville." *Discovrs de l'entreprinse et conspiration, faite par ceux de la nouvelle opinion, portans les les armes contre le Roy, sur la ville de Bourges : & du succez de ladicte entreprinse* (Lyon: Michel Jove, 1570), C1r.

⁶⁷⁹ "pour oster toute opinion & suspicion ausdicts aduersaires, que lon sceust aucune chose de leur entreprinse." *Ibid.*

⁶⁸⁰ The use of the term in this context reveals the common perception of elites that carnivals and feasts served as a social "safety-valve" to remove tension. Without such a release, the *menu peuple* can turn to political concerns, which was a source of worry for the political class. Claude de Rubys declared, "It is sometimes expedient to allow the people to play the fool and make merry, lest by holding them in with too great a rigor, we put them in despair . . . When these gay sports are abolished, the people go instead to taverns, drink up and begin to cackle, their feet dancing under the table, to decipher [or discuss] king, princes, . . . the state, and justice and draft scandalous defamatory leaflets": *Histoire veritable*, 499-500; quoted in Davis, *Society and Culture*, 97. The "safety valve" thesis has been discounted as overly simplistic among social historians, see *Ibid.*, 97-123. For a classic text on this phenomenon in France, see Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Carnaval de Romans* (New York: G. Braziller, 1979).

⁶⁸¹ "Car l'heretique a cela de propre (dit S. Augustin) de controuuer, & ensuiure fausses & nouvelles opinions . . ." Saconay, *Traité tresvtile*, 9v.

⁶⁸² "Auiourd'huy pour les demerites de noz pechez, ceste grande autrefois, tant constante & vnies foy, est miserablement agitée & deschirée . . ." Nicolas Langelier, *Seconde*

harangve faicte par Monsievr l'evesqve de saint Brieu au Roy (Lyon: Michel Jove and Jean Pillehotte, 1580), 6.

⁶⁸³ “Mais les affaires du Royaume, & les nouvelles emotions & troubles” Jean-Papire Masson, *Epitaphe de Charles, cardinal de Lorraine* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1575), 19. Masson was a royalist historian who, toward the end of the civil wars, overcame his initial hesitancy and became one of the most vociferous partisans of the Catholic League. For a biography and an analysis of his works, see Pierre Ronzy, *Un humaniste italianisant: Papire Masson (1544-1611)* (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Édouard Champion, 1924).

⁶⁸⁴ “Nostre Dieu estant le Dieu de paix & vnion, & non de dissention. Estans assurez que où il y a diuersité & contrariété, secte & diuision, que Dieu n’y est pas, mais est l’eglise de Satan.” *Traité tresvtile demonstrant si l’Eglise qu’on dit Caluiniste, peut estre la vraye Eglise de Dieu, par le iugement de Calvin mesme* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1577), 120r.

⁶⁸⁵ “Voyla Luther qui assure que sa doctrine est de Dieu, non sienne, & que celuy qui ne l’acceptera, ne pourra estre sauué, & que son iugement est celuy mesme de Dieu, & que le Christ l’appelle & repute Euangeliste. S’il dit vray, toutes les autres sectes diuisees de la sienne, & qui soustiennent doctrine toute contraire (comme entre autres font les caluinistes, combien qu’ils soyent sortis de luy) sont donc damnees & condamnees par le iugement de Dieu.” Saconay, *Dv principal et presque sevl different, qvi est à present en la religion Chrestienne, Et diuersités d’heresies, qui ont si fort troublé la Chrestienté* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1575), 77-8.

⁶⁸⁶ Ecclesiastics continued to push for a strong opposition against the toleration of “heresy” in the pulpit as much as in the presses. When two leading reformers, the Jesuit Edmond Auger and Archbishop Pierre Épinac, left for Paris in the late 1580s, they were quickly replaced by the fiery Jesuit Bernardin Castor and the Savoy Dominican Pierre Bolo, though little is known of their actual sermons. Jacques Gadille, ed., *Le Diocèse de Lyon*, *Histoire des Diocèses de France*, no. 16 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1983), 131. The Cordeliers, known for their preaching throughout the city, gained in popularity and strength throughout the Religious Wars and were frequent recipients of will bequests. Hoffman, *Church and Diocese*, 42. On the Cordeliers and their support of the Catholic League (retracted after 1594) in Paris, see Megan Armstrong, “The Franciscans and the Catholic League: A Question of Civic Ties and Spirituality,” *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History* 24 (1997): 130-8. Armstrong argues that the Observant Franciscans were by no means destined to support the Catholic Union, as many of their most important patrons were moderates and royalists. Rather, she argues that they joined the League because it appeared to present the strongest possibility for thoroughgoing reform of the church and society.

⁶⁸⁷ “O Dieu! Est-il possible que la France tant sainte & Catholique ayt soufert & esleué ce monstre d’heresie? . . . Mais quelle folle imprudence ou malicieuse ignorance se vouloir persuader le maintien & soustenement de deux Religions ensemble, en mesme Royaume, & soubz mesme Monarque?” Renaud de Beaune, *Declamation ov harangve faicte avx Estats tenus à Bloys* (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1589).

⁶⁸⁸ “. . . auctorisans maintenant vn party, & maintenant l’autre, ont augmente la diuision, fomenté & accreu l’heresie, supposans fauseement qu’il faut maintenir les deux partis en vn Royaume: chose prophane, & d’ailleurs prouenant d’ignorance ou malice.” *Ibid.*, 10.

⁶⁸⁹ Pierre Chastain, *Articles generavx de la paix universelle* (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1585), *passim*.

⁶⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 5-6.

⁶⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁶⁹² On Perrin, see Anatole de Charmasse and Guillaume Colletet, *François Perrin, poète francais du XVIe siècle, et sa vie* [1887] (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970). For his influence on French poetry and connections with Ronsard, see A. Sirvin, “François Perrin: Un parcours immobile (les enseignements du paratexte dans l’ouvre du poète Autunois),” *BHR* 62 (2000): 303-15.

⁶⁹³ François Perrin, *Oraison de Ieremie, apres la destrvction de Iervsalem, aduenue au temps du Roy Sedechie . . .* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1588), 7. After Paris allied with the Catholic League, the description of the capital as a new Jerusalem was common in League propaganda. William McCuaig, “Paris/Jerusalem in Pierre de l’Estoile, the *Satyre Ménippée*, and Louis Dorleans,” *BHR* 64 (2002): 299.

⁶⁹⁴ Denis Crouzet, *Les guerriers de Dieu: la violence au temps des troubles de religion, vers 1525-vers 1610*, 2 vols. (Seysssel: Champ Vallon, 1990), 1:363.

⁶⁹⁵ For Bodin and his contributions to theories of absolutism and other aspects of political philosophy, see Julian H. Franklin, *Jean Bodin and the Rise of Absolutist Theory*, Cambridge studies in the history and theory of politics (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1973); Henri Joseph Léon Baudrillart, *J. Bodin et son temps; tableau des théories politiques et des idées économiques au seizième siècle*, Burt Franklin Research and Source Work Series, no. 330 (New York: B. Franklin, 1969). For a study of Bodin’s mature religious views and his conversion to a “unique type” of personal belief system centered on the freedom of the will and the pursuit of enlightenment, see Paul Lawrence Rose, *Bodin and the Great God of Nature: the Moral and Religious Universe of a Judaiser*, Travaux d’humanisme et Renaissance, no. 179 (Geneva: Droz, 1980).

⁶⁹⁶ Idem, “The *Politique* and the Prophet: Bodin and the Catholic League, 1589-1594,” *Historical Journal* 21 (1978): 783-808.

⁶⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 808.

⁶⁹⁸ “. . . ne l’abandonnera point de sa fauorable assistance, pour nous reunir tous en mesmes volonté, desire & affection de conseruer cest Estat, & inspirera dans nos coeurs de finir ceste mal-heureuse guerre, par vn bon & perdurable accord.” Bellievre, Pomponne de Bellièvre, *Advis avx Francois svr la declaration faicte par le Roy, en l’Eglise S. Denys en France, le xxv. iour de Iuillet, 1593* (Lyon: Guichard Iullieron and Thibaud Ancelin, 1594), 11.

⁶⁹⁹ “Nous nous deuons resoudre qu’il n’y a rien qui soit plus important, pour la conseruation de la Religion Catholique, & de l’Estat, que l’obeissance qui sera vniuersellement renduë à sa Majesté, par tous les subjects de ceste Couronne, sans laquelle nous ne pouuons attendre que tout mal, toute ruine, dissipation, dissolution, & desordre en la Religion, & en l’Estat.” *Ibid.*, 26.

⁷⁰⁰ “Ces vieillagues sont ja destineez pour semer par deçà des nouvelles calomnies avec nos femmes & filles.” *Advertissement salvtaire avx François* (Lyon: Guichard Iullieron & Thibaud Ancelin, 1594), 15.

⁷⁰¹ “. . . pendant que miserables esclaves nous fouillerons les mines des Indes, où ils ont destiné la ieunesse Française à porter la iuste punition d’auoir (comme Bastards degenerans de leurs ancestres) vendu par or & argent nostre patrie & liberté.” *Ibid.*

⁷⁰² “Dieu luy a ouuert & tendu les bras.” *Ibid.*, 4.

⁷⁰³ “. . . vous faut secourir le desolé Royaume de France pour deliurer les Catholicques des mains de ces sanguinaires hereticques.” Alessandro Farnese, *Harangve de Monseignevr le duc de Parme & de Plaisance faicte à Peronne aux Seigneurs, Gentils-hommes, Capitaines, & Soldalts de l’armee, que le Catholique Roy d’Espagne enuoye en France pour le secours de la Sainte VNION* (Lyon: Louis Tantillon, 1590), 4.

⁷⁰⁴ “. . . pour chasser loing des Eglises ceulx qui les demolissent, pour en somme tascher d’abolir la memoire de ce malheur, par vne glorieuse victoire sur les Hereticques de la france qui pillent, qui tuent, qui ruynent les bons Catholicques.” *Ibid.*, 4.

⁷⁰⁵ *Discovrs svr l’espouventable et merueilleux tremblement de terre aduenu à Ferrare, & sur l’inondation du Pau audit lieu: avec vn recit des miserés & calamites qui y sont suruenues* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1570), 3.

⁷⁰⁶ Marianne Carbonnier-Burkard argues that the use of this motif in royal proclamations may also have served to remove direct blame from one party or another, enabling the

crown to extend the olive branch to those in arms against it. In this respect, the cause of God's wrath is the generic sins of all of France rather than the rebellion or violence of a few. "Les preambules des edits de pacification (1562-1598)," *BSHPF* 144 (1998): 75-92.

⁷⁰⁷ Henry III's penitential asceticism in the wake of Bartholomew's was meant to atone for France's collective sin and avoid God's wrath. Ascetic religious movements throughout the wars served a related purpose as well as visibly countered Protestantism's idea of justification by faith alone. Barbara B. Diefendorf, *From Penitence to Charity: Pious Women and the Catholic Reformation in Paris* (New York: Oxford UP, 2004), *passim*.

⁷⁰⁸ For Bontemps, see *NBG*, 7:662.

⁷⁰⁹ "Il à parlé paix à ses seruiteurs, dont salut, consolation, & ioye habiteront avec nous. / Benignité & paix se sont rencontrees: iustice & verité s'entrebaiseront. / Benignité & paix ont chassé la guerre de la republique ciuile, verité & iustice mettront paix en la republique chrestienne." Leger Bontemps, *Psalmes Et Cantiques spirituelz, pour la deffence de la Foy, & Religion chrestienne* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1560), A2r.

⁷¹⁰ Psalms 82:1-2, 8.

⁷¹¹ *Ibid.*, A4r.

⁷¹² "Et de saccager & massacrer ceulx qui contreindroyent à leur doctrine, dutout meschante & pestifere . . . Voyez comment ilz ont pollu & prophané voz temples, & les ont pillez & abolys, & d'auantage ilz ont accablé voz seruiterurs & ministres." *Ibid.*, A2v-A4v.

⁷¹³ Bontemps adapts the quote from Matthew 16:18, "And I tell you that you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and the gates of Hades will not overcome it."

⁷¹⁴ "Et que les scismes & erreurs soyent reiettez, & les errans radressez ou punys." Bontemps, *Psalmes Et Cantiques*, A2v.

⁷¹⁵ "Ce qui est aisé à iuger en ce que la guerre, qui est vn fleau de Dieu, ne nous est iamais enuoyee, que quand Dieu est irrité contre nous par nos delicts & contraution à ses ordonnances." Claude de Vuitart, *Discovrs dv vray moyen povr parvenir à la Paix entiere, & se maintenir en icelle* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1570), 6r.

⁷¹⁶ "En quoy chascun peut congnoistre le iuste iugement de Dieu, la tardieue punition que dans le Ciel il appreste aux ennemis de son Eglise, & aux coniuurateurs & rebelles . . . il inspira diuinement son coeur d'y donner vne prompte contrepoison, & de la preuenir par vne soudaine resolution & execution." *Discours sur les causes de l'exécution faicte ès*

personnes de ceux qui quoyent coniuéré contre le Roy et son Estat, (Lyon: Michel Jove, 1572), D1v-2r.

⁷¹⁷ “De cecy la cité de Paris a grand matiere & argument de remercier Dieu sur toutes les autres de ce Royaume, tellement preseruee par la bonté diuine” Gabriel de Saconay, *Discovrs, ov Epistre à Messievr de Paris, & autres Catholiques de France, sur les nouvelles entreprises, n’aguères descouvertes, d’aucuns rebelles, & seditieux, lesquels sous couleur & pretexte qu’ils disent en vouloir aux Ecclesiastiques, & vouloir reformer le Royaume, entreprennent contre le Roy, & son Estat* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1574), 4.

⁷¹⁸ “. . . qu’elle aye veux les impudens visages, & ouy les paroles execrables des predicans, & ministres du diable, blasphemans le saint sacrifice de Iesus Christ, & tous ses autres Sacremens, n’y aye expérimenté (au moins bien peu) ce que c’est d’auoir les ennemis de Dieu & de l’Eglise dedans ses entrailles, c’est à dire dedans la ceinture de ses murailles.” *Ibid.*, 4-5.

⁷¹⁹ *Statvts et ordonnances synodales de l’eglise metropolitaine de Lyon, primatiale des Gavles . . .* (Lyon: Jean Stratius, 1577), 2v.

⁷²⁰ AML, BB 108, 1582.

⁷²¹ AML, BB 096, 1577.

⁷²² Rubys, *Histoire veritable*, 436.

⁷²³ For a case study of funeral sermons from the Reformed Church used as didactic tools, see Amy Nelson Burnett, “‘To Oblige My Brethren’: The Reformed Funeral Sermons of Johann Brandmüller,” *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 36 (2005): 37-54.

⁷²⁴ Isaiah 3. Arnaud Sorbin, *Oraison funebre de treshaute et vertueuse princesse Marie Isabeau de France, Fille de Treshaut & Treschrestien Roy Charles IX. amateur de toute vertu, & protecteur de la Foy. Prononcee en l’Eglise Nostre-dame en Paris. . .* (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1578), 23. For Sorbin, see B. Rey, *Biographie de Sorbin, Arnaud: dit de saint-foi, Évêque de Nevers et prédicateur des rois Charles IX, Henri III et Henri IV; dédiée au conseil municipal de Montech, sa ville natale* (Montauban: Lapie-Fontanel, Imprimeur de la Préfecture, 1860); Emile Vaïsse, *Étude historique et biographique sur Arnaud Sorbin de Sainte-Foy: chanoine théologal de Toulouse, évêque de Nevers, prédicateur des rois Charles IX, Henri III et Henri IV* (Toulouse: Imprimerie de Charles Douladoure, 1862); *NBG*, 43:202-05.

⁷²⁵ “Dieu est mesprisé, & sa sainte Religion conculquee, son testament prophané, la iustice prostituee, le poure peuple immisericordieusement foulé & oppressé, blasphemés, meurtres qualifiez, sacrileges, & autres enormitez, sans honte, sans scrupule aujourd’huy

en vostre Royaume, sont publiquement & impuniment perpetrez.” Langelier, *Seconde harangve*, 27.

⁷²⁶ Chastain, *Articles generavx de la paix*, 25.

⁷²⁷ “. . . c'estoit chose fort honteuse d'y voir en mesme temps, en mesme pays & villes, & en mesme maison, Dieu seruy & Baal, temple dressé contre temple, chaire contre chaire, autel contre autel, la putain & paillarde n'estre en moins d'honneur que la legitime espouse: l'heresie se comparer à la vraye, sainte & Catholique Religion, Apostolicque & Romaine: & non seulement honteuse, mais aussi vn argument certain que Dieu estoit fort courroucé contre nous: & vn prognostic & coniecture asseuree d'une prochaine ruine & desolation.” Claude Angennes, *Remonstrance dv Clergé de France faicte au Roy le xii. Octobre 1585* . . . (Lyon: Benoist Rigaud, 1586), 5r.

⁷²⁸ “Resoluez vous donc mes freres (& amys) de venger le meurtre des nostres, & avec le sang des hereticques, appaiser l'esprit de noz amys, qui nous crient vengeance, allons deliurer noz freres, captifs & esclaves soubs la tyrannie des Hereticques, qui avec leurs larmes, & souspirs demandent secours, & nous prient de les oster de ceste miserable seruitude: Nous ferons vn seruice agreable à Dieu, lequel nous recompensera de ce debuoir avec vne belle victoire, qui remettra la France en son pristin Estat.” Allessandro Farnese, *Harangve*, 13-4.

⁷²⁹ “. . . depuis que les Roys ont receu la religion Chrestienne, & que comme les autres Chrestiens ils se sont mis en l'obeissance de l'Eglise, ils ont receu le commandement d'exterminer toute religion contraire.” *Le Fovet des heretiqves, politicques, et traistres de la France associez du feu Roy de Nauarre* (Lyon: Louis Tantillon, 1590), 10.

⁷³⁰ “Il a esté commandé faire mourir les Amalechites iusques au dernier: ce que n'ayant esté fait en la personne du Roy Agag prins à mercy par Saul, il en a perdu la vie, & sa posterité le Royaume.” *Advis svr ce qvi est a faire tant contre les Catholiques simulez, que les ennemis ouuerts de l'Esglise Catholique, Apostolique, & Romaine* (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1590), 5-6. The author refers here to 1 Samuel 15: “But Saul and the people spared Agag . . . Then the word of the Lord came to Samuel, saying, ‘I regret that I have made Saul king, for he has turned back from following Me and has not carried out My commands.’”

⁷³¹ 1 Samuel 15: 32-35. “Then Samuel said, ‘Bring me Agag, the king of Amalekites.’ And Agag came to him cheerfully, saying ‘Surely the bitterness of the death is past.’ . . . And Samuel hewed Agag to pieces before the Lord at Gilgal . . . Samuel did not see Saul again until the day of his death; for Samuel grieved over Saul. And the Lord regretted that He had made Saul king over Israel.”

⁷³² *Advis svr ce qvi est a faire tant contre les Catholiques simulez*, 8.

⁷³³ “. . . les Princes de France se laissent mener aux persuasions des Ministres de Caluin, boutefeux de toutes noz diuisions, & qui par faux bruits empeschent nostre re-vnion, de laquelle depend le bien vniuersel de l’Estat.” Charles Guise, *Declaration de . . . Mon-Seigneur Charles de Lorraine, Duc de Guyse . . . Sur l’Estat present des affaires de France* (Lyon: Louis Tantillon, 1591), 10.

⁷³⁴ “Estant vne chose tenue toute certaine, que là où il y a diuersité de Religion, il n’y peut auoir que desordre, ruyne & confusion: Pour laquelle euter, il n’y a meilleur moyen que de ioindre toutes noz armes ensemble & sous vne bonne vnion extirper l’heresie de ce Royaume” Ibid.

⁷³⁵ “vous estes ingrats, vilains, periurs, & infames indignes de conuerser avec les hommes . . . outre ce que vous estes scandaleux, & perturbateurs de la republique Chrestienne.” Jean Richard, *Discovrs demonstrant qve le chretien ne croit rien, s’il discroit contradictoirement au moindre point de la foy de l’Eglise Catholique, Apostolique & Romaine. Et pour ce seul point, plus damnable que l’Ethnique, Turc, & Payen. Contre les heresies des Roussellistes, & Arboristes, qui repululent pour le iourd’huy* (Lyon: les héritiers de François Didier, 1591), 40.

⁷³⁶ “. . . outre ce que vous estes atteints, d’vn Cancer dangereux, contagieux, lequel si bien tost n’y remediez.” Ibid.

⁷³⁷ Ibid., 52.

⁷³⁸ Ibid., 54.

⁷³⁹ “. . . [France] n’a iamais prosperé des qu’on à tollu & cassé la chambre ardente.” Ibid., 56-7. The “burning chamber” became the unofficial moniker of the special division within the Parlement of Paris charged by Henry II in 1547 with prosecuting heresy. For a discussion of the role of the Parlement of Paris in the prosecution and execution of those charged with heresy, see William Monter, “Les executes pour heresie par arret du parlement de Paris (1523-1560)” *BSHPF* 142 (1996): 191-224. For an analysis of Parlement’s approval of the prosecution of Protestantism and the ideological divisions within the institution, see Linda L. Taber, “Religious Dissent within the Parlement of Paris in the Mid-Sixteenth Century: A Reassessment,” *French Historical Studies* 16 (1990): 684-99.

⁷⁴⁰ Heinz Schilling, “Confessionalization in the Empire: Religious and Societal Change in Germany between 1555 and 1620,” [1988] in *Religion, Political Culture and the Emergence of Early Modern Society: Essays in German and Dutch History*, ed. Heiko A. Oberman (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), 209.

⁷⁴¹ Wolfgang Reinhard, “Konfession und Konfessionalisierung in Europa,” in *Bekentnis und Geschichte: die Confessio Augustana im historischen Zusammenhang*:

Ringvorlesung der Universität Augsburg im Jubiläumsjahr 1980, ed. Wolfgang Reinhard (München: Vögel, 1981), 189; idem, "Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the Early Modern State: A Reassessment," *Catholic Historical Review* 75 (1989): 390.

⁷⁴² Schilling, "Confessionalization in the Empire," 214; Reinhard, "Konfession und Konfessionalisierung in Europa," 185-187.

⁷⁴³ Population estimates are impossible to ever know with great certainty, but the consensus seems to suggest that France recovered most of the population lost to plague and war in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, hitting the high point first attained in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of approximately eighteen to twenty million by the final third of the sixteenth century. John Hearsey McMillion Salmon, *Society in Crisis: France in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975), 31-37. A royal estimate of the Huguenot population in France at the time of the Edict of Nantes gives a total of 1.25 million Calvinists and, though it dropped as the civil wars continued throughout the century, it is unlikely to have ever risen above 10 percent. Emile G. Léonard, *Le Protestant français* (Paris: Press universitaires de France, 1955), 16-18. Even after 1598, the Huguenot population continued to drop in the seventeenth century even in the "Protestant strongholds." Philip Benedict, *The Huguenot Population of France, 1600-1685: The Demographic Fate and Customs of a Religious Minority* (Independence Square, PA: The American Philosophical Society, 1991), *passim*.

⁷⁴⁴ Barbara B. Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris* (New York: Oxford UP, 1991), 174.

⁷⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 83.

⁷⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 84.

⁷⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴⁸ Berndt Hamm, "Normative Centering in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: Observations on Religiosity, Theology, and Iconology," trans. John M. Frymire, *Journal of Early Modern History* 34 (1999): 311.

⁷⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 310.

⁷⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 311. Here Hamm drifts toward the interpretation of Stephen Ozment, Jean Delumeau, and Denis Crouzet within the debate over the level of *angst* in the early modern period (see ff 80, Chapter 2 for further discussion). I believe too much has been made of this late medieval discontent, but there can be no doubt that discontent was widespread during the Religious Wars.

⁷⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 313.

⁷⁵² Ibid., 353.

⁷⁵³ Ibid., 354.