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Communities at a Crossroads:
Augustinian Monasteries, Authority, and the Counter-Reformation
in the Franco-Italian Frontier, 1550-1650

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

History

by

Matthew Thomas Rivera

September 2017

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It is because of the sacrifices of my late grandparents, Salvador and Mabel Rivera, that the completion of this project is possible. This dissertation is dedicated to their memory.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Communities at a Crossroads:
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in the Franco-Italian Frontier, 1550-1650

by

Matthew Thomas Rivera

Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in History
University of California, Riverside, September 2017
Dr. Randolph Head, Chairperson

Examining the Augustinians of the Franco-Italian frontier, this dissertation explores the beliefs and management of Augustinian conventual communities between roughly 1550 and 1650. It establishes normative patterns of Augustinian faith and practice in this frontier zone, while also situating the order within the European intellectual and religious currents of both Renaissance Humanism and the Counter-Reformation. It also demonstrates that the Augustinian communities tended to experience the same pressures as other religious communities, namely the material losses owing to the French Wars of Religion (1562-1598), as well as the constraints imposed by the Edict of Nantes upon the preaching and printing of the regular clergy.

Further, it features two major case studies of convents founded in the sixteenth century. A case-study approach enables us to see the ways in which the introduction of Protestantism and state-building into the politico-religious landscape of early modern France impacted two Augustinian religious communities, and by extension, other members of the regular clergy, especially the mendicants. In the cases of the Augustinian communities at Brou and L'Osier, shifting religious and political alliances revealed the growing impact of dynasticism and internecine rivalries upon the management of Augustinian communities. Such forces diminished the historic power and presence of monastic communities in municipalities in the Franco-Italian frontier.

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CHAPTER 1: Augustinians and Their Place in Eastern France

This dissertation examines the ways in which conflicts over authority and influence shaped the ministry of the regular clergy in Eastern France. The following case studies place the Augustinian order within the constellation of other regular clerical houses in Counter-Reformation Europe. In addition, this dissertation addresses the problem of authority in the houses, and how different entities—civic leadership, bishops, dukes, kings—interfered in the management of communities of the regular clergy. Further, this dissertation underscores the role of dynastic and internecine rivalries in the management of Augustinian houses.

The Augustinians date from the thirteenth century as one of the four mendicant orders of the Catholic Church. In the sixteenth century, the internal structures of the Church underwent a significant evolution that impacted the Augustinians. These changes owed to the Renaissance, and the Catholic Church's efforts both to continue to reform itself (the Catholic Reformation) and to respond to critiques raised by the Protestants (the Counter-Reformation).¹ Beginning in the 1510s, religious schism increasingly pervaded the areas of Western and Central Europe. By mid-century, warfare deepened the rift. In response, the Council of Trent (1545-63) assembled in Northern Italy to articulate doctrinal and practical Catholic responses to the religious schism in Western Europe. The Council lay the foundation for the Counter-Reformation.

¹ John O'Malley, *Trent and All That*, (London: Harvard University Press, 2000), 127. As O'Malley argues, the Counter-Reformation was the ensemble of policies and actions taken both to thwart the advance of Protestantism and to keep the Catholic faithful in the fold in the wake of the ongoing defections during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. See also Michael A. Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation*, (London: Routledge, 1999); R. Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

In addition to this dissertation's principle aim of demonstrating the various influences on the management of the Augustinian monasteries, I also argue that the regular clergy played an integral role in advancing the objectives of the Counter-Reformation. Although more work remains in order to forge a stronger link between the early modern French Augustinians and the objectives of the Counter-Reformation, correlative evidence from other religious orders in the region, coupled with intermittent evidence from some Augustinian theologians and manuscript devotional literature, suggests that the Augustinians served as agents of Counter-Reformation ideals.²

² Because documents related to spiritual matters tended not to survive the Revolution, piecing together the spirituality of a French religious order is a harder task than understanding the material possessions of the same community. This lacuna notwithstanding, Augustinian writers in Western Europe who published can give us a sense as to Augustinian spirituality. What follows is a modest sampling of such Augustinian authors who wrote in French: Flemish Augustinians Georges Maigret and Corneille Corte published works *Reiettons sacrès pullulants de la palme triumpante des premiers martyrs de l'ordre dit des Freres Ermites de S. Augustin...*, (Liege: C. Ouwerx, 1612) and *Virorum illvstrivm ex ordine eremitarvm d. Avgvstini elogia cvm singlvlorvm expressis ad vivvm iconibvs*, (Atwerpiae: Apvd Ioannem Cnobbarvm), 1636) respectively. Publishing in Reims, François Guerson wrote *Panegyricqve dressé a l'honneur dv tres-svbtill Sainct Augustin*, (Reims: Nicolas Constant, 1619). All these works emphasize the missionary endeavor of the order, which the Augustinians manifested through erudition and preaching. Importantly, they establish confronting heresy—an objective of the Counter-Reformation—as a central aspect of Augustinian spirituality that Augustinians had undertaken since the fifth century.

Outside of France, the work of Giles of Viterbo and Girolamo Seripando, Augustinian vicars general, indicate a vision of Counter-Reformation spirituality. The Spanish Augustinian Hermit Luis de León also advanced the Counter-Reformation. According to Manuel Durán and William Kluback, Luis not only embraced the mystic spirituality of Teresa of Ávila, he endeavored to integrate her into Catholic orthodoxy. See Durán and Kluback, "Introduction," *Luis de León: The Names of Christ*, (New York: Paulist Press, 1984), 24-5.

In addition to the orders of the Augustinian family, other regular clergy advanced the ideals of the Counter-Reformation. Too many order-specific works exist to list here. However, for a general treatment of pro-Counter-Reformation orders—both those "old" in the sixteenth century and new—consider R.Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal 1540-1770*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 26-41; Michael A. Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation*, (London: Rutledge, 1999), 69-110; Pierre Janelle, *The Catholic Reformation*, (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1963), 92-114; John C. Olin, *The Catholic Reformation: Savonarola to Ignatius Loyola*, (New York: Fordham University Press, 1969), 128-181, 198-211; Richard L. DeMolen, *Religious Orders of the Catholic Reformation: In Honor of John C. Olin on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, (New York: Fordham University Press, 1994).

This dissertation also fills in an important gap in our understanding of the mendicant orders. The Augustinians—although ubiquitous in early modern France—have received almost no systematic attention from historians. I offer below some hypotheses for this lacuna in the scholarship. Oddly, the absence in scholarship exists despite the important place that Augustinians played in the Council of Trent, and indirectly in the ongoing French politico-theological debates that emerged in the seventeenth century over Augustinian views of grace.³ Further, many were Renaissance Humanists.⁴ Filling this lacuna with respect to the Augustinians contributes to our understanding of how the regular clergy responded to state-building, the spread of Protestantism, and the Counter-Reformation.

³ Augustinian Vicar General Girolamo Seripando famously played a critical role at the Council of Trent where he strove to show the compatibility of Luther's teachings with orthodox Catholic doctrine. The works on Seripando are numerous. Most recently, John W. O'Malley in *Trent: What Happened at the Council*, (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2013), wrote, "Not all Catholic theologians, especially members of the Augustinian Order, were convinced 'The Lutherans' were altogether wrong in their teaching on both Original Sin and justification, and at Trent the Augustinians' prior general, Girolamo Seripando, was among them...Most felt that the most urgent matter was the accusation that the church taught and subscribed to Pelagianism, the you-can-save-yourself-if-you-just-try-hard-enough version of Christianity." (p. 104).

Hubert Jedin's *Papal Legate at the Council of Trent: Cardinal Seripando*, (Freiburg: B. Herder, 1947), situates Seripando's thought within the context of the work of the Council. And David Gutiérrez devotes a section of his book on the early modern Augustinians in Europe to Seripando, whom he considers as partially responsible for restoring the order after the Lutheran schism. See Gutiérrez, *The Augustinians from the Protestant Reformation to the Peace of Westphalia, 1518-1648*, (Villanova: Villanova University Press, 1979), 49-61.

⁴ The most notable of the Augustinian Humanists include Giles of Viterbo, Luis de León, Girolamo Seripando, Simplicien Saint Martin, Cornelius Corte, and Thomas of Villanova. John W. O'Malley builds his biography on Viterbo upon the premise that Viterbo's thinking was influenced by Humanism and the Renaissance, which O'Malley traces to the Augustinian *studium generale* that Viterbo attended in Padua, a site where he was socialized in Humanist circles. See O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform: A Study in Renaissance Thought*, (Leiden: Brill, 1968) 3-4, 7. Manuel Durán and William Kluback find Luis de León, in his *The Names of Christ*, to express "a Renaissance dialogue, one in which the ideas of beauty, order purpose, love, are analyzed within a double framework, the double framework of a harmonious landscape...and the spiritual framework of biblical quotations, the framework of the idea of God as developed in the Old and New Testaments." See Durán and Kluback, "Introduction," *Luis de León: The Names of Christ*, (New York: Paulist Press, 1984), 17. Hubert Jedin writes of Seripando that he was "a follower of Neoplatonism distinctly colored by the Renaissance." See Jedin, *Papal Legate at the Council of Trent: Cardinal Seripando*, (Freiburg: B. Herder, 1947), 24.

I. The Order: History, Structures, Establishment in France

The Augustinians were a mendicant order of the Catholic Church comprised of men who shared the rule of Saint Augustine (354-430), theologian and bishop from Hippo in North Africa. These monks traced their foundation to the 1256 papal bull *Licet ecclesiae catholicae* of Pope Alexander IV. The bull united an array of monasteries in Northern Italy that were using Augustine's *Rule*. Triggering what Augustinians call the Great Union (the *Magna unio*), the bull imposed a centralized administration upon these monasteries by way of regional bureaucratic units (provinces), unified leadership in the Vicar General of the order, and a universally-applicable set of rules (constitution).

With *Licet ecclesiae catholicae*, the Augustinian Hermits were born, joining the ranks of other mendicant clergy with whom they shared certain values, including individual poverty, cultivation of the mind through study, and adherence to a common bureaucratic structure. Together with the Franciscans, the Dominicans, and the Carmelites, they formed a quartet of regular clergy in the thirteenth century that offered an alternative to the perceived opulence of the older religious orders, like the Benedictines and Cistercians. Purity of faith, simplicity, and unity were among the core values embodied by the mendicants.⁵

Despite these similarities, the Augustinians were also unique. Theologically, the Augustinians appropriated the theological contributions of Saint Augustine on the role of free will, grace, and the depravity of human nature in soteriology in their teaching. For example, the Augustinian Hermit Vicar General Girolamo Seripando argued at the

⁵ See C.H. Lawrence, *The Friars: The Impact of the Mendicant Orders on Medieval Society*, (London: Longman, 1994); also C.H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, (London: Routledge, 2013); Donald S. Prud'homme, ed., *The Origin, Development, and Refinement of Medieval Religious Mendicancies*, (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

Council of Trent for a traditional Augustinianism that mirrored Luther's understanding of divine grace as solely efficacious in the economy of salvation. Despite the ultimate rejection of Augustinianism at the Council, the doctrine continued to resonate, coalescing decades later in the writings of Cornelius Jansen, bishop of Ypres. Louis XIV and his Jesuit entourage rejected Jansenism, closing the convents and monasteries that propagated its Augustinian theological positions, and pitting Augustinianism against the French Crown.⁶

Unlike the other mendicant orders that were cenobitic communities from their very beginning, the Augustinian Hermits had been eremitic communities prior to their foundation by papal fiat. *Licet ecclesiae catholicae* took eremitic communities (hence the name Augustinian Hermits) comprised of scholar-monks and imposed a cenobitic order upon them. Mendicancy took time to develop after the Great Union, and traces of eremitism remained in the fabric of Augustinian houses, shaping them into studious communities known for scholarly productivity.⁷

The Augustinians did not have a charismatic figure contemporary with the foundation of their order. The Franciscans and Dominicans coalesced into mendicant orders owing in part to the charisma of spiritual leaders, Francis of Assisi and Domingo de Guzmán respectively. In contrast, the Augustinian Hermits followed the Rule of the fifth-century Saint Augustine, using only his extant writings to constitute their

⁶ Questions on the role of free will, grace, and the depravity of human nature theologically split many at the Council of Trent. Girolamo Seripando proposed that what theologically divided Lutherans from the Catholic fold were merely semantics. See John O'Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council*, (Cambridge: Belknap, 2013), 104.

⁷ John W. O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform: A Study in Renaissance Thought*, (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 143. O'Malley goes on to write that Pope Alexander IV sought another active mendicant order in order to respond to "new religious problems arising out of Europe's changing social and economic conditions," namely new dissenting heretical movements. Therefore, despite the name of the "Hermits of Saint Augustine" ascribed at the Great Union, little eremitical was intended by the pope in their founding.

communal life and ministry, and of course Pope Alexander IV's *Licet ecclesiae catholicae*.

Over the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Augustinian Hermits made great inroads into the kingdom of France and the king's vassalages. By the early seventeenth century, the Hermits had four provinces in France. The Narbonne-Bourgogne province is the subject of this study. Created in 1330, it bordered the Massif Central to the west, beyond which lay the Toulouse-Aquitaine province. Cutting in a more or less westerly-to-easterly plane across the center of France was the dividing line between the province of France, whose flagship house was in Paris. To the southeast, the province of Provence corresponded more or less to the territory of the county of Provence. The territories of the Narbonne-Bourgogne province, therefore, comprised the upper Rhône River Valley, the easterly slopes of the Massif Central, and extended eastward into French-speaking Savoy and the northern territory of the Duchy of Dauphiné. The western boundary of the province cut southward along the Rhône River to the Mediterranean, leaving an oddly elongated province on its southwestern flank. Important houses in the southern extremity of the province included Béziers, Montpellier, and Narbonne. The flagship house of Narbonne-Bourgogne was in Lyon. As David Gutiérrez has pointed out, the province held the distinction of having the highest population of Protestants of any French province of Augustinians by the end of the sixteenth century.⁸

In the fourteenth century, pressure from reform-minded brothers within their ranks complicated the management of the order in France. Some Augustinians criticized their congregations' lax reading of the Rule of Saint Augustine. Controversy over the purpose of the eremitic impulse of the Hermits divided the brothers.

⁸ Gutiérrez, 64.

Questions persisted, such as what purpose did eremitic solitude serve? And should Hermits use solitude for study or spiritual discipline? One line of reasoning held that the eremitical character of the order existed to foster scholastic achievement, which in turn would be used to better serve the flock. In contrast, other brothers held that Saint Augustine intended the eremitical isolation of his order to serve the cultivation of internal spirituality. In 1387, a group of Hermits broke away from the order on the basis of this ideological split. Later called the Observantines, this group argued that the eremitical life without spiritual exercises only led to moral laxity. The communal life that Saint Augustine envisioned, they argued, served the higher goal of fostering strict discipline in the keeping of the offices, longer fasts and silences, and mortifications of the flesh. From the fourteenth century on, an institutionalized schism within the order predicated upon different readings of Augustine's *Rule* and the Constitutions became a reality. Legally, the Observantines fell under a different hierarchical structure than that of their Hermit brethren, responsible only to the Vicar General in Rome, and not to the local provincials.⁹ By the sixteenth century, Augustinian Observantine congregations and schools sprang up throughout Europe. Contrastingly, in France, the Observantine movement developed somewhat differently. The French did not found separate congregations, as was the case in the Empire, but rather "schools" that remained subject to the jurisdictional structure of the Hermits. The Observantines played an important role in the case studies of the dissertation, as the Brou house was operated by the province of Lombard Observantines, and the house of Béziers was an Observantine school.¹⁰

⁹ Pietro Bellini, "Observantine Movements in Spirituality," in *Chrism of the Augustinians*, pp. 110-2.

¹⁰ Gutiérrez, 85-6.

On the eve of the Protestant Reformation, and under the generalate of Giles of Viterbo (1505-18), the Augustinian Hermits reached their greatest membership and influence. Their roster rose to an estimated 15,000 brothers dispersed in 26 provinces of conventuals and in ten observant congregations. Of the observant congregations, six were in Italy, two in Spain, one in Germany, and one in Ireland.¹¹

The Protestant Reformation exacerbated the ideological division within the Augustinian order. In 1517, a member of the observant house at Wittenberg proposed theses for discussion on the theological merit and morality of certain aspects of Catholic faith and praxis in Saxony, and by extension, Latin Christianity as a whole. With just a few years, Martin Luther's protest gathered adherents, creating a crisis for the Catholic Church, but also for his fellow Augustinians already ideologically divided between Hermit and Observantine. Upon Luther's departure from the order and the Church, Augustinian Hermits and Observantines followed him in droves in the German-speaking lands in the 1520s and 30s.¹² Similarly, the fitful rise of the Church of England from the 1530s through 50s ended the Austin Friars, as the Hermits in England were commonly known. Recognizing that France was one last bastion where the order remained intact, Vicar General Seripando, who would play a capital role in the Council of Trent, reformed the order's administration in the 1540s and 50s by centralizing the administration of the Hermits and enhancing the authority of the generalate.¹³ Even so, the twin pressures of the Observantine movement and the Protestant Reformation meant that the Augustinians' chronic divisiveness in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries only increased.

¹¹ John W. O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform: A Study in Renaissance Thought*, (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 4-5. This does not account for the "reformed communities" in France, of which the most notable were in Béziers.

¹² Gutiérrez, 16.

¹³ Gutiérrez, 68-70.

Despite rapid defections in the Empire and England, the Augustinians in France did not suffer the same fate, as David Gutiérrez has noted.¹⁴ This is not to say, however, that some French Augustinians were not implicated in and even convicted of heresy. The Parisian house of the Hermits acquired a reputation as a hotbed of heterodoxy from the 1520s to 40s, which drew the attention of the Augustinian Vicar General Seripando.¹⁵ Robert Sauzet has identified 42 Augustinians within the borders of the French kingdom implicated in heterodox teaching from 1480 to 1560.¹⁶ He notes that the Augustinian Jean Vallière was the first French martyr of the Protestant Reformation. Vallière was condemned by the Parlement of Paris for having taught that Jesus was the physical and actual son of Mary and Joseph. For this, his tongue was cut out, and he was burned on 8 August 1523 in Paris.¹⁷ Sauzet notes that the French Augustinians were more likely than their other mendicant brethren to embrace Protestantism, but cautions that because he used General Seripando's registers, drawing bold claims about Augustinian propensity to leave Catholicism would not be warranted.¹⁸ At best, we are left to conclude that the French Augustinians were to some degree affected by the teachings of Luther and the departure of so many of their

¹⁴ Gutiérrez, 33-42. Gutiérrez makes particular mention of the losses suffered in the German-speaking lands, England, and Hungary.

¹⁵ Robert Sauzet, *Mendiants et Reformes: Les réguliers mendiants acteurs du changement religieux dans le royaume de France (1480-1560)*, (Tours: Publications de l'Université de Tours, 1994), 112; Gutiérrez, 32.

¹⁶ Sauzet, *Mendiants et Reformes*, xi.

¹⁷ Sauzet, *Mendiants et Reformes*, 235. Sauzet notes another high profile heresy trial of an Augustinian, a trial which would reappear in the writings of other Augustinians accused of heresy. Jean Châtelain was a doctor of theology. He was known for his Advent and Lenten sermons in the region of Metz, which were received with great acclaim. He was lauded as a "great and very eloquent preacher," with a sensitivity toward the plight of the poor. He was accused of Lutheranism in 1524/25, and despite his denial of allegiance to the teachings of Luther, was found guilty and burned at Vic on 12 January 1525.

¹⁸ Sauzet, *Mendiants et Reformes*, xi.

confreres. Yet it remains important to bear in mind that these numbers do not approach the virtual decimation of the order in places like Germany and England.¹⁹

The Council of Trent itself also put pressure upon the Augustinian order. In the noble interest of shoring up clerical discipline—a chief complaint of the Protestants, and the Observantines—the Council called for stricter observance of rules and constitutions. This action validated the argument of the Observantines that the eremitical life of the Hermits fostered decadence through neglect of spiritual discipline. In this sense, the Council reaffirmed the premise that the monks had been libertine, whereas the Observantines distinguished themselves as the true guardians of Augustinian monasticism.

That the Council seemingly sided with the Observantines exacerbated the divisions within the order of Augustinian Hermits, threatening a permanent schism. In response to this crisis, Seripando proposed a policy of reconciliation in the 1580s. Instead of demanding conformity, Seripando evoked a common heritage, a shared “fraternal” identity, in Gutiérrez’ words. In so doing, Seripando carefully reframed the canons of the Council, saying that the reforms of the Council applied to all the Augustinian family, regardless of branch. As Seripando would remark, even the Rabache school, a French Observantine school, was just as in need of reform as the Hermits.²⁰

Despite these efforts to counteract the contagion effect that the first generation of departures had caused, the succeeding generations produced a

¹⁹ James K. Farge, *Orthodoxy and Reform in Early Reformation France: The Faculty of Theology of Paris, 1500-1543*, (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 175; Henri Hours, “Procès d’hérésie contre Aimé Maigret (Lyon-Grenoble: 1524),” *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance* 19 (1957), 14-43. Famously, Aimé Maigret of the Dominican order began to draw suspicion for a series of sermons delivered in 1522. A doctor of theology in Paris, Maigret would later deliver sermons in Lyon and Grenoble between 1522 and 1524 that led him to trial on charges of heresy.

²⁰ Gutiérrez, 69

definitive split in the Augustinian family. Two orders left the Augustinian Hermits to form autonomous orders in the 1580s and 90s. The Augustinian Recollects (not to be confused with the Franciscan Recollects, also known as the Friars Minor) were founded in Spain, while the Discalced were founded in Italy,²¹ and also gained popularity in France. The Discalced began in 1592 when a small group of Neapolitan Augustinian Hermits first used the name Discalced self-referentially. They kept a rigorous spiritual discipline that included keeping midnight offices, laying prostrate on the ground for prolonged periods, fasting three days per week, eating off the ground, and accepting physical chastisement from the superior, which included floggings with a bundle of thirteen rods.²² As an outward sign of their devotion, the Discalced did not wear shoes, hence the moniker “discalced.” Two years later, on 22 December 1594, Pope Clement VIII issued the bull *Decet Romanum Pontificem* in which he granted official approval of the order.²³

Through the work of Henri IV’s ambassador to the Holy See, Guillaume d’Avançon (also the archbishop of Embrun), the Discalced entered France, where they were commonly referred to as the Augustins Déchaussés (also Déchaux), and alternatively Petits-Augustins.²⁴ With Henri’s permission, d’Avançon petitioned Pope Clement VIII in 1594 to establish the first Discalced community in French city of

²¹ Eugenio Cavallari, “Message of the Reformed Movements in the Augustinian Order,” in *Augustinian Spirituality and the Chrism of the Augustinian Order*, (Villanova, PA: Augustinian Press, 1995), 121.

²² Epifanio de S. Geronimo, OAD. “Chroniche et origine della Congregazione de ‘Padri Scalzi Agostiniani,” (1650) manuscript, fol. 33 in Eugenio Cavallari, “The Message of the Reform Movement in the Augustinian Order,” in John E. Rotelle, ed. *Augustinian Spirituality and the Charism of the Augustinians*, (Villanova, PA: Augustinian Press, 1995).

²³ Cavallari, 123. As Sophie Hasquenoph has shown, the reform movements that called for stricter readings of the Rule created a crisis of identity within the order. Some of the Hermits believed that the legalistic keeping of the prayer cycle inhibited their ability to study. See especially p. 545.

²⁴ Gutiérrez, 68-9.

Villars-Benoît. Significantly, this city's canons regular had had their monastery destroyed by the Calvinists. The site, bearing certain symbolism, inspired d'Avançon's petition, which Henri wholeheartedly supported with an eye to the fact that the house would be able, in the words of historian Edmond Lambert, "to combat new heresies that seemed to become embedded in the mountains of Dauphiné."²⁵ In 1595, Pope Clement VIII approved the establishment of the house, and in 1605, the Duke of Guise laid the first stone of the church.²⁶ Houses opened in succession in south and eastern France from there: In that same year, a house was established in Marseille, Avignon in 1608, Aix-en-Provence in 1616, and Chambéry in 1620.²⁷ In Lyon, the city consulate approved the establishment of the Discalced in the faubourg of the Croix-Rousse, where operation began in 1624. In 1629, Louis XIII undertook the construction of their flagship church in Paris, Notre-Dame-des-Victoires, which is still in operation. Built in thanksgiving for the Virgin's intercessions, the church commemorated Louis's victory over the last Protestant civic stronghold, La Rochelle, in the same year. With these establishments in the first two decades of the seventeenth century, the tripartite Augustinian family in early modern France had begun.

Administratively, the Discalced and the Hermits were separate entities, although they were socially part of the same family. Constance H. Berman has argued that the categories imposed upon different communities within a wider religious order

²⁵ Edmond Lambert, *Histoire de l'Église de Notre-Dame-des-Victoires depuis sa fondation jusqu'à nos jours, et de l'Archiconfrérie du très-saint et immaculé cœur de Marie*, (Paris: F. Curot, 1872), 7.

²⁶ Edmond Lambert, *Histoire de l'Église de Notre-Dame-des-Victoires depuis sa fondation jusqu'à nos jours, et de l'Archiconfrérie du très-saint et immaculé cœur de Marie*, (Paris: F. Curot, 1872), 5, 6.

²⁷ Angel Martinez Cuesta and Daniel-Odon Hurel, "Augustins Déchaux de la Congrégation de France, dite des Petits Pères," in *Guide pour l'histoire des ordres et des congrégations religieuses, France XVIe-XXe siècles*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 172-3.

has tended to suggest too much difference.²⁸ The discrete categories imposed by historians of regular clergy—such as “Discalced,” “Hermit,” or “Observantine”—reflect modern efforts to nuance complex relationships. It is for this reason that Erik Saak develops the idea of the Augustinian family in his work, *High Way to Heaven*. He deploys a family metaphor that explains the bonds between the Augustinians, while also respecting ideological disagreements. After all, the Augustinians shared a common history and spiritual heritage.²⁹ Saak’s view has implications for the French Augustinians, because by the seventeenth century, France had three groups who identified with the “ordo” established by Saint Augustine (the Hermits, Discalced, and Observantines), not to mention the canons and other orders, like the Dominicans, who used Augustine’s Rule.

As with the Observantines, the Discalced claimed to fulfill the vision and intent of Saint Augustine, which they interpreted as rigorous spiritual discipline and outwardly-focused evangelism. Although it is debatable whether they achieved the embodiment of Saint Augustine’s wishes, they at least exhibited the cenobitical concerns for preaching and evangelism that Pope Alexander IV had imagined for the Hermits at the Great Union of 1256. Here, on the subject of evangelistic preaching, they differed from both their Observantine cousins and the Hermits from whom they split.

In Lyon, the city consulate exercised great influence in determining the conditions of the reformed order’s location and ministry. Once the site of a temple to Rome and the Emperor Augustus, the Lyon faubourg of the Croix-Rousse sat perched

²⁸ Constance Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000).

²⁹ Eric Saak, *High Way to Heaven: The Augustinian Platform between Reform and Reformation, 1292-1524*, (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

atop a steep rampart overlooking the city.³⁰ The city consulate argued that because this area lacked priests, it was devoid of the sacraments. For the residents deprived of the sacraments, the absence of a priests imperiled their souls. The Discalced settled in the Croix-Rousse because the Lyon consulate sought to fulfill a spiritual need. However, the densely-packed peninsula where the Discalced had originally wanted to exercise their ministry could not accommodate another mendicant order, so argued the consulate. Ultimately, the house of the Croix-Rousse would become the flagship house of the Discalced of the province of Dauphiné.³¹

II. On the “Frontier”: The Significance of Margins for a European Religious Order

The peripheral zones between political units were historically-significant, both for understanding the broad trajectory of state-building in early modern Europe, but also the actions of the Augustinian orders. To be sure, the Augustinians imagined that their order was for the world, not only for a particular government, a vision that transcended political boundaries. This self-understanding for the regular clergy was not unique. The Jesuits, too, held to a global vision for their ministry.³² What this attitude achieved for the Jesuits, and I would argue for the Augustinians as well, was to favorably position the regular clergy for ministry in areas where control by large political units was weak. In these areas, the centralizing authority and its attendant dominant culture exercised tenuous control, providing an entrée for the regular clergy

³⁰ Amable Audin, *Essai sur la topographie de Lugdunum*, (Lyon: Audin, 1959), 23-4.

³¹ Admittedly, this division of the Discalced Augustinians is somewhat confusing, as Lyon was not in Dauphiné. Nevertheless, the house was the flagship house of the Dauphiné province of the Discalced Augustinians.

³² John W. O'Malley comments on the nature of Jesuit mission. He says that Jesuits held a unique vow to engage in missions, answerable on this subject to the pope. He points out that the missional impulse of the Society of Jesus was aimed at both missions “throughout the world,” and in itinerancies in Europe. See O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 298-9.

to establish a base of operation. For example, in zones where the French Crown competed with other authorities, the regular clergy saw points of entry. One such area was the Franco-Italian frontier, where the monasteries under study in this dissertation were situated.

This self-understanding of the order's transcending boundaries emerged first in the medieval era, where political boundaries were relatively more fluid. With wealth and status tied to land ownership, and with complex inheritance traditions in place, medieval politics manifested overlapping webs of power and influence. This context engendered "decentralized decision making, discontinuous territorial holdings, and overlapping (and at times, divided) loyalties."³³ Although traditional understandings of nature's binding peoples together while keeping outsiders apart did exist, even in the Franco-Italian boundary zone, no such border existed. Rather, in 1343, when the French Crown acquired Dauphiné, France spread beyond the Rhône River in a way that destabilized the political self-understanding that rivers and seas drew the contours of the French kingdom.³⁴ This area therefore became a boundary zone, and the Augustinian Hermits established houses in the area during this period of transition. Yet the centralization of power, personified in the monarch, slowly increased the stature of the king among competing power-brokers during the fifteenth and especially the sixteenth centuries. Here, the Augustinians confronted a threat to their international identity in the emergent states, with their increasingly bureaucratized governments and centralized control mechanisms.

³³ Alexander C. Diener and Joshua Hagen, "Introduction: Borders, Identity, and Geopolitics," in *Borderlines and Borderlands: Political Oddities at the Edge of the Nation-State*, eds. Alexander C. Diener and Joshua Hagen, (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2010), 12.

³⁴ Peter Sahlins, "Natural Frontiers Revisited: France's Boundaries since the Seventeenth Century," *American Historical Review* 95 (1990), 1426.

In the early modern period, boundary zones remained areas where the political demarcation between powers was fluid, although over time, increasingly less so. Benedict Anderson has observed that prior to the modern nation-state when the apogee of centralized territorial control became fully realized, boundary zones were transitory zones of encounter and exchange of ideas, goods, and people. These zones resisted conforming to centralizing political entities, tending instead to conform to local religious and seigneurial traditions.³⁵ As Alfred J. Rieber has shown, early modern Eurasian empires, with their developing bureaucratic technologies, still failed to control the expansiveness of such territorial peripheries, over which they lay claim. Local environments maintained a variety of legal, jurisdictional, administrative, and religious traditions that resisted the central culture's efforts to integrate the peripheral zones into its domain. Jurisdictional sovereignty that denoted loyalty to persons, not territories, still dominated political thinking in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. As Peter Sahlin writes, "Jurisdictional sovereignty in early modern France meant that the Crown accumulated rights to specific domains—fiefs, bailiwicks, bishoprics, seigneuries, boroughs, and even villages."³⁶ By the seventeenth century, however, this picture had changed. As Sahlin notes, both Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin pursued militaristic policies on the French frontier that sought to control passageways across the Alps, including towns and fortresses on the Italian side of the crest in Saluzzo, even though this territory had been ceded by the Treaty of Lyon in 1601 to Savoy.³⁷ Mack Holt argues, in a parallel case, that the pressure of war—in this instance, the Wars of Religion—served as a catalyst to concretize identity in the two

³⁵ See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1983.

³⁶ Peter Sahlin, "Natural Frontiers Revisited: France's Boundaries since the Seventeenth Century," *American Historical Review* 95 (1990), 1427.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 1433.

Burgundies.³⁸ The military campaigns of Richelieu and Mazarin thus not only offered the possibility of territorial control, but also an opportunity to shift alliances on the Franco-Italian frontier in a manner more favorable to the Crown.

Nevertheless, it would not be correct to assert that in the mid seventeenth century, the Crown enjoyed “absolute” control over the French boundary zones. The classic 1985 work by William Beik has established that the landed nobility of Languedoc posed a persistent challenge to Louis XIV’s efforts to control local legal, administrative, and bureaucratic traditions.³⁹ Moreover, Rueben observes that the expanding states’ dominant “core”—that is, governments’ administrative, military, cultural, and religious organs—did not resonate farther away from the administrative “core” of the government (in our case, Paris).⁴⁰ Especially at the beginning of the early modern period, the peripheries tended to rebuff the core’s centralizing efforts. For example, Peter Sahlins analyzed the phenomenon in the Pyrenees; Likewise, both Mack P. Holt and Kathryn Edwards demonstrate the force of regional political cultures in determining the relationship between boundary zones and larger expansionist governments.⁴¹

Historians have observed nuances in the types of boundary zones at the periphery of major political units, and have employed two terms—“frontiers” and

³⁸ Mack P. Holt, “Burgundians into Frenchmen: Catholic Identity in Sixteenth-Century Burgundy,” in Michael Wolfe, ed., *Changing Identities in Early Modern France*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 345.

³⁹ Much has been written to point out that the early modern notion of “absolute monarchy” was more a fiction of political rhetoric than a reality grounded in practice. The literature here is quite large, and growing. William Beik perhaps wrote the dominate revision of absolutism in 1985 with *Absolutism and Society in Seventeenth-Century France: State Power and Provincial Aristocracy in Languedoc*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

⁴⁰ Alfred J. Rieber, *The Struggle for the Eurasian Borderlands: From the Rise of Early Modern Empires to the End of the First World War*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 59.

⁴¹ Examples of these peripheries include the Pyrenean region (analyzed by Peter Sahlins), and the Burgundies (analyzed by Mack P. Holt and Kathryn Edwards).

“borderlands”—to denote their discrete features. As Kathryn Edwards has shown, “frontier” best describes an area that has undergone a division in its territory.⁴² Echoing this distinction, William Monter points out that in French political discourse, a “linguistic distinction...between boundaries (*limites*) and frontiers (*frontières*) dates from the late thirteenth century.” The kings of France realized that for bureaucratic reasons, the Crown must differentiate between those areas over which they exercised de facto versus de jure control.⁴³ Frontiers were spaces of “bellicose expansion and a zonal defense.”⁴⁴ At the same time, according to Edwards, such areas were zones of interaction and exchange of both goods and ideas.⁴⁵ This notion finds echoes in the work of René Taveneaux, who observes that this area just to the east of Lyon was geographically a crossroads, a “Catholic backbone,” or the Lotharingian divide, which was a zone of “global circulation...of merchants, diplomats, artists, and missionaries.”⁴⁶ The relative fluidity of frontiers meant that there might be a local sense of unity, even when local political settings might demonstrate a complex patchwork of lay and church jurisdictions and influences. In contrast, according to

⁴² Kathryn A. Edwards, *Families and Frontiers: Re-Creating Communities and Boundaries in the Early Modern Burgundies*, (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 3-5. Edwards and Robert I. Burns have advanced the idea of a frontier. This use of the word “frontier” borrows from the American historian Frederick Jackson Turner (1861-1932). It was associated with American Manifest Destiny and Imperialism. See Burns, Burns, “The Significance of the Frontier in the Middle Ages,” in *Medieval Frontier Studies*, eds. Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 307-8. Turner’s thesis had an environmental perspective, suggesting that the topography shapes a person. (310) The nuance of Turner’s that Edwards and Burns borrow, therefore, is that the notion of frontier implies expansion, and struggle both with others and their surroundings, which by medieval political theory were often difficult topographically for inhabiting and traversing. (313)

⁴³ Peter Sahlins, “Natural Frontiers Revisited: France’s Boundaries since the Seventeenth Century,” *American Historical Review* 95 (1990), 1425.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 1426.

⁴⁵ Edwards, 3-5, 14.

⁴⁶ René Taveneaux, “Les prémices de la réforme tridentine” *Revue d’histoire de l’église de France* 75, no. 194 (1989), 206.

early modern political theorists and cartographers, a borderland corresponded with a significant physical barrier, such as a wide river or a tall mountain range that served as an impediment to travel, and by extension, to the exchange of goods and ideas.⁴⁷ Based upon these conventions, in this study I have chosen to call the central-east of the kingdom of France a “frontier.”

The Franco-Italian frontier was such a zone of travel and exchange of goods. It sat at a crossroads of France, Savoy, Switzerland, Burgundy, the Empire, Dauphiné, and the trans-Alpine routes into Italy, and also formed a thoroughfare between Spain and the Spanish Netherlands. Cycles of war during the early modern period—such as the Italian Wars, the Franco-Savoyard Wars, and the Wars of Religion, and various conflicts in the Low Countries—animated the movement of people through the Franco-Italian frontier. The presence of troops disrupted day-to-day life because of the disturbances they caused, but also in the shifting political alliances that the wars they waged brought about.

Frontiers were zones of significant political consequence to the ascendant monarchies of early modern Europe. Sahlins argues that the borderland never rested upon a strictly-delimited boundary between two larger political units. Rather, it served as a negotiated zone of political and cultural transition that functioned dialectically between Reiber’s “core” (and its dominant culture) and the periphery (with its

⁴⁷ Edwards, 13. Peter Sahlins has noted how topographical features were understood by political theorists and cartographers as a frontier in nature, or a God-given boundary between people groups. This idea denotes a philosophy that suggests that the land binds ethnicities together, conforming to the “laws of nature.” See Peter Sahlins, “Natural Frontiers Revisited: France’s Boundaries since the Seventeenth Century,” *American Historical Review* 95 (1990), 1424-5.

cultures).⁴⁸ Often, and in contradiction to the dialectical pressures that usually defined these borderlands, the core and peripheral partisans cooperated over mutual interests, which demonstrated that despite the political rhetoric, early moderns were highly adaptable and competent in navigating complex social and political realities.⁴⁹ For the “core,” meanwhile, the political margins provided an opportunity to forge new alliances through marriage and treaties with an eye to leveraging an advantageous result that would better position them with respect to the other large political units of western and central Europe.

Part of the political significance of frontiers to the dominant early modern political units lay in the economic boon that they promised the expanding political units. Frequently zones of economic exchange, frontiers incentivized the larger political players to remain engaged with their peripheries.⁵⁰ To expand political influence benefitted the royal treasures, frequently in penury in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, the core’s engagement with its peripheries was never absolute. Early modern monarchies struggled to extend control over borderlands. To

⁴⁸ Reiber, 59; Sahlins, *Boundaries*, 69. Sahlins argues this point despite the prevailing opinion of early modern European cartographers and political philosophers who understood boundaries as strictly-delineated zones, reified by natural, topographical barriers that served as impediments to the movement of people and their products.

Heinz Schilling and István György Tóth develop the notion of the dialectical relationship between borderlands and core. As they write, “transfer and exchange between confessional cultures during the early modern period were dialectical processes—simultaneously competitive and exclusive, aggressive and receptive, similar and distinctive.” See “From Empires to Family Circles: Religious and Cultural borderlines in the Age of Confessionalisation,” in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe, Volume I: Religion and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400-1700*, eds. Heinz Schilling and István György Tóth, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 35-6.

⁴⁹ Sahlins, *Boundaries*, 8.

⁵⁰ Sahlins, *Boundaries*, 92.

suggest that they succeeded—which such claims as absolutism would connote—would stretch the truth.⁵¹

Boundary zones were also areas of the exchange of religious ideas, which in the sixteenth and seventeenth century had a disruptive effect on the core. Although the Peace of Augsburg (1555) called for religious conflict in the Empire to be resolved by the imposition of a dominant confession from the “core” outward—that is by the prince (*cuius regio, eius religio*), the infiltration of heterodox religious opinions destabilized this regime and the assumptions it rested upon. Borderlands were often the point of entry for those of alternative orthodoxies. Because borderlands, by definition, were fluid areas, those of a heterodox confession (in the case of the Franco-Italian frontier—whose relatively flat terrain made it quite porous—evangelical Protestants of Genevan persuasion) found there a place to live relatively free from the extreme danger they would face closer to the “core,” that is the capital city, or bureaucratic and military centers of the dominant political unit.⁵² This, however, was not the only religious complexity found in these frontier lands. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Franco-Italian frontier also boasted a rural population that practiced a folkloric version of Catholicism with composite religious experiences blending superstition and bits of orthodox Catholicism. The rural population of the area had a culture distinct from that of the Catholic elites at the center, and even from local elites. The religious centers of this region were chiefly the archbishop of Lyon, and to a lesser degree, the bishop of Grenoble. As Keith Luria has shown, elites

⁵¹ William Beik *Absolutism and Society in Seventeenth-Century France: State Power and Provincial Aristocracy in Languedoc*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

⁵² Pierre H. Chaix, David Gutiérrez, and Odile Martin have all pointed out that the region boasted a strong Protestant population. Chaix and Martin in particular have studied the demography of Protestant populations in the region. See Chaix, *La Bresse protestante au XVII^e siècle*, (Bourg: Imprimeries réunies de Bourg, 1977); and Martin, *La Conversion protestante à Lyon (1659-1687)*, (Geneva: Droz, 1986).

in Grenoble resonated with the Counter-Reformation that sought to deploy the secular and regular clergy to bring villagers into conformity with elite patterns of devotion.⁵³

In contrast to these religious heterodoxies, Lyon—the chief city of the region, and the second city of the kingdom of France—had by the 1570s become a bastion of Catholic orthodoxy. In the distant past, the city venerated two saints as martyrs under Marcus Aurelius, Pothinus (who was also the city’s bishop) and Blandina, both of whom died in 177. The church father and theologian, Irenaeus (d. 202) was another of the city’s bishops. In addition to its status as seat of an archbishopric, Lyon was densely packed in the middle ages and early modern period with religious orders, canons regular, secular clergy, and seminaries, establishing its reputation as a nerve center of Catholicism in the Rhône River Valley. The Augustinian Hermits fit into this pious landscape, holding a piece of prime real estate in the commercial center of the crowded peninsula created by the Rhône and Saône Rivers.

Because the Franco-Italian frontier was so porous, permitting the mingling of different confessions, its inhabitants were after the 1520s confronted by other religious ideas, either spoken or in print. Lyon was an important center for printing in France, second in importance only to Paris. Its location at this critical axis of Protestant Geneva, Savoy, and Dauphiné made it strategic for disseminating tracts favorable to the Crown’s objectives. During the Franco-Savoyard Wars, for example, the presses printed pro-French treatises. In the wake of Henri IV’s assassination, the presses printed work that was pro-monarchy, pro-Gallican, and anti-Spanish. Interestingly, nineteenth-century historian Aimé Vingtrinier found that in the late-fifteenth century, Barthélemy Buyer and Guillaume LeRoy, the first to bring the

⁵³ Luria, *Territories of Grace*, 4.

printing press to Lyon, collaborated with the Augustinian Hermits, thus establishing a connection between the Hermits, the royal propaganda program, and erudition.⁵⁴

Post-Reformation religious diversity on the fringes compelled some of the religious partisans to strive for common grounds. However, as William Monter has pointed out, the new confessional diversity rarely created “tolerance” in the modern sense of the word. Rather, finding common ground involved tolerating an undesirable reality, instead of the modern notion of embracing diversity of belief for the sake of enhancing social cohesion and expanding cultural vibrancy.⁵⁵ This dislike for the religious other produced confessional literature rife with themes of the other as enemies of God and society. Often, the writers of these pamphlets cast the existence

⁵⁴ Aimé Vingtrinier, *Histoire de l’Imprimerie à Lyon de l’origine jusqu’à nos jours*, (Lyon : Adrien Storck, 1894), 37-8, 43. Natalie Zemon Davis’ essay on early modern print culture in Lyon explores the intersection between religion and social trends. See Davis, “Printing and the People,” in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), 190, 192.

⁵⁵ William Monter, “Religion and Cultural Exchange, 1400-1700: Twenty-First-Century Implications,” in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe, Volume I: Religious and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400-1700*, eds. Heinz Schilling and István György Tóth, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 8-9. Examples of institutionalized “tolerance” implemented from the core might be the Second Peace of Kappel (1531) and the Edict of Nantes (1598).

of the religious other in the language of disease. Religious others frequently became the object of violence and insult.⁵⁶

III. The Political Milieu in France and Savoy: Shifting Centers, Difficult Peripheries

The diversity of the amalgamated early modern religious and political identities were particularly pronounced in boundary zones. In the Franco-Italian frontier, the influx of Protestant evangelicals from Geneva altered the confessional landscape. Likewise, the disruptive political transformations in the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries exposed the regular clergy to significant disruptions. This meant that the Augustinians were—along with other branches of the regular clergy—politically, socially and culturally engaged with local and regional nobility, as well as with the French and Savoyards. As Megan Armstrong argues, the political transformations of the era were irresistible for the regular clergy, who despite in some cases constitutional prohibitions, nevertheless became enmeshed in politics in a process of adaptation and negotiation.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ The literature on the subject of controversial religious literature in print is vast. Some important titles to western and central Europe, with an eye to France, include Jeffrey K. Sawyer, *Printed Poison: Pamphlet Propaganda, Faction Politics, and the Public Sphere in Early Seventeenth-Century France*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Luc Racaut, *Hatred in Print: Catholic Propaganda and Protestant Identity During the French Wars of Religion*, (Burlington: Ashgate, 2002); 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; Jane McLeod, *Licensing Loyalty: Printers, Patrons, and the State in Early Modern France*, (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2011); on non-French sources, consider Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500-1700*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006); Philip M. Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Mark U. Edwards, Jr., *Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther*, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005); Michel Reinders, *Printed Pandemonium: Popular Print and Politics in the Netherlands, 1650-72*, (Leiden: Brill, 2013); and of course the classic magnum opus on French controversial religious pamphlets by Denis Crouzet, *Les Guerriers de Dieu: La violence au temps des troubles de religion, vers 1525-vers 1610*. (Seysssel: Champ Vallon, 1990). 2 vol.

⁵⁷ Megan Armstrong, "The Franciscans and the Catholic League: A Question of Civic Ties and Spirituality." *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History* 24 (1997), 133.

The composite nature of early modern states meant that France comprised a dizzying array of regional legal traditions. These regions boasted their own patois. In terms of ecclesiastical administration, France was equally amalgamated. As Joseph Bergin has noted, each bishopric maintained its own unique culture and internal logic based upon tradition.⁵⁸ Because dioceses in the central and northern parts of the kingdom were larger, bishops faced the logistical complication of managing large dioceses. Orchestrating pastoral visits to parishes in these dioceses—mandated by the Council of Trent—was a technically complicated duty to carry out.⁵⁹

The role of Protestantism in changing the landscape of the Franco-Italian frontier was significant. The spread of Reformed evangelicals after the 1520s into France was problematic in part because François I had grown to associate the evangelicals with not only heresy but *lèse-majesté*.⁶⁰ The regular clergy, especially the Dominicans, worked hard to curtail the spread of the Evangelicals through their long-standing role as inquisitors. Despite such efforts, the numbers of Protestants continued to increase across the 1530s and 40s, and the tensions in urban centers over sacred spaces mounted. In the spring of 1534, for example, one Swiss merchant was jailed in Lyon for criticizing the mass.⁶¹ This corresponded to incidents of anticlericalism, vandalism, and acts of provocation: Protestants desecrated the statues of the

⁵⁸ Bergin, 36.

⁵⁹ Bergin, 18.

⁶⁰ Mack Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 21.

⁶¹ R. Gascon, “Ferveurs, Déchirements et reconstructions: de la Renaissance et de la Réforme à l’âge classique,” in Jean-Pierre Gutton, ed., *Histoire de Lyon et du Lyonnais*, (Toulouse: Privat : 1988), 187-8. See also J. H. Merle d’Aubigné, *History of the Reformation in the Time of Calvin*, 44. This Protestant is identified as Baudichon de la Maisonneuve.

Cathedral Saint-Jean in Lyon, printers circulated anti-Catholic treatises, and the Huguenots, emboldened, sang their Psalms in public.⁶²

From 1551, the Crown's piecemeal response to the infiltration of Calvinist evangelicals undermined political stability. Henri II's Edict of Chateaubriant (1551) created a streamlined legal apparatus for prosecuting heresy. Its "burning chamber" facilitated the conviction and execution of several heretics, resulting in the first emigration en masse toward Geneva by the mid-1550s.⁶³ Because of this region's proximity to Geneva (and its Calvinist evangelicals), the Edict of Chateaubriant disrupted recently-established local social networks. However, the untimely death of Henri II in 1558 ushered in a more conciliatory policy toward Protestants under the regency government of his widow, Catherine de' Medici. Protestants of all social ranks took courage, and the Reformed religion spread, a fact that exacerbated latent tensions between Protestants, Catholic clergy, and the Catholic faithful.⁶⁴ Among the lower ranks, emboldened Protestants took out their frustration against clergy during Corpus Christi processions to venerate the Eucharist. These staged public events were not just religious, but also political affairs where city consuls, regular and secular clergy, the guilds, and local nobility marched behind the canopied host as it snaked through medieval streets. Onlookers were expected to genuflect. These processions

⁶² The rise of the printing press advanced not only the Protestant Reformation in France, but was also incorporated by the Augustinians of Lyon. Since the late-fifteenth century, printing in the city of Lyon had been associated with the Augustinian convent in the neighborhood of Saint-Vincent because of the proximity of the convent to the house of Augustinian Hermits, as Aimé Vingtrinier has noted in *Histoire de l'Imprimerie à Lyon de l'origine jusqu'à nos jours*, (Lyon : Adrien Storck, 1894), 37-8. This connection was reaffirmed on 26 august 1478, when Augustinian Julien Mach from the house collaborated with the Buyer/LeRoy household to publish the first ornamented book in France, under the title of *Mirouer de la Redempcion de l'umain lygnage*. Further, Lyon would become the center of Counter-Reformation publishing of tracts and treatises in the seventeenth century, and this in part due to the proximity of the city to Geneva, nerve center of Calvinism.

⁶³ Gascon, 188. On 16 May 1553, five students from the Academy of Lausanne were burned at Lyon's Place des Terreaux.

⁶⁴ Gascon 189.

became highly visible events for Protestants and anticlerical Catholics to heckle, and this transpired more frequently in the Franco-Italian frontier. Between 1558 and 1562, these tensions became violent. For example, the regent of the College of the Trinity (a school under Jesuit operation) was murdered; at the Saint-Nizier church in Lyon, Humanist poet Barthélémy Aneau, who was suspected of Protestantism, was killed by a Catholic mob. The city consulate was ineffectual in curbing mounting violence between Catholics and Protestants, much as was the central regency government of Catherine de' Medici.⁶⁵

The Wars of Religion lasted from 1562 to 1598, and were destructive for the regular clergy in terms of iconoclastic acts of vandalism perpetrated by Protestants, soldiers in transit who stole food and damaged property, and disruptions to patronage networks and the flow of goods and money from lands that the Augustinians owned. The Augustinians were not spared their devastation. For example, in 1562, the Augustinian cloisters at the convent of Saint-Vincent was badly damaged by Protestant vandals during the months when Protestant soldiers occupied the city. A rebuilding and expansion project began in the 1590s, and was reinvigorated in the mid 1610s.⁶⁶ Two of the monasteries examined in this dissertation—Brou and Crémieu—also were damaged during the Wars of Religion, but by soldiers in transit. In order to finance the wars, the Valois monarchy also increased the tax burden upon the regular clergy.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Gascon, 189.

⁶⁶ ADR 13H72, folios 3 and 4; ADR 13H40, folio 8. In 1615, the Augustinians of Saint-Vincent held a capitular meeting where they decided that they also erect pillars and add an attic. The Augustinians sought funding from merchants, who gladly helped (see ADR 13H40, folio 8). One gets the impression that the ongoing delay of the building project resulted from nagging financial problems. It was not until the political situation stabilized, and adequate funding was received from pious merchants and skilled craftsmen, that the Augustinians completed their much-desired repairs. In addition, they also took advantage of the moment to complete other improvements. The attic, along with two extra rooms, were completed by February 1618 (ADR 13H40, folio 12).

⁶⁷ Le Gall, 17.

Taken together, these factors demonstrate the Wars of Religion were devastating for the regular clergy with respect to their buildings, properties, and income. But they were also disruptive to the spiritual life of the Augustinians. For example, as David Gutiérrez points out, Vicar General Seripando did not undertake pastoral visits to the French provinces because of the instability, to the detriment of the monasteries.⁶⁸

The Wars of Religion inspired zealous religious sentiment throughout the Francophone territories that brought certain *grandeues* of the realm together. Their religious passion, and perhaps temporal ambition, coalesced in the formation of the Holy Catholic League. When the last Valois monarch (Henri III) was assassinated in 1588 by Leaguers, a Protestant—the future Henri IV—became the claimant to the throne. In response, League partisans in the Franco-Italian borderlands (and elsewhere in the kingdom) seized control of many cities, including Lyon and Grenoble. The League posed challenges to the authority of Henri IV. For starters, from his ascension in 1589 to his conversion to Catholicism in 1594, certain regions of the kingdom became hotbeds of League-inspired violence. In Savoy and Dauphiné, the League's militant Catholicism, funded by the Spanish, confronted the Reformed Protestantism supported by Genevan pastors.⁶⁹ The League had the added effect of serving as a pretense for foreign powers, such as the English and Spanish, to intervene in French affairs. With respect to the regular clergy, Megan Armstrong has noted that the Observant Franciscans of Paris were ardent sympathizers—if not outright participants—in the Parisian League during the War of the Three Henrys of 1587-89.⁷⁰ Other regular clergy participated in League activity. The archival material on the Augustinians of Lyon,

⁶⁸ Gutiérrez, 64, 8.

⁶⁹ Stéphane Gal, 52.

⁷⁰ Megan Armstrong, *The Politics of Piety: Franciscan Preachers During the Wars of Religion, 1560-1600*, (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2010).

Brou, Crémieu, Seyssel, Vinay, and L'Osier has not pointed to any Augustinian involvement in the Catholic League. My survey of Augustinian authors publishing in Flanders also has not uncovered any references to League activity. Further research in both the archives of Augustinian material possessions, notarial and parliamentary records, city consular minutes, and a closer examination of Augustinian printed matter would clarify the Augustinian position vis-à-vis League activity. Until then, the evidence suggests that the Augustinians did not have an active role in League activity in the Franco-Italian borderlands.

Henri IV's promulgation of the Edict of Nantes in 1598 broke the impasse. The Edict embodied reason of state as a "third option" for escaping the confessional violence of the Wars of Religion.⁷¹ Henri IV never intended the Edict of Nantes to offer religious liberty for Protestants. As Michael Wolfe writes, the Edict was "an offer they could not refuse," that had the effect of creating coexistence by quarantine, not coexistence by integration and protection. Confessional coexistence assuaged Protestant fears, but it did not eliminate all threats.⁷²

Although successful in ending a destructive civil war, the Edict did little to implement the Counter-Reformation spirituality the Council of Trent called for. In fact, its provision for coexistence conflicted with the idea of a unified Catholic polity.

⁷¹ Over recent decades, historians on both sides of the Atlantic have applied several interpretational prisms to understand the conflict: it was class warfare that pitted the bourgeoisie against the magistracy, and the magistracy against the Crown [H Heller]; it was a political phenomenon in which rural *grandeurs* challenged a weakened Crown by using confessional difference as their *cause célèbre* for resisting the long and tortured regency government of Catherine de' Medici. Most recently, doctrinal difference has emerged as a matrix for understanding the conflict, arguing that real theological distinctions, with their attendant cultural impacts, precipitated the "Othering" that ushered in the storms of war. However, historians do agree that the Edict granted temporary and renewable freedoms to Protestants in France, with even more concessions for Protestant elites. In hindsight, however, the Edict also rehabilitated royal prestige at the expense of religious freedoms, especially those of non-noble Protestants.

⁷² Michael Wolfe, "Protestant Reactions to the Conversion of Henry IV," in Michael Wolfe, ed. *Changing Identities in early Modern France*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 383-4.

Moreover, the Edict increased the importance of the Crown at the expense of universal Catholicism that the Council of Trent presupposed, placing the Crown in the role of arbiter of peace and conflating public tranquility with the peace of the soul.⁷³ War-weary subjects found an end to the “time of troubles” through the notions of *douceur* and *oubliance* woven into the Edict.⁷⁴ Offering clemency and the promise of a harmony moving forward, these twin aspects of the Edict temporarily appeased religious passions, thereby infusing the Edict with religious authority. Peace—what priests promised in absolution for weary souls—became a secularized absolution offered even to the worst of “sinners,” the Leaguers.⁷⁵ This, however, posed problems for Henri: How could he and his successors continue to develop strong centralized government while self-fashioning themselves as devotees of the Catholic Reformation, and thus good Catholics (bearing in mind that as a former relapsed heretic, Henri politically needed to curry favor with the pope)? In embracing its Catholicism, how would the Bourbon monarchy advance the Counter-Reformation while also protecting its own interests?

The complex relationship between the Edict and the Counter-Reformation meant that the ideals of the Council of Trent were often cultivated in France through the impetus of popular piety, bypassing church hierarchy. Barbara Diefendorf has shown that the Edict of Nantes diverted the spiritual energy of the Catholic League

⁷³ Jean-Pierre Babelon, “Conclusion,” in *Paix des armes, Paix des âmes*, (Paris: Société Henri IV-Imprimerie Nationale, 2000). Additionally, Babelon understands the Edict as a watershed moment for all manner of change in seventeenth-century France, be it cultural, judicial, political, religious, or geo-political.

⁷⁴ For an analysis of the political social idea of *douceur*, see Eric Méchoulan, “La Douceur du politique,” in *Le doux aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles*. Cahiers du GADGES, (Geneva: Droz, 2003).

Douceur (kindness) referred to the clemency that Henri IV demonstrated to ex-Leaguers who took up arms against the Crown; *oubliance* (forgetfulness/amnesty) referred to the willingness of Henri not to prosecute Leaguers.

⁷⁵ Babelon, 494.

into the causes of religious proselytization and social activism. As she has argued, the Wars of Religion created a legion of widows within devout, wealthy families (often former partisans of the League). After the promulgation of the Edict, these widows tended to adopt an ascetic lifestyle that they manifested in charitable work in hospitals and among the urban poor. This mode of piety served as a powerful exemplar for regular clergy and Counter-Reformation preachers alike.⁷⁶

Henri IV remained uncertain whether the regular clergy, many of whom were implicated with the League, would undermine the tenuous peace. After all, as Eric Nelson asserts, the influx of Counter-Reformation orders from Italy and Spain threatened the Crown's claim to Gallican liberties.⁷⁷ Henri therefore sought to foster rapprochement, renewing ties with the older orders while patronizing the Counter-Reformation ones, in hopes of weaving them into his efforts at pacification under royal authority, while also showing zealous Catholics and the papacy at least a modicum of commitment to the Catholic cause.⁷⁸ The Discalced Augustinians were one of the

⁷⁶ Barbara B. Diefendorf, "An Age of Gold?: Parisian Women, the Holy League, and the Roots of Catholic Renewal," in Michael Wolfe, ed., *Changing Identities in Early Modern France*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997); see also Diefendorf, *From Penitence to Charity*.

⁷⁷ Eric Nelson, *The Jesuits and the Monarchy: Catholic Reform and Political Authority in France (1590-1615)*, (London: Routledge, 2005), 179-80.

In 1516, the Concordat of Bologna signed between Francis I and Pope Leo X permitted the kings of France to appoint bishops, and also priors and abbots of religious houses. This peculiarity in church policy set the stage for delayed and uneven application of Tridentine reform in France, often resulting in a modified version. Royal control increased over the sixteenth century, making the implementation of the canons even more politically problematic, especially given the powerful magistracy in France that sought to defend the "Gallican liberties" at the Crown's disposal. As Alain Tallon has summarized, the ideal of a unified Western Christendom that typified the Catholic Reformation was confronted in France by "a national monarchy under construction, and a Gallican church proud of its particularity." This caused great reticence among many of the French clergy to embrace the canons of the Council. See Alain Tallon, *La France et le Concile de Trente (1518-1563)*, (Rome: École française de Rome, 1997), 6 (quotation), 817.

⁷⁸ Benoist Pierre, *La bure et le sceptre. La congrégation des Feuillants dans l'affirmation des États et des pouvoirs princiers (vers 1560-vers 1660)*, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2006), 214.

beneficiaries of such royal patronage, along with other orders. The Jesuits, for example, also benefited from the changing political climate of the regime of the Edict. Patronizing the new wave of Counter-Reformation religious orders, of which the Discalced were a part, also evinced Bourbon commitment to the Counter-Reformation after the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes. Henri and his son, Louis XIII, ensured the material well-being of these orders through financial gifts, concessions, and the construction of new buildings.⁷⁹ In the case of the Discalced, the two monarchs supported their work as preachers against heresy.⁸⁰

Nevertheless, the risk of a return to violence owing to inflammatory rhetoric remained possible. As Luc Racaut and Jeffrey K. Sawyer have shown for print culture, and Barbara Diefendorf for sermons, violent imagery was a kind of weapon during the Wars of Religion.⁸¹ It was incumbent upon the Bourbon monarchy, therefore, if its peace were to endure, to manage the speech of firebrands on both the Catholic and Protestant sides. Henri understood the stakes, and thus included a provision against incendiary polemics in the Edict of Nantes. As preachers, the Discalced were responsible to conform to this provision of the Edict. In catechesis of converts and the young, the Hermits had to pay careful attention to the language that they employed in characterizing Protestants. Henri IV's wife, Marie de' Medici, and his son, Louis XIII, and their chief ministers would not be as careful. Under their direction, the war of words and arms resumed.

⁷⁹ Notable examples of Henri IV and Louis XIII's patronizing of Counter-Reformation orders through building projects included the Jesuit college of La Flèche (founded in 1604) and the Discalced Augustinian church in Paris, Notre-Dame-des-Victoires (1629).

⁸⁰ Odile Martin, *La Conversion protestante à Lyon, 1659-1687*, (Geneva: Droz, 1986), 63. Martin has argued that the Augustinians of the region between Lyon and Geneva demonstrated a peaceful confrontation of heresy that conformed with the principles of the Edict of Nantes.

⁸¹ Luc Racaut, *Hatred in Print*, 1; Jeffrey K. Sawyer, *Printed Poison: Pamphlet Propaganda, Faction Politics, and the Public Sphere in Early Seventeenth-Century France*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990. Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross*, 145-58.

The assassination of Henri IV in 1610 ushered in a regency government under Marie de' Medici, whose superintendence over the fractious political partisans of the kingdom took a different tack from her husband's. Marie's entourage of devout courtiers, clerics, and foreign-born favorites came to bear the appellation *dévots*.⁸² Comprised of former Leaguers and those sympathetic to Ultramontane causes, the *dévots* pitted themselves against the magistracy, which stayed firmly in the pro-Gallican camp over issues threatening the Gallican liberties, such as the registration of the canons of the Council of Trent. The *dévots* prided themselves on their devotion, calling for renewed efforts to prosecute heresy.⁸³ At court, the *dévo*t party gave voice to the most ardent of Catholics. Under their influence, the king and regent remilitarized the realm and pursued the recalcitrant Protestant cities.

Despite the rise of the *dévots*, those in favor of Gallican liberties of the church, represented by the magistracy, resisted the openness of the *dévots* to external religious and political influences. The Gallicans cited the assassination of Henri IV as proof of the dangers of ultramontaniam. After all, the king's assassin, Ravaillac, purportedly had a copy of the Jesuit Juan de Mariana's treatise in his desk drawer, a treatise that delineated a moral argument for regicide. In response, royal presses in Paris and Lyon ramped up production of political treatises in the 1610s, decrying Spanish and Italian influence. In the guise of fostering Catholic devotion, the royally published pamphlets praised the Gallican church, and argued for the inviolability of the royal person. For example, the anonymous author of *Advis, remonstrances et Requestes avx estats Generavx tenvs à Paris, 1614* decries the Jesuits and Capuchins for their Spanish and Italian connections respectively and for excessive meddling in

⁸² See Jean-Pierre Gutton, *Dévots et société au XVIIe siècle: Construire le ciel sur la terre*. Paris: Belin, 2004.

⁸³ *Aduis à vn des grands de ce Royaume*, 1615.

political matters.⁸⁴ The author calls upon the regular clergy in France to exercise its spiritual duty in submission to the Crown, thereby calling into question the allegiance of orders of foreign foundation, including but not limited to the Jesuits, Capuchins, Discalced Augustinians, and certain observant congregations in operation in France.⁸⁵

In 1628 and 1629, Louis XIII, persuaded by the dévot faction at court and by Cardinal Richelieu, targeted key Protestant strongholds in provincial cities. The most famous siege took place at La Rochelle, where the Protestant consuls succumbed to royal armies. (Louis XIII commemorated this victory by constructing a baroque church whose operation he bestowed to the Discalced Augustinians in Paris, Notre-Dame-des-Victoires.) This was a narrative repeated across the provinces where Protestant cities had fortified themselves in a way that Richelieu read as insurrection. Upon capitulating, the city consulates were forced to dismantle what was left of their civic fortifications. For the ardent Catholics, this moment in the late 1620s signaled renewed spiritual vitality manifesting in the endeavor to remove heresy from the kingdom.⁸⁶

On the heels of the victory over the recalcitrant cities, a ministerial crisis was brewing. Although dominant over her son over most of his early majority, Marie de' Medici was not able to resist the rising fortunes of the Gallican, *politique* magistracy and its powerful advocate, Richelieu. In November 1630, the influence of the dévots was broken when Louis XIII chose the cardinal over his mother. Richelieu quickly pitted the Gallicans against the dévots, and the alienation at court of the zealous Catholic

⁸⁴ Six Paisans [pseudonym?], *Advis, remonstrances et requestes avx estats generavx tenus à Paris, 1614*. [S.l.: s.n.], 1614, 16. Gallicanism and xenophobia advanced in equal measure. See *Extraict des registres de Parlement*.

⁸⁵ Antimariana (1610). *De la souveraineté des Roys* (1610). Gamaches, *Censvre par les evesques de la province de Sens* (1612).

⁸⁶ The rich collection of political pamphlets at the Newberry Library indicate that the cities targeted by the cardinal-minister for subjugation tended to lie in the south and the west.

party was complete.⁸⁷ Under Richelieu's uncontested ministry that lasted until his death in 1642, and under that of his successor, Cardinal Mazarin (in office 1642 to 1661), the *politique* faction remained dominant. With the ultra-Catholic forces out of favor, Richelieu and Mazarin were free to pursue policies that were much less severe toward the Protestant minority. They generally adopted a policy of "persuasion," reflecting the objective of putting the security of the state before implementing the Counter-Reformation.⁸⁸ Just as with the rise of the League, the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes, and the city-sieges of Richelieu, this trend found echoes in events occurring in the Franco-Italian borderlands. For example, the Crown's de-emphasis upon implementing the precepts of the Counter-Reformation in favor of reason of state corresponded to the Crown's actions with respect to the Brou house (chapter five), where Louis XIII mandated the expulsion of foreign Augustinians, first from leadership, then from the monastery altogether, an action recapitulated by his wife, Anne of Austria, during her regency government. The Crown further typified this tendency by diminishing the independence of religious houses, subjecting them to bishops loyal to the Crown. The case study of L'Osier (chapter six) illustrates this process.

As L'Osier illustrates, by the middle of the seventeenth century, the regular clergy suffered increasing incursions into their ministerial prerogative by the secular clergy. As Benoist Pierre has noted for the Feuillants, under the ministry of Richelieu, the Crown increasingly imagined the regular clergy to be its lackey.⁸⁹ What had been the traditional ministerial purview of the regular clergy was seized by the

⁸⁷ A.D. Wright, *The Counter-Reformation: Catholic Europe and the Non-Christian World*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1982), 27.

⁸⁸ Hsia, 71.

⁸⁹ Pierre, 503.

episcopacies. For example, the bishops increasingly took back some responsibilities for evangelization that they had accorded to the regular clergy.⁹⁰ This, too, was a trend that reverberated in the Franco-Italian borderlands. At Crémieu and L'Osier (chapters four and six respectively), the secular clergy and the bishops acted contrarily to the ambitions and ministerial objectives of the Augustinians. They even went so far as to take property and responsibility away from the Augustinians in their corresponding areas.

IV. Hypotheses for the Lacuna

Why have early modernists largely ignored the Augustinians, whose religious houses could be found throughout France? The treatment of the Augustinians in the medieval period has been undertaken. In the early modern period, their treatment is also more complete in other countries, but not in France. Further, early modern Augustinians have received more systematic theological and philosophical treatment than historical. The French Augustinians in their various forms have only received a passing mention in works on specific monasteries. Virtually no work exists by way of a wider contextualization of French context in their political and cultural milieu. For example, Joseph Bergin in *Church, Society and Religious Change in France, 1580-1730* mentions them in the context of other mendicant orders that played a role in the advancement of social transformation in early modern France, but he is silent with respect to their unique historical presence in the kingdom. His is the most direct treatment. Sarah Hanley points out that the 1610 *lit de justice* ceremony was held for Louis XIII and Marie de' Medici in the Augustinian convent in Paris.⁹¹ James B. Collins

⁹⁰ Deslandres, 77.

⁹¹ Sarah Hanley, *The 'Lit de Justice' of the Kings of France: Constitutional Ideology in Legend, Ritual, and Discourse*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 231.

acknowledges their role as theologians at the Sorbonne, and as a voice of opposition against the more Arminian view of predestination that came to the fore at the Council of Trent, the view held by the Dominicans and the Jesuits. Collins further builds the case for how the tension among the Augustinians, the Jesuits and Dominicans paralleled the theological rivalry that developed in the seventeenth century between the Jansenists and Jesuits, which took on a political dimension under Louis XIV and Louis XV.⁹² Nannerl O. Keohane discusses the Augustinians in the context of their and others' contribution to early modern French philosophical thought.⁹³ Christopher Brooke unusually has a whole chapter dedicated to the political thought of the early modern French Augustinians.⁹⁴

In all cases, these treatments fall short of a wider contextualization of the order with respect to their governance of their houses, and their wider cultural contribution to French society. This begs the question why. In the wake of the Reformation, the Augustinians' association with Lutheranism made them a pariah for Protestants. Their association with Luther and controversial predestinarian views of irresistible grace in the economy of salvation made them suspect among Catholics. In France, where the theological struggle between Jansenism (which relied upon Augustinianism's predestinarian theology) and the Jesuits created both doctrinal and political controversy.⁹⁵

John O'Malley posits another explanation. In his study of Giles of Viterbo, Augustinian Vicar General from 1506 to 1518, he suggests that the Augustinians

⁹² Collins, *The State in Early Modern France*, 37.

⁹³ Nannerl O. Keohane, *Philosophy and the State in France: The Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980).

⁹⁴ Christopher Brooke, *Philosophic Pride: Stoicism and Political Thought from Lipsius to Rousseau*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 76-100.

⁹⁵ Joseph Bergin, *Politics of Religion in Early Modern France*, 183.

themselves avoided the study of Giles because they, as he writes, “Had little interested in investigating the man during whose generalate the Lutheran problem arose, a problem which in their eyes brought shame upon the order.”⁹⁶ Because the Augustinians controlled the sources, it is plausible that Augustinian shame and guilt silenced research into this period of the order’s history. Not until David Gutiérrez, and most recently Eric Saak, have comprehensive studies of the early modern Augustinians on a global scale been written.⁹⁷

Furthermore, in France, one possible explanation lay in the disruption caused by the Revolution at the disbanding of the monasteries. Under the leadership of Henri-Dominique Lacordaire (1802-1861), the Dominicans reentered France in the last half of the nineteenth century after the episodic anticlericalism of the first half of the century. The reintroduction of the Dominicans into post-revolutionary France may explain modern scholarly interest in the Order of Preachers, as the Dominicans no doubt took interest in evoking their their order’s presence during the Ancien Régime. Contrastingly, such a unifying personality did not emerge in the nineteenth century for the Augustinians. Consequently, their reintroduction into modern French society has been spotty, resulting—I would argue—in diminished scholar interest in their contributions to early modern religious, political, and cultural change.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ O’Malley, *Giles of Viterbo*, 11.

⁹⁷ For works by David Gutiérrez, O.S.A., consider *The Augustinians in the Middle Ages, 1256-1356*, (Villanova: Augustinian Historical Institute, 1984); *History of the Order of St. Augustine*, vol. 1, (Villanova: Augustinian Historical Institute, 1979); *The Augustinians from the Protestant Reformation to the Peace of Westphalia 1518-1648*, (Villanova: Augustinian Historical Institute, 1979). For works by Eric Leland Saak, consider *High Way to Heaven: The Augustinian Platform between Reform and Reformation, 1292-1524*, (Leiden: Brill, 2002); *Creating Augustine: Interpreting Augustine and Augustinianism in the Later Middle Ages*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). Saak also has recently completed a work, to be released in April 2017, on Martin Luther, which concerns questions of Luther’s theology and intention in his 1517 critique of church practice. See *Luther and the Reformation of the Later Middle Ages*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

⁹⁸ For work on Lacordaire, and his historical context, consider José Cabanis, *Lacordaire et quelques autres: politique et religion*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1982).

V. Contributions

My dissertation examines several monasteries (two in detail) in the Franco-Italian borderlands from roughly 1550 to 1650. It relies chiefly upon manuscript records, including capitular minutes, royal and ducal letters patent, and court proceedings. I bring to bear upon these sources a deep reading, textual analytical approach in order to narrate the happenings at the monasteries in question. Certain research questions have driven my analysis and shaped my reading of the sources. How did these houses function? Why were there multiple contests for authority, both lay and ecclesiastical? What caused these contests, and what were their outcomes? And more broadly, how did the French Augustinians fit into the wider cultural, religious, and political milieu of Renaissance Humanism, the Counter-Reformation, and state-building?

My research has found that multiple contenders fought for influence over these Augustinian houses. Monarchs, dukes, judges, bishops, city governments, secular clergy, and even subgroups of the Augustinian family itself comprised the contenders. What were typical fights in Europe between the monasteries and secular clergy took on new forms during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, revealing that dynastic rivalries between France and Savoy, and internecine strife among the brothers, could also fuel fights. These contestations destabilized the authority of the Augustinian houses in question, which in turn drew the attention of the French Crown, bishops, secular clergy, and civic governments.

Additionally, this dissertation places the Augustinians within the wider constellation of the orders of the regular clergy in operation in France during the Counter-Reformation. It concludes that in spiritual matters, the Augustinians shared many traits with their other mendicant brethren structurally and with respect to belief. However, especially in chapter three, I seek to point out those ways that made

Augustinian spirituality distinct. Outside of the scope of this study, the question of the degree to which the entire Augustinian family adopted and advanced the objectives of the Counter-Reformation remains to be undertaken.

Finally, I examine both vignettes drawn from multiple monasteries, as well as two larger case studies. I employ a case study approach in this dissertation. This method places side by side both a “normative” set of circumstances under which Augustinian monasteries operated. Then, through the two case studies, we can see how the circumstances of sixteenth-century foundations of Augustinian communities deviated from this norm, and thereby draw conclusions about the cultural, religious, and political milieu of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

VI. Plan for Chapters

The chapters that follow situate the Augustinians of the Franco-Italian frontier within the ideological currents of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These chapters also establish their normative spiritual and material conditions. Additionally, the chapters feature two extensive case studies of monasteries that illustrate the divergences from “the norm” of Augustinian faith and practice in the Franco-Savoyard frontier.

Chapter two situates the Augustinians within their wider cultural and religious context. This chapter identifies the ways in which the Augustinians both experienced and contributed to Renaissance Humanism. In so doing, this chapter places the Augustinians at the critical juncture of cultural change in sixteenth-century Europe. Moreover, this chapter explores the Augustinians’ careers with respect to the objectives of the Counter-Reformation, identifying Augustinians whose work reflected and diverged from them. And finally, this chapter constructs a point of reference with

the faith and praxis of other orders of the regular clergy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Chapters three and four sketch the contours of the ideal typical Augustinian. Chapter three outlines the key attributes of the spiritual life and practice of the Discalced and Hermits in order to understand their unique spiritual ethos. Chapter four identifies themes pertaining to the operation of Augustinian houses. How the Augustinians managed their materiality—possessions, sacred objects, assets—is the centerpiece of this chapter. Using vignettes chiefly from the Lyon and Crémieu houses, this chapter highlights the Augustinians' preoccupations vis-à-vis their physical presence within communities, and what deeper connections this might reveal between French Augustinian self-identity and the vision of their ministry for the world they inhabited.

Chapters five and six offer extensive analysis of two Augustinian houses, which serve as case studies anomalous with respect to the spiritual and operational norms established in chapters three and four. The conditions of their founding in the Counter-Reformation milieu demonstrate the pressures that both Protestantism and state-building exerted upon communities of the regular clergy. Chapter five addresses the monastery at Brou, founded by the house of Savoy. Upon their founding of Brou, the Savoyards chose the Observant Lombard Congregation from Italy to run the community. With time, the shifting winds of political fortune in the province in which Brou was situated impacted the community. Eventually, the Italians were purged in favor of French Discalced Augustinians, revealing the Bourbon monarchy's tendency toward xenophobia, and their own penchant for "order shopping" among the flood of new Counter-Reformation orders. This case study also illustrates that dynastic interests exacerbated internecine conflict with respect to the control of the community, to the detriment of the objectives of the Counter-Reformation in an area

with a high population of Protestants. Chapter six examines the pilgrimage site and seminary of Notre-Dame-de-L'Osier. At L'Osier, the Virgin Mary performed a miracle, which the Augustinians and a wealthy Marquise memorialized with the establishment of a pilgrimage site and seminary under the auspices of the Discalced Augustinians of the neighboring village of Vinay. The narrative exhibits the textbook elements of a Counter-Reformation house. The site of a textbook Counter-Reformation miracle, the pilgrimage site of L'Osier went terribly awry in a manner revealing the deep resentments between regular and secular clergy, and between bishops and local nobles as to who was responsible to drive, to direct, and to oversee the implementation of Counter-Reformation faith and practice in rural zones.

CHAPTER 2: French Augustinians in Larger Worlds: Renaissance and Counter-Reformation Currents

The Augustinians were physically ensconced in the Franco-Italian frontier. They were also intellectually situated within the social and cultural milieu of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Central and Western Europe. In this chapter, we will examine certain Augustinians whose leadership emulated two attributes of this European social and cultural milieu, Renaissance Humanism and the Counter Reformation. The Augustinians operated among a constellation of religious orders, some of which dated from the Middle Ages, others from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We will finish this chapter by examining the chief attributes and contributions of some of these larger orders in operation in the Franco-Italian frontier in order to better understand the zeitgeist among regular clergy, which formed the context in which the Augustinians lived and ministered.

The French Augustinians were connected to brothers throughout the world, whose work and careers both exemplified and advanced humanistic *mentalités*. They incorporated these ideas despite (or perhaps because of) the growing anti-monastic

sentiment since the Late Middle Ages.⁹⁹ Ronald G. Witt argues that humanists were professionally “grammarians and rhetoricians”; with an emphasis on language, humanists employed ancient models as analogies for learning “ancient syntax, vocabulary, and turns of phrases.” Through this method, humanists sought to “classicize” their printed creativity.¹⁰⁰ Witt goes on to point out that with time, the humanists’ interest in “captur[ing] the spirit of antiquity in their own writings... contributed to a restructuring of their own mentality,” which in turn created a powerful alternative to contemporary society.¹⁰¹ C. Scott Dixon argues that the Catholic mind was informed by early Christian theologians whose careers not only

⁹⁹ Anti-monastic sentiment had been brewing since the Late Middle Ages, and was only augmented by the Renaissance Humanists. Sophie Hasquenoph has argued that the values of the Renaissance created a dissonance with the monastic values and institutions of the regular clergy. Multiple cultural causes were to blame: the self-abnegation of the monk contrasting with the beauty of the human form; the worldly-rejection of the monk in opposition to optimism of progress; monastic communitarianism contrasting with the individualism of the Renaissance; and intellectual inquiry contrasting with anti-intellectualism. The Renaissance vaunted individualism in art, politics, and medicine that deviated sharply from the communitarianism of the monastic idea. The explorers sailed the high seas for their own wealth and fame. Later, the Protestant Reformation reinforced the individual experience with God. The critique of great Renaissance Humanist writers still resonated in society, the critique of writers like Erasmus, Marguerite de Navarre, and François Rabelais. Together, these authors criticized the status quo of the institution of medieval monasticism. (See Hasquenoph, *Histoire des ordres et congrégations religieuses en France du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2009), 543, 545, 558-9). Indeed, this cultural dissonance threatened many orders whose composition remained largely eremitic. The strictly contemplative life of silence and solitude lost its popular comprehension, and became undervalued, as Gérard Chaix has shown in his study of the Carthusians. (Gérard Chaix, “Contributions cartusiennes aux débuts de la réforme catholique dans les pays de langue française (1560-1620),” *Revue d’histoire de l’Église de France* 75 (1989): 123) In the seventeenth century, an active model for communities of regular clergy took hold, which as Nannerl O. Koehane has noted—received the approbation of the Bourbon monarchy in the first half of the seventeenth century. Cardinal Richelieu disapproved of the lifestyle of “solitude and retreat” of some Augustinians. See Nannerl O. Koehane, *Philosophy and the State in France: The Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 193.

¹⁰⁰ Ronald G. Witt, “The Humanist Movement,” in *Handbook of European History 1400-1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation, Volume II: Visions, Programs, and Outcomes*, eds. Thomas A. Brady, Jr. Heiko A. Oberman, and James D. Tracy, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 93-4. On the subject of the letters for Renaissance Humanists, see also Euan Cameron, “The Power of the Word: Renaissance and Reformation,” in *Early Modern Europe: An Oxford History*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 63-101.

¹⁰¹ Witt, “Humanist Movement,” 94.

evinced the medieval expectations for saintliness, but also excellence in rhetoric and eloquence.¹⁰² For the famous French humanist Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (1450-1536), a return to classical authors served the objective of finding a compatibility between nature and Christianity and a reconciliation of pagan and Christian thought,¹⁰³ and was integral to “communion with the Word of God.”¹⁰⁴

In the paragraphs that follow, I discuss two Augustinians who exemplified the features of Renaissance Humanism. I have chosen these Augustinian brothers for their renown as writers and leaders within the Augustinian order. The list is far from exhaustive. Witt considers “grammar, poetry, oratory, historical writing and ethics” as five essential areas of learning that the humanists excelled in and promoted.¹⁰⁵ The following pages show ways in which Augustinian brothers excelled in these areas of learning.

I. Augustinian Leadership and Renaissance Humanism

Giles of Viterbo (Egidio da Viterbo, 1472-1532) served as vicar general of the Augustinians from 1506 to 1518. In his study of Giles' career, John W. O'Malley looks for traces of Renaissance humanism, both as a source of inspiration for the vicar general, but also as a tradition which he fostered.¹⁰⁶ The Augustinian order reached its apogee under Giles' administration, the success of which O'Malley links to Giles'

¹⁰² C. Scott Dixon, *The Church in the Early Modern Age*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2016), 1.

¹⁰³ Witt, “Humanist Movement,” 112-3.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 93.

¹⁰⁶ John W. O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform: A Study in Renaissance Thought*, (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 3, 4. Giles' protégé, Girolamo Seripando—discussed more fully below, also advanced many of the ideals of Renaissance Humanism. For example, as with many of the brothers, Seripando was a gifted orator. As vicar general of the order, Seripando used his position of influence to encourage better preaching in the church. See Gutiérrez, 199.

participation “in the leading academic and literary movements of the period,”¹⁰⁷ which formed the essential elements of Humanism.

Giles’ study at the Paduan Augustinian *studium generale* introduced the future vicar general to the important Italian intellectual circles that grew in Italy’s larger cities, such as Naples, Florence, and Rome. In Padua, Giles studied under philosophy faculty who embraced Aristotelianism.¹⁰⁸ During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in the wake of the Great Western Schism (1378-1417), the intellectual focus upon theological and philosophical synthesis and agreement (*concordia*) gained popularity.¹⁰⁹ *Concordia* informed Giles’ actions, as evidenced by his efforts to theologically reconcile Catholicism with Orthodoxy.¹¹⁰ Additionally, as a humanist, Giles held human reason in high esteem. For example, Giles argued that by observing nature through human reason, one could obtain salvation.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ O’Malley, *Viterbo*, 4.

¹⁰⁸ O’Malley, *Viterbo*, 40. The Aristotelian position of the faculty at Padua contrasted with the Platonism of the Florentine philosophy faculty.

Thomas of Villanova (1486-1555) was another Augustinian Hermit who—like Giles—was steeped in the Humanist intellectual milieu of Western Europe. Villanova believed in the importance of educating youth. For example, he founded a private school for Morisco children, as well as a seminary, in the archdiocese of Valencia, where he was archbishop from 1544. He also founded a seminary in the archdiocese. (See Gutiérrez, 184) Moreover, Villanova was an exception orator. In 1519, he traveled throughout Spain as an itinerant preacher, where his sermons drew attention for their rhetorical power in their emotiveness and zeal. (Gutiérrez, 151) Additionally, Villanova was often present at the court of Charles V to deliver sermons. (Gutiérrez, 198-9)

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹¹¹ O’Malley, *Viterbo*, 23. This thinking is particularly useful, given Giles’ exploring contemporaries. In being put in contact with indigenous peoples of the Americas, Europeans debated whether they were fully human, that is, whether they had souls, and thus if salvation was available to them. The idea that God would, through natural revelation, offer salvation humanized the indigenous peoples in the mind of the regular clergy, like the Augustinians, who came to the Americas with the European explorers.

Luis de León (1528-91) entered the Augustinian order in 1543. Thirteen years later, he began study at the University of Alcalá, where he specialized in a Hebrew course of study under the tutelage of the humanist Cipriano de la Huerga. In 1558, he went to the University of Salamanca, where he earned the degree of Master in Theology¹¹²; three years later, the students and faculty of the University of Salamanca elected him as chair of philosophy and theology.¹¹³

Luis garnered a reputation among his colleagues as a skilled linguist and intellectual, and this renown began to spread in the 1560s. He produced notable translations of Greco-Roman poetry.¹¹⁴ For Francisco Garrote Perez, Luis' poetry reveals the Augustinian's desire for truth (theological and material), with equal interest in the material world (manifested through his interest in beauty and Plato), as well as a spiritual desire for mystical communion with God.¹¹⁵ He also clashed with his faculty colleagues. In March 1572, his rivals wrote to the Valladolid Inquisition, denouncing Luis for fostering a climate of disorder at the University, and for heresy.¹¹⁶

¹¹² Manuel Durán and William Kluback, "Introduction," in *Luis de León: The Names of Christ*, (New York: Paulist Press, 1984), 3.

¹¹³ Durán and Kluback, 4-5.

Other Augustinians led in the universities of Western Europe. For example, French Jesuit Simplicien Saint-Martin (1571-1668) (elected provincial of the Hermit province of Aquitaine in 1637) was a doctor of theology. In 1620, he began lecturing theology at the University of Toulouse, where he would ultimately earn the title "Royal Professor." In 1659, his colleagues elected him dean of the faculty. See Eelcko Ypma, "Auteurs augustins français," *Augustiniana*, 22 (1972): 627.

James B. Collins suggests that Saint-Martin was not unique as an Augustinian professor. Collins writes that the Augustinians "dominated the Sorbonne," meaning that they held prominent positions in the theological faculty at France's most important university. See James B. Collins, *The State in Early Modern France*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 37.

¹¹⁴ Anonymous Introduction, in *Fray Luis de León Poesía*, (Madrid?: PML Ediciones, 1995), 9.

¹¹⁵ Francisco Garrote Perez, "Introducción," in *Fray Luis de León, Poesías*, (Salamanca: Ediciones Almar, S.A.), 11.

¹¹⁶ Durán and Kluback, 5.

Luis had reason to feel vulnerable vis-à-vis the Inquisition, given that his Jewish roots (through his mother's side) were common knowledge. This fact, coupled with his facility in Hebrew, may have raised suspicions among inquisitors. As Durán and Kluback note, Spanish intellectuals in the sixteenth century felt particularly "besieged." And this certainly was the case for Luis.¹¹⁷ The Inquisition arrested Luis in 1572, and held him in Valladolid until December 1576, during which time he was tortured at the hands of the inquisitorial authorities.

Luis wrote *The Names of Christ* between 1583 and 1585, the work for which he is most well-known. The traits that animated his inquisitors' unjust treatment in Valladolid are juxtaposed in the text against the descriptions of the names attributed in the biblical narrative to Christ. Additionally, *The Names of Christ* typifies Renaissance Humanism in three ways. According to Durán and Kluback, Luis infused "ideas of beauty, order, purpose, [and] love" into the text.¹¹⁸ Moreover, Luis demonstrated through the text his deep knowledge of linguistics, drawing upon Greek, Hebraic, and Arabic literary traditions. And finally, Durán and Kluback remind the readers that a core attribute of Luis' work—preoccupation with the humanist objective of reconciling pagan texts with Christianity, especially Plato's philosophy—was echoed by the Augustinians' literary output in general. Although Luis enjoyed notoriety for *The*

¹¹⁷ Durán and Kluback, 11; quotation on 9.

¹¹⁸ Durán and Kluback, 17.

Names of Christ, other Augustinians incorporated the same humanist methods and perspectives into their writing.¹¹⁹

Durán and Kluback argue that Luis used his writings to subtly criticize Spanish society. In particular, Luis targeted the “increasing intolerance in Spanish society,”¹²⁰ which through the Inquisition unjustly targeted Conversos and Moriscos in the interest of establishing a strong centralized state.¹²¹ In the chapter entitled “King of God,” for example, Luis writes that the most noble qualities of a ruler are humility and meekness, setting up a contrast with Spanish monarchs and the Spanish church, whom he characterized as “self-centered and arrogant.”¹²² As mentioned above, setting Christ’s attributes through his “names” in opposition to the lived experiences of Spaniards in the *Siglo de Oro* was Luis’ preferred rhetorical strategy.

II. Augustinian Leadership and the Counter-Reformation

In addition to contributing to Renaissance Humanism, the Augustinians advanced the Counter-Reformation. Through their participation in the deliberations of the Council of Trent, the Augustinian brothers were uniquely positioned to help set the tone of the Counter-Reformation for the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

¹¹⁹ Durán and Kluback, 2. Augustinian intellectual output comprised various genres. For example, Simplicien Saint-Martin of the Hermit monastery in Toulouse wrote the following works, which serve as biographies highlighting the saintly lives that the order of Augustinian Hermits produced: *La Vie de S. Thomas de Vil-Nevve, dit l'avmosnier, De l'Ordre des Hermites de S. Avgvstin, Archeuesque de Valence*. (Toulouse: Jean Bovde, 1659); *Histoire de la vie dv glorievx pere S. Avgvstin religievx, doctevr de l'eglise, evesqve d'Hippone, et de plvsievr saints et saintes, et hommes illvstres de son ordre des ermites*. (Toulouse: Adrien Colomiez, 1641). Additionally, Saint-Martin also used his pen in defense of Saint Augustine’s call to the monastic life in the following work: *Defense de l'estat monachal dv glorievx pere Saint Avgvstin, doctevr de l'eglise, et evesqve d'Hyppone: Et institution de son Ordre des Ermites*. (Toulouse: Arnavd Colomiez, 1657).

¹²⁰ Ibid., 11.

¹²¹ Ibid., 10.

¹²² Ibid., 14.

Moreover, the Augustinians were evangelists against heresy, martyrs, and mystics.

These three characteristics of Augustinian ministry typified the goals and ambitions of the Counter-Reformation.

Vicar General of the Augustinian Hermits, Girolamo Seripando (1493-1563; vicar general of the order from 1539-51), took center stage at the Council of Trent as one of its most consistent, physically-present, and influential contributors.¹²³ Clergy of the Catholic Church assembled at Trent, Italy, in 1545 to open a council aimed at addressing the theological and operational objections raised by both the Protestant Reformers and also those reforming voices that remained within the Catholic fold.¹²⁴ John W. O'Malley has argued that the Council had two faces. On one hand, the Council accepted the onus to reform the Church's institutions and practices in response to the ongoing calls for reform that predated Martin Luther's critique of the Church's practice of indulgence-selling, among other accusations. Proactive self-reformation characterized this Catholic Reformation, with *ad fontes*—the return to the church

¹²³ John W. O'Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council*, (Cambridge: Kelknap, 2013), 74.

¹²⁴ Historians disagree over whether the Council, in setting the stage for the Counter-Reformation, created something new or whether it was merely evoking an older, purer, truer Christianity. Alexandra Walsham has shown that in England, missionaries of the Counter-Reformation relied upon continuity with medieval spirituality as a guide for understanding and resolving current disputes. Catholic polemicists harnessed the symbolic import of miracles as a sign of the power and truthfulness of the Roman faith. (See Walsham, "Miracles and the Counter-Reformation Mission to England." *Historical Journal* 46, no. 4 (2003), 780-1) O'Malley has agreed, writing that the work of the Council of Trent was not about reform in the sense of creating something new, for that might connote breaking with the past; rather, it was more about creating continuity in faith and practice, back through the centuries. (O'Malley, *Trent and All That*, 122-3, 131) Or in other words, the Council was an act of remembering and dusting off old rules and procedures. In contrast, Jean Bernhard has argued that historians have made too much of the Council as an instrument of reform. Instead, the Council is better understood as a sign of a reforming zeitgeist generated independently from the Council. (Jean Bernhard, "Conclusion," in Gabriel Le Bras and Jean Gaudemet, eds., *L'Époque de la Réforme et du Concile de Trente*, (Paris: Cujas, 1989), 419) As Sophie Hasquenoph has suggested, "reform" was neither old nor new. Instead, she argues that it was an ongoing impulse, unleashed on occasion, such as during the Council of Trent. (See Hasquenoph, *Histoire des ordres et congregations religieuses en France du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2009), 545 and ff.) Importantly for the regular clergy, this impulse tended to fragment the regular clergy in ways that led to internecine conflict. (See Jean-Marie Le Gall, *Les Moines au temps des Réformes: France (1480-1560)*, (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2001), 19)

fathers and councils of centuries past—as a guiding leitmotif. Concurrently, the Council sought to confront Protestant theological error, and in confronting it, to clarify its own doctrinal positions, especially with respect to sacramental theology, the economy of salvation, and the Augustinian-Pelagian controversy over free will (which was of particular importance for the Augustinian brothers).¹²⁵ Moreover, the Council sought to clarify the laity's access to the church and its sacraments. O'Malley describes this outwardly-directed offensive action as the Counter-Reformation.¹²⁶ Over the next eighteen years, the churchmen clarified theological points of disagreement, significantly sacramental theology and church teaching on free-will. At the center of all this difficult work stood Augustinian brother Seripando, and Saint Augustine's theological legacy vis-à-vis his teaching on free will in the economy of salvation.

Because of his active involvement in the Council of Trent, Seripando was well-positioned to contribute to and to shape theological debates that would become the official theological response to the Protestant reformers.¹²⁷ As he concurrently served as Vicar General of the Augustinian Hermits, Seripando offers a glimpse into the theological disposition of the Augustinians in the mid-sixteenth century. That the Council's proceedings on the theological debates in which Seripando participated were well documented assists in our reconstruction of the Augustinians' contributions to the Counter-Reformation. According to A.D. Wright, Seripando represented a school of

¹²⁵ In *Creating Augustine: Interpreting Augustine and Augustinianism in the Later Middle Ages*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), Erik L. Saak argues that Augustinians in the Late Middle Ages sought to fashion themselves as true sons of Augustine through his imitation (*Imitatio Augustini*). This meant emulating his life insofar as the extant documents from the fifth century suggested Augustine's values and his expectations for the religious communities that followed his Rule. The expectations were far reaching, extending to theology, but also attitudes about wealth and sex, as well as expectations for communal life. See pages 199-218.

¹²⁶ O'Malley, *Trent and All That*, 127-31. As far as Seripando is concerned, O'Malley has found that he played a central role in the church's discussion on justification. O'Malley goes so far as to describe Seripando's career as "luminary." See *Trent: What Happened at the Council*, p. 74

¹²⁷ Sauzet, "Les religieux mendiants," in *Revue d'histoire*, 179.

theological thought that reflected a late medieval revitalization of Augustinian predestinarianism.¹²⁸ Seripando found more in common theologically with Luther in regard to soteriology than many of Seripando's counterparts at the council were comfortable with. In fact, he was prepared to negotiate directly with the followers of Luther on soteriological statements of belief,¹²⁹ believing that merely semantics divided Luther from the Catholic Church from the 1510s to the 1540s. On matters of substance, according to Seripando, the church fathers and Luther were agreed.¹³⁰

Seripando shared many of the Renaissance Humanists' concerns. To Sophie Hasquenoph, this is not surprising, as she argues that the Pre-Reformers, like Erasmus, were steeped in the modes and methods of the Renaissance.¹³¹ In turn, Erasmus and

¹²⁸ A.D. Wright, *The Counter-Reformation: Catholic Europe and the Non-Christian World*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1982), 7.

¹²⁹ Francis Rapp, "La Naissance de l'Europe moderne," in *L'Époque de la Réforme et du Concile de Trente*, eds. Gabriel Le Bras and Jean Gaudemet, (Paris: Cujas, 1989), 97. The fact that Seripando found much common theological ground breaks many of the stereotypes that have crept into the historical narrative of the Reformation. This stereotyped narrative privileges the points of divergence between Luther and the Catholic Church, which developed with time. This narrative discounts the commitment to reform *in capite et in membris*, the questioning of Thomism that those pre-Lutheran reformers who stayed in the Catholic fold also held to firmly, such as the famous Meaux school, whose members included bishop Guillaume Briçonnet and Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples—themselves Erasmians.

John O'Malley comments on the theme of Thomist categories. O'Malley has found that Seripando rejected this, and felt that more theological room should be made for the lived religious experiences of the faithful. See O'Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council*, 108-9.

¹³⁰ O'Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council*, 104. O'Malley finds Seripando to be sympathetic to the Lutherans' theological critiques. What the church fathers assembled found most worthy of their response was the accusation that the Catholic Church subscribed to a form of Pelagianism in its practices, namely the selling of indulgences, which—of course—spurred Luther's posting of his *Ninety-Five Theses*. See page 104.

However, not all Augustinians were in agreement. Seripando's mentor, Giles of Viterbo, had held firmly to, as O'Malley has written, "a direct relationship between virtue and religious knowledge." Holding to a heterodox belief was, therefore, only explicable as a moral fault. This may explain why Giles fiercely prosecuted heretics. After all, heresy was a moral failing, and a choice. See O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform: A Study in Renaissance Thought*, (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 36.

¹³¹ Hasquenoph, 562.

other Christian Humanists inspired the generation of reformers in attendance at the Council of Trent. An Observantine, Seripando shared with the Humanists a concern over clerical corruption, and he worked for its eradication within the Augustinian order.¹³² Seripando's approach targeted the hierarchy of the order. As Seripando wrote, "[e]xperience teaches us that the well ordering of religious depends more on the careful concern of those in charge than on the ordinary friars."¹³³ Specifically, Seripando's reforms streamlined the hierarchy of the order so as to make it more administratively responsive to cases of failure in clerical discipline.¹³⁴ Additionally, in response to the defections en masse that occurred owing to the Lutheran schism, Seripando prioritized the identification and the punishment of heresy.¹³⁵ Gutiérrez observes that Seripando's reforms were critical to stave off further defections caused by the Protestant Reformation.¹³⁶ Seripando maintained this vigorous program of reform for the Augustinian order until his appointment to the archbishopric of Salerno in 1551.¹³⁷

Regardless of whether the Council of Trent looked back or invented something new, it is clear that the Council asserted a set of beliefs that would shape the

¹³² Bellini, "Observantine Movements," 113. Seripando was not alone. His predecessor, Giles of Viterbo, vicar general from 1507-18, was also a notable Humanist. Erasmus, who advocated an ambitious program of reform of "head and members of the church," joined a chorus of others whose vision of the church was a body *semper reformanda*. See Bellini, "Observantine Movements," 107. Rapp has also described Viberbo as a "humanist of renown." See Francis Rapp, "La Naissance de l'Europe moderne," in *L'Époque de la Réforme et du Concile de Trente*, eds. Gabriel Le Bras and Jean Gaudemet, (Paris: Cujas, 1989), 91.

¹³³ Seripando, quoted in Gutiérrez, 113.

¹³⁴ Gutiérrez, 69-70.

¹³⁵ Gutiérrez, 56, 61. The dictum of the Observantines, *strictior observantia regularis*, dovetailed with the theme of reforming church institutions in head and members that the Erasmian Christian Humanists called for.

¹³⁶ Gutiérrez, 43-63.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 104.

spirituality of the Counter-Reformation. The Council reasserted sacramental theology, clarifying some doctrinal understandings of their function and practice within the Church. In so doing, the Council rejected the Protestant argument that nothing supernaturally efficacious transpired in the administration of the sacraments, which the Council clarified to comprise Baptism, Confirmation, Penance, the Eucharist, Extreme Unction, Holy Matrimony, and Holy Orders. Of the sacraments clarified and reasserted, the Eucharist took on special significance as it—more than the other sacraments—served as a controversial point of theological disagreement. First, it was grounded in church tradition, being affirmed in the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), and reiterated again at Constance (1414-18). The Council of Trent reasserted the teaching that the consecrated elements were fully Christ's body and blood in the forms of bread and wine, forms accessible to the baptized and confirmed communicant.¹³⁸

Second, the Eucharist had great symbolic import for inspiring Catholic zeal. With the divine substance coursing through their veins, the Catholic faithful received the power to remain in the fold despite the heightening menace of heresy. In Lyon and the Franco-Italian frontier, the Eucharist was of capital importance to the Augustinians. For example, The Discalced set up their ministry on the Croix-Rousse in Lyon because the faubourg lacked priests to administer the sacraments. Further, the Augustinian community at Brou experienced a Eucharistic miracle concerning its communion chalice. Often, the rituals surrounding the Eucharist, such as Corpus Christi processions, served as markers of divine adoption that distinguished Catholics from Protestants. Notably, therefore, these rituals differentiated the two confessions,

¹³⁸ Mullett, *Catholic Reformation*, 48.

often with inflammatory polemics written and spoken by the regular clergy.¹³⁹ With the reaffirmation of dogma as its inspiration, the Counter-Reformation inspired a process of internalizing belief in a way that extended beyond walls to inhabit those who believed, and, consequently, those who believed differently.¹⁴⁰

In addition to the rites and rituals surrounding the administration of the sacraments, the ideal-typical imagination of the Counter-Reformation extended to include the veneration of Christian saints, martyrs, and the Virgin Mary. The regular clergy frequently retold the life stories of saintly martyrs in writing during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the regular clergy.¹⁴¹ For example, Flemish Augustinian Georges Maigret published a martyrology in 1612. It contained vignettes of martyrs' lives, emphasizing the Augustinians' skill in preaching and teaching amid fear of martyrdom at the hands of heretics. The allusion to the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century religious climate was intended. Maigret's narrative places Augustinian Hermits at critical junctures in the history of the Church where heretical error threatened to undermine orthodoxy, and where such conflicts turned violent. For example, Maigret cites the work of the Augustinians during the Donatist controversy, the Vandal

¹³⁹ See especially Craig Harline, *Miracles at the Jesus Oak*. For an example of a member of the Lyon regular clergy who wrote on this theme, consider Jesuit Emond Auger who in *Pedagogue d'Armes* cast the Eucharist as essential to the spiritual and physical combat against Protestants. Writing about the Battle of Jarnac (March 1569), Auger used his office as chaplain of the king's armies to prevail upon Charles IX. He asked the king to permit him to serve the Eucharist before engaging Protestant armies. To take the Eucharist, he argued, would introduce Christ into the soldiers' bodies, thereby through a sort of transubstantiation to become instruments of God's judgment against their incredulity. Later, in the 1570s and 80s, Auger would move to Lyon where he worked at the local Jesuit seminary and centered his efforts on the education of youth to promote orthodoxy. There, his efforts sacramentalized education, teaching, and preaching that would become an inspiration for the Augustinian Hermits who would admire their resolute Jesuit counterparts.

The role of Corpus Christi processions as a tool of delineating boundaries of Protestant and Catholic communities is powerfully described by Barbara Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross*, 45.

¹⁴⁰ Wandel, 12-3.

¹⁴¹ Hsia, 163-4.

invasions of North Africa, the spread of Machiavellian political in Italy, and the plight of the Austin Friars in Henry VIII's England.¹⁴²

The “mystical invasion” shaped the late-sixteenth and seventeenth-century French church, and particularly the religious orders. This “invasion” was a religious phenomenon, characterized by acts that extended beyond “conventional religious practices, even among the highly devout.”¹⁴³ Through intense prayer, the mystic experienced God through the emotions and senses, not through the intellect per se. In seventeenth-century French religion, the mystics created two camps among religious orders, one that privileged the unmediated, personal encounter with Christ, and one that grew from the corpus of theological knowledge and Church tradition.¹⁴⁴ This ideological difference spurred medieval orders to split into reformed branches, which occurred with the creation of the Discalced Augustinians. In contrast, the Jesuits had both traditions within their own order.¹⁴⁵

Marian adoration also constituted a central part the ideal of the mystical invasion.¹⁴⁶ Odile Martin argues that during the Wars of Religion, the dictum “The Virgin Victorious” animated the efforts of zealous Catholics to restore Lyon to Catholic control after the brief Protestant interregnum in 1562. Martin also argues that physical

¹⁴² Georges Maigret, *Reiettons sacrès pullulants de la palme triumpante des premiers martyrs de l'ordre dit des Freres Ermites de S. Augustin...*, (Liege: C. Ouwerx, 1612), passim.

¹⁴³ Bergin, 316.

¹⁴⁴ Bergin, 317-8. Bergin argues that for the mystics spirituality did not stem from intellectual premises or entrenched theological camps, but experiences.

¹⁴⁵ Bergin points out that the famous Jesuit mystic and exorcist, Jean-Joseph Surin, was a prominent voice of the mystic invasion in the French Society of Jesus. Bergin, 317.

A useful monograph of two of Surin's writings has been published under the following title: Jean-Joseph Surin, *Triomphe de l'amour divin sur les puissances de l'Enfer et Science expérimentale des choses de l'autre vie* (Grenoble: Jérôme Millon, 1990).

¹⁴⁶ Hasquenoph, 576. Joseph Bergin also observes the role that Mary played in the spirituality of the French mystics, particularly those who followed Oratorian Pierre de Bérulle (1575-1629). See Bergin, p. 318.

representations of the Virgin in the countryside, such as shrines, marked the newly re-acquired territory.¹⁴⁷ From the 1640s, the papacy mandated the incorporation of Marian adoration into the spiritual practices of the Lyonnais Augustinian Hermits of Saint-Vincent. Pope Urban VIII ordered the Hermits to say fourteen masses for the Virgin, thereby moving Mary to the forefront of monastic devotion in the city. Moreover, devotedly keeping the Feast of the Annunciation carried particular weight for the pope, as it strengthened ties between the Catholic faithful (*concordia*), while also being efficacious for the “extirpation of heresies.”¹⁴⁸

Some aspects of Counter-Reformation spirituality redressed problems that historically had plagued the clergy. For example, clerical concupiscence and simony, the purchase of offices, both received the Council’s condemnation; in two of our case studies, extant sources reveal significant lapses in sexual propriety among Augustinians. However, concerns about the influence of money, enshrined in conciliar prohibitions against simony, were even more pervasive. Patronage was a major avenue of support upon which the mendicant clergy relied. For the Augustinians, patronage occurred in three often overlapping forms. First, identity patronage was the most powerful, tied not only to the personal but also to the familial reputation of the wealthy patron. The patron was contractually obligated to ensure that financial gifts of the house were flowing sufficiently so that the sacramental ministry could be honorably undertaken. These financial gifts included providing for the acquisition of the accoutrements worthy of a religious house. The larger the establishment—double cloister, seminary, chapel with multiple confraternities in operation on site—the more

¹⁴⁷ Odile Martin, 93.

¹⁴⁸ ADR 13H9, folio 7. *ecclesiam domum fratrum eremitarum ordinis sancti augustini in portu sancti vincentii Lugdunensis et in ea situ altare B.M. Virginis boni portus ad catenas nuncti die sexto Annunciationis eiusque B Mariae Virginis agonimis vespers usque ad occasum sedis festi homini singulis armis deucte visitaverint et ibi pro Christianorum Proprium concordia haeresum extirpatione ac sanctae matris ecclesiae exaltatione pias ad Deum preces effuderint.*

obligation this type of patron incurred. Second, patronage could be an administrative benefit granted by a secular authority. It came from a duke or king, and entailed tax exemptions and other privileges, helping defray the cost of running the community. Other forms of routinized patronage could entail the right to public begging, or the *quête*, which was typically granted by city consulates.¹⁴⁹ Finally, devoted patronage came in the form of acts of piety where a wealthy benefactor contracted with the Augustinians to say mass, frequently in honor of a deceased loved one or in the name of a local noble. Such patronage was legally binding upon the patron, and ensured a steady income for the house.¹⁵⁰

In addition to advancing and reaffirming doctrinal points, the Council of Trent also demanded particular institutional reforms. First, it sought to improve the education of priests, with the assumption that an educated priesthood could better counter the spread of heresy by acquiring skills for discerning the subtleties of theological error. In this pursuit, the clergy were to attend seminaries. The goal was twofold: to win back those who had fallen into error, and to keep the youth in the fold.¹⁵¹ The regular clergy played an active role in bringing this Tridentine mandate

¹⁴⁹ When Henri IV secured the obedience of Lyon in 1592, he sought to reinstate patronage networks. He achieved this by conforming to pre-existing, tried and true avenues of patronage, such as the reauthorization in 1601 of the tax exemption for the transportation of salt, the *franc-salé*, into the Saint-Vincent convent at the rate of two *minots*, or two bushels, per year.

¹⁵⁰ These characterizations of the different types of revenue—identity patronage, administrative benefit, and devoted patronage are my own. They drew inspiration from the large body of manuscripts that survive in the Archives Départementales du Rhône, de l'Ain, and de l'Isère on the subject of the Augustinians' material possessions. These characterizations are my attempt to clarify the sources of revenue, and how they intersected with patterns of devotion.

¹⁵¹ Kathleen M. Comerford, "Clerical Education, Catechesis, and Catholic Confessionals: Teaching religion in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in Comerford, Kathleen M. and Hilmar M. Pabel. *Early Modern Catholicism: Essays in Honour of John W. O'Malley, S.J.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 243, 248; see also session 23, chapter 18 of the canons of the Council that mandated the establishment of diocesan seminaries, and Karen E. Carter, *Creating Catholics: Catechism and Primary Education in Early Modern France*, (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011).

into reality. For example, as Megan Armstrong points out, the Franciscans were active professors of humanistic studies at the University of Paris.¹⁵² As mentioned above, some Augustinians were also a part of these theological faculties interested in rejuvenating European education.¹⁵³

The delegates to the Council also were concerned with reinforcing the discipline of the regular clergy.¹⁵⁴ Seripando demanded faithful conformity to the rules and constitutions that governed the regular clergy.¹⁵⁵ In the vignettes and case studies in this dissertation, the threat of laxity is a common motif, revealing that discipline was a source of anxiety for the Augustinian family in Lyon and the Franco-Italian frontier.¹⁵⁶ Often, the concern for discipline was used by one branch or the other of the Augustinian family to undermine the other, as the case study of the Brou monastery reveals. In Crémieu, the moral failure of the prior, Villeraque, mobilized the archbishop of Lyon (in whose diocese the Crémieu Augustinians served), the city consuls of Crémieu, and the Augustinians of Saint-Vincent to respond to the crisis. That by the mid-seventeenth century the church hierarchy, governing civic secular authority, and the Augustinian family rose to enforce the clerical discipline that the

¹⁵² Megan Armstrong, *Politics of Piety*, 111.

¹⁵³ Kathleen M. Comerford, "Clerical Education, Catechesis, and Catholic Confessionals: Teaching religion in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in Comerford, Kathleen M. and Hilmar M. Pabel. *Early Modern Catholicism: Essays in Honour of John W. O'Malley, S.J.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 243. As mentioned above, in the archdiocese of Valencia, Thomas of Villanova founded a seminary; as we will learn later, the Augustinians of Vinay ran the seminary at L'Osier; James Collins reminds us that the Augustinians filled many faculty positions at the University of Paris; and both Augustinians Simplicien Saint-Martin and Luis de León rose among the ranks of university faculty to claim leadership positions.

¹⁵⁴ Session 25, chapter 1. *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, trans. Rev. H. J. Schroeder, (Rockford, IL: Tan Books and Publishers, 1978), 217-8. For analysis on the Council's call for stricter observance of rules and constitutions, see Mullett, 69-70.

¹⁵⁵ Gutiérrez, 43-63.

¹⁵⁶ At the Archives Départementales du Rhône, box ADR 13H67 reports on matters pertaining to the discipline of the Hermit brothers at Saint-Vincent.

Council of Trent demanded is striking. This cooperation speaks to a developing coordination among regional authorities in the control of the communities of the regular clergy.

Finally, the Council cast a broad vision for the cultural renewal of Catholic civilization. Rural areas where local traditions were alive and well chiefly concerned the prelates. Catholics in isolated areas merged local tradition with Catholic practice to produce hybridized rituals of orthodox and heterodox elements. Processions, banquets, and the cultish veneration of both relics and the miraculous were all to be exchanged for the sacraments.¹⁵⁷ Keith Luria shows that in the region surrounding Grenoble, such efforts were successful in diminishing local cultural distinctiveness in Catholic practice. As he has noted, the Council's reforms "sought to bring greater decorum and uniformity to religious observances."¹⁵⁸ The clergy's objective was to lead the masses to the sacraments and Catholic practices that conformed to the Council of Trent.¹⁵⁹

To achieve these ends, the Council encouraged the use of various approaches. First, they placed more emphasis upon the sermon at the mass. R. P-C Hsia has pointed out that preaching became a central feature of the religious experience of the mass. The Jesuits in particular perfected the sermon,¹⁶⁰ drawing on rhetorical devices from antiquity, thereby tapping into the intellectual stream of the Renaissance. As we

¹⁵⁷ Keith Luria, *Territories of Grace*, 1-2.

¹⁵⁸ Keith Luria, "'Popular Catholicism' and the Catholic Reformation," in *Early Modern Catholicism: Essays in Honour of John W. O'Malley, S.J.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001, (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2001), 116. In addition to Luria's two works on the diocese of Grenoble, which address the imposition of Tridentine reforms in rural areas, see also Philip T. Hoffman, *Church and Community in the Diocese of Lyon, 1500-1789*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984) and René Taveneaux, *Le catholicisme dans la France classique, 1610-1715*, 2 vol., (Paris: C.D.U. et Sedes, 1994).

¹⁵⁹ Luria, *Territories of Grace*, 2-4.

¹⁶⁰ Hsia, *World of Catholic Renewal*, 161.

have seen, the Augustinians also perfected the sermon, employing their skills in rhetoric as good humanists to enhance their ability to draw in and to keep the faithful in the Catholic fold.

Further, Counter-Reformation spirituality cultivated a missionary imagination. Although the Council of Trent did not directly provide guidance on missions, it did promote a global vision of the Catholic faith. This global vision found its basis in the struggle against Protestantism in Europe. As Dominique Deslandres has shown, the overseas missionary efforts drew inspiration from political authorities' use of confessionalization to combat heresy in France.¹⁶¹ In the mind of devout Catholics, there was one true church, and it was for all, just as Christ was one and for all. European colonization afforded an opportunity for the expansion of the Counter-Reformation to the ends of the earth.¹⁶² The regular clergy also played an important role in reaffirming this vision. For example, Giles of Viterbo and Seripando reaffirmed the universal character of the Augustinians, that is their belonging to the world, not a national entity.¹⁶³ This universal vision for the order confronted the French monarchy, which sought to impose a "national" identity upon the Augustinians in France, a move that garnered resistance from the Augustinians, as the following case studies will reveal. Additionally, an anonymous author in 1634 recounts the story of the martyrdom of Augustinians in the Philippines and Tokugawa Japan, evoking Saint Augustine as the

¹⁶¹ Dominique Deslandres, *Croire et faire croire: Les missions françaises au XVII^e siècle (1600-1650)*, (Paris: Fayard, 2003), 14, 51.

¹⁶² Mullett, 73.

¹⁶³ Gutierrez, 79. The Augustinians took to the seven seas in the interest of missionary endeavors. The friars followed conquistadors to Latin America. The French Augustinians, most notably, participated in the overseas missionary activities to New France. Most notably, however, they numbered among others in the seventeenth-century efforts to evangelize Tokugawa Japan, and with the same disastrous results that befell the Jesuits. See *Relation véritable de la prodigieuse, constanée, & presque incroyable Martyre, souffert par les Augustins Deschaussez au Japon & aux Philippines*, (Paris: Matthieu Colombel, 1634).

martyrs' inspiration. For example, he casts Augustine as "the great victor over heresies."¹⁶⁴ The author characterizes the ministry of the Discalced by "powerful preaching."¹⁶⁵ The Discalced martyrs were subjected to repeated torture in the 1620s and early 30s. More than 80 died.

The Council of Trent placed the onus of implementing church reforms upon the bishops and secular clergy, giving the Catholic renewal movement an urban flavor.¹⁶⁶ The bishops, whose objective was to cultivate popular piety, employed the secular clergy as the points of contact between the laity and church hierarchy.¹⁶⁷ However, because of a dearth of educated priests, the regular clergy filled the void. That the mendicant orders were by and large urban dwellers reinforced the fact that the Church relied upon cities to drive the Counter-Reformation. As Megan Armstrong has shown, in the case of Observant Franciscans, caring for the poor became a natural extension of the reformed order's ethos.¹⁶⁸ Additionally, those drawn to the ranks of the regular clergy were often from elite families with an urban sensibility.¹⁶⁹ The Augustinians in the Franco-Italian frontier followed this pattern, as their houses were mostly in cities, towns, and villages. One notable exception was the pilgrimage site of L'Osier, which serves as a case study of this dissertation. However, it is important to

¹⁶⁴ *Relation veritable de la Prodigieuse, Constance, & presque incroyable Martyre, souffert par les Augustins Deschaussez au Japon & aux Philippines*, (Paris: Matthieu Colombel, 1634), 3. As an aside, this document spends the first several pages building the case for why the Discalced deserve the honor of having been the order to which the martyrs belonged. The legacy of Saint Augustine, the author argues, "had been taking back from the tomb by the Spirit of God," (p. 7) suggesting that the Discalced were the branch of Augustinians true to the ancient plan for the order set out by Saint Augustine.

¹⁶⁵ *Relation veritable*, 9.

¹⁶⁶ Mullett, 18-23.

¹⁶⁷ O'Malley, *Trent and All That*, 135-6.

¹⁶⁸ Armstrong, "The Franciscans and the Catholic League," 131.

¹⁶⁹ Diefendorf, *From Piety to Charity*.

note that the administration of this site emanated from the Augustinians in the neighboring city of Vinay.

III. Other Orders During the Counter-Reformation

New religious orders burgeoned during the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁷⁰ Bernard Hours argues that the medieval promise of the regular clergy, access to the religious life, joined a new attitude aimed at “imagin[ing] flexible communitarian structure[s] serving as a support to the apostolic work in all its very diverse forms.”¹⁷¹ This flexibility aided the bishops, charged with upholding Tridentine canons, were confronted with a lack of secular clergy who fit the bill with respect to the educational requirements set forth by the Council. Therefore, the regular clergy were welcomed into dioceses to supplement their reforming programs with respect to catechesis, evangelism, and administration of the sacraments, particularly reformed orders like the Franciscan Recollects, Capuchins, Jesuits, Minims, and Discalced Augustinians.¹⁷²

¹⁷⁰ This fact raised concerns for the church fathers assembled at the Council of Trent. The concern was so great that church leaders decided that imposing strict definitions what constituted an order was necessary. An “ordo” would bear telltale signs to distinguish it for having achieved an element of bureaucratic approbation. Such signs included elements of a highly structured group, including but not limited to external bureaucracies, fixed homes, and set rituals. As Nicholas Terpstra has shown, most new orders born during the Counter-Reformation, including the Discalced Augustinians, resembled informal groups that “incubated as confraternities” as meandering preachers with little structure and organization (p. 164). The point is that the regular clerical orders chaotically emerged with such speed that it was hard to distinguish formal orders from the pious assembly of lay persons. See Nicholas Terpstra, “Ignatius, Confratello: Confraternities as Modes of spiritual Community in Early Modern Society.” pp. 163-182 in Kathleen M. Comerford and Hilmar M. Pabel, eds., *Early Modern Catholicism: Essays in Honour of John W. O’Malley, S.J.*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

¹⁷¹ Bernard Hours, *Histoire des ordres religieux*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2012), 72.

¹⁷² Deslandres, 78.

Only within the last few decades have historians considered the religious orders as a lens through which to examine various religio-political trends. For example, state-building and the spread of the Counter-Reformation ideals depended upon the commitment and loyalty of clergy in the frontier regions to the respective objectives of the Counter-Reformation and the French monarchy. In France, the reformed orders tended to adopt a version of the Counter-Reformation that the Bourbon monarchy also promoted. Therefore, these clerics tended to align more closely to the wishes of the French monarchy than did established orders, especially in the seventeenth century, and to its version of the Counter-Reformation.¹⁷³

The most famous of the Counter-Reformation religious orders, both with respect to the scope of their activity and the volume of extant documents, are the Jesuits. John W. O'Malley has reconstructed the ethos, objectives, and cultural context surrounding the foundation of the Society of Jesus in Paris in 1534 (papal approval came in 1540), and in the following four decades. In *The First Jesuits*, O'Malley identifies what the most distinguishing characteristic of the Jesuits writing, "The most obvious and fundamental decision was the commitment to ministry, more exigent and clear-cut than the stated goals of any previous religious order."¹⁷⁴ The common religious experience described in Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* provided a touchstone with which all Jesuits could identity.¹⁷⁵ Eric L. Saak has argued that the Augustinians were united by the common interest in imitating Augustine's life, ministry, and theology. The members of the Society of Jesus shared the communal

¹⁷³ Benoist Pierre, *La bure et le sceptre: La congrégation des Feuillants dans l'affirmation des États et des pouvoirs princiers (vers 1560-vers 1660)*, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2006), 13.

¹⁷⁴ John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 363-4 (quotation from p. 364).

¹⁷⁵ John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 363.

spirit that Saak sites as characteristic of the Augustinian Hermits of the Late Middle Ages, that is their communitarian spirit and the sharing of property and wealth.¹⁷⁶

Other points of commonality and divergence existed between the Augustinians and the Jesuits. For example, as with the Augustinians, the Jesuits exhibited the characteristics of and made contributions to Renaissance Humanism. As O'Malley writes, "[t]heir ministries were characterized by discourse," which for them meant catechesis, preaching, and casuistry.¹⁷⁷ A. Lynn Martin argues that the Jesuits in early modern France cultivated a culture of erudition and religious discipline that uniquely positioned the members of the Society of Jesus to be a "value-forming elite."¹⁷⁸ This emphasis upon language, a feature of Humanism, was shared by the Augustinians, as referenced above. In addition, the Jesuits' leadership in the first four decades was highly adaptable to changing political and cultural conditions, which made the Society of Jesus capable of quickly implementing reforms.¹⁷⁹ In contrast, David Gutiérrez has observed that Augustinian Vicar General Seripando struggled at first to implement reforms. This owed in part to certain conditions, which Gutiérrez describes as follows: "[i]n contrast to the founders of religious orders of his time, Seripando did not govern a small group of devoted followers, but a large religious family which numbered from eight to ten thousand members, with a 300-year-old history during which had crept in and become 'legalized' (as in other orders) many corrupt practices which no superior was able to exterminate without the help of a general reform."¹⁸⁰ In addition, Loyola

¹⁷⁶ O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 364; Eric Saak, *Creating Augustine: Interpreting Augustine and Augustinianism in the Later Middle Ages*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 199-218.

¹⁷⁷ O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 365.

¹⁷⁸ A. Lynn Martin, *The Jesuit Mind: The Mentality of an Elite in Early Modern France*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), xi.

¹⁷⁹ O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 364-9.

¹⁸⁰ Gutiérrez, 43, quotation on 61.

did not have to contend with the massive defections owing to the spread of Lutheranism that was part of Seripando's task. Despite these challenges, Seripando did succeed at carrying out an energetic schedule of pastoral visits throughout Western and Central Europe during his generalate (1539-1551).¹⁸¹

Whereas apart from Gutiérrez there is no historiography on early modern Augustinians' political entanglements, there is a robust discussion about such political activity of the Jesuits, as well as for other regular clergy. The political activity of the Jesuits in early modern Europe is an extensive field of inquiry. I will only summarize the most important works that demonstrate the political activity of the French Jesuits. A. Lynn Martin argues that the politics of the Jesuits shifted during the Wars of Religion, to suggest that their political adaptability set the Jesuits apart from other regular clergy who had significant political entanglements.¹⁸² The Gallican liberties of the French Crown impacted the Jesuits' activity. Jesuit Émond Auger, once an ardent critic of Henri III (r. 1574-1589), by the end of his reign decried the printing and preaching defamatory messages against the Crown. In contrast, Augustinian Vicar General Seripando resisted the pressure to succumb to the growing nationalistic pressure that the monarchy exerted, especially after the Wars of Religion.¹⁸³ Eric Nelson finds that during Henri IV's reign (1589-1610), Jesuits like Louis Richeôme and Pierre Coton worked to ingratiate the Society of Jesus to the Crown (and this despite

¹⁸¹ Gutiérrez, 50.

¹⁸² A. Lynn Martin argues that during the reign of Henri III (1574-1589), the French Jesuits made up a political network whose reach extended into the court of France, but also into the courts of regional dynastic powers, as well as foreign courts. Early in the Wars of Religion, Martin argues that the Jesuits advanced the cause of the Catholic League, pitting themselves against Henri III whose conciliatory policies toward Protestants the Jesuits vehemently protested. As far as his fungibility thesis, he cites Jesuit Émond Auger, who changed his course after having been Henri's most ardent critic to his faithful supporter. Interestingly, he justified his change by citing the Crown's Gallican privileges. (216)

¹⁸³ Martin, *Jesuit Politicians*, 216; Gutiérrez, 79.

an attempted assassination on the king's life in 1595, in which some alleged the Jesuits were implicated).¹⁸⁴

Megan Armstrong has also examined the political activity of the regular clergy. In her work on the Observant Franciscans, she demonstrated how the political entanglements of the brothers—in this case, entanglements that led to armed confrontation with the Henri IV's armies—stemmed from deeply-held religious convictions that their devotion safeguarded the monarchy. As she writes, “The friars believed above all in a Christian body politic that privileged a central role for the cleric in the preservation of the kingdom, a role that they insisted legitimated political opposition to their ruler.”¹⁸⁵ Many of the new orders evinced a mystical, rigorous spirituality. The Carmelites, like the other mendicants, experienced a profound movement of renewal in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. And like the Dominicans and Franciscans, the Carmelites also suffered schism. The Discalced Carmelites followed the reform of John of the Cross. Founded in 1593, they came to number 60 houses in France. The older order did not adhere to the Spanish reform, and took the name in France of the Grands Carmes, to distinguish themselves from the Carmes Déchaux.¹⁸⁶ Incidentally, the feminine branch attained great notoriety, with some members like Barbe Acarie earning renown for her mission to New France.¹⁸⁷ Indeed, the mystical invasion produced in France a mystical spiritual vigor. The

¹⁸⁴ Eric Nelson, *The Jesuits and the Monarchy: Catholic Reform and Political Authority in France (1590-1615)*, (New York: Routledge, 2005).

¹⁸⁵ Megan C. Armstrong, *The Politics of Piety: Franciscan Preachers during the Wars of Religion, 1560-1600*, (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2004), 3. Armstrong goes on to note that despite their demonstrative resistance to the Crown, the Parisian Observant Franciscans felt that they were above all followers of Saint Francis.(4) In this regard, the Observants bore similarities to the Late Medieval and Early Modern Augustinians, for whom imitation of Augustine was of capital importance.

¹⁸⁶ Bernard Hours, “Faire le point,” in *Carmes et carmélites en France du XVII^e siècle à nos jours*, Ed. Hours, (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2001), i.

¹⁸⁷ Hours, “Faire le point,” ii, iii.

Carmelites channeled these efforts against Protestants in the wake of the Edict of Nantes. The sense of a “spiritual combat”—a military metaphor—was carried forward in succeeding generations of feminine Discalced Carmelites, who celebrated military victories over Protestants.¹⁸⁸

The offensive against Protestantism also took the form of spiritual practice, such as prayer. Liégois bishops characterized Discalced Carmelite houses as combative outposts in Protestant lands, outposts of prayer.¹⁸⁹ Marie-Élisabeth Henneau also argues that the bishops were active in establishing Discalced Carmelite houses as an act of “agreement with the plans of the Tridentine Church.” These newly-established houses constituted strategic outposts for the Catholic faith, especially in regions of the kingdom with high numbers of Protestants.¹⁹⁰ The Capuchins also emphasized the mystical with reported miracles. The miracles were often associated with their public spectacles.¹⁹¹ Members of the Franciscan family, the Capuchins valued the high visibility that their style cultivated. Introduced into France in 1575, the Capuchins used processions, ceremony, and visually-arresting spectacles to showcase their rigorous spirituality, which was their version of Saint Francis’ intent for his followers. The centerpiece of these spectacles was the Forty Hours, a Eucharistic devotion, designed, as Deslandres has described it, to “seduce” the crowd.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁸ Christian Renoux, “Madame Acarie ‘lit’ Thérèse d’Avila au lendemain de l’Édit de Nantes,” in *Carmes et carmélites en France du XVII^e siècle à nos jours*, Ed. Hours, (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2001), 153-4.

¹⁸⁹ Marie-Élisabeth Henneau, “Réforme de touraine et Réforme thérésienne chez les Carmélites du pays de Liège,” in *Carmes et carmélites en France du XVII^e siècle à nos jours*, Ed. Hours, (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2001), 234.

¹⁹⁰ Henneau, 233.

¹⁹¹ Dompnier, “Premier apostolat,” 136.

¹⁹² Deslandres, 175.

According to the Council of Trent, good preaching and teaching were instrumental in rehabilitating Catholic Christian society. The regular clergy played a role in carrying out these tasks in France. The Capuchins, for example, gained a reputation as preachers, and tended to concentrate their efforts in cities and regions of high confessional coexistence, the most challenging of mission fields.¹⁹³ Likewise, the Dominicans were true to their name *Ordo praedicatorum*, continuing in their tradition of a band of preachers. The Dominicans fostered a commitment to study within the context of their communities.¹⁹⁴ Likewise, the Oratorians, a seventeenth-century Italian order whose French branch Pierre de Bérulle founded in 1611, offered instruction to clergy in order to groom professors for seminaries.¹⁹⁵

With their highly visible ministry, Deslandres writes, the Capuchins strove for a mission of wider social transformation.¹⁹⁶ This assessment is echoed by Frédéric Meyer who, when analyzing the ministry of the seventeenth-century Franciscan Recollects, concludes that they intended to effect social change through their mission and political influence.¹⁹⁷ Indeed, the orders founded in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries demonstrated support for social transformation through influencing the powerful in French society. For example, the Jesuits sought prominent roles in circles of power as preachers and confessors of nobility and royalty to effect the greatest

¹⁹³ Deslandres, 78-9; see also John O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, and Eric Nelson, *The Jesuits and the Monarchy*.

¹⁹⁴ Bernard Montagnes, "Les Dominicains en France et leurs réformes" in *Mémoire Dominicaine: Histoire—Documents—Vie dominicaine*. Vol. 3, (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2001), 4, 27.

¹⁹⁵ Deslandres, 78-9; see also John O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, and Eric Nelson, *The Jesuits and the Monarchy*.

¹⁹⁶ Deslandres, 188, 191.

¹⁹⁷ Jean-Pierre Gutton, "Préface" in Meyer, *Pauvreté et assistance spirituelle*.

change possible for society in the name of the Counter-Reformation.¹⁹⁸ There was among the Jesuits a utilitarian pragmatism eschewing tradition. As Deslandres has noted, the Jesuits emphasized the conversion of souls more than keeping the outward trappings of tradition.¹⁹⁹ The Jesuits and the Capuchins were known as confessors and preachers of the elite in French society. From this privileged position, these two orders reasoned that they could effect the greatest possible change. Aided by their devotional literature, these orders created elites educated in Catholic spirituality and mores.²⁰⁰ But the focus was not merely local. French evangelistic impulses of the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries targeting Protestants were transplanted into a wider French global missionary effort.²⁰¹ This exemplifies a transnational identity of the religious orders, one that Benoist Pierre identifies in the Feuillants (reformed Cistercians),²⁰² and that also took root among the Augustinians.

Frédéric Meyer has written about the effect of the Bourbon monarchy upon the reformed generation of regular clergy. He writes that beginning with Henri IV, the Franciscan Recollects felt pressure to adopt a “national” identity in their administrative organizational structure. This ran contrary to the internal logic of how the regular clergy organized their houses.²⁰³ This tension between their own identities, the spatial extension of these identities, and the monarchy’s plan for the regular clergy would be an increasing source of conflict from 1600 to mid-century. The split in

¹⁹⁸ Deslandres, 78-9; see also John O’Malley, *The First Jesuits*, and Eric Nelson, *The Jesuits and the Monarchy*.

¹⁹⁹ Deslandres, 153.

²⁰⁰ Dominique Julia, “Reading and the Counter-Reformation” in Cavallo, Guglielmo and Roger Chartier, eds., *A History of Reading in the West*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane, (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), 257-61.

²⁰¹ Deslandres, 14.

²⁰² Benoist Pierre, 24.

²⁰³ Meyer, 15-6.

the Augustinian order between Discalced and Hermits illustrates the pressure that the regular clergy faced in the wake of the Wars of Religion. With time, the Discalced aligned more with that “national” identity than the Hermits, which exacerbated the rift between the two branches within the Augustinian family.²⁰⁴

IV. Conclusion

As the previous pages reveal, all regular orders in late-sixteenth and seventeenth-century France—and, a fortiori, the Augustinian houses in the Franco-Italian frontier that are the main focus of this project—existed in a complex and contested environment. Shifting political milieus, contested religious identities, and wider ideological trends typified the world in which the Augustinians in this region lived and carried out their religious vocation. The spirituality and materiality of the Augustinians—which had echoes in other orders—will be explored in the following two chapters. Chapter three addresses aspects of Augustinian spirituality, drawing upon manuscripts from the Parisian and Lyon houses and published treatises by Augustinians by way of comparison to the following case studies in chapters five and six; chapter four discusses the materiality of the Augustinians through an examination of manuscripts from the Lyon and Crémieu houses. By examining correlating vignettes from houses neighboring our two case studies (Brou in chapter five; L’Osier in chapter six), we will establish the “normative” sense of the Augustinians’ faith and practice in their French monastic communities.

²⁰⁴ Odile Martin, *La Conversion protestante à Lyon, 1659-1687*, (Geneva: Droz, 1986), 63. Martin argues that the Augustinians between Lyon and Geneva peacefully confronted Protestants in conformity with the restrictions on inflammatory speech imposed by the Edict of Nantes.

CHAPTER 3: French Augustinian Spirituality in Community

This chapter addresses the spirituality of the Augustinians. It seeks to identify the hallmarks of Augustinian faith and spirituality. To achieve this end, I rely upon manuscript sources from the Parisian and Lyonnais houses, as well as printed treatises from seventeenth century Augustinian authors. This material will be supplemented by secondary sources, especially Erik Saak's and Frances Andrews' monographs on Late Medieval Augustinians. These sources will form a composite for understanding the spirituality of the French Augustinians.

I. Augustinians as Imitators of Augustine

Eric Saak establishes a connection between the Augustinian Hermits of the Late Middle Ages and the teachings of Augustine. Saak argues that between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Hermits endeavored to imitate the life and belief of Augustine. Saak finds that in his 1357 *Liber Vitasfratrum*, Hermit Jordan of Saxony articulated this idea of imitating Augustine.²⁰⁵ The effective imitation of Augustine required a return to the "texts of the [Augustinian] tradition."²⁰⁶ Jordan of Saxony's proposition on the imitation of Augustine notwithstanding, Saak finds that such an imitation relied upon fabrications based upon "late medieval understandings."²⁰⁷ France Andrews argues that English Augustinians Hermits (Austin Friars) from the fourteenth century followed the lead of the Franciscans and Dominicans from rural to urban settings, which was part of the medieval innovations of regular clerical life.

²⁰⁵ Saak, *Creating Augustine*, 199-218

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 225.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 222.

They also ensconced themselves in universities, and out of the secluded areas of England.²⁰⁸ In the early seventeenth century, this medieval Augustinian practice of imitating Augustine continued. For example, the martyrologies of Augustinian Hermit Georges Maigret established a mystical connection between Augustine and the Hermits over the centuries, suggesting that the Hermits alone boasted a unique relationship with the doctor of the Church.²⁰⁹

II. The Spiritual Disciplines

The Augustinians held that certain spiritual disciplines should be carried out individually and in community. Individual poverty was one such discipline. Late Medieval Augustinians interpreted Augustine's insistence upon asceticism to mean individual, not collective poverty. The Augustinians did now call for their communities to be poor, but rather those who comprised the communities had to share their wealth.²¹⁰ The Augustinians also particularly held to the spiritual discipline of chastity. Although all regular clergy made vows of chastity, Saak argues that the Augustinians were sensitive to this vow, because of how greatly chastity figured into Augustine's spiritual journey.²¹¹ And the Augustinians valued the discipline of keeping the offices.

²⁰⁸ Frances Andrews, *The Other Friars: The Carmelite, Augustinian, Sack and Pied Friars in the Middle Ages*, (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 2006), 3, 69.

²⁰⁹ Georges Maigret, *Reiettons sacrès pullulants de la palme triumpante des premiers martyrs de l'ordre dit des Freres Ermites de S. Augustin...* (Liege: C. Ouwerx, 1612). Although other regular clergy used Augustine's Rule, such as the Dominicans and Canons Regular, Maigret asserts that only the Hermits can claim a particular link to Augustine. In the frontispiece of *Reiettons sacrès*, an image is represented in which Augustine's corpse lay reposed, still adorned in an episcopal mitre. From the body rises future branches of the very martyrs whose biographical sketches appear within. Above the tree, the Virgin Mary and Jesus are in glory, featured in a mandorla, the object of awestruck gazes. The martyred raise their crowns in adoration.

²¹⁰ Saak, *Creating Augustine*, 213, 215.

²¹¹ Saak, *Creating Augustine*, 207-8. In his *Confessions*, Augustine details his struggle with chastity, which he expounds upon in books two and three, and again in book eight.

The founding charter of the Augustinian Hermits at Seyssel, for example, required that the brothers keep vespers and complines. In addition, the Seyssel Hermits were also supposed to hold an office for the Virgin, all within the stipulated guidelines of good decorum.²¹²

III. Marian Adoration

Mariano Martín Ortega has shown that Marian adoration factored prominently in French Augustinian spirituality during the Wars of Religion.²¹³ Marian adoration was not new, and not unique to the Augustinian family. Nevertheless, the sources of the Discalced Augustinian house in Paris demonstrate just how powerfully the veneration of the Virgin shaped the spiritual life of the Discalced after the Wars of Religion. In the Archives Nationales, in the carton L923 entitled “Ordres monastiques, Augustins Déchaussés ou petits Pères Augustins,” various manuscripts devoted to Marian adoration survive. These manuscripts are copies of devotional literature of the Discalced. Some manuscripts contain poems, such as the following entitled, “Upon Entering the Bedchamber, Mary is Greeted”:

Hail Mary, you are everything beautiful, glorious
Virgin, there is no blemish in you: If it please you, give,
My Queen, a blessing to your servant;
Beloved Mother, out of the deepest affection
of my heart, I desire, care, and honor: I truly confess
That I am not worthy of your blessing, but as a mother, be mindful
of mercy; therefore I humbly pray, my Queen, for your divine blessing
on your servant, your son, for

²¹² ADL 589, folio 22. Additionally, the founding charter also called for regular processions in honor of the Eucharist, demonstrating another aspect of Augustinian faith and practice.

²¹³ Mariano Martín Ortega, “The Augustinian Chrism and Vatican II” in *Augustinian Spirituality and the Charism of the Augustinians*. Ed. John E. Rotelle, (Villanova: Augustinian Press, 1995), 148.

Dearest Mother, I will not leave unless you bless me.²¹⁴

The act of Marian adoration represented here bears the hallmarks of a mystical brand of Catholic spirituality. It connotes an intimate connection with Mary, one which at once was reverential (Mary as Queen of Heaven), but also maternally tender. Further, the title indicates the function of the poem, that is to call the Augustinian to prayer and reflection on the Virgin upon retiring for the evening. For the Parisian Discalced Augustinians, Marian adoration punctuated their daily routine.

In sharp contrast to the image of the regnant mother of heaven comforting the faithful as they drift into sleep, the following brief poem evokes a very different image of the Virgin. Entitled “In Celebration of Our Lady of Victories,” this poem is part of a collection of hymns, antiphons, and prayers for Mary:

Holy Warrior, and ever conquering one,
Guardian of France, Mother of thunder,
We pour onto your altar all holy prayers as a sacrifice.²¹⁵

This piece reveals that for the Discalced of Paris, Mary assumed the role of heavenly defender. The image of a heavenly feminine figure, whose faithful human servants offer sacrifices, evokes mythological images of Athena/Minerva. Christian devotion was as a libation offered on the pagan altar. In addition, the reference in the title to “our lady of victories” associates the poem with the church of the Discalced, Notre-Dame-

²¹⁴ AN L923, folio 1c. The primary sources in this carton, L923, are found at the Archives Nationales in Paris. Carton L923 is entitled “Ordres monastiques, Augustins Déchaussés ou petits Pères Augustins.” Documents 1 to 21 all pertain to the Discalced of Notre-Dame-des-Victoires, the church constructed in 1629 by Louis XIII for the Discalced. These documents are all manuscripts, and several contain handwritten excerpts from devotional materials. One such section is entitled “Collections Mélangées,” and is numbered “pièce 1a through j.”

²¹⁵ AN L923, folio 1j. The Discalced Augustinians of the Parisian house were not the only regular clergy who linked Augustine and prayer to the Virgin. François Guerson, a canon of the basilica of Saint-Quentin, included in his work a prayer drawn from Augustine’s *Sermo 18*, in which Augustine calls upon the Virgin for help for the poor, needy, and sinners. See Guerson, *Panegyricque dressé a l’honneur dv tres-svbtill Sainct Augustin*, (Reims: Nicolas Constant, 1619), 25.

des-Victoires—erected in Paris in honor of the Virgin’s intercessions permitting Louis XIII’s victory over Protestant armies at La Rochelle in 1629.

In a 1640 contract between the Augustinian Hermits of Seyssel and the bourgeois of the city, the authors of the contract evoke Mary in equally militant terms as the devotional poem from Paris: “We are assembled under her banners in order to most courageously fight against the enemies of our happiness.”²¹⁶ Although these enemies are never fully identified, the document does evoke the continuous intercessions of Mary on behalf of Seyssel. In response to this, the Augustinian Hermits agreed to say masses in honor of the Virgin. They also collaborated with their confreres in Crémieu to participate in the confraternity in honor of the Virgin called the Confrérie du Saint-Escapulaire-de-Notre-Dame-du-Mont-Carmel.²¹⁷ These elements of Marian adoration illuminate the mystical character of patterns of Marian devotion, and also indicate that mysticism was another aspect of Augustinian spirituality.

IV. Mystical Undercurrents

The mystical aspects of Augustinian spirituality appeared in devotional material about purging the soul of self-love. Within the carton at the Archives Nationales entitled “Ordres monastiques, Augustins Déchaussés ou petits Pères Augustins” is a devotional manuscript entitled “There Are Three Types of Christians.” The author writes, “Self-love always does its own will, but supernatural charity must only do the will of God.”²¹⁸ Human ambition and God’s will exist dichotomously, dovetailing with Augustine’s notion that human will is incapable of doing God’s will apart from divine grace. Further, in the same manuscript, the author writes, “[s]elf-love chooses

²¹⁶ ADL 589, folio 22.

²¹⁷ ADL 589, folio 22.

²¹⁸ AN L923, folio 1a.

between the commandments and those who flatter it [self-love] more; but charity is constrained to do the will of God generally and blindly, without condition or restriction.”²¹⁹ The author is building the case for the role of choice in living the devout life, which fit the emphasis of the Discalced upon the spiritual disciplines. For the Discalced, union with God was not only desirable, but attainable.

Self-love dissimulates, often leading the Christian to miss their self-love despite exhibiting the outward behaviors of a devout life. Removing self-love, therefore, demands thoughtful introspection. As the author of this devotional treatise observes, “There is nothing as easy as priding oneself that one loves God, as self-love walks in the footprints of charity; as self-love imitates charity as much as it can, we often take on a shadow for the body, and this for the inspiration of grace and of the Holy Spirit. Love is the union of heart and will with the love-object.”²²⁰ For the Discalced of Paris, internalized faith and systematic self-evaluation were essential components of the well-examined soul desiring to purge itself of all vestiges of self-love. The manuscript even suggests that the requisite intensity of self-evaluation was so deep as to demand the questioning of motivations of actions undertaken.²²¹

²¹⁹ AN L923, folio 1a.

²²⁰ AN L923, folio 1a.

²²¹ The Jesuit *Spiritual Exercises* by Ignatius Loyola is an example of how the regular clergy of the sixteenth century routinized and systematized the process whereby devout Catholic plumbed the depths of the conscience. Moreover, as confessors, the Jesuits contributed to casuistry, the art of unearthing the depths of the conscience in confession in order to render the penitent in a healthier spiritual condition. For an analysis of Jesuit casuistry, see James F. Keenan, S.J., “The Birth of Jesuit Casuistry: *Summa casuum conscientiae, sive de instructione sacerdotum, libri septem* by Francisco de Toledo (1532-1596),” in *The Mercurian Project: Forming Jesuit Culture, 1573-1580*, ed. Thomas M. McCoog, (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2004), and Stephen F. Campbell, S.J., “Nicolas Caussin’s ‘Spirituality of Communication’: A Meeting of Divine and Human Speech,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 46, no. 1 (1993): 44-70. Jesuit General Claudio Acquaviva also encouraged the Jesuits in their role as confessors. See Acquaviva’s ideas about Jesuit confessors in Claudio Acquaviva, *Rules for the Confessors of Princes in Jesuit Writings of the Early Modern Period, 1540-1640*, ed. John Patrick Donnelly (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2006).

These excerpts from the devotional material in the Parisian Discalced house illustrate how the Discalced spent their time and energy within their monastic community. Ultimately, the long and difficult journey of union with the divine was the only sure way to attain the objective of eradicating self-love. An excerpt from this devotional tract indicates that the Holy Spirit is the source for eradicating human passions: “The Holy Spirit is light and love. It chases away all shadows and illusions of the world by its light; by the love it inspires, it destroys the right of love of the world and worldly passions.”²²² Importantly, the language employed to describe the means for the soul’s purification took the form of a mystical union of Christ. As the devotional manuscript reads,

Perfection consists of uniting oneself to God in love, so that we are better united to God, made more perfect; ‘Clothe yourselves’, said Saint Paul, ‘in the charity that is the link to perfection’...[t]he burden consists in being continually before God in self-abnegation, and as a beggar covered in sores who awaits his healing and remedy from the sovereign Doctor. He must implore with out ceasing the help of grace, not by his words, but by the most ardent desire of his heart, with the end of working hard to destroy in himself the rest of sin, and to mortify all appearances of pride and self-love, which is the source of all disorder in life.²²³

The Discalced linked being in a condition of self-love with having infected sores for which the only remedy was returning to God as skilled and “sovereign Doctor.” This return was only attainable through deep self-abnegation. This language of mystical union evoked the spirituality of Catherine of Siena, whose concern for the poor and mystical union with Christ typified her modes of devotion. Further, the language of

²²² AN L923, folio 1a.

²²³ AN L923, folio 1a.

mystical union finds echoes in the sixteenth-century writings of Teresa of Ávila, whose Discalced Carmelites shaped the spiritual life of seventeenth-century France.²²⁴

The spirituality of the Discalced that centered on spiritual disciplines contrasted with that of the Hermits, for whom time in study and sermon preparation was an integral part of their spiritual program. For example, the Augustinian Hermit Constitutions of 1581 granted an exception for preachers and professors from the keeping of the offices, which freed time and energy, allowing uninterrupted blocks of time in the daily schedule of the brothers, as well as an uninterrupted night of sleep.²²⁵ At the center of this divergence of spiritual practice lay important ideological questions with which the early modern Augustinians wrestled. How did Augustine intend his followers to spend their time in the cloister? Should they use their time for producing knowledge and developing their skills in order to better serve the Church? Or should they use their time in personal spiritual discipline, to cultivate humility and austerity? In the seventeenth century, this ideological rift fueled controversy between the Discalced and the Hermits.

Lyon became a venue where this controversy over how to interpret Augustine's view of spirituality in the cloister played out.²²⁶ The story of this discord is recorded in letters sent by Pope Urban VIII (r. 1623-44) to the Augustinian Hermits of Saint-Vincent

²²⁴ Thomas McDermott, *Catherine of Siena: Spiritual Development in Her Life and Teaching*, (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2008). For information on the self-abnegation of Catherine of Siena, see Rudolph M. Bell, *Holy Anorexia*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 57. On the idea of the mystical union with Christ, see Teresa of Ávila, *The Life of St. Teresa of Avila by Herself*, (London: Penguin Books, 1957). See especially chapter 20. For information on the spirituality and impact of Teresan Discalced Carmelites in France, as well as their ties to ex-Leaguers and the *dévots*, see Bergin, 135-6.

²²⁵ Gutiérrez, 112.

²²⁶ The conflict over the Discalced-propagated images would seriously affect a city like Lyon. Lyon was the site of the flagship houses for both a Hermit province (Narbonne-Bourgogne) and a Discalced province (Dauphiné). In addition, Lyon was known for its crowded urban center where a many regular and secular clergy, as well as canons, competed for religious space. See Philip T. Hoffman, *Church and Community in the Diocese of Lyon 1500-1789*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984) 12, 15.

and to the Discalced of the Croix-Rousse. Beginning in the 1610s, the Discalced began to propagate depictions of Saint Augustine “in sandals, and in a rough and simple habit.” These images circulated widely, not only in Lyon, but also in Paris, Madrid, and Vienna.²²⁷ Not only was Augustine depicted in this manner, but also other notable figures of the order, such as Nicholas of Tolentino, all of whose images showed them in habits (*cum habitu*).²²⁸ Urban VIII plainly denounced the practice, writing that the propagation of Augustine as a shoeless penitent was deeply damaging to the Augustinian family. He warned that the practice, “could bring about many controversies and scandals.”²²⁹ Moreover, he accused the Discalced of wittingly propagating these images, knowing that in doing so, they harmed the reputation of the Hermits. As Urban VIII lamented, “the Discalced are making use of this [propagation of images]; each one was inflicting the most harm upon the Order.”²³⁰ Consequently, using strong language, the pope ordered the Discalced to stop printing and disseminating these images, even calling for their destruction.²³¹

V. Preachers, Especially Against Heresy

The Augustinian Hermits took preaching and the resistance to heresy seriously. Published in 1612, the martyrologies of Augustinian Hermit Georges Maigret cast the Hermits as brave preachers of orthodoxy in the face of recalcitrant and aggressive

²²⁷ ADR 13H12, document entitled “Romana Imaginum 3.” “[I]n hoc ultime obiecto supponitur de imaginibus de novo pingendis cum sandaleis et habitu vili, atque humili.”

²²⁸ ADR 13H8, folio 4.

²²⁹ ADR 13H8, folio 4. “dare poterat occasionem plurium controversiarum, & scandalorum.”

²³⁰ ADR 13H8, folio 4. “quo ipsi Discalceati vtuntur, quodque id vergebat in maximum praeiudicium eiusdem Ordinis.”

²³¹ ADR 13H8, folio 4. The Latin is quite powerful: “censuit, Imagines S. Augustini, S. Nicolai de Tolentino, aliorum Sanctorum eiusdem Ordinis S. Augustini impressas, aut depictas à Fratribus Discalceatis eiusdem Ordinis cum habitu, quo ipsi Discalceati vtuntur, suspendendas, & abolendas esse.”

heretics. These martyrologies recall moments in the history of the Augustinians since the fifth century, moments where heresy threatened the Catholic faith, and where Augustinian preacher-martyrs resisted, at times paying with their lives. Some of the pivotal moments in church history that Maigret evoked include the Donatist heresy and the Vandal invasion of North Africa, the rise of Machiavellianism in the Italian city-states, Henry VIII of England's seizure of the churches and monasteries, the Ottoman incursions into the Eastern Mediterranean and Central Europe, and missionaries in Latin America.²³²

In addition to underscoring the role of preaching in the spirituality of the Augustinian Hermits and the brothers' bravery, the vignettes also communicate other important aspects of the spiritual life of the Augustinian Hermits. For example, that the featured martyrs perished throughout the world highlights the global scope of the order. Additionally, each vignette ends in a victory for orthodoxy, casting the Hermits as skilled preachers in the struggle against heresy, and well positioned for the contemporary struggles against the Protestantisms of the early seventeenth-century.²³³

²³² Georges Maigret, Georges. *Reiettons sacrès pullulants de la palme triumpante des premiers martyrs de l'ordre dit des Freres Ermites de S. Augustin...* Liege: C. Ouwerx, 1612. See also *Relation veritable de la Prodigieuse, Constamée, & presque incroyable Martyre, souffert par les Augustins Deschaussez au Iapon & aux Philippines...* Paris: Matthiev Colombel, 1634. See also *Relation veritable de la Prodigieuse, Constamée, & presque incroyable Martyre, souffert par les Augustins Deschaussez au Iapon & aux Philippines...* Paris: Matthiev Colombel, 1634. This is a martyrology of a troop of Discalced Augustinians, killed in Japan and the Philippines in 1629/30. The author links the martyrs to their royal founding in Paris by Louis XIII, and back to the monarch's aggressive pursuit of heretics. See especially p. 7.

²³³ Georges Maigret, Georges. *Reiettons sacrès pullulants de la palme triumpante des premiers martyrs de l'ordre dit des Freres Ermites de S. Augustin...* Liege: C. Ouwerx, 1612. Other members of the regular clergy who used Augustine's Rule wrote about what they thought were his views on heresy. A contemporary of Maigret, a canon of the basilica of Saint-Quentin, François Guerson, wrote a panegyric to Augustine in 1619. He said that the position of Augustine vis-à-vis heresy was incontrovertible: "[Augustine] estoit ennemy mortel des Hereticques." See François Guerson, *Panegyricque dressé a l'honneur dv tres-svbtill Saint Augustin*, (Reims: Nicolas Constant, 1619), 26.

VI. Augustine's Problematic Teaching of Irresistible Grace

A core theological tenet, irresistible grace, which theologians associated with the teaching of Augustine, inspired the Jansenists, whom Pope Clement XI condemned as heretical in the papal bull *Unigenitus* in 1713. Saint Augustine had written that human nature was so corrupt that only an act of divine selection could bring about eternal salvation. This idea was controversial, and resisted in the Middle Ages by the Pelagians and the Thomists. Nevertheless, in the early modern period, Augustinian ideas gained traction. As William Doyle has written, the early modern theologians showed renewed interest in the theology of irresistible grace,²³⁴ which included Lutherans, other Protestants, as well as a contingent of Catholic bishops present at the Council of Trent, led by Augustinian Vicar General Seripando. Although the Council largely rejected Seripando's view of grace, Augustinian ideas continued to resonate among churchmen. With respect to spiritual discipline, a Dutch bishop of Ypres, Cornelius Jansen (1585-1638), promoted deep spiritual introspection, austerity, and confidence in divine grace for salvation, all key aspects of Augustinian spirituality (particularly as understood by the Discalced).²³⁵ For the Jansenists, behavioral patterns indicated conversion. Motivation to participate in the sacraments and sacramentals stemmed from the experience of genuine conviction and supernatural transformation, not perfunctory gestures of religiosity.²³⁶ In fact, the ability to sincerely perform aspects of Catholic faith were signs that one was saved; the inability to do so indicated the inverse.²³⁷

²³⁴ William Doyle, *Jansenism: Catholic Resistance to Authority from the Reformation to the French Revolution*, (Houndsmills, UK: Macmillan, 2000), 6.

²³⁵ Keith P. Luria, "Conversion and Coercion: Personal Conscience and Political Conformity in Early Modern France," *The Medieval History Journal* 12 (2009), 240.

²³⁶ Harline, 79.

²³⁷ Doyle, 1.

Jean-Pierre Chantin has situated Jansenism within the political milieu of the seventeenth century. The Jesuits enjoyed privileged positions at the courts of Louis XIII and Louis XIV as court preachers and royal confessors. The Jansenists' chief opponents, the Jesuits, enjoyed positions at the courts of Louis XIII and Louis XIV as preachers and confessors. The Jesuits opposed the Jansenists' mistrust of human nature and skepticism about the agency of the sacraments.²³⁸ The association of the Augustinians with the Jansenist abbey of Saint-Cyran implicated the Augustinians with Jansenism, which cast them in a dark light in the eye of Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin.²³⁹

VII. Conclusion

The family of French Augustinians—Hermit and Discalced—exhibited many spiritual characteristics common among the regular clergy in the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Although they shared a commitment to certain spiritual disciplines with the other regular clergy, the Augustinians were particularly sensitive to chastity, owing to their heritage as the spiritual descendants of Augustine. Evidence suggests that the Augustinians advanced Marian adoration, as well as mysticism. As imitators of Augustine, the Augustinians maintained an affinity for Augustine's teaching on grace, human nature, and free will, which pitted them against pope, powerful clerics in France, and the Crown. Examining the spirituality of the Augustinians establishes points of juncture and divergence with larger spiritual trends in France. An

²³⁸ Jean-Pierre Chantin, *Le Jansénisme*, (Paris: Cerf, 2000), passim. Scientist and philosopher Blaise Pascal also weighed in on the controversy, defending the Jansenists in the *Pensées* in 1670.

²³⁹ Nannerl O. Koehane, *Philosophy and the State in France: The Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 193. Key Augustinians, such as bishop Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627-1704) and Charles Maurice Le Tellier (1642-1710), were staunchly anti-Jesuit. See Joseph Bergin, *The Politics of Religion in Early Modern France*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 287.

examination of French Augustinian materiality will illuminate the Augustinians' understanding of their physical mission in the world.

CHAPTER 4: French Augustinian Materiality in Community

The Augustinian Hermits of Crémieu and Saint-Vincent, as well as the Discalced of the Croix-Rousse, all made repeated reference to the physical condition of their monasteries, churches, and sacred accoutrements used in the performance of their religious ceremonies. Between 1550 and 1650, these physical aspects of their ministry sustained damage or were lost. This chapter is concerned with identifying how the Augustinians restored the physical aspects of their ministry. The chapter also explores the tensions caused by the Augustinians' efforts to restore the physical trappings of their ministry. In order to address the Augustinians' concern about their materiality, this chapter explores several vignettes from the sources concerning the houses in Crémieu and Lyon, and to a lesser degree, Seyssel.

I. Establishment of an Augustinian *Fabrica Ecclesiae*

In 1317, the dukes of Dauphiné established the Augustinian Hermits in Crémieu. The city sat near important power centers. Lyon, the seat of the diocese under whose spiritual jurisdiction the monastery fell, sat 40 kilometers to the west; Grenoble, whose Parlement was established in 1453, lay 85 kilometers to the southeast; and Brou in Savoyard territory lay just 65 kilometers to the north. Crémieu's position along important transportation corridors—both northerly-southerly and easterly-westerly—benefitted the city and endangered it. Although its geography opened Crémieu to merchants whose goods the city could tax, it also exposed the city to troops from near

and afar in transit to battlefields on both sides of the Alps.²⁴⁰ Bernard Bligny notes that during the Wars of Religion, many of the ateliers in Crémieu closed.²⁴¹ The sources from the Archives Départementales de l'Isère reveal that the buildings of the Augustinian community of Crémieu sustained significant damage, particularly the church, in a spate of violence in 1562.²⁴²

Although the sources that describe the repair work in the mid-1590s do not cite the cause of the damage, correlative evidence suggests that soldiers in transit to various fronts of the Wars of Religion were in part to blame.²⁴³ Between 1589 and 1594, Henri IV engaged in military campaigns to pacify the nobles who refused to obey his authority. A military garrison with several hundred royal troops stood nearby Crémieu. The captain of the garrison, identified simply as “Guillaume,” billeted his troops with the Augustinians for three to four days, an act that later legal documents cast as a gesture of their hospitality. During their stay, the soldiers proved to be bad guests, freely taking bread, wheat, barley, salted meat, and oats, effectively eating the Crémieu monks out of house and home without compensation. Worse, they destroyed goods: “many evils and insolent deeds they committed at the convent, smashing and breaking granaries, cellars, and the rooms of the poor monks.” Including

²⁴⁰ Dauphiné was divided into four historical “countries.” Crémieu was situated in the Viennois, one of these countries. Accustomed to cycles of war and political transformation, Dauphiné came under French rule when the Dauphin Humbert II sold his titles to Philippe VI of France in 1349, owing to both the absence of an heir to the duchy and resources exhausted by years of feudal conflict with Savoy. Nevertheless, the influence of strong landed nobility modulated French power. Indeed, not until 1457 did the province cede legal autonomy to France. Topographically, the Viennois sat in a transitional zone. On its eastern flank, the western slopes of the Alps dominated the landscape. Moving westward from there, the land sloped downward to the fluvial corridor of the Rhône River valley. The bailliage was bordered to the north and west by the Rhône, and to the south by the Isère River, which flowed on a westward trajectory from Grenoble, dumping into the Rhône River just to the north of Valence.

²⁴¹ Bernard Bligny, *Histoire du Dauphiné*, (Toulouse: Privat, 1973), 219.

²⁴² ADI 1H36, folio 15.

²⁴³ ADI 1H31, folio 4.

the granary, a storeroom, and several monks' cells, and committed many undisclosed "ills and impertinences."²⁴⁴ In a complaint addressed to the vice-baili of Viennois with regard to this event, the Augustinians of Crémieu wrote: "Count Guillaume, captain of the army of the noble king of France our good prince and lord, in order to cross the mountains...was lodged in our convent...a total of 500 men...stayed for three to four days, and took bread, wine, grain, and as much wheat as barley and oats...and salted meat...which they took and consumed along with other things from the poor monks' provisions."²⁴⁵ The Vice Baili adjudicated the matter. Although the verdict is not known, the complaint indicates that the syndics and the city consulate of Crémieu both "know well the great expense and mischief that they [the soldiers] committed at the convent."²⁴⁶ There is no evidence found that the syndics or the consuls came to aid the Augustinians in their complaint.

In response to these losses, the Augustinians of Crémieu strove to repair their existing buildings. Building projects began in the 1590s, of which included the church of Saint Jean-Baptiste.²⁴⁷ In 1596, the Augustinians acquired multiple bids for the extensive task of restoring the dormitory and cloister.²⁴⁸ In addition to repairing buildings, the Augustinians also acquired new ones. For example, in 1612, the monks bought a parcel adjacent to its land in Crémieu. The land they purchased had a

²⁴⁴ ADI 1H31, folio 4.

²⁴⁵ ADI 1H31, folio 4.

²⁴⁶ ADI 1H31, folio 4.

²⁴⁷ ADI 1H36, folio 15.

²⁴⁸ ADI 1H36, folio 22. Neighboring houses of the same province in Lyon and Seyssel also underwent the same impulse to repair and refresh their buildings from the 1620s onward, especially. This occurred in tandem with the effort to restore monarchical authority in the kingdom, which also dovetailed with the rise of the mystical and religious fervor of the *dévot* party.

windmill, in which they took partial financial interest. The purchase necessitated the hire of a stonemason.²⁴⁹

The repair work to damaged buildings, and the purchase of new structures (namely, a windmill) were not the only expenses that the Augustinians of Crémieu incurred. The brothers also purchased ornaments and furnishings in an effort to acquire the trappings of a Counter-Reformation house of worship.²⁵⁰ Two items were of particular importance to the Crémieu Hermits. In June 1596, the brothers procured a new baptistry.²⁵¹ Around this same time, the Augustinians also sought to recover their church stoup (holy water receptacle).²⁵² Fortuitously, at the outbreak of the Wars of Religion, the Hermits had concealed their stoup in a farm building belonging to the monastery of Saint-Marcel. The brothers believed that hiding the stoup away from the church and cloister would preserve their valuable piece of holy furniture from soldiers.²⁵³ However, when the Augustinians tried to retrieve it, the city consulate of Crémieu resisted, arguing that when the Crémieu monks deposited the stoup, they effectively abandoned it. Because Saint-Marcel was under the auspices of the city curé, ownership of the stoup had, therefore, reverted to the consulate.²⁵⁴ Although it is not clear whether the Augustinians ever retrieved their stoup, that it elicited such conflict exemplifies the resistance of the consulate toward the restoration of the Augustinians' prewar presence in the city. Moreover, the Augustinians' stoup bore

²⁴⁹ ADI 1H36, folio 31.

²⁵⁰ ADI 1H36, folio 22. R. Po-Chia Hsia argues that churches in the Counter-Reformation adhered to functional and formal considerations that paralleled the religious emphases of the Counter-Reformation. See Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal 1540-1770*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 160.

²⁵¹ ADI 1H36, folio 15.

²⁵² ADI 1H36, folio 15.

²⁵³ ADI 1H36, folio 15.

²⁵⁴ ADI 1H36, folio 15.

symbolic importance.²⁵⁵ It was a sacred ornamentation of precious metal and stone, whose holy water set apart the faithful with Christ's holy mark as they entered the sacred space of the Augustinian church. It was a fount of blessing that consecrated person and space.

In addition to buildings and sacred accoutrements, the Augustinians of Crémieu also sought to establish their presence in the area surrounding the city of Crémieu. In the 1640s, the brothers of Crémieu took leadership of the confraternity Saint-Escapulaire-de-Notre-Dame-du-Mont-Carmel that had a presence in the Augustinian churches at Crémieu and Seyssel. Seyssel was situated 75 kilometers to the northeast of Crémieu, just across the Rhône River from Savoy.²⁵⁶ The confraternity emphasized Marian adoration with the aim of evangelizing Protestants. The confraternity depended upon the financial support of both houses. In 1640, the leadership of the confraternity fell to Hierosme Brun of the Crémieu community.²⁵⁷ Apart from leading the confraternity, the Crémieu brothers also expanded their presence into the region by seeking daughter houses to lead. For example, in October 1639, the community of Crémieu assumed operation of a community of Augustinians in Moyrieu, a neighboring

²⁵⁵ The importance of stoups to establishing the viability of the houses of the regular clergy were also echoed by the church hierarchy. On 26 August 1655, the reforming archbishop of Lyon, Camille de Neufville de Villeroy conducted a pastoral visit to Jallieu, 15 kilometers south of Crémieu. Disgusted, he wrote that the stoup of the Jallieu church was defiled, "the holy water in a small copper basin was almost corrupted and had acquired a greenish color." See Paul Cattin in *Visites pastorales du diocèse de Lyon par Monseigneur Camille de Neufville en Dombes, Bresse, Bugey, et Comté de Bourgogne 1654-1656*. Bourg-en-Bresse, 2001.

²⁵⁶ ADI 1H31.

²⁵⁷ ADL 589, folio 22.

village three kilometers to the south.²⁵⁸ In assuming a leadership role of this confraternity, and in establishing a daughter house in Moyrieu, the Crémieu house in the 1630s and 40s expanded its influence beyond Crémieu, placing itself into wider networks.

The theme of penury in the houses of the regular clergy is a common leitmotif. The financial stresses posed by the Wars of Religion and repair expenses no doubt exacerbated this problem. For the Hermits of Saint-Vincent in Lyon, the financial obligations as seat of the Narbonne-Bourgogne province created an additional burden, which necessitated their request for patronage from the Crown. Because of their responsibility to host other Hermits in transit from around France to Rome, the Hermits of Saint-Vincent had the added responsibility to offer hospitality—room and board—to their brothers. In a letter addressed to the Cour des Aides in Paris on 20 February 1659, the prior of the Lyon house, Esprit de la Forest,²⁵⁹ argued for the continuation of a tax exemption on salt. La Forest's letter was apparently in response of a request of the Cour des Aides to verify the population and obligations of the convent. La Forest responded that the number of inhabitants included twenty priests, six "freres clairs," and eight lay brothers. He verified the accuracy of his census, writing that "eight lay brothers beg in the city and in the countryside during the harvest, one man in the kitchen, one in the bakery, one in the garden and another in

²⁵⁸ ADI 1H36, folio 44. Interestingly, the city consulate of Crémieu sought to impose the *taille* upon the Augustinians' new house in Moyrieu. Despite religious houses' exemption from the *taille* in France, the consulate sought to impose this obligation upon the Augustinians of Crémieu. The Hermits resisted, stating in a written deposition dated 1 May 1635 that the Moyrieu community fell under the authority of the Crémieu Hermits, and that Moyrieu therefore enjoyed the same exemptions from the *taille* as the Crémieu community. The vice-bailli of Vienne heard the case on 17 July 1641, though his final ruling is not known.

²⁵⁹ Esprit de la Forest will factor into the narrative of one of the following case studies, the monastery of Crémieu. Specifically, La Forest advocated for the wishes the objectives of the Archbishop of Lyon in the trial of the scandal-plagued prior of Crémieu.

the sacristy to help organize the masses for the extraordinary.” He continues his justification for the continuation of the privilege, citing that

the aforesaid convent is exposed to the travels of foreign monks from the whole order coming and going to and from Rome to the general chapter. Furthermore, the monks from neighboring convents situated in Dauphiné, Burgundy, and Franche-Comté are obligated to come to the aforesaid city [Lyon] to buy what they need, everything from their vestments to food for Lent [viande de Caresme] several times during the year. The provincial chapter of the aforesaid order holds in its aforesaid convent every three years out of the convenience of the aforesaid monks, whereas the aforesaid convent is situated in the middle of the province where ninety to one hundred monks stay for around fifteen days. Likewise, the novitiate of the aforesaid province is most often held at the aforesaid convent more than any other in the province. [The novitiates] number at least fifteen or twenty, and currently there are thirty-four.²⁶⁰

Moreover, the house of Saint-Vincent provided basic furnishings for the houses in the provinces. All these responsibilities meant that the priors and syndics of the house frequently petitioned the king for concessions and privileges to save on taxes, which they readily received in the form of concessions and gifts.²⁶¹ The Bourbons were particularly responsive to their requests, and defended their interests even when civic governments sought to curtail them.²⁶²

The patronage of devout Catholics and secular authority was vital for the Augustinians’ financial recovery. Another aspect of this recovery included using the courts in order to obligate tenants, and those who contracted the Augustinians for spiritual services, to pay what the brothers were due. In the 1580s, the Augustinians of Crémieu brought two cases pertaining to landlord rights before the vice-bailliage of Vienne for adjudication. One of those cases, a lawsuit pertaining to the payment of

²⁶⁰ ADR 13H15. Letter of Prior Esprit de la Forest to the Cour des Aides, dated 20 February 1659.

²⁶¹ For a comprehensive list of these gifts, see ADR 13H5-21.

²⁶² The extant documentary evidence on royal privileges and concessions to the Hermits of Saint-Vincent is extensive. See ADR 13H5-21. Surviving privileges and concessions date from Louis XI’s reign (1461-83) and continue through Louis XIV’s (1643-1715).

rent owed to the Augustinians, was brought before the vice-bailli in the winter of 1581. Guillaume Bottu, the prior of the Crémieu house—who also held the title of administrator of the Hôtel-Dieu of Crémieu—wrote to the vice bailli to request the hearing. Bottu named Jehan Rigaud and Estienne de Mirry fils as defendants.²⁶³ Rigaud and de Mirry père had been sold plots of land by Catherin Coindoz. Coindoz owed a pension to the Augustinians for this land, which abutted the Jewish cemetery in Crémieu, and which he used to cultivate vineyards. Coindoz had refused to pay the pension once the lands were sold to Rigaud and de Mirry père, presumably with the assumption that after the sale, the matter of the Augustinians' pension was not Rigaud and de Mirry père's problem. Moreover, Rigaud and de Mirry fils (his father, the original buyer, died over the course of the suit, although it is not clear when; in the eyes of the Augustinians and the vice-bailli, de Mirry fils assumed the financial obligations of his father) refused to pay.²⁶⁴ In fact, Rigaud claimed that he had been paying the portion of the pension owed the Augustinians, and that he therefore did not owe the brothers anything. Of course, Rigaud's version of events contradicted Prior Bottu's story.²⁶⁵ In its verdict, the court found that Coindoz was obligated to pay the pension owed the Augustinians, and that he presumably would have to procure that money from Rigaud and de Mirry, fils, or pay it himself.²⁶⁶

On 3 June 1588, the Augustinians of Crémieu presented another request before the vice-bailli and royal judge for the Viennois.²⁶⁷ They were demanding the backing of

²⁶³ ADI 1H31, folio 11.

²⁶⁴ ADI 1H36, folio 7. Notarial records recorded in a carton entitled "Lawsuits against the consuls and inhabitants of Crémieu." The notary recorded the happenings on 17 January 1582.

²⁶⁵ ADI 1H36, folio 9.

²⁶⁶ ADI 1H36, folio 7.

²⁶⁷ The register of the court proceedings records the name of the vice bailli as Pierre Boissant.

the vice-bailliage for their claim of seigneurial rights over areas surrounding their monastery in Crémieu. They were also seeking to have older land ownership titles recognized again. “The Augustinian brothers of Crémieu exposed and remonstrated to us that...several pensions and seigneurial rights were due them in several and diverse places...at sites near their convent...[the Augustinians] wish to have their titles recognized again on the grounds of their antiquity...” Vice Bailli Boissant agreed to this, and also ordered that “all tenants and holders of land in the subjected and affected cases and on which they will be; said debts and seigneurial rights will be due them [the Augustinians].” Additionally, the tenants and landholders had to agree to the Augustinians’ authority as landlords. Boissant acted on behalf of the Augustinians’ claim to land, and the rents that it would provide them.²⁶⁸

In a separate case brought forward in 1610, the Augustinians of Crémieu sued Pierre Chanu for defaulting on rent payments. When he died, the Hermits pursued his widow, Pernette Monson. Whether she could no longer pay the rent or abandoned the property for other reasons is not clear. Nevertheless, a third party assumed possession of the land. The Hermits then pursued the new lessee for the Chanu family’s defaulted rent payments, a fact which follows the legal argument of the Coindoz case. The case lasted until the 1650s.²⁶⁹

These lawsuits in Crémieu reveal that the Augustinians Hermits readily sued the secular courts to assert their proprietary rights as landlords. They followed the patronage networks of their defendants until arriving at a party able to pay what the original defendants owed. In addition, the Augustinians also sued for the recognition of their land rights.

²⁶⁸ ADI 1H31, folio 5.

²⁶⁹ ADI 1H36, folio 15.

II. Tensions with Secular Authority

The Augustinians endeavored to replace and restore their material possessions and buildings in Crémieu and its surroundings. The brothers achieved this through rebuilding projects, patronage networks from which they were the beneficiaries, and through the courts. These efforts were met with resistance by secular and ecclesiastical authority. In the crowded peninsula of central Lyon, where urban pressures weighed heavily upon the city consulate and the religious orders, competing visions of the role of the regular clergy in civic life pitted the regular clergy against the consulate. The ensuing rivalry manifested in three areas of conflict, namely tax privileges for the regular clergy, the right of the religious orders to beg within the city (a practice known as the *quête*), and the extent to which the regular clergy could perform acts of charity.

In 1637, the citizens of Lyon wanted the city to tax the mendicants for the goods they bought, such as wine, wheat, oil, and salt.²⁷⁰ The powerful *prévôt des marchands* (the de facto co-mayor, along with the *premier magistrat*) argued that the royal concessions offered the Augustinians and other mendicants were coerced, and therefore invalid. The city believed that the mendicants should pay the tax on the entry of wine and other staples.²⁷¹ In protest to this letter, the syndics of the Augustinians and the Dominicans wrote to the king.²⁷² An excerpt from the *Registres de*

²⁷⁰ ADR 13H17, folio 7.

²⁷¹ ADR 13H17, folio 22 and 32.

²⁷² ADR 13H17, folio 22. Although often in disagreement, the mendicant clergy of Lyon did pool their influence in an attempt to prevail upon the king to maintain their privileges amid calls by the city authority to rescind them. As early as 1601, the Augustinian Hermits, the Carmelites, and the Minims wrote to Henri IV and the Privy Council to continue with the “praiseworthy habit” of granting the salt concession. However, this occurred amid allegations that the Augustinians were engaging in some sort of unspecified abuse of their privilege. See ADR 13H15, “Au Roy et a Nosseigneurs de Son Conseil.”

l'État makes clear that the *droit d'entrée* was justified in the eyes of the king, and that he was not convinced by the coercion argument from city leadership for dropping the privileges of the mendicant orders.²⁷³ This royal approval would last even until 1649, when before the royal tabellion of Lyon, lead syndic of the Augustinian Hermits Louis Lamic testified that the concessions were essential to the well-being and security of the monastery.²⁷⁴ A decade later, the prior of Saint-Vincent, Esprit de la Forest, had to justify upon the request of the Cour des Aides that the concessions remained essential to the survival of the house.²⁷⁵ Interestingly, during this contest over tax exemptions and privileges between the king and his councils, and the city government of Lyon over the right of the Augustinians and other mendicant orders to maintain their concessions and tax exemptions, the city was enjoying its own royal concession for the tax-free entry of wine.²⁷⁶

The issue of performing the *quête* became a bone of contention between the Augustinians and the city consulate. Beginning in the 1610s, the city consulate instituted policies to contain (*renfermer*) beggars. Yann Lignereux points out that the

²⁷³ ADR 13H17, folio 26.

²⁷⁴ ADR 13H17, folio 46. See also ADR 13H17, folio 80. A tabellion was a royal official in charge of issuing contracts and testaments made between two parties.

²⁷⁵ According to the *Bulletin Historique du Diocèse de Lyon* (année 4, numéro 23, 1903) p. 140, Henri IV granted the tax free entry of two minots of salt in 1601; Louis XIII reaffirmed this in 1630; in 1659, Louis XIV increased the tax free concession to four minots. It was not until 1716 that Louis XV reduced it to two minots.

La Forest was careful to mention the financial obligations unique to the house on the Quai Saint-Vincent, owing to its status as the provincial seat of the Hermits of the Narbonne-Bourgogne province. Such special obligations included the need to furnish other houses in the province, and to house brothers in transit between the multiple French houses, Paris (where the French *studium generale* for the order was situated), and Rome.

²⁷⁶ ADR 13H17, folio 27. This debate occurred especially between 1638 and 1659. “Neantmoins les habitants de ladicte ville de Lion pretendans auoir obtenu diuers octroys sur le vin qui entre dans ladicte ville l’un de dix solz sur chasque asuer de vin pour employer au payement de leurs debtes, l’autre de deux solz six deniers pour l’Aumosne generale, et le dernier d’autres deux solz six deniers pour l’Hostel Dieu du pont du Rosne.”

consuls framed mendicancy in increasingly dark terms, associating it with moral decline.²⁷⁷ With the influx of new mendicant religious orders (the Oratory, Discalced Augustinians, Discalced Carmelites) seeking a place in Lyon's crowded peninsula, the rectors of the city's charitable organization, the Aumône Générale, feared that these new mendicants would divert the charity of the Lyonnais away from their municipal institution.²⁷⁸ Hard financial times in the mid-sixteenth century had diminished the charitableness of the Lyonnais. This pitted the Augustinians, a part of whose charity came from performing the quête, against the city consulate, whose charitable priorities lay elsewhere.

In 1531, the Aumône Générale became part of the consuls' solution to the problem of urban poverty.²⁷⁹ As Yann Lignereux explains, by the early seventeenth century, the financial prosperity of the Renaissance that had enriched the merchant class faded, leaving skilled artisans in penury. Many needed the food and shelter that the Aumône Générale provided.²⁸⁰ That the regular clergy took donations from the Lyonnais to redistribute to the poor concerned the civic authorities who feared that the charity of the Lyonnais would be diverted away from the city's Aumône Générale. Lignereux demonstrates that during the opening decades of the seventeenth century, the Lyon consulate protected civic institutions, like the Aumône Générale, amid shrinking financial fortunes.²⁸¹ For example, in the 1610s, the city consulate authorized an expansion of the Aumône Générale to address the crisis of urban

²⁷⁷ Yann Lignereux, *Lyon et le Roi: de la "Bonne Ville" à l'absolutisme municipal (1594-1654)*, (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2003), 714.

²⁷⁸ Ibid., 724.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., 711.

²⁸⁰ Ibid., 699.

²⁸¹ Lignereux, *passim*.

poverty.²⁸² Despite the markers of Catholic faith that punctuated their city, the consulate curtailed two public aspects of the spirituality of the mendicant clergy (begging and charity) in the interest of protecting the municipal institution of poor relief, the Aumône Générale. This defense of municipal privilege came at the cost of the Augustinians. For example, the city consulate refused the Discalced Augustinians' petition to establish their first house in Lyon in the crowded peninsula. Instead, the city authorized their settlement outside the city walls on 9 May 1624 in the Croix-Rousse.²⁸³ In so doing, the consulate acted despite the king's generous concessions toward the Discalced Augustinians in the early seventeenth century, and other reformed branches of the regular clergy as well.²⁸⁴

In Crémieu, similar conflicts erupted over the Augustinians' expansion deeper into civic space. In the late 1590s, the Crémieu Augustinian Hermits had performed the *quête* with enough success to pay for their new baptistry.²⁸⁵ Despite the success of the *quête* to expand the *fabrica* of the Augustinian brothers, the city consulate soon thereafter repressed the practice. Further, the building projects of the Augustinians between the 1610s and 30s met with increasing resistance from the city consulate, whose own building plans collided with the Augustinians'.²⁸⁶

III. Ecclesiastical Tensions

A series of scandals provided the occasion through which bishops and the secular clergy in the region surrounding Crémieu could resist the the expansionism of

²⁸² Lignereux, 714.

²⁸³ Ibid., 725.

²⁸⁴ ADR 13H17, folio 80.

²⁸⁵ ADI 1H36, folio 15.

²⁸⁶ ADI 1H36, folio 38.

the Augustinian Hermits of Crémieu. Beginning in the 1630s, political authorities accused the brothers of moral failings. For example, in January 1630, the king's lieutenant général for Dauphiné, Louis de Bourbon, ordered the arrest and detainment of the prior, a man simply identified as Du Vinier. Accused of having embezzled 900 livres and 12 sols, Du Vinier was later released on his own recognizance and ordered to repay the money taken.²⁸⁷

The Crémieu city consulate found a common ally in the resistance to the expansionist ambitions of the Augustinian Hermits. Documents from 1658 record that the Parlement of Grenoble bombarded the Crémieu house. The explanations given for the action and their result are somewhat incomplete in the extant records categorized under in the inventories of the Archives Départementales de l'Isère under the titles 1H36 and 1H38 ("Augustins de Crémieu: procès contre les consuls et habitants de Crémieu" and "Augustins de Crémieu, Correspondance et Divers" respectively). An accusation of treason served as the catalyst for the offensive against the Crémieu house. A document dated 23 August 1658 records that two Crémieu Augustinians held information pertaining to the whereabouts and movement of the second Portuguese Count de Reis, Nuno de Mendonça, in the region. Consequently, the pair were thrown into prison. Later, the Parlement sent 400 troops to lay siege to the monastery for three days. In a court record of the events, the Augustinians were described as well-provisioned for the event, having "every munition of warfare." What they lacked in arms the brothers made up for in rudimentary defenses, casting upon the parliamentary troops below.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁷ ADI 1H36, folio 39. The person in the complaint listed as representing the cause of the Augustinians was Duran Dinoister.

²⁸⁸ ADI 1H38, folio 12.

The priorate of Crémieu continued to be the object of investigation for decades. In 1663, just five years after the convent's bombardement by troops of the Parlement of Grenoble, the Augustinian community at Crémieu was rocked by another scandal. Both the provincial of the Narbonne-Bourgogne province of Hermits, Esprit de la Forest, and the archbishop of Lyon, Camille de Neufville de Villeroy, recorded the events. On 14 August 1664, La Forest wrote his version of the events—drawn from various depositions and interviews—which delineated the misconduct of the prior of the Crémieu Augustinians, Nicolas Villeraque. In a letter written on 29 December 1663, Archbishop Neufville corroborated La Forest's account of the events. We can conclude by the date of this letter that the formal investigation ended by late fall, and that the events occurred sometime during the preceding months.

La Forest's investigation found that Prior Villeraque was guilty of several crimes, which fell into three categories: operational neglect, namely mismanagement of the monastery's finances; neglect of regular discipline in several forms; and lastly, misconduct directed to harm those outside the monastery. On matters related to regular discipline, La Forest found Villeraque culpable of frequent absenteeism, including nighttime excursions outside the convent without his habit. La Forest confirmed allegations of sexual improprieties, including the regular practice of bringing women into the monastery, both lay and religious, granting them accesses to offices, the library, and private cells. One woman allegedly became pregnant by Villeraque. In another instance, Villeraque procured an abortion for a woman whom he impregnated. He also frequently propositioned young men outside the convent for sex. Regarding accusations pertaining to harm done to those outside the monastery, La Forest's report cites Villeraque's litigiousness, as well as his practice of defaming

fellow brothers and superiors of the order. More, La Forest reported a stockpile of arms in Villeraque's cell, which given the siege just a few months prior, is fitting.²⁸⁹

Both La Forest and Neufville found Villeraque guilty of these crimes. The Narbonne-Bourgogne province of the Hermits adjudicated the matter, and subsequently rendered a judgment that entailed "suspension from the holy sacrifice of the altar" and deprivation of provincial voting rights forever. Moreover, the province sentenced Villeraque to life in prison and handed him over to the secular authorities for what La Forest called a "disobedient and incorrigible soul." It is not clear how the secular authorities acted on his case, nor what ultimately became of Villeraque.²⁹⁰

Archbishop Neufville took a keen interest in the Crémieu house during the aftermath of Villeraque's trial. In a letter dated 29 December 1663, Neufville cautioned La Forest to resist the mounting pressure from ambitious Augustinian Hermits in the Lyon house who pushed him to quickly nominate one of them to fill the priorate at Crémieu. Neufville's demand conformed to the customary waiting period for replacing priors and the wishes of the Crémieu consulate, which also wanted a lengthy interim period between priors.²⁹¹ By taking this action, Neufville directly weighed in on the nature and constitution of the Augustinian community at Crémieu.

Historically, the archbishops of Lyon supported the king's religious agenda in the region. Neufville was no exception.²⁹² He was particularly committed to enforcing the tenets of the Counter-Reformation upon the clergy of the archdiocese, paying

²⁸⁹ ADR 13H184, folio 2.

²⁹⁰ ADR 13H184, folio 2.

²⁹¹ ADR 13H184, folio 1.

²⁹² Neufville took particular interest in advancing public morality. He saw in the Parisian confraternity of Saint-Sacrement a pious exemplar, a fact that speaks to the type of reform he sought. See *Histoire des diocèses de France. Le Diocèse de Lyon*. 16. Sous la direction de Jacques Gadille. Paris: Beauchesne, 1983, p. 151.

particular attention to the regular clergy. For him, promoting obedience *sensu stricto* to the rules and constitutions of the respective orders guaranteed the orderliness and conformity that the Crown sought. Joseph Bergin argues that the French episcopacy over the seventeenth century demonstrate stable tenures, and a more active engagement with the affairs of their dioceses.²⁹³ That Villeraque's deeds were exposed in a contested region, at a house with a checkered reputation, left Neuville no room for deliberation. He would act, and make an example of the house's conduct.

The Crémieu city consulate sided with Neuville to urge patient deliberation in replacing the prior of the Crémieu house. Further, the consulate urged Neuville to reduce the monastery's roster. Neuville expressed confidence in the consulate's good will toward the Crémieu house in its moment of crisis. As he wrote, the consulate wished to "impede the ruin of the monastery."²⁹⁴ In denying that the consulate intended to "ruin" the Augustinians, the archbishop sought to downplay the acrimony between the consulate and Augustinians. One speculates as well whether the archbishop's granting of the request for a slimmer roster played into the consulate's wishes for a more malleable Augustinian community.

The archbishop stood to profit the most from the agreement with the consulate. Neuville's reforming program ran best when the consulate, not religious houses, controlled civic spaces. Political pressure operated more effectively on consulates instead of the mendicant orders with their unique hierarchical systems. The consulate at Crémieu had long resisted some of the strategies of the Augustinians' to re-establish their *fabrica ecclesiae*, such as rejecting the practice of the quête. A traditional source of income, begging was legislated against in Crémieu and Lyon,

²⁹³ See Bergin, *Church, Society and Religious Change in France 1580-1730*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 166-7.

²⁹⁴ ADR 13H184, folio 1.

forcing mendicant clergy to seek income elsewhere, or to rely on the graces of the city consulates.²⁹⁵ That the consulate had rejected the monastery's request for the right to the quête exposed the deep fissures between mendicant clergy and consulates, along with the curés under their auspices. Moreover, monasteries deprived of some of their power made a larger place for the secular clergy. This was in conformity with Neuville's reforming objectives, but also with the reforming spirit of the Counter-Reformation.

In Lyon, the papacy expressed interest in ensuring that as the Augustinians there rebuilt and expanded they maintain the original character of their communities as mendicant houses of the regular clergy. Pope Urban VIII was particularly concerned about safeguarding the communal austerity of both Lyon houses, writing to the brothers there that he wished them to preserve this character ("qui eadem vitae austeritate profiteatur") in their communities against outside influence.²⁹⁶ Urban VIII was also worried over other disorders caused by the rivalries between the Discalced of the Croix-Rousse and the Hermits of Saint-Vincent, problems fueled by a lack of spiritual discipline, according to the pope.²⁹⁷ Part of Urban's solution was to clarify the bureaucratic relationship between the two houses. The first stage of this process was to streamline the procedure for the Hermits of Saint-Vincent to elect vicars general.²⁹⁸ The next phase was to grant the official status of an upstart, daughter congregation

²⁹⁵ ADI 1H36, folio 15. The bishop of Geneva/Annecy, François de Sales (r. 1602-1622), wrote the city consulate of Seyssel to advocate against the secular clergy of the city who called into question the Augustinian right to the quête.

²⁹⁶ ADR 13H8, folio 1.

²⁹⁷ ADR 13H8, folio 1. "quod cum inter Ipsum priorem generalem ac fratres reformatos huiusmodi, nonnullae difficultates circa eiusdem congregationis regimen ortae fuissent."

²⁹⁸ ADR 13H8, folio 6.

(congregationis ortae) to the Discalced house of the Croix-Rousse, which meant that its members owed a measure of deference to the prior of Saint-Vincent.²⁹⁹

The expansionism of the Augustinians was also resisted by the clergy, both secular and regular. As the Augustinians competed for space in the urban center of Lyon, they confronted other clergy who had also staked their claim in the civic landscape. Competition ensued, often provoking legal battles. Nicolas Viaulle, a bean merchant, wanted his son buried with the Augustinians, but did not wish for them to perform the ceremony. The Augustinians, however, claimed the right to perform the services of those to be buried at their church.³⁰⁰ Seeing the resistance coming from the Viaulle family, the Augustinians precipitously buried the boy, effectively holding the body hostage and refusing to return it.³⁰¹

The right of accompaniment (*droit d'accompagnement*) governed the manner by which the clergy could access the sacred spaces of other clerical groups.³⁰² In the case of Viaulle, the Augustinians claimed that the *droit d'accompagnement* extended only to the doors of the church. On 23 January 1655, both the Hermits of Saint-Vincent and the Discalced of the Croix-Rousse gathered to articulate their position. At their meeting, the two Augustinian houses produced a document, which stipulated that

when there is a dead body for burial in one of the convents of [Augustinian] monks or nuns (the tomb of the deceased having been [purchased?]) the curate or vicar of the parish where the deceased was

²⁹⁹ ADR 13H8, folio 1. dictus Prior generalis foelici ac prospero ipsius congregationis regimini ac pervictioris quam ipsi fratres profitentur. In his letter, Pope Urban VIII also sought to regulate the foundation of new congregations.

³⁰⁰ ADR 13H32, folio 5.

³⁰¹ The Viaulle family sued, and the case was eventually heard by the Parlement of Paris on 27 March 1646. See ADR 13H32, folio 1.

³⁰² The *droit d'accompagnement* required that the clergy of the parish to which the deceased belonged would process with the body to the site where the deceased would be buried. There, the processing clergy would proclaim in a loud voice that the deceased had died in proper communion with the church.

domiciled will be called (after having been advised [of the death]) to go with his own clergy to accompany the body to the doors of the church of the convent or monastery, and there without entering the church to declare that the deceased had died in communion with the church, and afterward, the clergy will withdraw and leave the monks to receive the body at the gate for burial.³⁰³

Viaulle wrote in response, articulating again that he did not wish for the Augustinians to perform the funerary mass, but that he did wish to have his son buried there. He did purchase from the Hermits the right to bury his son there. Viaulle later followed up his resistance to the Augustinians with actions, allegedly “violently” forcing his way into the church, presumably to claim the body of his son.³⁰⁴

This was not the only example of strife between the Augustinians of Saint-Vincent and the secular clergy of Lyon over matters pertaining to burial. Charles Pehlehotte died suddenly of a “heart problem” while in the kitchen of the monastery at Saint-Vincent. Doctors, surgeons, and apothecaries were called to his aid, along with his wife and children. After his death, Pehlehotte’s body remained in the monastery for three days. The Augustinians buried the body in the church after the three-day period, which caused the canons regular of the church of Saint-Nizier and Pehlehotte’s family to protest indignantly. They arrived at doors of the church to block the burial, presumably claiming that their droit d’accompagnement (which they interpreted to mean their right to perform the service) was not being respected by the Augustinians. In court documents, the Augustinian vicar of the convent defended their actions by citing an instance in which the cook of the church Notre Dame de la Platière died, and that the canons there began immediately the process of burying the body, despite the fact that the man belonged to a different parish. The court document records that in referencing the La Platière case, the vicar of the

³⁰³ ADR 13H32, folio 1.

³⁰⁴ ADR 13H32, folio 6.

Augustinians proclaimed aloud in Latin, “ubi cecidit...ibi collidetur.” However, according to court documents, Pehlehotte did not want to be buried with the Augustinians. In fact, the documents expressly reveal his anxiety over the La Platière case, and that this event raised anxiety that his wish to be buried elsewhere would not be respected.³⁰⁵

Burials were a flash point of the tensions between regular and secular clergy. The right to perform a funeral in the church of an order was a hallowed right that communicated spiritual importance to the community. Amid severe crowding in the city, the regular clergy in Lyon felt the effects of an overabundance of regular clergy more acutely than Augustinians in more rural settings.³⁰⁶ Nevertheless, outside the urban center of Lyon, other zones of tension also existed. For example, the Augustinian Hermits of Seyssel (50 kilometers southwest of Geneva) were embroiled in conflict with local curés in the early 1650s. In 1651, the curé of the city requested of the bishop of Geneva/Annecy, François de Sales, that the Augustinians be forbidden to touch the deceased without the permission of local curés. Further, during funerals, the Augustinians of Seyssel could only pray for the soul of the departed, while the honor of ritual body washing was reserved for the curé. Further, the Augustinians could not enter the parish where a funeral was being conducted without the curé being present. In a compilation of the legal actions on the matter, we read that François de Sales was called upon to adjudicate the matter, which he did in July 1651. He concluded that during funerals, the Augustinians could accompany the body with the secular clergy.

³⁰⁵ ADR 13H32, folio 4.

³⁰⁶ ADR 13H32, folio 5.

He also called them to work out their other disagreements in recognition that they both existed in order to labor in service of “God’s divine majesty.”³⁰⁷

Cases of conflict between the Augustinians and the secular clergy also occurred over matters unrelated to funerals. Publicly visible functions attracted the careful scrutiny of the secular clergy and the city consulate of Seyssel who tended to support them. On 8 May 1647, the bishop of Geneva/Annecy, Charles-Auguste de Sales, wrote to the priests, vicars, and curés of Seyssel to publicly allow the Augustinians to perform the *quête* in the city, and to receive the charitable alms of the citizens of Seyssel, in light of the fact that the monastery was on the verge of inoperability (*prest a tomber en ruine*).³⁰⁸ Again in 1669, the new bishop, Jean d’Aranthon d’Ales, encouraged the secular clergy to allow the right to beg in order to compensate for the “difficulty of the times,” which referred to damage that the Augustinian monastery periodically sustained by seasonal flooding of the Rhône River.³⁰⁹ Here we see that the bishop pressuring the secular clergy to permit the Augustinians to perform the *quête*. Presumably, the secular clergy, with the support of the city leaders, had curtailed the ability of the Augustinians to seek alms in this manner. Consequently, the monastery now lay almost in ruins. The precariousness of the moment for the Augustinians worried the bishop, but apparently was of little concern to the civic leaders and the secular clergy.

The civic authorities of Seyssel exploited the tensions between the regular clergy for their own benefit. The proceedings of the syndics of Seyssel reveal that on

³⁰⁷ ADL 589, folio 14. This document reveals other proposed prohibitions that the curé sought to implement, and against which the Augustinians of Seyssel resisted. The copy of the legal statements on the matter reveal that the curés were demanding that the Augustinians participate in public processions in the city. However, they curés did not wish them to carry relics in their processing.

³⁰⁸ ADL 589, folio 43.

³⁰⁹ ADL 589, folio 29.

24 February 1667, the town had bestowed upon a Capuchin preacher the honor of delivering the Lenten sermon. The sermon was to be delivered in the Augustinian church on the feast of Saint Matthew. When day arrived, the Augustinians refused the Capuchin access to the church, and the sermon was not delivered. Indignant, the syndics convoked a hearing to deliberate over this refusal. The syndics found that the Augustinians were in violation of the city's perpetual rights over their church, and they ordered the Augustinians not to impede the preacher in the future. Importantly, the the syndics framed the Augustinians' refusal not as a reasonable claim to manage the sacred space of their church, but rather as the Hermits depriving the public of access to the word of God at a critical moment in the church calendar, Lent.³¹⁰ The actions of the syndics revealed to the city of Seyssel that they were the keepers of the souls of the people.

IV. Conclusion

In the wake of the Wars of Religion, the Augustinians rebuilt their physical presence by cultivating existing patronage networks, and asserting their rights as landlords in court. The brothers also endeavored to reinvigorate their practice of ritual begging. Civic and ecclesiastical authority resisted these efforts. All these points underscore the importance of the *fabrica ecclesiae* to the Augustinians.

³¹⁰ ADL 594, folio 3. This was also an example of rivalries between the mendicant clergy, in this case the Augustinians and the Capuchins. It contrasts with the case in the following paragraph in Lyon, where the mendicant clergy appealed in concert to the king against the city of Lyon's efforts to convince the king to rescind the concessions and tax privileges. These two controversies in Seyssel and Lyon demonstrate that civic authority and the mendicant clergy aligned for a variety of reasons that did not always follow a predictable pattern.

CHAPTER 5: Brou

Between 1506 and 1532, the Savoyards built an impressive Augustinian church and cloister in their western province of Bresse. The church, constructed in the neo-Gothic style popular in the late-Renaissance, was consistently referred to in French and Savoyard letters patent and in the registers of the bailliage of Bresse as “the most beautiful edifice in Europe.” Situated at the convergence of France, Geneva, Burgundy, Savoy, and Dauphiné, the province of Bresse was at a political and religious crossroads. Although it had been under Savoyard control since 1272, Bresse was occupied by the French beginning in 1494 during the first of the Italian Wars (1494-1559). The period of construction also corresponded with the start of the Protestant Reformation, which—beginning in the 1520s—spread into Geneva, and eventually into Bresse 100 kilometers to the west. The construction of the Augustinian monastery at Brou, therefore, both projected Savoyard political ambition and demonstrated the Catholicity of the House of Savoy amid political and religious rivals.

The founding patron of the monastery, Marguerite of Austria the Dowager Duchess of Savoy, and eventual Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, funded the building project at a cost of 2 million francs.³¹¹ In 1504, her third husband, Duke Philibert II, had died unexpectedly after just three years of marriage. Situated just twenty kilometers to the north of their Bressan residence at the chateau of Pont-d’Ain, Brou had been earmarked by Philibert’s mother, Marguerite de Bourbon, for the

³¹¹ Marian Andrews, *The High and Puissant Princess Marguerite of Austria: Princess Dowager of Spain Duchess Dowager of Savoy Regent of the Netherlands*, (London: Harper and Brothers, 1907), 93.

Marguerite of Austria held the post of Governor of the Spanish Netherlands from 1507-1515, and again from 1519-1530. Marguerite has been celebrated as a woman of the Renaissance, possessing both deep piety and political acumen. See any number of works on her career in the Netherlands and Savoy, including Jane de Jongh, *Margaret of Austria, Regent of the Netherlands*, trans. Herter Norton.

construction of a grand sepulchral church. However, she died before she could undertake it. She charged Philibert with the task; however, his premature death again left the task undone. Marguerite of Austria assumed the responsibility of financing the construction and assembling architects from across western Europe in his stead. Marian Andrews has suggested that familial duty and a desire to honor the memory of her husband motivated her.³¹² Charity Cannon Willard has identified strong parallels between Marguerite's founding of Brou and Christine de Pizan's "Livres des Trois Vertus," where honoring a deceased husband was a widow's duty, which included inhabiting their husband's lands and defending their property rights and wealth.³¹³ Shortly after the death of Philibert, however, her father, Emperor Maximilian I, called her to assume the role of Governor of the Spanish Netherlands for her nephew, the future Charles V, a task that made her an absentee landlord. Nevertheless, the construction work continued. Prior to her death in 1530, Marguerite had arranged to be buried next to her husband, Philibert.³¹⁴

Brou sat at the gates of the larger city of Bourg, which was the capital of Bresse. The monastery at Brou was an imposing physical marker through which the ruling family of Savoy communicated Savoyard spiritual devotion and political ambition. The edifices were instructive. The church was a majestic, commanding presence, with an adjoining double cloister, an extravagance for most houses, especially in an area so politically peripheral. With such a grand complex, the Savoyards projected their religion, strength, and ambition westward from their traditional home in the Alps.

³¹² Andrews, 91-3.

³¹³ Charity Cannon Willard, "Regent of the Netherlands: Margaret of Austria," in *Women Writers of the renaissance and Reformation*, ed. Katharina M. Wilson, (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1987), 353.

³¹⁴ Andrews, 334.

Marguerite placed the church under the patronage of St. Nicholas of Tolentino (ca. 1245-1305).³¹⁵ Nicholas had been part of the first generation of Augustinian Hermits after the Great Union of 1256. He entered the Augustinian Hermit order when he was eighteen, and joined a community in Tolentino. Nicholas' religious reputation was retold in narratives of his skill as a preacher, his accessibility to the flock, and the performance of miracles.³¹⁶ His *fama sanctitatis* persisted long after his death. As Fredrika H. Jacobs notes, 365 witness claimed in 1325 that "Nicholas of Tolentino rescued them from drowning, cured them of an affliction, saved them from death by marauding armies."³¹⁷ In the years between his death and canonization in 1446, the devout of that surrounded Nicholas continued to seek his intercession, especially those—as Jacobs notes—who were sick and threatened.³¹⁸

Despite Savoyard pretensions to influence, the reality was that the situation in Bresse was fluid politically, religiously, and socially. The dynastic rivalry between the Bourbon and the House of Savoy had a venue at Brou. At times this rivalry manifested itself in opposing visions for how to respond to the crises of the monastery. At other times, the two dynasties achieved consensus. Through an examination of the interaction of the Brou community with French and Savoyard officialdom, we can learn how the French Crown expanded into the central-eastern periphery, and how the Savoyards used religious communities to maintain a foothold in Bresse. Specifically, the narrative of the Brou house delineates two important aspects of religio-political

³¹⁵ In French Nicolas de Tolentin.

³¹⁶ Joan Carroll Cruz, "Saint Nicholas of Tolentino," in *The Incorruptibles: A Study of Incorruption of Bodies of Various Catholic Saints and Beati*, (Rockford, IL: Tan Books and Publishers, 1977).

³¹⁷ Fredrika H. Jacobs, *Votive Panels and Popular Piety in Early Modern Italy*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 18.

³¹⁸ Jacobs, 86.

transformation of Bresse. First, it shows that dynastic reputation animated Savoyard politics in the region more than loyalty to any “state” in the modern sense of the word.³¹⁹ The promulgation of the Edict of Nantes in 1598, however, followed by the formal hand-over of Bresse to France in 1601, forced the Augustinians to confront the state-consciousness that the French brought and imposed upon the province of Bresse. Competing political identities in Bresse—advanced by the Crown and met by an ongoing Savoyard presence—had great implications for the Augustinians of Brou. The pressure of dynastic rivalries upon the Augustinian community of Brou deepened fissures between branches of the Augustinian family.

I. The Brou Monastery: A Savoyard Community in the Shadow of War, 1540s-1598

The Augustinians at Brou lived in a complicated patchwork of religious jurisdictions. The original leadership of the house, selected by Marguerite herself, comprised Observant Augustinians of the Lombard province in Italy. As mentioned above, the Observant congregations believed that their emphasis on monastic spiritual discipline and ritual made them truer reflections of Augustinian spirituality. This served in contrast to the emphasis of the Hermits upon study. Because Observantines fell under the auspices of their corresponding congregation of Augustinian Hermits, their spiritual loyalties were—in part—ultramontane. The village of Brou, however, was situated within the archdiocese of Lyon. “Primates of the Gauls” by traditional title, the archbishops of Lyon were historically loyal to the kings of France. Therefore, the archbishops respected the Crown’s demands with respect to asserting its right to validate appointments to priorships of religious houses. From the beginning of its life,

³¹⁹ This finding is consistent with the analysis of the apanage of the Genevois completed by Matthew Vester in *Renaissance Dynasticism and Apanage Politics: Jacques de Savoie-Nemours, 1531-1585*, (Kirkville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2012).

the community of Brou inhabited a space of converging religious and political identities.³²⁰

Shortly following the completion of construction, the religio-political fabric of central-eastern France changed dramatically, adding another level of complexity to a region already richly diverse. The number of Genevan evangelicals coming into Bresse from the 1520s to 40s rose steadily, so that by the late-sixteenth century, Bresse was undeniably a bi-confessional province, holding a significant Huguenot population.³²¹ This steadily increasing presence animated a Catholic response both from devout Bressans, and also from the Augustinians themselves. For example, Bressans increased their giving to the Brou house during these decades. Devotional giving came chiefly in the form of mass foundations, especially after the restitution of Bresse to Savoy in 1559 with the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis.³²²

³²⁰ The Brou house was part of a spiritual network whose devotion included religious communities subjected to several political rulers. For example, in 1551, the Augustinians were paying 50 florins annually to the abbey an church of Saint-Claude in Spanish Franche-Comté for the maintenance of an altar candle (see ADL H606, folio 17).

³²¹ Chaix, *Bresse protestante*, 25-59.

³²² The collection of documents at the Archives départementales de l'Ain under the headings H605 (Fondation du couvent de Brou; acquisition de fonds) and H606 (Fondation de Brou; acquisitions) indicates that from 1505 to 1520, and again during the 1550s, the Augustinians engaged in many land transactions, both buying and selling. Is it that the Augustinians were taking advantage of this period of relative political calm to expand their physical presence in this region through the buying and selling of property? These decades saw an increase in the presence of Calvinist evangelicals. The timing could suggest a correlation between these two phenomena, that is the increasing presence of Protestants (whom Pierre Chaix in *La Bresse protestante* suggests were of a merchant class) and an increased pace of land transactions on the part of the Augustinians.

Moreover, H616 (Fondations de chapelles et de messes) indicates an increased pace of mass foundations between 1520 and 1546. All the Augustinian houses examined in this study invested much effort in acquiring mass foundations, as noted by the sheer volume of extant records recording in painstaking detail the conditions of the foundation (duration of time, date and frequency of the masses, as well as the annual fees due for the service, etc.). The fact that the acquisition of mass foundations was a practice that the Augustinian houses in this region apparently universally engaged in suggests that they were important not only for spiritual, but also for financial reasons to the Augustinians, and indeed to the communities that they served. This information, coupled with the land transactions, suggests that prior to the outbreak of the Wars of Religion, the Augustinians of Brou enjoyed a lot of financial activity.

In the context of shifting religious identities and loyalties, establishing sacred spaces mattered. As Will Coster and Andrew Spicer have argued, Catholics and Protestants valued their creation.³²³ For Catholics, they held particular significance, because sacred spaces were zones through which divine grace could make contact with the physical world. As Coster and Spicer write, sacred spaces were “reassertion[s] of the place of the holy on earth.”³²⁴ They took the form of “parish churches, chapels and cathedrals; abbeys, priories and nunneries.”³²⁵ Europeans therefore understood monasteries to be sites of particular importance for their region and the kingdom. Part of this importance lay in Catholics’ understanding that from these sacred areas would spread the word of God. This word, in Elizabeth Tingle’s analysis, inculcated in the laity a sense of their “personal responsibility for sin.”³²⁶ Preachers spread the word of God not just through sermons, but also in catechesis and the use of spectacle.³²⁷ If we are to take Jean Delumeau’s conclusion as true—that the rural zones of Western Europe, such as those along the Franco-Italian frontier, were largely un-evangelized—

³²³ Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, “Introduction: The Dimensions of Sacred Space in Reformation Europe,” in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 3.

³²⁴ Coster and Spicer, “Introduction,” 7.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, 4.

³²⁶ Elizabeth Tingle, “The Sacred Space of Julien Maunoir: The Re-Christianising of the Landscape in Seventeenth-Century Brittany,” in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 240.

³²⁷ Karen E. Carter has examined the role of catechesis in primary instruction in France for how it served to inculcate devotion to the Catholic faith. See Carter, *Creating Catholics: Catechism and Primary Education in Early Modern France*, (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011).

The work on the role of spectacle in religious practice is vast. Consider Simon Ditchfield, “Reading Rome as a Sacred Space, c. 1586-1635,” in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 167. Bernadette Majorana has written about Jesuit missions within Europe that targeted the uneducated. In her analysis, the use of spectacle was tailored to the population. See Majorana, “Une pastorale spectaculaire: Missions et missionnaires jésuites en Italie (XVIe-XVIIIe siècle),” *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 2 (2002), especially 31-7.

then most Catholics at the end of the Middle Ages were Catholic only in name, having little knowledge of doctrine or orthodox patterns of devotion.³²⁸ This religious ignorance, in light of the spread of Protestantism, created a sense of emergency for the Catholic hierarchy, especially in those areas adjoining Protestant hotbeds, such as Geneva. Growing their physical presence in Brou, and in the Franco-Italian borderlands more generally, was certainly a means whereby the Augustinians could strive for the spiritual vitality of the boundary zone. These evangelistic efforts relied upon the spiritual character ascribed to these sacred sites.

However, this effort of the Augustinians to establish a strong physical and spiritual presence in Bresse was stymied by ongoing cycles of war. The pilfering armies of the Burgundians, French, and—ironically—the Savoyards inflicted financial losses upon the Augustinians. The earliest record of such aggression dates from December 1557 when all three laid siege to the Brou house. Observing a Burgundian siege of the monastery, an observer wrote, “Some men of war were in front of the convent of Brou,” and the Augustinians inside were afraid to open the doors. Then, the Burgundians “began to break the doors and windows and to make such a noise that was shameful to hear.” The Burgundians sought lead,³²⁹ as did the French, who also made off with food and ample wine.³³⁰ The Savoyards also targeted the Brou house for lead. In December 1557, the lieutenant general of Emmanuel Philibert, Poluilliers, arrived in Bourg with a force of 10,000 infantrymen and 1,200 horses to attack the city. The Augustinians at Brou were called upon by the Baron de Digoine Damus to surrender lead objects for the purpose of making bullets. Two hundred troops arrived

³²⁸ Jean Delumeau, *Catholicism Between Luther and Voltaire: A New View of the Counter-Reformation*, (Westminster: John Knox Press, 1977).

³²⁹ ADL H614, folio 27.

³³⁰ ADL H614, folio 25.

from a local garrison and broke windows and doors. They pillaged anything containing lead, from pipes to components of the organ, an amount weighing 47 quintals.³³¹ Worse, these troops took clothes and provisions, and, unsurprisingly, drank the monastery's wine, pouring out what they could not consume.³³²

Despite the Savoyard troops' plundering of the Brou monastery, the Savoyard ruling family—those related to Marguerite—continued to invest money in the physical upkeep of the community and its buildings. In 1567, Duke Emmanuel Philibert, even decades after Marguerite's death, gave money for repairs and improvements to the monastery. In 1570, he offered an additional 100 florins toward this purpose.³³³

These military actions of the 1550s were followed by the Wars of Religion, which were highly disruptive to the region of Bresse, as both Pierre Chaix and Odile Martin point out.³³⁴ Extant records of financial donations suggest that the patronage networks upon which the Augustinians relied were a main causality of the Wars of Religion. The effect of the financial disruptions upon the monastery manifested in neglecting the maintenance and repairs of structures. In 1594, Duchess of Savoy, Catalina—wife of Charles Emmanuel I (r. 1580-1630) and daughter of Philip II—bemoaned that the belfry was in such terrible condition as to slowly crumble upon the church below.³³⁵ It was not until the mid- to late-seventeenth century that the patterns of giving became more frequent, yet still never attaining their prewar levels.

³³¹ Based upon modern conversion, this weight is 5,072 lbs.

³³² ADL H614, folio 25. This was a moment in which Bresse had passed to French military occupation before the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis restituted the province to Savoy.

³³³ ADL H614, folios 28 and 37.

³³⁴ Pierre Chaix, *La Bresse Protestante au XVIIe siècle*, (Bourg-en-Bresse: Imprimeries réunies de Bourg, 1977); Odile Martin, *La Conversion Protestante à Lyon (1659-1687)*, (Geneva: Droz, 1986), 63.

³³⁵ ADL H614, folio 32.

The documents in the carton H616 entitled “Fondations de chapelles et de messes” at the Archives Départementales de l’Ain indicate that between 1562 and 1598 (the period corresponding with the Wars of Religion), there were only two chapel and mass foundations. During the thirty-year period from 1520 to 1550, there were twelve. During the thirty-year period from 1665 to 1695, there were seven.³³⁶

Behind the Duchess Christina’s lament over Brou’s crumbling belfry stood the backdrop of dynastic reputation and rivalries. Stuart Carroll has underscored the powerful agency of dynastic families in early modern European politics. In his analysis of the Guise family, Carroll finds that the politics of the family name animated action even in matters pertaining to the promotion of confessional identities. Although religion served as a category whereby the great European clans identified allies and enemies, family reputation, as Carroll argues, motivated action. During the Wars of Religion, a religiously-inspired outrage against the family honor fueled the family’s activism for its own confession’s cause.³³⁷ The Savoyard ruling family illustrated this phenomenon. Both Jacques de Savoie-Nemours (1531-1585) and his cousin, Duke Emmanuel Philibert, acted primarily in the interest of the dynasty. In the case of Savoie-Nemours, family prestige provided the impetus to build an international clientage network, which for him meant the acquisition of important honors, including, as Matthew Vester notes, “a seat on the [French] royal council, the governorship of the Lyonnais, and several high military commands. The international profile created by Jacques’ dynastic ties also permitted him to serve as an influence broker between clients in France, the Savoyard lands, and elsewhere, and his affinal

³³⁶ ADL H616.

³³⁷ Stuart Carroll, *Martyrs and Murders: The Guise Family and the Making of Europe*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 105, 7; 170.

kin in Rome and Ferrara.”³³⁸ The tumult of the Wars of Religion brought confessional identity to the fore of dynastic politics. The next generation of the ruling family of Savoy employed more religious metaphors in their governance, ones that identified with ardent Catholics. As Michel Merle finds, Charles Emmanuel I resurrected the theme of the sacrosanctity of the ruling house.³³⁹ Stéphane Gal describes Charles Emmanuel’s “providentialism” built upon Machiavellianism and notions of sacral kingship.³⁴⁰

The Augustinians experienced a natural bond with the ducal family of Savoy. As mentioned above, the church at Brou served as the necropolis for Marguerite and Duke Philibert II.³⁴¹ The Augustinians recognized their obligation to honor Marguerite’s memory. For example, in 1567, they raised a public accusation against the Brothers of Saint-Antoine in Brou for not carrying out their 1527 contract to say a mass each August in perpetuity for the safe passage of Marguerite’s soul to heaven.³⁴² As the Augustinians anticipated no financial benefit from the suit, the possibility that loyalty to the Savoyard dynasty animated their legal action against the Brothers of Saint-Antoine is plausible. If this is the case, the implication is that when taking action, the Augustinians considered how to bolster the reputation of grandee families that offered them patronage.

³³⁸ Matthew Vester, *Renaissance Dynasticism and Apanage Politics: Jacques de Savoie-Nemours, 1531-1585*, (Kirkville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2012), 4.

³³⁹ Michel Merle, “The Model of the Holy Savoyard Prince: A Religious Discourse for Political Ends” in *Sabaudian Studies*, ed. and Matthew Vester, (Kirkville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2013), 152-4.

³⁴⁰ Stéphane Gal, *Charles-Emmanuel de Savoie: La politique du précipice*, (Paris: Payot, 2012), 10.

³⁴¹ The bodies of the Marguerite and Philibert II were never repatriated to Savoy after Bresse reverted to French control in 1601.

³⁴² ADL H616, folio 30.

Despite these bonds with the ruling family of Savoy, the dukes by the mid-sixteenth century began to shift their ambitions away from Bresse. Perhaps wishing to avoid the chaos of the Wars of Religion that beset the French-speaking parts of their territory, the dukes of Savoy saw greater financial promise east of the Alps. The wealthy marquisate of Saluzzo, under French control since 1549, was particularly alluring, and to a lesser extent Savoy's Piedmontese lands. Both were more financially promising than their French-speaking territories of Bresse, Gex, and Valromey. A symbolic moment in this shift in Savoyard territorial focus came in 1563 when Duke Emmanuel Philibert moved the ducal court from Chambéry to Turin, taking most bureaucratic functions of the duchy across the Alps.³⁴³

What resulted was more French influence in Bresse, but with the Savoyards still supporting the monastery at Brou. Facing a growing absence of Savoy, the Brou Augustinians began bringing their complaints to French officials for resolution. As per custom, these cases concerned defaulted tenants and the next of kin for those in whose name a mass foundation had been made. In some cases, the lawsuits concerned other matters. For example, on 31 October 1595, the French lieutenant general of Burgundy and Marshal of France, Charles de Gontaut, Duke of Biron, wrote prohibiting the nobles in the vicinity of Pont-de-Veyle from impeding the Augustinians' access to their windmill and granary on site.³⁴⁴ In his *arrêt*, he wrote that the community at Brou had complained that the commandant of Pont-de-Veyle, Sieur de Chantérac de Geoffroy, had obstructed access to revenues and foodstuffs upon which the Augustinians depended. Significantly, the Augustinians also requested of Biron that

³⁴³ Stéphane Gal, *Charles-Emmanuel de Savoie: La politique du précipice*, (Paris : Payot, 2012), 62-4. See also Matthew Vester, *Renaissance Apanage Politics*. Although the main seat of government crossed the Alps, some administrative functions remained at the ducal palace in Chambéry. In general, however, because of the move, Chambéry went into decline from the 1560s.

³⁴⁴ Pont-de-Veyle is situated 30 kilometers west of Brou.

their assets be placed under the protection of the king.³⁴⁵ In a moment where political identities and loyalties were overlapping, inconsistent, and in flux, the Augustinians turned to the French bureaucracy and its officials to mediate their disputes.³⁴⁶

II. Bresse under French Control, 1598-1630

The late 1590s ushered in a period of religious and political transition to Bresse. Between 1598 and 1601, treaties and diplomacy altered the political relationship between Bresse, France, and Savoy. With the Edict of Nantes and the formal ceding of Bresse to the French Crown, the province of Bresse underwent a process of religious and political gallicization, which had significant implications for the Augustinians at Brou. The conditions that the French created in Bresse paved the way for aggressive French intervention in the internal management of the monastery at Brou by the 1610s and 20s.

While waging his military campaign to neutralize zealous Catholic and Protestant elements still resistant to his rule in the late 1590s, Henri IV began a propaganda campaign directed toward Bresse. He intended this campaign to discourage loyalty to Savoy, and by extension to its Habsburg lords and allies. Emanating from the Lyon presses, pamphlets flooded the province of Bresse, drawing a contrast between Gallican and Habsburg Catholicism, the latter of which they characterized as passionate and unmeasured, far too ultramontane and “unreasonable” when compared to Henri IV’s political *dicta* of “kindness” and

³⁴⁵ ADL H608, folio 33.

³⁴⁶ Confessional identities were important to the context of this dispute. Pont-de-Veyle, the city where Chantérac was commandant, was the epicenter of Protestantism in Bresse, boasting the largest concentration of Huguenots. Could Chantérac’s harassment have been part of a larger pattern of resistance to Catholic hegemony in the province? If so, Chantérac would have been one of those whom Henri IV would target in the effort to pacify the kingdom between 1589 and 1594. See Chaix, *La Bresse Protestante*.

“forgetfulness” enshrined in the Edict of Nantes.³⁴⁷ Written in the local Francoprovençal dialect, these treatises were a call to “come home,” to shift loyalties westward and away from Savoy and the Habsburgs.³⁴⁸ For the people in Bresse, Henri’s offer was a promise—perhaps undeliverable—of peace under the banner of a distant monarch, in contrast to a universal Catholicism prone to zealous excess. Importantly, however, an ardent universal Catholicism was exactly what the generals of the Augustinian order in Rome promoted. For them, the Augustinians belonged to the world, and although owing allegiance to temporal lords, they identified their callings widely and broadly than courtly stratagems or any inchoate *étatiste* political philosophy.³⁴⁹

The propaganda campaign occurred in tandem with the formal imposition of French law and traditions between 1598 and 1601. The imposition of French law occurred amid Henri’s military campaigns in the realm, most notably his 1600 campaign against Savoy. Launched in the fall of 1600, the military campaign ended quickly and successfully. France captured Bresse, along with a good portion of French-speaking Savoy. The conditions for the end of hostilities were concluded in Lyon in 1601 by the treaty that bears the city’s name. Bresse—along with adjoining provinces

³⁴⁷ With the Edict, Henri postured himself as the prime arbiter of peace and tranquility in France reeling after decades of civil war. The theme of “passions” as a cause for the conflict has been analyzed by historians. The notion of taming the passions has been applied to the late-Valois monarchy by Mark Greengrass in *Governing Passions*, in which he cites the role of diverse political voices to critique both religious and worldly fervor to undermine social stability. The heady days of the Wars of Religion provoked unprecedented amounts of political furor that tangibly manifested civil wars. The process of pacification, as Babelon has argued, was not a one-act show. Rather, pacification evolved, first with the offering of limited concessions in 1598, then with revisions that neutralized civic rivals in the Peace of Alès in 1629. (See Jean-Pierre Babelon, “Conclusion,” in *Paix des Armes, Paix des Âmes*, (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale Éditions, 2000), 492, 494-5). The theme of taming the passions drew upon a literary trend in political writing in the late-sixteenth century called neo-Stoicism, a phenomenon expounded upon by Gerhard Oestreich, and employed by Babelon here, and also notably by Mark Greengrass in *Governing Passions*.

³⁴⁸ Gal, *Charles-Emmanuel*, 10 ff.

³⁴⁹ Gutiérrez, 79.

of Bugey, Gex, and Valromey—became fully and legally integrated into the French kingdom, while control of the much-coveted Marquisate of Saluzzo was given to Savoy, thereby adding to its already large swath of territory in the Piedmont. The loss of Bresse culminated a decades-long Savoyard trend of disinterest toward and neglect of the duchy’s French-speaking territories, particularly those west of the Alpine foothills.

For the Augustinians of Brou, the Treaty of Lyon of 1601 formally instituted French law and traditions in the province. This meant that the Edict of Nantes, and its concessions to Protestants, were also in force. The French acquisition of Bresse also signified that the unique privileges enjoyed by the kings of France—the “Gallican” privileges to name bishops and leaders of religious houses—would apply in Bresse. Under the auspices of the Concordat of Bologna (1516), French monarchs since the late Valois could name candidates for bishoprics and priorates. This eventually had profound implications for the Augustinians at Brou by permitting the king to alter the management of the house.

Notably, despite the change of power from Savoy to France, and the formal imposition of French law, the patronage practices between the Augustinians at Brou and the Savoyards remained relatively unchanged. For example, in 1607, the Augustinians sought renewals from the Savoyards of their privileges to collect taxes on the sale of salt and grain, known as *leyde* and *copponage*.³⁵⁰ The Augustinians did, however, have to become better versed in French laws, courts, and tax exemptions, such as the *franc-salé*.³⁵¹ On occasion, the brothers sought French approval of their Savoyard concessions. For example, in 1605, Henri IV continued the grant of the droit de leyde, which permitted the Augustinians of Brou to continue to profit from the sale

³⁵⁰ ADL H609, especially folio 10.

³⁵¹ ADL H611, folio 2. The most common privilege awarded by the French Crown to the regular clergy was the *franc-salé*, which, as its name suggests, permitted the tax-free entry of salt into a religious house.

of salt.³⁵² This indicates that as far as patronage ties were concerned, the Treaty of Lyon did not abruptly end the rapport between the Augustinians of Brou and the dukes of Savoy.

Henri IV's 1610 assassination abruptly altered the political climate in France, which impacted the community at Brou. With the king's assassination, a regency government under his widow, Marie de' Medici, came into power. Regency governments were notoriously beset with internal strife and dissent. Marie's was no exception. In the tense religio-political climate of the 1610s, the Queen Regent troubled the waters by inviting advisors to court called the *dévots* who espoused a more evangelical, hard-line brand of Catholicism. The rise of the *dévots* alienated the Protestant grandees, *politique* judges, and the Catholic rural devout. Indeed, the Protestant petty nobles increasingly saw in Marie and her chief minister, Cardinal Richelieu, dissimulating policies that rendered the future uncertain for themselves and their co-religionaries.³⁵³ Their suspicions were confirmed when in the mid- to late-1620s, Louis XIII renewed military campaigns against Protestant cities that withheld full allegiance to the Crown. This change in tactic exacerbated confessional tensions in Bresse. In the Franco-Italian frontier, Protestant nobles looked to the duke of Dauphiné, François de Bonne de Lesdiguières, to defend their rights as articulated in the Edict of Nantes. Unfortunately for the Protestants, Lesdiguières would prove to be a disappointing ally, given that in 1622 he publicly abjured Protestantism.

³⁵² ADL H609, folio 22. “[il] est tout servit de notre plaine puissance et autorité royale donnons concedons et octroyons par a presente signée de notre main lesdits etaing layde...et toute autre choses generalement quelquonque, ceddées, transportées et delaissées tant pour la construction et habitations dudit prieuré que pour la celebration du service divin, logement, entretienement et dotation desdits prieur et Relligieux dudit couvent et dont et de tout a toujours jouir.”

³⁵³ Chaix, *Bresse Protestante*, 26ff.

The conversion of Lesdiguières to Catholicism occurred within a few years of a moment of spiritual renewal in the archdiocese of Lyon that centered on a miracle involving the church of St. Nicholas of Tolentino, and helps clarify the spiritual significance of the monastery to the archdiocese of Lyon. At a 1628 mass at Saint-Nicolas, a Eucharistic miracle occurred, the nature of which is unspecified in the sources. What we do know is that it happened at the critical moment of the Catholic mass, the consecration of the communion bread and wine. The news of this miracle spread among the clergy throughout the archdiocese of Lyon. When an outbreak of the plague struck the city of Lyon, the city consulate asked that the Augustinian community at Brou send their chalice,³⁵⁴ in hope that as a sacred object, clearly blessed by God, its veneration and use would bring healing to the stricken and protection for the healthy. To showcase the Augustinians' chalice was to acknowledge the spiritual contribution of the community at Brou to the promotion of Catholic faith and practice in the archdiocese.³⁵⁵

III. An Intrusive French Presence, 1630-1647

Beginning in 1630, the tone of the interaction between the Crown and the Brou house changed. In that year, Louis XIII ordered that the Discalced Augustinians assume the leadership of the Brou house, thereby replacing the Italians of the Observant Congregation of Lombardy who had held that position since the house's founding

³⁵⁴ ADL H616, folio 14.

³⁵⁵ The literature on Eucharistic miracles is rich. Consider Helen Parish, "'Lying Histories Fayning False Miracles': Magic, Miracles and Medieval History in Reformation Polemic," in Helen Parish, ed., *Superstition and Magic in Early Modern Europe*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2015); Craig Harline, *Miracles at the Jesus Oak: Histories of the Supernatural in Reformation Europe*, (New York: Doubleday, 2003), 134-8; Steven Justice, "Eucharistic Miracles and Eucharistic Doubt," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 42 (2012): 307-32.

almost 100 years prior.³⁵⁶ This action represented a shift away from the politics of influence of Henri IV's government. The Crown's full exercise of its Gallican privileges over the Brou monastery continued during the minority government of Louis XIV, demonstrating a shift in the relationship with the Crown, which also exposed important fissures between the branches of the Augustinian family.

The king chose the Discalced because of what they represented, namely loyalty to the French Crown manifested in a zealous Catholic spirituality and a French "national" sense.³⁵⁷ For example, Archbishop of Embrun and ambassador to the Holy See, Guillaume d'Avançon, worked with Pope Clement VIII in 1595 and 1596 to re-establish an Augustinian presence in the valley of Grésivaudan east of Bresse. Because this valley held a significant Protestant population, its "re-Catholicization" under Henri IV was symbolic. A monastery had been operated in the valley by a community of secular canons following the Augustinian rule when it was sacked by Calvinists during the Wars of Religion. D'Avançon chose the Discalced for the task because of their reputation for "modesty" and "conformity to order."³⁵⁸ Under Louis XIII, the Discalced continued to enjoy royal favor. In 1629, the king's army won a decisive victory over the last recalcitrant Protestant stronghold in La Rochelle, a victory that he and ardent Catholics attributed to the intercessions of the Virgin Mary. Louis's propagandists capitalized upon this victory at La Rochelle to craft the image of the king as a

³⁵⁶ ADR 13H181, folio 5.

³⁵⁷ For a review of French anti-Italian sentiment, see Jean-François Dubost, *La France italienne*, and Henry Heller, *Anti-Italianism in Sixteenth-Century France*. French history in the first half of the seventeenth century is filled with hated Italians in power. The unpopularity of Marie de' Medici, and of her favorites Concino Concini and Leonora Galigai, followed later with the tumultuous ministry of Cardinal Mazarin, crystallized ultramontane resentments. By switching leadership at Brou, Louis appeased a faction in power fearful of foreign influence.

³⁵⁸ Edmond Lambert, *Histoire de l'Église de Notre-Dame-des-Victoires depuis sa fondation jusqu'à nos jours, et de l'Archiconfrérie du très-saint et immaculé cœur de Marie*, (Paris: F. Curot, 1872), 6-7. Quotation on page 6.

champion of orthodoxy. In a 1629 Paris ceremony, Louis fittingly laid the first stone of what would become Notre-Dame-des-Victoires, the imposing baroque structure to become the flagship church of the Discalced Augustinians in France, a living homage to the Virgin by whose prayers strong, orderly rule and Catholic orthodoxy were restored to France, at least according to royal propagandists.

By ordering a change in the leadership of the Brou house, Louis engaged in a sort of spiritual self-branding. The influence of the spirituality of his mother's *dévot* entourage motivated new patterns of royal patronage, reflecting a rigorist spirituality that the Crown encouraged through financial gifts and construction projects. This self-branding included the type of religious experience Louis espoused and promoted, and the notion of himself as champion of Catholic orthodoxy. In his majority, Louis thus patronized the reformed branches of long-established orders of the regular clergy.³⁵⁹ Like the Discalced, these branches tended toward the strict interpretation of the rules and constitutions of their founders, thereby dovetailing with the religious discipline of his mother's *dévot* entourage. These themes included the capital position of the veneration of the Virgin, mortifications, strict fasts, and a shifting of conventual emphasis away from personal seclusion in favor of engagement with one another and the surrounding villages. This demonstrated the intense passion of baroque Catholicism that typified the *dévot* milieu.³⁶⁰

For the remainder of the 1630s, the decision to replace the Italian Observants in leadership with the Discalced exacerbated tensions within the Augustinian family in the Franco-Italian frontier. An important cause of the conflict lay in that the king

³⁵⁹ Frédéric Meyer, *Pauvreté et assistance spirituelle: les Franciscains récollets de la province de Lyon aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 1997), 33-4.

³⁶⁰ For literature on the dévots, consider Jean-Pierre Gutton, *Dévots et société au XVIIe siècle: Construire le ciel sur la terre*, (Paris: Belin, 2004); Joseph Bergin, *The Politics of Religion in Early Modern France*, (Yale: Yale University Press, 2014), 86-111.

offered no concessions for the brothers of the Observant Congregation of Lombardy who remained at Brou, both those demoted from leadership and the rank and file, which meant that the silver and valuable spiritual objects changed hands to the Discalced. Resentment grew and spread beyond the walls of the Brou house to Lyon where the relationship between the Hermits of Saint-Vincent and the newly-ensconced Discalced on the Croix-Rousse was antagonistic.³⁶¹ The royal action placed the Brou house under the auspices of the Discalced Augustinians of the Province of Dauphiné, whose flagship house sat perched atop a steep hill in the Lyon *faubourg* of the Croix-Rousse in Lyon.³⁶²

The Discalced wasted no time in making decisions that facilitated their assumption of control over the monastery from the Observants of the Lombard congregation. For example, in January 1636, the Discalced produced a detailed list of the concessions granted since the founding of the house.³⁶³ This put into writing the narrative of the privileges and concessions given to the monastery while under the leadership of the Lombards, which afforded the Discalced the administrative capacity to monitor the monastery's accounts. Despite this administrative show of intent to manage the community, as the sources will show the removal of the Lombards was never fully realized. In the decades to follow, the Lombard Observants who had governed the community stubbornly remained ensconced at the Brou house, much to

³⁶¹ ADR 13H12. This carton is entitled "Conflits entre les Grands Augustins de Lyon et les Augustins déchaussés au sujet de leurs privilèges respectifs, 1618-1660."

³⁶² Claire Dolan shows that the arrival of mendicant clergy in urban settings exacerbated rivalries for civic space among church authorities already ensconced, authorities charged with managing the spiritual operation of the city of Aix's parishes, secular and regular clergy. See *Entre tours et clochers: Les gens d'Eglise à Aix-en-Provence au XVI^e siècle*. Sherbrooke: Université de Sherbrooke: 1981, especially p. 22.

³⁶³ ADL H607, folio 2.

the chagrin of their French brothers, and increasingly to the political authorities in the province of Bresse and beyond.

IV. The “National” Purge and Its Ramifications, 1647-1660

Little in the documents between 1636 and 1647 gives detail into the leadership of the Brou house. Several factors may explain the lacuna. Coincidentally, 1635-6 marked France’s entry into the Thirty Years’ War as a combatant. This crisis may have distracted the Crown from enforcing the 1630 order. Further, Louis XIII died in 1643, leaving his wife, Anne of Austria, to rule with her controversial advisor, Cardinal Mazarin, for the minor king, Louis XIV. When the narrative resumes in the documents in 1647, the Lombard Observants are still in leadership, in defiance of Louis XIII’s 1630 order.

In 1647, Anne intervened in the affairs of the monastery of Brou in a manner more intrusive than her husband’s. Louis XIII’s 1630 order had only concerned the leadership of the house, meaning that the Italian rank and file could stay, provided they obey the French Discalced Augustinian leadership. In contrast, she ordered that all remaining Observant Augustinians from the Lombard province—not just those in leadership—leave the house altogether.³⁶⁴ The rationale as articulated by the Augustinian Hermits of the province of Narbonne-Bourgogne in a remonstrance was that the Lombards were inept in their function as regular clergy and ministers of the sacraments. The solution to the perceived disorder of the monastery rested in replacing the Italian brethren with French Augustinians, whom the Gallicans thought to be of superior moral character.³⁶⁵

³⁶⁴ ADR 13H181

³⁶⁵ ADR 13H181, folio 4.

The call for the ouster of all Italians occurred amid a wider context of French xenophobia directed at Italians. Over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the number of Italians in France grew steadily. Many of these immigrants assumed powerful positions in French society. For example, French kings granted 160 bishoprics in France between 1500 and 1700 to Italians in order to cultivate patronage networks.³⁶⁶ Gallicans also feared Italian influence at court. François II (r. 1559-60), Charles IX (r. 1560-74), and Louis XIII (r. 1610-1643) began their reigns under de' Medici regencies, which dovetailed with the narrative that the French court was under Italian influence.³⁶⁷ The appointment of Cardinal Mazarin as Anne of Austria's chief advisor in 1642 culminated a decades-long season of Italian "meddling" in the French court, according to the Gallicans whose rhetoric included caricatures of Italian "political treachery" and "immorality" à la the icy political pragmatism of Machiavelli. This stood in stark contrast to the supposed benevolent, paternal rule of the French monarchs.³⁶⁸ Beyond religion and politics, as Henry Heller has noted, finance came to be dominated by Italian courtiers and financiers beginning in the mid-sixteenth century.³⁶⁹

Local nobles became important proponents of the king's prerogative over the French church in Bresse. On the heels of Anne's decision, Count Montrevel, a prominent noble from Bresse, wrote in September 1647 that "by the fundamental laws of the kingdom and of the Gallican church, all monasteries in France must only be led

³⁶⁶ Jean-François Dubost, *La France Italienne* (Paris: Aubier, 1997), 260, 263.

³⁶⁷ Dubost, 383. Henry Heller echoes the central role that religious anxiety played in the development of French xenophobia in the sixteenth century directed toward Italians. See Heller, *Anti-Italianism in Sixteenth-Century France*, especially page 5.

³⁶⁸ Heller, 9.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 171.

by superiors of the French nation.”³⁷⁰ He thereby stepped into the polemical fray unleashed around the purging of Italians from the house, echoing the royal will in the provinces, a will based upon the construction of a French “nation.”³⁷¹

Ferdinand de la Baume, Count of Montrevel (1603-78) came from an ancient clan established in Bresse since the twelfth century. The La Baume-Montrevel family held the title of counts of Bresse on occasion, and were in the service of both the Counts of Savoy and the Valois kings of France in various capacities, winning honors and positions that resulted from military service and service as advisors. For example, Henri II had awarded François de la Baume the title of Governor of Savoy, Bresse, Bugey, and Valromey during the period of French occupation of Bresse.³⁷² In the 1620s, Ferdinand strengthened his family’s ties to the Crown by accompanying Louis XIII on his campaigns to subdue Protestant cities in Languedoc and in the western regions of the kingdom. Importantly, he was with Louis at the decisive battle of La Rochelle in 1629.³⁷³ Allying with Louis XIII to take Protestant cities in the kingdom, Ferdinand sided

³⁷⁰ ADR 13H181, folio 1.

³⁷¹ In using the word “nation,” and its derivations, I refer to the pattern of self-identification of a people group. Certain features typified this new entity. First, the nation complemented, not supplanted, the king. In the early modern “nation,” the king was the chief organizing principle of the polity. (See Glenn Richardson, *Renaissance Monarchy: The Reigns of Henry VIII, Francis I and Charles V* London: Arnold, 2002), p. 196.) In addition, a nation of people required a common mythology. As Colette Beaune suggests, the divine consecration of Clovis to rule the Frankish people served as a myth to galvanize a shared national French identity. (See *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France*. Trans. Fredric L. Cheyette. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991) Further, national identity demanded territorial space, (See Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries*) and popular obedience. (See Gerhard Oestreich, *Neostoicism*, 6-7) National identity also required religion. As Mack Holt has argued, Catholic faith and practice meant affiliation with France. With religion playing such an important political function, doctrinal disputes within the Catholic fold held political ramifications, and Protestants threatened the stability of the realm. (Mack Holt, “Burgundians”; in Wolfe, *Changing Identities*).

³⁷² Louis Moréri, *Le grand dictionnaire historique ou mélange curieux de l’histoire sacrée et profane, qui contient en abrégé les vies des patriarches, des juges et des rois...* Vol. 1, (Lyon: Jean Girin and Barthelemy Riviere, 1683), 526-8.

³⁷³ Moréri, 528.

with the adversaries of the Protestants in Bresse, many of whom were of the artisanal class and concentrated in cities, such as Pont-de-Veyle.³⁷⁴

Given his reputation as a Gallican, Ferdinand unsurprisingly called for a change in leadership at the Brou house. He found four faults in the leadership of the house so egregious that they warranted the ouster of the Italians. The first echoed the Crown's argument for expulsion: the Observant leadership of the Brou community neglected the ministry of the Eucharist to the public. To Montrevel, the service of the Eucharist to the Catholic faithful was not just a matter of service to God, but also for the "well-being of the state, and service of the public."³⁷⁵ Second, they failed to live in accordance with the *Rule* of Saint Augustine. Third—also echoing the Crown's rationale—they did not demonstrate the essential moral character to minister in the kingdom. Montrevel reports that the Lombard leadership, in their "ignorance," reassigned an undisclosed number of French monks to houses in Italy where they neither knew the language nor had the social connections necessary to fulfill their spiritual duties. In effect, they were "exiled" in a "foreign land."³⁷⁶ And finally, Montrevel cited obedience to the French Crown as essential to the qualifications to minister at Brou. Indeed, in Montrevel's mind, morality, fitness for ministry, loyalty to king, and "national" identity all converged.

In ordering the ouster of Italians from Brou, Anne's government elevated the "nation" whose centerpiece was the Crown. This conflicted with the self-understanding of the Augustinians for whom there was no "national" identity, but

³⁷⁴ Pierre Chaix, *La Bresse Protestante*, especially p. 15. Ferdinand's decision contrasted sharply with that of the Duke of Lesdiguières, who since 1615, had been named count of Pont-de-Veyle, and who had supported the Protestants there in resisting the establishment of the Jesuits. Yet with Lesdiguières's abjuration of Protestantism in 1622, Protestants in the region lost an important ally to defend them against a new wave of militarized Catholicism.

³⁷⁵ ADR 13H181, folio 4.

³⁷⁶ ADR 13H181, folio 1.

rather a global brotherhood. The Augustinians came from the whole world, and their ministry served the whole world irrespective of political polities.³⁷⁷ This was a particularly uncertain time for the Augustinians, as local nobles increasingly called for national uniformity in religious houses, particularly in leadership functions. For example, in contrast to the Augustinian order's priorities, Montrevel saw the Augustinian monastery as important to developing a Gallican identity in Bresse. For Montrevel, the Italian identity of the leadership of the monastery threatened the "national" and Gallican character of the province.

It was one thing to demand the ouster of the Italians. It was quite another to see to its execution. Despite Anne's order and Montrevel's aggrandizement of French identity, the Italians remained at Brou. Perhaps part of the difficulty of enforcement lay in the outbreak of the Fronde from 1648 to 1653 and the ongoing war with Spain, both of which afforded the dukes of Savoy an opportunity to reassert rights to shape the life and ministry of the Augustinian community at Brou.

After the end of the Fronde in 1653, a report emerged on the condition of the Brou house. On 17 May 1655, Augustin de Carignan and Augustin Chambard, the prior and vicar of the Brou community respectively, wrote a detailed attestation of the desperate condition of the house to the royal councilor of the bailliage of Bresse, Jean-Claude Charbonnier. Described as "one of the most beautiful in Europe," the church was in a state of ruin, and threatened with "complete destruction." A carpenter prepared an estimate for the repair work needed on both the church and the other buildings. It totaled 12,000 livres. The structures in the worst danger were

³⁷⁷ Gutiérrez, *The Augustinians from the Protestant Reformation to the Peace of Westphalia*.

the belfry, whose support walls were rotted inside and out, and the chapel of Notre-Dame-des-Sept-Douleurs, whose pillars were described as being in a state of ruin.³⁷⁸

News of the Carignan and Chambard report reached Duke Charles Emmanuel II of Savoy by the summer of 1655. It reinvigorated the duke's interest in Brou for the next several years. In 1656, he issued letters patent in which he departed from Anne of Austria's 1647 expulsion order, seeing no reason for all the Lombards to be forced out. However, he never suggested that the Lombards should rise to positions of leadership in the house, in conformity with Louis XIII's order of 1630. Continuing, he conceded that the Lombards should be restricted from leaving Brou and never allowed to go into the province of Bresse.³⁷⁹

Yet as evidence of Lombard mismanagement of the monastery mounted in the mid 1650s, Charles Emmanuel II's opinion changed. In letters patent dated 6 August 1657 from Turin, he accused the Lombards of neglecting the maintenance of the buildings. He went on to suggest that the coterie of Augustinians in leadership had driven all the other brothers away, presumably the French contingent. As cited above, the French Augustinians were "reassigned" to Lombardy by their Italian leaders. If we read between the lines, we can see how untoward this action may have appeared to Charles Emmanuel II. It gave credibility to the narrative of the Lombard leadership's malfeasance, which the duke increasingly saw imperiling the spiritual mission of the monastery and its renowned structures.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁸ ADL H617, folio 36.

³⁷⁹ ADL H617, folio 91.

³⁸⁰ ADL H617, folio 91. From folio 37: "Estant venu à notre connoissance que les Religieux Augustins de la Congregation de Lombardie laissent aller en ruine notre Convent de Notre Dame de Brou situé dans la Province de Bresse, et fondé par cette Royale maison, pour n'y pas faire les reparations necessaires, n'y tiennent ny Superieur ny Religieux nos sujets, et qu'apres l'auoir reduit au pitoyable etat qu'il se trouue..."

Perhaps in response to pressure from the Savoyards and the French, the Lombards of Brou executed financial contracts whose profits they intended to use for rehabilitating both the community's financial situation and the state of their buildings. One contract was with the observant congregation of Béziers.³⁸¹ The other was with the Brothers of Saint-Antoine in Brou, the community whom the Augustinians of Brou had accused decades earlier in a lawsuit for having reneged on its contractual obligation to say masses for the soul of Marguerite of Austria. In addition, the Lombards also intended to staff the house with monks from these two communities.³⁸² Although the exact terms of these contracts are not delineated in the register of the bailliage of Bresse, the register does make clear that the Lombard leadership wanted a formal relationship with these two houses because it would create a larger pool of resources from which the Lombards could draw for the repair of the structures at the monastery.

Both the financial and personnel aspects of these contracts provoked a sharp reaction from Charles Emmanuel II. Not only did he reject their request to repopulate the monastery with brothers from the Observant Congregation of Béziers and the Brothers of Saint-Antoine, he joined his voice to Anne of Austria's calling for the Lombards to leave Brou. Importantly, he commanded them to cede their place to the Discalced of Chambéry. Further, he declared that the contracts that they made with the brothers of Béziers and Saint-Antoine be rendered null and void: "We declare, wish, and it pleases us that, by whatever fashion and means, the aforementioned

³⁸¹ As an observant congregation, the community of Béziers would have held a special status within the Narbonne-Bourgogne province of the Augustinian Hermits. See ADL H617, folio 39, an excerpt from the Register of the bailliage of Bresse, for more information on the financial motivation of the Lombard to make contracts with the community of Béziers and of Saint-Antoine.

³⁸² ADL H617, folio 37, 39. Quote from folio 37: "en cas que les Religieux de ladite Congregations de Lombardie eussent dessein de laisser ce notredit Couvent pour y introduire d'autres Religieux" "ils sont dans le dessein de le quitter"

monks of the Congregation of Lombardy leave the Convent of Notre-Dame-de-Brou now and forever, and that the above-mentioned Discalced Augustinians be installed there...all conventions, exchanges and contracts made with other monks are of no effect and value.”³⁸³

Why did the duke’s opinion toward the Italians change, and what explains the shift in tone? Charles Emmanuel II framed these two contracts as evidence of Lombard abandonment of respectfully maintaining the dynastic reputation of the House of Savoy. The decrepit condition of the structures reflected poorly upon Savoyard prestige, and disrespected the memory of the founding patron of the monastery, Marguerite of Austria. From the vantage point of the spiritual function of the monastery, the negligence of the physical trappings of the community mirrored the neglect of the spiritual function of the brothers. Both aspects transgressed the reputation of the House of Savoy whose self understanding was of both political grandeur and spiritual zeal for Catholicism, as both Stéphane Gal and Michel Merle have noted.³⁸⁴

Charles Emmanuel II knew that in withdrawing support for the Lombards he was aligning with the French plan for the Brou house, which since 1630 had entailed the removal of Lombards from leadership, and eventually from the community altogether. But he also saw the emergency created by the decline in the house as an opportunity to expand Savoy’s dynastic interests. In his letters patent of August 1657, he wrote

³⁸³ ADL H617, folio 37. Letters patent of Charles Emmanuel II. “lesdicts Religieux de la Congregations de Lombardie quittent ou veulent quitter ledict Convent de notre Dame de Brou soit a present, ou à l’avenir les Augustins dèchaussez susdicts y soient introduicts.... toutes...conventions, échanges et contracts faicts avec autres Religieux soient de nul effect et valeur.”

³⁸⁴ Stéphane Gal, *Charles-Emmanuel de Savoie: La politique du précipice*, (Paris: Payot, 2012); Michel Merle, “The Model of the Holy Savoyard Prince: A Religious Discourse for Political Ends,” trans. Matthew Vester in *Sabaudian Studies*, (Kirkville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2013).

that the community of Brou should come under the authority of the Discalced Augustinians of Chambéry.³⁸⁵ Chambéry—the traditional capital of Savoy, and the second city in the duchy after Turin—was still the site of some ducal bureaucracies, even though the Savoyard court had moved to Turin in 1563. Although the province of Bresse had reverted to French control in 1601, Chambéry remained Savoyard. As Charles Emmanuel II noted, what made the Discalced Augustinians of Chambéry so attractive was their loyalty: “[they had] acted with zeal and affection on many occasions for the good of this Royal [Savoyard] Crown.”³⁸⁶ By expressly choosing the Discalced Augustinians, Charles Emmanuel II assented to a measure of French influence over the ducal necropolis at Brou, as the Discalced Augustinians were a reformed mendicant order preferred by the Crown. Further, the Discalced Augustinians were part of the Congregation of France, whose administrative seat was in Paris. However, in choosing *chambériens* to manage and occupy Brou, the duke implanted in a French province reformed regular clerics loyal to the House of Savoy. In so doing, Charles Emmanuel II wagered upon the spiritual reputation of the Discalced. As he wrote, the Discalced of Chambéry “lived well,” and conducted themselves with prudence.³⁸⁷ The promise of a religious community zealous both for the Catholic faith and the House of Savoy were significant enough cause for the duke to jettison the Lombard Observants.

With dynastic reputation of capital importance, Charles Emmanuel II included a strict warning to the Discalced of Chambéry to attend to personnel matters, building

³⁸⁵ ADL H617, folio 37, 44.

³⁸⁶ ADL H617, folio 37.

³⁸⁷ ADL H617, folio 37. “il nous plût de leur ordonner la preference par dessus tous, et pouuoir d’y establir leur reforme et institut. Et estant pleinement informés de la bonne vie, et sage conduite desdicts Augustins dechaussez.”

Charles Emmanuel II incorrectly wrote that the Discalced of Chambéry was part of the province of Lyon. This was an error. Such a province of Discalced did not exist.

repair and maintenance, and reforming the religious culture of the community. They were to treat their novitiates well, immediately elect a prior and sub-prior, and to fill the rank and file with Bressan Discalced. Further, in citing their “good” and “wise” lives, the duke expected the Discalced of Chambéry to impart a new spiritual vitality into the community.³⁸⁸ In his letters patent of August 1657, he wrote that if they did not fulfill the conditions of the original foundation as articulated by Marguerite, then he would expel them, too, and replace them with whatever order he saw capable of fulfilling the original commission. It was in his capacity as “founding patron” for Marguerite of Austria that he sought to reconstitute the leadership and population of the monastery.³⁸⁹ Charles Emmanuel also offered to contribute financially to the repairs.³⁹⁰ Ironically, the duke himself went against the original conditions of Marguerite’s foundation in choosing the Discalced. We can intuit that the gravity of the crisis, and the political opportunity that presented itself to name Augustinians loyal to the House of Savoy for leadership, trumped the risk of going against the original foundation on this particular point.

The details of how the transfer of power took place in the wake of the issuance of Charles Emmanuel II’s letters patent of August 1657 are recorded in the register of the bailliage of Bresse in a 14 March 1659 compilation. The register record the procès verbal of Jean-Claude Charbonnier, the lieutenant-général of the province of Bresse. It serves as a rich source for retracing the twisting narrative of events and controversies that ensued.

³⁸⁸ ADL H617, folio 37. “A condition toutefois qu’aussytost qu’ils y seront introduicts ils y mettront et tiendront ordinairement un prieur ou soubzprieur, et des Religieux de la mesme famille nos sujets, y feront les reparations necessaries pour restablir et maintenir cette notre fondation en son premier lustre et entretiendront honnestement les Religieux Bressans enfans dudict Convent pendant leurs vies.”

³⁸⁹ ADL H617, folio 37, 44.

³⁹⁰ ADL H617, folio 13.

According to the register, it took Louis XIV six months to respond to Charles Emmanuel II's letters patent. His first response came on 14 February 1658 in the form of a *lettre de cachet* written to Père Chambard, charging him with the priorate of the community at Brou, and placing the monastery under the auspices of the Discalced Congregation of France, which was seated in Paris.³⁹¹ As the register of the bailliage of Bresse indicates, Chambard was loyal to the king: "Chambard responded to us that he was of the mind to obey the king's orders."³⁹² Charbonnier wanted to ensure that the other Discalced brothers gathered under Chambard's leadership were aware of what the king and duke expected of them. Charbonnier ordered Chambard to gather the brothers and to communicate to them the contents of his *lettre de cachet*, along with the letters patent of both the king and the dukes of Savoy on the matter of recomposition of the community at Brou.³⁹³ On 31 March 1658, Louis XIV followed up with more extensive instructions in the form of letters patent. Here he reiterated Anne of Austria's 1647 demand for the expulsion of the Lombards—with the added caveat that those Lombards who wished to remain in France could integrate into the Augustinian Hermit province of Narbonne-Bourgogne, whose flagship house was in the Saint-Vincent quarter of Lyon.³⁹⁴ Through the issuance of the letters patent of March 1658, Louis XIV—in the sixth year of his majority—Gallicized the demographic

³⁹¹ ADL H617, folio 91. A *lettre de cachet* was a private order issued by the king, and signed and sealed by one of his ministers that communicated to a subject the royal will. Because of its private nature, it was not subject to public scrutiny and could not in theory be appealed.

³⁹² ADL H617, folio 39.

³⁹³ ADL H617, folio 39.

³⁹⁴ ADR 13H181, folio 17.

composition of an important house in the Franco-Italian frontier, and elicited the support of local nobles and church elites to facilitate the transition.³⁹⁵

The Augustinian Hermits of Saint-Vincent in Lyon complained. Simplicien Uzilis, prior of the community at Saint-Vincent, wrote that the Lombards whom Louis XIV permitted to integrate into the Narbonne-Bourgogne province by his letters patent of March 1658 lacked regular discipline and passion for Augustinian ministry. Drawing upon popular xenophobic invective, he evoked their “Italianness” as cause for their religious and personal laxity. Nevertheless, Uzilis confidently suggested that he could reform them back to regular discipline so that even the Lombards would once again “instruct the people, preach, [and] confess.”³⁹⁶ Likewise, the Observantines of Béziers had harsh words for their Lombard brethren. The Augustinians of Béziers complained that the Lombards were the worst possible Italians, incapable of “instructing the people, preaching, and confessing.”³⁹⁷

The king rejected one important feature of his cousin, Charles Emmanuel II’s, letters patent. He denied the Discalced of the Chambéry house the governance of the Brou community. In so doing, he acknowledged the objection of the Discalced Congregation of France, which had categorically refused to take the Brou monastery under its aegis. With Chambéry as part of the Congregation of France, the brothers of this congregation would have been responsible for the affairs of the Brou

³⁹⁵ Over the course of five years, Louis XIV’s letters patent were agreed to by church hierarchy, local nobles, state functionaries, and members of the judiciary. For example, the duke d’Épernon agreed in January 1659; the archbishop of Lyon (Camille de Neufville de Villeroy) and Ferdinand de la Baume, Count of Montrevel and lieutenant-général of the royal armies in Bresse, both gave their approval in March 1659 (see ADL H617, folio 39). Both the duke d’Épernon and La Baume had accompanied Louis XIII on his military campaigns of 1621-2 to pacify the recalcitrant cities in Languedoc and western France. Pope Alexander VII approved the transfer of leadership in 1662; and the Parlement of Dijon registered the letters patent in 1663 (see ADL H617, folio 29).

³⁹⁶ ADR 13H181, folio 17.

³⁹⁷ ADR 13H181, folio 14.

community.³⁹⁸ Instead, Louis XIV insisted upon the integration of the Brou house into the Discalced congregation of Dauphiné, whose chief house was on the Croix-Rousse in Lyon. This created a financial crisis for the province as it immediately assumed the obligation of financing the costly requisite repairs to the structures, stabilizing the community's disastrous financial situation, and paying a severance of 33,000 livres to the Lombards. Nevertheless obedient to the king's letters patent, the province of Dauphiné responded by reapportioning money from its wealthier houses, chiefly the community of the Croix-Rousse in Lyon, to Brou. Many benefactors from the Lyon bourgeoisie also contributed to the cause.³⁹⁹

Seizing upon the moment of change of leadership and personnel at Brou, the syndics of the city of Bourg articulated their expectations for the Discalced of Brou. Although in favor of the installation of the Discalced, they added a restriction upon them, forbidding their performance of the quête within the city limits or anywhere in the province of Bresse. Given the limited resources available in the Discalced congregation of Dauphiné, the restriction on the right to perform the quête reduced the income of the newly-reconstituted Augustinian community at Brou. Further, the syndics decreed that "all acquisitions [of unspecified type] even mass foundations will be subjected to the taille at the rate of the price and value of the aforementioned goods conforming to the translation passed between them [the Bourg syndics] and the priors of the convent, on 5 March 1568."⁴⁰⁰ This tax burden and the loss of income from the quête limited the income of the Discalced at Brou. It made the generosity of the parent house on the Croix-Rousse and the Lyonnais benefactors all the more crucial to the success of the Brou monastery.

³⁹⁸ ADL H617, folio 5.

³⁹⁹ ADL H617, folio 18.

⁴⁰⁰ ADL H617, folios 39 and 91. Quote from folio 91.

By restricting the Discalced with respect to their performance of the quête in Bourg and beyond—a restriction that Charbonnier confirmed⁴⁰¹—the syndics suppressed an ancient right and practice enjoyed by the Augustinians. Although the syndics obeyed the royal will to install the Discalced at Brou, they intimated a measure of discomfort with the public face of the reformed order's austerity. The syndics also saw it as their right to control mendicant modes of spiritual expression, while maintaining the essential elements of their ministry.

From spring through the summer of 1658, Charbonnier saw to the complicated task of executing the recomposition of the house at Brou. With the king's letters patent in hand, he was charged with smoothing over many contentious details. The first was the claim of the Discalced of Chambéry to the governance of the Brou house. Armed with Charles Emmanuel II's letters patent of August 1657, the Discalced of Chambéry, acting under the authority of the duke, went to Charbonnier to complain that some Lombards were creating some impediment ("empechement") to their assumption of control.⁴⁰² Obligated to execute Louis's letters patent, Charbonnier—facing the Discalced of Chambéry with Savoyard letters patent—was in an awkward position. According to the register of the bailliage of Bresse, he responded to the brothers that "it is noteworthy that the patronage and foundation of Brou has reverted to His Majesty in this regard; and in regard to the establishment, he consents that...the superior of this house will be a natural Frenchman."⁴⁰³ Charbonnier rejected the claim of Charles Emmanuel II that the Savoyard Discalced of Chambéry had a claim to

⁴⁰¹ ADL H617, folio 12. In addition to Charbonnier, Louis XIV continued to call upon his bailli in Bresse, the Count of Montrevel, to facilitate the transition. A letter from the king to this effect was written in March 1659.

⁴⁰² ADL H617, folio 39.

⁴⁰³ ADL 617, folio 39. "il est notoire que le patronage et fondation de Brou est devolu a sa majesté pour ce regard, et au regard dudict establissement, et il y consent a la charge quels superieur de ceste maison sera naturel francois."

manage the house. Rather, the priorate was to be occupied by a *naturel françois*, whose allegiance was to Louis XIV. Importantly, Chambard's "Frenchness" was duly noted in the register.⁴⁰⁴ With his letters patent, Louis XIV denied the validity of the House of Savoy's assertion of influence in the province of Bresse with respect to shaping the leadership and the demographic composition of the Augustinian community at Brou. The king and Charbonnier argued their position on the basis of the Gallican privileges to name the priorate of religious houses. To go the step further to say that all the rank and file could not be Savoyard—that is, *chambériens*—was new at Brou, and would prove to be a much harder of a change for Charbonnier to see to fruition.

In addition to the leadership of the Brou Augustinians, Charbonnier also delineated expectations for the entire community. The register of the bailliage of Bresse records the following preconditions,

They [the Discalced now in possession of the house] will work incessantly on the repairs of the church. They will supply to all the brothers presently on site, as well as those professed absent from the house, and to native Bressans reasonable allowances of food and vestments following the form and customs of the Congregation of Lombardy in their past usage. They will have both active and passive voices in all the deliberations...they will continue to satisfy the requirements of regular clergy made in the founding documents, to sing the plain chant, to participate in matins as is customary.⁴⁰⁵

The content of the preconditions is instructive. But even more intriguing is the addition of the adverb "incessantly" (*incessamment*), which never appeared in Charles Emmanuel II's letters patent. *Incessamment* connotes continuous, unimpeded attention. In employing this word, Charbonnier demanded that of all their duties, the repair work upon the church of Saint-Nicolas-de-Tolentin was of the utmost

⁴⁰⁴ ADL H617, folio 91.

⁴⁰⁵ ADL 617, folio 39. See also folio 91. If this excerpt from the register of the bailliage of Bresse indicates a corrective action from how the Lombards managed the community of Brou, then we can learn that they withheld food and proper vestments from the Bressan brothers.

importance, and that the task demanded the attention of the Discalced even into the future.

Charbonnier delineated specific aspects of the religious practice of the regular clergy that he sought to emphasize. He required the Discalced to keep the offices (plain chant, saying of matins) as an integral aspect of their spiritual life. It is noteworthy that these are aspects of clerical praxis performed within the monastery walls, and not in the public square. In contrast, Charbonnier also demanded that they participate in “general processions as the other monks of the city.”⁴⁰⁶ In both private and public ways, the Augustinians were expected by the lieutenant-général to conform to what the church, and city and local secular authority demanded of mendicant clergy, and in general to conduct themselves in a manner deemed to be pious both in private and in public. After all, Charbonnier sardonically noted that the manner with which the Lombards had conducted themselves, particularly with respect to the execution of the contracts with the Obsevantines of Béziers and the brothers of Saint-Antoine “might not have been by the pure motivation of piety.”⁴⁰⁷

It was also important to Charbonnier to establish the credibility of the recomposed religious community at Brou. Creating continuity was his strategy. He expressly extended an invitation to those Bressan Augustinians—presumably chased out by the former Lombard leadership—to return to Brou: “[The Discalced] will supply a reasonable amount of food and vestments to both the brothers currently in residence and to those original Bressans who are absent—following the form and custom of the Congregation of Lombardy and their former usage—in case they wish to live in

⁴⁰⁶ ADL H617, folio 91.

⁴⁰⁷ ADL H617, folio 91.

community.”⁴⁰⁸ Significantly, Charbonnier’s procès verbal did not include an invitation to the Lombards to remain at Brou.

Charbonnier also put the Discalced on notice that he would be monitoring their conformity to the expectations articulated in his procès verbal. He required that the new leadership produce a detailed inventory of the possessions of the house. Although one rationale was to create a written record in order to know whether the Lombards—still in the process of moving in the spring and summer of 1658—would abscond with more than what they were approved to take, namely half the silver collection and have the accoutrements of the sacristy. In the spring and summer, the Discalced were in the process of writing a contract with Père Vicegerent of the Lombard Observant to divide the silver collection (*argenterie*), the objects in the sacristy, as well as the furniture.⁴⁰⁹ Moreover, Charbonnier’s inventory provided the lieutenant-général with a list of goods to seize in the event that the Discalced did not follow through with the order to see to the proper repairs and maintenance of the monastery.⁴¹⁰ As Charbonnier declared in the procès verbal, “if the aforementioned repairs are not ceaselessly made...[the Discalced will be subjected to] the seizure of their goods in accordance with the required inventory.”⁴¹¹

By the summer of 1658, Charbonnier and the Discalced had ironed out many details of the transfer. Chambard had been installed as prior; and in a May 1658 meeting at the Croix-Rousse house of the Discalced, two Discalced from the Dauphiné province, Pères Philippe and Estienne, were appointed as acting diffinitor and

⁴⁰⁸ ADL H617, folio 91.

⁴⁰⁹ ADL H617, folio 39. The final contract between the Discalced and Père Vicegerent called for half of the furniture, and half of the sacred items in the *argenterie* and sacristy, to be handed over to the Lombard Observant province. The contract would be dated 29 August 1658.

⁴¹⁰ ADL H617, folio 39.

⁴¹¹ ADL H617, folio 91.

preacher respectively.⁴¹² Nevertheless, by the fall, the Savoyards felt ill at ease that their interests would not be respected in the French-led recomposition of the community of Brou. Charles Emmanuel II followed through with his financial contribution to the repair work.⁴¹³ In the fall of 1658, Charles Emmanuel II expressed in a letter his disgust over the physical condition of the monastery, and the Observant Lombards' "impuissance" to redress the monastery's problems.⁴¹⁴ Aware that his cousin, Louis XIV, had chosen the Discalced province of Dauphiné to operate the house, Charles Emmanuel II did not mention the Savoyard Discalced of Chambéry. Instead, he reiterated the underpinning concern that provoked his first letters patent of 1657: the decrepit condition of the structures at the Brou monastery.

In contrast, the duke's mother, Christine of France, elaborated the spiritual need of the province of Bresse to have functional and disciplined religious houses. In a letter to her nephew, Louis XIV, dated October 1658, the Dowager Duchess of Savoy expressed the duchy's position that the Discalced were the best branch of the Augustinian family to fulfill the spiritual objectives of the initial founder and patron, Marguerite of Austria. Together, both mother and son wrote in the interest of restoring Savoyard dynastic reputation. Yet as Christine acknowledged, the ultimate fate of Brou lay in her nephew's hands. As both the daughter of Henri IV and the wife of Victor Amadeus I of Savoy (r. 1630-37), Christine of France stood between two dynasties. Her tenure as Regent from 1637 to 1648 sharpened her skill at dynastic collegiality, which was evidenced in her letter to the French king. Christine advanced Savoy's interest in having the Discalced in charge at Brou, because their reputation for spiritual discipline best served the memory of Philibert II and Marguerite of Austria, whose bodies lay in

⁴¹² ADL H617, folio 2.

⁴¹³ ADL H617, folio 45.

⁴¹⁴ ADL H617, folio 13.

the church of Saint-Nicolas-de-Tolentin. However, Christine conceded to Louis's selection of the province of Dauphiné, which in turn preserved Savoy's rapport with France, a diplomatic and dynastic tie which had served Christine so well during her Regency.⁴¹⁵

Christina wrote in an advisory role, with the status of "founder" of the Brou house. Under this legal status, the dukes of Savoy had weighed in on decisions pertaining to the management of the Brou house since control of Bresse reverted to France in 1601. Although the Crown had the final say, the House of Savoy could claim to have a voice in administrative decisions.

In the last half of 1658, Charbonnier challenged the House of Savoy's legal status as founder. In December 1658, representatives of the courts of Savoy and France met in Lyon. There, Charbonnier argued, "However, as it is the right of sovereigns to deny nothing and the duty of their officers to defend their rights, the procureur général declares that...the patronage and foundation of Brou has reverted to His Majesty...in the matter of the establishment [of this house]."⁴¹⁶ Chambard, showing his loyalty to the Crown, made the case before both courts at the meeting in Lyon that the Savoyard Prime Minister Pianese, in attendance, would "revoke the donation of His Highness." Pianese, however, was adamant: "[T]he will of His Highness was such that he was not subject to variations and that it was absolutely unnecessary to expect a

⁴¹⁵ ADL H617, folio 6. Matthew Vester has shown how previous generations of Savoyards negotiated with the French. Jacques de Savoie-Nemours (1531-1585), head of the cadet branch of the family, used his connections to assume powerful positions in the French bureaucracy, even a seat on the royal council. From this position of power and influence, he brokered between clients in Savoy and beyond. Here, in writing to her nephew, Christine is behaving in a manner consistent with Vester's assessment that dynastic families functioned as European-wide coalitions where members, implanted in courts throughout the continent, often worked in a familial interest that supplemented or even contradicted the interests of the court where they resided. See Vester, *Renaissance Dynasticism and Apanage Politics: Jacques de Savoie-Nemours, 1531-1585*, (Kirkville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2012), especially pp. 4, 5.

⁴¹⁶ ADL H617, folio 39.

revocation in as much as the will of His Highness.”⁴¹⁷ Pianese reiterated Charles Emmanuel II’s urgent demand for the repairs to be promptly completed.

Charbonnier’s concern was not merely one of dynastic loyalty. As the register indicates, the dukes of Savoy “ceded the convent *with its revenue* to the Discalced Augustinians.”⁴¹⁸ The register paid special attention to the potential of Brou to generate wealth as being a concern at the December 1658 meetings of the two courts.

Louis XIV managed to change the administration of the monastery as of March 1658. In so doing, he did not consider—or merely dismissed—the possibility that his action might provoke distrust and anger, even resistance, among the Augustinians throughout the region. The lawsuits that ensued in the wake of the king’s final order illustrated that although the bureaucratic arm of royal authority was strong, it was resisted by local interests and complex interrelationships between branches of the Augustinian family.

The 1658 approval of Charles Emmanuel II’s financial gift triggered internecine discord. In its wake, anonymous Hermits of the Narbonne-Bourgogne province accused the Discalced of Brou of simony and treason on the grounds that they accepted a financial gift from a foreign power.⁴¹⁹ Further, these accusers also suggested that the assumption of control of the Brou house by the Discalced was in reality a front to expand the influence of the Discalced in France through cannibalizing embattled Hermit houses. Here the Hermits were supposing collusion between the Observantines and the Discalced against the Hermits. Furthermore, the Hermits also took issue with the claim of the Discalced that they represented the “pure observance” of the Rule of

⁴¹⁷ ADL H617, folio 39.

⁴¹⁸ ADL H617, folio. 39. “qui sont [the dukes of Savoy] leurs originaires fondateurs ont allié le dict convent avec ses revenus aux Reverends peres Augustins deschaussés.”

⁴¹⁹ ADR 13H12, folio “the 197.”

Saint Augustine, a hallmark of Discalced rhetoric.⁴²⁰ Two possible explanations for why the Hermits of the Narbonne-Bourgogne province became so vocal follow. First, Observantines were technically Hermits. They shared the same bureaucratic structure and hierarchy. The Hermits were closer, therefore, to the Observantines administratively. The transfer of power at the monastery of Brou, a gem among the monasteries in the archdiocese of Lyon, gave more clout to the Discalced. Second, when the management of the Brou house reverted to the province of Dauphiné of the Discalced, the Discalced house on the Croix-Rousse in Lyon—as the flagship monastery of the province—gained added influence in the city of Lyon vis-à-vis the Hermits of Saint-Vincent, the flagship house of the Hermit Narbonne-Bourgogne province. The transfer of power ordered in 1658 shifted the influence, clout, and prestige of the Augustinians in the archdiocese, especially within the city of Lyon and its *fauxbourgs*, where all three entities—the two provincial houses and the archbishopric—were seated.

The final contract between the Discalced and the Lombards still in residence as of 1658—the one replacing the August 1658 contract between Chambard and Vicegerent—provided financial compensation for the Lombard Augustinians to leave Brou. Although its date is not noted in the register, it resolved some complaints that had surfaced at the December 1658 meeting between the courts of Savoy and France. There, two brothers, Jean-Baptiste Villefranche and Barnabé de Charas (a native of Piedmont, the register duly notes), argued that the taking of possession of the monastery at Brou by the Discalced could not proceed against the rights of the Congregation of Lombardy.⁴²¹ Despite this offer, some refused to leave, obstructing the

⁴²⁰ ADR 13H182, folio 7.

⁴²¹ ADL H617, folio 39.

repair work and taking legal action.⁴²² In January 1659, Cherubin Colliod (who remained at Brou, along with Joseph Maistre) sued to stop the transfer, which was officially to take place on 14 March 1659. The lawsuit galvanized opposition to the Lombards. In March, an unspecified group lobbied the Parlement of Dijon to register Louis XIV's letters patent of March 1658 that authorized the Savoyard financial gift for the repair of structures at the monastery and the transfer of leadership. Meanwhile, Colliod sued in a different venue in February 1659. A special sovereign court had been created in Bourg for the former Savoyard lands of Bresse, Bugey, Valromey, and Gex, which were all ceded to France by the Treaty of Lyon in 1601. In March, the Parlement of Dijon sided with the Discalced against Colliod, citing that the plaintiffs had abandoned the house.⁴²³ This is a curious justification, as other documents cite that some Lombards stubbornly persisted, despite successive royal and ducal letters patent to leave. In 1661, the king suppressed this special court, and its cases went to the Parlement of Dijon before hearing Colliod's case.⁴²⁴

In the final analysis, therefore, Colliod did not prevail in blocking the king's order of March 1658 for the transfer of leadership into the hands of the Discalced of the Augustinian province of Dauphiné. Nevertheless, he created some enduring trouble for the Parlement, which in 1661 awarded him and each of his co-plaintiffs 200 livres, provided they left the community of Brou.⁴²⁵ It was unclear whether this money

⁴²² ADL H617, folios 13, 39.

In a letter to the Countess of Montrevel, Denys de Sainte-Monique, vicar of the church of Saint-Nicholas-de-Tolentin in the Brou monastery, lamented that some of the Lombards obstructed church repairs, although she never specified how they did so. See ADL H617, folio 12.

⁴²³ ADL H617, folio 88.

⁴²⁴ ADL H617, folio 86. ADL 1B, *Edict portant suppression de la Covr souveraine de Bovrg...*, (Dijon: Jean Grangier, 1661). Among those listed as sympathizers to Colliod and Maistre's cause were Jacques Arhinbault, Fulgence Thomas, and Barthelémy Billion.

⁴²⁵ ADL H617, folio 86.

replaced or was in addition to what had been negotiated in August 1658, namely half the value of the sacristy, *argenterie*, and furniture. If this were not enough, the Parlement in 1663 granted an annual pension to each of 150 livres for the duration of their lives.⁴²⁶ Nonetheless, Colliod and his allies continued to obstruct the transfer of power, next accusing the Discalced of stealing two tableaux and two statues, the disappearance of which a suspicious archbishop of Lyon, Camille de Neufville, suggested owed more to Colliod and his men.⁴²⁷ Even in 1666, the Parlement of Dijon registered a papal bull of Pope Alexander VII in which he both approved the Discalced take-over of Brou, and demanded that the Lombards who still remained submit to the authority of the Discalced, or leave the community. Significantly, in Alexander's bull, the option for the Lombards to remain at Brou was back on the table, which was a departure from what Louis XIV had ordered in March of 1658.⁴²⁸

V. Conclusion

For over 100 years, the monastery of Brou, with its extravagant double cloister, neo-Gothic church to the memory of Saint Nicholas of Tolentino, and its eventual chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary, Notre-Dame-des-Sept-Douleurs, all testified to the importance of patronage to the regular clergy. Increasing numbers of Protestants in Bresse meant that the devout patrons of the Augustinians saw the house at Brou as an indispensable site of their own religious identity and an outlet for their own personal piety. As the French laid claim to the province, new patterns of patronage and political organization shifted alliances for the brothers of the Brou community. The Crown exerted more pronounced pressure on the house to conform to its own

⁴²⁶ ADL H617, folio 18.

⁴²⁷ ADL H617, folio 84.

⁴²⁸ ADL H617, folio 58.

expectations for the composition and function of the community, which exacerbated tensions between the branches of the Augustinian family with respect to agreement on what constituted true Augustinian identity. In the end, the monastery of Brou was the site of competition between both rival dynasties and competing attitudes and interests within the Augustinian family.

CHAPTER 6: L'Osier

On a spring day in 1649, Pierre Port-Combet was clearing some bottomland on the property he tended. The land belonged to Marguerite de Montagny, Marquise de L'Estang and Baroness of the city of Vinay,⁴²⁹ a devout Catholic whose family estate lay some 40 kilometers west of Grenoble. By 1649, her husband Antoine, Marquis of L'Estang, the first baron of Lyonnois and marshal of the camps of the king, had died, leaving her to govern the estate in their eldest son's stead. The estate of the L'Estang family was in a rural area. Where Port-Combet cleared shrubs and trees that day was a "desolate" and "remote" place.⁴³⁰

Port-Combet was a laborer. He was also a Protestant, "professing the so-called reformed faith."⁴³¹ This placed him in a separate social category, one different from that of his landlady. Although the records do not indicate expressly whether the Marquise knew of Port-Combet's Protestantism, his public acts of defiance did not go without notice. In such a rural area where patronage and clientage networks governed behavior so profoundly, it is hard to imagine that Port-Combet's faith was not duly noted by the community. The day when he was clearing his field, 25 March, was no ordinary day. It was the feast of the Annunciation, and the fact that Port-Combet was clearing his field when good Catholics ceased work in honor of the Virgin was a public sign of disrespect to the Catholic faith intended as a sign of allegiance to Protestantism.

The work was apparently going well. Then, something unexpected happened.

⁴²⁹ The region belonging to the Marquise and her family is frequently referred to as Les Plantées.

⁴³⁰ ADI 4G18, folio 2.

⁴³¹ ADI 4G18, folio 2.

[Port-Combet] was occupied with cutting the branches of an osier tree planted near his house in contempt and derision of this feast [of the Annunciation. Then], such a very great quantity of blood came out [of the tree] that it spurted onto his face and clothes; being surprised and amazed by this miracle, he returned to his house bloodied, being seen in that condition by his wife, children, and neighbors.⁴³²

Immediately, the miracle was associated with the Virgin. In Vinay, four kilometers to the south, was a house of Discalced Augustinians who were aware of Protestantism in their region, and knew of Port-Combet's effrontery to work on the Virgin's feast day. As the Marquise's preferred religious order, the Discalced seized the moment by taking responsibility for Port-Combet's conversion, hoping to lead him back into the fold because of the miracle, which they authenticated.⁴³³ The Discalced were careful "to make known to him his fault, to instruct and catechize him in the true religion so that he would abjure his heresy."⁴³⁴ Their efforts convinced Port-Combet that the Virgin's working of this miracle was a heavenly grace. He embraced Catholicism in a public ceremony led by the prior of the Discalced convent in Vinay, Théophile de Sainte Angélique. This was no typical mass, no ordinary abjuration of Protestantism. The crowd included clergy, laity, and "officers of justice," making this conversion a public and politicized matter.⁴³⁵ For an area so "desolate" and "remote," this conversion would have far-reaching effect.

The narrative of the miracle, and the events the ensued, rests strongly upon two documents from the chancery of the bishop of Grenoble. These two documents are his written version of the events surrounding Port-Combet's conversion. They are contained within the carton entitled "Bishopric of Grenoble-L'Osier," (ADI 4G18, folios

⁴³² ADI 4G18, folio 2.

⁴³³ ADI 4G18, folio 1.

⁴³⁴ ADI 4G18, folio 2.

⁴³⁵ ADI 4G18, folio 2.

1 and 2). Whereas it is less than ideal to retell a historical narrative based upon the written testimony of a single actor, for the purposes of this chapter on the Augustinians of L'Osier, there is justification in doing so.

In folios one and two, the bishop's chancery retells the events in a very smooth narrative. In the case of L'Osier, the centerpiece of the story is the Virgin's performance of a miracle leading to Port-Combet's conversion. The smoothness of the narrative keeps the miracle in focus. Moreover, the bishop of Grenoble was an important actor in this story. Given his position, he is a trustworthy witness to the events of L'Osier. In fact, if the contest for influence over L'Osier had a "winner," it was the bishop of Grenoble. However, because the documents came from the episcopal chancery, it is important to limit the breadth of historical interpretations in accordance with the fact that the bishop had his own agenda at L'Osier, and worked to ensure that the pilgrimage site that developed there served his objectives. Even though the events at L'Osier do ultimately favor the objectives of the bishop—as I will argue—this does not diminish the significance of the story that the sources tell, namely the Virgin's miracle, Port-Combet's public conversion. Such Marian miracles are substantiated by parallel occurrences throughout Central and Western Europe, where the themes of contested confessional spaces, and resurgent popular piety are common. Moreover, that the source base mostly rests on two folios does not diminish the importance of other central facts of this case study, which have echoes in other European contexts: the rivalry between secular and regular clergy, and the agency of a baroness over the modes of faith and practice in her lands. Further study of notarial and secular clerical records at the Archives Départementales de l'Isère, the Discalced Augustinian capitular minutes, and records relating to the position of the L'Estang family in the French government would provide answers to important questions that would enrich the interpretation of this intriguing story.

The miracle at L'Osier altered the spiritual landscape of the region surrounding Vinay. With time, L'Osier attracted pilgrims as the significance of the miracle grew. Persons across the social strata capitalized upon its meaning. For the purposes of this dissertation, the miracle at L'Osier illuminates the confluence of Counter-Reformation spirituality and the Augustinian order, offering an important vantage point for viewing this particular stripe of Catholic devotion in operation. Unlike the Brou, Crémieu, and the two Lyon houses, L'Osier became a pilgrimage site operated by the Discalced Augustinians, subjected to different rules, expectations, and privileges. Moreover, it housed a seminary for the training of secular clergy for the diocese of Grenoble. Because it did not conform to the model of a standard Augustinian monastery, governing it required a fair amount of improvisation among the different players, which presented both challenges and opportunities, especially as greater numbers of pilgrims brought more wealth to the site. More money at L'Osier meant more influence for the Discalced province of Dauphiné, but also a greater potential for rivalries with the secular clergy, and the bishop of Grenoble.

This chapter establishes the connection between the themes of the Counter-Reformation and the narrative of L'Osier by underscoring key aspects of baroque Catholic spirituality—Marian adoration, emphasis upon miracles, the sacraments, and mastery of the passions through prayers and spiritual discipline. The Augustinians, with the approval of the bishop of Grenoble, established a seminary there for the formation of what they hoped would be a phalanx of young secular clergy equipped to eradicate heresy through preaching and catechesis. Finally, L'Osier exemplified popular spirituality, in which the cult of the Virgin converged with the miracle of a bleeding tree and a public abjuration of heresy. Pilgrims encountered the physical evidence of a

miracle performed by the Virgin, and they prayed that she would likewise beseech God on their behalf.

The management of the L'Osier pilgrimage site evolved over the mid-seventeenth century. The founding charter established a rector to serve as a spiritual caretaker. However, financial oversight fell to another religious community, the Discalced of Vinay. This jurisdictional complexity, although not uncommon in Counter-Reformation Europe, destabilized the community of L'Osier. As more wealth poured in from the offerings of pious pilgrims, questions of who was ultimately responsible for L'Osier (the overseeing bishop, the small community at L'Osier, the Discalced of Vinay, the L'Estang family, or the province of Discalced to which Vinay and L'Osier belonged) became more problematic. The concentration of wealth in the hands of the regular clergy infuriated the secular clergy of the diocese who had arrived to study. The growing wealth of L'Osier also encouraged jealousy and competition among the regular and secular clergy. Ultimately, the independence enjoyed by L'Osier was lost when these rivalries devolved into allegations of corruption, which prompted the bishop of Grenoble to intervene.

After the initial miracle and Port-Combet's conversion, the Marquise and the Discalced Augustinians of Vinay assessed the miracle, recognizing its validity and the potential for the development of a religious cult to coalesce around the bleeding osier. There is a gap in the documentation between 1649, when the miracle first occurred, and 1656. From the 1650s, the records reveal that during those seven years, the Marquise and the Discalced cultivated the reputation of the house, for the extant records indicate the popularity of the cult of the osier. One is left to speculate whether the Marquise and the Discalced of Vinay were making preparations to commemorate the miracle, or whether word spread organically, ebbing and flowing

with the daily grind of rural life.⁴³⁶ Likely, both factors worked in concert. We do know that miracles kept occurring after the bleeding osier, and that in response, the Marquise built an altar.⁴³⁷ Whatever the case may be, something in 1656 sparked interest in proactively promoting the memory of the original miracle. It may have been the recognition of the financial and spiritual capital that the increasing number of pilgrims was bringing to the Vinay region, since the pilgrims who passed through to venerate the osier tree gave generously.⁴³⁸ On 6 August, the confraternity called the Company for the Propagation of the Faith contracted with Port-Combet to purchase the bottomland where the bleeding osier stood, in order to build a small oratory.⁴³⁹ The Marquise, however, learning of this contract, petitioned for a subrogation (legal transfer of ownership and responsibility), which she received on 1 July 1657, that made her the de facto founder and patron of whatever was to be constructed for the commemoration of the miracle of L'Osier, now a memory eight years old.⁴⁴⁰

At this time, the Marquise worked with the Discalced of Vinay to establish her oratory. It is not clear whether the oratory of the Company of the Propagation of the Faith succeeded, or was ever built. Nevertheless, with her new legal claim, the Marquise accorded a generous foundation of 100 livres per year in perpetuity to the Discalced of Vinay to manage the oratory that would house pieces of the bleeding osier and welcome the ever-increasing crowds come to venerate it. The donation of the Marquise and the offerings were intended to finance the building projects and the

⁴³⁶ ADI 4G18, folio 3.

⁴³⁷ ADI 4G18, folio 5.

⁴³⁸ This generosity became a self-referential proof of the validity of the miracle.

⁴³⁹ ADI 4G18, folio 3.

⁴⁴⁰ ADI 4G18, folio 5. The *Acte de Fondation* named the Marquise *fondatrice* and *patronne*. The final subrogation was drawn up between the Marquise and the Company of the Propagation of the Faith.

stipend of a permanent rector to direct the spiritual life of L'Osier. The Marquise chose Jacques Jullin to be the rector of L'Osier, a shadowy figure in the sources. She insisted that her family would maintain the right to choose the rector of L'Osier in perpetuity, based upon her legal status as founder. The Marquise placed the oratory under the patronage of the Virgin, giving it the name Notre-Dame-de-L'Osier.⁴⁴¹

The Marquise insisted upon the right to self-operation and governance for Jullin and the priests who would assist him at L'Osier, most of whom were drawn from Vinay. Nevertheless, Notre-Dame-de-L'Osier remained jurisdictionally under the auspices of the convent at Vinay. In a capitular meeting, the Discalced at Vinay mandated certain aspects of the devotional program at L'Osier. The priests were obligated "to celebrate in the chapel two masses each month for [the Marquise and her successors], and there to confess, to preach, to missionize, to catechize, and to do all that will be necessary for the great glory of God, and the augmentation of devotion and the edification of the public."⁴⁴² However, the vision cast for the L'Osier pilgrimage site extended beyond just the establishment of a chapel. Founding a seminary was also part of the vision for the site, a plan that would make this a spiritual complex where secular clergy could receive instruction in evangelism. This was a central concern for the bishop of Grenoble, Pierre Scarron (r. 1621-1668), one whose resolution he pushed for in the establishment of the agreement of 1657. All told, this became a template for sustainability that secured a prime place for L'Osier and Vinay on the spiritual map of the diocese of Grenoble. Because the Marquise's contributions were only part of the key to success, the communities of L'Osier and Vinay sought other approvals, including the bishop's, but also that of the Parlement of Grenoble, the governor of Dauphiné

⁴⁴¹ADI 4G18, folio 1.

⁴⁴² ADI 4G18, folio 2.

(François de Bonne de Créquy, duke of Lesdiguières), and the king. Their approvals afforded the Discalced overseeing L'Osier the legal right to own land and receive revenue from it.⁴⁴³ The donations in the 1650s and 60s were strong enough to permit the maintenance of eight to ten priests. Similarly, the donations were such that the chapel at L'Osier could be elaborately decorated: "the chapel enriched with several handsome silver vases, including chalices, lamps, tableaux and other precious furnishings offered by the charity of the faithful." Many of these faithful reported that they were healed of illnesses and received spiritual healing for their souls upon taking the sacraments.⁴⁴⁴

I. The Counter-Reformation Spirituality of L'Osier

The spirituality of the brothers at Vinay reflected the wider character of the Counter-Reformation. From the 1656 founding contract between Marguerite de L'Estang and the Vinay house, the following maxim appeared in the documents that encapsulated how Counter-Reformation spirituality and the work at L'Osier intersected. The objective was to establish "devotion, to build an oratory, to catechize, instruct, and convert the Huguenot to our holy faith."⁴⁴⁵

Among devout Catholics, the miraculous served to galvanize the faith within the devout. It also was a powerful tool to convince incredulous heretics of the truth of the Roman faith. Typically, miracles erupted along the fault line of doctrinal distinctiveness that denoted an important point of theological departure. Such a miracle might include the appearance of Christ's blood on the lips of a communicant, or in the case of Port-Combet, an osier running red with blood during the Feast of the

⁴⁴³ ADI 4G18, folio 1.

⁴⁴⁴ ADI 4G18, folio 2.

⁴⁴⁵ ADI 4G18, folio 1.

Annunciation. These miracles functioned as supernatural witnesses to heretics of their heterodoxy.⁴⁴⁶ The miracle of L'Osier also highlighted one key characteristic of Counter-Reformation spirituality, Marian adoration. The Marquise demonstrated her commitment to the veneration of Mary when she named the newly-constructed oratory "Notre-Dame-de-L'Osier" in appreciation for the Virgin having performed the miracle of the bleeding osier upon her lands.⁴⁴⁷ The Discalced embraced the narrative of the miracle, and propagated it as their own by spreading word of it, thereby encouraging pilgrims.⁴⁴⁸

The influence of the Counter-Reformation was reflected not only in the faith of L'Osier, but also in its praxis. The act of pilgrimage, the veneration of relics, the repetition of Marian litanies all modeled rhythms of popular devotion for the masses to help them follow along the paths of Counter-Reformation devotion. Their devotion was shaped by lay and clerical authority—here, Marguerite de L'Estang and the Discalced of Vinay—who made the centerpiece of the oratory the veneration of the osier tree.⁴⁴⁹ Pilgrims came from far and wide, rich and poor, with hopes and prayers for better lives, a cycle repeated across Catholic Europe. As Craig Harline points out, the power of relics was often conscripted by the secular hierarchy of the church, namely bishops, seeking to capture, regulate, and channel the energy from these sites into patterns of established orthodoxies.⁴⁵⁰ For the Marquise and Jullin, the preservation of the relic

⁴⁴⁶ ADI 4G18, folio 1.

⁴⁴⁷ ADI 4G18, folio 1.

⁴⁴⁸ ADI 4G18, folio 2.

⁴⁴⁹ ADI 4G18, folio 1.

⁴⁵⁰ Craig Harline, *Miracles at the Jesus Oak*.

was of capital interest, as was ensuring that it continue to foster devotion. The sources point out that the singing of Marian litanies were strongly practiced.⁴⁵¹

Outwardly-focused modes of spiritual expression also characterized the Counter-Reformation and were exhibited at L'Osier. This outwardly-focused faith comprised preaching, catechesis, and seminary training, all with the aim to convert heretics. Echoed in the canons of the Council of Trent, seminary training was critical for developing a Counter-Reformation diocese. Seven years after the 1649 miracle, the Discalced of Vinay and Grenoble, and the bishop, envisioned a seminary in L'Osier that focused on moral theology and the practical matters of conducting a mass. The Tridentine model for such establishments called for the bishop to exercise direct oversight.⁴⁵²

The Augustinians of L'Osier and Vinay were skilled at combatting heresy. For example, the priests at L'Osier were trained to ascertain the subtlest suggestion of heterodox belief.⁴⁵³ With fine attention to speech and theology, priests would be able to convert “the Huguenot to our holy faith.”⁴⁵⁴ The narrative of Port-Combet's conversion was an example of the formation of a priesthood skilled in rhetoric and theology, with an eye to pastoral care. Ultimately, at Port-Combet's conversion, the persistence and skill of the brothers of Vinay—and the intercessions of the Virgin—proved efficacious.⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁵¹ ADI 4G18, folio 1. The singing of litanies to Mary “was spread to the surrounding areas...the monks [the Discalced] often sang litanies to the Holy Virgin at L'Osier; there began to arrive there devoted people from all parts on the word of this miracle.”

⁴⁵² Hsia, 116.

⁴⁵³ ADI 4G18, folio 1.

⁴⁵⁴ ADI 4G18, folio 1.

⁴⁵⁵ ADI 4G18, folio 2.

The mission of the Augustinians of L'Osier was more than just the conversion of individuals, however; rather, it encompassed a wider vision of expanding Catholic piety. In the 1656 contract, the brothers at Vinay affirmed that the Discalced at L'Osier were to do all that was possible for the "augmentation of devotion and the edification of the public."⁴⁵⁶ Fostering popular devotion to the Virgin and the sacraments was a component in social transformation that would serve the end of ameliorating the state of the body politic. This was ultimately a key Tridentine objective, that is to reclaim Christian society from the tumult created by heresy. For the Discalced, such a task required superior moral character. As Hsia has pointed out, the lifestyle of priests was a preoccupation of reformers.⁴⁵⁷ At L'Osier, the Discalced maintained a strict discipline that their interpretation of the rule of Saint Augustine demanded.⁴⁵⁸ To this end, an ad hoc group of Discalced was formed to oversee the compliance of the brothers with the central tenets of the order.⁴⁵⁹

II. Crisis

Despite an auspicious beginning, the pilgrimage site of Notre-Dame-de-L'Osier was increasingly troubled by bitter disagreements between the Marquise, the bishop of Grenoble, Jullin, and the secular clergy between 1657 to 1663. The complexity of how the pilgrimage site and monastery were governed eventually worked to the site's undoing, as the four different players sought to uniquely direct the spiritual program at L'Osier, and to gain access to its financial offerings deposited there by devout pilgrims. For the bishop, the financial viability of the pilgrimage site was a preeminent

⁴⁵⁶ ADI 4G18, folio 2.

⁴⁵⁷ Hsia, 111

⁴⁵⁸ ADI 4G18, folio 1.

⁴⁵⁹ ADI 4G18, folio 1.

concern. Also important were logistical questions concerning the apportionment of secular clergy on site, and what percentage of the offerings should be allocated to them.⁴⁶⁰ The patronage of a marquise, her insistence upon naming the rector, the proceeds staying in the control of the Discalced, despite several secular clergy on site preparing for the priesthood were all circumstances that made L'Osier irregular.

Of all these concerns, managing money and remediating its corrupting influences were the bishop's most important concerns about L'Osier. The wealth generated by the pilgrimage site ensured the coffers were well-filled, spurring corruption and decadence. Furthermore, as its reputation grew, L'Osier expanded the social capital of the L'Estang family and the Discalced Augustinians of the diocese of Grenoble. Significantly, neither the secular clergy living at L'Osier—and their counterparts outside it—nor the bishop of Grenoble received the financial or the social capital from the operation at L'Osier, by dint of the founding contract. Therefore, animosity grew. And as this tension spread, so, too, did the tendency to construct difference between the secular and regular clergy. By fostering competition, the allocation of the proceeds deepened fissures between the two branches of clergy, which only expanded over the course of the seventeenth century.

More serious troubles presented themselves in the 1660s. An encroaching scandal inculpated the bishop of Grenoble's secular clergy, whom he had hand-picked to study moral theology at L'Osier's fledgling seminary for the preparation of secular clergy for ministry in the diocese of Grenoble. Far outnumbering Jullin and the Discalced on site, these secular clerics presumed the wealth of L'Osier to be theirs. Sadly however, the diocese drew all kinds, some whose ambitions were not entirely

⁴⁶⁰ ADI 4G18, folio 2.

spiritual. The Marquise and Jullin reported decadence and fraud among the secular clergy:

[the chapel] has become a retreat of shameless men, a den of robbers, blasphemers, an asylum and refuge of apostates escaped from the cloister, a company of tumultuous, disturbed, ignorant men, suspected of heresy and hypocrisy; that the leader and superior of this so-called seminary publicly boasted of wanting to lose this devotion and to steal the holy vases.⁴⁶¹

Ironically, the accusations against the secular clergy were allegations of relaxed morality, while the clerics-in-training were studying moral theology at L'Osier. According to their accusation, the secular clergy neglected their clerical duties, ceasing to administer last rites to the dying of L'Osier and refusing to say the important great mass in the mornings. They also raised the price for a memorial mass to 20 sols, which began to discourage the faithful, who took their offerings elsewhere. Further, they took possession of the chapel, its relics, sacristy, and silverware. They were thieves, pocketing offerings earmarked by the foundation documents for future building projects, as well as Jullin's stipend under the guise, one presumes, of having helped run the oratory. Indeed, most egregious was their alleged treatment of Jullin. Outnumbered, he could not resist their growing hostility. After eating all his rations and drinking his wine, no doubt, the secular priests drove Jullin out of the rectory. Then, they defamed him publicly at mass, denouncing his character with a veiled accusation that he was a Protestant using wordplay with his name, substituting "Julien" for his surname "Jullin," so as to associate him with Julian the Apostate.⁴⁶²

Still worse, in their testimony, the Marquise and Jullin accused the priests of rape, and of using their position both to cover it up and to abuse the sacrament of penance:

⁴⁶¹ ADI 4G18, folio 2.

⁴⁶² ADI 4G18, folio 2.

[W]e have heard that the priests scandalously taint themselves, clearly manifesting their lust before a great crowd assembled in devotion at the chapel; the priests impertinently attacked the honor of girls and married women to whom they proposed that they [the women] would not sin by consenting to their brutality provided that they [the priests] confessed them, that they [the priests] went at all hours of the day and night to their homes and forced themselves upon the women to rape them, that they [the priests] chased out the merchants from L'Osier because [the merchants] would not suffer their obscene overtures toward their daughters, that they [the priests] sacked the shops of others because they were not willing to approve of their debauched activities.⁴⁶³

The crisis caused by Jullin's expulsion provoked several responses. First, the Marquise lodged a formal complaint with the bishop in 1663, contending that these priests had defiled the sanctity of the sacred space that was L'Osier and dishonored her legal status as founder and patron. This complaint eventually rose to the Parlement of Grenoble in 1664.⁴⁶⁴

Next, the Discalced of the Dauphiné province, alarmed by Marguerite's complaint, convened a provincial meeting on the Croix-Rousse in Lyon on 7 May 1664 where they discussed the crisis. What resulted was a reaffirmation of the ministerial objectives of Notre-Dame-de-L'Osier, with the intent that the Vinay house of Discalced would gradually re-assume the direction of the spiritual life of L'Osier, which—of course—would necessitate wresting that function out of the hands of the resident secular clergy. They created an ad hoc committee of brothers to oversee this process.⁴⁶⁵ In addition, they reaffirmed Jullin's position as rector, which they backed

⁴⁶³ ADI 4G18, folio 2.

⁴⁶⁴ ADI 4G18, folio 1. Importantly, the complaint lodged by Marguerite de L'Estang marked a powerful moment of feminine agency, a moment where a wealthy widow, as patron, demanded recourse to support her interests and piety. The venues, the episcopal palace and the Parlement, establish the degree of her determination.

⁴⁶⁵ ADI 4G18, folio 1. In French, the word employed was *bienréformés*, which carries with it strong overtones of the Catholic Reformation in its robust personal spirituality, communal focus, and evangelistic bent. In short, the term echoes the reforming tone cast by the Council of Trent and reaffirmed by the spirituality of the blossoming spiritual creativity unleashed in France in the mid-seventeenth century.

up with material benefits. For example, they agreed with the Marquise to grant an annual stipend of 400 livres per year from the chapel offerings, the possession of two rooms on site, and a discretionary budget of 400 livres per year to spend on what he felt necessary to maintain the chapel and to execute its spiritual function.⁴⁶⁶

As the crisis unfolded, resistance grew on the part of the secular clergy and the bishop of Grenoble, who saw the denunciation levied by the Marquise and Jullin, and the subsequent action of the Dauphiné province of Discalced, as defaming the reputation of their offices. Moreover, these measures presumed the guilt of the seminarians and were measures that the bishop of Grenoble had not approved. L'Osier factored into the bishop's plan to strengthen the Catholic faith in the region in the face of the recalcitrant pockets of Protestantism that Port-Combet exemplified. The fact that by contract, the bishop could not choose the rector—whose position the Marquise and the province of Dauphiné had squarely affirmed—also galled Scarron.⁴⁶⁷

And herein lay the problem. Jullin, the Marquise, the house at Vinay, and the province of Dauphiné understood the autonomy of the regular clergy in different terms. For Scarron, the ability to control the leadership and direction of the house encouraged a more manageable setting, especially in the light of the crisis related to the allegations of grave misconduct on the part of the secular clergy. Scarron sought a tighter rein on priests—secular and regular—with respect to matters of personal conduct and morals. Additionally, he wanted to maintain unity in focus among all clergy, a goal he envisioned best attained through tighter, centralized control of the formation of clerics and the operation of influential religious sites like L'Osier.

⁴⁶⁶ ADI 4G18, folio 2.

⁴⁶⁷ ADI 4G18, folio 9.

Sensing the rising tension, the Discalced sent a letter to reassure the bishop in August 1664, three months after their capitular meeting, that the province held the highest moral expectations for the L'Osier pilgrimage site, and that it would ensure not only the personal integrity of the clerics but also ministerial standards. Indeed, where the Marquise, Jullin, the province, and the bishop did agree was on the urgent necessity to safeguard the operation at L'Osier from further abuses, for which they proposed some practical considerations.⁴⁶⁸ In addition, they encouraged the bishop to support building projects at both Vinay and L'Osier. To conclude, the document recapitulates the spiritual mission of the oratory at L'Osier:

to celebrate two masses each month for [the Marquise] and her successors, to confess, to preach, to missionize, to catechize, and do all that is necessary for the greatest glory of God, the increase of devotion, the edification of the public, and service to the chapel, where the masses will be celebrated following the order that would please Your Grace [the bishop] to establish.⁴⁶⁹

Scarron received the note from the Discalced of Vinay and the Marquise, and conceded to them the opportunity to vet those priests desiring to be on site, and to expel them should they choose. The bishop also reaffirmed that the offerings were to be earmarked for the construction of a monastery. In exchange, the bishop insisted both upon the perpetual right to visit Notre-Dame-de-L'Osier, and that the Discalced of L'Osier were obligated to say two masses each month for the sitting bishop.⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁶⁸ To address the problem of theft, they proposed strict protocols for accessing the trunks in which were kept the offerings that came from pilgrims venerating the osier tree. The Marquise and Jullin would each keep a key, and only under certain conditions could the trunks be opened. Notably, with Marguerite and her successors maintaining the contractual right to name the rector, her family had considerable clout over the finances of the house.

⁴⁶⁹ ADI 4G18, folio 1.

⁴⁷⁰ The right of bishops to visit, or “inspect” in Bergin’s words, increased in frequency during the *Ancien Régime*. Nevertheless, there was a great deal of variance with respect to the frequency of visits. There were also cases of abuse, where dioceses would be charged a fee to pay for the visit, even if the bishop never followed through with his inspection. See Bergin, *Church, Society and Religious Change in France, 1580-1730*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 175-6.

III. The Bishop of Grenoble, the Discalced, and Authority at L'Osier

The negotiations between Scarron, the Vinay house, the Marquise, and Jullin between 1664 and 1665 took the form of reciprocations yielding compromises, with profound consequences for the Discalced at Vinay and the operation at L'Osier. The bishop had gradually altered his position. Although accommodating if not conciliatory in August and September 1664, by 1665, the bishop also assumed greater control over the operation of L'Osier. More, he pressured the Discalced of Vinay to found a seminary while insisting upon tight episcopal control over its operation.

This action revealed important tensions between the governance of the regular clergy in the episcopacies, especially in light of the explosion in number of new and reformed orders in the seventeenth century, such as the Discalced Augustinians. The Council of Trent reaffirmed the importance of church hierarchy to the ability of Catholicism to reform itself “in head and members.” The structures in place—bishops down to curates—formed a top-down chain of command whose responsibilities included administering the sacraments, ensuring clerical discipline and educational standards, and attending to the pastoral needs of the laity. Although overlapping, the objectives of the regular and secular clergy did not coincide well with respect to hierarchy. Here, there was a degree of variation: famously, the Jesuits boasted of being accountable to their own internal hierarchy and the pope, and not at all to bishops. Popular pilgrimage sites overseen by the regular clergy posed a thornier problem. Although L'Osier channeled popular devotion to the sacraments, it was also perilously under-supervised by the clerical hierarchy, diverging from the canons of the Council, and posed practical concerns for managing the house and maintaining orthodoxy. Indeed, during the seventeenth century, the general trend in France privileged enhanced episcopal control of sites of popular devotion like L'Osier.

Further, the constant pressure of financial viability and misappropriation of money loomed large. The financial success of L'Osier compelled the bishop to oversee its operations closely, which he could then cast as safeguarding the ethical treatment of finances and upholding the moral and spiritual integrity of the pilgrimage site. Yet this task became quite complex for Scarron to manage by the fall of 1664. First, L'Osier had in Marguerite de L'Estang a passionate, engaged patron who insisted upon the legal protection of her interests that intersected with the financial operation of L'Osier; furthermore, she fostered the evangelistic, rigorous spirituality associated with the Discalced. As part of the apparatus of the Gallican church, Scarron also felt pressure to ensure the propagation of a state-sponsored orthodoxy in his diocese. Word of scandals occurring at L'Osier would attract scorn from the royal power structures in Dauphiné, calling into question his fitness as bishop.

Amid these complex considerations, and the publicly controversial assertions of the Dauphiné chapter with respect to its alleged privileges over the operation of L'Osier, the bishop felt obligated to mediate between the increasingly assertive and powerful Discalced, the secular clergy of his diocese, and the *procureur général*. The secular clergy no doubt saw in the action of the Dauphiné province a thinly-veiled effort to diminish their position. Sadly, the *procureur* for Grenoble augmented these tensions. Pitting the secular clergy against the regular clergy, he sharply disapproved of the proceedings of the province of Dauphiné. Accusing the province of overstepping its legal rights, he demanded proof of the privileges that the province claimed it had over L'Osier.⁴⁷¹ Confronted with this demand and the mounting pressure from secular clergy, Scarron convoked a diocesan meeting in the summer of 1664 that included a cross-section of the religious landscape of the city of Grenoble—cathedral canons,

⁴⁷¹ ADI 4G18, folio 9.

priors of the regular clergy, the secular clergy. Notably absent were representatives of rural clergy within the diocese. Understandably, the assembly advanced a position that suited their interests in hemming in the influence of the Discalced, which they saw as an unseemly and dangerous concentration of both financial and spiritual influence.⁴⁷² They pressured the Discalced to abandon the idea of a seminary at L'Osier, and even called for them to leave the pilgrimage site altogether, presumably to relinquish control to the secular clergy and to the bishop of the diocese.⁴⁷³ What lay behind their call against the Discalced was the sheer wealth of the house. A report at the diocesan meeting indicated that L'Osier and Vinay had already amassed an astonishing 26,000 livres toward the building of the seminary and monastery, with donations coming from all social strata, from lay and cleric alike.⁴⁷⁴

The bishop vacillated. As he deliberated through the late summer, he did not agree that the Discalced should be forced to relinquish control of the pilgrimage site.⁴⁷⁵ On the subject of the seminary, however, he was much less decisive. Coming out in opposition to Marguerite de L'Estang and the Discalced, he cited as his justification the remoteness of L'Osier, rather than the power and reputation its operation would give the Discalced: "It is very difficult for a recently-established seminary to succeed in such a desolate and remote place."⁴⁷⁶ On 12 August, he formally announced his opposition to the seminary at L'Osier.⁴⁷⁷ Then in the fall, he reneged, conceding that the Discalced could indeed house and run the seminary, but

⁴⁷² ADI 4G18, folio 9.

⁴⁷³ ADI 4G18, folio 2.

⁴⁷⁴ ADI 4G18, folio 2.

⁴⁷⁵ ADI 4G18, folio 4.

⁴⁷⁶ ADI 4G18, folio 2.

⁴⁷⁷ ADI 4G18, folio 5.

with a very important caveat. The house of Vinay—and by extension the province of Dauphiné—would have to assume full financial responsibility, including bearing the financial burden of new construction for the seminary as well as all operational costs. This amount came to a financial burden of 17,550 livres that, if the province could not pay by Lent 1665, would compel the bishop to force the Discalced to leave L’Osier altogether, relinquishing control back to the secular clergy and the diocese of Grenoble.⁴⁷⁸ In yet another twist, by the start of winter, the bishop had yet another change of heart, this time siding with the Assembly of Clergy that the notion of a seminary at L’Osier operated by the Discalced concentrated too much power, given the ongoing popularity and financial value of the pilgrimage site.⁴⁷⁹

These vacillations establish the depth of emotion and the height of the stakes related to the position of L’Osier within the diocese of Grenoble. The secular clergy noted an unjust imbalance of power, while the Discalced argued from the standpoint of entitlement and legal privilege. Yet notably, in the end, with dramatic flair, the bishop sided with the secular clergy in a move that sent ripples throughout the diocese. First, in making his decision, the bishop leveraged the petty noble L’Estang family. In addition to deciding against the seminary, he also insisted that Marguerite donate land for the construction of a chapel.⁴⁸⁰ Further, the bishop both imposed regulations upon and curtailed certain privileges of L’Osier by setting the number of

⁴⁷⁸ ADI 4G18, folio 2. Meeting this obligation proved difficult. Seeking donations from far and wide, the province acquired money from as far away as Saint-Etienne, approximately 140 kilometers to the west, and from members of the local bourgeoisie. See ADI 4G18, folio 2, 3r.

⁴⁷⁹ ADI 4G18, folio 2.

⁴⁸⁰ ADI 4G18, folio 2.

priests on site⁴⁸¹ and banning the practice of begging in Vinay and the surroundings.⁴⁸² The bishop affirmed the core spiritual mission of the Discalced, so as to steer the house away from its materialism and into more of a squarely spiritual function. As he wrote, they were to “say devotional masses, to confess, catechize, preach, and to do all that service requires of the chapel and public,” which included offering instruction to secular clergy on site in “moral theology, morality, and church ceremonies.”⁴⁸³ With this, Scarron guaranteed the Discalced for the time being the rights to enjoy all the assets of L’Osier. This figured an episcopal attempt to balance the powers within the diocese of Grenoble, while maintaining the Counter-Reformation spirit that animated the work at L’Osier.

The interest to hold in balance the influences within the diocese was echoed strongly by the arms of royal authority. For example, in the fall of 1664, the Parlement of Grenoble heard the case, and reaffirmed Scarron’s demand for greater financial assurances from Marguerite de L’Estang, to the tune of an additional 100 livres per year, to support the operation, an amount she agreed to pay.⁴⁸⁴ Likewise, the Parlement at the same time registered the king’s exemption from the *droit d’amortissement* (a tax on the church for its land holdings) that he issued in October 1664 that exempted the house—and by extension the Marquise—from paying taxes on

⁴⁸¹ No fewer than six or seven priests could be present until the convent building and dormitories were completed, at which time they were allowed to accommodate up to twelve. See ADI 4G18, folio 1.

⁴⁸² Interestingly, it is around the same time, the mid-seventeenth century, that the Lyon city consulate also regulated the mendicant practice of begging. And upon the final contract, the Discalced Augustinians were also forbidden to beg for their upkeep.

⁴⁸³ ADI 4G18, folio 1.

⁴⁸⁴ ADI 4G18, folio 2.

revenues from its properties.⁴⁸⁵ Contemporaneously, the royal governor of Dauphiné, the second duke of Lesdiguières,⁴⁸⁶ approved the new contract as well.

For the Assembly of Clergy, however, this registration of the *droit d'amortissement* was an unacceptable setback, to which they responded with legal action. The negotiations during the fall of 1664 had yielded the expulsion of a large contingent of seminarians and the loss of influence, including the surrender of goods and keys, the possession of which the secular clergy in residence had somehow managed to acquire over the years. In protest against this shift in influence toward the Discalced, the secular clergy lodged a complaint with the Parlement of Rennes, demanding non-registration of the king's privilege,⁴⁸⁷ no doubt to the great consternation and embarrassment of the bishop, who until this time strove to broker a compromise. In their complaint, the Assembly of Clergy argued that the Discalced, Scarron, and the Marquise had undermined the evangelistic mission in the region by "frustrat[ing] the diocese of Grenoble" with respect to expelling secular priests from the site.⁴⁸⁸ Getting word of the complaint, Louis XIV ordered his intendant for Dauphiné, François Bochart Sarron de Champigny, to hear the case from the perspective of the parties on site, that is the second duke of Lesdiguières, and other

⁴⁸⁵ ADI 4G18, folio 2.

⁴⁸⁶ François de Bonne de Créquy (1596-1677)

⁴⁸⁷ ADI 4G18, folio 3. The Parlement of Grenoble had since 1663 tried to broker peace between the Discalced who wanted sovereignty over the operation at L'Osier and the bishop who had to keep the other clergy contented with the fact that the Discalced were financially and spiritually powerful. In July 1663, the Parlement re-conferred the legal status of "founder" upon the Marquise and reaffirmed the rights and privileges of Jullin as rector. In exchange, the bishop received the right to call for a special offering. See ADI 4G18, folio 5.

The appeal to the Parlement of Rennes is curious, since it had no jurisdiction over this case. An examination of parliamentary records in Rennes would presumably clarify the result of this case, and would be an important subject of further research. Until then, it is plausible, given that the Parlement would have no ability to adjudicate this matter, that the secular clergy took this appeal to provoke action on the part of the bishop of Grenoble.

⁴⁸⁸ ADI 4G18, folio 2.

local nobility, as well as the president of the Parlement of Grenoble, and the minor Marquis de L'Estang, whose mother, Marguerite, would go in his stead.

With the royal intendant now involved, the matter reached a swift and—from Scarron's perspective—presumably undesired resolution, given his commitment to deep deliberation and equitable compromise. By the late fall, this meeting had produced a new and decidedly partisan contract that effectively ruled out the possibility for a seminary in Grenoble; even more, it removed the Discalced from the operation of and right to inhabit L'Osier. Within eight days of the contract, the bishop was to take possession of valuable physical assets, including the ornaments, furniture, and silverware. Lawsuits between the Discalced and the secular clergy were to be repressed and would no longer be entertained in the royal courts.⁴⁸⁹

In 1664, the priors of the Discalced houses of Grenoble and the Croix-Rousse, Martial de Sainte-Françoise and Gélase du Nom de Jésus respectively, received from the bishop the ability to amend the original contract the stipulated the terms of the establishment of the chapel at L'Osier. However, in February 1665, Scarron took action to nullify this. Scarron conceded to the expulsion of the Discalced from L'Osier. He also declared that the episcopal grand vicar would operate the L'Osier chapel and pilgrimage site. The contract further stipulated that the bishop would be the arbiter between the Discalced and the secular clergy, a provision against which the Discalced reacted vehemently. The diocese completed the seizure of the accoutrements of the chapel, including keys, titles, and furniture.⁴⁹⁰ All offerings acquired over the years for the seminary reverted to the bishop.⁴⁹¹ The Marquise lost her rights as founder, as the Grenoble house was given the ability to “change, diminish or add to it what they judge

⁴⁸⁹ ADI 4G18, folio 2.

⁴⁹⁰ ADI 4G18, folio 9.

⁴⁹¹ ADI 4G18, folio 2.

pertinent to the good of the convent [of Grenoble.]” Nonetheless, she remained financially responsible for the payments of debts incurred at L’Osier.⁴⁹² In March 1665, Scarron wrote to justify his actions, citing that the regular clergy operated under an incompatible philosophy of ministry than the secular. As he argued, their two respective missions were “entirely different and absolutely opposed to one another.”⁴⁹³

That the Grenoble house was given charge over the finances of L’Osier stemmed from a wider trend to shore up the ecclesiastical hierarchy within the diocese of Grenoble. The Grenoble house became more and more the flagship house of the Discalced in the region, and not Vinay, whose fortunes had been tied to its operational relationship with L’Osier. Moreover, the influence of the independent-minded Marguerite de L’Estang was neutralized. The seminary, that organization that would provide hands-on, experiential training in moral theology and the practical theology of conducting a mass, went to Grenoble. Although the Discalced of the Dauphiné province would operate it, L’Osier fell under the watchful eye of the bishop with respect to day-to-day operation. Incidentally, the wealthier houses of the Dauphiné province, such as the Croix-Rousse of Lyon, were required to subsidize the seminary, which apparently was a burden, for the priors of Grenoble and the Croix-Rousse acquired over the course of these final deliberations borrowing authority to meet the financial responsibility.⁴⁹⁴

The Discalced at Vinay, the Marquise, and the rector Jullin lost the most as a result of the bishop’s decision. By moving the seminary to Grenoble, the bishop took

⁴⁹² ADI 4G18, folio 2.

⁴⁹³ ADI 4G18, folio 9.

⁴⁹⁴ ADI 4G18, folio 2.

what had been theirs to manage, the seminary.⁴⁹⁵ For the purposes of this study, the narrative ends with a lawsuit. Despite having lost the right to manage the seminary, the Discalced of Vinay were still financially responsible to the secular clergy of the diocese of Grenoble to fund it. The Discalced of Vinay refused to pay, as the secular clergy alleged, then claimed that some “ill-intentioned” Augustinians of the Vinay house refused to pay the debt to fund the seminary, an amount of 3,440 livres and 12 sols. The secular clergy, as confirmed by the Parlement of Grenoble, mandated payment under penalty of the forfeiture of their house, all its goods, treasures, and relics, and the imprisonment of all the brothers. Once again, Marguerite de L’Estang came to the rescue, seeking to avoid losing a second Discalced site on her lands. On 16 February 1667, she settled the debt.⁴⁹⁶

IV. Conclusion

The spirituality of Notre-Dame-de-L’Osier evinced many of the hallmarks of Counter-Reformation spirituality. Its chapel welcomed those who had come to venerate the tree that the Virgin Mary made run red with blood. This miracle, like others in Central and Western Europe, occurred in an confessionally-contested area. The offerings that the chapel received also greatly enriched the Discalced Augustinians of Vinay. This money, the spiritual reputation of the pilgrimage site, and the greed of some clerics who arrived under the guise of studying practical ministry created lapses in clerical discipline embarrassing to the bishop of Grenoble and a challenge to his authority.

⁴⁹⁵ ADI 4G18, folio 2.

⁴⁹⁶ ADI 4G18, folio 10.

Ultimately, the growing cleavage between the secular clergy and the Discalced in Scarron's diocese proved unmanageable for the bishop, who felt compelled at last to nullify many of the privileges afforded to the Discalced and the noble feminine patron of L'Osier. Notably, the nullifications came with royal approbation. Indeed, increasing royal scrutiny of Scarron's management of his diocese forced his hand on the controversy, as the wider interests of maintaining the integrity of ecclesiastical hierarchy, peace among the clerical rank and file, and the assurance that the educational objectives of the diocese advanced unimpeded ultimately prevailed.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation has had several goals. It has shown that the Augustinians were ensconced within the larger words of the Renaissance and the Counter-Reformation, contributing to the social, religious and cultural change that the two movements brought about. Through their literary and theological production, as well as their conformity to the canons of the Council of Trent, the Augustinians were active contributors to social change in early modern Europe. This dissertation has also identified some common trends with respect to the spirituality of the Augustinians. The brothers formed uniquely cenobitic communities with an eremitic character, which stemmed from the medieval origins of the order. As with the Dominicans, the Augustinians valued preaching and teaching. The Augustinians were divided over the question of the purpose of the cloistered life, that is whether the brothers' time should be spent cultivating the spiritual disciplines and their interior, mystical union with God. This became the *cause célèbre* of the Discalced, and contrasted with the Hermits' interpretation of Augustine's intent, namely that the rigors of the monastic life should be channeled into cultivating the mind, with the understanding that such an investment would better serve the Church. Augustine's famous struggle with sexuality made the brothers' vow of celibacy particularly important to their spiritual lives, although this sense of importance did not exempt them from sexual scandal. Further, Augustine's teaching on irresistible grace, skepticism toward human agency in the economy of salvation, and limited efficacy of the sacraments continued to inform the Augustinians' theology. Although ultimately rejected at the Council of Trent, the Augustinians' theological contributions on this matter were at least considered by the delegates, and introduced the possibility of a theological reconciliation with the

Lutherans, which never materialized. In France, Augustinian notions of salvation were embraced by the followers of Cornelius Jansen. Jansenism was vigorously opposed by the Jesuits and the Cardinal Ministers Richelieu and Mazarin. And finally, Augustinian spirituality showcased a commitment to Marian adoration, a commitment that they shared with other partisans of Counter-Reformation spirituality.

This dissertation has also shown the consideration that the Augustinians had for their physical presence in the world, or their *fabrica ecclesiae*. As with other religious communities in France, the Augustinians—as landlords—suffered losses to their revenues; they also suffered losses in the form of damage to their structures. Several strategies were employed by the Augustinians to recoup these losses and to reestablish a strong presence in their cities and villages. For example, they cultivated their patronage networks with the kings of France and petty nobles. They also sued their tenants for rent payments in arrears, as well as those who had contracted (or whose family members had contacted) with the Augustinians to say masses in their memory. Further, the Augustinians engaged in building and repair projects aimed at restoring their churches and cloisters to their original grandeur. They also acquired the material objects necessary for the performance of the sacraments. When possible, they sought to acquire more land and buildings, including daughter congregations. Lastly, the Augustinian houses faced challenges to their expansion from city governments, the Crown, bishops, and secular clergy. These contestations for influence were not uncommon among the regular clergy. That the Augustinians experienced them shows that the brothers were in this regard quite normative.

The two case studies of Brou and L'Osier offer a unique angle for ascertaining how the religious and political milieux of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries shaped Augustinian communities. Both houses were founded amid the rising presence of Protestantism and state-building. Both houses were on political and confessional

peripheries where both confessional identity and dynastic rivalries were fought. At Brou, a wealthy female patron, Marguerite of Austria, founded a magnificent monastery and church as an act of devotion to the Catholicism of her Habsburg family, but also as a communication of the prestige of the house of Savoy into a frontier region with the Kingdom of France. French political ambitions shifted control of the province of Bresse to France, a fact that had a direct impact on the Augustinian brothers. Never before while under Savoyard control had the demographic composition had such bearing upon the performance of the Augustinians' spiritual duties. Yet at the behest of Louis XIII and Louis XIV, "national" identity became a deciding factor for determining which Augustinians could minister at Brou. The factors that became important were "national identity," but also which branch of the Augustinian family one belonged to, as the Bourbon monarchy in the seventeenth century privileged the reformed branch of the Augustinians, the Discalced.

At L'Osier, the Discalced Augustinians managed a lucrative patronage site that emerged following the Virgin Mary's performance of a miracle, which followed a pattern of other Counter-Reformation miracles occurring in confessionally-contested areas. The foundation of L'Osier illustrates the complexities of founding a pilgrimage site to accommodate such a miracle. The mandate of the Council of Trent for bishops to found seminaries for the education of the secular clergy motivated the bishop of Grenoble to press for a seminar at L'Osier where the brothers could instruct the seminarians in moral theology. However, L'Osier's female patron, the Marquise de l'Estang, was intent on shaping the spiritual program at L'Osier as an extension of her own devotion to the Virgin. Her patronage of the Discalced ultimately created friction with the bishop of Grenoble, who—acting out of his own authority to oversee spiritual matters and the education formation of the clergy in his diocese—reshaped the

management of the house by seizing control of its operation, and by stripping the Marquise of her rights to speak to the spiritual direction of L'Osier.

This study concludes that in sixteenth and seventeenth century France, the Augustinian family expressed religious nuances in their ministry in the Franco-Italian frontier. Augustinian ministry was shaped by the forces of renaissance Humanism, the Counter-Reformation, and dynastic rivalries stemming from state building. The Augustinians contribute to the social, political, and religious change that transformed Europe into the early modern period.

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ADL - Archives Départementales de l'Ain (Bourg-en-Bresse)
ADR - Archives Départementales du Rhône (Lyon)
AML - Archives Municipales de Lyon (Lyon)
AN - Archives Nationales (Paris)

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