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**Representations of the Monarchy and Peace-Making  
in the Royal Tour of France (1564-1566)**

**By**

**Linda Ann Briggs**

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree  
of Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of Warwick, Department of History

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## **Declaration**

This thesis is the candidate's own work. It has not been submitted for a degree at any other university. No part of the thesis has been published by the author.

## Abstract

In January 1564, Charles IX and Catherine de Médicis embarked on a two-year progress around France. Their motivation was to confirm the authority of the young king and to enforce the Edict of Amboise, which compelled his subjects to show religious toleration following the civil war of 1562-1563. Royal entries were a principal medium through which city councils, on behalf of the people, communicated their views to Charles. As he walked in procession through urban centres, the king was presented with specially-created triumphal arches, paintings and recitals. The imagery in these scenes, which could be illusory or clear-cut, is invaluable when it comes to understanding the *interbellum* of 1563-1567.

This thesis examines the functions and artistic content of these ceremonies, particularly in Troyes, Lyon and Toulouse, in order to reveal how Charles was perceived as a monarch and whether the edict was well-received. The work draws on festival books that detail the scenes, which hitherto have been an untapped resource, and emblem books to elucidate the contemporary meaning behind the images. City council records, local memoirs and correspondence from figures at court have been used to reconstruct the local and national contexts in which the entries were made.

This research demonstrates that Charles was viewed as the divinely-chosen ruler to whom complete obedience was owed, but many people had more respect for the office than for Charles himself. They feared he was too young and inexperienced to rule, and this impacted badly on the Edict of Amboise. The Crown had hoped for a peaceful resolution to the conflict and intended the edict as a temporary measure until the heretics returned to the Church or Charles matured into a more inspiring king. Yet the edict was too intolerable to Catholics and Huguenots, particularly among local officials who often obstructed its enforcement, and so peace could not be maintained, even if it was the will of the king.

## Abbreviations

AM Lyon	Archives municipales de Lyon
AM Toulouse	Archives municipales de Toulouse
AM Troyes	Archives municipales de Troyes
AN	Archives nationales
BML	Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon
BMT	Bibliothèque municipale de Toulouse
BN	Bibliothèque nationale de France
CSP	Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series of the Reign of Elizabeth I
LCM	Lettres de Catherine de Médicis
P&P	Past & Present
SCJ	Sixteenth Century Journal

Quotations have been given with the original spelling, although I have added a few accents and the letters i, j, u, v and y have been changed where appropriate for the sake of clarity. Contractions marked in the original text have been expanded. All translations, except where otherwise stated, are my own. Translations from the Bible are taken from the King James Version. The names of individuals have been given in their French form.

Before 1564, all years in France changed on Easter Sunday rather than 1 January. All dates given in this work conform to the new calendar.

A league is roughly the equivalent of two-and-a-half miles.

# Introduction

After Charles IX had made his royal entry into Lyon in June 1564, an official account was produced to mark the occasion. Most pages were devoted to descriptions of the festivities witnessed, but a brief preface set the scene for the circumstances surrounding the king's arrival:

Après que le Dieu tout bon & pitoyable eut regardé d'un œil paternel sa France desolée, luy envoyant repos de ses troubles, calamitez, & guerres civiles, qui l'avoye[n]t presque reduite à neant: il suscita une vertu & magnanimité sage, & chenüe au cœur de nostre Roy Treschrestien, pour ranger ses subjectz en ordre politicq, et les conserver en paix heureuse.<sup>1</sup>

This passage attempted to capture the present mood of both the monarch and his subjects. They looked across a kingdom that had been devastated by several years of intense political and religious instability, and Charles was now determined to redress the balance.

The earliest years of his reign had not been easy.<sup>2</sup> He had come to the throne in 1560 at the age of ten through an unfortunate series of events that saw his father Henri II (r. 1547-1559) die in his prime in a jousting accident, and his older brother François II (r. 1559-1560) die at sixteen from an ear infection. Rival factions at court, accustomed to submitting to the dominant personalities of adult kings like Charles's

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<sup>1</sup> 'After God in all his goodness and mercy had cast a paternal eye over desolate France, sending repose from the troubles, calamities and civil wars that had almost reduced it to ruin, he evoked virtue, wisdom, magnanimity and maturity in the heart of our Most Christian King, so that he might impose political order on his subjects and preserve them in fortunate peace.' Anonymous, *Discours de l'entree de tresillustre, trespuissant, treschrestien, et tresvictorieux Prince Charles de Valois neuvième de ce nom Roy de France en sa tres renommée et fameuse ville de Lyon, le treizième iour de Iuin, M. D. LXIII. Avec la declaration des arcz triomphans, et autres magnifiques figures et portraits* (Paris: M. Breuille, 1564), fol. 2r.

<sup>2</sup> The best overviews of this period are Janine Garrisson, *A History of Sixteenth-Century France, 1483-1598: Renaissance, Reformation and Rebellion* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1995); R.J. Knecht, *The Rise and Fall of Renaissance France: 1483-1610* (London: Fontana Press, 1996); and J.H.M. Salmon, *Society in Crisis: France in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1979).

grandfather François I<sup>er</sup> (r. 1515-1547) and Henri II, supposed that a power vacuum would emerge with Charles's accession and moved to take advantage of this. The Guise family in particular sought to replicate with Charles the influence they had held over François II in his short reign.<sup>3</sup>

At the same time, the religious troubles that had been brewing in France for decades finally reached breaking point. Martin Luther's ideas had infiltrated the country in the 1520s, principally garnering the attention of intellectuals like Guillaume Farel and the *Cercle de Meaux*. The Huguenot community had then grown steadily across all echelons of society despite legislation such as the Edict of Fontainebleau (1540) proscribing their existence.<sup>4</sup> Conversions to Protestantism increased dramatically from 1555-1560, when Frenchmen who had fled to Geneva to train with the Company of Pastors returned in force to evangelize their compatriots.<sup>5</sup> As membership of the new faith swelled, Huguenots gained the confidence to demand what they viewed as their indisputable rights, such as freedom of worship. Catholics felt ever more threatened, knowing that heresy was both a sin that would provoke the wrath of God and a potential source of upheaval for the established religious and political order.

François I<sup>er</sup>, although a great advocate of Christian Humanism, had roundly and violently condemned heresy, as had Henri II. François II had been placed under immense pressure by the Guise faction to continue in the same vein. Charles now had the power to address the religious question and, as his views on the issue were unknown at his accession, both sides of the faith divide pushed him to lean toward

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<sup>3</sup> Stuart Carroll, *Noble Power during the French Wars of Religion: The Guise Affinity and the Catholic Cause in Normandy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 89-115.

<sup>4</sup> E. William Monter, *Judging the French Reformation: Heresy Trials by Sixteenth-Century Parlements* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 83-115.

<sup>5</sup> Robert M. Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion in France: 1555-1563* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2007).

their cause. François, duc de Guise, led the charge for the Catholics, while the prince de Condé did so for the Protestants. The young king had little time to seek resolution before France became engulfed in religious violence.

Civil war broke out in April 1562, sparked by the massacre at Vassy, in which the duc de Guise and his men stumbled upon several hundred Huguenots holding a service in a barn and put them to the sword. To guarantee their own safety, Huguenots across France moved to seize political and military command of the cities. Although most coups took place under cover of darkness, Catholics put up fierce resistance and streets turned into theatres of war. Churches were stripped of their treasures and razed in uncontrolled bursts of iconoclasm, while enemies murdered each other in combat as well as in their homes and beds.

Charles found it difficult to bring the excesses of either side under control, and the sedition of the Huguenots in particular demonstrated that his authority was weakened by his minority. In a letter to monsieur de Maugiron on 11 May 1562, he wrote of his resolve to claim the obedience due to him and to purge the country of all rebels who acted against his honour and authority, exhorting Maugiron to take action ‘regardant seulement la consi[d]eration de ma couronne et Reputacion’.<sup>6</sup>

Most cities were reclaimed by the Catholics amid great bloodshed, but resentment from these coups crippled confessional relations. Catholics were incensed by the impudence of the Huguenots, specifically their attempt to force their heresy upon others and their attack on the sanctity of local political institutions. Huguenots felt that they had been unjustly foiled and despised the Catholics for perpetuating

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<sup>6</sup> ‘Regarding only the consideration of my crown and reputation.’ Archives municipales de Lyon (AM Lyon), AA24, fol. 16r.

their false faith. It is little wonder that when the conflict ostensibly ceased serious disturbances continued to occur throughout the kingdom.<sup>7</sup>

In an attempt to stem civil unrest, several measures were taken. The Crown issued the Edict of Amboise on 19 March 1563, which was designed to give limited toleration to the Huguenots.<sup>8</sup> Upon the advice of his mother and regent Catherine de Médicis, Charles declared his majority in August 1563, in the hope that his subjects would look past his age and adhere to his rule as they would to that of an adult king. Yet the edict proved unpopular with many provincial courts and city councils. Charles was forced to dispatch commissioners throughout France to negotiate with local authorities for its acceptance. When faced with such widespread division, he and his mother decided that the best way to heal the kingdom's wounds was to embark on an extended progress.

This was common practice for French monarchs; the court was historically peripatetic, and both François I<sup>er</sup> and Henri II had made lengthy tours of the country.<sup>9</sup> Public ritual played a major role in these tours, as both monarch and subject understood that direct communication fostered unanimity and reinforced bonds of fidelity. Indeed, French kings were said to be more accessible than the rulers of any other nation, with the Venetian ambassador Michel Suriano reporting in 1562 that: '[[I]l re di Francia è tanto domestico con li suoi sudditi che gli ha tutti per compagni; e non è mai escluso nessuno dalla sua presenza... E questa tanta domestichezza,

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<sup>7</sup> For brief accounts of each phase of the civil wars, see Mack P. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) and R.J. Knecht, *The French Wars of Religion 1559-1598* (Harlow, England and New York: Pearson Education Ltd, 2010).

<sup>8</sup> The Huguenots had already been granted rights to worship in January 1562, but these were modified in March 1563. See chapter three, pp. 157-8; N.M. Sutherland, *The Huguenot Struggle for Recognition* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980), pp. 356-7.

<sup>9</sup> R.J. Knecht, *Francis I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 92-6; Denise Gluck, 'Les entrées provinciales de Henri II', *L'Information d'histoire de l'art*, vol. 10 (1965), pp. 215-8.

sebbene fa la nazione insolente e presuntuosa, la fa però più amorevole, devota, e fedele verso il suo principe'.<sup>10</sup>

Charles expected to hear the petitions of his people in each region, in addition to collaborating with local officials to see their concerns addressed and the Edict of Amboise enforced. The most indispensable part of the tour, however, was the chance to make a series of spectacular royal entries. It was through this that he hoped to accomplish his two aims: to establish his authority as king, and to instil confessional toleration throughout France.

These royal entries form the basis of this thesis. Each has been scrutinized to uncover its functions, structures and artistic content, because the theatrical and musical performances, speeches, and ostentatious civic decoration created for these occasions provide a unique window into the political and religious condition of France in the years immediately following the first civil war. The imagery used demonstrates how Charles IX was perceived as a monarch, as well as giving a clear indication of local confessional identities and whether the Edict of Amboise was well received. By looking at these two themes of monarchy and peace in these ceremonies, particularly in the important cities of Lyon, Toulouse, and Troyes, this thesis determines how much power Charles possessed and how far his will was accepted in this time of political and religious division.

In order to understand the significance of royal entries, it is necessary first of all to illustrate the format of the ceremony.<sup>11</sup> They were a formulaic affair across the

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<sup>10</sup> 'The king of France is so familiar with his subjects that he treats them all as if they were his companions. No one is excluded from his presence... Such is the familiarity that, even though it makes the people insolent and conceited, they are rendered the most affectionate, devoted and loyal toward their prince.' M.N. Tommaseo, *Relations des Ambassadeurs Vénitiens sur les Affaires des France au XVIe Siècle* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1838, 2 vols), vol. 1, p. 508. See Marc H. Smith, 'Familiarité française et politesse italienne au XVIe siècle. Les diplomates italiens juges des manières de la cour des Valois', *Revue d'Histoire diplomatique*, no. 3-4 (1988), p. 193-232, which also makes use of this account by Suriano.



sixteenth century: the king and court were met by a delegation of officials a few leagues from the city where he received a harangue of welcome and responded by renewing local privileges in return for obedience. After watching notable townspeople march in procession, he followed them into the city, passing major landmarks such as churches and the *hôtel de ville*. At each place, the king encountered architectural, dramatic and painted scenes. There was no universal template for this part of the ceremony, so it was possible for artists and architects, under instruction from city officials, to evoke the customary classical and biblical imagery in myriad creative ways. The procession concluded at the cathedral or principal church in the city, where the king heard the *Te Deum*.

Ceremonial entries carried great importance in early modern society. Ritual, in its many forms, was an inherent part of everyday life and functioned as a medium of communication. Messages ingrained in the performance, for instance that the occasion called for the veneration of the Host (Corpus Christi processions) or supplication for God's protection (Rogation parades), were commonly understood, due to fact that the rites formed an unspoken language in which all people shared and evoked an emotional response that often unified individuals. The substance of what was conveyed depended on the ritual, and its meaning changed and developed with use.<sup>12</sup> The French monarchy had, for centuries, revelled in all forms of ceremonial,

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<sup>11</sup> Entries gradually changed from the mediæval format, in which the king was simply received at the city gates to exchange vows before being led to his lodgings, to a more ornate style. See Bernard Guenée and Françoise Lehoux, *Les Entrées Royales Françaises de 1328 à 1515* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1968); Lawrence M. Bryant, *Ritual, Ceremony and Changing Monarchy in France, 1350-1789* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010); Josèphe Chartrou, *Les Entrées Solennelles et Triomphales à la Renaissance (1484-1551)* (Paris: les Presses universitaires, 1928); and Roy Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1986).

<sup>12</sup> See particularly the 'thick description' in Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), pp. 3-30; Bruce Lincoln, *Discourse and the Construction of Society: Comparative Studies of Myth, Ritual, and Classification* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1995); Roger Chartier, *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations*, translated

notably coronations, funerals and *lits de justice*.<sup>13</sup> Among these, entries were highly valued, because they occasioned direct communication between the king and the greatest number of people, and in a way that both literate and illiterate subjects could comprehend. Moreover, it gave the people satisfaction that they had participated in the governance of their country.

Royal entries had many, often complex, functions that were to be enacted and fulfilled by both the monarch and his subjects. Primarily and officially, the ceremony was a public affirmation of the good relationship that the king and the local populace intended to enjoy during his reign. Citizens looked on as their representatives entered into a contract with the king, offering him the obedience of the city in return for his protection and the renewal of their privileges. This was brought into being through a prolonged liminality, in which his arrival signalled the introduction of the contract, the exchanges of vows caused it to be enacted, and the handing over of keys to the city sealed the deed.<sup>14</sup>

On another level, the entry was paramount in setting the tone for the rest of the king's reign. They were usually held within a few years of accession and often constituted the only visit made by that particular monarch to the city, so it was the

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by Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993); Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 2-20.

<sup>13</sup> Richard A. Jackson, *Vive le roi!: A History of the French Coronation from Charles V to Charles X* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984); Ralph E. Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1960); Sarah Hanley, *The lit de justice of the Kings of France: Constitutional Ideology in Legend, Ritual, and Discourse* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983); and Elizabeth A.R. Brown and Richard C. Famiglietti, *The Lit de justice: Semantics, Ceremonial, and the Parlement of Paris, 1300-1600* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1994).

<sup>14</sup> The process was articulated in a contemporary account of Charles's entry into Narbonne in January 1565: '*[S]ieu[r] Juge fit au Roy une belle et docte harangue au nom de toute la justice, contenant sommairement que ceux auxquels Sa Majesté avoit commis l'exercice de la justice en la ville de Narbonne luy venoient faire l'hommage qu'ils devoient, confessant tenir leur autorité, leurs biens et leurs vies de sa libéralité et munificence... et pour la fin supplie Sa Majesté les vouloir tenir en sa protection et sauvegarde, les confirmer et entretenir en leurs estats, privilèges et franchises. A laquelle harangue le Roy fit telle reponse: Je vous commande donc d'administrer la justice à mes sujets en telle sorte que vos consciences en soient deschargées et la mienne aussi; quant à vos privilèges et franchises, je les vous garderay.*' Anonymous, 'L'Entrée de Charles IX à Narbonne', in Guillaume Lafont, 'Charles IX et Catherine de Médicis à Narbonne', *Bulletin de la commission archéologique et littéraire de l'arrondissement de Narbonne* (Narbonne: P. Caillard, 1890), pp. 90-1.

one occasion in which the people saw their leader in the flesh. This was an opportunity for the king to show himself as the king he wanted to be. A gracious exchange of vows demonstrated that he was benevolent, a just lawgiver, and the ultimate authority in the kingdom. Clothing and gesture were equally important since, for example, armour and military posture implied that the king meant to wage war, whereas the latest fashions and paternal glances signalled that he hoped to rule in prosperity and peace. For instance, Louis XII (r. 1498-1515) entered Genoa wearing a full suit of armour shortly after its rebellion against French occupation failed in 1506, while all French kings up to the seventeenth century entered Paris in armour to demonstrate their authority to the Parlement of Paris.<sup>15</sup> Charles entered Lyon wearing an outfit of fine green velvet, enriched with silver and gold embroidery and a multitude of coloured precious stones, which was understood as '[un] signe evident de sa florissante et juvenile vertu'.<sup>16</sup>

Furthermore, seeing the monarch in person was necessary to make the abstract of the Crown real. Each monarch had two bodies, a human one that was subject to defect and eventually died, and a political one that encompassed the immutable and infallible office of the king.<sup>17</sup> His natural body was inextricably linked to the body politic, to the point that when crowds saw him physically, they were aware that he was both the current office holder and the living representation of centuries of sacred monarchical rule. Through this association, the new king was viewed as legitimate.

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<sup>15</sup> Robert Knecht, *The Valois: Kings of France, 1328-1589* (Cornwall: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), p. 129; Lawrence M. Bryant, *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony* (Geneva: Libraire Droz, 1986), p. 105.

<sup>16</sup> '[An] evident sign of his flourishing and of his youthful virtue.' *Discours... tresillustre... Lyon*, fol. 8v. In Troyes, the king was similarly attired, being '*mo[n]té sur un beau Cheval accoustré de bleu & drap, d'arge[n]t... sur son chapeau estoit une fort belle plume blanche* [mounted on a horse, in blue and gold cloth, wearing a hat with a white feather]'. Jean Passerat, *Chant d'allégresse pour l'entrée de très chrétien prince Charles IXe de ce nom, roi de France, en sa ville de Troie*. (Paris: G. Buon, 1564), fol. 15r. This printed account can also be found in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BN), MS.FR. 887, fols 81r-88r.

<sup>17</sup> Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediæval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 7-23.

Royal entries gathered together individuals from across the social hierarchy – from the king, to nobles, to merchants, to manual workers – and this further allowed for meditations on the State. The ceremony evoked the idea of *corpus mysticum*, in which society or even a group of individuals was described using organological language to make up a ‘mystical body’. Saint Paul had written that all members of the Catholic Church formed a body, of which Christ was the head.<sup>18</sup> This was logically extended to capture the dynamics of a political environment, so that the populace in a given kingdom formed the body and the king the head.<sup>19</sup> When the king appeared in his royal entry, he demonstrated his position as the head by being the focus of all the attention and leading the procession through the city. The officials who attended him, the *enfants de la ville* and actors who performed for him, and crowds that cheered for him each played a part in the ceremony, as they also played a part in the functioning of the kingdom. Thus, society as a whole was represented in a single ritual.

There were distinct religious elements in the entry that embellished this unspoken link between the king and Christ through the idea of *corpus mysticum*. The very arrival of the monarch on horseback replicated Christ’s journey into Jerusalem on an ass: ‘Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold, thy King cometh unto thee: he is just, and having salvation; lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass.’<sup>20</sup> The suspension of a canopy over the king as he marched through the city was more commonly associated with the annual Corpus Christi procession, in which the Eucharistic wafer was similarly

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<sup>18</sup> ‘For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body: so also is Christ.’ 1 Corinthians 12:12.

<sup>19</sup> The metaphor could be extended to include even a marriage, in which the husband was the head of the wife and the wife the body of the husband. Kantorowicz, *King’s Two Bodies*, p. 195; 216.

<sup>20</sup> Zechariah 9:9. Quoted in Sergio Bertelli, *The King’s Body: Sacred Rituals of Power in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), p. 70.

covered.<sup>21</sup> This shared practice led the body of the king to become allied to the body of Christ. That people had made this connection was evident from the fact that groups vied for position in the procession. High ranking nobles and local officials surrounded the monarch, as the closer one was to the king, the more elevated in status one was deemed to be. In Corpus Christi processions, guilds, parishes and religious orders frequently quarrelled over their position in relation to the Host, as proximity correlated with holiness.<sup>22</sup> Through these parallels with the sacred, the king was further legitimized as a ruler.

Yet entries were not simply a tool of transmission for the monarch; they provoked a discourse between king and subject. As the ceremonies evolved from simple contractual rituals into an artistically elaborate celebration that lasted for several hours, local authorities came to employ entries as a means of expressing their political concerns.<sup>23</sup> As a medium, visual representation had a strong emotional and social currency.<sup>24</sup> Imagery was thus used in the entry to reflect the thoughts of the local populace, with officials demonstrating on behalf of their people how the king was viewed and what was expected of him. They were certainly at liberty to commission entry programmes that reflected particular messages, as the cities were expected to pay the costs incurred. Councils usually raised the money through an extraordinary tax, personal loans levied by members and credit advanced by local governors and bishops.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Bryant, *King and City*, pp. 101-4.

<sup>22</sup> Mervyn James, 'Ritual, Drama and Social Body in the Late Medieval Town', *Past and Present*, vol. 98 (1983), pp. 18-9; Charles Zika, 'Hosts, Processions and Pilgrimages: Controlling the Sacred in Fifteenth-century Germany', *P&P*, vol. 118 (1988), p. 40.

<sup>23</sup> Guenée and Lehoux, *Entrées Royales Françaises*, pp. 9-26.

<sup>24</sup> David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

<sup>25</sup> For details of the design process and the money spent by local councils, see Éracle Cartault, *Entrée du roy Charles IX et de la reine mère Catherine de Médicis en la ville de Sens, le 15 mars 1563, relation inédite, extraite du manuscrit d'Éracle Cartault, chanoine du diocèse, et des délibérations et actes de l'Hôtel de ville de Sens*, reprinted and edited by Henri Monceaux (Auxerre: Georges Rouille,

However, as these occasions were supposed to honour the king, these messages could not give cause for offence. Often issues were raised in a subtle manner, so that the king was made aware that a problem of a certain nature existed, but specifics would be revealed in private audiences with officials. In Charles's entries, for example, the issue of his youth and its potential political consequences was often raised. The most common method of communication was to depict and verbally laud the king as the ideal monarch, drawing parallels to the greatest leaders in history. In doing so, the people presented him as the ruler he was expected to be, calling him to embody these virtues if he had not already done so. This was known as the *speculum principis*, or Mirror of Princes. Striking the right balance between respectful and demanding was dependent on how well the messages were understood.

A variety of media were used to communicate these ideas to the monarch. Emphasis was placed on the visual, realized in different forms including sculptures and paintings (often situated within triumphal arches or on top of pedestals), dramatic scenes (in both still life and with sound and movement), and speeches designed to create imagery in the mind's eye. Oral communication tended to accompany these images, although there were instances (usually harangues delivered by officials) in which they stood alone. Similarly, inscriptions appeared throughout in French and Latin, with a few examples in Greek, but very seldom was the written word presented on its own.

Images present a particular set of problems for historians.<sup>26</sup> They are far more ambiguous than most texts, making it necessary to address how their meaning could possibly have been understood by the king. Take, for example, this scene from

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1882; Paris: Claudin, Champion, 1882); and Francisque Habasque, *La Cour de France à Agen 1564-1565* (Agen: Virgile Lenthéric, 1878), pp. 25-7; 48-51. For deliberations on the provision of gifts, see L'Abbé Barrere, 'Entrée de Charles IX à Condom; don à la reine mère de quatre colonnes de Jaspe', *Bulletin du Comité de la langue, de l'histoire et des arts de la France*, 1852-53, pp. 476-7.

<sup>26</sup> Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001).

Charles's entry into Avignon in September 1564: a large canvas bore a star, which was painted with ocean waves, and in front of it sat a young man driving a fish-shaped chariot pulled by two black horses. The young man passed a trident to the king and swore that he would be able to cross the water without danger and one day rule over Africa and Asia.<sup>27</sup> How was this figure (Neptune) identified in the first place, and having been identified, how was the meaning of the image (that Charles was destined to rule the world) discerned?

Any interpretation should follow the three steps laid out by Erwin Panofsky: firstly, in the pre-iconographical description, objects and events in their basic form are recognized (e.g. men and a table); secondly, in the iconographical analysis, the conventional meaning becomes clear (i.e. that this is the Last Supper); thirdly, in the iconographical interpretation, the intrinsic meaning is reached (e.g. the reasoning behind its form), which reveals the attitudes of the age and place.<sup>28</sup> Panofsky argued that images cannot be understood without knowledge of the culture in which they were created. An ancient Greek could witness a modern Englishman remove his hat, but not make the connection that this was an act of politeness rooted in mediæval chivalry, because he did not have experience of that culture.<sup>29</sup>

This explains why Charles was expected to understand the messages embedded in the imagery. He shared in a cultural symbolism that was specific to his contemporaries, or as Michael Baxandall has called it, 'the period eye'.<sup>30</sup> Baxandall posited that the brain makes comparisons between what the eye has presently

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<sup>27</sup> Anonymous, *Narration de l'entree du Roy Charles IX. en la cité d'Avignon & du bon recueil que messieurs de la ville luy ont fait. Ensemble le recit de l'honorable present que messieurs d'Avignon feirent au Roy, & de la docte harangue faicte par monsieur l'Assesseur*, edited by Pierre Roux (Avignon: Pierre Roux, 1564), fols 4r-4v.

<sup>28</sup> This is the famous example used in Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (1st edition 1939; reprinted London and New York: Icon Editions, 1972), pp. 5-8.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

<sup>30</sup> Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1988).

captured and a catalogue of images gained by experience, in order to uncover the form and meaning of the image. Thus, an individual from the sixteenth century would interpret Domenico Veneziano's *The Annunciation* (1445) differently from someone in the twenty-first century, as each was exposed to their own set of cultural references and values.<sup>31</sup> Charles would have recognized Saint Paul with his book and Hector with his helmet, as both the Church and Humanism were profoundly influential in sixteenth-century life. He had been raised in the faith and taught by Humanist tutors, but even the illiterate attending his procession would have found some aspects of the entry comprehensible.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, entries were designed by local humanists and officials who shared in this culture; they presented, for the most part, images that they knew the king could recognize and decipher.

There remains the problem, however, that images are polysemic; even individuals who share a cultural symbolism may draw slightly different conclusions about the conventional meaning or, more problematically, the intrinsic meaning. This happens even when images were tightly controlled by the creator, for instance, as preparations were underway for the entry into Nîmes in December 1564. Anne de Montmorency, the Constable of France, heard that the local council planned to cover the triumphal arches in white and yellow and he concluded that shunning the colours of the king (blue, white and crimson) was born out of malice. On the contrary, the council had chosen these colours to represent the gold and silver of the intertwined

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<sup>31</sup> Baxandall uses this painting to illustrate that knowledge of the separate stages in the Annuciation was more exact in the Renaissance than it is now. *Ibid.*, p. 29, p. 36.

<sup>32</sup> For the existence of a shared and transmitted culture between the upper and lower echelons of society, see Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Scholar Press, 1994), pp. 58-64.



columns in Charles's device and were dismayed at the mix-up. As a conciliatory measure, the council voted to change the plans to show only the colours of the king.<sup>33</sup>

Images, whether they are to be read by the contemporary or the historian, usually need to be accompanied by oral or written explanation. Both measures were in place during the royal tour to ensure that Charles never misinterpreted the official message in each scene. He was often attended by the leading local humanist or a prominent official who had contributed to the programme, whose role it was to introduce him to the scenes and explain their significance. This was particularly important in cities where officials had chosen to create an unusually esoteric entry that went beyond the knowledge of the king, in order to demonstrate the pre-eminence of their scholars and the skill of the combined organizers, who breathed life into and drew contemporary parallels with little-known figures and stories.

Inscriptions near paintings and sculptures, as well as verses spoken in character by the actors in live scenes provided further clarification. Unfortunately, the input of the humanists and officials was not preserved for posterity, most likely because the information presented was ad-libbed and heard only by the king. Inscriptions and speeches have, however, been included in festival accounts, making the historian's task of uncovering the intrinsic meaning of the imagery much less problematic than drawing conclusions solely from putting themselves in the cultural mindset of the creators and viewers.

The existence of implicit messages proposes one final problem. In addition to communicating acceptable views on how the king should rule and reasonable demands such as the renewal of privileges, many images had a further layer of

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<sup>33</sup> A. de Lamothe, 'Délibération des Consuls de Nîmes au sujet de l'entrée de Charles IX dans ladite ville (1564)', *Revue des Sociétés Savantes*, (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1872), pp. 36-7; Léon Ménard, *Histoire civile, ecclésiastique et littéraire de la ville de Nîmes avec les preuves*. (Paris: H. D. Chaubert, 1754, 7 vols), vol. 5, pp. 398-9.

intrinsic meaning that was consciously added but not formally disclosed. These were usually sentiments that local councils did not feel they could express because the king might take offence and punish the city for its candour. In the entries of Charles, these sentiments ranged from demonstrations of independent political spirit to disagreements with his religious policies. The benefit of adding this layer, yet merely alluding to it, was that the monarch could read the message but be unable to say for certain whether the creators had intended it; if the layer was executed well, it could be intangible or seem almost imagined. Such practice was ubiquitous during the royal tour, and this is the most difficult element of understanding royal entries. When the intention cannot be verified, the cultural and historical context in which it was presented has to lead the way to the most likely intrinsic meaning.

This is both the beauty and the curse of royal entry programmes. Images can host a multitude of meanings, and even the written and spoken word can lend themselves more to formality than sincerity. Yet this relative uncertainty meant that the communication of ideas could be successful for both monarch and subject. From the tiers of meaning, the king identified the official message and took pleasure in the allusions that glorified him, while generally ignoring those that seemed subversive. The people, on the other hand, were able to express their deepest concerns without fear of retribution.

Royal entries were thus complex rituals of exchange, but prove to be endlessly fruitful as a window into a bygone age. And yet, the programmes of entries performed during the royal tour and even the two-year progress itself have been largely neglected by historians. This is borne out of a lack of interest or initiative until recent decades in two different areas of research: early modern festivals and peace studies.

Ceremonial entries received little notable attention from historians prior to the twentieth century. In France, for example, royal and ducal entries dating back to Louis VII (r. 1137-1180) were documented and published by Théodore Godefroy in *Le Ceremonial François* (1649). His motivation in producing the work was to prove that royal celebrations were a noble and important tradition of the French monarchy, and to encourage the practice to continue.<sup>34</sup> Following this near-contemporary study, there was a dearth until the appearance of Paul Le Vayer's *Les Entrées Solennelles à Paris des Rois et Reines de France* (1896), which provided a bibliographical summary of primary materials available on specific ceremonies.<sup>35</sup> The first work to present any analysis of royal entries was the doctoral thesis 'Les Entrées Solennelles et Triomphales à la Renaissance (1484-1551)' of Josèphe Chartrou in 1928. It traced the evolution of royal entries from their mediæval incarnation, in which Biblical imagery predominated, to the sixteenth century when Italian fashions influenced the development of a more classical and triumphal tone. It was published the same year and remains a fantastic resource for historians.<sup>36</sup>

Interest in royal entries burgeoned with the publication of Jean Jacquot and Élie Konigson's edited collection, *Les Fêtes De La Renaissance* (3 volumes, 1956-1975). This work was ground-breaking as it assembled over ninety-five papers from eighty-four leading international scholars, who discussed the functions and artistic contents of numerous celebrations (primarily royal entries, court magnificences and

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<sup>34</sup> Théodore Godefroy, *Le Ceremonial François, Tome Premier: Contenant les Ceremonies Observées en France aux Sacres & Couronnemens de Roys, & Reynes, & de quelques anciens Ducs de Normandie, d'Aquitaine, & de Bretagne: Comme aussi à leurs Entrées solennelles: Et à celles d'aucuns Dauphins, Gouverneurs de Prouinces, & autres Seigneurs, dans diuerses Villes du Royaume. [Avec] Le Ceremonial François, Tome Second: Contenant les Ceremonies Observées en France aux Mariages & Festins : Naissances, & Baptesmes : Maioritez de Roys : Estats Generaux & Particuliers : Assemblées des Notables : Licts de Iustice : Hommages, Sermons de Fidelité : Receptions & Entreueuës : Sermons pour l'observation des Traitez : Processions & Te Deums*. (Paris: Chez Sebastien Cramoisy et Gabriel Cramoisy, 1649, 2 vols).

<sup>35</sup> Paul Le Vayer, *Les Entrées Solennelles à Paris des Rois et Reines de France, des Souverains et Princes Étrangers, Ambassadeurs, etc.: Bibliographie Sommaire* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1896).

<sup>36</sup> Chartrou, *Entrées Solennelles*.

ballets), in reference to several European countries across the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is still regarded as one of the finest works in this field, particularly in relation to the ceremonies of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V.<sup>37</sup> The rise of cultural history in the 1960s, with its emphasis on the use of non-traditional source material, marked a turning point. More value was placed on the architecture, performances and images that appeared in festivals, and interdisciplinarity became something to strive for rather than ridicule. Developments in the theory of ritual, notably from Clifford Geertz and Victor Turner, were equally important to growing interest in and respect for the field.<sup>38</sup>

The drawback of these studies was that for decades royal entries were condemned to be studied only as part of the canon of early modern festivals. Roy Strong made some excellent, but general, observations on entries in *Splendour at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and Illusion* (1973) and *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650* (1986).<sup>39</sup> More recent studies tend to be grouped into edited collections, the most prominent among these being *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe* (2004).<sup>40</sup> This format has great value in terms of providing introductions to different ceremonies and comparative studies across several countries, but it has meant that detailed accounts of individual and

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<sup>37</sup> Jean Jacquot and Élie Konigson (eds), *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1956-1975, 3 vols).

<sup>38</sup> Geertz, *Interpretation of Cultures*; Turner, *Ritual Process*.

<sup>39</sup> Roy Strong, *Splendour at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and Illusion* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson Limited, 1973); Strong, *Art and Power*.

<sup>40</sup> J.R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Margaret Shewring (eds), *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: MHRA in conjunction with Ashgate, 2004). Other notable works are: Pierre Béhar and Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly (eds), *Spectaculum Europaeum: Theatre and Spectacle in Europe 1580-1750* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1999); Barbara Wisch and Susan Scott Munshower (eds), *"All the world's a stage....": Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque* (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990, 2 vols); J.R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (eds), *Italian Renaissance Festivals and their European Influence* (Lewiston; Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992); J.R. Mulryne and Elizabeth Goldring (eds), *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics, and Performance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); Marie-France Wagner and Catherine Mavrikakis (eds), *Le Spectacle Politique Dans La Rue Du XVIe au XXIe siècle: Evènements, rituels et récits* (Quebec: Lux, 2005).

grouped entries are neglected. In recent years, more publications, such as *Les jeux de l'échange: entrées solennelles et divertissements du XVe au XVIIe siècle* (2007), have focused solely on royal entries, but again this scholarship is largely confined to edited collections and favours scope over depth.<sup>41</sup>

However, this is commensurate with the growth of interest in the field. There have been some notable exceptions to the anthology format, including Lawrence Bryant's *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony* (1986), Michael Wintroub's *A Savage Mirror* (2006) and several reprints of festival accounts, which include learned introductions.<sup>42</sup> Nonetheless, there remain numerous untouched entries, and certainly too few historians dedicated to royal entry scholarship to start meaningful dialogues over any but the most well-known occasions. This will no doubt change in the near future, given the popularity that the subject has enjoyed in the last ten years, but for now there are huge gaps in the scholarship.

This accounts for the paucity of published works on the royal tour and its entries. Charles made 108 ceremonial entries in two years, for which documentation is scattered in departmental and municipal archives across France. Researching and analysing these occasions may seem like an insurmountable task, because they are

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<sup>41</sup> Marie-France Wagner, Louise Frappier and Claire Latraverse (eds), *Les jeux de l'échange: entrées solennelles et divertissements du XVe au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Champion, 2007). Other notable works are: Marie-France Wagner and Daniel Vaillancourt (eds), *Le Roi Dans La Ville: Anthologie des Entrées Royales Dans Les Villes Françaises de Province, 1615-1660* (Paris: Champion, 2001); John Nassichuk (ed.), *Vérité et fiction dans les entrées solennelles à la Renaissance et à l'Age classique* (Quebec: Les Presses de l'Université de Laval, 2009); M.-C. Canova-Green, J. Andrews, and M.-F. Wagner (eds.), *Writing Royal Entries in Early Modern Europe* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

<sup>42</sup> Bryant, *King and City*; Michael Wintroub, *A Savage Mirror: Power, Identity, and Knowledge in Early Modern France* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2006); Anonymous, *L'Entrée de Henri II à Rouen 1550*, introduced by Margaret M. McGowan (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum; New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1970); Simon Bouquet, *La Loyeuse Entrée de Charles IX, Roy de France, en Paris, 1572*, introduced by Frances Amelia Yates with Olivier Cordoné (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum; New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1976); Anonymous, *The Entry of Henry II into Paris, 16 June 1549*, with an introduction and notes by I.D. MacFarlane (Binghamton, New York: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1992); Maurice Scève, *The Entry of Henri II into Lyon: September 1548*, introduced by Richard Cooper (Tempe, Arizona: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1997).

too many and too rich and it would do them a disservice to study one in isolation. Comparison between the cities is important not only in terms of assessing how different the reactions were to Charles's arrival, but also to see if the passage of time affected entries by the end of the tour. For these reasons, the royal tour cannot be adequately addressed in an edited collection, and ought to be explored in a concentrated and lengthy study.

That is not to say that there have been none to this point. A contemporary account was written by Abel Jouan, who was allegedly a servant in the royal train; his *Recueil et Discovrs du Voyage dv Roy Charles IX* (1566) charted the entire journey, including the exact dates that the court arrived in cities, the distances covered between each place, and other interesting facts such as holy places visited and entries witnessed. It continues to be the first port of call for researchers of this topic.<sup>43</sup> The first modern work was an article by Joseph Le Gras, entitled 'Tour de France de Charles IX' (1931). At only fifty pages, it did little more than denote the reasons for which Charles undertook his progress and recount the most important and notable events that took place.<sup>44</sup>

This was followed in 1937 by the weightier *Catherine de Médicis Présente A Charles IX Son Royaume, 1564-1566* by Pierre Champion.<sup>45</sup> His principal sources were Jouan's account and the correspondence of Catherine de Médicis and ambassadors to the French court. Brief descriptions of entries are recounted, as well as explanations of the recent political and religious turmoil in each location.

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<sup>43</sup> Abel Jouan, *Recueil et Discovrs dv Voyage du Roy Charles IX: De ce nom à present regnant, accompagné des choses dignes de memoire faictes en chacun endroit faisant son dit voyage en ses païs & prouinces de Champaigne, Bourgoigne, Daulphiné, Proue[n]ce, Languedoc, Gascoigne, Baïonne, & plusieurs autres lieux, suyuant son retour depuis son partement de Paris iusques à son retour audit lieu, és anneés Mil cinq cens soixante quatre & soixante cinq*. (Paris: Jean Bonfons, 1566).

<sup>44</sup> Joseph Le Gras, 'Tour de France de Charles IX', *Les Œuvres Libres* 123 (Paris: Fayard, 1931), pp. 329-83.

<sup>45</sup> Pierre Champion, *Catherine de Médicis Présente à Charles IX Son Royaume, 1564-1566* (Paris: B. Grasset, 1937).

However, the book centres on the relationship between the French and Spanish court, arguing that Philip II placed constant pressure on Charles and Catherine to act against the new religion, as well as paying close attention to their activities in the New World. As a result, the meeting of the two courts at Bayonne in June 1565 is situated at the heart of the tour, overshadowing all other ceremonial entries. Essentially, Champion chose to give greater consideration to the international political significance of the progress than to the internal encounters between the king and his public.

A more comprehensive analysis of the royal tour is Alain Boutier *et al*, *Un tour de France royal* (1984).<sup>46</sup> Divided into four parts, it addresses the organisational aspects of the tour, how the court functioned as a political system whilst on the move, the importance and content of the king's ceremonial entries, and the idea that the tour brought the court to face and often cross frontiers (both geographical and political). Its section on entries furnishes a general description of the images used, from which key themes in the public portrayal of Charles are drawn. Unfortunately, this study does not delve deep enough into the rich material offered by festival accounts; a few examples from individual entries are used to support the authors' general conclusions. The authors do, however, enter the caveat that drawing up a systematic inventory of images was beyond their purview.

The remaining accounts of the royal tour are those of Victor Graham and W. McAllister Johnson, *The Royal Tour of France by Charles IX and Catherine de' Medici: Festivals and Entries, 1564-66* (1979), and Pierre-Louis Vaillancourt, *Les Entrées Solennelles Pendant Le Règne De Charles IX* (2007).<sup>47</sup> Neither approaches

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<sup>46</sup> Jean Boutier, Alain Dewerpe, Daniel Nordman, *Un tour de France royal : le voyage de Charles IX, (1564-1566)* (Paris: Aubier, 1984).

<sup>47</sup> Victor Graham and W. McAllister Johnson, *The Royal Tour of France by Charles IX and Catherine de' Medici: Festivals and Entries 1564-66* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979); Pierre-Louis

the tour from an analytical perspective, but rather both contain transcriptions of original source material. At the heart of Graham and McAllister Johnson's work is Jouan's account, with twenty-two appendices reflecting nine major entries and two court magnificences. Its introduction does little more than set the progress in its historical context and recount Catherine's magnificences at Fontainebleau and Bayonne.<sup>48</sup> Vaillancourt provides sources on a further six entries in the tour and additional documents on some of the previously addressed nine entries. Both works function as platforms for the further study of entries made in the royal tour, in that they acknowledge there may yet be more sources waiting to be uncovered and make little critique of the documents supplied.<sup>49</sup>

In sum, there are no existing studies that satisfactorily address the questions that this thesis has asked and answered. This is by no means a failing of early modern festival historians. Each phase of the development of royal entry scholarship – from the rise of cultural history, to the anthologies, to the reproductions of primary material – has been essential to bring the field to a point at which a comprehensive study of Charles's entries during the royal tour is possible.

Yet the tour, or most specifically the *interbellum* period, has been neglected from another angle. It is only in recent decades that the history of peace in early modern France has ceased to be eclipsed by the history of war. Instances of violence during the peace were unsurprisingly deemed more noteworthy than weeks or months of typical daily life, and thus have been disproportionately represented in

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Vaillancourt, with Martin Desrosiers, *Les Entrées Solennelles Pendant Le Regne De Charles IX*, (Ottawa; Toronto: Legas, 2007).

<sup>48</sup> For an analytical account of the magnificence at Fontainebleau, see Virginia Scott and Sara Sturm-Maddox, *Performance, Poetry and Politics on the Queen's Day: Catherine de Médicis and Pierre de Ronsard at Fontainebleau* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

<sup>49</sup> Indeed, Graham later discovered the principal account of the entry at Troyes, thought lost, between the folios of an unrelated document in the *Bibliothèque nationale*. It was then reprinted: Victor E. Graham, 'The 1564 Entry of Charles IX into Troyes', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, t. 48, no. 1 (1986), pp. 105-20.



contemporary sources. As Jérémie Foa has noted, less on average is written about the years 1563-1567 and 1570-1572 than the years of direct conflict that surround them in both official documents and local chronicles.<sup>50</sup> Political and military machinations and widespread social unrest were far more complex and frequent in war-time than those experienced in peace-time, and required more space in the pages of history.

Moreover, this focus on war was fuelled in considerable measure by contemporary and later Protestant and Catholic authors, who were keen to point the finger of blame at the opposition to explain why the religious wars had been so bloody and lasted for over thirty years. For instance, the most comprehensive sixteenth-century memoirs of the wars in Troyes were written by Claude Haton, a Catholic priest and close ally of the Guise family, and Nicolas Pithou, a lawyer and leading figure in the Reformed Church in Champagne. Both men concentrated on conflict rather than peaceful co-existence in their accounts and held the other side responsible for the outbreak and perpetuation of unrest.<sup>51</sup> These views have shaped and perhaps even distorted the conclusions of later historians, with many discussing the religious wars without due care to the periods in between, as if each of the conflicts were inevitable.

In the last twenty years, there has been a major move towards uncovering the battle for peace during the interwar periods. This has been prompted in no small measure by a restoration of the reputations of Charles IX and Catherine de Médicis. They have historically been cast as the manipulative mother, who planned the violence of the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre in order to rid the kingdom of

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<sup>50</sup> Jérémie Foa, 'Le tour de la paix: Missions et commissions d'application des édits de pacification sous le règne de Charles IX (1560-1574)', Unpublished Thèse de doctorat, Université Lyon 2, 2008, p. 13.

<sup>51</sup> Claude Haton, *Mémoires de Claude Haton*, edited by Laurent Bourquin *et al*, (Paris: Éditions du Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2001, 4 vols); Nicolas Pithou de Chamgobert, *Chronique de Troyes et de la Champagne Durant les Guerres de Religion (1524-1594)*, *Première édition du manuscrit 698 du fonds DUPUY de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, edited by Pierre-Eugene Leroy (Reims: Presses Universitaires de Reims, 2000, 2 vols).

Huguenots, and the weak-willed son, whose congenital sickliness and fear of his mother made him a figure of derision and pity. The origin of this principally stemmed from the announcement that the Crown intended to meet with Spain at Bayonne. Rumours immediately circulated that the discussion would revolve around how best to eradicate the Reformed in France, and when the massacre occurred in 1572 many declared that it had been plotted since 1565.<sup>52</sup>

Historians repeated the idea that Catherine had always intended to murder the Huguenots, so the possibility that she and Charles had ever sought a bloodless peace was rarely considered. There seemed little point in studying the peacetimes, because they represented lulls or periods for intrigue before the culmination of her plans. Yet revisionist historians, chief among them Nicola Sutherland in *Catherine de Medici and the Ancien Régime* (1966), have cast the queen mother in a more sympathetic light.<sup>53</sup> A consequence of this was that the interwar periods, particularly 1563-1567, took on new significance.

Peace has now become a major focus of historians of the French wars of religion. The role of the Crown in pursuing resolution, particularly its deployment of edict commissioners between 1560 and 1574 to negotiate peaceful terms in divided communities, has been discussed at length and sheds much light on Charles's intentions towards the Reformed.<sup>54</sup> Furthermore, this shift in focus has led to a reassessment of whether co-existence between the two faiths was a state towards which ordinary people, not simply the Crown, strove prior to the Edict of Nantes.

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<sup>52</sup> Boutier et al, *Un tour de France royal*, pp. 64-5.

<sup>53</sup> N. M. Sutherland, *Catherine de Medici and the Ancien Régime* (London: Historical Association, 1966). See chapter one.

<sup>54</sup> Foa, 'Le tour de la paix'; Jérémie Foa, 'Making Peace: The Commissions for Enforcing the Pacification Edicts in the Reign of Charles IX (1560-1574)', *French History*, vol. 18, no. 3 (2004) pp. 256-74; Penny Roberts, 'Religious Pluralism in Practice: The Enforcement of the Edicts of Pacification', in Keith Cameron, Mark Greengrass, Penny Roberts (eds), *The Adventure of Religious Pluralism in Early Modern France: Papers for the Exeter Conference, April 1999* (Bern; Oxford: Peter Lang, 2000), pp. 31-43; and Penny Roberts, *Peace and Authority during the French Religious Wars c.1560-1600* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 51-97.

The most important work in addressing this was Olivier Christin's *La paix de religion: L'autonomisation de la raison politique au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (1997), in which he acknowledged that confessional toleration was attempted and in some cases established not only out of political necessity, but also out of growing support for the idea of religious peace itself.<sup>55</sup> The late 1990s proved particularly fruitful in the production of articles and edited volumes that concentrated on this idea, principal among which were *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation*, edited by Ole P. Grell and Bob Scribner, and *The Adventure of Religious Pluralism in Early Modern France*, edited by Keith Cameron, Mark Greengrass and Penny Roberts.<sup>56</sup> To this must be added the compelling study *Ni Rome ni Genève: Des fidèles entre deux chaires en France au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (2000), by Thierry Wanegffelen, in which he determined that the boundaries between Catholicism and Protestantism were more malleable than previously believed.<sup>57</sup>

The *interbellum* of 1563-1567 is now recognized as a time in which the prevention of future religious wars was desired by some parties, and efforts were made to achieve it. Of course, the second outbreak of war showed that this was not to be. However, it means that the royal tour should be made the subject of renewed and vigorous scholarship. What was once seen as a cover for a meeting with Spain to plot the downfall of the Huguenots should now be regarded, albeit with caution, as an occasion intended to reunite the country under their king. The imagery in these royal entries, which hitherto has not been addressed in proportion to its importance in achieving peace, therefore deserve particular attention.

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<sup>55</sup> Olivier Christin, *La paix de religion: L'autonomisation de la raison politique au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Seuil, 1997).

<sup>56</sup> Ole P. Grell and Bob Scribner (eds), *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Cameron *et al* (eds), *Adventure of Religious Pluralism*.

<sup>57</sup> Thierry Wanegffelen, *Ni Rome ni Genève: Des fidèles entre deux chaires en France au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Champion, 2000).

In order to come to any conclusions through these images on how Charles IX was perceived as a monarch and whether his rule – particularly in religious matters – was widely accepted, a number of different sources have been used in this thesis. The principal materials were the contemporary printed festival books written to commemorate a number of major cities; most contain substantial descriptions of the images presented to the king, and even what the official meaning was intended to be. These sources were essential, as no material culture remains from the entries, except for a few ornate silver sculptures gifted to the king and queen mother, and some commemorative medals.<sup>58</sup> Neither are there any extant woodcuts; it is probable that the scenes created for the entries never were recorded in this way.

All original pamphlets that have been uncovered can be found in the *Bibliothèque nationale* and many have been reproduced in later manuscripts and prints.<sup>59</sup> Further information has been retrieved from city council records and letters written by witnesses, much of which have been collated by intrepid nineteenth-century historians, who have gone on to publish their research in local history books and journals.<sup>60</sup> In the case of Toulouse, which provides a particularly fruitful example, one printed account contains the order of procession and a song of

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<sup>58</sup> Medals presented to Charles at Avignon (September 1564) and distributed among Spanish nobles at Bayonne (June 1565) are illustrated in Graham and McAllister, *The Royal Tour*, figs 17 and 18.

<sup>59</sup> For instance, the order of procession in Troyes was printed in Anonymous, *Les Triomphes, grans bravetes et magnificences faictes pour l'entrée de treshault et treschrestien prince Charles neufiesme de ce nom, roy de France, en sa ville de Troye, ville capitale de Champagne, le jeudy vingtroisiesme jour du moys de mars, mil cinq cens soixante quatre, avant Pasques. Avec l'ordre gardé et observé à son entrée par messieurs les habitants de ladicte ville* (Lyon: P. Merant, 1564), fols 11r-16v, then later copied by hand in BN.MS.FR. 23419, fols 351r-356v. Similarly, the whole entry for Lyon was printed in *Discours... tresillustre... Lyon*, and reprinted in edited form in Anonymous, *Relation des Entrées Solemnelles Dans la Ville de Lyon, De Nos Rois, Reines, Princes, Princesses, Cardinaux, Légats, & autres grands Personnages, depuis Charles VI, jusques à présent* (Lyon: Aymé Delaroche, 1752), pp. 78-90.

<sup>60</sup> See the extant information on Dijon and La Cadière: Mme Albert Boillot-Billard, 'Voyage à travers la Bourgogne de Charles IX et Catherine de Médicis, à Dijon, le 18 mai 1564, suivi d'un détournement d'itinéraire encore mystérieux, de la visite prévue officiellement à Beaune', *Société d'archéologie de Beaune. Histoire, lettres, sciences et arts. Mémoires*, T. 58, 1975-1976, p. 111-3; Anonymous, 'Documents historiques relatifs au passage de Charles IX à La Cadière, le 4 novembre 1564, lors de son voyage en Provence', *Bulletin de la Société des Sciences, Belles-Lettres et Arts du Département du Var, Séant A Toulon* (Toulon: Eugène Aurel, 1859), pp. 354-9.

welcome, but the rest of the entry is found in the *Annales de la Ville*, a formal record of the decisions of the city council that was kept between 1295 and 1787.<sup>61</sup>

The printed accounts, whilst invaluable, must be approached with care, as the language used to describe the scenes is not always clear. For instance, it may be that ‘Virtue appeared on a pedestal’, but elaboration on whether this was painted, sculpted or embodied by an actress is omitted. Occasionally it is difficult to picture what was presented to the king, particularly when one must be content with the opaque description that ‘Ledict arc avoit esté composé pour faire entendre [cette idée]’.<sup>62</sup> Moreover, the accounts are not always entirely representative of what was seen on the day. Some were undoubtedly written in advance using the plans for the entry as guidance; often the reality was embellished in print when it did not live up to expectations; and unforeseen circumstances frequently disrupted plans.<sup>63</sup> For instance, there was heavy snowfall shortly after the king’s arrival at Carcassonne on 12 January, which lasted over a week and delayed his entry until 22 January. In the intervening period, the triumphal arches collapsed and the other preparations were spoiled, but this level of damage would not have been recorded in a festival account as a matter of pride.<sup>64</sup> However, slight discrepancies between the planning and the result do not impact on the conclusions here. The intention of the local populace as

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<sup>61</sup> The entry in Toulouse has been addressed recently in a provincial journal: M. Daniel Rigaud, ‘Anecdotes Sur La Visite De Charles IX à Toulouse en 1565’, *Les Amis Des Archives de la Haute-Garonne, Lettre Des Amis*, no. 218 (2006), pp. 7-11. Some deliberations regarding the entry can be found in the Archives municipale de Toulouse (AM Toulouse), BB109, pp. 2010-2; 2017; 2020-1; 2026-7; 2033; 2034-5.

<sup>62</sup> ‘The said arch had been composed to make understood [this idea]’: AM Toulouse BB274, Chronique 240, p. 342.

<sup>63</sup> Margaret M. McGowan, ‘The French Royal Entry in the Renaissance: The Status of the Printed Text’, in Nicolas Russell and Hélène Visentin (eds), *French Ceremonial Entries in the Sixteenth Century: Event, Image, Text* (Toronto: Publications for the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2007), pp. 29-54.

<sup>64</sup> R.P. Bouges, *Histoire Ecclesiastique et Civile de la Ville et Diocese de Carcassonne* (Paris: Gandouin, Emery, Piget, 1741), p. 324.

manifested in the imagery is more important to understanding how Charles was viewed than knowing precisely what Charles saw.

In the majority of cases, the meaning of the imagery is not explicitly stated in accounts, and few records survive of the development process in which the messages were decided upon and the images to reflect them were chosen. This means that the unexplained images need to be cross-referenced with known cultural influences. In this way, it is possible to understand scenes in the entry from the king's period eye. Fortunately, imagery specific to the locality was usually clarified and Christian imagery was derived from the Bible and the writings of saints.

Emblem books elucidate the contemporary symbolism of classical images. The main resource for this was Andrea Alciato's *Emblemata*, a collection of short Latin verses and woodcuts, which was first published in Augsburg in 1531 and then in Paris in 1534.<sup>65</sup> The *Emblemata* was outstandingly popular among readers in Europe, receiving seventy prints and translations into French, Italian, Spanish and English between 1531 and the start of the tour.<sup>66</sup> Guillaume de La Perrière's *Theatre de bons engins* and *Morosophie*, first published in 1540 and 1553, and Gilles Corrozet's *Hecatomographie*, first published in 1540, were also utilized. Both La Perrière and Corrozet's works were created in response to the phenomenal success that the *Emblemata* had enjoyed, with the exception of the *Theatre de bons engins*,

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<sup>65</sup> Andreas Alciatus, *Index emblematicus, Vol. 1 The Latin Emblems*, edited by Peter M. Daly with Virginia W. Callahan, assisted by Simon Cuttler (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985) and Andreas Alciatus, *Index emblematicus, Vol. 2 Emblems In Translation*, edited by Peter M. Daly, assisted by Simon Cuttler (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985).

<sup>66</sup> According to Henry Green, whose bibliography is incomplete but it remains the best resource. Henry Green, *Andrea Alciati and His Books of Emblems: A Biographical and Bibliographical Study* (London: Trübner & Co, 1872), pp. 97-187. For the popularity of the *Emblemata* in France, see Daniel Russell, 'Alciati's Emblems in Renaissance France', *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 34, no. 4 (1981), pp. 534-54.

which La Perrière had started contemporaneously with Alciato, and each emblem book went to several reprints.<sup>67</sup>

The most influential works of literature were: Francesco Petrarch's *I Trionfi* (1338-1374), the allegorical poem based on descriptions of triumphal pageants by classical authors such as Ovid, which was reprinted four times in France between 1536 and 1554; and Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499), the richly illustrated tale of Poliphilo's struggle to gain the love of Polia, which was published in French in 1546 and in other editions thereafter.<sup>68</sup>

In addition to these texts, which were fashionable across France, the history of each locality in terms of politics and religious composition has been taken into consideration. City council records from the 1560s, letters between local officials and the Crown, and the memoirs of those living in a particular place have been consulted in order to build up a picture of the context in which the entry was performed, and then what the images were most likely adapted to mean. Memoirs and correspondence of figures at court, particularly Catherine de Médicis and foreign ambassadors, provide an account of the political and religious turmoil from a national perspective, as well as hinting at how Charles was regarded by his peers. English and Italian correspondence has been used more than French correspondence, due to the fact that foreign ambassadors were more likely to give blunt accounts of

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<sup>67</sup> Guillaume de La Perrière, *Le Theatre Des Bons Engins, auquel sont contenus cent Emblemes*. (Paris: D. Janot, 1540); Guillaume de La Perrière, *La Morosophie. Contenant Cent Emblemes moraux, illustrez de Cent Tetrastiques Latins, reduitz en autant de Quatrains François*. (Lyon: Macé Bonhomme, 1553); Guillaume de La Perrière, *Le Theatre Des Bons Engins; La Morosophie*, introduced by Alison Saunders (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1993); Gilles Corrozet, *Hecatographie. C'est-à-dire les descriptions de cent figures & hystories, contenant plusieurs Appophtegmes Prouerbes, Sete[n]ces & dictz tant des Anciens que des modernes*. (Paris: Denys Ianot, 1540); Gilles Corrozet, *Hecatographie*, 1540, introduced by Alison Saunders (London: Scolar Press, 1974).

<sup>68</sup> Henry Parker, *Lord Morley's Tryumphes of Fraunces Petrарcke: The First English Translation of the Trionfi*, edited by D.D. Carnicelli (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1971); Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachie, ov Discours du songe de Poliphile, Deduisant comme Amour le combat a l'occasion de Polia. Soubz la fiction de quoy l'auteur monstrant que toutes choses terrestres ne sont que uanité, traicte de plusieurs matieres profitables, & dignes de mémoire*. (Paris: Jacques Kerver, 1546); Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: The Strife of Love in a Dream*, translated by Joscelyn Godwin, (London: Thames & Hudson, 2003).

what had transpired than nobles who sometimes couched the truth in reassuring language. It is often difficult to unpick the reality from this 'language of fidelity'.<sup>69</sup>

As a result, each unexplained image has been compared with enough relevant material to allow an intelligent and well-supported deduction of its meaning.

Only a few cities could be addressed in this thesis, based on the quantity of material necessary to explore thoroughly their entries and recent histories. The number could be readily reduced from the 108 entries, as only five cities (Avignon, Lyon, Toulouse, Troyes and Valence) were recorded in outstanding detail.<sup>70</sup> These were prioritized over the entries at Bordeaux and Narbonne, which were reconstructed by individuals who had not witnessed them and missed out crucial sections, and over Angers and Tours, for which only the order of procession and the harangue were documented.<sup>71</sup> Avignon was then passed over because, as a papal city governed by a Legate, it did not approach the question of Charles's authority in the

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<sup>69</sup> See Arthur L. Herman Jr., 'The Language of Fidelity in Early Modern France', *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 67, no. 1 (1995), pp. 1-24.

<sup>70</sup> Anonymous, *Carolo nono, christianissimo Francorum regi, excepto ex omnibus infrascriptis regibus, non fuit qui perspexerit regnum Franciae, tam divisum, atque desolatum, idque clare, in sequenti libello apparet, causa vero tante divisionis, ac desolationis, cum optimis remediis ibidem describitur. Brevis discursus in gloriam et honorem pulcherrime ac invictissime civitatis Avenionensis, cum debitis laudibus illustrissimi ac reverendissimi domini, domini Laurentii Lentii, episcopi Firmani, ac vicelegati; excellentissimique Fabritii de Serbellone, hujus reipublicae gubernatoris dignissimi, necnon romanae religionis assertoris, XXIII septembris* (Avignon: P. Ruffus, 1564); Anonymous, *Narration...Avignon* (1564); Anonymous, *Discours... tresillustre... Lyon* (1564); Anonymous, *Salutation au roi Charles IX sus son entrée en sa noble et antique ville de Lyon, par Charles Fontaine* (Lyon: B. Rigaud (s.d.); Paris: G. de Nyverd, (s. d.)); Anonymous, *Brief discours de la magnificence et entree du treschrestien Roy de France Charles IX. Faicte en sa ville de Tholose le deuxiesme jour de Fevrier. M. D. LXV* (Paris: Guillaume de Nyverd, 1565); *Annales de la Ville, AM Toulouse BB274, Chronique 240-242*; Passerat, *Chant d'allégresse* (1564); Anonymous, *Les Triomphes... Troye* (1564); Jehan de la Maison-Neufve de Berri, *Description des devises qvi estoient en la ville de Valence à l'entrée du treschrestien Roy Charles IX, redigées par escrit en l'honneur de sa maiesté* (Avignon: Pierre Roux, 1564), reprinted in Ollivier Jules, 'Recherches historiques sur le passage de quelques rois de France à Valence', *Revue du Dauphiné*, (Valence: L. Borel, 1837), pp. 21-40.

<sup>71</sup> Thomas Richard, *L'entrée du Roy A Bordeaux, avecques les carmes latins qui lui one esté presentez, et au chancelier* (Paris: Thomas Richard, 1565), reprinted in P.H. Tamizey De Larroque, *Entrée de Charles IX A Bordeaux avec un avertissement et des notes*, (Bordeaux: P. Chollet, 1882); 'L'Entrée de Charles IX à Narbonne', pp. 88-96 and 147-57; Anonymous, *Harangue faicte pour l'entree du Roy en sa ville d'Angers, qui fut le VI. jour de Novembre. M. D. LXV*, edited by Martin Le Jeune (Paris: Martin Le Jeune, 1566); Jehan Cloppel du Pont de Vaulx, *La Description de l'entrée du très-chrestien roy Charles IX du nom, en sa ville de Tours* (Tours: Ollivier Tafforeau, 1565).



same way as the other cities.<sup>72</sup> Valence could have been included, but it proved impossible to locate its original festival book and there was less material for the city than for the remaining three, posing the possibility that comparisons would be unbalanced.

Lyon, Toulouse, and Troyes are presented as exemplary individual studies. However, the above nine cities and many others (including Agen, Angoulême, Carcassonne, Clermont-Ferrand, La Rochelle, Marseille, and Nîmes) are referenced throughout the thesis where appropriate. It may seem odd that the festivities at Bayonne do not appear at all. The reason for this is twofold. Firstly, it is important to show that the royal tour can be studied without Bayonne at its heart. The idea that the entire progress was undertaken simply to facilitate the meeting of the French and Spanish courts, and that the entries performed on the journeys there and back were secondary in the minds of Catherine and Charles, still lingers among historians. This idea must be rebuffed, and removing Bayonne from the discussion allows this to happen.

More importantly however, Charles's entry at Bayonne cannot be compared with those performed elsewhere. It was not an occasion in which the local populace could express their concerns. The Crown controlled the design and construction of each event, with Catherine herself organising a particularly extravagant *naumachia*.<sup>73</sup> These occasions were propaganda for the French monarchy, conjured to show off the king's magnificence and benevolence in a way that would awe his own nobles and the Spanish court. They marked the Crown's attempt to repair its relationship with its

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<sup>72</sup> Marc Venard, *Réforme protestante, réforme catholique dans la province d'Avignon au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1993), pp. 106-8.

<sup>73</sup> Catherine created a magnificence in which a mechanical whale was harpooned by sailors as the court travelled up the river by boat to dine on an island north of Bayonne. See Graham and McAllister Johnson, *Royal Tour of France*, pp. 42-6 and Frances A. Yates, *The Valois Tapestries* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), pp. 55-8, pl. 3 for the near-contemporary tapestry commemorating the 'Attack on a Whale', which now hangs in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence.

factionous nobility and King Philip, whom it had so insulted with the introduction of the Edict of Amboise. The residence at Bayonne was more akin to the court's stay in Fontainebleau in the first months of the progress.<sup>74</sup> Neither contributes anything new to the question of how Charles and his religious policies were viewed by his subjects, and so they do not feature in this thesis.

To ensure that the themes of monarchy and peace-making are comprehensively addressed, this work had been divided into two halves, each with two chapters. Although the themes are closely intertwined, they have been dealt with separately, as the overlap of meaning in some images (which had official messages as well as intrinsic meanings relating to both monarchy and peace) would have been too complex for the author to explain and for the reader to digest. The first half is devoted to monarchy, with chapter one assessing how the Crown and Charles as the king were perceived on a national scale, and chapter two considering the relationship between the Crown and individual cities. The second half mirrors the first half in taking a national and then local approach to the question of peace. Chapter three uncovers how the Edict of Amboise was generally received by Catholics and

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<sup>74</sup> For the festivities at Fontainebleau, see Jouan, *Recueil*, fols 5r-7v; Anonymous, *Le recueil des Triumphe et Magnificences qui ont esté faictes au Logis de Monseigneur le Duc Dorleans frere du Roy, estant a Fontainebleau au Festin quil feit le Lundy gras dernièrement xiiii jour de Febvrier* (Troyes: François Trumeau, s.d.). For Bayonne, see Jouan, fols 42v-51r; Anonymous, *Ample Discovrs de l'Arrivee de la Royne Catholique soeur du Roy à saint Iehan de Lus: de son entrée a Bayonne, et du magnifique recueil qui luy a esté fait Auec declaration des ieux, combats, tournoys, courses de bagues, mascarades, comedies et autres demonstrations d'allegresse depuis son arriuée iusques à son partement dudict lieu. Ensemble les noms de Cheualiers et Seigneurs d'Hespaigne venus auecques son altesse pour la seruir et accompagner: et pareillement de ceux de France qui ont tenu les plus grans lieux et les premiers rengs en sa reception et recueil* (Paris: Jean Dallier, 1565); Anonymous, *Brief Discovrs De L'arrivée De La Royne D'Espaigne à saint Iehan de Lus, de son entrée à Bayonne, & du magnifique recueil qui luy a esté fait par leurs magestez* (Paris: Jean Dallier, 1565); Anonymous, *Brief Discovrs De La loyevse Entreveve De Treshaute & tresexcellente Elizabeth de Fra[n]ce Royne Catholique d'Espaigne, es enuiron de la ville de Bayonne. Qui fut le xiiij. Iuin, & l'entrée le lendemain XV. dudit mois. D. LXV.* (Paris: Guillaume de Nyuerd, s.d.); Anonymous, *Recueil Des Choses Notables, qui ont esté faites à Bayonne, à l'entreveü du Roy Treschrestien Charles neuvieme de ce nom, & la Royne sa treshonoree mere, avec la Royne Catholique sa sœur* (Paris: Vascozan, 1566); BN.MS.FR. 4337, fols 85r-87v; BN.MS.FR. 19595, fols 37r-42v.

Protestants across France, while chapter four explains the particular responses of the cities and the context that prompted them to react in this way.

Chapter one demonstrates that the authority of the king was indeed widely accepted by the people. Imagery in the entries reflected the fact that, even though his youth was a cause for concern, Charles's rule was recognized as divinely ordained. This belief was underpinned by contemporary political treatises, which argued for monarchy over all other forms of government. Support for the Crown, however, was paid more to the office than it was to the individual. Charles was seen to be ineffectual, and Catherine was known to be the power behind the throne. Although Charles was the principal focus of royal entries, she was continually represented in images and the king was exhorted to follow her advice, which was given out of duty to and love for her son. This state of affairs is clear from the rhetoric and confidential information contained in letters sent between city councils, nobles, and Charles and Catherine. The office of the king was respected as the ultimate temporal authority, but Charles was not seen to have taken full possession of it. However, the people hoped that Charles would continue to mature as the progress passed, and would move to rule alone at its conclusion.

In chapter two, the focus is shifted to uncover how much power individual cities held and whether Charles's will was prioritized over their own. In the 1560s, France was still a patchwork of previously independent territories that retained their own political and social customs. Local officials continued to exercise a great deal of control over their own areas, relatively free from interference from the Crown in Paris. Entries in Troyes, Lyon and Toulouse each painted a different picture of this relationship. Troyes was host to both the French court and the English ambassadorial court during the royal tour, so the local opinion of Charles was portrayed as one of

everlasting admiration, in keeping with what one might expect if ambassadors are watching. However, it actually spoke to the reality that Troyes had a close relationship with the Crown and was honoured to receive the English court on its behalf. Lyon considered itself almost as a second capital, having frequently received the courts of the Valois monarchs during the Italian Wars. Little time was spent reflecting on the stable relationship, leaving the city free to communicate more pressing matters to the king. Toulouse, on the other hand, was unparalleled in its self-promotion and at particular pains to demonstrate that local councillors were held in the highest esteem. However, even Toulouse acknowledged that loyalty was owed to the Crown, and that the king's authority was supreme in both national and local matters.

Chapter three turns to the issue of Charles's efforts to instil toleration and demonstrates that the king's own conduct created another barrier to peace. Conflict had officially ceased, but many entries depicted peace as flowering rather than established. This reflected the fact that religious violence continued to erupt, as Catholics and Protestants struggled to adhere to the seemingly unbearable conditions laid down in the Edict of Amboise. Commissioners were dispatched by the Crown to negotiate confessional co-existence in the provinces, and some did make significant inroads in particular cities. However, Charles countered these successes with his very public participation in Catholic rituals. His visits to holy places and attendance at baptisms betrayed the fact that he saw toleration as a means to halt the violence between the faiths until the restoration of the Protestants to the true faith could be achieved. This failure to maintain a clear policy undoubtedly caused confusion and the longer the religious question remained unsettled, the closer France moved to reopening the conflict.

Chapter four takes these national conclusions into account and shows that responses to the Edict of Amboise in Troyes, Lyon and Toulouse were indeed unfavourable and worsened with time. Public denunciations were out of the question, as they would have contradicted the will of the king, so the cities aired their grievances with varying degrees of boldness. No mention of the edict was made at Troyes, where the presence of English ambassadors precluded the use of overt Catholic sentiment. However, two allusions to religion implied that the edict was an unwelcome measure. A sequence of brutal images in Lyon illustrated the theme of justice, which ostensibly appeared to invite Charles to model himself upon the judges before him when he delivered verdicts and punishments. Yet later ambiguous references to religion suggested that these images were designed to encourage Charles to punish the Huguenots for their heresy. Toulouse was even less circumspect in its reaction to the king's religious policy; the royal entry called for the extirpation of heretics and celebrated the Catholic heritage of the city in a manner that may be described as both politically and religiously aggressive. Although these cities should not be taken as representative of how the edict was received everywhere, the studies do reveal several trends. The intent to resist the edict was in place throughout the tour because there was not enough support from either side of the religious divide to see it succeed. Machinations from local authorities further ensured that its chances of failure increased. Finally, the edict was so unwelcome that Charles's standing was lessened by his pursuit of it.

In sum, this thesis will demonstrate that the imagery in the royal entries of Charles IX during his progress of France has been a hitherto untapped resource in illustrating the importance of the *interbellum* of 1563 to 1567. Careful examination reveals that it is invaluable, as it provides detailed testimony on public perceptions of

Charles as a ruler and on the willingness of his subjects to adhere to the Edict of Amboise. Clearly Charles and his mother Catherine de Médicis wanted to prevent further religious conflict, but could not sanction drastic measures to remove Protestantism from France. The Edict of Amboise was conceived as a temporary solution, which would maintain both sides of the religious divide in a state of calm until such time as the Huguenots returned to the Catholic Church or Charles had matured into an adult able to lead his nobles and his people. His right to rule was not in question, even though his youth justifiably sparked fears that he would be too weak to govern alone. Cities throughout the kingdom pledged their loyalty to him, and to his Crown. However, enforcing the Edict of Amboise was beset with difficulty, principal among these being the fact that it seemed so intolerable to both Catholics and Protestants that many found they could not live with it, even if it was the will of the king.

# **Chapter One**

## **Images of the Monarch**

Imagery in the royal entries suggests that the authority of the king was widely accepted throughout France, because the people believed in Charles's divine right to rule. This belief is corroborated by contemporary political tracts, as well as by the assertions of the nobility, which affirm that monarchy surpasses all other forms of government. The respect and loyalty that the people maintained toward the Crown, however, was almost certainly due more to the office than it was to the individual. Many entries communicated the fear that Charles's age would result in prolonged instability, and he was often encouraged to listen to the 'sage advice' of his mother Catherine de Médicis. Despite attempting to limit her public appearances in this period, Catherine was a constant focus of attention, which reflected the fact that she was recognized as the power behind the throne. Charles wore the crown, but he was too inexperienced to govern alone, so Charles bestowed authority on her and she led him through the early years of his reign. This state of affairs was acknowledged too in official correspondence between city councils, the nobility and the Crown, in which Catherine was informed and consulted to the same – and regularly a greater – extent than Charles. The office of the king was publicly recognized as the ultimate power, but Charles himself was not seen to have yet taken full possession of the office. The hope, however, was that he would grow to become the strong sovereign that the people desired.

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In the eyes of local councils, and the populace they represented, an imperative of the royal entry was to laud Charles to such a degree that he was fully satisfied with their proclamations of fidelity. This was achieved through the employment of truly ostentatious imagery and rhetoric, which was most often classical in theme, combined with choice references to French history. Biblical imagery had dominated in entries up to the end of the fifteenth century; streets were lined with *tableaux vivants* from the Old Testament and the whole experience was akin more to a Corpus Christi procession than a Roman Triumph. However, Italian Humanism started to influence entry designs during the reign of Louis XII, and the ceremony was almost completely transformed into a feast of classical imagery under François I<sup>er</sup> in an effort to suit his humanist tastes. Entries remained in this form in the reigns of Henri II and his sons. Christian imagery, however, was too important to be discarded and examples from the Bible, though less fashionable, continued to appear and to communicate ideas.

A glance at the content of entries performed across the tour demonstrates that there was great diversity in the entertainment provided for Charles's benefit. The vast corpus of classical literature, Christian literature and centuries of French culture met with the varied expectations of individual cities, and the consequence was that no two ceremonies were the same. In spite of this, however, there is a remarkable trend in these independent events for choosing the same figures and using them to underpin the same idea. For example, Scipio Africanus often represented the ideal soldier, while Solomon was an example of the virtuous judge. This trend is especially evident in the classical imagery used to describe Charles as a monarch. Parallels were frequently made with Jupiter, who was synonymous with might, Mars, who was renowned for his military acumen, and Alexander, who was praised as a conqueror



and great leader. Such gods and men embodied the ideals that all kings were expected to possess and thus they were not only used for Charles across France, but had been used to describe his father and grandfather during their royal entries.

On the other hand, considerable variation occurred in the selection of figures from French history and mythology. Charlemagne, as the exemplar of the perfect monarch, was the exception to this; he appeared in the entries of every Valois monarch. Other individuals surfaced only periodically because, unlike the unchanging gods and heroes, they were chosen on the basis of how closely they resembled the present king. Parallels were tailored according to similarities in a number of different categories, particularly in age, name, temperament or acknowledged political motivations. Charles IX was far more likely to be represented as Saint Louis, who ascended the throne as a child, than Henri II, who had always ruled as an adult king. A similar wealth of examples, and their potential to be specific to each king, dictated the selection of biblical characters intended to represent Charles. Whereas François I<sup>er</sup> modelled himself upon King David, with whom he shared the qualities of prowess on the battlefield and strong personal rule, Charles was only depicted as David once in his royal entries.<sup>1</sup> Conversely, the child king Josiah, who restored Israel, was often used to represent Charles, who faced the task of reuniting France after the civil war, but Josiah was never linked to François I<sup>er</sup>.

These distinct methods in choosing figures to represent Charles demonstrate that the function of a given image was generally dictated by its genre. Depictions of the Greek and Roman gods, as well as the greatest kings in history (to which Charlemagne might be added), communicated to Charles what the people wanted from any monarch. Each figure embodied a particular virtue that was one of the

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<sup>1</sup> Pauline M. Smith and Dana Bentley-Cranch, 'A new iconographical addition to Francis I's adoption of the persona of King David and its contemporary literary context', *Renaissance Studies*, vol. 21, no. 5 (2007), p. 616; AM Toulouse BB274, Chronique 240, p. 364.

many that the ideal ruler was expected to possess. In this way, the images reflect the fact that the monarchy was highly prized, because it was supposed to be led by the man divinely ordained to be the best among men. Those characters from the annals of French history and legend, and from the canon of Christian literature, told Charles what the people wanted specifically from him. Young kings and rulers that relied on their mothers for guidance were paraded before him to show that they needed him to lead with the same courage and wisdom. These images spoke as much of the people's concerns as they did of their hopes, and demonstrated how Charles was viewed as an individual holding the office of the king. However, regardless of genre, the imagery invariably reflected the people's belief that Charles had the divine right to rule.

### **Classical Culture and the Mirror of Princes**

The ideal monarch was a mighty ruler of divine bloodline, who was destined to achieve renown through his wisdom and learning, his designs for empire, or both. To capture all of these qualities, many different gods and heroes had to be summoned from classical texts, and to show that even mortal men could embody these characteristics, celebrated Greek and Roman leaders were utilized too. The most obvious figure to evoke was Jupiter, who was the epitome of power. Charles was repeatedly linked to the king of the gods in his entries to demonstrate that he, too, was a supreme ruler.

This was done most fervently in Troyes in March 1564. At the end of his procession through the town, Charles encountered a tablet placed over the door of the church house where he was to stay, which read:

Dieu est au Ciel gouvernant l'univers,  
 Qui a donné par les peuples divers  
 Des Rois, portaits de son divin image  
 Ausquelz il fault que l'homme face hommage,  
 Les cognoissans venus en ce bas lieu  
 Pour commander, par le vouloir de Dieu.  
 Imitant donc la divine ordonnance  
 De Dieu, qui a dessus les Rois puissance,  
 Nous offrons tous à vôtre Royaute,  
 Devoir, honneur, service & loyauté.

Ut reget æternùm cæli fulgentia templa  
 Iuppiter, Aetnæi metuendus fulminis ira:  
 Sic hominum turmis, sceptro gladióque timendi  
 Iura dabunt semper Iovis alto à sanguine Reges.  
 CAROLVS his maior pietate, potentior armis,  
 Oceano est regnum, famam inclusurus Olympo.  
 Cui Regi nobis maior parere voluptas  
 Quàm terrarum orbem sub nostra mittere leges.<sup>2</sup>

The French verses clearly established the reverence and respect that Charles's people had for the office of the king. The position was seen to have been created and ordained by God, thus his subjects were obliged to pay tribute to him and to obey his commands. As God's representative on the throne, Charles was imbued with the authority to rule the kingdom as he saw fit, and to contradict the king was to oppose divine will.

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<sup>2</sup> 'God is in the Heavens governing the universe,/ And has given through different peoples kings, made in his own divine image,/ To whom man must make homage/ Knowing that they have come to this lower place/ To command by the will of God./ Following the divine ordinance/ Of God, who has power above the Kings,/ We all offer to your royalty./ Duty, honour, service and loyalty.' 'As Jupiter, terrifying with the violence of his lightning, like Etna, reigns forever over the resplendent temples of the sky, so kings of the high blood of Jupiter, formidable with their sceptre and sword, will ever give laws to the throng of men. Charles, greater than these in piety, more powerful in arms, will extend his rule over the Ocean, and his fame over Olympus. We have a greater desire to obey our king than to subdue the whole world to our rule.' Passerat, fols 7v-8r.

The Latin verses describe Charles as being of the bloodline of Jupiter and draw particular attention to the idea that Charles wielded the same power as the god with his thunderbolt. This comparison was made between Jupiter and François I<sup>er</sup> in the 1517 entry into Rouen, where Jupiter appeared styled as the king and threw thunderbolts against the Giants, and with Henri II in the 1548 entry into Lyon, in which Jupiter was described as ready to strike down the king's enemies on his behalf.<sup>3</sup> This continuity across the Valois kings lent even greater weight to the notion of Charles as the legitimate heir to the throne. Yet the verses go further than simply celebrating his inheritance; they demonstrate that Charles had consciously chosen to be the best monarch he could be. He made himself more pious and mightier in arms than the kings of old, making him even more worthy of renown. He was therefore the ideal monarch by both birth and behaviour.

These sentiments were echoed in the entry at Lyon in June 1564. The cortège was introduced into a spacious theatre with a meadow at its centre, in which there stood a man dressed as Apollo. Bearing a crown of laurels and holding a lyre, he delivered a panegyric in which he described Charles as more perfect than even himself.<sup>4</sup> Apollo was one of the great gods of Olympus, so this assertion confirmed that Charles was divine. New ideals were also introduced in this speech. As leader of the Muses (*Apollon Musegetes*), Apollo praised the king for the dedication he had shown to his nine sisters: 'mes neuf Sœurs tu comprens'. Charles was presented as a

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<sup>3</sup> Anne-Marie Lecoq, *François Ier imaginaire : Symbolique et politique à l'aube de la Renaissance française* (Paris: Macula, 1987), p. 269; Scève, *Entry of Henri II into Lyon*, p. 196.

<sup>4</sup> 'Prince que je cognoy plus que moy reluisant,/ Plus que moy fleurissant, plus de biens produisant,/ Plus grand & plus parfaict, en ta jeunesse blonde, Que moy, qui apres toy suis lumiere du monde.' *Discours... tresillustre... Lyon*, fol. 12r

man of learning, who had been inspired to improve himself in the arts and sciences, in order to lead France into a new Golden Age.<sup>5</sup>

Both François I<sup>er</sup> and Henri II had been connected to Apollo; indeed, upon death, their hearts were placed in urns that depicted Apollo and the Muses, and the Three Graces (often conflated with the Muses), respectively.<sup>6</sup> However, the connection to learning was made for François, who was a great patron of leading humanists, while Henri was likened to Apollo because both triumphed over their enemies. As well as being the god of healing, music and poetry, and prophecy, Apollo was renowned for punishing the wicked with his arrows and the plague.<sup>7</sup> This scene in Charles's entry was significant because it reinforced his god-like lineage through François and Henri, and Apollo himself acknowledged his qualities, both of which legitimized his rule.

Having authority over the land and sea was important in the ideal monarch, for the sixteenth century was an age in which exploration and the acquisition of empire were paramount. To communicate this idea, Charles was often linked to Alexander the Great, the ruler of Macedon (r. 336 BC – 323 BC) renowned for creating one of the largest empires in the world. At his entry into Narbonne in January 1565, Charles was addressed with a musical sonnet as soon as he had entered the city, in which he was celebrated as Alexander's successor: 'Vive le Roy, qui en son âge tendre/ A devancé les hauts faits des plus vieux;/ Vive le Roy tousjours victorieux/ Et successeur du bonheur d'Alexandre.'<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> 'Par luy le siecle d'Or en France tourneroit,/ Et avec luy tousiours il y sejourneroit.' Ibid., fols 12r-12v.

<sup>6</sup> Victoria L. Goldberg, 'Graces, Muses and the Arts: The Urns of Henry II and Francis I', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 29 (1966), p. 216; p. 206.

<sup>7</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, 1.43-54.

<sup>8</sup> 'Long live the king, who in his tender age/has outstripped the great deeds of older men,/Long live the king, always victorious/and successor to the fortune of Alexander.' 'L'Entrée de Charles IX à Narbonne', p. 93.

This rhetoric was typical across his entries, and indeed across those of his predecessors. For instance, Henri II had been compared to Alexander in a triumphal arch in Lyon in 1548: a frieze depicting Honour in a chariot drawn by elephants, accompanied by the inscription ‘Terra tuos etiam mirabitur Inda triumphos’, recalled the Macedonian’s conquest of India and suggested that Henri was worthy of equal admiration for his endeavours abroad.<sup>9</sup> Alexander embodied much of what people expected their ruler to be, in demonstrating that one man could be a strong leader, have a superb military mind, and achieve such greatness that he would be remembered until the end of time. As his successor, Charles was presented as a man who could achieve the same greatness.

Alexander’s victories had been accomplished solely on land, so Charles was often paired with Neptune, to show that he commanded over the oceans too. In the Bordeaux entry of April 1565, for example, a man dressed as Neptune approached the king and offered him his trident with the words: ‘Cædimus Imperio Pelagi deus advenit alter, Qui Regat & terras, qui Regat unus aquas.’<sup>10</sup> In giving his trident, Neptune bequeathed to Charles the power to create and control storms, and to shake the earth. As with Apollo, the fact that the god himself appeared to yield his power and dominion to Charles proved that he was divinely sanctioned as the monarch, because it suggested that his might stirred awe even in the breast of the undisputed ruler of the seas.

There were other instances in which Neptune appeared, notably in the *chant de joye* performed by Nymphs of the Garonne in Toulouse in February 1565. The recitation described the scene from Virgil’s *Aeneid*, in which Aeneas’s ship is tossed in a storm created by Juno and King Aeolus, the keeper of writhing winds and roaring

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<sup>9</sup> Richard Cooper, ‘Introduction’, in Scève, p. 73.

<sup>10</sup> ‘We yield the power of the sea, another god comes here, who alone reigns over the lands, who alone reigns over the seas.’ Richard, *L’entrée du Roy A Bordeaux*, fol. 3v.

tempests, but Neptune sees the attack and intervenes, saving the ship by sending winds from the East and the West to calm the seas.<sup>11</sup> This, however, was a metaphor for Charles having ended the civil wars and restored peace in France, rather than a reference to empire. It is interesting to note that Neptune appeared less often than Jupiter and Apollo in Charles's entries. This was most likely because the former was primarily used to represent territorial domination, whereas the latter two represented a number of different qualities, including leadership and learning.

Overall, there was a lack of emphasis on the idea of empire in Charles's entries. This is unusual, because celebrations of the manifest destiny of the kingdom were commonly featured in, or even dominated, earlier Valois royal entries. France was thought to be the true successor to the Roman Empire, with the concept of the emperor as *dominus mundi* adapted to reflect their kings' fate to preside over a universal monarchy.<sup>12</sup> Entries created for Henri II in particular, who had fought so bravely in the Italian Wars to claim territory that was 'rightfully French', centred on images of empire and the lust to conquer. His entry into Rouen in 1550, in which he encountered a reconstructed Brazilian village populated with 'native savages', who went about their daily lives and battled for his amusement, was the most ostentatious reflection on the importance of discovering the New World.<sup>13</sup>

References to empire through Neptune or Alexander the Great punctuated Charles's entries, but were never on the scale offered to his predecessors. This was

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<sup>11</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid*, 1.50-156; Anonymous, 'Chant De Ioye Recité Par Les Nimphes de Garonne, à l'entrée du Roy treschrestien Charles VIII. de ce nom, en sa triumphe[n]te & tres-magnifique ville de Tholose', in *Brief discovrs... magnificence... Tholose*, fols. 5v-8r.

<sup>12</sup> Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France, c. 1500-c.1800* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 29-46.

<sup>13</sup> Anonymous, *Cest La Dedvction de sumptueux order plaisantz spectacles et magnifiques theatres dressés, et exhibés par les citoiens de Rouen ville Metropolitaine du pays de Normandie, A la sacrée Maïesté du Treschristian Roy de France, Henry seco[n]d leur souuerain Seigneur* (Rouen: Robert Le Hoy; Robert Du Gord; Jehan Du Gord, 1551), fols 35v-37r; Michael Wintroub, 'Civilizing the Savage and Making a King: The Royal Entry Festival of Henri II (Rouen, 1550)', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 29, no. 2 (1998), p. 470.

undoubtedly due to the fact that Charles gave little attention to the expansion of his borders in the early years of his reign. His primary concern was to restore peace within France, making his focus internal rather than external. Moreover, religious division had left the boundaries of some cities weak and unprotected: the French-Spanish border in the much-contested Languedoc caused especial unease. Indeed, when Henri de Montmorency-Damville was made governor of the province on 12 May 1563, he was specifically exhorted to monitor the border with Spain.<sup>14</sup> In matters of international conflict, Charles turned his policies towards defence.

This raises the question of timing, and whether Charles had really achieved the feats that were attributed to him. If he had little regard for conquering foreign lands while he restored his own country to full health, why was he lauded in Narbonne for having ‘outstripped the great deeds of older men’? There is a great disparity across the entries as to whether Charles was destined to realize his aims or had already accomplished them.

For instance, at his entry into Toulouse, he watched the procession from a pavilion decorated with a festoon bearing this sonnet: ‘Vous qui faictes renaistre en ce royaume icy,/ Le premier eage d’or retourné soubz Auguste/ Vous monstrant plus que luy et pitoyable et juste.’<sup>15</sup> Charles was compared to the Emperor Augustus (c. 27 BC – 14 AD), with whom he would later become most closely associated of all the figures in classical antiquity. This association was both captured and propagated by the depiction of Charles as the emperor in Antoine Caron’s painting *Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl* (1580), which now hangs in the Musée du Louvre in Paris. In the image, Charles as Augustus is seen kneeling before the Sibyl as she indicates that he

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<sup>14</sup> M. Greengrass, ‘War, Politics and Religion in Languedoc during the Government of Henri de Montmorency-Damville (1574-1610)’, Unpublished DPhil Thesis, University of Oxford, 1979, p. 2.

<sup>15</sup> ‘You make reborn in this Kingdom,/ The first Golden Age of Alexander,/ Showing yourself to be greater than him, as well as merciful and just.’ AM Toulouse BB274, Chronique 240, p. 340



is the last of the nine generations of emperors, and that through the bloody civil wars he will triumph over the heretics and return France to the hands of God.<sup>16</sup>

At the time of the royal tour, this connection had not been made, and so the entry at Toulouse described Charles only in terms of renewing the Golden Age of Augustus, who was renowned for the peace and civic improvement he brought to Rome during his reign.<sup>17</sup> The phrasing celebrated the idea that Charles was in the process of establishing a Golden Age, not that he had achieved it. This is no doubt understandable, as these cities had to address a teenage boy who had only recently declared his majority and had managed to accomplish nothing of note without the help of his mother. Although he had made a considerable effort to establish peace after the civil war through his tour and other political initiatives, in reality there was little for which he could be directly praised.

This inconsistency in timing is indicative of the fact that royal entries were intended to function as a *speculum principis*. Entries presented a distorted reality, providing kings with representations of what their people wanted them to be, not necessarily reflections of who they were at that moment. Toulousains did not believe that Charles ushered in a new Golden Age, nor did the Narbonnais believe that Charles had bettered his predecessors in his illustrious deeds; these statements were made in the hope that voicing them would encourage the king to make them a reality.

In the cases of François I<sup>er</sup> and Henri II, who had achieved some measure of intellectual and military success prior to ascending the throne, allusions to their

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<sup>16</sup> The prophecy of the Tiburtine Sibyl stemmed from a dream that had come to one hundred of the Emperor Trajan's soldiers. The men had seen nine suns, which were increasingly bloodstained, and the Sibyl had interpreted this as representative of the nine generations of men, which would steadily decline until the last emperor, who would destroy the pagans and abdicate his throne so that the empire returned to the hands of God. Anke Holdenried, *The Sibyl and Her Scribes: Manuscripts and Interpretation of the Latin Sibylla Tiburtina c. 1050–1500* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. xix-xxi; Strong, *Art and Power*, p. 70.

<sup>17</sup> William Smith, *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology* (London: John Murray, 1880, 3 vols), vol. 1, pp. 428-9.

virtues and triumphs had a dual purpose. They were an opportunity for the local populace to prove their devotion to the king by recognising all that he had done to improve himself and France, whilst also acting as a request that he continue in this vein. The teenage Charles had shown little or none of the strength of Jupiter, the culture of Apollo, or the conquering spirit of Alexander at the time of his entries, but the future was unwritten. Cities nominated him as a successor to the characteristics of the gods and heroes, and transformed the king in their own minds, in the anticipation that this would translate from fiction into truth.

This function was most clearly manifested in a scene in Avignon, in which a raised platform bore nine thrones, each of which was occupied by an unnamed valiant man, expressly chosen to exemplify a virtue. No doubt several of these were figures from antiquity, such as Alexander.<sup>18</sup> As Charles passed the platform, a young child wearing Charles's colours and representing Royal Fortune recited these lines:

Vien, Charles, vien t'asseoir au ranc des preux,  
Car ton destin veult que soys le diexiesme,  
Et renommé de Valoys valeureux  
Dessus les neuf portant le diadesme.  
Et tout ainsi que la maison supresme  
Abonde en biens, richesses, et honeurs,  
Ainsi vaincras et roys et emperours,  
Et l'univers vivra soubz ton regime,  
Tant fortuné seras et bien heureux,  
Qu'on te dira Charles le magnanime.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> All were unnamed, except Godefrey de Bouillon, the mediæval knight who fought in the Crusades and was elected King of Jerusalem.

<sup>19</sup> 'Come, Charles, take your seat in the rank of the valiant,/ For your fate calls you be the tenth,/ And renowned among the valorous Valois,/ Above the nine supporting the diadem./ And just as the supreme abode,/ Abounds in goods, riches, and honours,/ So you will vanquish kings and emperors,/ And the universe will live under your regime,/ So fortunate and happy will you be,/ That we will call you Charles the Magnanimous.' *Narration... Avignon*, fol. 4r.

Charles was encouraged to place himself at the centre of the other men of note, because apparently he was destined to equal or surpass them in deed. Realistically, this was a scene in which his people showed him what he could achieve, not what was inevitable. They presented him with a vision of the future and the impetus for him to make it so.

### **French History and Mythology**

Figures from French history and legend were similarly used to legitimize the king and to encourage his development into the ideal ruler. One particularly unusual and detailed example was presented at Lyon, in which a triumphal arch had been erected with the likeness of four French leaders in separate niches. Those depicted were: Francus, son of Hector and king of the Franks; Galathes, son of Hercules and Galathea, and ancestor of Charlemagne; Remus, king of the Gauls and the alleged founder of Reims; and Belgus, the Gaulish commander who waged war against Macedonia and Illyria in 279 BC and became the fourteenth king of France.<sup>20</sup> In the vault of the arch, there were portraits of two men dressed in red royal togas, one of which bore the image of silver ships (the emblem of Paris), and the other of which bore silver lions (the emblem of Lyon). Between these two men was an inscription: 'Quel miracle voicy en mon portail s'incline,/ Chacun de ces vieux Roys admirans ta grandeur,/ Charles du ciel venu d'une race divine,/ Pour le monde douer et remplir de bonheur.'<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> R.E. Asher, *National Myths in Renaissance France: Francus, Samothès and the Druids* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993), pp. 10-6; 17; 231; 66. Smith, *Greek and Roman Biography*, vol. 1, p. 489.

<sup>21</sup> 'What a miracle this is, here in my portal,/ Each of these old Kings admiring your grandeur,/ Charles, of a divine race, came from the sky,/ To bless the world and fill it with happiness.'  
*Discours... tresillustre... Lyon*, fols 9v-10v.

These four founders and rulers of France indicated that Charles was their heir and rejoiced on behalf of the people because he was sent from God to lead them. His inherent eminence meant that he was destined to lead France into a prosperous future. The appearance of these figures from French mythology was especially powerful, as the first half of the sixteenth century had seen increased interest in the idea that France had been founded by Trojan refugees.<sup>22</sup> Connecting Charles to these men caused viewers to trace mentally the long line of kings that stretched between Francus and Charles, and to conclude that he was not only legitimate, but would make an ideal ruler if these illustrious figures already recognized his ‘grandeur’.

The most popular and dramatic expression of the ideal ruler was, of course, Charlemagne (r. 768 – 814). Perhaps the most celebrated figure in French history, he became a permanent feature of royal entries of the Valois monarchs. Comparisons with Charlemagne invariably evoked the idea that the present king was his reincarnation, and as such, he was imbued with the virtues that the mediæval king had possessed. In Troyes, for example, Charles’s cortège was met with a purple triumphal arch, surmounted with a statue of Charlemagne, who was flanked by personifications of Victory and Fame, as well as a magnificent crown above and the arms of France below. Accompanying this was an inscription, which read:

(Vous Charles Roy) qui tenez sa province,  
Vray heritier des honneurs de ce Prince,  
Qui tant de fois amoureux de vertu  
A tant de roys en guerre combatu,  
Vous serez tel, ou serez plus encore...  
Et jusque où le soleil  
Ouvre ses yeux et les ferme au sommeil,  
La renommée ira de voz louages

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<sup>22</sup> For example, Nicole Gilles and Denis Sauvage, *Les Annales & Croniques de France, depuis la destruction de Troye iusques au te[m]ps du Roy Louis onzième* (Paris: Iean Macé, 1553), fols 12v-14r.

Remplir les cœurs des nations estranges.<sup>23</sup>

Charlemagne was no doubt used as a *speculum principis*, because his success as a military commander and his reputation as a virtuous Christian prince made him the archetypal monarch. It was declared that Charles would match or surpass him in renown, and thus Charles was encouraged to be like his ancestor.

The association of Charlemagne with Charles was emphasized more than it had been for François I<sup>er</sup> and Henri II, on the basis of their shared name. Such a minor connection could prove to be very influential in the selection of figures to represent the king. This was illustrated in Narbonne, where a triumphal arch bearing a combined image of Charlemagne and his grandfather Charles Martel was erected. The contemporary description of the arch, having explained that Charles Martel had saved the city of Narbonne from the Saracens in 738, noted that it was in memory of this event that ‘le peuple de Narbonne... avoit colloqué la statuë de ce Charles Martel, prince belliqueux et magnanime, duquel nôtre Roy porte nom’.<sup>24</sup>

Other figures were supposed to appear on the arch, including the Roman consul Quintus Marcius Rex, the Roman Emperor Carus, Saint Sebastian and King Pepin. All four were connected to the city, Quintus having stationed his legion there, and Carus and Sebastian being native-born. Interestingly, Pepin had the same claim to Narbonne’s affections as Charles Martel, as he had delivered the city from the clutches of the Saracens in 759. However, there was not enough time before the arrival of the king to include all of these figures, so Charlemagne and Charles Martel

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<sup>23</sup> “You King Charles, who hold his lands,/Are the true inheritor of the honours of this prince,/He who was so much in love with virtue/and fought wars with so many kings,/You will be his like, or you will be yet greater.../And from where the sun/opens its eyes to where it closes them to sleep/Renown of your praises will/fill the hearts of foreign nations.’ Passerat, fol. 5v.

<sup>24</sup> ‘The people of Narbonne... had arranged for the statue of Charles Martel, bellicose and magnanimous prince, whose name our King carries.’ ‘L’Entrée de Charles IX à Narbonne’, pp. 147-8.

were given precedence.<sup>25</sup> The arch was designed to showcase men who had shared characteristics, such as their role in the promotion or deliverance the city, and were thus interchangeable. While the choice of Charlemagne is unsurprising, that of Charles Martel over Pepin must be put down to the fact that Charles IX shared his name.

However, some figures were chosen to represent Charles because there was a striking resemblance between them. It is through these men and children that the people demonstrated what they expected from Charles as an individual, rather than from their kings in general. During the tour, he was most often likened to Saint Louis (r. 1226 – 1270), whose inclusion in other Valois entries was common, as he had come to be viewed as a model prince in the sixteenth century through his efforts as a crusader, his famed humility and his just exercise of power.<sup>26</sup> Yet Louis IX shared his ordinal number, had ascended the throne at the age of twelve, and relied on his mother as regent in the early years of his reign. More than this, he presided at a time when heresy was rife in the south of France, and had to find a way of ending the religious division.<sup>27</sup>

Charles found himself in a similar situation, and there was no doubt that he would need to rule with virtue and wisdom if he was to return peace to France. This was acknowledged in Troyes, on a statue of Louis IX sitting on a throne, while Justice held a golden sword and scales on his right and Prudence held a serpent with a compass on his left. At Louis's feet were these verses: 'Icy tu vois la Justice & prudence,/ Dont saint Loys honora son enfance:/ Qui des Francois fut couronné le

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<sup>25</sup> '[O]n eut le tems trop court pour parachever encore tout cela.' Ibid., p. 150.

<sup>26</sup> M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Cornell University Press, 2008); Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France*, translated by Susan Ross Houston (California: University of California Press, 1991), p. 93.

<sup>27</sup> For more on Louis IX, see pp. 68-70.

Roy,/ Ayant atteint aage pareil à toy.’<sup>28</sup> Their parity in age and predicament evoked the idea that Charles was a present-day Saint Louis, and that he was naturally gifted with the same sense of justice and prudence as his ancestor. Thus, Charles was represented as a child who could successfully overcome the difficulties he faced in the expectation that he would do so.

The most arresting image for Charles, however, would have been the depiction of his own father in Toulouse. A triumphal arch dedicated to the memory of Henri II bore a statue of the late king that was said to be truly lifelike.<sup>29</sup> An inscription alongside the statue read: ‘Henrico Princip[io] optimo pientissimo,/ Bellatori fortiss[immo]/ Publicæ spei generatori,/ S[enatus] P[opulus] Q[ue] T[olosanus]/ Perpetuæ tanti Regis memoriæ ergo.’<sup>30</sup> Describing his father, who had been dead for little more than five years, in such glowing terms – as pious, valorous and one who brings hope to his people – would certainly have encouraged Charles to cultivate these kingly virtues for himself. Moreover, the sight of Henri II’s son looking upon the statue as the new king reinforced the fact that Charles was the rightful successor to the throne.

### **The Office of the King**

The nature of entries as grandiose affairs that espoused unending loyalty to the king and unrealistic expectations of what he ought to achieve tends to lead later readers to believe that the sentiments declared were affected. Indeed Polydore Vergil, the

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<sup>28</sup> ‘Here you see the justice and prudence,/ With which Saint Louis was honoured in his childhood,/ He who was crowned King of the French/ Having reached an age equal to yours.’ *Les Triomphes... Troye*, fol. 8r.

<sup>29</sup> ‘[L]’*estatue du roy Henry faicte bien proprement et au naturel.*’ AM Toulouse BB274, Chronique 240, p. 357.

<sup>30</sup> ‘To the very excellent and very pious prince Henri, valorous combatant and bringer of hope to his people, the Senate and the people of Toulouse [erect this arch] in perpetual memory of so great a king.’ Ibid, p. 356.

Italian humanist who spent much of his life in England, noted that this occurred on the occasion of Henry VI's entry into Paris in 1431: 'with all fortunate signes and shewes of joy and gladness they saluted him as King... though many perchaunce there were, who did all that honor with holowe heartes'.<sup>31</sup> Thus, festival accounts need to be compared with written documents, such as contemporary treatises on political theory, to show that entries did indeed reflect public opinion on what made an ideal king, and that Charles had the divine right to rule and become such a monarch for his people.

Entry programmes are exceptionally useful for piecing together the image of the ideal Renaissance monarch. By the sixteenth century, this notion pervaded courtly circles and many treatises were published on the matter, as noted by the Savoyard political theorist Claude de Seyssel in his treatise *La grant Monarchie de France* (1519).<sup>32</sup> The king was to be a man endowed with all virtues: prudence, particularly with regard to the affairs of his realm; a just hand to guide the state, tempered with mercy; a respect for the law; a love of the common good, not just for his own sake but for the advancement of the welfare of his people; courage, in war and peace; the power to protect and expand the borders of his kingdom; the ability to select wise counsel and magistrates, while rejecting flatterers who care only for themselves; and generosity and kindness towards his people, so that he might win their love.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Polydore Vergil, *English History*, quoted in Lawrence Bryant, 'Configurations of the Community in Late Medieval Spectacles – Paris and London during the Dual Monarchy', in Bryant, *Ritual*, p. 77.

<sup>32</sup> '[Based on the plethora of existing treatises and the lack of time that princes have to read them] I will limit myself to things that I deem most necessary to the government of the realm of France...' Claude de Seyssel, *The Monarchy of France*, translated by J.H. Hexter, (New Haven and London, 1981), p. 71.

<sup>33</sup> Desiderius Erasmus, *The Praise of Folly*, translated by John Wilson, (Rockville, Maryland: Arc Manor, 2008), p. 71. Machiavelli famously wrote in *Il Principe* (1532) regarding the question of whether it is better to be loved or feared: 'one would like to be both the one and the other; but because it is difficult to combine them, it is far better to be feared than loved if you cannot be both.' However, this advice was unusual amongst contemporary theorists. Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, translated by George Bull and introduced by Anthony Grafton (Suffolk: Penguin Classics, 2003), p. 54.



More than this, he should regard himself as a Christian Prince. This idea was most fully elaborated in Erasmus's *Institutio principis christiani* (1532), which became so celebrated as a manual that it found itself in the hands of many new European rulers, including the sons of Catherine de Médicis, who had it translated into French especially for their use.<sup>34</sup> The treatise encouraged princes always to bear the story of Christ in mind, to 'drink deeply [from the fountains] of his teachings', and to follow his example more diligently than the ordinary man. Princes had to do this to be a model for their people, and for their own sake, as their actions would be taken into account when they knelt before God to be judged. While death comes to both beggar and king, the powerful are dealt with far more severely than the powerless.<sup>35</sup>

In short, the prince was to fulfil all of the virtues that were lauded in the imagery and rhetoric of the royal entries. Yet Erasmus and his French contemporaries admitted that such a king – one able to embody all of these virtues – was unlikely. In the first instance, there were too many qualities to expect a man to possess intrinsically; in the second instance, even a man with the best intentions may be led astray. Claude de Seyssel summarized these unfortunate truths: 'Monarchy is the best if the prince is good and has the sense, the experience, and the goodwill to govern justly. That rarely comes to pass, however, because with such authority and license it is hard to follow the right course and hold fairly the balance of justice.'<sup>36</sup>

This was the reason why the importance of wise and trustworthy tutors was emphasized, and why so many manuals on kingship were circulated. These treatises

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<sup>34</sup> Desiderius Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince*, translated and introduced by Lester K. Born (New York: W.W. Norton, 1968), p. 28.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., pp. 146; 154.

<sup>36</sup> Seyssel, *Monarchy*, p. 38. Erasmus made a similar observation: 'If a prince be found complete in all good qualities, then a pure and absolute monarchy is the thing. (If that could only be! I fear it is too great a thing even to hope for!)' Erasmus, *Education*, p. 173.

functioned as a *speculum principis* as much as the royal entries. They expressed expectations that none but the most unusually accomplished and virtuous of princes could achieve. This raises two pertinent questions: If the prince was doomed to fail as the ideal ruler, was monarchy still preferred above all other forms of governance in the sixteenth century? And if so, was the authority of the king readily accepted?

A clear preference for monarchy was shown in a triumphal arch constructed for Charles's entry into Toulouse. Inside the arch was a canvas painting of a figure representing Loyalty, accompanied by the arms of the king and the inscription: 'Vir occide non prodam'. This was adapted from the *Epistulae Morales*, in which Seneca describes Loyalty as the greatest of all virtues because it is unimpeachable.<sup>37</sup> Over this arch was a pedestal, on which figures representing Democracy and Aristocracy were painted, and atop the pedestal stood a statue of Monarchy, crowned with laurels and holding aloft in its hands the world and a sword. An inscription in the festoon read: 'Que vulgi aut procerum geritur respublica nutre/ Corruit at solo principe tuta manet/ Sol astris apibus rex unus carole pollet/ Vel te uno est fœlix unius imperium.'<sup>38</sup>

The account noted that the arch was designed to convey that some great men like Solon, Lycurgus, Demosthenes and Cicero had preferred aristocracy, whilst others like Dion, Othanes and Polidanes had favoured democracy. Yet, it was men

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<sup>37</sup> '[U]re", inquit "caede, occide: non prodam, sed quo magis secreta quaeret dolor, hoc illa altius condam". [Burn me, slay me, kill me! I shall not betray my trust; and the more urgently torture shall seek to find my secret, the deeper in my heart will I bury it!]' Seneca, *Moral Letters to Lucilius*, 88.29, in Richard M. Gummere, *Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales* (London: William Heinemann Ltd; New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1920, 3 vols), vol. 2, pp. 366-7.

<sup>38</sup> 'A republic that the small or the great govern crumbles in both cases, but she remains in surety with a single prince. There is, O Charles, who is a sun amongst the stars, a king among the bees. Thus through you one finds the happy government of one.' AM Toulouse BB274, Chronique 240, p. 342. This example of the king bee in the hive (now known to be the queen bee) was commonly used in this context, having become established amongst classical theorists, popularised by Thomas Aquinas, and even elaborated upon by Erasmus. In the welcoming speech in Angers, the example of the bees was evoked to exhort the king to be to his people as a king bee among the hive: '[s]i conclu-je par le dire de Pline & de Senèque, c'est qu'un Roy, doit ressembler au roy qu'ont entre elles les mouches à miel.' *Harangue... Angers*, fol. 10v.

like Plato, Herodotus, Aristotle and Saint Jerome who were the most wise, because they supported government by monarchy.<sup>39</sup> The triumphal arch was therefore designed to articulate that the people of Toulouse would always choose to devote their loyalty to monarchy, because the wisest could see that it provided the greatest stability of all possible systems of government.

It is important to remember that the royal entry was an occasion to laud the king; it would have been politically dangerous to demonstrate favour for another system. On the other hand, there was no imperative to make this specific argument for the supremacy of monarchical rule, so it may be assumed that this was a reasonable reflection of how the people felt about the monarchical state in both principle and practice.

This attitude towards monarchy is reflected in several key political tracts of the sixteenth century. Erasmus argued in his *Institutio principis christiani* that, although there are many types of state, the wisest men agree that monarchy is the best form.<sup>40</sup> His caveat, however, was that if the prince could not hold himself up to the virtues required of him by God, it would be best to have a monarchy that was not absolute in nature, but kept in check by aristocracy and democracy. This ensured that the country did not fall under tyrannical rule, which is the most monstrous of all systems of government. Seyssel, too, considered the Aristotelian concept of the three forms of government and came to the same conclusion. His faith in the supremacy of monarchy was grounded in its practicality, and evident historical success.

Divine and human, natural and political reason all prove that it is always necessary to revert to a single head in all things and that a plurality of heads is pernicious. Experience also shows that several monarchical states, as for example, those of the Egyptians, the Assyrians and the

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<sup>39</sup> AM Toulouse BB274, Chronique 240, p. 342.

<sup>40</sup> Erasmus, *Education*, p. 173.

Parthians, have lasted longer than any aristocratic, democratic, or popular ones. And they have been more peaceful and have had fewer changes and civil dissensions.<sup>41</sup>

Seyssel admitted, however, that no state can be perpetual, even one as desirable as monarchy. While some monarchs may be free from imperfection, time ensures that lesser kings will sit on the throne, and the state will eventually dwindle into disorder.<sup>42</sup> To prevent this, it is necessary to place bridles on the monarchy through religion, justice and the polity.

At first glance, these bridles appear to diminish the power of the king, but closer inspection reveals this not to be the case. Seyssel believed that the bridles should check the absolute authority of the king if he abandons restraint, and if power has to be passed to regents acting on behalf of an incapacitated king. They are constantly in place, but need only be employed if the king cannot perform the duties of his office wisely or without the interference of others who seek to utilize his authority as their own. A king who rules virtuously will never need to be checked. Even when the bridles are invoked, 'the royal dignity and authority remains always entire, not totally absolute nor yet too much restrained, but regulated'.<sup>43</sup> Thus, in times of perfection and imperfection, the monarch remains the right and ultimate source of power.

Guillaume Budé, the Parisian humanist, demonstrated an even greater inclination for monarchical rule over other systems in the political tract *De L'Institution Du Prince* (written c. 1515-22).<sup>44</sup> An early proponent of absolute

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<sup>41</sup> Seyssel, p. 46.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., p. 51.

<sup>44</sup> Guillaume Budé, *Le Livre De L'Institution Du Prince, au Roy de France treschrestien Francoys premier de ce nom, faict & composé par M. Guillaume Budé son secretaire & maistre de sa librarie* (Paris: Jehan Foucher, 1547).

monarchy, Budé argued that the king should have unlimited power, entirely free from intervention from the people and the aristocracy. Examples from antiquity and the Holy Scriptures were used to show that neither of these two parties was suited to holding power. For instance, he recalled the story of Democritus, who laughed uncontrollably when he observed the foolishness of ordinary people, and Heraclitus, who cried with great pity when he realized how ignorant they were.<sup>45</sup> Although Budé recognized the privileges of the nobility, he denied that this should extend to any political role. The aristocracy were more of a threat than an aid to the monarch, prone as they were to faction and advancing their own causes. The ideal state was therefore one in which no bridle existed and all subjects readily submitted to the will of their king.<sup>46</sup>

The theory of absolute monarchy would later be most famously expressed in Jean Bodin's *Six Livres de la République* (1576).<sup>47</sup> Bodin argued that sovereignty was indivisible – that power was exclusive to one man and could not be divided amongst individuals or parties – and his lengthy tract systematically rejected the limitations that may be placed upon a king's authority. Bodin was trained in civil law and knew that most men subscribed to the Roman idea that the power of the ruler had originally been given to him by the people. However, he discarded this concept in favour of the power dynamics laid down in the Hebrew Scriptures, in which unconditional obedience was required from subjects, because the king held his authority by divine command.<sup>48</sup> One bridle that remained was the monarch's

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid., fols 7r-8r.

<sup>46</sup> See Claude Bontems, Leon-Pierre Raybaud and Jean-Pierre Brancourt, *Le Prince Dans La France Des XVIe Et XVIIe Siècles* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1965); David O. McNeil, *Guillaume Budé and Humanism in the Reign of Francis I* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1975).

<sup>47</sup> Jean Bodin, *Les six livres de la repvblque de I. Bodin Angeuin. A Monseigneur dv Favre, Seigneur de Pibrac, conseiller du Roy en son conseil priué* (Paris: Jacques du Puys, 1576).

<sup>48</sup> M.J. Tooley, 'Introduction', in Jean Bodin, *Six Books of the Commonwealth*, abridged and translated by M. J. Tooley (Oxford: Alden Press, 1955), p.xx; xxiv.

conscience, which would hopefully steer him to fulfil his duties with virtue and to uphold natural law. Moreover, he was expected to rely on his magistrates and councils for advice on matters of importance, particularly the institution of new laws. Yet this was merely a recommendation, and if the king strayed down the path of tyranny, none could legitimately challenge his rule.

Julian Franklin has identified that Bodin had not always advocated such a rigid form of monarchical rule. As a young academic in the Law Faculty at the University of Toulouse, he had become interested in the theory of sovereignty and decided to pinpoint the powers that were exclusive to the monarch and could not be held by magistrates. This resulted in the production of his *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* (1566).<sup>49</sup> Bearing notable similarities to the work of Seyssel, this tract argued that the king could not adapt or reverse ancient laws without the consent of the Estates, and that parlements were not obligated to enforce his changes should he fail to include them in his deliberations.<sup>50</sup>

This revision from a system in which the king was constitutionally required to act with his counsel, to one in which he experienced no restraints, was undoubtedly the product of the time that had elapsed between the composition of the *Methodus* and the *République*. After a decade of civil war and the bloody Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day (1572), there was still no resolution to the religious division. The right to resistance was increasingly explored and advocated, principally by Huguenot theorists. *Monarchomaques* came to the fore, arguing that in certain circumstances, tyrannicide was a justifiable action.

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<sup>49</sup> Julian H. Franklin, 'Sovereignty and the mixed constitution: Bodin and his critics', in J.H. Burns with Mark Goldie (eds), *The Cambridge History of Political Thought, 1450-1700* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 299.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 306.

Among these was François Hotman, author of *Francogallia* (1573), who advocated that France should be governed by a mixed constitution, in which the Estates had the power to remove the king if he violated the terms of his office. He concluded this from the fact that, under the Franks and Gauls, the monarchy had been elective, and argued for the restoration of the ancient power of the Estates, which had included appointing and deposing kings, declaring war and peace, and making public laws.<sup>51</sup> Bodin revised his position on sovereignty because this tendency towards warranted rebellion posed a very real threat to the Crown. Faced with the prospect of deeper division, or even anarchy, Bodin surmised that absolute monarchy was the most satisfactory course.<sup>52</sup>

Bodin's belief in the primacy of monarchy over all other systems of government stemmed – as it did for all the above political theorists – from the accepted fact that the king was the representative of God on earth. Recognition of this fact proved to be a motivation in his composition of the *Six Livres*:

Puis qu'il n'y a rien plus gra[n]d en terre après Dieu, que les Princes souverains, & qu'ils sont establis de luy, comme ses lieutenants, pour commander aux autres hommes, il est besoin de prendre garde à leur qualité afin de respecter, & reverer leur majesté en toute obeissance, sentir & parler d'eux en tout honneur car qui mesprise son Prince souverain, il mesprise Dieu, duquel il est l'image en terre. C'est pourquoy Dieu parlant à Samuel, auquel le peuple avoit demandé un autre Prince, C'est moy, dit-il, à qu'ils ont fait injure.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> François Hotman, *Francogallia*, Latin text by Ralph E. Giesey and translated by J.H.M. Salmon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 220-33; 333-49. See also Julian H. Franklin, *Constitutionalism and Resistance in the Sixteenth Century: Three Treatises by Hotman, Beza and Mornay* (New York: Pegasus, 1969).

<sup>52</sup> For a thorough account of the circumstances that produced the *Six Livres de la République*, see Julian H. Franklin, *Jean Bodin and the Rise of Absolutist Theory* (New York: University of Cambridge Press, 1973).

<sup>53</sup> 'Since there is nothing greater on earth, after God, than sovereign princes, and since they have been established by Him as His lieutenants for commanding other men, we need to be precise about their status so that we may respect and revere their majesty in complete obedience, and do them honour in our thoughts and in our speech. Contempt for one's sovereign prince is contempt towards God, of

This idea of the king as the representative of God on earth is reflected in the rhetoric used in several entries during the tour. In the oration that Charles received upon entering Toulouse, Jean-Étienne Durand, the leading organizer and a member of the city council, asserted that:

Sire, comme Dieu eternal ayant en son secrect et singulier conseil creé le genre humain commandant universelement à icelluy faict participant toute humaine creature de sa presence, bonté et divine faveur, ainsi les roys, vrays lieutenens de Dieu en ce bas monde et representantz en eulx une image vive du Seigneur, doibvent estre soigneulx, cognoistre leurs subjectz et se rendre telz envers eulx que Dieu tout bon et tout puyssant est au monde universel.<sup>54</sup>

The introduction to the festival account of the entry at Lyon went into great detail regarding the relationship between God and their king. It acknowledged the presence of the Lord in the monarch – even going so far as to suggest that the king may thus also be called a god. Similarly, it confirmed that the king is invested with the authority of the Lord, so to contradict him is to contradict divine will.

[L]'opinion Poëtique qui fait les Roys co[m]paignons des Dieux, ayans en leur Royalles personnes engravée la splendeur & marque naïve de la gloire d'iceux. Et de fait aussi, à parler theologalement, les Roys soye[n]t ils jeunes, ou d'aage, mesmement sont appelez Dieux, par ce grand Psalmiste, duquel Dieu cha[n]gea la houlette en Sceptre, & le Chapeau rural en diadesme Royal: car en leurs faces est empreinte & reluit une majesté Divine... D'ailleurs, venons à co[n]siderer que toute puissance & domination est ordo[n]née & établie de Dieu, à laquelle il faut obeir,

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whom he is the earthly image. That is why God, speaking to Samuel, from whom the people had demanded a different prince, said "It is me that they have wronged." Bodin, *Six Livres*, p. 190. Translation by M.J. Tooley, in Bodin, *Six Books*, p. 46.

<sup>54</sup> 'Sire, as the eternal God in his secret and singular counsel created humankind and commanded them to him, making all humanity participate in his presence, goodwill and divine favour, so kings, as the true lieutenants of God in this world, and representing in themselves a true image of the Lord, must be conscientious to know their subjects and to make themselves to their subjects as God, benevolent and all powerful, is to the universal world.' AM Toulouse BB274, Chronique 240, p. 367.



non seulement pour la crainte, ains pour la conscience: d'autant que qui luy resiste, contredit à la volonté Divine.<sup>55</sup>

As with much of the imagery in these entries, such conclusions could be interpreted as affected. Although supported by contemporary political theory, the fervour with which it is expressed lends the harangue an air of ostentation. However, it must be assumed that the basic sentiment – that the king shared in the divine nature and authority of God, as His representative on earth – is sincere.

Love for the king was not simply theoretical or expressed in entries as a matter of course. Examples have been recorded of ordinary people expressing pro-monarchical sentiments as Charles toured his kingdom. For instance, after his entry into Narbonne, Charles travelled to Leucate to dine with his court. Once in the village, he was surrounded by local people desperate to see him. Among them was a poor old woman, who threw herself on her knees and asked Charles to kiss her because she was so happy to see him and would probably never lay eyes on him again.<sup>56</sup> This response shows the daily reality of the relationship between the Crown and the people: the two came into contact so little, but the people felt a strong sense of loyalty towards their king. They hoped that Charles would become a true Christian Prince, but more importantly, they believed in the divine nature of his office.

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<sup>55</sup> 'Poetically speaking, kings are the companions of Gods, having engraved in their royal personages the splendour and glory of the Gods. In addition, theologically speaking, kings both young and of age are called God by this great psalmist, for whom God changed the crook into the sceptre, and the rural hat into the royal tiara; as in the faces of kings is imprinted and shining a divine majesty... Moreover, we come to consider that all power and dominion is ordained and established by God, to whom one must be obedient not only for fear, but for conscience, all the more so because he who resists the king contradicts divine will.' *Discours... tresillustre... Lyon*, fol. 2r. The evocation of the crook and sceptre is a reference to David, who was anointed by God to leave his life as a shepherd and become the King of Israel: Ezekiel 34: 22-24.

<sup>56</sup> '[J]ettant les genoux en terre et dressant ses mains vers le ciel, [elle] profera en son langage telles parolles, tournées en françois: He que je suis heureuse de voir aujourd'huy ce que je n'eusse esperé ; vous soyez le trez bien venu, mon Roy, mon fils; je vous prie, baidez moy, car vous ne me reverrez possible jamais plus.' 'L'Entrée de Charles IX à Narbonne', p. 153.

## Charles's Youth

A distinction must be made between support for the office of the king and support for the king as an individual. As demonstrated above, much of the imagery employed in Charles's entries had already appeared in those of his predecessors. Sentiments of praise were often so similar that one would be forgiven for assuming that they were transplanted wholly into later ceremonies. This repetition does not, however, diminish the importance of the sentiment; across the sixteenth century, expectations of the monarch remained the same. On the other hand, it does cloud interpretations of how each monarch was viewed as an individual. To grasp truly how Charles was regarded by his people, one must look to the imagery chosen specifically for him, alongside these traditional interpretations of the monarch.

For Charles, the figures with whom he was most often and prominently associated in his royal entries were child kings. The lasting image of the entry in Toulouse was a triumphal arch containing a statue of a young king with white hair and a white beard, which the printed account likened to King Numa from Virgil's *Aeneid* and King Tarquinius from Strabo's *Geography*.<sup>57</sup> Numa Pompilius, the second king of Rome, was a renowned ruler and legislator who had maintained peace throughout the thirty-nine years of his reign and laid the foundations for early Roman religious law. Virgil wrote of him: 'nosco crines incanaque menta regis Romani'.<sup>58</sup> While Tarquinius Priscus or Tarquinius Superbus, the fifth and seventh kings of Rome respectively, could be the second figure mentioned, it is more likely that the account means Tarco, after whom the city of Tarquinia was named. Strabo recorded

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<sup>57</sup> '...comme l'on dict avoir esté le roy Numa, duquel a parlé Vergille lib. VI<sup>e</sup>, Aenerdae, et le roy Tarquinius dont faict mention Estrabo'. AM Toulouse BB274, Chronique 240, p. 364.

<sup>58</sup> 'I recognize the hair and grayish-white beard of the Roman king'. Virgil, *Aeneid*, 6.809-810.

that: ‘on account of his sagacity from boyhood, [Tarco] is said by the myth-tellers to have been born with grey hair’.<sup>59</sup>

The ‘elderly child’ in this scene was clearly intended as a depiction of Charles. Juxtaposition of old age and youth in this single body symbolized that Charles was young in years but old in wisdom. Indeed, the account itself described that the child was featured ‘pour signifier la grande prudence et maturité qui est en nôtre Roy en ses jeunes ans’.<sup>60</sup> Linking Numa and Tarco, two men renowned for their wisdom and good governance, to the child through their shared white hair was a subtle way in which to compound the idea that Charles was destined to rule prudently even in his adolescence.

On the other side of the arch, Saint Louis was depicted in the company of Josiah, David and Solomon, the Biblical kings who had ascended to the throne when they were children. Josiah had inherited the throne from his father at the age of eight. David had been anointed by God through the prophet Samuel despite being the youngest of his brothers. Solomon prayed to God for the wisdom to judge rightly as David’s heir, saying ‘I am but a little child: I know not how to go out or come in’.<sup>61</sup> Each had shown phenomenal acumen as a sovereign: Josiah instituted great religious reforms; David proved to be a great warrior; and Solomon was celebrated as a judge. The presentation of these kings articulated the notion that Charles was among their number, and would be an effective monarch in spite of his tender years, because his succession too was divinely ordained.

This obsession with wisdom can be seen in the depictions of other recognizable figures. Even the image of Hercules was modified to suit the present circumstance of

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<sup>59</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 5.2.2. Translation by Horace Leonard Jones and John Robert Sitlington Sterrett, *The Geography of Strabo, Volume 2, Loeb Classical Library* (London: Heinemann, 1923), p. 337.

<sup>60</sup> ‘[T]o signify the great prudence and maturity of the king even in his youth.’ AM Toulouse BB274, Chronique 240, p. 364.

<sup>61</sup> 2 Kings 22: 1-2; 1Samuel 16: 10-12; 1 Kings 3: 5-9.

the king. The Greek hero had previously been associated with François I<sup>er</sup>, and subsequently with Henri II, because his strength, courage and endurance in completing his Twelve Labours gave him a god-like status that made him an especially good role model for a sixteenth-century king.<sup>62</sup> Moreover, Hercules was the Classical figure regarded as most akin to Christ. Early Christians had first drawn the comparison, because both were gods born of mortal women who had overcome evil and death. By the sixteenth century, Pierre de Ronsard had advanced the number of parallels to eighteen in his *L'Hymne de l'Hercule chrestien* (1555), which included the idea that Hercules's defeat of the chthonic monsters was equivalent to Christ's triumph over sin.<sup>63</sup>

One particular image of the hero stands out in the corpus of entries. In Valence in March 1565, Hercules was painted as a youth, rather than an adult. Covered in the skin of a lion and balancing a club at his feet, he stood firm as gold chains poured forth from his mouth, into the hands of two groups of men. The inscription read: 'Ne pensez plus, Gaulois, qu'Hercules soit viellart,/ Car, puis que nostre Roy, sur l'esueil de son age,/ A sa langue des siens attache le courage,/ Nous le debvons pourtraire en jouuance au gaillard.'<sup>64</sup> As Charles approached, a sonnet was recited to further elucidate the meaning of the painting:

Icy est painct Hercules en jeunesse,  
 Qui de sa bouche espond fillez dorez,  
 Dont des deux pars les hommes sont tirez,  
 Comme Royal, aimé par sa prouesse.

<sup>62</sup> For François I<sup>er</sup> and his predecessors as Hercules, see Lecoq, *François Ier imaginaire*, pp. 206-7; 226-226. For Henri II, see Lawrence Bryant, 'Politics, ceremonies, and the embodiments of majesty in Henry II's France', in Bryant, *Ritual*, pp. 127-144.

<sup>63</sup> Pierre de Ronsard, *L'hymne de l'Hercule chrestien* (Paris: Nicolas Buon, 1617), pp. 43-4; Emma Stafford, *Herakles* (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 202-5.

<sup>64</sup> 'No longer think, people of France, that Hercules is an old man,/ As our King, when faced with the obstacle of his age,/ Attaches courage to his own tongue,/ We must portray him as a strapping youth.' Berri, *Description des devises... Valence*, p. 30.

Or, nostre Roy, par vertu et haultesse,  
 Faict que ses ans jeunes sont honorez,  
 Suivant desja les faicts tant decorez  
 Des Roys bien nez, jadis pleins de sagesse;  
 Un Salomon ores il represente,  
 Et ses subjects de graces tant contente,  
 Que tout son peuple à l'aimer est ravi,  
 Dont il sera par ses notables Princes  
 Et grands Seigneurs, parmi toutes provinces,  
 Comme un chrestien Hercules ensuivi.<sup>65</sup>

This image was undoubtedly based on the nude statue of Hercules crafted to look like François I<sup>er</sup>, which had appeared in the entry of Henri II into Paris in 1549. Bryant has argued that the intention of that statue had been to combine ‘the perfect body of Hercules... [with] the perfect mind of Francis’. In doing so, the king was presented as a champion of eloquence and a reviver of the Golden Age.<sup>66</sup> In Valence, this famous image was adapted to show that the qualities of Hercules were not confined to adult males. The verses strengthened the visual connection between Charles and Hercules through reference to the obstacles that both had faced in their lives: for Hercules, his Labours, and for Charles, his age in a time of turmoil. Just as Hercules had triumphed in his Labours, so Charles had prevailed over the problems associated with a boy king; it was therefore only appropriate that a youth so alike to Hercules should have the hero cast in his own image. This idea that Charles possessed great wisdom, in spite of his age, was compounded by the assertion in the sonnet that ‘he now may be likened to Solomon’, that is, Charles’s reign already bore

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<sup>65</sup> ‘Here Hercules is painted in his youth/ as royal and loved for his prowess,/ Who from his mouth pours threads of gold,/ from which all men are drawn./ And so our king, by his virtue and estate,/ is worthy of honour at his young age,/ Having already followed the most honoured deeds,/ Of the high-born kings, who were once full of wisdom./ He now may be likened to Solomon,/ He so contents his subjects with his graces, that all his people delight in loving him,/ He will be followed, as a Christian Hercules,/ By his noble Princes and greats Lords throughout the provinces.’ Ibid., p. 31.

<sup>66</sup> Bryant, ‘Politics, ceremonies’, pp. 136-7.

the hallmarks of a young king, brimming with Christian virtue and chosen by God to lead his people through dark times.<sup>67</sup>

Yet, as shown above, images in royal entries showed what people wished to be a reality, rather than what was reality. There was, understandably, great trepidation over the fact that the monarch of France was a thirteen year old boy, at a time when the kingdom had emerged from civil war and looked set to plunge into another unless serious measures were taken to prevent it. France cried out for an adult monarch, who was not susceptible to the influences of other figures at court, and could steer a path through the religious and civil discord. This is evident in the fact that, instead of portraying Charles as the man he would become in a few years' time, the entry organizers represented him as a monarch who was one of the few venerable child kings and already perfect. This was an exercise in convincing the king, and perhaps more importantly themselves, that Charles was presently able to lead, when no doubt his age would automatically confer upon France several years of further instability. In the preface to the printed account of the entry into Lyon, this effort to calm fears over the present situation was explicit: 'Et là ou quelque curieux voudroit contester sur l'aage juvenil: Que n'a fait, je vous prie, Josias élevé Roy en l'aage du huict ans ? n'a il pas restauré entiereme[n]t les ruïnes d'Israël, r'establi le service divin en sa pureté, & donné reigleme[n]t aux Senateurs de sa justice?'<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Hercules also featured in La Rochelle as a *speculum principis*, but without the youthful appearance and chains: 'Près de la porte de Cougnes, fut dressé un arc de triomphe enrichi de figures. On y voyoit les douze travaux d'Hercule, surmontés du portrait du Roi, avec cette devise, pietate et justitia... Au dessous on lisoit ces mots... Les Dieux font revivre en la personne de Charles IX l'héroisme d'Hercule. [Near to the porte de Cougnes, there was a triumphal arch enriched with figures. They saw the twelve labours of Hercules, surmounted by a portrait of the king, with his devise *Pietate et Justitia*... Below were the words... 'The Gods make the heroism of Hercules reborn in Charles IX.']' M. Arcere, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle et du Pays d'Aulnis* (La Rochelle: René-Jacob Desbordes, 1756, 2 vols), vol. 1, p. 346.

<sup>68</sup> "And for those inquisitive people who want to contest the young age of the king: what did Josiah not do, I ask you, he who was elevated to king at the age of eight? Did he not entirely restore the ruins of Israel, re-establish divine worship in its purity, and give regulations to the senators of his justice?" *Discours... tresillustre... Lyon*, fol. 2v.

Charles came to be associated with one child king in particular, and this parallel is illuminating in terms of conveying how his people understood his reign. Louis IX was repeatedly evoked, because he had spent the early years of his reign fighting the heretical Cathars in the south of France. Organized as a 'counter-church' to Catholicism, Catharism proposed that there were two gods – one of light and one of darkness – and that the spiritual world was the realm of God, while the temporal world was the work of the Devil. The necessary rejection of earthly darkness resulted in adherence only to the Word, as marriage, baptism, the priesthood, and even the idea that Christ had died for humankind's salvation were abandoned.<sup>69</sup> The faith thus posed a significant threat to religious and social stability in the thirteenth century.

Following Innocent III's papal bull of 9 October 1208, Louis embarked on a crusade against the sect and Raymond VII, the comte de Toulouse, who had failed to denounce the heretics in his land and accept outside intervention. Upon their defeat, the Church attempted to restore orthodoxy by subjecting the Cathars to the Inquisition, while Raymond was forced to relinquish his lands to the French Crown under the terms of the Treaty of Paris (1229).<sup>70</sup> Louis managed all of this, whilst under the tutelage of his mother and regent, Blanche de Castille. The notion of a child king, who was expected to bring peace to his country at a time of religious division, and who relied heavily on his mother to do so, was close to the reality of France in the 1560s. The above image of Louis IX in Troyes contained an inscription on its reverse that confirmed Charles as the natural successor to the virtues and destiny of his ancestor. Moreover, it acknowledged that his mother had a role to play in the restoration of the kingdom too: 'Hos olim populos primis Lodoicus in annis,/ Matris

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<sup>69</sup> Michael Costen, *The Cathars and the Albigensian Crusade* (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 1997), pp. 61-5.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., p. 120; William of Puylaurens, *The Chronicle of William of Puylaurens: the Albigensian Crusade and its Aftermath*, translated with an introduction, notes, and appendices by W.A. Sibly and M.D. Sibly (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2003), pp. 80-1.

consilio Iustéque Piéque regebat:/ Cum tibi nunc eadem, Rex Carole, floreat ætas,/ Contigerítque simul prudentia summa parentis/ Iustitia populos, populos Pietate gubernes.<sup>71</sup>

In many royal entries, palpable concern for Charles's youth was usually met with the advice that he should rely on his own mother as much as Louis had relied on Blanche.<sup>72</sup> Contemporary literature was similarly replete with this counsel. For instance, when the Parlement of Paris refused to ratify the Edict of January (1562), Jean du Tillet, a *greffier civil* in the parlement, used his knowledge of court records and the royal archives to construct a detailed remonstrance to Charles. With reference to the Albigenian uprising, he encouraged Charles to be more firm in his interaction with the nobility, and to listen to his mother.

Le Roy saint Loys, aage seulement de quatorze ans, par la saige conduite de la Royne Blanche sa mere, eut cest heur d'extirper l'heresie des Albigeois, renga si bien le dernier Raymond conte de Tholoze, que par traicte faict en Avril mil deux cens vingt-huict il le feist obliger a purger sa terre de ladicte heresie.<sup>73</sup>

Furthermore, du Tillet implied that increased factionalism among his nobles had been driven by disdain for his age, just as it had been for Louis in the 1220s.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> 'Long ago, in his earliest years, Louis reigned over his people with justice and piety, through the counsel of his mother. Seeing that, King Charles, you now flourish at the same age, and in a similar fashion it is your destiny to benefit from the supreme prudence of your mother, may you rule your people with piety and justice.' *Les Triomphes... Troye*, fol. 9r.

<sup>72</sup> In Narbonne, however, Charles was counselled to listen to Catherine as Childebert, King of France, and Solomon, King of the Hebrews, had listened to their mothers. 'L'Entrée de Charles IX à Narbonne', p. 91.

<sup>73</sup> 'The King Saint Louis, aged only fourteen, by the sage conduct of Queen Blanche his mother, had this fortune to extirpate the heresy of the Albigenians [and] brought under control Raymond, the last count of Toulouse. By the treaty made in April 1228, he obliged him to purge his land of the said heresy.' Jean du Tillet, *Remonstrances faictes au Roy par Messieurs de la Court de Parlement de Paris, sur la publication de l'Edict du Moys de Janvier* (1561), quoted in Luc Racaut, 'The Polemical Use of the Albigenian Crusade during the French Wars of Religion', *French History*, vol. 13, Issue 3 (1999), p. 264.

<sup>74</sup> 'Ledit Roy saint Loys son fils aisne, & aage seulement le premier Decembre 1226. (qu'il fut couronne & sacre) de onze ans sept mois six jours, sous la regence de la Royne Blanche sa mere, le Comte de Tholoze, mesprisant la jeunesse du Roy & la domination de la Royne, leur commença la



This was a sentiment that he repeated in his personal treatise, *Sommaire de l'Histoire de la guerre faicte contre les heretiques Albigeois* (May 1562), which was written in response to the massacre at Vassy and the tensions that had arisen in Paris between the duc de Guise and the prince de Condé. On the surface the *Sommaire* appeared to be a history of the Albigenian heresy, but between the lines it read as an allegory for the unfolding conflict. Du Tillet claimed that, in the preceding months, heresy had increased exponentially. At the root of this was 'le mespris de la jeunesse du Roy'.<sup>75</sup> He also applauded Catherine for her conduct during her regency, in which she had consistently called for moderation until Charles had reached his majority and was able to take the reins of government. He offered the work as a guide, so that she and Charles could follow the examples of Blanche and Louis if sedition continued to grow in the kingdom.<sup>76</sup>

Therefore, it is evident that the youth of the king was considered to be a very real obstacle to restoring stability in France after the first war of religion. Entries attempted to show Charles as a wise and magnanimous youth, particularly through representations of child kings from the Bible, French history and the classical pantheon, but these images were idealistic. Contemporary literature corroborated the fact that few people believed he could rule effectively and independently as a child. Comparisons between Charles and Catherine and the mediæval reign of Louis and Blanche are the most telling, because they came at a time when Catherine had

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*guerre*. [King Louis his eldest son, aged only 11 years 7 months and 6 days on 1 December 1226 (when he was crowned) was under the regency of Queen Blanche his mother. The count of Toulouse, despising the youth of the King and the domination of the Queen, began a war against them.] Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> 'C'est aprochee & espendue en cedit Royaume, plus en seize mois qu'elle n'avoit faict en tout le temps precendent, par le mespris de la jeunesse du Roy, est necessaire y mettre remedde, avant que le mal soit incurable & apporte ruyne, que Dieu ne permette. [Heresy has grown more in this kingdom in the past 16 months that in all the time prior to that, through contempt for the King's youth, making it necessary to put a remedy in place, before the ill is incurable and brings ruin, which God does not permit.]' Jean du Tillet, *Sommaire de l'Histoire de la guerre faicte contre les heretiques Albigeois* (1562), quoted in Elizabeth Brown, *Jean du Tillet and the French Wars of Religion: Five Tracts, 1562-1569* (Binghamton: State University of New York, 1994), p. 22.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., pp. 18-22.

orchestrated a tour to reinforce her son's authority. This poses a number of questions about Catherine's role in the administration of France in the early years of Charles's reign. Was she merely an advisor, or did she possess power of her own? What was the nature of this power and, most importantly, did the royal entries provide an accurate reflection of Catherine's influence at the end of the first War of Religion?

### **Images of Catherine de Médicis**

Catherine tried to remain aloof during her son's entries for fear that her presence would detract attention from the king, and therefore limit the success of their voyage to establish his authority. In most cities, she sat in a balcony somewhere along the procession route, surrounded by other noble ladies, and simply watched Charles pass. Her fears were not unfounded, as the welcome into Sens in March 1564 demonstrated. Although she did not join the royal cortège for its journey into the city, as was traditional for prominent members of the court, she met with local officials at the gates. Both she and Charles received welcome orations and, whether through error or deliberate calculation, Catherine was subject to a longer address.<sup>77</sup> This apparent breach of etiquette publicly suggested that more attention had to be devoted to Catherine because she was the one who truly held the reins of government.

Her reticence to appear was best recorded at Narbonne, where one account stated that, while Charles was received outside the city, Catherine 'étoit entrée en icelle par la même porte, sans s'arrêter et sans être conneüe, comme elle fait à toutes

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<sup>77</sup> See Appendix 1. Cartault, *Entrée... Sens*, pp. 35-7.

les autres villes, ne voulant aucun honneur'.<sup>78</sup> Local officials had heard that she had entered other cities without ceremony and knew that she wished to do the same in Narbonne. However, they ignored her request and created an ornately costumed musical performance for her to encounter on the way to her balcony:

[E]lle trouva toutefois... on avoit dressé un eschaufaut garni de pierre bien proprement, où pendoient les armoires de Leurs Majestez, et étoient au-dessus d'icelly quatre jeunes enfans musiciens habillés en nimphes, qui chanterent à son honneur, ainsi qu'elle passa pour aller loger au palais de l'archevêché, d'une musique fort excellente ces petits vers:

'Laissés les prez et les bois,  
Compagnes, laissés vostre onde,  
Venés voir à cette fois  
La plus grand'reyne du monde...' <sup>79</sup>

It is interesting that such effort was made for Catherine when these royal entries were supposed to revolve around the personage of the king, and when she had refused to participate in them. The fact that royal entries were a meditation on power relations prompts the conclusion that her political influence was recognized in the provinces. More importantly, local officials were evidently keen to make her aware of this recognition, whether she wished it or not.

Narbonne was not the only city to honour Catherine through bespoke triumphal architecture and dramatic performances. Some cities even depicted her image within the scene. More often than not, Catherine was fêted for her customary role as a devoted wife and mother. In Toulouse, a triumphal arch bore her coat of arms in the

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<sup>78</sup> '[E]ntered by the same gate, without stopping and without being recognized, as she did in all the other towns, not wanting any honour.' 'L'Entrée de Charles IX à Narbonne', p. 92.

<sup>79</sup> '[S]he found however... they had decorated a platform neatly faced with stone, which hung with the arms of Their Majesties [the king and queen mother], on which were four child musicians dressed as nymphs, who sang in her honour, as she passed to reach her lodgings in the archbishop's palace, these lines: "Leave the meadows and the woods,/ Companions, leave the water/ Come to see at this time/ The greatest queen of the world..."' Ibid.

keystone and her device the rainbow at its summit. Her likeness in the form of a statue, surrounded by cornucopias of flowers, stood at the base alongside an inscription, which read: 'D[ominæ] Catherinæ G[alliarum] R[eginæ]/ Optimi et potentissimi Henrici,/ R[eginæ] fidissimæ con jugi regum et principum/ Fæcundissimæ procreatrici T[olosana] C[ivitas] P[osuit].'<sup>80</sup> The cornucopias in particular reinforced the idea that her value lay in her fertility.

This theme was carried through to the next triumphal arch, in which Pope Leo X and Pope Clement VII were depicted. Each man was accompanied by his device: the yoke with *Suave* written through it, and the crystal ball pierced with rays of sunlight and encircled with the words *Candor illæsus* respectively. A laurel planted in the middle of two lions with *Ita et virtus* scrolled around it, which was the device of Lorenzo di Piero de' Medici, also adorned the arch.<sup>81</sup> The purpose of this scene was to draw attention to Catherine's illustrious lineage. Lorenzo de' Medici, the duke of Urbino, was Catherine's father and the man to whom Machiavelli dedicated *Il Principe*, while Leo X was his uncle and Clement VII was his first cousin once removed. All three men belonged to the House of Medici and had been commanding figures within European politics during their lifetime. Their appearance was a means of reinforcing the idea that Catherine was a woman of noble pedigree, who was worthy of the task of continuing the line of French kings.

However, the arch was unusual, because dynasties other than the ruling house of France were seldom represented unless the occasion for the entry was a royal

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<sup>80</sup> 'To Lady Catherine, Queen of France, most loyal queen of the excellent and most powerful King Henri, most fertile procreator of kings and princes. The city of Toulouse erected this.' AM Toulouse BB274, Chronique 240, p. 362

<sup>81</sup> Ibid. '*Suave*' was taken from Matthew 11:30: '*Iugum meum suave est, & onus meum leve*. [For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light.]' Marilyn Perry, '*Candor Illæsus*': The 'Impresa' of Clement VII and Other Medici Devices in the Vatican Stanze', *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 119, no. 895 (1977), pp. 676-83.

wedding.<sup>82</sup> As such, it must have been created with another purpose in mind. This depiction of Catherine's male relatives, all of whom were deceased, was strongly reminiscent of the arch bearing Henri II that was presented to Charles earlier in the entry, and indeed of the arch bearing François I<sup>er</sup> as the Gallic Hercules that had been made for Henri in Paris in 1549. The Medici arch was intended as *speculum principis* for Catherine; her renowned ancestors were models of piety, leadership, and political nous, from whom she was to draw inspiration as the queen mother. This function implies that Catherine was seen as an important figure in the administration of France, rather than simply as a wife and mother.

The Medici arch was completed with a series of paintings in its pedestals, the subjects of which strengthened the concept of Catherine as a political force, as well as uniting it with the more traditional maternal imagery. The first painting depicted a crowd of people, who presented a heart to the queen mother 'ainsin que faisoient jadis les Romains à la deesse', with the words: 'Tibi vitam debemus supplices offerimus.'<sup>83</sup> The second showed France receiving an anchor from Catherine with the word *Sta*; the reverse of the pedestal bore a final painting, in which Minerva wove a cloth of fleur-de-lys, accompanied by the words *Regia tota*.<sup>84</sup> Together these paintings demonstrated that Catherine, as a mother, was integral to guiding her son in matters of state.

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<sup>82</sup> See the triumphal arch that unites the royal crown with the imperial tiara, and Gallica with Germania, in the wedding entries of Charles IX and Elizabeth d'Austrice, daughter of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian II. Anonymous, *Bref et sommaire recueil de ce qui a esté fait, & de l'ordre tenue à la ioyeuse & triumpante Entree de tres-puissant, tres-magnanime & tres-chrestien Prince Charles IX. de ce nom Roy de France, en sa bonne ville & cité de Paris, capitale de son Royaume, le Mardy sixiesme iour de Mars. Avec le covronnement de tres-haute, tres-illustre & tres-excellente Princesse Madame Elizabet d'Austriche son espouse, le Dimanche vingtcinquesme. Et Entree de ladite dame en icelle ville le Ieudi XXIX. dudict mois de Mars M.D. LXXI.* (Paris: Denis du Pré, 1572), fol. 68r.

<sup>83</sup> 'As the Romans would have done to a goddess'; 'We your people owe you life and we present our lives to you.' AM Toulouse BB274, Chronique 240, p. 362.

<sup>84</sup> 'Stand [firm]'; 'Entire royal city.' Ibid.

The image of the multitudes paying homage to her as if she were a Roman goddess was multifaceted: comparison to the divine was a public recognition of her power, while the presentation of the heart and the admission that Catherine had saved their lives represented the gratitude of the local people for her efforts in restoring peace. The latter was reinforced by the image of Catherine handing an anchor to France, which was explained in the festival account as created ‘pour denoter que par sa prudence la France demeure en son estre’.<sup>85</sup> Undoubtedly, this scene was inspired by Alciato’s emblem *Princeps subditorum incolumitatem procurans* (‘The prince vouchsafing the safety of his subjects’), which consisted of a dolphin curled around an anchor, and an epigram that compared the sailors’ reliance on an anchor in a storm to the people’s dependence on the king for guidance and preservation.<sup>86</sup>

It was widely acknowledged at the time of the tour that the king’s policy of religious toleration was conceived and driven by Catherine, with the aid of the Chancellor Michel de L’Hôpital.<sup>87</sup> Yet the third image attributed her conduct to her maternal instinct rather than her own ambition. The accompanying words (*Regia tota*) referred to Paris, the personal dominion of the French kings, while the *fleur-de-lys* was a traditional symbol of the French crown, usually depicted on fields of white or azure.<sup>88</sup> The image suggested that Catherine had used her wisdom to preserve the kingdom, and in particular the capital, because it was the birthright of her son.

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<sup>85</sup> ‘To denote that, by her prudence, France had remained stable.’ Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> ‘Ceste figure en son discours/ Monstre qung roy portant le sceptre/ Doibt estre au peuple tel recours/ Que l’ancre aux mariniers scait estre.’ Emblem 144 (Paris: Lefèvre, 1536). Alciato, *Index Emblematicus*, vol. 2, n.p. The dolphin and the anchor also appears in the *Hypnerotomachia*, but it is accompanied by a circle and signifies *Semper festina tarde* (‘Always hasten slowly’). Colonna, *Hypnerotomachie*, fol. 22r.

<sup>87</sup> See chapter three.

<sup>88</sup> The *fleur-de-lys* first appeared on the seals of royal courts and towns added to the royal domain in the thirteenth century; it was formally adopted on weights and measures, royal buildings and jewellery in the fourteenth century. Its origins as the royal insignia are unclear, though it was reputed in the sixteenth century that an angel of God had presented a *fleur-de-lys* to Clovis as a sign of his divine selection to be king. Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology*, pp. 197-208.

Her role as a principal advisor was never divorced from the fact that she was Charles's mother. In Troyes, the oration that was delivered to Charles when he entered the city made the link between motherhood and wisdom less ambiguous than the complex arch in Toulouse. Special recognition was accorded to Catherine for the role she had played in re-establishing peace after the war. The king was informed:

C'est par son bon conseil que maintenant les lois  
Commandent es cités de Charles de Valois,  
C'est elle qui nous tient assurés en nos villes,  
Qui a estaint les feus de nos guerres civiles,  
Qui a chassé d'ici l'Anglois outrecuidé,  
Qui a remis le frein au peuple desbridé.  
Berecynthe en honneurs et Minerve en prudence  
Qui fait que l'âge d'or au monde recommence.<sup>89</sup>

Berecynthia was the Phrygian mother goddess, otherwise known as Cybele, who had cured Dionysus of his madness and tutored him in the Mysteries. She was adopted into Greek and Roman cults, and consequently became associated with Rhea, the goddess of the earth and mother of the first generation of Olympian gods.<sup>90</sup> Comparing Catherine with Berecynthia underpinned the notion that the queen mother had given birth to a generation of divine rulers and acted as their guide in times of need. The juxtaposition of Berecynthia and Minerva implied that Catherine's good counsel – and her desire to give it – stemmed from her maternal devotion to Charles.

The entry at Lyon went even further in its celebration of Catherine as integral to his reign. One arch in a temple was adorned with a relief of a woman who stood over a youth as he lay suckling at the teat of a peacock. A rainbow was painted in the

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<sup>89</sup> 'It is by her good counsel that the laws hold sway again in Charles's cities. It is she who holds us assured in our towns, who has extinguished the fires of our civil wars, who has chased the presumptuous English from France, who has reined in the riotous people. Berecynthia in honours and Minerva in prudence, she has made the Golden Age begin again.' Passerat, fol. 4r.

<sup>90</sup> These were Zeus, Hades, Poseidon, Demeter, Hera and Hestia. Smith, *Greek and Roman Biography*, vol. 1, p. 482; vol. 3, p. 648.

vault.<sup>91</sup> The peacock was sacred to Juno, so the scene recalled the tale that Jupiter had tricked Juno into suckling Hercules, whom she despised because he had been born of Jupiter by the mortal Alcmena. Her divine milk then allowed Hercules to enter Olympus, which his illegitimate birth would have otherwise prevented.<sup>92</sup> The rainbow denoted that Juno represented Catherine and Hercules represented Charles, which presented the idea that the queen mother was the source of her son's greatness. Catherine's exact role in this was ambiguous – it could have been merely through giving birth to him and through raising him, or perhaps even nourishing him with wise counsel. In any case, Alciato's emblem *In nothos* ('On bastards') made clear the importance of Juno in elevating Hercules, with the epigram: 'Si de Juno le laict il n'eust teté,/ (Sans qu'elle sceust) jamais Dieu n'eust este.'<sup>93</sup>

Throughout the royal tour, allusions were made to Catherine's conduct as an advisor, but seldom was the true nature of her power disclosed. However, there are two instances, both in Troyes, in which the entry organizers seem to suggest that her power in the kingdom is substantial or even equal to that of her son. The first appeared in the centrepiece of the entry: a high obelisk above a red triumphal arch, which was richly decorated with golden apples, satyrs and other paraphernalia. Just below the summit was Charles's device – two interlaced columns and the inscription *Pietate et Justitia* – and below this the arms of France. Further down were the arms of the queen mother and these verses:

Tu seras nostre Hector, nous serons tes Troyens,  
 Tes treshumbles subjectz, tes loyaux citoyens...  
 Or tout ainsi qu'on voit ferme la pyramide  
 Sans jamais s'esbranler, nous aurons envers toy

<sup>91</sup> *Discours... tresillustre... Lyon*, fol. 17v.

<sup>92</sup> The exact circumstances of the suckling vary, but the overall legend is captured in Diodorus Siculus, *Historical Library*, 4.9.1–4.10.1 and Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 9.25.2.

<sup>93</sup> 'If he had not sucked Juno's milk without her knowing it, he would never have become a god.' Emblem 139 (Paris: Marnef, 1561). Alciato, *Index Emblematicus*, vol. 2, n.p.



Un cœur ferme et constant, digne d'un si bon Roy.<sup>94</sup>

This structure was an allusion to the treasured local legend that Troyes had been founded by descendents of Hector. The inclusion of Catherine's coat of arms is unusual, and therefore of considerable interest. It was common practice for the arms of the royal family to be displayed along the procession route; for example, in the entry into Lyon, one gate bore the arms of Charles, Catherine, his brothers the duc d'Orléans and duc d'Anjou, and even those of his lieutenant and marshal, the duc de Nemours and duc de Vieilleville.<sup>95</sup> However, only Catherine's arms appeared in addition to those of Charles, and more importantly, they were included on a structure dedicated specifically to the king. This suggests that Catherine's power was again publically recognized, and that the sentiments of loyalty proclaimed on the pyramid officially belonged to Charles, but were unofficially due to her as well.

Her power was made more apparent in the second example. A triumphal arch bore a statue of a woman representing Renown, which was accompanied by the inscription: 'Patrem, et Avum, et matrem, teque et tua Carole facta nunquam defesso tollam super astra volatu.'<sup>96</sup> It is extraordinary that Catherine should be included in this illustrious company. Both François I<sup>er</sup> and Henri II were highly regarded monarchs and the verses on the arch asserted that Charles was destined to be remembered as a 'victorious and powerful king'. To place Catherine alongside these men was to affirm that she was more than simply a wife and a mother. Her power was equal to that of a French king.

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<sup>94</sup> 'You will be our Hector, we will be your Trojans,/ Your very humble subjects, your loyal citizens.../ Now just as one sees the obelisk standing firm/ Without ever shaking, we will have towards you/ A firm and constant heart, worthy of such a good king ...' *Les Triomphes... Troye*, fol. 7r.

<sup>95</sup> *Discours... tresillustre... Lyon*, fol. 20v.

<sup>96</sup> 'I am going to raise your father, your grandfather and your mother, you, Charles, and your acts beyond the stars on my indefatigable wings.' *Passerat*, fol. 6r.

## Shared Authority

It was widely accepted during the tour that Catherine de Médicis wielded unparalleled influence over her son. Charles himself, reflecting on the early years of his reign at the sessions of justice in 1571, paid homage to his mother, saying:

Après Dieu, la reine ma mère est celle à qui j'ai le plus d'obligations ; sa tendresse pour moi et pour mon peuple, son application, son zèle, sa prudence ont si bien conduit les affaires de cet Etat, dans un temps où mon âge ne me permettait pas de m'y appliquer, que toutes les tempêtes des guerres civiles n'ont pu entamer mon royaume.<sup>97</sup>

Charles had clearly allowed Catherine to take the principal role in the administration of his kingdom, and as such he had invested his authority as sovereign in her. Shared authority became a necessity based on the political divisions that existed at court and how little confidence he commanded from his people as a young king.

Both the Grandees of France and the ambassadors at court were aware of how power was distributed. In a memoir to the king and queen mother in 1564, the baron de Biron wrote that in the course of his duties in Provence, he did 'ce qui est nécessaire pour le service de Leurs Majestez, conservation de leur autorité et administration de la justice'.<sup>98</sup> This letter was addressed to both parties, but it was more common for important missives, both internal and international, to be written to

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<sup>97</sup> 'After God, the queen my mother is the one to whom I have the most obligations: her tenderness for me and for my people, her diligence, her zeal and her prudence have so well conducted the affairs of this State, in a time when my age did not permit me to apply myself to them, that all the tempests of the civil wars were unable to damage my kingdom.' Quoted in Jean Héritier, *Catherine de Médicis* (Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 1959), p. 320.

<sup>98</sup> '[T]hat which is necessary for the service of Their Majesties, the conservation of their authority and the administration of justice.' Baron de Biron to Charles and Catherine de Médicis, 28 June 1564. Anonymous, 'Notes sur le Maréchal de Biron et sur sa correspondance inédite', *Archives historiques du département de la Gironde*, vol. 14 (Bordeaux: Charles Lefebvre, 1873), p. 38.

them separately. This was to ensure that the information was not lost in transit, but principally to accord them both the respect they deserved.<sup>99</sup> Catherine often responded on behalf of her son, but the most pressing matters elicited duplicate letters from Charles and Catherine to the recipient, to ensure that the instructions were recognized as having come from the highest authority.<sup>100</sup>

Correspondence throughout Charles's reign indicated that, although he was the supreme authority in the kingdom, Catherine channelled his power. In a letter of 26 September 1563 from Sir Thomas Smith to Nicholas Throckmorton, Elizabeth I's ambassador to France, Smith recounted an instance in which Catherine had fallen ill: 'The Queen Mother is sick and in danger. If she dies, the Prince of Condé, the Constable, and the house of Chatillon will rule all; here are likely to be great garboils, especially if she dies.'<sup>101</sup> The intimation that Charles's rule would fall under the influence of one of the noble factions if Catherine died suggests that he was hugely dependent on his mother. Moreover, the fact that the letter was written after Charles had declared his majority demonstrates that Catherine's attempts to establish his authority with the royal tour were undermined from the outset, as all the significant political players were aware that she was the lynchpin in his government.

It is unclear, however, what her intentions were in taking such a dominant role in contemporary politics. For centuries, she has been condemned as a manipulative matriarch, who overshadowed her imbecile son and took control of the throne to satisfy her own unprincipled ambition. This idea originated in pamphlets that circulated following the Crown's abandonment of religious moderation for pro-

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<sup>99</sup> See the letters received by Charles and Catherine throughout BN.MS.FR 15878.

<sup>100</sup> See Charles to Elizabeth I, 10 January 1564: 'Desires that certain English pirates who have taken a ship laden with dyers' wool belonging to his subjects may be severely punished', and Catherine to Elizabeth I, 10 January 1564: 'Desires that she will cause speedy justice to be shown to the Frenchmen whose ship was taken.' *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series of the Reign of Elizabeth I*, ed. by Joseph Stevenson, (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1869; reprinted Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint Ltd., 1966), vol. 7, p. 8.

<sup>101</sup> Smith to Throckmorton, 26 September 1563. *Ibid.*, p. 534.

Catholic measures in 1568, and particularly after the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day in 1572. Catherine and Charles were accused of calling Huguenot nobles to Paris for the wedding of Marguerite de Valois and Henri de Navarre in order to have them slaughtered in the streets en masse. The unprovoked nature of the attack, and the ferocity with which it was carried out, immediately caused Huguenot writers to denounce Catherine and her son as wickedness personified.<sup>102</sup> The most venomous account was Henri Étienne's *Discours Merveilleux De La Vie, Actions & Deportemens de Catherine de Medicis Royne Mere* (1575), in which she was portrayed as a pernicious foreigner, an abusive mother and a tyrant.<sup>103</sup> Catholics, for their part, hailed the killings as just punishment for the sins of their enemies and congratulated the king and his mother on their decisiveness. Both sides agreed, however, that Paris had become a theatre of horror in the days of the massacre.<sup>104</sup>

These interpretations of Catherine's character perpetuated and by the nineteenth century, they had been cemented in the minds of historians and fiction writers alike. Jules Michelet described her as 'the Maggot from Italy's Tomb' in his *Histoire de France* (1855-1867), while Alexandre Dumas added poisoning and necromancy to her crimes in *La Reine Margot* (1845).<sup>105</sup> Even after the publication of her vast correspondence in nine volumes between 1880 and 1905, which gave greater insight

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<sup>102</sup> Jacques Pineaux, 'Poésies protestantes au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle après la Saint-Barthélemy', *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France*, no. 5 (1973), pp. 794-803.

<sup>103</sup> Étienne claimed that Catherine had planned the massacre as early as 1565, at the meeting of the French and Spanish courts in Bayonne: Henri Étienne, *Discours Merveilleux De La Vie, Actions & Deportemens de Catherine de Medicis Royne Mere : Declarant tous les moyens qu'elle a tenus pour vsurper le Gouuernement du Royaume de France & ruiner l'estat d'iceluy*. (Paris: Unknown, 1649), p. 55. Two versions, from 1575 and 1576, exist and are compared in Henri Étienne, *Discours merueilleux de la vie, actions et deportemens de Catherine de Médicis, Royne-mère*, edited by Nicole Cazauran (Geneva: Libraire Droz, 1995).

<sup>104</sup> Donald Kelley, 'Martyrs, Myths, and the Massacre: The Background of St. Bartholomew', *The American Historical Review*, vol. 77, no. 5 (1972), pp. 1339-42; James R. Smith, 'The St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre and Images of Kingship in France: 1572-1574', *SCJ*, vol. 22, no. 1 (1991), pp. 27-46.

<sup>105</sup> Quoted in Robert Knecht, 'Catherine de' Medici and the French Wars of Religion', in *The Historian* (1999), p. 18; Alexandre Dumas, *La reine Margot* (Paris: Michel Lévy frères, 1860, 2 vols).

into Catherine's ambitions and character, early twentieth century historians continued to condemn her.<sup>106</sup>

This trend was no doubt aided by the analogous historiographical approach to Charles's character. Pamphleteers blamed Charles for the massacre in its aftermath as much as they did Catherine. It was popularly opined that his poor education and his jealousy of the duc d'Anjou had eaten away at him, and this malice had been manifested in the command that the Huguenots be butchered. Certainly Louis Dauphin took this position in *Charles IX: récit d'histoire* (1670-1680), in which he claimed that Charles drowned in his own blood as just punishment for the crimes he had committed.<sup>107</sup> His renown for villainy met new heights during the Revolution; by this time the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day had come to be considered the greatest moment of national shame in French history. Charles, as its instigator, became a symbol of all that was corrupt with the monarchy. Marie-Joseph de Chénier created a particularly unfavourable portrayal of Charles in his play *Charles IX, ou l'École des Rois* (1789), which concluded with the king listing his crimes: 'Cruel, ingrat, perfide,/ Parjure a mes serments, sacrilege, homicide,/ J'ai des plus vils tyrans reuni les forfaits,/ Et je suis tout couvert du sang de mes sujets./ J'ai trahi la patrie, et l'honneur, et les lois:/ Le ciel, en me frappant, donne un exemple aux rois.'<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Gaston Dodu in 'Le Drame conjugal de Catherine de Médicis', *Revue des études historiques* (1930) and Henri de Maricourt in *Les Valois* (1939) were particularly notable for their unforgiving portrayals. See N.M. Sutherland, 'Catherine de Medici: The Legend of the Wicked Italian Queen', *SCJ*, vol. 9 (1978), pp. 45-56.

<sup>107</sup> Louis, Dauphin of France, and Jacques Bénigne Bossuet, *Charles IX: récit d'histoire*, edited by Régine Pouzet (Clermont-Ferrand: Adosa, 1993), p. 49.

<sup>108</sup> 'Cruel, ungrateful, treacherous to my oaths, sacrilege, homicide, I have brought together the crimes of the most vile tyrants. And I am soaked in the blood of my subjects. I have betrayed the motherland, and honour and the law: heaven, striking me from it, makes me an example to other kings.' Quoted in H.C. Ault, "'Charles IX, ou l'École des Rois": Tragédie Nationale', *The Modern Language Review*, vol. 48, no. 4 (1953), p. 404. See Marie-Joseph de Chénier, *Charles IX, ou l'École des Rois, tragédie* (Paris: Didot Jeune; Nantes: Chez Louis, 1790). Charles's reputation was sealed by several plays in the early nineteenth century, which embellished or took as faithful the earlier characterizations. Joseph Bernard Rosier, for example, made Charles an ill-tempered king, who blamed his behaviour on Catherine taking Anjou for her favourite: 'si vous m'aviez aimé comme vous aimez le duc d'Anjou...[if

The notion that Charles had suffered under his controlling mother had always been considered a factor in his behaviour, but it came to the forefront in the nineteenth century. In *Chronique du Règne de Charles IX* (1829), Prosper Mérimée wrote that Charles ‘n’était pas un esprit fort’ and therefore his role in massacre was difficult to determine; Catherine, on the other hand, would not have hesitated to order the murder of the Huguenots, because her love for power was so great.<sup>109</sup> Perceptions of Charles as weak-willed – and indeed medically ill – were no doubt propelled by Dumas and Michelet’s damning assessments of Catherine. This has remained a dominant theme in discussions of Charles’s reign, even among modern historians. For example, in *Charles IX: Hamlet couronné* (2002), George Bordonove painted Charles as one of the most tragic kings in French history, who grew introverted after his accession to the throne at such a young age. Not only was he crippled by the expectations placed upon him, he was increasingly isolated from his brothers, who lusted after his crown.<sup>110</sup>

However, there have been several revisionist accounts of Charles that portray him in a more favourable light. In *Charles IX* (1995), Michel Simonin maintained that the king was often overpowered by Catherine (‘[il] a été victime d’un long assassinat moral perpétré par une mère abusive’), but rejected the idea that he was weak in body or mind. He argued that Charles was passionate about hunting and physical exercise and had recognized the importance of offering patronage to intellectuals and artists as François I<sup>er</sup> had done.<sup>111</sup> This was more in line with the description offered by Smith to Elizabeth I in 1565, when marriage between the two monarchs was considered: ‘The king seems tractable and wise for his years, and

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you had loved me as you love my brother.]’ Joseph Bernard Rosier, *Charles IX, Drame en cinq actes* (Paris: J.-N. Barba, 1834), p. 21; 14.

<sup>109</sup> Prosper Mérimée, *Chronique du Règne de Charles IX* (Paris: Nelson; Calmann-Lévy, 1931), p. 13.

<sup>110</sup> George Bordonove, *Charles IX: Hamlet couronné* (Paris: Pygmalion, 2002).

<sup>111</sup> Michel Simonin, *Charles IX* (Paris: Fayard, 1995), p. 11.

understands more of his affairs and gives wittier answers that a man would easily think.’<sup>112</sup>

Both Denis Crouzet and Jean-Louis Bourgeon have asserted that Charles was far more intelligent and engaged with the duties of his office than historians have supposed. Moreover, they maintain, he ought to be absolved of much of the blame for the massacre. For Crouzet, the king was notably influenced by neo-Platonism and strove to enforce toleration in France not only out of political necessity, but out of a personal desire to see balance restored. When, in August 1572, it seemed as if peace would not come without sacrifice, Charles and Catherine mournfully ordered the assassinations of key Huguenot nobles. By no means did they sanction the horror that followed.<sup>113</sup> Bourgeon, on the other hand, defined Charles as an astute politician, who was not responsible for the widespread slaughter, but condoned it in order to avoid further conflict and the intervention of Spain. He hoped that this would placate the ultra-Catholics and allow him more time to establish toleration in France, but he was unable to achieve this before his untimely death in 1574.<sup>114</sup>

Charles’s reputation has certainly undergone rehabilitation in recent years; this has undoubtedly been prompted in part by the revisionist histories of the last fifty years, which have seen Catherine transformed from a selfish and overbearing mother to a more sympathetic figure. The driving force behind this was Nicola Sutherland who, in *Catherine de Medici and the Ancien Régime* (1966), was keen to draw attention to the almost insurmountable problems that Catherine faced after the death of Henri II, in particular the age of her children, the factions at court and the ill-

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<sup>112</sup> Smith to Elizabeth I, 15 April 1565. *CSP*, vol. 7, p. 337.

<sup>113</sup> Denis Crouzet, *La nuit de la Saint-Barthélemy: un rêve perdu de la Renaissance* (Paris: Fayard, 1994).

<sup>114</sup> Jean-Louis Bourgeon, *Charles IX Devant La Saint-Barthélemy* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1995).

defined nature of her role in government. These circumstances were explained by Catherine herself in a letter to her daughter Elisabeth, queen of Spain, in 1560:

[Le] Roy vostre père, qui m'onoret pluls que je ne méritès... Dyeu me l'a haulté, et ne se contente de sela, m'a haulté vostre frère que j'é aymé come vous savés, et m'a laysée aveque troys enfants petys, et en heun réaume tout dyvysé, n'y ayent heun seul à qui je me puise du tout fyer, qui n'aye quelque pasion partycoulyère.<sup>115</sup>

By viewing Catherine's actions in context, Sutherland managed to restore the humanity that she had so long been denied by historians.<sup>116</sup>

In *Catherine de' Medici* (1998), Robert Knecht acknowledged that Catherine should be considered in more empathetic terms and concluded that she had shown great compassion for the Huguenots in the early years of Charles's reign. However, he challenged those defenders who claimed that her approach to the religious question was consistently conciliatory.<sup>117</sup> Knecht considered the *Surprise de Meaux* in 1567 to be a turning point in Catherine's relationship with the Huguenots; she was far less inclined to aid their cause once they eschewed Charles's authority and betrayed the sanctity of his kingly body in their attempted kidnap. Yet there is no firm evidence that she bore this affront in mind at the time of the massacre. Moreover, Knecht conceded that she was reticent to do ill, as she explained to the Venetian ambassador Correro in 1568: 'Il ya des circonstances où l'on est obligé de se faire

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<sup>115</sup> 'The King your father, who honoured me more than I merited... God has taken him from me, and not content with this, he has taken your brother whom I have loved as you know. God has left me with three small children and in a completely divided kingdom, without a single person in whom I can place my trust, who does not have some particular agenda.' Catherine to Elisabeth: 7 December 1560. *LCM*, vol. 1, p. 568.

<sup>116</sup> Nicola Sutherland, *The Massacre of St Bartholomew and the European Conflict 1559-1572* (London: Macmillan, 1973).

<sup>117</sup> R.J. Knecht, *Catherine de' Medici* (London: Longman, 1998), p. 275.



violence à soi-même pour éviter de plus grands maux et se soumettre à ce qu'on n'aurait pas voulu.<sup>118</sup>

This aspect of her personality was emphasized in Denis Crouzet's *Le haut cœur de Catherine de Médicis* (2005), the title of which was taken from a memorial poem written by Etienne Pasquier that described the queen mother as 'armée d'un haut cœur'.<sup>119</sup> The heart was associated with concord, virtue and love in the Renaissance, so Crouzet questioned whether her sobriquet 'the Black Queen' truly reflected how she was seen by her contemporaries.<sup>120</sup> He concluded that, like her son, she was deeply influenced by the ideals of divine love and peace; when she realized that pacification would not resolve the conflict, her sense of neo-Platonic balance dictated that violence was necessary to restore peace. Her actions were borne of reason rather than bloodlust and she lamented having to undertake them. Thierry Wanegffelen, in *Catherine de Médicis: Le pouvoir au féminin* (2005), similarly argued that Catherine did not deserve her villainous reputation, citing misogyny, xenophobia and religious hatred as the cause of the enmity toward her. He pronounced as outdated the idea that she had pursued a malicious religious agenda in order to satisfy her own ambition and out of a desire to see the Huguenots suffer. Instead, Wanegffelen hailed her as the creator of the strategy for religious peace that would eventually be fully realized by Henri IV in the Edict of Nantes.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> 'There are circumstances in which one is obliged to turn to violence in order to avoid greater evils, and to submit to that which is unwanted.' Quoted in Knecht, *Catherine de' Medici*, p. 121.

<sup>119</sup> Etienne Pasquier, *Lettres historiques pour les années 1556-1594*, quoted by Denis Crouzet, *Le haut cœur de Catherine de Médicis: Une raison politique aux temps de la Saint-Barthélemy*, (Bibliothèque Albin Michel: Paris, 2005), p. 8.

<sup>120</sup> More favourable accounts of Catherine have surfaced in the last century, including a letter from the Venetian ambassador Barbaro to his court, in which he observed Catherine's interaction with those who had come to beg an interview and related that she granted audiences to people from all walks of life and listened so benevolently to their concerns that they could not have asked for better treatment. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

<sup>121</sup> Thierry Wanegffelen, *Catherine de Médicis: Le pouvoir au féminin* (Paris: Payout, 2005).

Few historians would now dispute that Catherine was a powerful figure at court and in French politics, but new interpretations have tended to be more nuanced in their characterizations. Her restored humanity is certainly more akin to the way in which Catherine viewed herself. In a letter to monsieur de Limoges in 1562, she declared her motivations in taking a leading role in matters of state:

Usant en cela comme une femme, mère d'un Roy pupille, qui a pensé la douceur plus convenable à ceste maladie que nul autre remède... je veoy l'honneur de Dieu pris icy en prétexte et servir d'ombre d'une des plus malheureuses et pernicieuses entreprises qui fut jamais faicte en ce royaume, duquel j'ay receu tant d'honneur que mille vyes voudrois-je employer pour la conservation d'iceluy, qui est celle des enfans dont Dieu m'a faict la grace d'estre mère.<sup>122</sup>

She became involved in the administration of the kingdom and took what to her seemed the most rational decisions not for her own sake, but for the sake of her son. This motivation is corroborated by the observations of Marcantonio Barbaro, the Venetian ambassador to France in 1565: 'Si è mostrata costante nelle avversità c'ha avuto quel regno in materia della religione cristiana, la qual ella fa profession di voler seguire e conservare, e di voler istituire il re e gli altri suoi figli, secondo l'ordine dei re passati.'<sup>123</sup>

She was driven by maternal love for Charles and for France, and chose to be portrayed as such in the iconographical representation that she controlled. After the death of her husband, Catherine styled herself as the devoted widow and protective

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<sup>122</sup> 'Behaving in this case as a woman and mother of a king who is a minor, who thought gentleness more fitting for this malady than any other remedy... I see the honour of God taken here as a pretext and cover for one of the most miserable and pernicious enterprises ever made in this kingdom, from which I have received such honour that I would wish for a thousand lives to preserve it [the kingdom], namely the life of the children whose mother I am by God's grace.' *LCM*, vol. 1, p. 293.

<sup>123</sup> 'She has remained constant in the face of the adversity which that kingdom has suffered in the matter of the Christian religion, which she professes her desire to follow and maintain, and to want to establish the king and her other children, according to the order of previous kings.' Tommaseo, *Relations des Ambassadeurs Vénétiens*, vol. 2, p. 44.

mother. To symbolize her mourning, she wore black for the rest of her life while the court was in bright colours, and she used a personalized seal and devices that emphasized her status as both the dowager queen and the mother of the kings of France.<sup>124</sup> She became particularly associated with Artemisia, the queen of Caria in the fourth century BC who ruled after the death of her husband Mausolus and raised their son to the throne. This was perpetrated both by Catherine in her design for a mausoleum for Henri II, mirroring Artemisia's creation of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, and by artists and intellectuals who wished to gain favour through appealing to her sensibilities. One such artist was Nicolas Houel, who wrote a detailed history of Artemisia and combined this with tens of drawings that captured the most important moments in her life. He dedicated this manuscript, *Histoire de la Royne Arthémise*, to Catherine in 1562.<sup>125</sup>

She may have overshadowed Charles merely out of concern to do what was best for him, but the fact that her power was so widely recognized prompts reflection on how Charles was perceived as king in both the private and public sphere. As his royal entries demonstrate, there was widespread concern that someone so young and inexperienced should be the ruler of the country. However, respect for the office of the king was such that, even if the individual wearing the crown was unsatisfactory, the people were expected to remain true to his rule. In his *Commentaires*, Blaise de Monluc hinted that each king must be treated the same as, no matter who they were as individuals, each had to fulfil the same important functions of the office. Without

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<sup>124</sup> Sheila ffolliott, 'Catherine de' Medici as Artemisia: Figuring the Powerful Widow', in M. Ferguson, M. Quilligan and N. Vickers (eds.), *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Differences in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1986), pp. 228-9; Katherine Crawford, 'Catherine de Médicis and the Performance of Political Motherhood', *SCJ*, vol. 31, no. 3 (2000), pp. 671-2.

<sup>125</sup> Margriet Hoogvliet, 'Princely Culture and Catherine de Médicis', in Martin Gosman, Alasdair MacDonald, Arjo Vanderjagt (eds.), *Princes and Princely Culture, 1450-1650* (Leiden: Brill, 2003, 2 vols), vol. 1, pp. 107-10. The history is detailed in BN.MS.FR. 306; the drawings are held in BnF, Est Reserve AD-105. Some of the images are described in Sheila ffolliott, 'Casting a Rival into the Shade: Catherine de' Medici and Diane de Poitiers', *Art Journal*, vol. 48, no. 2 (1989), pp. 138-40.

loyalty to the man and the office, civilization would be debased: 'There is no reputation without the kings; the grands would be without reputation or *honneur* and esteemed less than beasts.'<sup>126</sup> Of course, there is a wealth of literature that questions whether the motivations of the French nobility in this period were born out of earnest fealty to the Crown or out of self-interest.<sup>127</sup> While there is evidence that motivation varied from noble to noble, in principle each man was expected to serve the king to preserve his own honour.

Jean du Tillet provided a more broad response to the question of whether Charles should be treated as the supreme temporal authority at such a young age. Following the massacre at Vassy and the alleged capture of Catherine and Charles by the Guise faction, the prince de Condé released a tract detailing why the Huguenots had taken up arms and what they hoped to achieve. On behalf of the parlement, Du Tillet crafted the *Response a l'escript du ministre faict a Orleans* (1562), which admonished all Huguenots who had participated in the rebellion:

When the king offers justice, subjects cannot take it into their own hands, thus contravening God's word, much on their lips, which teaches in many places why he instituted rulers, that subjects owe submission and obedience to rulers as to his lieutenants on earth by conscience not by force, *as much to a king just a day old as to one who is of age*, and that resistance to rulers is resistance to God.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> Quoted in Robert R. Harding, *Anatomy of a Power Elite: The Provincial Governors of Early Modern France* (Yale University Press, London, 1978), p. 68.

<sup>127</sup> Sharon Kettering, 'Clientage during the French Wars of Religion', *SCJ*, vol. 20, no. 2 (1989), pp. 221-39; Sharon Kettering, 'Gift-Giving and Patronage in Early Modern France', *French History*, vol. 2, no. 2 (1988), pp. 131-51; M. Greengrass, 'Noble Affinities in Early Modern France: The Case of Henri I de Montmorency, Constable of France', *European History Quarterly*, vol. 16 (1986), pp. 275-312; Kristen Neuschel, *Word of Honor: Interpreting Noble Culture in Sixteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1989).

<sup>128</sup> Jean du Tillet, *Response a l'escript du ministre faict a Orleans* (1562), reprinted and translated in Brown, *Jean du Tillet*, pp. 80; 90. The italics are mine.

Here it is clearly stated that obedience is due to the office of the king and that the authority of the man who sits on the throne must be respected no matter what his age. Whilst it was common for a king's character and actions to inspire profound loyalty during the course of his reign, as François I<sup>er</sup> and Henri II had done, allegiance should be given to all legitimate kings by virtue of their occupying the office. Thus, the teenage Charles IX did not inspire loyalty in his subjects, but conscience dictated that they must respect his authority.

This explains why Catherine's authority, bestowed upon her by Charles, was not accurately reflected in the entries during the royal tour. Only two scenes – her coat of arms on the pyramid and the inscription that compared her to kings – suggested that she was as powerful as her son. In reality, she was probably more powerful than Charles, on account of the influence she had over him, but he was the legitimate ruler and her authority stemmed from him. Thus, it was understandable that her power was not fully acknowledged, particularly as the entry was a ceremony in which the king alone was to be celebrated. Yet it is telling that Catherine was referenced so frequently when she refused to participate in the processions. Local officials were evidently aware that Catherine was the power behind the throne and were keen for her to know that they recognized her influence. Though deference had to be paid explicitly to the king, it must have seemed wise to pay it implicitly to the queen mother as well.

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In conclusion, ceremonial entries performed during the royal tour shed considerable light on perceptions of the monarchy in sixteenth-century France, and Charles's rule

in particular. Figures from classical literature and the annals of French history were presented to Charles in a series of *specula principis*, which listed the virtues that his people expected him to embody in the future, rather than representing him as he was at that moment. These virtues combined to present the image of the ideal Renaissance monarch. Contemporary political theorists longed to see such a man take the throne, but they recognized they could not hope for such a boon in every generation. However, they continued to believe in the supremacy of monarchy over all others as a system of government, particularly as kings were understood to have been created by God to act as His representative on earth. Identical sentiments were expressed in image and word throughout Charles's entries.

Yet the affection that the people had for the monarchy could not eradicate the concern that they felt at seeing such a young king on the throne. Charles was constantly paralleled with child rulers and celebrated as one of the few who were gifted enough to restore their kingdoms so early in life. This was merely an attempt to convince the audience, which included both Charles and the local populace, that he would be able to preserve France from further conflict when the reality looked much bleaker. The most accurate representation of all of the child kings was the comparison of Charles IX and Catherine de Médicis with Louis IX and Blanche de Castille. It was public knowledge that Catherine had taken a principal role in the administration of the kingdom for Charles's sake, as Blanche had done for Louis in the Middle Ages. To prevent rumours of unlawful rule or tyranny, Catherine was at pains to demonstrate that her son was the supreme authority in the kingdom. Thus, she orchestrated the tour with this specific purpose in mind. Organizers nevertheless depicted and addressed her in entries, showing they wished to pay their respects to the power behind the throne. Although for centuries she was portrayed as ambitious

and brutal, Catherine has emerged from the imagery in these entries as one who longed for peace and did the best she could for love of her son. Charles, conversely, did not garner as much respect on account of his youth and inexperience; the loyalty that was shown to him was primarily a demonstration of loyalty to the office of the king.

## **Chapter Two**

### **Power in the Provinces**

As much as royal entries were a celebration of the monarch, they were also a celebration of the host city. Imagery relating to its foundation and prosperity demonstrated not only that the city was worthy of its privileges, but that it was the centre of a rich local identity. Under Charles IX, France remained a patchwork of previously independent territories in which local officials held considerable control. The complex political and cultural heritage of each municipality, as well as their geographical proximity to the capital, impacted on their sense of autonomy. Cities across France cultivated and maintained a relationship with the Crown, but no two bonds were the same. Entries made into the cities of Troyes, Lyon and Toulouse reflected this, in that each portrayed a different understanding of their political tie to Paris.

Troyes demonstrated its local identity through scenes that depicted its legendary Trojan roots, but it was host to the signing of a peace treaty between France and England during the tour, so much of the entry was dedicated to acclaiming the magnificence of France. However, this acclaim underpinned the close relationship that Troyes had with the Crown and how honoured it was to welcome the two courts. Lyon was presented as a profoundly intellectual and cosmopolitan city, but its prestige was well known from the many entries it had created for the court over the sixteenth century. Thus, greater consideration was given to more pressing themes, such as the administration of justice in the city. Toulouse was the most culturally and politically distinct of the three cities and the furthest from Paris, so it showed immense conceit in the scenes that exhibited its prowess. Moreover,



local leaders were seen to be held in such high esteem that the city ran the risk of causing insult to the king. However, even Toulouse conceded that it owed its loyalty to the king, who was the ultimate authority in France.

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Whilst images of the monarchy were at the core of royal entry programmes, they did not constitute the only prominent theme. As the entries evolved over time, the ceremony moved further from the simplicity of the fourteenth century; perfunctory exchanges of privilege and loyalty at the city gates, devoid of performance or elaborate ornamentation, gave way to occasions in which local authorities entertained the king over several hours. Processions in particular transformed from a short journey between the gate and the church to hear the *Te Deum*, to a meandering route through several quarters, so that more people could see the king and he could enjoy more civic decoration. This lengthened procession presented local authorities with the opportunity to exhibit the stateliness and grandeur of the municipality that welcomed him.<sup>1</sup>

Architecture and dramatic scenes described the classical origins of the city to prove that it was both noble and ancient. Homage was paid to famous sons and contemporary culture was celebrated as a mark of its accomplishments since its foundation. Parades through the streets were designed to accommodate the most impressive scenes near the houses of powerful merchants and nobles, seats of government such as the *hôtel de ville*, and principal churches and cathedrals, in order to draw attention to the wealth, power and faith within the city. This emphasis on the

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<sup>1</sup> Guenée and Lehoux, p. 9; Bryant, *King and City*, p. 24.

municipality was devised with two functions in mind: to demonstrate that it was worthy of its privileges, and to ward off unnecessary political intrusion from the Crown.

### **Worthy Cities**

With the death of each king, privileges held throughout the kingdom had to be renewed by the new monarch. Although this was usually done as a matter of course, the king could renew, suspend or discontinue these liberties at his pleasure.<sup>2</sup> The decision was usually made and processed at court, and cities were informed of the success or failure of their petitions in writing by their agents in Paris.<sup>3</sup> However, wherever possible, the king looked to renew privileges in person in his ceremonial entries.

It was in the interest of cities to create entry programmes that showcased their cultural and economic value, as well as their fidelity to the Crown. In this way, the king was provided with evidence that they were worthy of the concessions he bestowed upon them. The privileges enjoyed by early modern cities were diverse in nature, ranging from permission to hold an annual fair or public celebration, to exemption from royal taxation. Many conferred substantial financial benefits, either through generating extra income or preserving revenue for local use, so cities were exceptionally eager to retain them. Moreover, to be issued and re-issued liberties was a matter of pride; it attested that the city had been deemed superior or more prized

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<sup>2</sup> Michel de L'Hôpital was a proponent of this, believing that privileges granted by the king were only applicable during his lifetime or else it would restrict the actions of his successors. In 1560, he declined Catherine's request that the privileges of the abbey of Saint-Maur-des-Fossés be renewed, because they gave permanent exemption from the *taille*. Seong-Hak Kim, 'The Chancellor's Crusade: Michel de L'Hôpital and the Parlement of Paris', *French History*, vol. 7, no. 1 (1993), p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Timothy Watson, 'Friends at Court: The Correspondence of the Lyon City Council, c. 1525-1575', *French History*, vol. 13 (1999), no. 3, pp. 280-302.

than other metropolises, and that this status had been maintained over the centuries. The matter was so important that local officials carefully maintained the physical integrity of ancient charters to ensure that they could prove the original concession, should the Crown forget that it had been granted and no longer have copies of the agreement.<sup>4</sup>

Privileges were so coveted that the prospect of renewal generated an element of competition between cities. Similarities in entry programmes – caused by the routine appearance of figures such as Jupiter and Charlemagne – meant that the ceremonies often blended into one another, especially for Charles who made more entries in quick succession than any other French monarch. In an effort to stand out, cities masterminded entries that were as ostentatious and ingenious as they could imagine and afford. Depictions of fascinating local legends and stopping the cortège outside impressive landmarks ensured the programmes were distinctive and captured the inimitable glory of each urban centre.

In the case of the royal tour, this competition was further fuelled by the availability of festival books, which were printed and circulated shortly after entries had taken place, and the reports of scouts who had been sent to neighbouring cities by local authorities to observe the scale of the celebrations. If these methods did not produce a record of events, personal correspondence often did. One of the few printed accounts of the entry into Bordeaux was written by Thomas Richard, whose friend witnessed the ceremony firsthand and related the most memorable details to him in a letter.<sup>5</sup> Through these channels, local officials could adapt or improve their ceremonies to outshine their competitors. The importance of the king's favour and

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<sup>4</sup> Christopher R. Friedrichs, *The Early Modern City 1450-1750* (London and New York: Longman, 1995), p. 51.

<sup>5</sup> *'J'ay bien voulu Imprimer quelque chose de l'Entrée de Bordeaux: comme j'ay peu sçavoir & entendre par les lettres d'un mien amy. [I wanted to print something of the entry at Bordeaux, as I have learned a little about it through the letters of a friend.]'* Richard, fol. 1v.

the zeal with which privileges were guarded are evident from Charles's entry into Toulouse. In his welcoming speech, Jean-Étienne Durand, the *capitou* who had led the preparations for the visit, impressed upon Charles the superiority of Toulouse over other cities by claiming that it was 'seconde en grandeur mais la premiere en voulente très humble à vostre fidelle et perpetuel service'.<sup>6</sup>

### **Political Identities**

City-specific imagery was furthermore an expression of the respect that people had for local government. By the end of the fifteenth century, most of the major cities in France had been subsumed into the Crown, some as late as the conclusion of the Hundred Years' War. However, many remained strongly attached to their distinctive cultural inheritance, their political structures and their native dialects. Local identities continued to thrive centuries after the loss of independence, because the Crown had chosen to govern its new territories through decentralization. This had begun in earnest during the reign of Charles VII and was both administrative and geographical, defined by Bernard Guenée respectively as the processes in which a monarch established financial and judicial courts in the provinces, and in which these institutions were focused on a capital.<sup>7</sup>

With the decline of the great feudal dynasties, the recourse to transfer all government control to Paris was eschewed in favour of establishing sovereign courts in the provinces and allowing local administrative control to stay intact and often

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<sup>6</sup> 'Second in grandeur, but the first in commitment to your faithful and perpetual service.' AM Toulouse BB274, Chronique 240, p. 368. Paris was recognized as the greatest city in France.

<sup>7</sup> B. Guenée, 'Espace et état dans la France du bas Moyen Age', *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, vol. 23 (1968), pp. 744-58. These definitions were written in critique to J. Russell Major, *Representative Institutions in Renaissance France, 1421-1559* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1960), and are subsequently noted and agreed in J. Russell Major, *Representative Government in Early Modern France* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980), p. 3.

grow. These royal concessions were usually rewarded to cities that had remained loyal during the Hundred Years' War, but the tradition continued into the sixteenth century. Following Charles VII, who had established parlements in Toulouse (1444) and Bordeaux (1451), Charles VIII provided courts to Normandy (1499) and Provence (1501) and even paid the wages of judges in Burgundy when the Estates decided to close the parlement for economic reasons in 1484.<sup>8</sup> François I<sup>er</sup> too created courts in new territories added to the Crown, while Louis XI went further, giving cities the right to tax their citizens.<sup>9</sup>

The kings were not compelled to grant these courts, but it was certainly in their interests. Having accrued so many distinct territories and placed them within one kingdom, it was paramount that loyalty to the Crown was established above all other allegiances. Considering how large the country had become, and the relatively small size of the army, the prospect of ensuring acquiescence to the king's will through military force did not appeal. Nor did the Crown have the bureaucratic resources to administer the kingdom effectively: Roland Mousnier has calculated that in 1515 there were at least 4,041 royal officials in France, otherwise rendered as one per 115 square kilometres or one per 4,700 inhabitants. Royal officials were too few and too stretched to impose Crown policies without provincial support.<sup>10</sup> The best way to inculcate respect for monarchical authority in the sixteenth century was not to pursue administrative and geographic centralization, but to recognize and grant local desires. Conceding a degree of autonomy to proud provincial inhabitants meant less bureaucratic strain on the Crown, and it was expected that this freedom would be so welcome that obedience would be shown whenever the king did intervene.

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<sup>8</sup> Major, *Representative Government*, p. 52.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., pp. 55; 172.

<sup>10</sup> Roland Mousnier, *Le Conseil du Roi: de Louis XII à la Révolution* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1970), pp. 17-20.

This has led to many cities in sixteenth-century France being described as *bonnes villes*, a term popularized by Bernard Chevalier. He posited that these cities were markedly different from mediæval towns in terms of their political structures and mentalities. Mediæval settlements had been controlled by feudal seigneurs and lacked cohesive social identities, because they were essentially economic centres composed of disparate quartiers, each of which had its own churches, convents and cemeteries for local residents. This system did not engender a sense of community.

When local authorities were granted the right to manage their own affairs (such as security, finance and public health), the inhabitants developed a strong sense of civic duty and a more unified public consciousness. This was aided by topographical changes, such as the introduction of a communal clock and the *hôtel de ville*. The city became an urban republic and the fourth power in the kingdom, after the monarch, the Church and the aristocracy. Relations between the Crown and local authorities in this period were finely balanced, in that the city was semi-autonomous but it expected to adhere to national directives and supreme judicial rulings from Paris.<sup>11</sup> Local autonomy was altered once more in the era of absolute monarchy, when the Crown determinedly reduced the authority that had been retained in the provinces and interest in local positions declined as royal offices became more prized for their financial value and the social elevation with which they furnished holders.

One of the most important aspects of Chevalier's thesis is that it underlines the complex nature of local politics in the early modern period. The *bonnes villes* were characterized by the absence of a standardized political structure. Even the terms by which the councils were known differed: they were generally called the *échevinage*

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<sup>11</sup> Bernard Chevalier, *Les bonnes villes de France du XIVe au XVIe siècle* (Paris: Aubier Montaigne, 1982), pp. 11-7.

in the North, *consulat* in the Midi, *jurade* in Bordeaux, and *capitoulat* in Toulouse.<sup>12</sup> The councils did share some common features across the country: they were usually oligarchic, composed of a handful of members and occasionally led by a mayor. These men dealt with the everyday administration of the city, while larger councils were convoked to provide advice on more significant issues or in times of crisis. Officials tended to be notables who had come to be respected locally for their ancestry, wealth, profession, length of residence, or a combination of the above. Yet the structures were exclusive to each city, borne from its mediæval political traditions, as well as the need to adapt as the cities changed over the sixteenth century.

Power was possessed by a number of institutions, whose responsibilities were vaguely defined and often overlapped. Provincial parlements intervened in local affairs, issuing *arrêts* that dictated policies across all facets of government. Cities had to follow these measures, even if they were unwelcome. Likewise, each province had a *gouverneur et le Lieutenant-général du roi* appointed by the king, who oversaw its defence, resolved political issues and enforced royal policy whenever necessary. However, he seldom resided in the vicinity and often appointed a lieutenant in his absence. Both men involved themselves in local politics as much as they personally deemed necessary. Another office, the *gouverneur commandant pour le roi*, was appointed exclusively during times of war.<sup>13</sup> The structure of authority was so ill-defined that it was not unusual for petitions to be sent to more than one body, in the hope that it was the appropriate one to determine the solution. As Philip Benedict has noted, this multiplicity of systems and the difficulty of ascertaining jurisdictions has meant that the only way for a historian to establish who truly

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<sup>12</sup> Philip Benedict, 'French cities from the sixteenth century to the Revolution: An overview', in Philip Benedict (ed.), *Cities and Social Change in Early Modern France* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 19.

<sup>13</sup> Harding, *Anatomy of a Power Elite*, pp. 8-11; Greengrass, 'War, Politics and Religion', pp. 4-13.

administered an *Ancien Régime* city is to monitor the branches of government over an extended period.<sup>14</sup>

Blurred boundaries of authority, combined with other factors such as delays in communication brought on by poor roads and informal postal services, meant that city councils could feel isolated and act as though they governed alone.<sup>15</sup> Local councillors, who were mostly involved in the day-to-day management of the municipality, took great pride in their autonomy. They cultivated their power through visual means, for instance by carrying the canopy over the Eucharist in Corpus Christi processions. Consuls of Carcassonne wore the scarlet robes that they had been granted in 1451 on every official occasion, including Charles's royal entry.<sup>16</sup> The *capitouls* of Toulouse sought to distinguish themselves for posterity in a series of illuminations in their *Annales de la Ville*. There are no fewer than eight, three of which detail their central roles in ceremonial entries as canopy-bearers and the welcome party that granted the king access to the city on behalf of the people; the other five illuminations depict the *capitouls* in dignified group poses. In every image, they are wearing their signature red and ermine robes.<sup>17</sup>

This awareness and celebration of their own status was certainly aided by the fact that in some major cities the top administrative positions conferred ennoblement

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<sup>14</sup> Philip Benedict, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 31. One of the most informative accounts of the political hierarchies is Salmon, *Society in Crisis*, pp. 59-73.

<sup>15</sup> Cristina Borreguero Beltrán, 'Philip of Spain: The Spider's Web of News and Information', in Brendan Dooley (ed.), *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe*, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 23-50.

<sup>16</sup> Bouges, *Histoire Ecclesiastique*, p. 324.

<sup>17</sup> AM Toulouse BB274, Chroniques 210; 211; 212; 216; 219; 220; 227; 230. Specially commissioned portraits of the councillors were also painted by Jean Chalette (1581-1643), who was a native of Troyes but moved to Toulouse to decorate the *hotel de ville* and found such favour there that he remained until his death. Two copies of his *Portraits de Quatre Capitouls de Toulouse* (1617) are currently held by the Musée des Augustins, Toulouse, and the Musée Saint-Loup, Troyes. His *Portrait de Capitouls Nommes Par Arret Du Parlement Le 28 Novembre 1622* (c. 1623), which portrays the officials prostrate at the feet of Christ on the Cross, is also held at the Musée des Augustins. For Chalette, see Michael Bryan, *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers: Biographical and Critical*, edited by Robert Edmund Graves (London: George Bell and Sons, 1886-1889, 2 vols), vol. 1, p. 261.



on the holder. For example, mayors, *échevins* and councillors in La Rochelle and Poitiers were raised to the nobility from 1372, and mayors in Dijon joined the elite classes from 1491.<sup>18</sup>

Offices were very attractive, particularly to merchants and the bourgeoisie, for the honour and entitlement they bestowed, but a real sense of civic duty was necessary to perform all of the related obligations. The positions were rarely salaried and councillors were often compelled to use their own money to realize a project. Reimbursement of these loans took months or years to process; some councillors were never repaid. The job was also tremendously demanding, as any prolonged study of city council records from this period demonstrates. Councillors had to deal with all manner of problems, ranging from repairing bridges, to compensating for poor harvests, to leading crack-downs on immoral behaviour, to organising processions, to marshalling arms-bearers to protect the city from trouble within and without. As noted in the *Annales de la Ville*, the Toulousain officials had to be:

[H]uict personnaiges citoyens d'icelle fort saiges, prudens et experimentez, non moings desireux du bien commun, paix, repos et tranquillité publicque, que studieux et soigneux du service divin, obeysance du roy, conservation et entretenement des habitans bons et loyaulx subjectz du roy de sa magesté.<sup>19</sup>

It should not come as a surprise therefore that royal entries reflected the high esteem in which these men – who were the organizers – held themselves and their cities.

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<sup>18</sup> Hilary J. Bernstein, *Between Crown and Community: Politics and Civic Culture in Sixteenth-Century Poitiers*, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2004), p. 33; Judith Pugh Meyer, *Reformation in La Rochelle: Tradition and Change in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1568* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1996), p. 28; Mack P. Holt, 'Popular Political Culture and Mayoral Elections in Sixteenth-Century Dijon', in Mack P. Holt (ed.), *Society and Institutions in Early Modern France*, (Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1991), p. 104.

<sup>19</sup> '[E]ight citizens, each one wise, prudent and experienced, no less desirous of the common good, peace, calm and public tranquillity, than studious and conscientious in his divine worship, obedience to the king, the conservation and maintenance of the good inhabitants and loyal subjects of his majesty the king.' AM Toulouse BB274, Chronique 240, p. 323.

Yet, the above passage reveals a crucial detail that bumptious local authorities had to bear in mind: their right to exercise power was a gift from the king. Political and judicial institutions had been created by royal grant, so their power was limited; their decisions could be frustrated or eclipsed, and they were obliged to implement the policies handed down to them by superior officials and the king. In essence, the authority of local officials was only a reflection of the monarch's authority.<sup>20</sup>

However, both the king and his councillors acknowledged this relationship, which was one of co-operation rather than unnecessary antagonism. Indeed, Hilary Bernstein has argued that local authorities valued this collaboration over autonomy, as it provided the best results for the community.<sup>21</sup> While this may not be true for all communities, councillors were renowned by their contemporaries for dedicating themselves to the welfare of their people in all circumstances. The impression created by the entries during the royal tour is certainly that, although the cities visited regarded themselves as semi-autonomous and were eager to defend their political traditions, local officials and the populace recognized the ultimate authority of the king.

### **Troyes: The Neighbouring City**

Only ninety miles to the south-east of Paris, Troyes was the closest of the three cities to the French capital. It was famed for its classical origins, having been founded some time during the Roman era as a point of connection on trade routes through the Empire. Troyes was first named *Augustobona*, but was home to the Gallic tribe, the Tricasses, and so the city later became known as *Tricassium* or *Tricassae*, from

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<sup>20</sup> Benedict, 'French cities', p. 19.

<sup>21</sup> Bernstein, *Between Crown and Community*, p. 6.

which the name Troyes derives.<sup>22</sup> A prosperous fair-town in the twelfth century, it was annexed to the Crown in 1286 after Jeanne, the only living child of the last independent count of Champagne, Henri III, was betrothed to Philip IV of France in 1285. She inherited the territory upon her marriage and passed it down through her descendants as part of the Crown.<sup>23</sup> Although Troyes suffered a decline in importance when it lost its political independence, it continued to trade and to expand. In a levy of 1538, the city was listed as the seventh largest in the kingdom.<sup>24</sup> By this time, it was commonly claimed that the city had originally been founded by refugees from the Trojan War, lending Troyes a sense of even greater antiquity and purpose. Its classical roots, both real and imagined, were a particular source of pride.

These roots were celebrated in the centrepiece of Charles's royal entry. This was the obelisk that bore the coats of arms of both the king and the queen mother, and an inscription that read in part: 'Tu seras nostre Hector, nous serons tes Troyens,/ Tes treshumbles subjectz, tes loyaux citoyens.'<sup>25</sup> In describing themselves as Trojans and pledging loyalty to Charles as if he were Hector, the entry organizers inspired reflection on the city's mythical foundation. The Trojans were renowned as a noble race, who had shown phenomenal military strength and above all honour in their defence of Helen and the city during the siege of Troy.<sup>26</sup> Their depiction implied that their supposed descendants, the Troyens, had inherited these virtues. This made the city of Troyes not only prestigious because it had been founded by foreign kings, but

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<sup>22</sup> Ptolemy, *Geography*, 2.8.10; Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 4.32.

<sup>23</sup> Theodore Evergates, *The Aristocracy in the County of Champagne, 1100-1300* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), pp. 56-7.

<sup>24</sup> Penny Roberts, *A City in Conflict: Troyes during the French Wars of Religion* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 12.

<sup>25</sup> See pp. 77-8.

<sup>26</sup> Homer, *Iliad*.

also because its people were of ancient and noble blood. It was designed to leave Charles in little doubt that the city was worthy of its privileges.<sup>27</sup>

The inscription equally functioned as a promise of allegiance to the king, as the Trojans had stood by Priam and Hector. This was more elaborately expressed in a second inscription on the pyramid:

Non haec Niliaco moles insana labore  
Pyramis extructa est, quæ vertice sidera tangat,  
Esse sue fidei populus monimenta Trecensis,  
Rex invicte cupit: nanque hæc ut marmora cernis  
Stare loco semper, nec ab ulla parte moveri:  
Sic constans et firma fides est nostra futura,  
Quam nec vis hominum nec flexet ira deorum.<sup>28</sup>

Although the pyramid glorified the city, its creators were at pains to show that its construction had been inspired by the desire to show that their devotion to the king was both unending and unyielding.

It is perhaps surprising that no further examples were constructed to celebrate the fascinating – if fantastic – history of Troyes and that no mention of its modern-day successes was made at all. There was, however, one scene in which Troyes was

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<sup>27</sup> All of the *échevins* from 1562 (Estienne Camusat, Laurent Chantreau, Jean Lescot, and Benoist le Gras) and 1563 (Pierre Mauroy, François Verdier, Laurent Milet, and Nicolas Soret) appear to have had a hand in organising Charles's entry as they each sign the account book, along with Dominique Florentin (Le Florentin), who was the principal sculptor and painter in charge of decoration, Claude Pinette, the mayor, and Noël Coiffart, the lieutenant-général du bailliage: AM Troyes K9, fol. 61v; M., A. de, 'Liste des échevins de la ville de Troyes', *Revue de Champagne et de Brie*, T. 7 (1895), pp. 5-18. Jean Passerat, the famous poet, did not sign the book but did set the programme and compose many of the verses, including the *Chant d'allegresse*. For receipts and accounts from the entry, detailing all those who took part in its construction, see AM Troyes, AA 44, liasse 2. A brief summary is provided in Lucien Coutant, 'Dépenses du Roy Charles IX à Troyes, Le Mercredi 5 Avril 1564 après Pâques' and 'Dépenses du Roy Charles IX à Troyes, Le Samedi 8 Avril 1564', *Société Académique de Département de l'Aube, Annuaire Administratif, Statistique et Commercial du Département de l'Aube* (Paris and Troyes: Schulz et Thuillier, and Bouquot, 1859-60), pp. 89-94; pp. 101-6.

<sup>28</sup> 'This is no obelisk, no pile of stone raised through Egyptian toil in the hope of reaching the stars with its summit. The people of Troyes, O unconquerable King, wish this to be a memorial of their loyalty. For just as you see how this marble stands ever fixed, so shall our loyalty be; firm and steadfast, a loyalty that neither human violence nor the gods' anger can shake.' *Les Triomphes... Troye*, fols 7v-8r.

represented and fêted in conjunction with Paris. A triumphal arch bore the device of the king – two interlaced columns, surmounted by a crown of gold and the words *Pietate et Justitia* – on each of its pillars. The device on the left was attended by a female personification of the Seine, who stood pouring water from the vase in her hands; the image was replicated on the right, but the woman represented the Aube. Both figures were surrounded by cavalry battle scenes and trophies of war.<sup>29</sup> The two rivers mirrored each other, which evoked the idea that, like the two columns of the king's device, Paris and Troyes were inextricably intertwined. This scene was inspired in part by the geography of the cities: the Aube is a tributary of the Seine, but both Paris and Troyes are built upon the Seine. However, it also implied that the two cities enjoyed a close political relationship, particularly as the rivers seemed to show identical devotion to Charles's device, which was a symbol of his rule and his office.

Other than these few instances, the entry at Troyes abstained from commemorating the city in an ostentatious fashion. Instead, it was designed to illustrate the magnificence of both the king and his kingdom. Glorification of France was achieved throughout the entry, but exemplified in a single scene. The procession encountered a statue of France, which took the form of a woman dressed in a silver gown with red damask sleeves, over which was draped a purple satin robe covered in fleur-de-lys. She wore a gold crown, and in her right hand held an angel that clutched a crown of laurels and a golden palm tree, the symbols of victory and triumph respectively. In her left hand, France held a lance with a military flag at its tip. The foot of the statue was decorated with a cockerel and a globe painted blue, both surrounded by military flags and the arms of subjugated kingdoms. Its base was

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., fol. 6r-6v.

completed with ‘autres choses magnifiques’ like corselets, helmets, cutlasses and arrows. In the accompanying inscription, France declared: ‘Imperii sceptrum donec gestabit aviti/ Carolus innumeris florebo ornata tropheis.’<sup>30</sup>

As a symbol, the cockerel in particular had been long associated with France. The Romans had first used it as a form of witty derision, because the Latin words for cockerel (*gallus*) and for an inhabitant of Gaul (*Gallus*) were homonyms. The association was made periodically up to the twelfth century, when it gained popularity among rival kingdoms. The cockerel was considered a ridiculous creature because its size was disproportionate to the extreme vanity and aggression that it displayed. Moreover, it could hardly compare with the majestic animals that had become the attributes of other nations (for example, the Holy Roman Imperial eagle, the Spanish lion, and the English leopard). As a result, the wordplay was exploited in foreign propaganda for centuries.<sup>31</sup>

In response to this, the Valois sovereigns decided to adopt the symbol and attempt to control its meaning; once an emblem of mockery, the cockerel became lauded for its vigilance against the dark. Alciato had depicted the rooster as a weathervane on top of a temple, with a lion at the front door in the emblem *Vigilantia et Custodia* (‘Vigilance and Protection’), with an epigram that read: ‘Le Coq chantant annonce jour levant,/ Et au labour appelle le servant. Car l’ærain/ Sonnant, reveille à Dieu le souverain. Le Lyon est dorma[n]t, l’œil ouvert, ample./ Et pource il est mis au portal du temple.’<sup>32</sup> Its value as a religious symbol was thus similarly evoked, because in the Gospel Peter is warned by Jesus that he will deny

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<sup>30</sup> ‘As long as Charles bears the sceptre of his ancestral kingship, I will flourish, adorned with countless trophies.’ *Les Triomphes... Troye*, fols 4r-4v.

<sup>31</sup> Michel Pastoureau, ‘The Gallic Cock’, in *Realms of the Past: The Construction of the French Past, Volume III: Symbols*, edited by Pierre Nora and translated by Arthur Goldhammer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), p. 407; 411.

<sup>32</sup> ‘The cock crowing announces daybreak, and calls the servant to work. For sounding brass wakes us to our sovereign lord. The lion is sleeping, its eye open and wide; and because of this it is placed at the gates of the temple.’ Emblem 15 (Paris: Marnef, 1561). Alciatus, *Index Emblematicus*, vol. 2, n.p.

him three times before the rooster crows; as such the cockerel became a reminder to all Christians of the fate of Christ.<sup>33</sup> François I<sup>er</sup> was particularly enthusiastic about its value as an emblem, because the beast was a known attribute of several classical gods, including Mars and Mercury.<sup>34</sup> Yet, the rise in the cockerel as a symbol of the French monarchy and state was essentially fuelled by the increased use of bestiary heraldry across the European states in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Continuous political tension and conflict prompted each nation to choose an animal attribute that represented its fighting spirit.<sup>35</sup> After such a long and complex history, the rooster was the obvious emblem for France.

From this context, it is possible to ascertain the meaning of the scene at Troyes. The statue and its paraphernalia were devised to accentuate the military might of France. The cockerel embodied fighting spirit, while the globe painted blue (the colour of the monarchy) and the arms of the subjugated kingdoms represented the destiny of the French to conquer the rest of the world and have their monarch hold dominion over land and sea. This was reinforced by the angel holding the symbols of victory and triumph and the inscription that claimed France would flourish and reap endless fruit from its conquests as long as Charles was king.

While this attitude was regularly evoked in entries, it was at its most prominent in Troyes. The only other explicit example in the tour occurred in the entry into Narbonne, when a troupe of fifty to sixty young children marched before the king carrying banners in his colours and Henri d'Authemar, the son of the seigneur de Treilles, declared on their behalf: 'Sire, bien que les ans ne nous permettent pas/ De vestir le harnois, nous avons espérance/ Quelque jour dessous vous borner plus loin

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<sup>33</sup> Jesus tells this to Peter in the Gospel of Matthew 26:33-35; Mark 14:29-31; Luke 22:33-34; and John 13:36-38.

<sup>34</sup> Pastoureau, 'Gallic Cock', p. 414.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

la France/ Et désirons pour vous mourir tous aux combats.’<sup>36</sup> Otherwise, military might and world domination were only obliquely referenced in harangues and civic decoration that captured another theme.

Indeed, the entry at Troyes is remarkable when compared to those made in other cities for shunning the common tendency to self-promote and instead displaying robust national sentiment. However, each of the scenes explored – the commemoration of the city’s Trojan origins, the Seine and the Aube intertwined, and France with her cockerel – reveal a distinct aspect of local identity in Troyes. The first demonstrated the pride that Troyens took in their heritage and shared a distinctive public consciousness. The second and third ought to be read together, as they reveal the strong bonds that the city had with the capital and the monarchy. Troyes had retained its own identity while seeing itself as part of the larger whole; it sought the renewal of its privileges and the preservation of its institutions, but was passionate about its shared culture with Paris and invested in the destiny of France.

It was little wonder that Troyes had developed a close relationship with Paris. The city had been under the control of the Crown for almost three hundred years, so it had acclimatized to the influences and demands that came from the capital. Most of the major political and judicial decisions that affected Troyes and Champagne in general were made in Paris.

There were a number of local officials who administered Troyes: the *bailli* and three *lieutenants* (*criminal*, *général*, and *particulier*), who facilitated royal justice and a council that consisted of a mayor, eight *échevins* and twenty-four councillors.<sup>37</sup> These offices had existed for centuries and had changed very little in nature, so they

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<sup>36</sup> ‘Sire, although our years do not permit us/ To wear armour, we hope/ Some day under you to mark the boundaries of France ever farther/ And we all wish to die for you in combat.’ ‘L’Entrée de Charles IX à Narbonne’, p. 93.

<sup>37</sup> Roberts, *City in Conflict*, pp. 14-5.



were cherished by the local populace and the men who held them in particular as a political tradition that could not be repressed by the Crown. Indeed, local officials often objected to intervention from outside on the grounds that these parties presumed to interfere in their jurisdiction. For instance, the ‘meddling’ of military commanders during the first war of religion was resisted by municipal authorities to such a degree that the locals were labelled as obstructionist.<sup>38</sup> However, their power was limited to the affairs and maintenance of the city itself.

Champagne did not have its own provincial Estates, so it was unable to raise objections or provide consent to royal taxation through its assemblies. This may well have checked its independent spirit, as in parts of the kingdom such as Comminges and Burgundy the estates were the most important and influential body in the province.<sup>39</sup> Nor did Champagne have its own parlement, which meant that there was no institution that was able to refuse ratification of Crown legislation or to call Charles to a *lit de justice*. All major criminal and civil cases that ought to have been heard within a provincial appeal court were instead tried in Paris. The lack of both institutions made Troyes, as part of Champagne, reliant on the capital. Furthermore, there was no university in the province until one was founded in Reims by the cardinal de Lorraine in 1548, which led the brightest minds to leave Champagne in order to study in Paris, Languedoc or elsewhere on the continent.

These factors led A.N. Galpern to note that ‘for matters judicial, political and intellectual, Champagne depended on guidance from outside’.<sup>40</sup> Yet, this was not understood to be detrimental to the reputation of the city. On the contrary, such a

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<sup>38</sup> Mark W. Konner, *Local Politics in the French Wars of Religion: The Towns of Champagne, the Duc de Guise, and the Catholic League, 1560-95* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p.84.

<sup>39</sup> J. Russell Major, *From Renaissance Monarchy to Absolute Monarchy: French Kings, Nobles & Estates* (Maryland: John Hopkins University Press, 1994), pp. 42-3.

<sup>40</sup> A.N. Galpern, *The Religions of the People in Sixteenth-century Champagne* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1976), p. 7.

close relationship with Paris elevated the standing of Troyes; it was already renowned as an important provincial market, and to this was added its status as a prominent supporter and satellite of the capital. This situation was confirmed by the Crown's decision to hold the signing of a new treaty in Troyes, even though it had already given its name to the Treaty of Troyes (1420).<sup>41</sup> This was a matter of great pride for the city, as the signing marked a historic moment for which Troyes would always be remembered.

However, the bond between the two cities should not have barred the organizers in Troyes from using the royal entry as a means to express their political concerns. No doubt the absence of potentially controversial content resulted from the pressure to act as the perfect stage of the treaty declaration.<sup>42</sup> Confirmed on 11 April 1564, the treaty between Charles IX and Elizabeth I marked the return of the port of Le Havre to France after its occupation by English forces during the first war of religion, the release of hostages, and the establishment of 'free intercourse and navigation for the purposes of commerce'.<sup>43</sup> John de Morvilliers, the bishop of Orléans, and Jacques de Bourdin signed the treaty on behalf of Charles, while Sir Nicholas Throckmorton and Sir Thomas Smith signed on behalf of Elizabeth.<sup>44</sup> It is highly probable that Smith attended not only the signing, but also Charles's ceremonial entry on 23 March.

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<sup>41</sup> This treaty declared Henry V of England the successor to the French throne upon the death of Charles IV of France: Anne Curry, 'Two Kingdoms, One King: The Treaty of Troyes (1420) and the Creation of a Double Monarchy of England and France', in *The Contending Kingdoms: France and England, 1420-1700*, edited by Glenn Richardson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 35-42.

<sup>42</sup> There were scenes that functioned as a *speculum principis*, so this could be taken as a demonstration of what the local populace expected Charles to become, but equally viewers could have read them merely as representations of truth. They posed no threat to the reputation of the king.

<sup>43</sup> Pithou, *Chronique de Troyes*, vol. 2, p. 573. The treaty was drawn up on 16 March, concluded with four additional clauses on 11 April at Troyes, published in Paris on 23 April, and then ratified by Charles on 1 May at Bar-le-Duc. Elizabeth authorized Lord Hunsdon on 2 May to depart for France to present Charles with entrance to the Order of the Garter, but she also charged him to witness Charles take his oath to uphold the Treaty of Troyes on 26 May. Charles took the oath in the cathedral at Lyon on 24 June. *CSP*, vol. 7, p. 100; 123; 140; 164. Abel Jouan erroneously states that the peace was confirmed on 6 April 1564: Jouan, fol. 10v.

<sup>44</sup> Treaty of Troyes, letters 307-10, 11 April 1564: *CSP*, vol. 7, p.100.

While John Somers was specifically dispatched by Elizabeth on 17 March to undertake the conclusion of the peace and would not arrive until 31 March, both Throckmorton and Smith were already at court.<sup>45</sup> Throckmorton, the English ambassador to France, had been under house arrest for months because Catherine had suspected him of spying; Smith had been sent by Elizabeth I to negotiate his release, which was to come into effect under the terms of the treaty.<sup>46</sup> Both Throckmorton and Smith were compelled by their commission to remain with the king's court wherever it went in order to provide Elizabeth with the most accurate information, so they too had embarked on the tour around the country. Unfortunately, no (extant) letters were sent to Elizabeth or William Cecil, her chief councillor, from either Throckmorton or Smith between 9 March, at which time they were in Melun, and 8 April, when the letters were signed as having been written in Troyes.<sup>47</sup> It is thus difficult to state categorically that they arrived on time to witness the ceremony. However, as representatives of the English queen, they were regarded as important figures at court, and so they would probably have journeyed in the principal entourage and entered the city at the same time as Charles.<sup>48</sup>

Throckmorton most likely did not attend the ceremony: he wrote to Elizabeth to complain that he had been brought to Troyes as a prisoner and had been treated as one for the duration of the visit. He reported that the windows of his lodgings were purposely barred and grilled with iron, and that no one was allowed to speak with

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<sup>45</sup> Elizabeth I to Smith, 17 March 1564: *Ibid.*, p. 83. Although he had arrived at Paris on 23 March, Somers was delayed at St. Germain; he and Smith finally met with Catherine on 1 April.

Throckmorton to Elizabeth I, 8 April 1564: *Ibid.*, p. 96.

<sup>46</sup> Instructions to Throckmorton and Smith, 16 March 1564: '... it should be accorded that Throckmorton should be put to full liberty as soon as they shall have sealed this treaty upon the conclusion of the peace.' *Ibid.*, p. 81.

<sup>47</sup> Smith to Cecil, 9 March 1564; Throckmorton to Elizabeth I, 8 April 1564. *Ibid.*, pp. 73; 96-8.

<sup>48</sup> The arrival of such a large entourage was staggered, but the main actors at court would usually arrive at the same time as the king. Boutier et al, pp. 112-3; 116.

him except Smith and Somers.<sup>49</sup> However, Smith was certainly able to observe the ceremony. He would have been struck particularly by the statue of France, holding aloft the symbols of triumph and victory, with a cockerel and the world at her feet. Its insinuation, that France was destined to conquer all nations and defend its borders with equal vigour, should be understood in the context of the Treaty of Troyes. This part of the entry exhibited to the English ambassador that France was able and willing to carry out military action in order to defend its lands, among which it counted Le Havre. The organizers likely anticipated that this would cause a stir and would be relayed to England. In the end, no description was entered into the correspondence, but this was not unusual. Of all the entries that the ambassadors attended, only the show of military force at Bordeaux was notable enough to garner mention: ‘At the king’s entry on the 9<sup>th</sup>, the town of Bordeaux made a brave show of their forces. There were above 2000 warlike men in divers bands, and four ensigns of pikes and arquebusiers.’<sup>50</sup>

Smith’s presence and the imminent signing of the treaty similarly explain why the organizers at Troyes did little to bolster the city’s image in the entry. They had to show that the city was united with the rest of the kingdom under its monarch, and thought of its own identity only as a secondary course. However, it would be rash to suggest that the imagery in the entry was created solely with the ambassador in mind. Undoubtedly the ceremony was a public affirmation of the strength of France, and a demonstration of the pride that swelled in the heart of the nation at having triumphed

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<sup>49</sup> Throckmorton to Elizabeth I, 8 April 1564: *CSP*, vol. 7, p. 98. However, Elizabeth was keen that he should be involved in the discussions for the treaty, to ensure that he was released, writing in a letter to Smith on 17 March 1564: ‘[Somers] and Throckmorton are to treat jointly; and therefore he shall procure that Throckmorton may come where they may confer together, and that some persons may be authorized to treat with them.’ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

<sup>50</sup> Occurrences in France, 11 April 1565: *Ibid.*, p. 331.

over the English in their reclamation of Le Havre. The imagery tapped into the spirit in which the treaty was made.

Yet the idiosyncratic nature of the ceremony hints that the entry organizers were uncertain of what tone to strike on this occasion. Troyes was reasonably seasoned at providing ceremonial entries to important figures. It had welcomed Éléonore d'Austriche, wife of François I<sup>er</sup>, and the royal children in 1534; Henri II had brought Catherine in 1548; and governor François, duc de Guise, had brought his bride Anne d'Este, also in 1548. Governors of Champagne and Brie were often given ceremonial entries because the occasion was, at its root, a ritual consisting of an exchange of loyalty from the people and a promise of safety and justice from the figure of authority. The most recent of these had been for the duc d'Aumale in 1563, though they had occurred regularly throughout the 1540s.<sup>51</sup>

In these cases, however, the tone that the ceremony should take was much clearer to those constructing it. With brides and wives, themes to be included were the joyful union of two houses, the fecundity of the women, and the fruitfulness that this new political situation and ensuing heirs would bring to France.<sup>52</sup> For governors, entries were shorter in length, and much less elaborate in content, as they were meant to demonstrate adherence to his will but recognition that his position was at the discretion of the king. Usually the procession simply involved a welcome speech, the presentation of gifts, and an introduction to the important sites of the city, such as the *hôtel de ville*, before retiring to supper.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Archives municipales de Troyes (AM Troyes), Fonds Boutiot AA 44, liasse 1: Éléonore and the children, 1534 (fols 44-133); duc de Guise and d'Aumale, 1541, 1543 and 1547 (fols 134-160); duc de Nevers, 1546-1547 (fols 162-173); Henri II and Catherine de Médicis, 1548 (fols 174-263); Princess of Ferrara, duc de Guise and M. De Troyes, 1548 (fols 264-278); duc d'Aumale, 1563 (fols 278-327).

<sup>52</sup> These themes are prominent in the entry of Charles IX and Elisabeth d'Austriche into Paris in 1571.

<sup>53</sup> See 'Entrée du Prince de Condé Dans Amiens' (1565) and 'Entrée du Duc de Longueville À Amiens' (1571), both governors of Picardy at the time of their entries, in Vaillancourt, *Entrées Solennelles*, p. 348; 350.

Presenting an entry to Charles in 1564 would have proved very difficult, as there was nothing typical about his circumstances. He was a teenager seeking assurance that his people trusted in his authority when few actually did. He sought to establish peace when most cities were still fractious and the persistence of small-scale religious violence foreshadowed a renewal of conflict. It must have seemed sensible to transcend the intricacy of the political and religious uncertainty in which the country found itself, and to focus merely on lauding the king and his kingdom in customary fashion. Similarly, Troyes did not have the benefit of other entries made during the tour to guide it in terms of content. Accounts of prior ceremonies would have reached cities further south, which were then able to amend the scale and tone of their contents. Unfortunately for Troyes, it was one of the first major towns to host the ceremony.<sup>54</sup>

The overall difficulty was compounded by the fact that the city had very little money to spend on its design and construction. Strained finances are referenced more than once in the city council records. On 10 March, whilst in the midst of preparation, concern was voiced that the dressing of effigies should be done for as little money as possible. On 18 April, after the ceremony had been held, the council proposed the reuse and publication of the ‘artifices...et aultres ouvrages’ and the sale of wood salvaged from the decorations in order to defray costs.<sup>55</sup> Even if the organizers had wished to depict more scenes, the city could not afford to pay for it.

Yet the visit from the English ambassador was far more influential in moulding the royal entry than either a lack of guidance from other cities or money. The

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<sup>54</sup> Charles had entered Moret-sur-Loing, Montereau-faut-Yonne and Villeneuve-l’Archevêque, but these were small villages; he actually passed through Moret-sur-Loing after his entrance without stopping. Only Sens, which was a reasonably large town at the time, provided a notable entry before Charles arrived at Troyes. Jouan, fols 7v; 8r.

<sup>55</sup> ‘Devices... and other works’. This included the architectural features, paintings, statues, and specially-commissioned poetry. AM Troyes, Fonds Boutiot, A14, fol. 124r (10 March 1564); fols 128v-129r (18 April 1564).

requirement that Troyes create a ceremony that portrayed the king and the kingdom as majestic and universally acclaimed prevented further reflections on the city's rich local identity. Moreover, it clouded how the Troyens genuinely viewed their king. The city did utilize the traditional rhetoric that Charles's right to rule was divinely ordained. This was seen on the tablet placed above his lodgings, which read '[Dieu] a donné par les peuples divers/ Des Rois, portaits de son divin image/ Ausquelz il fault que l'homme face hommage.'<sup>56</sup> This sentiment was elaborated upon in a separate monument, in which two pillars bore statues of women representing Piety and Justice, who held a gold crown and a globe above their heads. Between the two pillars hung the interlaced columns of Charles's device and an inscription:

La Pieté & la Justice aussi,  
 Sont les deux poincts qui font regner icy  
 Les Roys, qui sont de Dieu l'image sainte  
 La Pieté leur engendre la craincte  
 De L'eternel, qui remarque des Cieux  
 Les Roys qui sont vers luy devotieux  
 Et la Justice ordonne par les villes  
 Status & loix, ordonnances civiles,  
 Et le proffit du Peuple va cherchant,  
 Loyer du bon, la terreur du meschant...  
 Vous nostre Roy, Charles, qui de jeune aage  
 Avez du Ciel, ces deux biens en partage,  
 Vous regnerez seurement en ce lieu,  
 Faisant Justice, & devot envers Dieu.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> See p. 40.

<sup>57</sup> Piety and Justice/ Are the two points that make kings rule here, who are made in God's holy image/Piety engenders in them the fear/ of the Eternal one who observes from the Heavens/ Those Kings, who are devoted to him./ And Justice ordains throughout the towns/ Statutes and laws, civil orders/ And goes searching for the profit of the people/ Reward for the good, the terror of the bad.../ You our King, Charles, who from your youth/ have from Heaven these two virtues allocated to you/ You will reign surely in this place/ Making Justice and being pious towards God.' *Les Triomphes... Troye*, fol. 5r.

Charles was repeatedly described as having been made by God, so that he could act as His representative on earth. Concerns that his youth would prevent him from ruling effectively are veiled in the above reference to his 'jeune aage'. However, they found more explicit expression in the statue of the child king Louis IX, who sat on his throne and was accompanied by inscribed verses that encouraged Charles to reign with justice and prudence, as his predecessor had done at the same age.<sup>58</sup>

Both the firmly-held belief in the divine nature of the monarchy, and the expression of concern for Charles's age have been explored in the preceding chapter, and certainly their appearance in Troyes is in line with themes in other entries. However, it is difficult to tell whether the esteem for the monarchy was over-emphasized for the sake of the visiting courts. It is thus necessary to compare the entries with other sources to discern how the Troyens truly felt about Charles and the office he represented.

One of the most important sources for public opinion in Troyes is a survey carried out by the city council in April 1563, in which deputies went door-to-door to ask residents whether they belonged to the Catholic faith and whether they objected to Protestant worship in the city.<sup>59</sup> Its value lies in the fact that it gave the individually worded responses of those asked. The survey was obviously designed to produce an anti-Huguenot response, but there were a number of residents – Catholic, Huguenot and undetermined – who refused to provide the answers desired by the council. For instance, the wife of a doctor who had held Protestant services in the 1550s would not entertain the survey because she had already declared her loyalty to God and to the king.<sup>60</sup> Only one man argued that the Huguenots should be punished

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<sup>58</sup> See pp. 68-9.

<sup>59</sup> Penny Roberts, 'Religious Conflict and the Urban Setting: Troyes during the French Wars of Religion', *French History*, vol. 6, no. 3 (1992), pp. 259-78.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 273.



for holding services no matter what the king said; other households were usually keen to assert that they would obey Charles, even if his will conflicted with their own opinions.<sup>61</sup>

In these responses, the ordinary people of Troyes demonstrated their respect for and faith in the monarchy. Both examples underscored the fact that many residents planned to follow the instructions of the king, no matter whether it contradicted their wishes or the agenda of the city council.<sup>62</sup> This attitude is corroborated in the writings of Nicolas Pithou de Chamgobert, a lawyer from a wealthy family who was instrumental in the foundation of the Reformed Church in Troyes and chronicled its history.<sup>63</sup> Pithou wrote that Charles's arrival in 1564 was much anticipated, particularly among the Protestant community: 'Esperantz bien, qu'ils recevroient du Roy leur prince naturel, un meilleur et plus gracieux traitement, qu'ilz n'avoient recue d'un estrangé, en l'establissement d'un lieu pour l'exercice de la religion.'<sup>64</sup>

In using the term 'their natural prince', Pithou conveyed the fact that the Protestants viewed him as their legitimate ruler. The word 'natural' had Aristotelian connotations in the sixteenth century, and was understood to mean that obedience to the king was innate to society.<sup>65</sup> For example, this nuance was underlined in a speech given by Olivier de La Porte to Lyonnais *conseillers* in 1577, in which he differentiated between the hand of the divine, reason and custom in the development

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p. 274.

<sup>62</sup> Roberts, *Peace and Authority*, pp. 124-6.

<sup>63</sup> For Pithou and his brothers, see Marie-Madeleine Fragonard, Pierre Eugène Leroy and Anne Ravit (eds), *Les Pithou: les lettres et la paix du royaume: actes du Colloque de Troyes des 13-15 avril 1998* (Paris: Champion, 2003).

<sup>64</sup> 'Believing well, that they would receive in the king their natural prince, a better and more gracious treatment than they had received from a stranger, in the establishment of a place for the exercise of religion.' Pithou, vol. 2, p. 549.

<sup>65</sup> Natural was understood as 'universal', based in part on Aristotle's concept of natural law. He proposed that law is determined by 'nature'; reason is used to analyze human nature, and from this the rules that govern moral behaviour may be deduced. This was in contrast to custom, which had developed over time and was usually specific to particular areas. Rules born through nature were supposed to be elementary across human society. This notion of natural extended to natural justice and natural right.

of human society: 'Il est certain que... les Rois sont fondés en raisons divines, naturelles & civils.'<sup>66</sup>

Furthermore, the Protestants who awaited Charles believed that he would treat them better than any other figure of authority. They subscribed to the notion that he was more able in the proper administration of justice and felt a greater sense of responsibility to his people than the men he appointed to carry out his commands. Their faith in his benevolence bred a familiarity with their monarch, almost as if Charles was perceived as a father figure, who would appear and right the wrongs that afflicted their community. Thus, while the entry itself may be somewhat opaque, the period before Charles's arrival reveals that respect for the office of the king and for the king himself was to be found in Troyes.

### **Lyon: The City of Learning**

Situated on the confluence of the Saône and the Rhône rivers in the Midi, Lyon was considered by many in the sixteenth century to be France's second city. Its ancient foundations were more impressive even than the legends associated with Troyes. The city was founded as a Roman military colony in 43 BC and given the name Lugdunum.<sup>67</sup> It rapidly became the most important city in the Empire after Rome, as its geographical advantages allowed it to develop into a prosperous commercial and financial centre with a population in Gallia second only to Narbonne. Its significance was such that the Romans even established a gold and silver mint in the city, and when it was destroyed by fire *circa* 64 AD, Seneca lamented that the pride of Gallia

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<sup>66</sup> 'It is certain that... the Kings are created for divine, natural and civil reasons.' Olivier de La Porte, *Deux Harangues, l'une latine, pour le plat país, contre la ville de Lyon pour la rendre taillable, l'autre François, pour ladite ville contre le plat país : prononcées le jour de saint Thomas 21 decembre 1577* (Lyon: Antoine Gryphius, 1578), pp. 20-1.

<sup>67</sup> Ptolemy, *Geography*, 2.8.17.

had been lost.<sup>68</sup> It was rebuilt and destroyed several times before the ninth century, when Charlemagne established a library in the monastery on l'Île-Barbe as part of his revival of letters, setting in motion the perception that Lyon was a centre of learning.<sup>69</sup>

The city's reputation as distinguished and prosperous was consolidated in the twelfth century when two major bridges were built across the rivers; this increased access caused trade to boom and intellectuals to treat Lyon as a crossroads of intellectual exchange.<sup>70</sup> Political change descended in 1311, when control passed from the archbishops, who had administered Lyon as an independent city state in the Holy Roman Empire, to Philip IV, who added it to the kingdom of France. However, this was a reasonably smooth transition, with Pope Clement V confirming the change by stating that Lyon always had been and would be a part of France.<sup>71</sup> In the fifteenth century four annual fairs were instituted, which attracted merchants and bankers from all over Europe to set up businesses in the city. The artisan community burgeoned at the same time, notably in the printing industry. In short, Lyon was in a state of economic and intellectual bloom immediately prior to the first civil war.

Local identity was celebrated through depictions of the contemporary successes of Lyon, rather than its illustrious ancient foundation. This happened even before Charles's entrance at the city gates, when the procession that passed before him included Moorish pages, and Luccan, Florentine, Milanese and German Lords. Each of these was distinguished by their costume, which had been designed by the different communities to reflect their wealth and prestige. For example, the

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<sup>68</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 4.3.2; Seneca, *Moral Letters to Lucilius*, 91.2.

<sup>69</sup> The existence of this library is disputed, though there was a monastery on the island. Ofelia Salgado, 'France and the Transmission of Latin Manuscripts', in Gerald Sandy (ed.), *The Classical Heritage in France* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), p. 43.

<sup>70</sup> Brandon Hartley, 'War and Tolerance: Catholic Polemic in Lyon during the French Religious Wars', Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Arizona, 2007, p. 10.

<sup>71</sup> Timothy Daniel Watson, 'The Lyon City Council c.1525-1575: Politics, Culture, Religion', Unpublished Thesis, University of Oxford, 1999, p. 8.

Florentines wore violet satin doublets and chausses enriched with exquisite embroidery, woollen cloth and robes of black velvet; the Milanese wore woollen cloth and short black velvet robes decorated with large gold buttons and a black velvet hat with feathers in the colours of the king's livery.<sup>72</sup> The six small Moorish pages, by contrast, were dressed by the local organizers in antique skirts with a crimson red finish, each bearing a thick and heavy chain of gold interlaced across his body.<sup>73</sup>

A similar procession was performed in Bordeaux, in which the cortège included twelve men, each representing one of twelve foreign nations. They were identified in the festival account as 'Greeks, Turks, Arabs, Egyptians, Sinhalese, Americans, Indians, Canarians, Savages, Brazilians, Moors [and] Utopians', and were dressed in national costume. When the men stopped in front of the king, their leaders mounted the dais upon which Charles sat and each delivered an oration in his native tongue. The speeches were then translated by the sailors who had accompanied the foreigners, which demonstrated that '[la] diversité de langage est fort familiere aux matelotz bordelais'.<sup>74</sup>

Both spectacles were created to demonstrate the cosmopolitan nature of the city. Specifically in the case of Lyon, Italians and Germans made up a substantial minority of the population and their contribution to the economy, through both trade and loans to the city and even the king, made them considerably influential. Many had even been naturalized and taken municipal offices. Respect for these communities was such that they had been asked to participate in the procession, and

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<sup>72</sup> *Discours... tresillustre... Lyon*, fols. 4v-5r.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 4r.

<sup>74</sup> '[T]his diversity of language is strongly familiar among the sailors of Bordeaux.' Richard, fols 2r; 5r. The order of march can be found in Anonymous, *Ordre de ce qui fut faict pour l'entrée solennelle que le Roy fait en la ville de Bordeaux lors de sone Grand Voyage en l'annee 1564*, BN.MS.FR. 23419, fols 347v-350r.

in doing so they showcased the rich culture and international co-operation that defined Lyon.

The accomplishments of the printing industry were singled out for praise in a triumphal arch inside the city. On the right column, a philosopher with books scattered at his feet held a sphere, as two old men holding open books stood either side of him. On the left column, two philosophers stood with books under their arms, whilst a final philosopher lectured amidst a pile of books.<sup>75</sup> Books were a symbol of scholarship and wisdom, virtues that Lyon was known to cultivate through its print houses. By 1495, the print industry in Lyon had become the third biggest in Europe, rivalling Paris, Antwerp, and Venice. It was famed for its high quality and large scale production of classical texts, as well as scientific, legal and medical manuals. Intellectuals and illustrators were drawn from across and even outside France to contribute to the quality and quantity of its output.<sup>76</sup> The success of the industry was such that, in the early decades of the sixteenth century, Paris and Lyon produced 90% of the prints made in France.<sup>77</sup> This was arguably the greatest achievement of the city, and naturally was represented in the entry.

After these two scenes in the early stages of the ceremony, there were no further instances of self-promotion. This may seem unusual, considering that the organizers could have depicted a number of impressive moments in Lyon's history to illustrate its magnificence and the city had privileges to defend, such as the exemption from the *taille* granted by Charles VIII in 1495.<sup>78</sup> Yet, this may be

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<sup>75</sup> He appeared to lecture as he was described as '*faisant ostentation des mains* [making ostentatious hand gestures]'. *Discours... tresillustre... Lyon*, fol. 9v.

<sup>76</sup> Matthew Hall, 'Lyon Publishing in the Age of Catholic Revival, 1565-1600', Unpublished PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 2005, p. 25.

<sup>77</sup> André Pelletier and Jacques Rossiaud, *Histoire de Lyon des origines à nos jours* (Roanne: Horvath, 1990, 2 vols), vol. 1, p. 386.

<sup>78</sup> The principal organizer of this entry was Antoine Giraud, who was a lawyer as well as a poet and engineer. He was assisted in the design by Maître Thomas, and the painter Pierre Cruche was brought from Geneva to speed up the actual construction. Vital de Valois, *Entrée de Charles IX à Lyon en*

explained by the fact that Lyon had played host to the French court throughout the sixteenth century. Lyon was a bustling metropolis that was well equipped to support prolonged visits from the peripatetic monarchy. It was also a gateway into the Italian, Swiss and German territories; François I<sup>er</sup> often passed through Lyon on his way to fight in the Italian Wars, and Louise de Savoie even installed the court there following his capture at the Battle of Pavia (1525), in order to improve communications during the negotiation for his safe return.<sup>79</sup>

These circumstances conspired to offer Lyon the auspicious responsibility of providing royal and lesser ceremonial entries on average every three years between 1525 and 1575.<sup>80</sup> Archbishops, governors and *sénéchaux* were welcomed to their new jurisdictions, while papal legates and French cardinals were greeted as they passed through from Rome to Paris. These included the legates Caraffa and Alexandrin in 1556 and 1572, and the cardinals de Bourbon and de Rohan in 1550.<sup>81</sup> Royal entries had been held for Louis XII (1507), François I<sup>er</sup> (1515) and Henri II (1548), as well as for Queen Éléonore and the dauphin (1533).<sup>82</sup>

Despite the pressure and expense of providing so many ceremonial entries, the city was renowned for its extravagance and ingenuity on these occasions. When Henri II and Catherine entered in September 1548, they met with what Hippolyte d'Este, the archbishop of Lyon, called 'by unanimous judgement' one of the best ceremonies ever staged for a French king, or indeed for any foreign prince or

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1564. *Text de la relation contemporaine accompagné de pièces justificatives et de figures*. (Lyon: Auguste Brun, 1884), pp. xv-xvi. Antoine Giraud was then called to Marseille to design their entry, for which he was promised two *écus* per day: Augustin Fabre, 'Les Rues de Marseille', *Revue de Marseille et de Provence*, April 1864, p. 163. For an idea of how many painters were employed in the construction of a substantial entry, see Célestin Port, 'Les Artistes Peintres Angevins D'Après Les Archives Angevines', *Revue des Sociétés Savantes* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1872), pp. 346-413.

<sup>79</sup> Watson, 'Lyon City Council', p. 86.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., p. 126.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Henri-Jean Martin, *Entrées Royales et Fêtes Populaires à Lyon du XVe au XVIIIe siècles*, exposition de la Bibliothèque de la Ville de Lyon, 12 June – 12 July 1970 (Lyon: Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon, 1970), pp. 7-8.

monarch.<sup>83</sup> Yet, the frequency with which the court was welcomed forced the council to be ever more inventive, as they risked causing offence to their guests if they were found to be reusing old material without modifying the presentation or message. This accounts for the lack of reference to the foundation of Lugdunum in Charles's entry. In 1548, Catherine herself had witnessed a scene that retold the story. She and Henri came across an obelisk, on the shaft of which was written:

TOTIUV GALLIAE RESTAURA-  
TORI M. PLANCVS LUGDV-  
NI RESTAURATOR  
P.C.

This was a dedication to Henri offered by 'M. Munatius Plancus, Proconsul', the founder and governor of Lugdunum, and was designed to resemble a Roman inscription. Although Maurice Scève, the creative force behind the entry, incorrectly used the initial M instead of L, Plancus did supposedly establish Lyon in 43 BC.<sup>84</sup>

The inscription presented Lyon as one of the oldest cities in the kingdom, and therefore worthy of great honour. Richard Cooper has argued that this was a commentary on the hegemony of Paris. Parisians viewed their city as greater than any other in France, in part because it was so proud of its early foundations. Claiming that Lyon was as ancient as Paris challenged this notion.<sup>85</sup> This theme of antiquity had already been utilized in the 1533 entry of Éléonore and the dauphin; however, it had been adapted for Henri's entry to suggest that Plancus had restored

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<sup>83</sup> Although this witness may be biased, it was generally accepted that Lyon provided the most splendid entries in the kingdom, much to the chagrin of Parisians. André Latreille (ed.), *Histoire de Lyon et du Lyonnais* (Toulouse: Privat, 1975), pp.180-1.

<sup>84</sup> Guillaume Rouillé, *La Première Partie Du Promptuaire Des Medalles Des Plvs renommées personnes qui ont esté depuis le commencement du monde: avec brieve description de leurs vies & faits, recueillie des bons auteurs. [Avec] La Seconde Partie Du Promptuaire Des Medalles, Commencant à la natiuité de nostre Sauueur Iesvschrist, & continuant iusques au Treschrestien Roy de France Henri II. Du nom, à present eurement regnant.* (Lyon: Gvillavme Roville, 1553), fol. 82r.

<sup>85</sup> Cooper, 'Introduction', in Scève, p. 63.

rather than founded Lyon, much in the way that Henri II had restored a Golden Age to France rather than founded the kingdom.<sup>86</sup>

The legacy of these multiple entries combined with another factor to ensure that local identity in Lyon was not central to Charles's entry. Almost one-third of the ceremony was devoted to the theme of Justice, which was manifested in a series of gruesome images that recalled the verdicts and punishments meted out by judges and kings in classical literature and history. Lyon had experienced a particularly turbulent time during the first war of religion: a coup had brought the city under Protestant control for over a year (April 1562 - June 1563), during which Catholic worship was suspended and the churches were severely damaged in both council-ordered and random acts of iconoclasm. Moreover, increased expenditure on the improvement of defence and the loss of income from the annual fairs left the city in enormous debt. When the coup came to an end, there was unsurprisingly a call for the king to bring justice to the affected in Lyon. The fact that Lyon's eminence was widely recognized and had been portrayed in previous entries meant that organizers were able to pay homage to, but largely overlook, demonstrations of local identity as a theme and concentrate on expressing more serious concerns.

This lack of thorough engagement with the history and culture of the city has meant that it is difficult to draw conclusions on the relationship between Lyon and the Crown from the entry alone. There is one reference to the widely-held belief that the king was a divine ruler. In the triumphal arch that depicted four founders and early kings of France, including Francus and Remus, part of the inscription read:

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid. For more detail on earlier sixteenth century royal entries, see V.E. Graham, 'L'Humanisme lyonnais à travers les entrées triomphales au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle', in *L'Humanisme lyonnais au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, actes du colloque de Lyon, université Lyon II, mai 1972* (Grenoble: Presses universitaires de Grenoble, 1974), pp. 185-99.



‘Charles du ciel venu d’une race divine.’<sup>87</sup> This implied that the Lyonnais owed their loyalty to Charles, but it does not furnish a clear picture of what was undoubtedly a nuanced relationship between the two. To resolve this, it is necessary to turn to other records, such as council proceedings and political tracts by local authors.

Lyon had a similar political structure to Troyes, but the bond with Paris was quite different. This was almost certainly due to the fact that local authorities were quite rightly proud of their successful administration of an international city and looked upon excessive intervention as an insult to their honour and ability. Moreover, it was a greater distance from Paris to Lyon than Paris to Troyes, and this would have contributed to a sense of political independence. Its geographical position within the kingdom was central to the creation of its governmental structures and attitude towards the Crown. Straddling the north and south of the country, its political system was a hybrid of those existing in both regions; as in the north, Lyon had cast out its former ruler in favour of the monarchy and, as in the south, the local populace had come to regard it as a semi-autonomous entity, under the direct control of its elected representatives but subject to the authority of the king.<sup>88</sup>

The twelve *conseillers* who made up the *consulat* were the most visible members of government as they controlled the daily running of the city, as well as being responsible for the urban *taille*. Their power was underpinned by the absence of any other authoritative bodies. There was no local parlement, only a handful of guilds were powerful enough to challenge the council’s economic policies, and the political role of the clergy had been all but suppressed since the laity won the municipal charter in the thirteenth century. The clergy continued to interfere in

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<sup>87</sup> See p. 48.

<sup>88</sup> Watson, ‘Lyon City Council’, p. 9.

political affairs, causing much tension between the two sides, but they were rarely successful in their campaigns to restore their previous control.<sup>89</sup>

As part of the settlement granted by Charles VIII in 1495, nobility was conferred upon those who held the office, but this was not the principal attraction for those who wished to become *conseillers*. Timothy Watson has argued that the commitment of the Lyonnais authorities to the idea of the *chose publique* was second to none. The *chose publique* was understood as the moral necessity in rendering service for the benefit of the entire populace, rather than simply for the sake of the individual. City council records are testament to the tireless and considered way in which the officials dealt with the many problems that arose in its jurisdiction.<sup>90</sup> The aftermath of the Protestant coup, in which some *conseillers* from opposing faiths attempted to put their religious beliefs to one side in order to administer the city properly, is particularly illustrative of this attitude.<sup>91</sup>

The health and wealth of the city were paramount concerns and for centuries the local authorities administered in a forthright fashion to ensure that both were maintained. This led to the perception among the Lyonnais that the city was essentially self-sufficient, with sporadic interference from the Crown. Councillors were at great pains to assure the king that their loyalty was deep and abiding. In his treatise *Privileges de la Ville* (1573), Claude de Rubys compared Lyon with the other major cities in France and concluded that it was the only one that had not shown disobedience to a monarch.

[S]'il y a ville de royaume qui aye bien merit  de la coronne de France, soit pour avoir tousjours rendu   la majest  de nos Rois, &   leurs officiers, tout le devoir d'obeyssance que bons & fidelles sujets doivent  

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<sup>89</sup> Philip T. Hoffman, *Church and Community in the Diocese of Lyon, 1500-1789* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), p. 16.

<sup>90</sup> See the *delib rations municipales* (1562-1566): AM Lyon BB82; BB83; BB84; BB85; BB86.

<sup>91</sup> Watson, 'Lyon City Council', pp. 221-6.

leur prince naturel... sans jamais avoir varié, la ville de Lyon doit sur toutes autres porter les loz.<sup>92</sup>

By contrast, the litany of historical abuses from the other cities, particularly Paris, stretched over two pages from the reign of Dagobert to the present day.<sup>93</sup> Moreover the city council records were littered with rhetoric that demonstrated deference to the Crown. For instance, the city walls were said to be guarded on behalf of the king: 'Este ordonne faire... Anthonie Dongie garde des ports pour le Roy de lad[icte] ville.'<sup>94</sup>

However, local authorities and even the populace made no secret of their desire to increase the control that Lyon had over its own affairs. In November 1554, several prominent residents came before the *consulat* to request that a petition for a parlement be sent to Henri II. This was duly debated and the following February the advocate Grollier was sent to Paris to present the petition and start negotiations. Support for the motion came in the form of the *oraison doctorale* delivered by Jean Girinet in the church of Saint Nizier in December 1554, in which he discredited the reasons put forward for why Lyon should continue without a parlement.<sup>95</sup> His thesis was published shortly thereafter.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> 'If there is one city in the kingdom which has merited [the favour] of the Crown of France for having always rendered obedience to the majesty of the Kings and to their officers, as good and loyal subjects must to their natural prince... it is Lyon, which has never varied, and has supported the laws above all other cities.' Claude de Rubys, *Les Privileges, Franchises et Immvnitez octroyees par les Roys Treschrestiens avx Consvls, Eschevins, manans & habitans de la ville de Lyon & à eur posterité... Avec une ample declaration des choses plus notables contenues en iceux, recueillie par M. Claude de Rubis, docteur és droits, advocat & procureur general de laditte ville & communauté* (Lyon: Antoine Gryphius, 1573), p. 33.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., pp. 33-4.

<sup>94</sup> AM Lyon BB 83, fol. 17r.

<sup>95</sup> A. Pericaud, *Notes et Documents Pour Servir A L'Histoire de Lyon : 1547-1560* (Lyon: Mougin-Rusand, 1841), pp. 17-8.

<sup>96</sup> Jean Girinet, *Ioannis Girineti Cavssarum patroni orationes dvæ (latina et gallica): Lugduni Comitii Consularibus habitæ* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1555).

Judicial improvements had already been made in 1551 when the *sénéchausée* was upgraded to a *siège présidial*.<sup>97</sup> Yet appeals still had to be sent to the Parlement of Paris, which the Lyonnais regarded as a waste of both time and money. More importantly, it was an affront to their pride that the city was not allowed to deal with its own cases to the highest level without outside involvement. While the request for a parlement did signal a slight drift from the Crown, it was by no means a threat to the relationship between the two, as the provision would have warranted immense gratitude from the Lyonnais. Had Henri authorized it, he would have also eased the burden of appeals heard in Paris. However, the request was denied, no doubt because Henri wanted to preserve Lyon's dependency to ensure that it was not suddenly better positioned to challenge central rulings on local matters. Even so, the city continued to push for its own court in the subsequent decades. Rubys pleaded for the authorization to set up a parlement in the *Privileges de la Ville*, on the grounds that it would restore the prestige of the city, which had been degraded by the war: '[C]este pauvre ville a pour le jourd'huy beaucoup perdu de son ancien[n]e reputatio[n] & grandeur. Pleut à Dieu que nostre Roy fut inspire pour la remettre sus, d'ajouter à ceste bonne volonté qu'ont eu ses predecesseurs de la faire florir & la douër d'un parlement, senat ou court souveraine.'<sup>98</sup>

Despite fraught instances such as this, Lyonnais officials generally continued to adhere to the will of the king. As Watson has shown, it was widely thought that the king and his councillors operated on a system of reciprocal respect. Olivier de La

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<sup>97</sup> Claude de Rubys, *Histoire veritable de la ville de Lyon: Contenant ce, qui a esté obmis par Maistres Symphorien Champier, Paradin, & autres, qui cy deuant ont escript sur ce subiect : Ensemble ce, en quoy ils se sont foruoyez de la verité de l'histoire, Et plusieurs autres choses notables, concernans l'histoire vniuselle, tant Ecclesiastique que prophane, ou particuliere de France*. (Lyon: Bonaventure Nugo, 1604), p. 377.

<sup>98</sup> 'This poor city has today lost a great deal of its ancient reputation and grandeur. If it please God, may the king be inspired to restore us, to add to the goodwill that his predecessors have had which has allowed us to flourish, and to endow us with a parlement, senate or sovereign court.' Rubys, *Privileges*, p. 31.

Porte vocalized this understanding in his speech to the officials assembled to nominate city councillors in 1577, in which he proposed that should the king show the proper respect due to those who were elected, the kingdom would undoubtedly exist in a state of harmony: ‘Je puisse voir & sentir une tant douce harmonie d’une bonne ame infusé en ce corps... le corps salubre & bien composé, avec le respect deu aux parties nobles & capitales, & l’esprit en reçoïue un plaisir solide avec joye & gloire perpetuelle.’<sup>99</sup>

However, this was not a realistic interpretation of the relationship. It was the king’s prerogative to intercede in local matters whenever he deemed it necessary and he often exercised that right. For all their self-importance, the councillors of Lyon knew that the authority they possessed had been granted by the king. This was recognized by Rubys in his admission that elected officials were ‘creez... seulement pour estre mediateurs’, while the king was to be ‘aymé, crainct, reveré & obey... [car] il aye toute puissance & auctorité de commander et faire ce qu’il veut’.<sup>100</sup> Thus, even though the contents of the royal entry fail to allude to the bond between Lyon and the capital, council records and political tracts reveal that it was one in which local officials hoped to administer unhindered in their jurisdiction, but knew they were vessels of the monarch’s power and had to yield to him.

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<sup>99</sup> ‘I can see and feel such gentle harmony of a good soul infused in this body... the body is healthy and well-composed when the respect due to both the nobles and the capitals is paid, and the spirit receives from this great pleasure, with joy and perpetual glory.’ La Porte, *Deux Harangues*, quoted in Watson, ‘Lyon City Council’, p. 166.

<sup>100</sup> ‘Created only to be mediators’; ‘Loved, feared, revered and obeyed... [as] he has the ultimate power and authority to command and do as he wishes.’ Rubys, *Privileges*, p. 44; 43. Rubys does enter the caveat that the king only holds this power if he regulates his behaviour according to the laws of the kingdom and his own conscience.

## **Toulouse: The Capital of the South**

Toulouse was distinguished in having pre-Roman foundations. Originally named Tolosa, it had been home to the Volcae Tectosages, a Gallic tribe, for several centuries before the Roman Empire expanded into southern Gaul.<sup>101</sup> The land was rich in gold and strategically placed for campaigns, so it was appended to the Empire in 106 BC as a military stronghold.<sup>102</sup> Situated near the western border of Languedoc and built upon the Garonne, it provided unparalleled access between the Mediterranean and the rest of Gaul. In addition to its military function, evident to any visitor from the towering fortified walls that encompassed the city, Toulouse became a key trading outpost. In the fifth century, the city came to be regarded as an important pilgrimage site after the re-interment of the Christian martyr Saint Saturnin in a new church drew a record number of pilgrims. This reputation was cemented in the tenth century when pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela to worship the bones of Saint James became popular.<sup>103</sup>

Political realignment came in 1271 when the death of Alfonse II, the last count of Toulouse and brother of Louis IX, placed the city in the hands of the Crown. Prior to this, Toulouse had been governed by counts that came to power through hereditary succession. However, when Raymond VI failed to suppress the Albigensian Heresy, Louis IX decided to end the line of counts by marrying Raymond's daughter to his brother. When Alfonse died without issue, the city reverted to the king. Throughout these changes, however, Toulouse remained an important centre for the trade of products such as wool, grain and blue dye, the latter of which was especially

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<sup>101</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 4.1.13.

<sup>102</sup> Toulouse, or rather Tolosates, is mentioned in Julius Caesar, *Gallic War*, 1.10.

<sup>103</sup> Robert A. Schneider, *Public Life in Toulouse, 1463-1789: From Municipal Republic to Cosmopolitan City* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1989), p. 12.

lucrative. By the mid-sixteenth century, the city was a thriving provincial capital filled to the brim with traders, pilgrims and an artisanal and intellectual community that had developed around them.

Entry organizers at Toulouse provided a ceremony that sat at the opposite end of the spectrum from Troyes and Lyon.<sup>104</sup> The city revelled in its history and local identity to such a degree that it almost overpowered the other themes presented in the entry. This was a conscious effort on the part of its designers, who sought to demonstrate that Toulouse was fiercely independent in spirit and not only closely guarded its privileges, but expected little to no interference from Paris. This attitude was borne out of three powerful factors.

The first was simply the distance and landscape between Paris and the south of France. The Massif Central, the mountainous region stretching across much of southern France, posed a considerable problem for those who wished to travel north to south. Consisting of extinct volcanoes, plateaux and a deep fissure created by the Rhône, this area had to be entirely circumnavigated in order to reach cities in the Midi; the journey either had to be made by boat down the Saône and Rhône to Aix and Marseille, or by foot or horse over the western stretch of land to Bordeaux. This could be done in around ten days, but the additional distance to Toulouse meant that

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<sup>104</sup> The eight *capitouls* took charge of its organisation, in particular Jean-Étienne Durand (later President of the Parlement), who presided over the creation of the triumphal arches and presented the harangue to Charles upon his entrance. It was, however, a collective endeavour, involving many individuals: Lord André de Jessé received the provisions of wood; Lord André Pigose levelled the foot of the ramparts between the gates of Saint-Étienne and of Montoulieu to make way for a recreation area for the king; Pierre and François Delpuech presided over the wine preparations for the banquet at the *hotel de ville*; and Lord Pierre Belin, a specialist merchant of Toulouse, was placed in charge of the supplies. See M.E. Roschach, 'Documents inédits sur le voyage du roi Charles IX à Toulouse', *Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences, inscriptions et belles-lettres de Toulouse*, t. 7 (Toulouse: Douladoure-Privat, 1895), pp. 20-46. Jean de Pezèche was appointed treasurer in 1563 and was in charge of spending up to 1 March 1565: AM Toulouse CC1940, fols 272r-272v. For his entry expenses in 1564, see AM Toulouse CC2313, fols 1r-127r (1564). Mathurin Baudoyne was then appointed treasurer and his accounts for 1565 are: AM Toulouse CC1942, fols 1r-107v; AM Toulouse CC2451, fols 1r-111r; 250r-251r.

the passage from Paris was an arduous one.<sup>105</sup> Communication from Paris was slow and intermittent in its arrival, and visits from the monarch were rare. When Charles made his entry, he was the first monarch to do so since 1533. Other cities in Languedoc, notably Montpellier and Béziers, had hosted the royal family in 1542, but the province was generally neglected by the court.<sup>106</sup> This situation meant that Toulouse was left to govern itself, and only received missives when it was a matter of considerable importance.

The second factor was that the city had been granted extensive privileges after the Hundred Years' Wars. Toulouse had been on the border of English-controlled Gascony and its defection would have been a serious blow to the French campaign, so the Crown moved to ensure its continued loyalty. Amongst other measures, Toulouse was offered its own parlement.<sup>107</sup> Thus, unlike Troyes and Lyon, Toulouse had complete control over its own judicial affairs as far as local cases were concerned. To this judicial authority must be added the fact that Languedoc had its own Estates; this gave the region more influence over royal taxation than either Champagne or the Lyonnais.

The final factor was that Toulouse had long nurtured a distinct linguistic and intellectual culture. The University of Toulouse had been founded in 1229 as part of the Treaty of Paris and was well endowed from the outset, as Raymond VII had been compelled to supply four thousand marks annually for its first ten years to maintain four masters of theology, two decretists, six masters of the liberal arts and two

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<sup>105</sup> William Beik, *A Social and Cultural History of Early Modern France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 4-5.

<sup>106</sup> James Eastgate Brink, 'Royal Power Through Provincial Eyes: Languedoc 1515-1560', *Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History* (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1984), pp. 54-5.

<sup>107</sup> Schneider, *Public Life in Toulouse*, p. 15.



grammarians.<sup>108</sup> The institution grew to be one of the few in France that taught all four of the mediæval faculties, namely law, letters, medicine and theology. By the sixteenth century, it was famed in both nationally and internationally for its tuition in canon and civil law; indeed, Henri II issued a royal decree in 1551 declaring the university the best in the kingdom for jurisprudence.<sup>109</sup> The university wielded considerable influence over intellectual trends: it attracted brilliant minds to teach, such as Budé and Rotier, as well as students who would later become prominent figures in their field, including Michel de L'Hôpital. It similarly dominated religious debate in the city, fulfilling the mission laid down by Pope Innocent III that it should be 'a sort of spiritual garrison in the stronghold of the conquered land of heresy'.<sup>110</sup>

Natives were further galvanized in their local identity by the existence of the Occitan tongue. French became increasingly employed in conversation and literary works in the sixteenth century, but Occitan still dominated in both formal contexts and everyday life. Official documentation held in Toulouse and sent to Paris had been written in a mixture of Occitan and Latin up to 1539, when the Edict of Villers-Cotterêt required all legislation to be recorded in French.<sup>111</sup> Occitan thus remained a vibrant part of the distinctive Toulousain culture at the time of Charles's visit. In light of these three factors, it is unsurprising that Toulouse perceived itself as a capital in its own right, on the geographical and political periphery of the kingdom.

The entry into Toulouse took a similar format to the ceremony in Lyon, in that both the illustrious past and the prosperous present were evoked to demonstrate the

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<sup>108</sup> Cyril Eugene Smith, *The University of Toulouse in the Middle Ages: Its Origins and Growth to 1500 A.D.* (Milwaukee, Wisconsin: Marquette University Press, 1958), p. 32.

<sup>109</sup> John Charles Dawson, *Toulouse in the Renaissance: The Floral Games, University and Student Life, and Etienne Dolet (1532-1534)* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1923), pp. 91; 97.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 90.

<sup>111</sup> Catherine E. Léglu, *Multilingualism and Mother Tongue in Medieval French, Occitan, and Catalan Narratives* (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press: 2010), p. 65.

strength of local identity.<sup>112</sup> The antiquity of Toulouse was celebrated in an elaborate scene that was dedicated to the famous Gold of Tolosa. Strabo had written that the Tectosages had seized the sacred gold of Delphi, then deposited it in a lake in the city to propitiate the gods, whom they had angered with the theft. When the Roman general Quintus Servilius Caepio conquered the city in 106 BC and heard that riches lay under the water, he endeavoured to recover them for himself. This sacrilege led Caepio to suffer a terrible fate – he was exiled for the attempted robbery and he left only daughters as heirs, who fell into prostitution and ended his family line in disgrace.<sup>113</sup>

To commemorate this tale, a theatre had been constructed in the spot where the now-drained lake had been, containing a painting of the lake, a representation of the gold made from wood and metal, and sixteen lines of prose recalling the tale.<sup>114</sup> One motivation in depicting this legend was to convince Charles that Toulouse was a long-established city and that, from its earliest times, it had been a place of distinction. The primary account of the entry states that the theatre had been made ‘pour reduyre en memoyre l’antiquité de ce faict escript et celebré par tant de bons auteurs’.<sup>115</sup> However, Robert Schneider has convincingly argued that the primary reason for its construction was to provide an allegory in defence of the city’s privileges. The idea that the Gold of Tolosa would bring bad luck to those who

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<sup>112</sup> For the procession route and how it changed over time, see François Bordes, ‘Perception de l’Espace Urbain: Cortèges Officiels et Processions Générales à Toulouse du X<sup>IV</sup>e au X<sup>VI</sup>e Siècle’, *Mémoires de la société archéologique du midi de la France*, T. 64 (2004), pp. 135-53.

<sup>113</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 4.1.13. Justinus also wrote that the Tectosages were stricken by a pestilence when they returned to Tolosa and threw the gold in the lake in a bid to rid themselves of it. Justinus, *Epitome of the Phillipic History of Pompeius Trogus*, 32.3.9-12. For more on sources that mention the legend, see Jean-Luc Boudartchouk, Patrice Cabau, Philippe Gardes, Henri Molet and François Quantin, ‘Les « Lacs Sacrés » et L’Or Des Tectosages de Toulouse à Travers Les Sources Littéraires de L’Antiquité Tardive, Du Moyen Âge et de L’Époque Moderne’, *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique du Midi de la France*, T. 66 (2006), pp. 15-40.

<sup>114</sup> AM Toulouse BB274, Chronique 240, pp. 343-5.

<sup>115</sup> ‘In order to commit to memory the antiquity of this fact, which has been written about and celebrated by so many good authors.’ Ibid., p. 345.

removed it from the lake acted as a warning to those who would seek to take from Toulouse anything that the city regarded as rightfully theirs, especially if it had been possessed since time immemorial. Toulouse had, in recent years, faced several challenges from the Crown to its traditional independence, in particular the attempt to prevent the renewal of the city's century-long exemption from the royal *taille* in 1559.<sup>116</sup> The scene was therefore not simply a history lesson, but a lesson to Charles not to tamper with the liberties that Toulouse had long held.<sup>117</sup>

The contemporary achievements of Toulouse were exemplified in a 'rustic theatre', in which the nine Muses were painted and a pedestal bore a statue of Dame Clémence Isaure holding eglantines, violets and marigolds.<sup>118</sup> Dame Clémence was the celebrated founder of the *Jeux Floraux*, the annual poetry contest held in the city. Launched in 1324, the *Jeux Floraux* were conceived with the intention of preserving the purity of the Occitan language against the corrupting influence of foreign tongues through encouraging and rewarding its expression in literature.<sup>119</sup> In 1513, however, French was declared the preferred language for submissions (though those in Occitan continued to be accepted), and the event came to symbolize the cultured and poetic spirit of the city rather than simply a quest to protect linguistic traditions.<sup>120</sup> The flowers held by Dame Clémence were representative of the prizes awarded to

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<sup>116</sup> The *capitouls* were able to secure its renewal in the end. Robert A. Schneider, 'Crown and capitoulat: municipal government in Toulouse, 1500-1789', in P. Benedict (ed.), *Cities and Social Change*, p. 202.

<sup>117</sup> In support of this argument, Schneider turns particular attention to the request of François I<sup>er</sup> to have a jewel from among Toulouse's relics to offer to Pope Clement VIII in 1533. The *capitouls* were indignant at this, and refused to provide it, although the king took it in the end. They saw this as an infringement on the properties and rights of the city, and vowed that this should never be allowed to happen again. Schneider, *Public Life in Toulouse*, pp. 79-81.

<sup>118</sup> The nine Muses were Calliope (epic poetry), Clio (history), Erato (erotic poetry), Euterpe (lyric poetry), Melpomene (tragedy), Polymnia (sublime hymn), Terpsichore (choral dance and song), Thaleia (comedy and idyllic poetry), and Urania (astronomy). Smith, *Greek and Roman Biography*, vol. 2, p. 1126.

<sup>119</sup> François de Gélis, *Histoire critique des jeux floraux depuis leur origine jusqu'à leur transformation en Académie, 1323-1694* (Toulouse: Édouard Privat, 1912), p. 11.

<sup>120</sup> Indeed, Pierre de Ronsard, the celebrated French poet who would later become a favourite of Charles IX, was accorded an exceptional prize in 1554 and his *Pléiade* form was declared the model that all other poems should seek to replicate. Schneider, *Public Life in Toulouse*, p. 47.

winners.<sup>121</sup> On the pedestal was written: ‘Divitiis nostram cumulavit Ysaura Tolosam/ Et moriens musis premia constituit/ Ditavit rebus ditavit Pallade cives/ Utro plus urbi profuit illa modo.’<sup>122</sup>

The theatre was made in her memory, as she had purportedly established several markets in the town at her own expense, and then bequeathed them to the *capitouls* and people of Toulouse on the condition that each year the *Jeux Floraux* were held in a public place. Dame Clémence was, however, most likely a fictional benefactor. Jean Bodin claimed that she had been interred in the Église de la Daurade on account of her exemplary life and services to Toulouse, but she was not recognized as the founder of the contest until this time. Indeed, she first existed as *la Vierge clémente*, and over time transformed from a Madonna figure into the alleged daughter of one of the counts of Toulouse.<sup>123</sup> Regardless of her origin, Dame Clémence and the *Jeux Floraux* were depicted with specific intention; in celebrating this local figure, the city celebrated itself as a centre of culture. Images of the Muses compounded the idea that Toulouse was home to the artistically-inspired, while the theatre reminded Charles that the city had a historically rich culture, in which the noble pursuit of poetic excellence had been constant.

A greater source of pride than even the *Jeux Floraux* was the level of political independence that Toulouse enjoyed. This was demonstrated in a pedestal bearing images of the counts of Toulouse, who wore red and black robes trimmed with ermine. It was announced as Charles reached the pedestal that the *capitouls* had adopted these robes as their own, not because they were imposters, but because they

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<sup>121</sup> Dawson, *Toulouse in the Renaissance*, p. 4.

<sup>122</sup> ‘She enriched the citizens with goods and with the talent of Pallas. For these two reasons, she rendered herself greatly useful to the town.’ AM Toulouse BB274, Chronique 240, p. 355.

<sup>123</sup> The legend of Clémence Isaure is explored in great detail in Gélis, *Histoire critique des jeux floraux*, pp. 171-269.

held the counts in such high esteem.<sup>124</sup> The *capitouls* could be seen wearing these robes as they walked along the procession route with Charles; they were particularly obvious as they carried the canopy that was raised over the king's head.<sup>125</sup> Although this appropriation was said to have been made out of respect for their predecessors, there was an underlying motive. The counts had been portrayed in these vestments for centuries, and thus the robes were associated with power. Their appearance on the bodies of the *capitouls* indicated that these present men were the natural successors to the counts, and thus they were worthy of the same honour and deference.

These *capitouls* performed the same functions as the *échevins* in Troyes and the *conseillers* in Lyon; they maintained municipal services and controlled urban patronage.<sup>126</sup> This system had been in place since the twelfth century, when the populace had won a charter of privileges from the counts of Toulouse, though the number of serving *capitouls* was originally twenty-four. *Capitouls* also benefitted from some of the same privileges, such as automatic ennoblement, and approached their office in the same way as their counterparts in the north. The duties attached to the position were unrelenting, and their dedication to duty prompted the chronicler of the *Annales de la Ville* to declare that their names and deeds ought to be committed to memory, so that their service was never forgotten.<sup>127</sup> Moreover, they guarded their jurisdiction with jealous fervour. This was best demonstrated in 1563, when concerns over the increasing religious troubles prompted the formation of a *conseil du pays*, which was held at the archbishopric by the cardinal d'Armagnac; the *capitouls* were

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<sup>124</sup> “[L]es capitoulz n’ont commencé pourter les robes et manteaulx de rouge et de noir pour merque de aulcune faute, comme aulcuns imposteurs ont voullu avancer, ains par honneur retenant marques de la dignité comtale, les comtes estans vestus de mesmes parure comme est tesmoigné par très anciennes painctures et aultres monumens estans en la maison de la ville.” AM Toulouse BB274, Chronique 240, p. 352.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., p. 370.

<sup>126</sup> For example, they were responsible for allocating over 100 municipal jobs (everything from clerks, to soldiers, to artists) and up to 400 *dizainiers* to maintain areas of housing. Schneider, ‘Crown and Capitoulat’, p. 197.

<sup>127</sup> AM Toulouse BB274 Chronique 240, p. 325.

not informed of this development and reacted by emphasizing that the ancient prerogative to govern Toulouse was theirs alone and that ‘c’estoit ung grand mespris de la ville et de la dignité capitulaire’.<sup>128</sup>

And yet, the *capitouls* had a greater sense of self-importance than even the Lyonnais *conseillers*. They prided themselves on embodying the perfect characteristics of Roman senators or Biblical judges, who were wise in their administrations and tireless in their efforts to create harmonious and superior communities. Toulouse was equated with the renowned Greek city-states and Roman republic and considered to be a municipal republic, even though it was the property of the Crown. Local historians were vigorous in their attempts to keep the myth of the ancient republic alive. In 1517, Nicolas Bertrand wrote in his *Opus de Tholosanorum gestis* that, though Charles VIII had confirmed the privileges of the city in 1495, these had first been granted by the Roman Emperor Theodosius I. Antoine Noguier, in his *Histoire Tolosaine* of 1556, claimed that Toulouse had been founded by Tulus, the grandson of Noah, and therefore was older than Rome.<sup>129</sup> In both cases, the ‘historical account’ was dedicated to the *capitouls*.

Portraying themselves as heirs to Roman senators and counts, and their determined efforts to safeguard local privileges, points to the conclusion that the relationship between Toulouse and the Crown in Paris was a strained one, in which the *capitouls* refused to accept the authority of the king. Thomas Platter, a young doctor at the University of Montpellier who travelled around the south of France in his student days, affirmed upon a visit to Toulouse in 1595 that ‘the town enjoys

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<sup>128</sup> ‘This showed great contempt for the city and for the dignity of the *capitouls*.’ Ibid., p. 330.

<sup>129</sup> Schneider, *Public Life in Toulouse*, p. 70-1. Copies of both Antoine Noguier, *Histoire Tolosaine* (Toulouse: Guyon Boudeville, 1556) and Nicolas Bertrand, *Opus De Tholosanorum Gestis ab vrbe condita...* (Toulouse: Jean Grandjean, 1515) can be found in the Bibliothèque municipale de Toulouse (BMT). Schneider incorrectly stated that the rights had been granted by the Emperor Theodonius but this figure does not exist.

other privileges so considerable, and which it defends with such care and jealousy, that it might almost be called a republic'.<sup>130</sup>

Platter found that the same spirit existed in Montpellier, the other great capital city of Languedoc.<sup>131</sup> On observing the religious division within the city, he commented:

The guard of the town, which is extremely strict, is confined to the Protestants... But although the papists have often produced orders from the king authorizing their participation in the guard of the gates, and in the direction of affairs, the proud people of Montpellier, whom the king himself calls his 'little kings of Montpellier', will hear nothing of it. What, indeed, should they fear? The royal authority is so far away. Audacities of various kinds go unpunished.<sup>132</sup>

Distance permitted the *capitouls* of Toulouse, along with similar institutions in the south, to behave as though they were autonomous. This must be combined with the fact that their office had existed for four hundred years and the city had become accustomed to its extensive liberties, chiefly its possession of a parlement. When topped with the fact that Languedoc was home to such a distinctive culture, as evidenced by the *Jeux Floraux*, it is no surprise that the city was imbued with a strong spirit of political independence.

This spirit was voiced on the triumphal arch presented to Charles in his royal entry, in which Monarchy was shown to be a better system of government than Democracy or Aristocracy.<sup>133</sup> Although it is unclear how this was manifested on the arch, the construction referred to 'ce que estoit escript et gravé antiennement en

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<sup>130</sup> Thomas Platter, *Journal of a Younger Brother: The Life of Thomas Platter as a Medical Student in Montpellier at the Close of the Sixteenth Century*, translated by Sean Jennett (London: Frederick Muller Ltd, 1963), p. 245. This text is also quoted in Schneider, *Public Life in Toulouse*, p. 14.

<sup>131</sup> For Toulouse and Montpellier as rival administrative capitals, see Frederick M. Irvine, 'From Renaissance city to *ancien régime* capital: Montpellier, c.1500-c.1600', in Benedict (ed.), *Cities and Social Change*, pp. 105-33.

<sup>132</sup> Platter, *Journal of a Younger Brother*, pp. 48-9.

<sup>133</sup> See pp. 55-6.

aucuns lieux de la ville – Tolosa semper fuit libera – s’entend de la liberté en laquelle elle a esté maintenue tant par les roys et comtes que par les roys de France despuys l’union du comté à la couronne’.<sup>134</sup> This is a contraction of the phrase ‘Libera semper fuit et erit sine fine Tholosa’, which had been carved in gold letters over the entrance of the *hôtel de ville* in 1534 to remind the Toulousains and foreign visitors that the city had always agreed to be ruled by the kings and counts, rather than forced to capitulate.<sup>135</sup> The account subsequently notes that, while the arch had been decorated to celebrate Charles and the importance of monarchy, it was similarly made to proclaim that: ‘[Toulouse] a tousjours eu volente très humble se maintenir perpetuelement soubz la monarchie du roy et de ses successeurs.’<sup>136</sup>

This rhetoric betrayed the fact that the *capitouls* and the city saw their fidelity to the king as a choice. It had been consciously and willingly offered, rather than plucked from them in a moment of surrender. However, neither the *capitouls* nor ordinary Toulousains believed that Toulouse was a free municipal republic. The city was clearly obliged to adhere to initiatives from Paris and faced the prospect of political and military intervention when it failed to do so. Their insinuations were nothing more than reassertions of the dignity that the Toulousains cherished, and did not represent a danger to the status quo.

Indeed, the triumphal arch captures quite nicely the relationship between Toulouse and the Crown. For all the celebrations of local identity and authority, the city recognized that it should adhere to the will of its monarch. Necessary devotion

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<sup>134</sup> ‘That which was anciently written and engraved in parts in the city – Toulouse will always be free – underlining the liberty in which she had been maintained as much by the kings and counts [of Toulouse] as by the kings of France since the union of the county to the Crown.’ AM Toulouse BB274, Chronique 240, p. 342.

<sup>135</sup> AM Toulouse AA12, Acte n°2 (1539). This was a maxim associated with the city and frequently invoked by the capitouls: Géraldine Cazals, ‘Une contribution inédite à l’historiographie Toulousaine: Le Catalogue Et Sommaire De La Fondation [...] De Tholoz de Guillaume de la Perrière (1539-1540)’, *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique du Midi de la France*, t. 65 (2005), p. 142.

<sup>136</sup> ‘Toulouse had always desired very humbly to maintain itself perpetually under the monarchy of the king and his successors.’ AM Toulouse BB274, Chronique 240, p. 343.



was illustrated in the opening speech of the entry, in which kings were described as ‘vrays lieutenens de Dieu en ce bas monde et representantz en eulx une image vive du Seigneur’.<sup>137</sup> As God, who must be obeyed, had created the kings, so must the kings be obeyed; for the will of the king is the will of God.

The city demonstrated some anxiety about having Charles specifically as their king. His age was a great cause of concern, as they explained in the triumphal arch in which a young king with white hair and a white beard was depicted to show that Charles must strive to have the wisdom of an old man.<sup>138</sup> Yet this did not undermine his power or the duty of the *capitouls* to see that his orders were fulfilled. For instance, council records from January 1564 indicate that Charles called for arms within the city to be laid down and brought to the armoury – as had been ordered in all other towns – to prevent further religious bloodshed. Although the council objected to the request, they voted to recover the arms on the basis that: ‘[le conseil] doibt estre subjecte au vouldoir du prince et faire la volonté de Dieu duquel elle est créé, non suyvre sa volonté et sensualité, source que de dhesobeysance ne provient que discorde, confusion, desolation et desordre.’<sup>139</sup>

The true tenor of the bond between Toulouse and the Crown was summed up in a tract detailing the privileges that the city had received. It was commissioned by the *capitouls* in 1539, when the Crown moved to encroach on the powers of the municipality; the *capitouls* then attempted to uphold the ancient rights by proving their inviolability. Guillaume de la Perrière, the renowned humanist, was recruited to write it and produced the *Catalogue et sommaire de la fundation, principales coustumes, libertez, droictz, privileges et aultres actes des cité, conté, capitoulz,*

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<sup>137</sup> See p. 61.

<sup>138</sup> See pp. 63-4.

<sup>139</sup> ‘[The council] must be subject to the wish of the prince and to the will of God from which he is created; not to follow his will and sensuality is a disobedience and will bring nothing but discord, confusion, desolation and disorder.’ AM Toulouse BB274, Chronique 240, p. 328.

*citoyens et habitans de Tholoze* (1540), which included a new authorized version of the *Liber magnus albus anticus*, the manuscript listing liberties held since 1141.<sup>140</sup> Even as the various liberties were listed and vigorously defended, the role of the monarchy in providing them was always recognized: ‘Ce que par les roys leur est aussi concedé’; ‘Et ce par expres privilliege par le Roy à eulx donné et confirmé’; ‘Les roys ont confirmée, baillée et approuvée ladicte juridiction’.<sup>141</sup> The tract was a classic piece of propaganda, created on behalf of the city, but behind the bravado there remained appreciation for rights that had to be considered as gifts from the monarchs of France.

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To conclude, the extension of processional routes in royal entries over the fifteenth and sixteenth century provided cities with the opportunity to create decoration and drama that illustrated their local identity. This was useful as a medium to communicate to the king that the city was worthy of the renewal of its privileges, and as a notice that it would defend its powers against unjustified intrusion from the Crown. Most cities, after having been subsumed into the Crown, were allowed to retain their governmental structures and over time these bodies came to be treasured as irrepressible rights. Relationship between cities and the Crown developed on the basis of this local authority, as well as the cultural heritage of the city and its distance

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<sup>140</sup> Calzas, ‘Une contribution inédite’, p. 140.

<sup>141</sup> ‘This was also conceded to them by the monarchy; And this was confirmed and given to them by the express privilege of the king; The kings have confirmed and approved this jurisdiction’: G. de la Perrière, *Catalogue et sommaire de la fundation, principales coutumes, libertez, droictz, privileges et aultres actes des cité, conté, capitoulz, citoyens et habitans de Tholoze*, AM Toulouse, BB 268 and AA 5, fols 22-28, reprinted in Calzas, p. 154.

from the capital. This convergence of factors ensured that no two cities had the same bond with Paris.

In their royal entries and supporting written records, the three cities of Troyes, Lyon and Toulouse proved that they covered a wide spectrum of responses to the Crown. In Troyes, local identity was manifested in the entry in architecture detailing the legendary founding of the city and there were hints in the carvings of entwined rivers and the statue of France that the city had a close relationship with the capital. Its role in hosting the signing of the peace declaration between England and France shrouded the nature of the bond, as the ceremony was partly designed to glorify France for the benefit of the English ambassador, but rhetoric outside of the occasion confirmed that the Troyens did believe in the divine right of Charles to rule over them. The influence, both political and judicial, that the capital wielded over the city and the close proximity of the two made the Troyen *échevins* the most subordinate of the three councils.

Contemporary successes, rather than antique beginnings, were celebrated in Lyon, in which attention was drawn to its cosmopolitanism and roaring print trade. Yet the frequency of court visits and the calls for justice after the terrible events of the war left little space in the entry for further rumination on the connection between the Crown and the Lyonnais. As in Troyes, written documentation supported the few intimations made in the entry that Charles had been appointed by God to lead them and must be obeyed. However, the Lyon *conseillers* were more forthcoming than their northern peers about their expectation that mutual respect should be accorded between the king and his local officials. This betrayed the fact that they were more independently-minded.

By contrast, the entry into Toulouse celebrated both its ancient and modern history in ostentatious fashion, with scenes dedicated to the Gold of Tolosa and the *Jeux Floraux*. This self-indulgence could be attributed solely to the fact that the city had not seen its monarchs in several decades and wanted to make an impression on Charles. However, Toulouse was home to a distinctive linguistic and cultural tradition and was more profoundly attached to its local identity than the other two cities. The *capitouls* bore a spirit of political independence to match, which was illustrated in the pedestals that compared them to the counts of Toulouse, the former rulers of the city. The idea expressed on the triumphal arch to Monarchy that Toulouse had chosen, rather than been compelled, to submit to the rule of French kings underlined the fact that the *capitouls* were keen to exercise as much power as they could. Even so, the high and mighty Toulousains admitted that they were bound to obey the king, who was the supreme authority on earth.

## Chapter Three

### The Bid for Peace

Charles's progress was as much about establishing peace and concord as it was about reinforcing his authority over the troubled populace. This is reflected in his royal entries, in which peace after the first war of religion in France was often declared as having been achieved. Images of Charles as classical heroes and as the vanquisher of war deities were depicted throughout the kingdom to this effect. Yet, peace was not a reality in many communities. Although conditions for the cessation of conflict were laid down in the Edict of Amboise, religious violence continued to be a feature of daily life, manifested on a scale that proceeded from verbal harassment to mass murder. Both Catholics and Huguenots found it difficult to accept the conditions of peace, as neither deemed them to conform to their interests; Huguenots considered the measures to fall short of their rightful claims, while Catholics balked at any gains for those they regarded as heretics and instigators of the conflict. Both sides may have desired peace, for no one would wish to live in discord indefinitely, but the concept of toleration – as distinct from peace – was problematic. It contradicted the long-held axiom of 'un roi, une loi, une foi', as well as being beyond the pale for those who envisaged peace only under the terms of the other side's conversion or extirpation, therefore posing a legal and social issue. It is little wonder that Charles sent out commissioners to bring the sides to a compromise, but his very public Catholic practices during the tour betrayed the fact that toleration was only intended to be a temporary measure. Hope for concord dwindled over the course of the tour, and tensions increased. Reactions to the Edict of Amboise and consequent attempts to instil toleration varied between cities – some decried it from the outset, some

strove to implement it, and Huguenot strongholds called for further recognition of their faith. In the end, however, all were brought to a second war of religion in 1567.

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Charles undertook his journey around France not only to establish his authority as a young monarch, but also to enforce the peace that he had declared at the end of the first war of religion. The former was necessary to achieve the latter, making peace inextricably intertwined with his people's acceptance of his authority. However, Catherine was confident that Charles's power would be recognized, and few cities would dare to refuse the will of the king when he was present to demand its fulfilment. Historically, a personal appearance proved to foster acquiescence among locals, who were delighted to see their monarch in the flesh, and so entries gave a unique advantage to any king determined to resolve a fraught situation in his favour.

Those cities that were to be visited during the tour understood the purpose of his arrival, with the welcome speech delivered to Charles in Toulouse containing reference to the fact that he had come 'pour establir et perpetuer ceste tranquillité et cognoistre voz bons et loyaulx subjectz'.<sup>1</sup> Peace was a traditional theme that appeared in ceremonies across the centuries with other core necessities in society, such as Piety, Victory and Justice. As such, it featured in some guise in every major entry made during the tour. However, its presentation was not simply a token gesture and a nod to what was expected of the entry programme; following the war, the establishment of harmony was a real issue and required thought in its presentation.

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<sup>1</sup> '[T]o establish and perpetuate this tranquillity and to know his good and loyal subjects.' AM Toulouse BB274, Chronique 240, p. 368.

## Representations of Peace

One of the most common and most adapted images during the tour involved representing Charles as Hercules. Chapter one has already shown how the classical hero was transformed into a young man, bearing all the qualities necessary in a king (wisdom, strength, courage), to function as a *speculum principis* for Charles.<sup>2</sup> In Angers, emphasis was placed on the connection between Hercules as a conqueror of dangerous and evil beasts, and Charles as the king who ended civil conflict. As the cortège entered the city, there were *tableaux* in which Charles was represented in a life-like painting, and in which a painted Hercules killed a chained Cerberus. Below this was written: ‘Je, Cerbere tire des enfers odieux,/ Sacrifice on m’a fait et colonnes levées;/ Mais voyant ta vertu conduite par les dieux,/ Je cedde a tes haultz faitz mes armes et trophées.’<sup>3</sup>

Cerberus, the three-headed hound that guarded the Underworld, was captured by Hercules in the last of his Twelve Labours.<sup>4</sup> The language of the inscription (‘je cedde a tes haultz faitz’) bears the hallmark of a *speculum principis*, but the use of Cerberus alone, rather than a general depiction of the Twelve as appears in other entries, suggests that it was chosen for a reason. Not only was capturing the hound the most difficult of the Labours, Cerberus was arguably the most insidious and terrible of the creatures that Hercules faced.<sup>5</sup> It prevented souls from leaving Hell, whilst eating only living flesh, including people who travelled to Hell in the hope of

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<sup>2</sup> See pp. 65-6.

<sup>3</sup> ‘I, Cerberus, drawn from heinous Hades,/They made me sacrifices and raised columns;/ But on seeing your virtue guided by the gods,/I cede my arms and trophies to your high deeds.’ Jehan Louvet, ‘Journal ou Récit véritable de tout ce qui est advenu digne de mémoire tant en la ville d’Angers, pays d’Anjou et autres lieux (depuis l’an 1560 jusqu’a l’an 1634)’, *Revue de l’Anjou et de Maine et de Loire* (Angers: Cosnier et Lachèse, 1854), p. 284.

<sup>4</sup> Smith, *Greek and Roman Biography*, vol. 1, p. 671; vol. 2, pp. 397-8.

<sup>5</sup> The ghost of Hercules tells Odysseus: ‘He [Eurystheus] once sent me even here [to Hades] to fetch away the hound of Hades, for he thought no task could be more fearsome for me than that.’ Homer, *Odyssey*, 11.623, in Walter Shewring, *The Odyssey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 142.

retrieving their loved ones.<sup>6</sup> Unlike the other creatures, Cerberus was an evil to all of humanity.

In its nature and actions, the hound was an emblem of war. Aligning a portrait of Charles with Hercules's destruction of Cerberus conveyed the idea that the king had wrestled with the conflict and succeeded in saving his people from further death and torment. The fact that Cerberus is killed in this image, when all other versions render him to Eurystheus alive before being returned to Hades, compounds the war association. The entry implied that war should not be temporarily contained, as Cerberus was in the original tales, but extinguished, as in the image.

The comparison of Charles with a Greek hero to symbolize that the king had delivered his people from harm was used elsewhere in the tour, but in some cases Perseus was chosen as the hero instead of Hercules. In Valence, for instance, a device hung on the side of a nobleman's house, in which a naked young woman was bound to a rock. She called to Perseus for help as a great monster emerged from the sea to devour her. On the other side of the house, a device showed Perseus in the company of other lords. This recalled the story of Andromeda, whose mother the queen of Ethiopia declared her to be more beautiful than the Nereids. Poseidon was enraged by this and decided to destroy the kingdom, so Andromeda was offered up to a sea monster as a sacrifice, only to be saved by the passing Perseus.<sup>7</sup> The images were accompanied by an explanatory poem, which ended with this appeal: 'En ses liens desire de remettre,/ Soubz vostre appui, ô Sire, et royal sceptre,/ Et vous

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<sup>6</sup> Hesiod, *Theogony*, 310; 769-774.

<sup>7</sup> Apollodorus, *Library*, 2.4.3; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 4.663-752.



reclame en son affliction./ Espoir luy dict qu'estes son vray Persée,/ Et Chrestien Roy, qui de vertu posée/ Pouvez dompter sa tribulation.'<sup>8</sup>

This device might appear to be little more than a *speculum principis*, but a similar image in Marseille reveals that the evocation of the rescue of Andromeda had hidden depths. Perseus was depicted on Pegasus, his winged horse, removing her from the rock, 'pour signifier que le Roi avoi garanti la France de la fureur de ses ennemis'.<sup>9</sup> Perseus had freed Andromeda from the clutches of the monster, just as Charles had delivered France from conflict. France's enemies were unidentified, making the image universal and the perpetrators open to interpretation based on current events. As the kingdom had only recently ended the civil war, the implication was that the enemies were those who had shattered the unity of France by fighting against their neighbour.

The idea that Charles had succeeded in restoring France to a state of repose was compounded by the appearance of Astræa in three separate entries. Astræa was the minor Greek goddess associated with justice and innocence. She was the last immortal to live on earth, but escaped to the heavens to become the constellation Virgo when she witnessed the increased depravity of humankind. It was reputed that one day Astræa would see fit to return to the earth, and a new Golden Age would commence.<sup>10</sup> This figure was often used in royal entries to represent Justice or the Golden Age, but peaked in popularity during Charles's reign on account of his device, *Pietate et Justitia*.

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<sup>8</sup> 'In her chains, she desires to place herself/under your protection, O Sire, and your royal sceptre,/And begs for you in her affliction./Hope tells her that you are her true Perseus,/And Christian King, who is so full of virtue,/that you are able to overcome her tribulation.' Berri, p. 30.

<sup>9</sup> '[T]o signify that the king had guaranteed France from the fury of her enemies.' Antoine de Ruffi, *Histoire de la Ville de Marseille, Contenant tout ce qui s'y est passé de plus mémorable depuis sa fondation, durant le tems qu'elle à été République & sous la domination des Romains, Bourignons, Visigots, Ostrogots, Rois de Bourgogne, Viscomtes de Marseille, Comtes de Provence & de nos Rois Tres-Chrétiens*. (Marseille, Henri Martel, 1696), p. 345.

<sup>10</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 1.140-150; Frances Yates, *Astræa: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1975), pp. 29-30.

Indeed, the representation of Astræa in Troyes was a direct evocation of the device. Two columns were raised to support statues of Piety and Justice, and below the statue of Justice was written: ‘Carolus ut victor victum bene temperet orbem, Legibus, in terras Astrea relabor ab astri.’<sup>11</sup> This allusion to the return of the goddess implied that Charles had restored justice and innocence to the kingdom; Astræa’s faith in humankind was rekindled and she was pleased to live once more among mortals. In Angers, a sonnet recited by a child dressed as Astræa told the same story of her ascendance, and asserted that Charles’s reign heralded the hour of her return because he sought to improve the administration of justice in his kingdom.<sup>12</sup>

The story found its fullest expression in Avignon, where a town square was transformed into a landscape featuring a pyramid and a mountain. The festival book in which the scene is described lacks some salient details: it states opaquely that Astræa stood inside the pyramid, having returned from the sky on a cloud, whilst a woman representing Truth stood inside the mountain. However, it emphasizes that, as Charles approached the scene, a woman representing Peace presented herself, and declared: ‘La verité qui tousjours va suivant/Ta magesté fera que la justice/Tiendra en paix ton regne Florissant,/Et chassera l’inique plein de vice.’<sup>13</sup> This was followed by a poem, which in part directly linked the return of Astræa to the cessation of the civil war:

Des cieux haultains descend la vierge Astrée,  
 Pour accoller verité penetrée  
 Des ses rayons en celestes accords,  
 La noble paix, qui presque estoit morte;

<sup>11</sup> ‘And as Charles has vanquished the evils of the world by his laws, I, Astræa, return from the stars to the world.’ *Les Triomphe... Troye*, fol. 5r.

<sup>12</sup> *Harangue... Angers*, p. 24.

<sup>13</sup> ‘Truth, which is always going to follow/ Your Majesty, will make it so that Justice/ Will maintain your flourishing reign in peace/ And will chase away the sinful, full of vice.’ *Narration... Avignon*, fol. 4v.

Soubz vostre bras, ô Roy, se sentant forte,  
Vient repouls troubles & discords.<sup>14</sup>

Charles was lauded for having warded off the troubles of recent years, the direct result of which was a peace so noble and virtuous throughout the kingdom that Astræa descended to convoke a Golden Age.

As well as being responsible for the return of the goddess to live among his people, Charles was represented as a vanquisher of the classical war deities whose *raison d'être* was to wreak disunity and chaos upon individuals and nations. In managing to curtail their efforts to destroy the kingdom, Charles had saved France from utter ruin. This situation was described as part of a triumphal arch in Troyes, in which the inscription celebrated the return of peace following Charles's victory over Mars and his sister Bellona, the principal Roman god and goddess of war. It claimed: 'tu as amenée/La paix tranquille, ayant de toutes pars/Vaincu l'horreur de Bellone et de Mars.'<sup>15</sup>

Similar sentiments were expressed in a verse delivered to Charles in Toulouse. Allusion was made to the suffering that the civil war had occasioned and the fact that the conflict would have lasted until the venomous gods were satisfied had it not been for the king, whose will it had been to stop the bloodshed.

Desliastes venin et d'une main robuste  
Desconfistes Belonne et le discord aussi...

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<sup>14</sup> 'From the high heavens descends the virgin Astræa,/ To embrace Truth, which is penetrated/ By her sunbeams in celestial accords,/ Noble Peace, which was almost dead/ Feels stronger in your arms, O King,/ They come to repulse troubles and discords.' Ibid., fos 5r-5v.

<sup>15</sup> 'You have brought tranquil peace, having on all sides vanquished the horror of Bellona and Mars.' *Les Triomphes... Troye*, fol. 6v.

Prosperez longuement, longuement sur la terre  
Retenez florissant en repos otieux  
Vostre peuple esloigné des fouldres de la guerre.<sup>16</sup>

Both Bellona and discord were said to have been defeated by Charles, but it is interesting to note that, despite the frequency with which the classical gods were evoked, 'la discorde' was used rather than 'Discordia'. Discordia is the Latin name of Eris, the Greek goddess of strife and a sister of Ares. The imagery of the verse could have been more cohesive, and Charles could have been lauded for his defeat of three war deities (Mars, Bellona and Discordia/Eris) rather than a paltrier two. However, Robert Garnier, the renowned poet who composed the sonnet, was either unaware of or shied away from this word association.

During the tour, the goddess Discordia was consistently eschewed in favour of a more earthly manifestation of Discord: that of a wretched old woman. This was in part due to the erroneous assumption that Eris was another name for Enyo, the war goddess who was an old woman from birth.<sup>17</sup> The entry organizers perhaps thought they were representing Discordia, when in fact they were representing Bellona, the Roman equivalent of Enyo.<sup>18</sup> Common perceptions of elderly women in the late mediæval period also contributed to the fact that Discord was anthropomorphized in this way. Older women were reviled both in literature and by preachers, who accused them of practising witchcraft and endeavouring to control fertility and young love out of pure malevolence and anguish at their own lost beauty.<sup>19</sup> By the sixteenth century,

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<sup>16</sup> 'You untied poison and with a strong hand,/ Defeated Bellona and discord also.../ Prosper for a long time, and for a long time on earth, keep your people flourishing in peaceful tranquillity./ Far removed from the thunderbolts of war.' AM Toulouse BB274, Chronique 240, p. 340.

<sup>17</sup> Apollodorus, *Library*, 2.4.2

<sup>18</sup> Smith, *Greek and Roman Biography*, vol. 2, p. 49; p. 20.

<sup>19</sup> Gretchen Meiszkowski, 'Old Age and Medieval Misogyny: The Old Woman', in Albrecht Classen (ed.), *Old Age in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Interdisciplinary Approaches to a Neglected Topic* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), p. 299.

the depiction of old women as ‘immoral, [physically] repulsive, and dangerous’ had become the norm.<sup>20</sup>

The caricature was used very effectively in Lyon. A triumphal arch bore images of young women as Piety and Justice, in the middle of whom stood two columns, which carried the portrait of ‘une vieille hideuse, accablée, & rechinante une horrible grimace’. She had a snake coiled around her neck and the words *Discordia victa* were written on her clothes. The two columns were painted gold and silver and the structure was topped with an imperial crown, which attributed the victory over discord to Piety and Justice. Since these two virtues and the interlaced columns were features of Charles’s device, this implied that he was responsible for putting an end to conflict.<sup>21</sup>

The portrait bore a remarkable resemblance to Alciato’s emblem *Invidia* (Envy), in which a hag with snakes in place of hair is seen to walk through a landscape with a rod of thorns in her right hand, and a snake and the heart torn from her own breast in her left hand. The epigram reads: ‘Donna squalida e bruta;/ Che di carne di vipera si pasce,/ E mangia il proprio core,/ Cui dolgon gli occhi lividi a tutt’hore./ Magra, pallida, e asciutta:/ E dovunque ella va, presso o lontano,/ Porta dardi spinosi ne la mano,/ Che nel suo sangue tinge.’<sup>22</sup> Similar images appear in La Perrière’s *Morosophie*. In one emblem, Envy carries a snake and is contrasted with Fortune to great effect. She is painfully thin, her cheeks are sunken and her breasts sag, while Fortune has a soft body, with fuller thighs and round breasts. A second

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<sup>20</sup> Karen Pratt, ‘*De vetula*: the Figure of the Old Woman in Medieval French Literature’, in Classen (ed.), *Old Age*, p. 321.

<sup>21</sup> ‘A hideous old woman, stricken and reluctantly displaying a horrible grimace’; ‘Discord vanquished’. *Discours... tresillustre... Lyon*, fol. 11v.

<sup>22</sup> ‘A squalid and ugly woman/ Who feeds on viper flesh/ And eats her own heart,/ Whose livid eyes always ache. She is thin, pale and dessicated:/ And wherever she goes, near or far,/ She carries in her hand thorny arrows/ Stained with her blood.’ Emblem 71 (Lyon: Marquale, 1551). Alciatus, *Index emblematicus*, vol. 2, n.p.

emblem shows Envy in precisely the same way, with the addition that she produces a stream of poisonous vomit from her mouth.<sup>23</sup>

*Invidia* was obviously based in part on the tale of Medusa, the Gorgon whose serpent-hair made her so fearful that one glance turned those who beheld her into stone.<sup>24</sup> The hag was not simply a representation of envy, however. In the Jeremias Held edition (*Emblematum Liber*, Frankfurt, 1567), the epigram notes that she is the personification of both envy (*Verbunst*) and hate (*Haß*).<sup>25</sup> Thus, the emblem was adapted to represent a number of unpleasant passions.

Bearing marked similarity to both the old woman in Lyon and Alciato's *Invidia*, Discord was manifested in Toulouse in a far more graphic way. She was unsightly in a tattered dress, with a complexion that made her look as though her blood was diseased. Her rusted teeth were made even more horrendous by the fact that her mouth was filled with dragons. Situated on a great column with Peace, which was partnered with another column carrying Victory, the old woman declared: 'combien idieuse, cruelle et pestiférée est une guerre civile, et consequemment combien l'on doibt estre soigneux de entretenir la paix et concorde civile.'<sup>26</sup> Without context, she might easily be mistaken for a victim of civil war and a figure of pity, but the perceptions of older females in this period denoted that she was a human reflection of the hate that festers at the heart of civil war, and a warning to all that they must avoid such conflict or risk seeing her evil in themselves.

In all of these images, whether Classical or contemporary, Charles is celebrated for having restored serenity to the kingdom. Repeated allusions to the return of

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<sup>23</sup> La Perrière, *Morosophie*, Emblems 8 and 9, n.p.

<sup>24</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 4.753-803.

<sup>25</sup> Emblem 71 (Frankfurt: Held, 1567). Alciatus, *Index emblematicus*, Vol. 2, n.p.

<sup>26</sup> 'How odious, cruel and plague-stricken is civil war, and consequently how one must be conscientious to maintain peace and civil concord.' AM Toulouse BB274, Chronique 240, p. 361.

Astræa, in particular, seemed to provide irrefutable testimony to his success. Yet, peace was far from the reality in most communities.

### **Continuing Conflict**

Though the war had officially ended upon the signing of the Edict of Amboise on 19 March 1563, the kingdom was still embroiled in religious violence and antagonism. In the months following the edict, numerous confrontations erupted in Paris, as was noted in letters sent to the English court from representatives in France. On 3 May 1563, Smith recorded that the Protestants had not yet dared to return to their homes in the capital, because they still feared for their lives.<sup>27</sup> This was understandable in light of Charles's decision to attend a play on 21 May, which centred on a fictional war between Protestants and Parisians. During the final act, all the Protestants were captured and killed, while the prince de Condé was beheaded, and Gaspard de Coligny, Théodore de Bèze and Jean Malo were burned. The playwright and the Parisians did not even attempt to disguise their malice for the Huguenots.<sup>28</sup>

For those Huguenots living within the city, unsettling events were reported almost daily. On 26 June 1563, for example, a Huguenot was hanged in the cemetery of Saint John, but soon afterwards locals cut him down and hewed his corpse. The culprits were apprehended as they dragged the mutilated body to the river to dispose of it, but they were released without charge following a violent reaction from the public. These clashes, and perceived absences of punishment, characterized social relations between Parisian Catholics and Huguenots in the interwar period.<sup>29</sup> Tempers flared especially in Paris, hence the fact that no Protestant services were permitted in

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<sup>27</sup> Smith to Cecil, 3 May 1563. *CSP*, vol. 6, p. 319.

<sup>28</sup> Middlemore to Cecil, 24 May 1563. *Ibid.*, p. 366.

<sup>29</sup> Occurrences in France, 6 July 1563. *Ibid.*, p. 444.

the capital, the surrounding *vicomté* or the *prévôté* because neither the populace nor the Parlement of Paris would support its measures.<sup>30</sup>

There is also evidence of continued violence throughout the kingdom. Henry Middlemore, Throckmorton's secretary, reported to Cecil on 10 April 1563 that '[a]s yet no Papist town obeys the edict of peace, but they continue their cruelties towards them of the religion, who have now no Orléans to retire to.' With the transition to peace having already faltered, he prophesized that tensions would most likely increase and before long France would return to the brink of war.<sup>31</sup> One might have argued that this observation was made too soon; some of the cities had not yet received their copy of the edict in order to ratify it, and therefore were not yet enforcing its decrees.<sup>32</sup> Yet these 'cruelties' were still being reported years after the edicts had passed.

For example, in July 1565, the Catholics in Tours decided to ambush and slaughter the Huguenots on return to town from their services on the outskirts. The plot was uncovered and so delayed several days, in which time the Huguenots took to arming themselves. When the skirmish finally took place, many Catholics were slain; in retaliation, the houses of prominent Huguenots were sacked and the inhabitants murdered. The following month, the Catholics made holes overnight in the walls of the Huguenot church, and during the service the next day, shot the preacher and several parishioners.<sup>33</sup> In Pamiers in June 1566, growing tension finally reached its zenith when the Catholics held a procession in town, during which the Protestants believed themselves to have been insulted. Both sides armed, and fighting broke out

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<sup>30</sup> Barbara B. Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 72.

<sup>31</sup> 'The trouble is like to grow as great as ever it was ere long.' Middlemore to Cecil, 10 April 1563. *CSP*, vol. 6, p. 281.

<sup>32</sup> For instance, Toulouse had only received the edict on 8 April. AM Toulouse, AA14, n<sup>o</sup>. 19.

<sup>33</sup> Smith to Leicester and Cecil, July 1565; Smith to Cecil, 29 August 1565. *CSP*, vol. 7, p. 402; 440.



the following day; alongside mutual loss of life and the burning of houses, the Protestants sacked several convents.<sup>34</sup> Despite the lapse of time, harmony still had not returned to the kingdom, revealing the limited success of the edict in bringing an end to religious violence.

### **The Edict of Amboise and Its Reception**

But what were the terms of the edict, and why was it unable to bring peace to the divided kingdom? The Edict of Amboise was the first in the series of edicts of pacification. It was modelled in part on the Edict of January 1562, which had first given the Huguenots limited toleration, allowing the religion to be practised outside the towns, in the light of day, with attendees unarmed.<sup>35</sup> The Edict of Amboise modified this, decreeing that the suburbs of one town per *bailliage* or *sénéchaussée* would host the cult, as well as one or two places in each town where it had been practised up to the end of the war. Moreover, the nobility were permitted to practise the religion in their homes with their family and vassals. To encourage co-operation between the two factions, which had so wronged one another in the cacophony of war, all property, goods, honours and offices were to be restored to Churches and individuals from whom they had been unlawfully seized. Amnesty was declared for all injurious acts committed during the war, and religious prisoners were to be released.<sup>36</sup>

It is important to note the modern interpretation of the word ‘toleration’ does not reconcile with early modern usage. Only in the eighteenth century did the term

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<sup>34</sup> C.L. Devic and J. Vaissete, *Histoire générale de Languedoc* (Toulouse: Édouard Privat, 1889, 15 vols), vol. 11, pp. 474-5.

<sup>35</sup> Sutherland, *Huguenot Struggle*, pp. 354-5.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 356-7.

develop the flavour of being, as Philip Benedict puts it, ‘the humane recognition of our species’ incapacity to arrive at moral or intellectual certitude, and of the consequent unfairness of punishing anybody of their beliefs’.<sup>37</sup> It now has positive connotations, but during the wars of religion toleration was regarded as permission given for that which was forbidden. In fact, *tolerance* and *tolérer* were not specific enough in their meaning, and thus were seldom used in texts dealing with religious dissent.<sup>38</sup>

In his study of texts from the period 1560-1564, William Huseman sought to provide a more accurate description of what was meant by words rooted in the verb *tolérer*, and in sister verbs. He discovered that active verbs, such as *admettre*, *permettre*, and *dissimuler*, expressed the grant of toleration as a positive act, though the agents were always authority figures handing it down to an inferior party. There was no sense of a horizontal movement, in which ordinary people granted toleration to each other. On the other hand, passive verbs, such as *souffrir* and *endurer*, denoted an absence of action, almost a ‘sin of omission’ in the presence of evil.<sup>39</sup> While *tolerance* was rare, the antonym *intolerance* was frequently used to modify such nouns as *maladies*, *oppression* or *tyrannie*. It is not surprising then that Protestants tended to avoid *tolérer*, and adopted *permettre* in their tracts, which left the question of whether the grantor approved or disapproved of their actions as unstated.<sup>40</sup>

Following the issue of the edict, there was a swell of opinion on both sides of the religious divide, with neither looking upon it with any great favour. To the Huguenots, the edict was little more than a false friend: it gave them permission to

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<sup>37</sup> Philip Benedict, ‘*Un roi, une loi, deux fois*: parameters for the history of Catholic-Reformed co-existence in France, 1555-1685’, in Grell and Scribner (eds), *Tolerance and Intolerance*, p. 67.

<sup>38</sup> William H. Huseman, ‘The Expression of the Idea of Toleration in French during the Sixteenth Century’, *SCJ*, vol. 15, no. 3 (1984), p. 293.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 298.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 301.

worship, but in doing so it laid severe restrictions upon where this could occur. This need to make formal arrangements complicated collective worship, as previously the community had simply practised in large houses, disused barns and fields that were readily available, although this had obviously been illegal. Moreover, the Huguenots believed that theirs was the true faith, and had expected this to be recognized with freedom of religion as a result. The decision to offer only toleration dishonoured their religion by suggesting that it should continue to be viewed as anathema by the populace and suffered out of necessity. In short, for the Huguenots, the edict simply did not go far enough.

On the other hand, the Catholics regarded it as having gone too far. Many balked at Charles's decision to concede any favourable terms to the heretics, viewing the only acceptable course of action as one in which they should be faced with the choice between conversion and violent extirpation. Simon Vigor, the Catholic preacher, denounced the king in a sermon of 1565, in which he warned: 'Look that God does not grow angry against you, for you have authorized an edict that is called one of pacification but it is an edict of the devil, even if you have covered it with a pretty pretext, in letting it be known that it was done to succour the Catholics.'<sup>41</sup>

Most parlements delayed its ratification, or even refused to acknowledge it. Although the edict was received in Dijon on 26 April 1563, the parlement waited until 19 June to register it.<sup>42</sup> The Parlement of Provence declined to ratify it for over a year, leading Charles to suspend the court and appoint his own councillors to administer the province until he saw fit to reinstate them.<sup>43</sup> The edict was not

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<sup>41</sup> Translated and quoted in Marc Venard, 'Catholicism and Resistance to the Reformation in France, 1555-1585', in Philip Benedict, Guido Marnef, Henk van Nierop and Mark Venard (eds), *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands, 1555-1585* (Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1999), p. 144.

<sup>42</sup> BN.MS.FR. 22304, fol. 14.

<sup>43</sup> BN.MS.FR. 15878, fol. 292.

published in Avignon or Marseille until Charles visited the cities during his tour, in September and November 1564 respectively, which demonstrated that only his presence could successfully end their evasion.<sup>44</sup>

While this was discussed in the parlements, figures at court raised their objections. Although disgraced by his actions during the civil war, the prince of Condé returned to court and met regularly with Charles to petition the Huguenots' cause. This was necessary for the Huguenots, who were encouraged by Calvin to practice absolute non-resistance in the face of persecution and unsupportive measures imposed by the king. There were few means by which they could seek to effect change without contradicting God's will. Calvin wrote in the *Institutio Christianae religionis* that: 'We are not only subject to the authority of princes who perform their office towards us uprightly and faithfully, as they ought, but also to the authority of all who, by whatever means, have got control of affairs, even though they perform not a whit of all the princes' office.' In this, he argued that even villainous kings and tyrants are legitimate, because they have been sent by God to punish the people. Rebellion against them is still a rebellion against God.<sup>45</sup>

One lawful way to remedy the situation was to place their hopes in magistrates and governors, who were appointed by God to aid the reign of the king and obliged to resist bad government. Condé argued that it was his duty to challenge improper measures imposed by the king under the influence of Catholic factions; as a Prince of the Blood and the natural council to the king, he was one of the few individuals who

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<sup>44</sup> The edict was agreed by ministers of the Pope and of the prince de Condé at Avignon on 11 October 1564 and confirmed by Charles in Marseilles on 9 November 1564. *CSP*, vol. 7, p. 223; 241.

<sup>45</sup> Calvin, *Institutio Christianae religionis*, quoted in Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought, Vol. 2 The Age of Reformation* (Binghamton, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 194.

could rightly claim to do this.<sup>46</sup>

Most pamphlets printed between 1560 and 1569 claimed that the motivation for Huguenot resistance was purely political. France was said to be under attack from the 'foreign' House of Lorraine and their acolytes, who sought to eliminate the role of the nobility in government to wield greater power themselves.<sup>47</sup> Therefore, it was the constitutional duty of Huguenot nobles to take up arms when their natural rights and the kingdom's laws were threatened. There can be no doubt, however, that there was strong religious motivation as well, particularly when another stream of pamphlets depicted Huguenots as the true believers, and urged passive resistance as an act of martyrdom. Moreover, it is important to note that there was a distinct rise in radicalism following the first civil war, in which several pamphlets justified the uprising of an oppressed faithful against their prince.<sup>48</sup> Although many Huguenots remained committed to non-resistance, there was an increasing call for individuals to take the matter into their own hands.

Suspicion of the Guise faction remained high even after the declaration of Charles's majority. This was reasonable considering that, at the same time as Condé, the Catholic nobility attempted to influence the king to adopt a less tolerant attitude towards the Huguenots. In December 1565, as the tour wound its way back to Paris, Smith confided in Cecil that the Catholics had once again become the principal

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid., pp. 191-220. Calvin did propose other means to challenge a king, which were through the intervention of a foreign ruler or a divinely chosen liberator, as well as the idea that a king who governs contrary to God's laws negates his legitimacy and can thus be removed by the proper authorities. However, these were highly nuanced and rarely articulated conclusions in Calvin's writings, demonstrating that Calvin generally abhorred resistance and waited until crises such as the Conspiracy of Amboise had passed before declaring whether they were lawful. Denis Crouzet, 'Calvinism and the Uses of the Political and the Religious (France, ca. 1560-ca. 1572)', in Benedict et al (eds), *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War*, pp. 99-114.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 106.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 112. For the increasingly radical views on resistance over the course of the civil wars, see Robert M. Kingdon, 'Calvinism and Resistance Theory, 1550-1580' in *The Cambridge History of Political Thought, 1450-1700*, edited by J.H. Burns, with Mark Goldie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 193-218.

advisors to Charles and Catherine, with Louis de Bourbon exercising particular control:

Of long time, the Duke of Montpensier alone has governed the King and Queen. Small justice is done for the murders upon them of the religion at Tours and Maine. The Huguenots look that the edict of pacification should forthwith be broken, and they too have no other remedy but to take themselves to their weapons. The Papists also look for no less but that the King and Queen should openly declare, either at Amboise or here [Blois], that they would have but one religion in France.<sup>49</sup>

The duc de Montpensier, a Prince of the Blood and staunch Catholic, was revered for his uncompromising attitude towards the Huguenots and the edict of pacification. His prominence at court alarmed the Huguenots, who envisaged an eventual reversal of the policy of toleration. However, signs that the edict was not respected by nobles of either faith had appeared months earlier. In May 1565, Smith wrote to Leicester and Cecil to inform them of an incident in which Charles called the whole Council, the Princes of the Blood, and the Knights of the Order of Saint Michael to a meeting, at which Catherine observed that rumours were in circulation that 'some [among them] would attempt things against the edict of pacification'. She assured them that she and her son intended to keep the edict at all costs, and that those who contravened it would be branded traitors. When she asked them to reveal known perpetrators, the collective claimed that they knew of none.<sup>50</sup> Several of the men were involved, or knew others who were involved, in such activity. Their unwillingness to denounce traitors demonstrates the dishonesty with which many nobles, both Catholic and Huguenot, approached the edict.

It would be remiss not to draw attention to the existence of moderates:

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<sup>49</sup> Smith to Cecil, 10 December 1565. *CSP*, vol. 7, p. 535.

<sup>50</sup> Smith to Leicester and Cecil, 5 May 1565. *Ibid.*, p. 356.

prominent Catholics who either advocated religious freedom as a right, or supported toleration in order to guide the lost back to the Church. Scholars who held these views included Étienne de La Boétie, who in his *Memoire sur la pacification des troubles* (1561) argued in principle that men should not be made to constrain their conscience to conform to the will of the king, and in practice that the *de facto* toleration of 1561 had already proven to be a failure. His preference was for religious freedom, albeit with caveats: it was the right of the individual, but would be rescinded in the event that a collective demonstrated political dissidence, thus threatening the stability of the kingdom. Moreover, if it were to be established in France, it would have to be universal – Catholics would have to receive liberty in Protestant-dominated areas and vice versa.<sup>51</sup>

Jean de Monluc, later the bishop of Condom, suggested recourse to freedom of conscience. The anonymous *Apologie Contre Certaines Calomnies mises sus, à la desfaveur & desavantage de l'Estat des affaires de ce Roiaume* (1562) is widely attributed to him.<sup>52</sup> Written in the wake of the Colloquy of Poissy, the *Apologie* was effectively an endorsement of the Edict of January. Monluc drew attention to the many upheavals borne out of religious division that had wracked the kingdom, and concluded that the Reformers would be expected to abide by the will of the king, ‘pourveu que lon leur laisse la liberté de leurs consciences’.<sup>53</sup> However, as Malcolm Smith has demonstrated, he invoked the idea of religious freedom erroneously – though he appeared to offer it as a matter of principle, he actually advocated that the Reformed faith be recognized in order to restore civil order, after which peaceful

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<sup>51</sup> Estienne de La Boétie, *Mémoire sur la pacification des troubles*, edited with introduction and notes by Malcolm Smith (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1983); Malcolm C. Smith, ‘Early French Advocate of Religious Freedom’, *SCJ*, vol. 25, no. 1 (1994), pp. 39-40.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47. Smith uses several criteria to conclude this. Monluc is listed as the author by the BN: Jean de Monluc, *Apologie contre certaines calomnies mises sus, à la desfaveur & desavantage de l'estat des affaires de ce royaume* (Paris: Pierre Leber, 1562).

<sup>53</sup> ‘[P]rovided that they are allowed freedom of their consciences.’ Monluc, *Apologie*, p. 59.

attempts to restore the Reformed to the Catholic Church could be renewed.<sup>54</sup>

This latter approach to the religious division was driven by Michel de L'Hôpital, chancellor of France from 1560-1568. L'Hôpital has been the subject of much controversy among historians, who have varyingly posited that he was a trailblazing advocate of religious freedom, a tolerant Humanist, or a master among the *politiques*.<sup>55</sup> However, perhaps Seong-Hak Kim has most convincingly argued that L'Hôpital was a statesman who was willing to tolerate Protestantism in order to put an end to civil conflict. It was a pragmatic measure, not an issue of freedom of conscience arising out of moral imperative.<sup>56</sup> He did look upon the Reformed with compassion, declaring that violent rebukes and reconversion were senseless. Yet he had no intention of allowing the religious division to perpetuate; he continued to encourage his fellow Catholics to right the Huguenots' errors in faith through Christian charity, prayer and persuasion.<sup>57</sup> He himself made no attempt to establish a reconciliation of the faiths, but instead focused on promoting a civic resolution. His priority was to preserve the political unity of the kingdom, and so he gave greater importance to the law and king over faith in the long-held French axiom of 'un roi, une loi, une foi'.<sup>58</sup> In delineating separate spheres for religion and republic, a purely political settlement could be reached, which would allow doctrinal differences to be addressed in peace.

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<sup>54</sup> Smith, 'Early French Advocates', p. 47.

<sup>55</sup> Perceptions of De L'Hôpital among his contemporaries are revealed in Frank Lestringant, 'Autour du Portrait de Michel de L'Hospital: Bèze et Thevet' and Daniel Ménager, 'L'image de Michel de L'Hospital de la Pléiade à la Ligue', both in Thierry Wanegffelen (ed.), *De Michel de L'Hospital à l'édit de Nantes: politique et religion face aux églises* (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses universitaires Blaise-Pascal, 2002), pp. 137-50; 151-63.

<sup>56</sup> Seong-Hak Kim, *Michel de L'Hôpital: The Vision of a Reformist Chancellor during the French Religious Wars* (Kirkville, Missouri: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1997).

<sup>57</sup> Seong-Hak Kim, 'Dieu nous garde de la messe du chancelier': The Religious Belief and Political Opinion of Michel de L'Hôpital', *SCJ*, vol. 24, no. 3 (1993), p. 612; Mario Turchetti, 'Middle Parties in France the Wars of Religion', in Benedict et al (eds), *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War*, p. 170. A similar conclusion, based on studies of L'Hôpital's *Carmina*, has been reached in Denis Crouzet, *La sagesse et le malheur: Michel de L'Hospital, chancelier de France* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 1998).

<sup>58</sup> Kim, 'Dieu Garde', p. 614.



Despite these arguments from *moyenneurs*, including L'Hôpital who was one of the most powerful men at court and personally endorsed by Catherine de Médicis, the edict found few supporters during the course of the royal tour. Its measures were simply too distasteful to accept. Objections from both sides have been noted above, but the Catholics were more vociferous in their denunciation. This was in part because they regarded the Huguenots' faith as heretical, and in Christian tradition the method for dealing with heretics was to persecute. Tertullian, writing in the second century and much celebrated by later Christian authors, insisted that the word 'heresy' came from the Greek *αἵρεσις* (choice), and that heretics consciously rejected the truth; their actions were wicked rather than based on misapprehension, and had to be punished as such. To Saint Augustine, heresy was more often a misinterpretation of the faith, but it was nonetheless the duty of the Church to persecute heretics for the sake of their own salvation, through violence if necessary.<sup>59</sup> There were biblical precedents that legitimized this, in particular the Holiness Code of Leviticus 17-26, in which the Lord demanded heretics be put to death.<sup>60</sup> Augustinian thought on the matter of heresy proved so influential that it became part of canon law; civil punishment of heresy by Christian rulers was validated because it prevented the perpetrators of false doctrine from endangering the salvation of others and heretics themselves could be saved through this intervention.<sup>61</sup>

But this intellectual inheritance on how to deal with heretics was not the only obstacle that prevented Catholics from accepting the edict. By the end of the Middle Ages, French monarchs and France itself had come to be known as the 'Most Christian', with many maintaining that the country had entered into a covenant with

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<sup>59</sup> Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (London: Harvard University Press, 2007), p. 26.

<sup>60</sup> For example, those who offer child sacrifices are to be stoned (Leviticus 20:1-4), as are those who profess to be mediums (20:27) and those who blaspheme against the Lord (24: 13-15).

<sup>61</sup> Benedict, '*Un roi, une loi, deux fois*', p. 68.

God during the Baptism of Clovis.<sup>62</sup> In reality, several European rulers had been described in this way by the thirteenth-century Papacy, but France appropriated the title.<sup>63</sup> The French believed theirs to be God's chosen nation, and its orthodoxy beyond reproach. Saint Jerome had underlined the kingdom's dedication to the Catholic Church in the fifth century, with his assertion that 'Gaul alone has had no monsters'.<sup>64</sup> Over time, evidence to support this claim to orthodoxy mounted: from 1215, the king vowed to expel all heretics identified by the Church as part of his coronation oath; the kingdom amassed a fantastic collection of holy relics and saints' remains, notably the Crown of Thorns, for which the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris was built and consecrated in 1248; and the University of Paris became the greatest arbiter on theological matters outside of Rome.<sup>65</sup>

French zeal for the Catholic faith culminated in the maxim 'un roi, une loi, une foi', in which the king, religion and the law (both civil and canon) were equally sacred. The Reformed faith presented a challenge to the religious elements of the maxim, and in doing so shattered France's standing as the Most Christian Kingdom, which was central to national identity. Moreover, any revision of 'une foi' suggested that the king and the law could also be disputed. As a threat to both the political and religious order of France, it is little wonder that many Catholics were appalled by the concept of a permitted Protestant faith. Their attitude was captured by Esprit Rotier, the Dean of the Faculty of Theology at the University of Toulouse and an Inquisitor, in his *Responce aux blasphemateurs de la Sainte Messe* (1563):

[II] appert clairement, ces pervers heretiques, devoir estre reputez &

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<sup>62</sup> See for instance André Du Chesne, *Les Antiquitez et recherches de la grandeur et majesté des roys de France, recueillies tant des auteurs anciens que des meilleurs écrivains de ce siècle, et divisées en trois livres*. (Paris: J. Petit-Pas, 1609), p. 16.

<sup>63</sup> Beaune, p. 172.

<sup>64</sup> Saint Jerome, 'Against Vigilantius', in Philip Schaff and Henry Wallace (eds), *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers: Second Series, Volume VI – Jerome Letters and Select Works* (New York: Cosimo, 2007), p. 417.

<sup>65</sup> Benedict, 'Un roi, une loi, deux fois', p. 68; Beaune, pp. 177-8.

nommez ennemies, non tant seulement de la sainte Religion, mais aussi de vostre majesté, & toute la republique de France, d'autant qu'ilz veulent deshonnorer ta[n]t le chef que le corps, & vous priver du plus beau & honorable tiltre qu'on vous scauroit donner c'est le tiltre & renom de Roy Treschrestien.<sup>66</sup>

On a social level, the two faiths created a cultural gulf between neighbours, the void of which was often filled with manifestations of hatred and ritual violence.<sup>67</sup> As Natalie Zemon Davis has demonstrated, there were many deep-seated motivations for both Catholics and Protestants to attack one another. Principal among these was the idea that the false doctrine espoused on both sides was a pollutant; it infected the body politic, threatening social stability as well as the spiritual purity of individuals. Huguenots decried the 'magical' nature of Catholic worship as profane, in particular the Mass and the veneration of images, while Catholics abhorred the Huguenots' destruction of churches and sacramentals as blasphemous and contrary to the honour of God. Terrible acts of nature, such as storms or famine, were associated with the pollution spread by Huguenots, and identified as God's wrath against the community that did not cast out its heretics.<sup>68</sup> Violence was thus justified as a means of purification; the ungodly had to be extirpated in order to preserve the godly.

Denis Crouzet similarly argued for the development of a cultural gulf, positing that French Protestantism was the product of eschatological anxiety felt by the generation prior to the religious wars. This anxiety was fuelled by the circulation of

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<sup>66</sup> '[C]learly it appears that these perverse heretics must be labelled as enemies, not only of the true Religion, but also of Your Majesty and all the republic of France, all the more so because they want to dishonour the head as much as the body, and to deprive you of the most beautiful and honourable title that you have been given: the title and renown of the Most Christian King.' Esprit Rotier, *Responce aux blasphemateurs de la Sainte Messe. Avec la confutation de la vaine & ridicule Cene des Caluinistes*. (Paris: Jacques Keruer, 1563), fol. 3r.

<sup>67</sup> Keith P. Luria, *Sacred Boundaries: Religious Coexistence and Conflict in Early Modern France* (Washington DC: Catholic University Press of America, 2005), p. xv.

<sup>68</sup> Natalie Zemon Davis, 'The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth-Century France', *P&P*, no. 59 (1973), pp. 57-9.

astrological treatises and had two results: the first, extreme violence against vessels of improper religion (for example, people, churches and images) in order to restore the favour of God; and the second, the rise of Calvinism which in its doctrine of predestination provided inner security to the fearful. Both Crouzet and Davis understood the two faiths to regard the other as a contamination of the pure and godly society, and as such they had to be removed.<sup>69</sup>

The use of corporeal rhetoric to describe a community or kingdom was ubiquitous in the sixteenth century. Royal entries, for instance, reflected the relationship between the monarch and his people, in which he was the head and they were the organs and limbs.<sup>70</sup> This metaphor flourished to the point that, on the occasions that political disorder, religious division or economic suffering prevailed, the country was declared to be sick. Thus the civil war sparked a range of diagnoses on the medical maladies of France. Heresy was portrayed as an infection, a poison and gangrene, to name but a few. Whilst all parties agreed that a resolution to the religious question and peace would rid the country of its ills, there was no consensus on how best to achieve this. Huguenots were identified as the source of disease more often than Catholics – though the Catholic League would become a target in the later civil wars – and the most popular prescription for treatment was amputation.<sup>71</sup> Antoine de Mouchy, a Doctor of Theology at the Sorbonne, wrote a tract against the Huguenots in 1558, in which he epitomized this opinion: ‘it is necessary to amputate gangrenous flesh [...] to prevent the house, the whole, the body and the flock from

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<sup>69</sup> Denis Crouzet, *Les guerriers de Dieu: la violence au temps des troubles de religion, vers 1525-vers 1610* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 1990, 2 vols).

<sup>70</sup> See pp. 9-10.

<sup>71</sup> Penny Roberts, ‘The Kingdom’s Two Bodies? Corporeal Rhetoric and Royal Authority during the Religious Wars’, *French History*, vol. 21, no. 2 (2007), p. 152.

burning, being corrupted, rot and perish'.<sup>72</sup>

When the infection was not removed by the authorities, the populace took matters into their own hands. Davis delineated this as a further cause of violence in divided communities. Many disturbances in the early years of the civil wars revolved around public spaces associated with civic affairs. For example, heretics and criminals were apprehended by private individuals (or crowds) and marched to the jail or *hôtel de ville*, where they were delivered to officials for justice. In some instances the accused were released, only to be captured by crowds who proceeded to administer their own bloody justice, as if the actions of the authorities had not been satisfactory and it became their right to hand down proper sentencing.<sup>73</sup> Private individuals often believed their actions to be legitimate, and condoned the violence on religious grounds.

However, it is important to acknowledge that the memory of the war propelled many to seek vengeance. Its legacy preyed on the minds of those who had witnessed the widespread destruction. Smith described Lyon to Cecil in July 1564 as 'the most miserable and inhuman town [I] ever saw... it is thought that almost as many die of hunger and lack of tending as of the plague'.<sup>74</sup> In addition to the loss of life and the economic hardships that are the handmaidens of conflict, the face of many cities and towns changed. Iconoclasm carried out by the Huguenots left churches, pilgrimage sites, and other holy places unrecognisable. Altars, stained glass windows and images were smashed, relics were desecrated and structures were reduced to ruins. Although religious sites were the main targets, private homes of Catholics and

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<sup>72</sup> Translated and quoted in Luc Racaut, 'Persecution or Pluralism? Propaganda and Opinion-Forming during the French Wars of Religion', in Richard Bonney and D.J.B. Trim (eds), *Persecution and Pluralism: Calvinists and Religious Minorities in Early Modern Europe, 1550-1700* (Bern; Oxford: Peter Lang, 2006), p. 81.

<sup>73</sup> Davis, 'Rites of Violence', pp. 61-5.

<sup>74</sup> Smith to Cecil, 12 July 1564: *CSP*, vol. 7, p. 175.

Huguenots were also sacked and burned by those of the rival faith as an act of malice. Some churches and homes were seized by Huguenots and occupied until after the war, when the restitution of property to the rightful owners had to be set out in the edict. This disruption was seen as an attack on the *bien publique*; it betrayed a lack of respect for the political hierarchy, for authority and for the safety and civil rights of fellow citizens who should be regarded as brothers. At a time when the social and political integrity of a city was paramount to local identity and its relationship to the Crown, these attacks on property were unforgiveable.

It would appear that these religious differences, and apparent contempt for social order, led each faith to regard the other's adherents as having forfeited their place in the community. They no longer shared the same culture or values, and were in short denatured, so retribution had to be paid. However, these sentiments were not universal, and one must be careful to differentiate between the diverse opinions within ordinary communities and the hard-line opinions of many theologians and scholars. Some communities did look beyond the war to a time of peace and, if necessary, pluralism. Catholics and Huguenots continued to have much in common in terms of cultural practice: they had families that needed love and protection, they had to earn a living, and concepts of honour or local identity remained unaffected. This led to a situation in which the line of religious division became blurred.

Keith Luria has posited that Catholic and Protestant neighbours often closed their eyes to the confessional conflict in order to preserve family alliances, their business interests and the *bien publique*. As well as ignoring the issue, the divide was recognized in a cordial fashion and negotiations were carried out to provide the best outcome for both sides.<sup>75</sup> To return to the religious survey carried out in Troyes in

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<sup>75</sup> Luria, *Sacred Boundaries*, pp. xxvi- xxxii.

1563, there are clear indications that some locals did not approve of the council's attempts to present the city as unified in its hatred of the Huguenots. Contrary to the forty or so householders who declared they would rather die than allow Protestant services or would leave town, fifteen said that they would go to Mass regardless. Some even challenged the validity of the survey on the grounds that resolution of the issue was the remit of the king, not the council.<sup>76</sup> As already noted, most residents said they would accept his will no matter what their personal faith.

Olivier Christin has established that agreements to preserve peaceful co-existence were made in a number of French cities.<sup>77</sup> These included gestures such as the vow to protect Catholic clergymen from attack, made by the Protestant-majority *consulat* in Die in the summer of 1564. In Montélimar, where ancient traditions required the two serving consuls and six *conseillers* to designate their successors, the electors decided to return an equal *consulat* in February 1564, in the hope that such a balance would preserve security and tranquility in the town.<sup>78</sup>

The most interesting contracts were the 'friendship pacts', so called because of the language that was used in the oath. Cities as a collective entity swore to live in peace and to allow the existence of both faiths. The idea and the terms attached tended to be proposed by local councils and magistrates, free from external pressure from the Crown. They then presented the oath to a wider assembly of inhabitants, who made a formal declaration of their intent to follow it.<sup>79</sup> Pacts centred on ensuring the military defence of the city and resisting partisan violence from within. Measures included sharing the cost of war between the faiths, conferring control of the city

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<sup>76</sup> Roberts, 'Religious Conflict and the Urban Setting', p. 275.

<sup>77</sup> Olivier Christin, 'La coexistence confessionnelle, 1563-1567', *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, T. 141 (1995), pp. 483-504; Christin, *La paix de religion*, pp. 83-102.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 85; 89.

<sup>79</sup> Olivier Christin, "'Peace Must Come from Us': Between the Confessions Friendship Pacts during the Wars of Religion", in Ruth Whelan & Carol Baxter (eds), *Toleration and Religious Identity: The Edict of Nantes and its implications in France, Britain and Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003), p. 95.

gates to impartial captains or to two men (one Catholic and one Huguenot), demonstrating vigilance towards strangers, banning arms in public and punishing all those who incited religious hatred. Some places even appointed bands of volunteers to track down those who had caused trouble and to monitor Catholic and Protestant sermons for fanatical content.<sup>80</sup>

Christin argues that these pacts were inspired in part by Ciceronian texts promoting civil concord, such as *De cive* and *De amicitia*, which were well-known among the *noblesse de robe* in the mid-sixteenth-century.<sup>81</sup> However, the edicts of pacification were more directly influential in the spirit and wording of the oaths. Charles attempted to resolve the conflict by establishing ‘a scale of priorities’ in which the law and his authority were privileged over religious unity; this approach was evident in every pact.<sup>82</sup> The people were left in no doubt that tensions could only be resolved through the proper exercise of justice.

Ideological commonality between the faiths allowed these communities to consider pluralism as a solution, but the most powerful factor was the sense of political necessity. As the threat of war increased, Catholic and Protestant communities turned to devising their own means to avoid the instability and bloodshed. This was certainly the case in Grenade-sur-Garonne and Chalon-sur-Saône, where oaths were declared in May 1562, in the early months of the first war of religion. However, as Foa has noted, the friendship pacts were rare. Only two further pacts – in Lectoure (April 1564) and Valence (October 1565) – were made

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<sup>80</sup> Christin, *La paix de religion*, p. 123; Christin, “‘Peace Must Come from Us’”, pp. 96-7.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99.

<sup>82</sup> Olivier Christin, ‘From Repression to Pacification: French Royal Policy in the Face of Protestantism’, in Benedict et al (eds), *Reform, Revolt and Civil War*, p. 205.



before war recommenced in 1567.<sup>83</sup> Several other cities announced their commitment to friendship pacts shortly afterwards, which suggests that the inhabitants had already addressed the religious tensions with a degree of sensitivity toward both sides, but even then the number of cities that swore these oaths remained insubstantial.<sup>84</sup>

The co-operation that existed between some individuals and groups has raised the question of whether religious identities themselves were blurred. Thierry Wanegffelen, in his study of personal testimonies from the seeds of French Calvinism in the 1520s to the assassination of Henri IV in 1610, captured both the permeability and the malleability of the faith frontier between Catholics and Huguenots.<sup>85</sup> Individuals from both sides crossed into the other faith, some doing so more than once. This transition was made easier because similar beliefs could be found in the two confessions. While the Eucharist was a point on which disagreement was fixed, salvation was an issue (to name but one) on which there was some common ground, or at least discussion. Wanegffelen drew particular attention to the fact that the doctrines established and circulated by Church authorities (both Catholic and Protestant) were not always believed in, or practised intact, by the people who received them.<sup>86</sup> Authors of the testimonies consciously did not conform on all issues, because their experience of religion, their understanding of the theology and the beliefs they shared with their heretical neighbour caused them to develop their own views.

Thus, there was hatred between the Catholics and Huguenots, usually coupled with a desire to see the other removed or converted, but some individuals recognized

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<sup>83</sup> Jérémie Foa, 'Peace Commissioners at the Beginning of the Wars of Religion: Toward an Interactionist Interpretation of the Pacification Process in France', in Thomas Max Safley (ed), *A Companion to Multiconfessionalism in the Early Modern World* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), p. 240; p. 263.

<sup>84</sup> Christin, *La paix de religion*, pp. 122-34; pp. 311-4.

<sup>85</sup> Wanegffelen, *Ni Rome ni Genève*.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 102.

that they continued to have much in common. The complexities of this situation were encapsulated in an exchange in 1564 between the Norman nobleman Gilles de Gouberville, the *contrôleur* of Bayeux and a lawyer named Jehan France. Gouberville recorded in his *Journal*:

Comme nous parlions de la religion et des oppinions qui sont aujourd'huy entre les hommes en grande controversie et contradiction, led[it] France dist par ses propres motz: Qui m'en croyra, on fera ung Dieu tout nouveau qui ne sera ne papiste, ne huguenot, affin qu'on ne dise plus ung tel est lutherien, ung tel est papiste, ung tel est hérétique, ung tel est huguenot. A donc je dys: 'Unus est Deus ab eterno et eternus.' Nous ne pourrions fère des dieulx puy que nous ne sommes que hommes. Il me sembla que led[it] Noël fut fort offensé de la parole dud[it] France.<sup>87</sup>

Jehan demonstrated a conciliatory approach, advocating for an end to the conflict regardless of the theology involved; Gouberville offered a sympathetic voice, but counselled that men are subject to one God alone, intimating that the Huguenots have erred in rejecting the Catholic faith; and Noël balked at the blasphemy of Jehan, clearly siding with those Catholics dismayed at the rise of false religion. These three men indicate the breadth of reaction to the continued religious division.

At the end of the first war of religion, the kingdom was at an impasse. People yearned for respite from the physical and theological conflict, but there was no clear course for establishing the latter. Advocates could be found for freedom of

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<sup>87</sup> 'While we were talking about religion and the great division and controversies of opinions there are these days between men, [Jehan] said: 'If I had my way, a new God would be made who was neither Papist nor Huguenot so that it could no longer be said that so-and-so is a Papist and so-and-so a heretic or Huguenot.' To which I said: 'Unus est Deus ab eterno et eternus. We cannot make Gods since we are just men.' It seemed to me that Noël was very offended at [Jehan's] words.' Gilles de Gouberville, 'Le Journal du Sire de Gouberville', edited with an introduction and appendices by M. Eugène de Robillard de Beaurepaire, *Mémoires de la Société Des Antiquaires de Normandie*, 4e Serie, 1er Volume (Caen: Henri Delesques; Rouen: Lestringant; Paris: Honoré Champion, 1892), p. 806. Translation by David Potter, *The French Wars of Religion: Selected Documents* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), p. 80.

conscience, mass extermination and all imaginable variations in between. Yet, those who were willing to contemplate toleration were outnumbered by those whose zeal for their religion called them to reject the inclusion of Huguenots in communities. If the Crown wanted the Edict of Amboise to be a success, it needed to find a way to impress it upon the people.

### **Edict Commissioners**

The Crown decided that the edicts would be enforced on a local level by commissioners, men who as royal councillors would be able to use their legal skills to generate a resolution to the conflict. They were to negotiate with local councils to fulfil the terms of the edict, as well as to deal with religious issues that arose but were not specified in the edict, such as the use of public spaces for Catholic processions and the prohibition of religious insults in order to reduce the opportunity for violence.<sup>88</sup> Commissioners were to be supported in their endeavours by marshals and governors, whose military reputations and troops gave much-needed gravitas to the commissioners' legal wranglings.

There were approximately thirty commissioners sent out across the kingdom to enforce the Edict of Amboise, to which must be added tens of assistant commissioners and secretaries who aided the process. Having been placed in charge of a whole province, or even two, the commissioners were expected to travel from town to town, often covering distances of over 2000 kilometres. In locations where tensions were particularly high, the pacification authorities were advised to become residents, in order to work continuously towards resolution.<sup>89</sup> Although this may

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<sup>88</sup> Foa, 'Making Peace', p. 265.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., pp. 258-60.

seem a measly number of commissioners to send to such a vast and troubled kingdom, it should be borne in mind that it was often difficult to convince councillors to become commissioners. Aside from any religious objections they may have had to enforcing the edict, it was an arduous task that could inflict ill health and the men often had to fund the missions themselves then appeal to the Crown for expenses.<sup>90</sup> It was also dangerous, as tensions caused commissioners to become the targets of attack or intimidation. In April 1564, for example, the commissioner in Provence, Jacques de Bauquemare, was shot by a man with an arquebus and barely survived.<sup>91</sup>

However, the Crown's devotion to the success of the edict was evident in its desire to approach the post-war disarray with complete neutrality. Commissioners were chosen on the basis that they had no geographical affiliation to the area and were moderates of either faith. This enabled them to draw up measures as an outsider, free from prejudice, whose primary interest was to provide for the contentment and benefit of both Catholics and Huguenots. The Crown was adamant that they should be seen to discharge their duties fairly. Thus, when Protestants at Tours complained that their commissioner, Catholic-born Gabriel Myron, clearly favoured his co-religionists, he was removed from his office. Similarly, the maréchal de Cossé withdrew his support for Philippe Gourreau de la Proustière, a Huguenot commissioner at Anjou, on the basis that he too was biased.<sup>92</sup>

Moreover, Charles's personal commitment to the edict was made clear in a letter to the magistrates of Montauban in October 1563. Having heard the town had failed to receive and obey the edict, the king had dispatched the *sénéchal* de Quercy to verify whether this was true. If the *sénéchal* found this to be so, he was charged

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<sup>90</sup> Roberts, 'Religious Pluralism in Practice', p. 40.

<sup>91</sup> Foa, 'Le tour de la paix', p. 9.

<sup>92</sup> Foa, 'Making Peace', p. 263.

with enforcing the edict and restoring obedience to the Crown. Charles cautioned the magistrates to heed his official, because if they persisted in their impertinence Monluc would be sent to raze the city:

[N]ous lui avons donné charge vous faire entendre nostre intention, nous voulons, vous mandons & très expressement enjoignons que vous ayez à obeyr de point en point à ce que vous sera par lui dit & enjoinct de nostre part. Et la ou vous ferez reffus, luy avons commandé de se retirer par devers nostre amé & féal le seigneur de Montluc... avecques une commission de demanteller vostre ville en signe perpetuel de vostre désobeyssance, lui mandant assembler toutes nos forces pour cest effect, & les y employer si gaillardement que nostre intention soit ensuyvye... nous sommes très navrés si vostre pestinacité est telle qu'elle soit cause de faire exercer nostre juste couroux contre tout vostre ville, comme nous serons au contraire très ayse que vous soyez obeyssanse à nostre volonté, qu'en observant nos édicts & ordonnances vous nous donnyés occasion de nous contenter de vous... Si n'y faites faulte, car tel est nostre plaisir.<sup>93</sup>

Commissioners faced resistance to their mission across the country. For example, in Poitou and Saintonge, René de Bourgneuf and Pierre de Masparraulte persisted in their negotiations with the Huguenot-dominated council, but were forced to report to the Crown that assaults on the Catholic clergy continued to occur.<sup>94</sup> Opposition was demonstrated in minor ways too: misinformation and individuals choosing to be deliberately obstructionist in negotiations meant that the missions

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<sup>93</sup> 'We have given him charge to make you hear of our intention; we desire, command you and expressly enjoin that you obey point by point what you will be told by him and enjoined to do on our behalf. And if you refuse, we have commanded him to withdraw to our loved and loyal Monluc... with a commission to dismantle your town as a perpetual sign of your disobedience, summoning him to assemble all our forces to this effect, and to employ them there so cheerfully that our intention is followed... We are very sorry if your obstinance is such that it is cause for us to exercise our just wrath against your whole town, as we will be on the contrary very pleased that you show obedience to our will. In observing our edicts and ordinances, you will give us occasion to be content with you... If no fault has been made, this will give us pleasure.' Devic and Vaissete, *HGL*, vol. 12, pp. 701-2.

<sup>94</sup> BN.MS.FR. 15878, fols 141v-142r.

experienced severe delays. This resulted in claims from the local populace that compromise would never be reached, which then led to a resurgence of violence. Foa has noted that the governors who were paired with commissioners in these missions often proved to be great impediments too. This was not simply on religious grounds, as one might expect, but because they felt threatened by the importance afforded to these lawyers and clerks, whose legal skills were proving to be as useful to the Crown, if not more so, than the traditional warrior skills of the nobility.<sup>95</sup>

However, the fact that the commissioners set up a legal framework in which people were to present their cases meant that grievances were addressed formally, lessening the recourse to violence as a medium of justice. Petitioning was the only approved way to secure justice, and so most people realized the futility of their resistance. To reclaim any sense of concord in their communities, they would have to open up to mediation. There were some success stories of the missions. For example, wherever Catholic worship had been banned during the war, it was restored with the exception of a few Huguenot strongholds and some councils willingly accepted an equal division of responsibility between the faiths.

Results were diverse across the kingdom, based on any number of social, political and religious factors. Nonetheless, the intention of the commissioners to provide the most equitable settlement possible was universal. This is clear from the case of Montauban, for example: Antoine Fumée and Jacques Viart assessed the state of the churches in the presence of the Catholic clergy (where the choirs, organs and altars had been sacked) and agreed that the buildings and furniture would be restored, even though their destruction had been ordered by the war-time *présidial*. Moreover, they imprisoned people who had insulted the clergy, but refused to allow the clergy

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<sup>95</sup> Foa, 'Making Peace', p. 268.

to take up an armed guard offered to them by Monluc, instead taking the word of the Huguenot-led council to guarantee their safety. Finally, they assigned a place for Huguenot worship in the town, when the edict had only made provision for worship in the faubourgs.<sup>96</sup> In their fact-finding and their pronouncements, Fumée and Viart acted with the utmost diplomacy, and gave as much as they could to both sides to encourage them to live henceforth in cordiality.

### **The Neutrality of the King is in Question**

Charles was obviously as committed as his commissioners to the restoration of repose in the kingdom. In a letter to Coligny in April 1564, Catherine wrote that she desired peace more than anyone and that neither she nor Charles had covertly given their approval to violations of the edict. In fact, the reason she had undertaken the arduous journey around France was to make the king's objective clear:

[V]ous voullant bien assurer qu'il n'y a personne en ce royaume qui désire plus que moy l'observation des edicts et ordonnances de mondict sieur et filz, ne quy soyt plus marrye de veoyr que ceulx qui les violent ne sont pugnyz avec si prompte justice et démonstration que merite leur faulte. Ce qui ne procéde pas que le Roy mondict sieur et filz et moy ne l'ayons ordinairement escript et mandé bien expressément, comme nous faisons encores journellement, à ceulx qui ont en main la justice, lesquelz à en dire la vérité n'y ont pas faict en le pluspart des lieux grand devoir jusques à present, qui est l'un des principales causes qui a faict entreprendre au Roy mondict sieur et filz les voyaiges qu'il faict, affin de faire si clarement entendre par tous les lieux où il passe qu'elle est en cela son intention qu'il n'y ayt plus personne qui puisse se forger ung

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<sup>96</sup> H. Le Bret, *Histoire de Montauban*, edited by M.M. l'Abbé Marcellin and Gabriel Ruck, (Montauban: Rethoré, 1841), pp. 44-5.

prétexte ou occasion d'y contrevenir la-dessus.<sup>97</sup>

Although Catherine expressed her own dismay at the lack of adherence to the edict, she wrote on behalf of her son, and assured Coligny that they were both doing all they could to enforce it. And yet, in his public behaviour, Charles lacked the neutrality that his commissioners were expected to embody, as he moved from town to town during the tour. Indeed, the king's support for the Catholic faith could hardly have been clearer. Though the commissioners were hard at work throughout his progress, the king ordered that all Huguenot worship should cease when he entered the towns. A proclamation published on 24 June 1564 stated that:

Whereas by the edict of March 1562-3, liberty was given to those of the reformed religion to exercise their rites in certain towns and other places; it is now ordered that such permission shall cease during the King's sojourn in any of the said places. Those of the reformed religion may practice their rights in private in their families, and baptisms and marriages may be celebrated in the nearest places which have permission granted to them for that purpose.<sup>98</sup>

Whilst in the towns, Charles participated in a number of Catholic rituals, many of which were made known or visible to the public.<sup>99</sup> At Aix-en-Provence, he made the journey through rough mountains to dine at nearby La Sainte-Baulme, a religious

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<sup>97</sup> 'I want to assure you that there is no one in this kingdom who desires more than me the observation of the edicts and ordinances of my lord and son, nor is more doleful to see those who violate them remain unpunished by the prompt demonstration of justice that their fault merits. This has not proceeded from the king or from me, for we have expressly written to and commanded (as we have every day) those who have justice in their hand – who, to tell the truth, have not done great work in the majority of places to this point. This is one of the principal reasons that the King has undertaken this voyage, so that he makes it clear in all the places through which he passes, that it is his intention that no more people may construct a pretext or occasion to contravene the edicts.' *LCM*, vol. 2, p. 177.

<sup>98</sup> *CSP*, vol. 7, p. 164.

<sup>99</sup> He and Catherine took part in numerous private events around the country, particularly baptisms. These included: Henry, first son of the duc de Lorraine, in Bar-le-Duc (7 May 1564); a daughter of the sieur de Suze, in Suze-la-Rousse (21 September 1564); a daughter of Monluc, in Agen (24 March 1565); a grand-daughter of the sieur de Lauzun, in Lauzun (5 August 1565); and a daughter of the seigneur de Tremoille, in Oiron (25 September 1565). Jouan, fols 12r; 19v; 38r; 53v; 61r.



abbey where Mary Magdalene had reputedly made her penitence.<sup>100</sup> Catherine made a similar pilgrimage to the church of the Augustins during their stay in Carcassonne, where she prayed before the relics of Saint Suaire.<sup>101</sup> While staying in Toulouse, the king and his court formed part of the entourage that marked the second day of Lent with a procession, in which friars and monks carried crosses, relics and gilded saints through the city. On the same day, Charles had arranged for his siblings the duc d'Orléans and Marguerite de Valois to be confirmed at the cathedral of Saint Étienne, after which they processed through the city.<sup>102</sup>

Celebration of the Mass was given special prominence in his public calendar. Charles usually attended Mass in the city's principal church or cathedral the day after his royal entry and, depending on the length of his stay, would return for further services.<sup>103</sup> It was reported that, at Narbonne, the king led the queen mother and court through the streets in great pomp to attend Mass in the cathedral of Saint Just.<sup>104</sup> In the entry in Agen, Charles's processional cortège included the core of the cathedral, collegiate churches, parish churches and the four convents of the town, who loudly sang the *Te Deum* and several psalms as he made his way to the church of Saint Étienne. The next day was the Feast of the Annunciation, so the court returned to Saint Étienne to hear vespers, in which several lords assisted. After Mass, Charles went into the cloisters where sufferers of the king's evil sat, and touched them in order to cure them.<sup>105</sup> Mass was even celebrated in the harbour of Marseille aboard a new galley that had never set sail. Afterwards, it was baptized and named

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid., fol. 22v.

<sup>101</sup> Bouges, p. 327.

<sup>102</sup> CSP, vol. 7, p. 331; Devic and Vaissette, vol. 11, p. 470.

<sup>103</sup> For example, in Bazas in May 1565, the king and court went to hear mass in the church the day after his entry: Abbé Patrice-John O'Reilly, *Essai sur l'histoire de la ville et de l'arrondissement de Bazas* (Bazas: Labarrière, 1840), p. 136. He did the same in Angers in November 1565: Louvet, 'Récit véritable', pp. 284-5.

<sup>104</sup> 'L'Entrée de Charles IX à Narbonne', p. 152.

<sup>105</sup> L'Abbé Barrere, 'Entrée et séjour de Charles IX à Agen', *Bulletin du Comité de la langue, de l'histoire et des arts de la France*, 1852-53, pp. 474-5.

the Charlotte Catherine by the king and queen mother.<sup>106</sup> Each occasion was designed to draw crowds, so that they might witness and even partake in the ritual.

Encouraging the celebration of Mass was an important measure for Charles, as the edict stated that all Catholic worship had to be restored; with the king leading worship, Huguenot city councils could no longer refuse the Catholics their right to practice. However, Charles placed particular emphasis on baptism, which signalled that his public displays of Catholicism had a further agenda. He did not simply seek to restore France to the state in which it had been before the war; he sought to recatholicize his people.

The most stunning example of this took place at Marennnes. The court's advent prompted the Catholic Church to hold confession and communion for the first time since the war. Hundreds of people attended, many of whom were children who were then baptized; some were even old enough to respond to the priest. Charles watched most of this ceremony, and even named some of the children, as did Catherine and Marguerite.<sup>107</sup> It is not clear whether the age of the children was due to the fact that they had been denied baptism in the Catholic faith during the war, or whether it was a conversion from Protestantism brought on by the presence of the king. Either way, Charles would have seen it as an opportunity to strengthen the Catholic faith in number, if not in fervency.

Charles aimed this Catholic revanchism not only at the general populace, but also within the court. His agenda was demonstrated to the prince de Béarn, later Henri IV, in a seemingly light-hearted moment outside the cathedral in Marseille. As the king led the lords and ladies to hear Mass, the Protestant Henri, perceiving the object of the visit, appeared to hesitate at the door. Upon seeing this, Charles

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<sup>106</sup> Jouan, fol. 25v.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., fols. 58r-v.

responded by taking Henri's hat from his head and throwing it into the church, knowing that Henri would have to enter to retrieve it.<sup>108</sup>

Haton noted in his memoirs that the king's public engagements outside of his royal entries heartened the Catholics and isolated the Huguenots. The latter watched as the Catholics partook in the spiritual succour of communal worship, knowing that their own practices were forbidden while the court was in town. Moreover, they were acutely aware that their interactions with the king were limited on the basis that they could not participate in the religious ceremonies he attended. Each occasion was designed to drive Huguenots back to the Catholic Church, through persuading them that their beliefs were false and that it was their duty to hold the same religion as their king.

L'allée du roy... servit beaucoup aux catholicques et intimida mout les huguenotz hereticques : aux catholicques, pour les maintenir en la foy et religion apostolicque et romaine, le voyant catholicque aller par chascun jour à la messe comme aussi Monsieur son frere, la royne leur mere, monsieur le connestable et aultres seigneurs de sa suite, lesquels ilz pensoient tous estre huguenotz ; aux huguenotz, du moins à plusieurs, leur servit l'allé de Sa Majesté pour les retirer de leur erreur ou les faire vivre en simulation de religion, car l'ayans veu encores catholicques et aller à la messe si devostement qu'il y alloit, quitterent l'heresie et furent catholicques, ou du moins firent semblant de l'estre : la religion que tient le prince, soit bonne ou malvaise, induist ses subjectz à la prendre.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Ruffi, *Histoire de la Ville de Marseille*, p. 345. The same story appears in M. Chardon, *Histoire de la Ville d'Auxerre* (Auxerre: Gallot-Fournier, 1834, 2 vols), vol. 1, p. 314, with the action taking place in Auxerre. It is likely that the original event took place in Marseille, and was later appropriated by Chardon for its anecdotal value.

<sup>109</sup> 'The king's journey... served the Catholics very much, and intimidated the Huguenot heretics in equal measure. For the Catholics were maintained in the Apostolic and Roman faith by seeing that the king was Catholic and daily went to Mass, as did Monsieur his brother, the queen their mother, the constable and other lords of his suite, whom they thought were all Huguenots. As for the Huguenots, or at least some, the journey of His Majesty caused them to renounce their error and to live as if they were Catholic, as seeing Catholics among them again and going to Mass so devotedly, made the Huguenots abandon their heresy and be Catholics, or at least appear to be Catholics once more. The

Amboise Tardieu, in his history of Clermont-Ferrand, supported this view. He recounted that, during his stay in Clermont, Charles made a pilgrimage to the petrified fountain of Saint Alyre, which was believed to have been imbued with miraculous powers by the saint. The proof of this was that everything that entered the water emerged with a stone-like exterior.<sup>110</sup> Following Charles's departure, the canons of the cathedral redoubled their efforts against the Calvinists. Father Fornier, a canon of Clermont and a Doctor of Theology in the Sorbonne, was suddenly charged with the task of better educating the people in the catechism. Popular hostility towards the Huguenots eventually rose to such a pitch that, when one man refused to decorate his home with tapestries for Corpus Christi in 1566, the dwelling was sacked and burned. Tardieu directly linked Charles's visit with the resurgence of Catholic sentiment.<sup>111</sup>

Through his behaviour, Charles caused himself to be inextricably tied to Catholicism. Indeed, in 1565, the Venetian ambassador Barbaro noted that: 'Delle qualità dell'animo si può dir prima, che egli si mostra cattolico e religioso; che è di buon costume, inimico de'vizii, magnanimo, piacevole, e liberale.'<sup>112</sup> As the news of his agenda travelled around the country, it is no wonder that in Provence, children came out to greet the king up to half a league outside the towns, all dressed in white

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religion held by the prince, be it good or ill, induces His subjects to hold the same.' Haton, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, p. 472.

<sup>110</sup> This is now known to be a natural phenomenon produced by the unusually high calcite content of the water. Norbert Casteret, *Ten Years Under the Earth*, translated by Barrows Mussey (New York: Greystone Press, 1938), p. 208.

<sup>111</sup> 'Qu'arriva-t-il du voyage de Charles IX et de ces cours de théologie, qui, en principe, étaient une chose excellente? [What proceeded from the voyage of Charles IX and these theological courses which, in principle, was an excellent thing?]' Charles made his entry on 2 April 1566 and Corpus Christi day was celebrated only a short while later on 23 June. Ambroise Tardieu, *Histoire de la Ville de Clermont-Ferrand, Depuis Les Temps Les Plus Reculés Jusqu'à Nos Jours* (Moulins: C. Desrosiers, 1870-71, reprint. Marseille: Laffitte Reprints, 1976, 2 vols), vol 1, pp. 77-8.

<sup>112</sup> 'Of the qualities that [the king] can be said to possess, first among these is that he has shown himself to be Catholic and pious; that and of good morals, an enemy of vice, magnanimous, pleasant and liberal.' Tommaseo, vol. 2, p. 42.

and crying ‘Vive le Roy, & la sainte Messe!’<sup>113</sup>

This juxtaposition of Charles’s behaviour with the enforced neutrality of his commissioners forces a consideration of what the king’s intentions were when he laid out the terms of the Edict of Amboise. Was the plan to provide the Huguenots with limited freedom indefinitely in order to maintain peace? Was the expectation that these measures would acclimatize the populace to pluralism and that the Huguenots would attain liberty of conscience when it no longer posed a threat to stability? Or was it a temporary measure that was put in place until Catholicism was restored to the entirety of the kingdom? Compelling evidence points to the edict being issued as a temporary measure to restore public order, rather than an indication of intent to accept Protestantism in the long term. This was certainly supposed by the Parlement of Paris, in which the edict was ratified with great opprobrium. Elizabeth I was informed by her ambassadors that the parlement had decided to pass the edict of pacification ‘without difficulty’, but that it was unwilling to allow the existence of two religions. To this end, its members had agreed that the king intended to ‘continue in the ancient religion, and that it is not his meaning that he will plant and confirm the said two religions’.<sup>114</sup>

Essentially, Charles and Catherine constructed the edict with a view to restoring peace, so that the process of returning Huguenots to the true faith could take place in a calm and measured manner. Indeed, all edicts of pacification contained wording to the effect that the measures were provisional until such time as the kingdom was reunited in the same ancient religion. The implication was that, once a stable regime of toleration had occurred, the Huguenots’ privileges would be reduced, until at last they were revoked in their entirety. Catherine recognized this

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<sup>113</sup> ‘Long live the King and the holy Mass!’ Jouan, fols 21v-22r.

<sup>114</sup> September 1563. *CSP*, vol. 6, pp. 516-7. For the original of the ratification, see AN X1A 8625, fols 369r-382v; for discussion of the edict in the parlement, see AN X1A 1604, fols 509v, 525r, 618v-20v.

intention in a letter to the bishop of Rennes in April 1563. She reassured him that the Crown did not seek to formally constitute a second faith in the kingdom:

[L]'intencion du Roy monsieur mon filz et la myenne n'est pas de laisser establir, par le moyen de ladicte paciffication, une nouvelle forme et exercice de religion en ce royaume, mais bien pour parvenir avec moins de contradiction et difficulté à la réunion de tous noz peuples en une mesme sainte et catholique religion.<sup>115</sup>

Certainly, the Crown did nothing to encourage Huguenot worship in this period. In fact, the Edict of Amboise may have stipulated that it granted *liberté de conscience*, but the edict did constrain their ability to worship. As noted above, they could only worship in designated places, rather than freely outside towns as provided in the Edict of January. While commissioners tried to ensure that locations for worship were provided, often the place was completely unsatisfactory. When the Huguenots at Troyes were accorded Ceant-en-Othe by the city council, they complained that it was too far from Troyes, being seven or eight leagues along a hostile, hilly and wooded road. It was also so deserted that there was no place to lodge even a third of the Church.<sup>116</sup> This was a familiar occurrence across the kingdom. In Toulouse, the Huguenots were given the village of Carbarion, eight or nine leagues from the city.<sup>117</sup>

Such allocations must have been deliberately chosen, in part to appease Catholics in the cities who protested against Reformed worship in the vicinity, but largely because few Huguenots could stand to make the round trip to attend a service. The locations were even less appealing because they were along exposed roads and

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<sup>115</sup> 'The intention of the King, my son, and of myself is not to allow, by means of this pacification, the establishment of a new form and exercise of religion in this kingdom, but to arrive with the least contradiction and difficulty at a reunion of all our people in the same holy and Catholic religion.'

*LCM*, vol. 2, p. 19.

<sup>116</sup> Pithou, vol. 2, p. 539.

<sup>117</sup> *CSP*, vol. 7, p. 331.

the Huguenots were banned from carrying arms to their services, even though it was not uncommon for columns of worshippers to be attacked during journeys to and from their church. When the Huguenots appealed to have their locations changed, sometimes directly to the king, more often than not their requests were dismissed.<sup>118</sup> Thus, although Protestant worship was allowed to take place, the decisions of city councils and the lack of sympathy from the Crown could make the prospect very unattractive.

In a letter to Philip II in June 1565, Blaise de Monluc documented the Crown's present attitude towards the edict and claimed to have been informed of its function in the long term. He reported that Catherine orchestrated the tour to demonstrate that Charles was devoted to the Catholic faith, in the hope that this would counter the rumour that the court was filled with Nicodemites and Huguenot sympathizers. Solemn processions on feast days, public masses and baptisms were consciously carried out as public affirmations that the monarchy always had been, and always would be Catholic.

Pacification to Catherine, he said, was little more than a suspension of the conflict until Charles was able to address – and solve – the religious question as an adult king: 'Or cependant le roy se faict grand et se renforce tous les jours, de sorte qu'il semble à tous ceulx qui le voyent que c'est ung vray miracle de Dieu de veoir augmenter tousjours ce prince tant en force, grandeur, que en esprit et eloquence.'<sup>119</sup> As she waited for her son to reach maturity, Catherine used the tour to improve the king's position against the rebels. For instance, during their time in Lyon she

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<sup>118</sup> Pithou, vol. 2, p. 540; *CSP*, vol. 7, p. 355.

<sup>119</sup> 'Meanwhile, the King grew in stature and strength every day, so that it seemed to all who saw him that it was a true miracle of God, to see the prince constantly improve as much in power and grandeur, as in spirit and eloquence.' Blaise de Monluc, *Commentaires et Lettres de Blaise de Montluc, Maréchal de France*, ed. Alphonse de Ruble, *La Société de l'Histoire de France* (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1864-1872, 5 vols), vol. 5, p. 25.

oversaw plans for the construction of a citadel on Saint Sébastien, the mound within the city, to ensure that any future sedition was discouraged and would be put down quickly if it were to arise.<sup>120</sup> Monluc claimed that the queen mother herself had told him of her overall objectives:

Et comme leurs Majestés seront de retour de Paris, ayant esté le roy par toutes les provinces de son royaume et faict cognoistre qu'il est portant armes, et qu'on n'a plus affaire avecques une femme, sinon avec ung roy homme, et d'autre part monstrier à tout le monde la religion qu'il veut tenir et qu'il veut que ses subjects tiennent; pour tout certain le délliberation de la royne est de fere ung édit que qui ne vouldra vivre en la religion que le roy tient, qu'il aye à vuyder le royaume de France dans ung mois, luy donnant permission de vendre ses biens.<sup>121</sup>

Catherine knew that France benefited from the leadership of strong adult kings, who could check the political machinations of the nobility and take firm action in the advent of religious division. She had seen this in the reigns of both François I<sup>er</sup> and Henri II. It was necessary to appear to stall the final decision on pluralism for multiple reasons: to restore the kingdom to order; to initiate a campaign of recatholicization; and, to finalize Charles's tuition in statecraft, so that when he became a man he could lead his people back to the true Church in the way that no woman or child could. However, Catherine's plan faltered, because the Edict of Amboise had not been received well by either religious faction. Despite the neutrality

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<sup>120</sup> The citadel was erected '*pour contenir en obeissance les seditieux, & rebelles, & les bons & obeissans subjects du roy en paix & tranquillité* [to keep the seditious and the rebels obedient, and the good and obedient subjects of the king in peace and tranquillity]'. Guillaume Paradin de Cuyseaulx, *Memoires de L'Histoire de Lyon, Avec une table des choses memorable continues en c present livre* (Lyon: Antoine Gryphius, 1573), p. 379.

<sup>121</sup> 'When their Majesties are back in Paris, the king having visited all the provinces of the realm and made known that he is bearing arms, and that the people no longer have to deal with a woman but with an adult king, and shown everyone what religion he holds and wishes his subjects to hold – then, for certain, the queen's aim is to issue an edict that whoever will not want to live in the religion that the king holds should leave the kingdom within a month, giving them permission to sell their belongings.' Monluc, *Commentaires*, vol. 5, pp. 26-7.



of its commissioners in the restitution of order and the provision of places to worship, the edict could not sustain a temporary peace. In fact, Charles had to admit that, to their surprise, it had managed rather 'to revive between our subjects a new enmity, bitterness and rancour, than to conserve the peace and repose which we have striven to establish despite so many difficulties'.<sup>122</sup> It was only a matter of time before war started anew.

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In conclusion, responses to the Edict of Amboise produced identifiable trends across the kingdom. Most Catholics and Huguenots found it unacceptable, although the Catholics were more robust in their objections. Huguenots lamented the fact that many of the gains they had made during the war, in particular the end to Catholic worship in certain cities, were to be revoked. They had hoped to lay the foundations for further bastions of Protestantism, but were sorely disappointed with the liberties they were offered. Catholics for their part disliked the edict because it defied centuries of Christian thought, which commanded the persecution of heretics rather than an adjustment of the law and society to enable their inclusion. Moreover, a second religion forced a reconsideration of the axiom 'un roi, une loi, une foi', which challenged the sanctity of the monarchy, the law and the cherished idea that France was the Most Christian Kingdom. Huguenot doctrine was consequently condemned as an infection in the body politic, which had to be purged by any means necessary to prevent further deterioration or the wrath of God. The destruction of ecclesiastical property wrought in the civil war and the disturbance of the *bien publique* only

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<sup>122</sup> Quoted in Penny Roberts, 'The Languages of Peace during the French Religious Wars', *Cultural and Social History*, vol. 4 (2007), p. 306.

further proved that in Catholic eyes the Huguenots were traitors within the community.

A cultural gulf opened up between the two faiths, but not all individuals subscribed to these binary views. Michel de L'Hôpital championed the edict out of pragmatism, hoping that political unity and temporary toleration would create a peaceful environment in which doctrinal differences could be resolved. Other moderates followed his lead, while a select few advocated *liberté de conscience* out of moral imperative. Some cities between the outbreak of the first and second wars of religion became the scenes of friendship pacts, in which Catholic and Huguenot peers pledged to avoid all hostilities and to punish those who contravened the spirit of the agreement no matter what their religion. This was ostensibly organized to keep the encroaching war outside the city gates. However, there were instances across the country in which individuals took no notice of the religious division and continued to trade with, or even protect, their neighbours. Yet, even with L'Hôpital at the forefront of the move toward toleration, these conciliatory voices were in the minority. There was no doubt a desire for peace in the kingdom, but for most people peace implied extirpation of the Huguenots, whether through persuasion to return to the true faith, exile, or execution.

The monarchy did little to alleviate the tension. Its commissioners may have worked tirelessly to effect settlements in keeping with the letter and spirit of the Edict of Amboise, but the king's participation in Catholic ritual throughout his progress negated the commissioners' successes. Public processions, masses and baptisms alerted the populace to the fact that Charles remained committed to the Catholic Church and his edict gave only temporary provision of toleration. Catherine's idea was to establish and maintain peace until her son looked and acted like an adult king,

free from dependence on his mother or any noble faction. In doing so, he would be able to garner the respect of his court and lead France with authority, as his forefathers had done.

Unfortunately, the religious hatred expressed during the war continued to be nursed on each side, and the edict in all likelihood aggravated matters. The failure to maintain a clear policy undoubtedly caused confusion and the longer the religious question remained unsettled, the closer France moved to reopening the conflict. Francis Peyto, the English ambassador to France, wrote in a letter to Throckmorton in November 1565: 'It is high time the King were a man. The policy of entertaining two factions to sit the quieter in his seat will in short space unjoint his chair.'<sup>123</sup> Yet the peace could not be maintained long enough for Charles to mature and take the reins of government from the hands of his mother. By September 1567, France was at war with itself once more.

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<sup>123</sup> Peyto to Throckmorton, 22 November 1565. *CSP*, vol. 7, pp. 523-4.

## **Chapter Four**

### **The Edict of Amboise in Context**

The Edict of Amboise elicited a broad spectrum of responses, which was reflected in the imagery of the royal entries, as well as in the political and social behaviour of individuals. A return to the ceremonies at Troyes, Lyon and Toulouse demonstrates that each city chose to deal with the religious question in its own way. Local perceptions of the edict and its call for toleration were almost entirely sidelined at Troyes, where the presence of English ambassadors restricted the use of Catholic sentiment. However, there were a few instances in which distaste for the edict was made clear. The theme of Justice pervaded in Lyon, conveyed through a series of dramatic, violent scenes. At first glance, the religious statements weaved throughout the body of the entry are unclear because there was no direct reference to the edict or the Huguenots. Examination of the complex politics in Lyon from 1563-67 uncovers the fact that the royal entry was one of the first glimpses of the Catholic revanchism that took root in Lyon following the first war of religion. Toulouse was far less circumspect in its reaction to the king's religious policy. Intensely partisan and bordering on the seditious, the royal entry called for the extirpation of heretics and venerated the city's Catholic heritage as much as it had its local history and privileges. Although all three cities eventually became seats of Catholic militancy, their responses to the edict varied, no doubt dictated by the circumstances of the king's visit and their different experiences of war. No national conclusion may be drawn on whether the edict ever had a chance of success, but if these cities are taken as indicative of wider sentiment, it is clear that animosity towards the edict from both

sides was strong and there was little consensus on whether and how far to enforce it between the officials who made up the complex hierarchy of local government.

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After the first war of religion, city councils found that their royal entries had to address a concern that had never previously merited inclusion. Gone were the days in which the king could instinctively be celebrated as the defender of the Church, the principal among the pious and a vanquisher of heretics. Charles had proposed concessions for the Huguenots in the Edict of Amboise and entered the cities to ensure that the measures were followed. Councils now had to attend to the theme of religion in a considered way; the function of voicing political expectations was extended to encompass religious expectations.

Through both subtle and overt imagery, the cities visited in the royal tour urged Charles to reassess his order for conciliation. This occurred in Catholic- and Protestant-dominated cities. During Charles's visit to La Rochelle in September 1565, the Rochelais designed an entry that supposedly avowed their loyalty to the Crown, but the advance scouts complained that their sentiments seemed disingenuous.<sup>1</sup> Charles did not doubt their assessment, because the city had rebelled in the war and continued to have a strong, militant Protestant community. Thus, he pre-emptively stripped the Rochelais of the honour of exchanging privileges with him, entering the town without stopping and categorically stating: 'You will be my local servants and I will be your good king.' As a further demonstration of his dissatisfaction, Charles had Anne de Montmorency and the advance guard confiscate

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<sup>1</sup> Men would be sent to cities ahead of the court to check that preparations were nearing completion and to ensure that there was adequate food and accommodation for the royal households. Boutier *et al*, p. 135.

all of the city's artillery pieces and cancel the welcoming gun volleys as a matter of security.<sup>2</sup> In contrast to the empty proclamations of support, Charles was welcomed into Angers in November 1565 with an oration that recognized the necessity of temporary toleration, but urged him to withdraw it as soon as possible.

[Le problème est] l'incommodité que nous sentons et prevoyons pouvoir tourner a une confusion & changement d'estat, pour la diversité des Religions, q[ue] pour la necessité du temps, vous y tollerez, Sire.... comme rien ne cause la dissolution de nous [la communauté], sinon quand l'unité des eleme[n]s & parties dont nous sommes composez, se separe & divise, aussi de grand corps, ce corps mistic de vostre Royaume, soyez assure (Sire) que si ces partialitez y continuent, il commencera de sa part a decliner ne plus ny moins que le povre malade quand il ne peult plus resister a ceste fiebvre.<sup>3</sup>

Medical rhetoric against the Huguenot faith is particularly striking in this excerpt, as Charles was warned that a perpetuation of two religions would undoubtedly bring about the dissolution of the kingdom.

Although the commissioners sent to enforce the edict often met with a degree of success in their negotiations, no city ratified and enforced it with ease: some ignored it, some implemented only the measures with which they were satisfied, and others petitioned against it. In the end, most cities had to be subjected to pressure from the Crown to realize it in full. Realization of the edict was dependent on a number of factors, including but not limited to the size of the local Protestant

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<sup>2</sup> Kevin C. Robbins, *City on the Ocean Sea: La Rochelle, 1530-1650. Urban Society, Religion, and Politics on the French Atlantic Frontier* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), p. 195. An account of the entry can be found in Arcere, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, pp. 346-50.

<sup>3</sup> 'The problem is the affliction that we feel, and we foresee that it could turn into confusion and a change of state, in favour of the diversity of religion, which out of necessity in these times you tolerate here, Sire... Nothing will cause the dissolution of our community, except when the unity of the elements and parties of which we are composed separate and divide. And so it is with the great body, this mystic body of your kingdom; Sire, you are assured that if these partialities continue here, it will start to decline no more or less than the poor invalid when he can no longer resist his fever.' *Harangue... Angers*, pp, 10-2.

community prior to the first civil war, the religious composition of councils and courts, whether there had been attempted coups, the experience of war, the will of the governor, and whether the *bien publique* or religion dictated local administration. Each city's experience of the first civil war and the Edict of Amboise was highly individualized, precluding the existence of a standard Catholic or Protestant response.

For example, the Protestant consuls in Nîmes retained their positions until the arrival of the new governor Henri de Montmorency-Damville in November 1563, at which point they were overthrown and Catholic worship was slowly re-introduced. However, the new Catholic consuls faced considerable opposition to their pursuit of a Catholic agenda from the predominantly Protestant population.<sup>4</sup> In a completely different way, lack of adherence to the edict prevailed in Rouen. The parlement refused to confirm it and the council petitioned for the city's exemption, demonstrating their revulsion for it in a new law that exiled all Huguenots involved in the seizure of the city and disarming those who were allowed to return. When, over a month later, the Huguenots were eventually re-admitted and the edict was ratified, royal troops had to be stationed for almost a year to protect them from ritual violence.<sup>5</sup>

Consequently, it is impossible to give a full account of reactions to the edict. Variations in how it was viewed and its enforcement are complex even in cities that have been tackled in existing literature. To compare them is far beyond the remit of this work. Moreover, too many cities and villages await the eye and pen of the historian to uncover the circumstances in which the edict was received and how the enforcement played out.

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<sup>4</sup> Allan Tulchin, *That Men Would Praise the Lord: the Reformation in Nîmes, 1530-1570* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 157-60.

<sup>5</sup> Benedict, *Rouen*, pp. 114-5.

However, in-depth analysis of the royal entries in Troyes, Lyon and Toulouse, followed by comparison with the political and social landscape against which they were created, goes some way to addressing this. While there is great value in understanding their independent responses – not least as a contribution to the history of the city – assessing the cities as a trio provides some insight into the wider picture for the kingdom. Together they experienced the whole gamut of factors that impacted on their acceptance of the edict. All three had substantial Huguenot communities prior to the first civil war; Huguenots had recently sat or continued to sit in the councils and courts; political coups were launched, although only the Huguenots of Lyon succeeded in taking control of their city; military intervention was necessary to halt the conflict; and their governors repeatedly intervened in the imposition or rejection of the edict. These cities might have accepted toleration in the end, but they did not; through the prism of these three locations, it is possible to draw out trends in how the Edict of Amboise was viewed and how great a challenge the Crown faced in trying to impose it across the kingdom.

### **Articulating the Edict in Troyes**

The royal entry into Troyes made few allusions to the Edict of Amboise or the concept of religious toleration. As is evident from chapter two, the ingenuity of thought and expression on the part of the organizers was constrained by the circumstances of the king's visit. English ambassadors were in attendance to confirm the Treaty of Troyes between the two nations, and the city was the site of one of the first large-scale entries on the tour, creating untold pressure to produce an entry that satisfied the Crown. These circumstances conspired to produce a ceremony that



recycled the rhetoric that had been used in other entries for previous kings. However, an acknowledgement of Charles's mission to enforce the edict through the tour was included in the *Chant d'allegresse*, written by the native Troyen poet Jean Passerat in honour of his arrival. One verse stated:

Croissés ce tems pendant, jeune Prince, croissés:  
Visitant vos païs vos peuple connoissés.  
Apprenés à porter en vôtre main Royale  
Le sceptre gouverneur d'une gent si loyalle.  
Tenés en amitié tous vos sujets unis:  
Les bons soient honorés, les mauvais soient punis.<sup>6</sup>

Although the verse can be considered ambiguous – a king is expected to administer justice to his people throughout his reign – the juxtaposition of Charles's finite tour ('Visitant vos païs') with the notion of a united populace, in which the good are celebrated and the bad castigated, subtly implied that the Crown would punish those who had failed to adhere to the Edict of Amboise in their cities, and would look favourably upon those who had upheld it. It was a commentary on the king's will regarding the edict, rather than rumination on the edict itself. Emphasis was on its ultimate realization of the edict across France, which was evident in the call for Charles to learn to carry his sceptre and wield it with virtue. Moreover, it was an admission that the edict has so far been ignored or decried in the kingdom and that the people knew Charles had come to dissolve the inertia. The reality was that the enforcement of the edict was far from complete.

The *Chant d'allegresse* expressed this in a diplomatic fashion, offering no opinion on whether the city actually wished to see the edict implemented. And yet,

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<sup>6</sup> 'Cross during this time, young prince, cross:/ In visiting your kingdom, get to know your people./ Learn to carry in your royal hand/ The sceptre, governor of so loyal a nation./ Hold all of your subjects united in friendship:/ The good are honoured, the bad are punished.' Passerat, fol. 3r. *Croiser* can mean 'to traverse' and 'to put in the form of a cross', so there may be a double entendre here.

its position was clarified in the final moments of the entry. Against a tower by the *hôtel de ville*, a sign read in great letters: ‘Un Dieu, Une Foy, Une Loy, Un Roy!’<sup>7</sup> This was modified from the motto ‘un roi, une loi, une foi’ and had appeared in the royal entries of his predecessors, for example, in Henri II’s entry into Lyon in 1548.<sup>8</sup> However, the phrase had taken on new emphasis following the war. To Catholics, its celebration of the one God and one faith denied the need, and indeed the justification, for the accommodation of other faiths. It became a badge for their faith, and so it was used in Troyes to show the domination of Catholicism within the city. Indeed, it was the lingering message of the entry because immediately afterwards Charles entered the cathedral to hear the *Te Deum*.<sup>9</sup> The sign should be regarded as an implicit rejection of the Edict of Amboise, made all the more striking by the fact that it was voiced in the presence of the English ambassadors.

### **Opposition to the Reformed Faith**

One would be forgiven for assuming that Troyes had escaped the influence of Protestantism in the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>10</sup> Champagne was the provincial power base of the Catholic Guise family: from the appointment of Claude de Lorraine in 1524 to the death of Henri de Guise in 1588, the governorship of the territory was held by the family, with the exception of the period 1543-63, when the post was resigned in favour of François I<sup>er</sup>’s son Charles, the duc d’Orléans, and subsequently

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<sup>7</sup> ‘One God, One Faith, One Law, One King!’ *Les Triomphes... Troye*, fol. 9v.

<sup>8</sup> Scève, p. 198.

<sup>9</sup> Passerat, fol. 9v.

<sup>10</sup> ‘Mapmakers colour Champagne Catholic in historical atlases’: Galpern, *Religions of the People*, p. 136.

assumed by the ducs de Nevers.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, the family held the most elevated benefice in the region, the archbishopric of Reims, from 1500 to 1589. From 1560 onwards, it initiated a campaign to concentrate its ecclesiastical holdings in northern and eastern France (namely Champagne, Lorraine, Picardy, Burgundy and the Ile-de-France), creating a sphere of Catholic influence that controlled monasteries, churches and the cathedrals of Metz and Sens.<sup>12</sup> Over the course of the century, the House of Guise became the undisputed political and ecclesiastical authority in the area.

However, Troyes was one of a few cities in Champagne that developed a significant Huguenot community. Its consolidation was slow: Protestant doctrine had circulated as early as the 1520s and martyrs were executed in the 1540s, but it was not until the 1550s that the community took to practising its faith in gatherings at private houses or in fields.<sup>13</sup> There is no consensus on its size: Pithou claimed that there were 450 Huguenot heads of households in 1562, suggesting an overall figure of 2250 church members or 8-9% of the total population, but he later asserted that there were at least 4000 Huguenots in Troyes in 1564.<sup>14</sup> The church did experience a huge increase in numbers in 1559-1562, spurred by the relaxation of heresy laws upon Charles's accession, but no such change appears to have occurred after this time. The real figure probably lies somewhere in between. Unfortunately, comparisons with known populations in other northern cities, such as Amiens (thirteen per cent), Rouen (twenty per cent) or Caen (over fifty per cent), is futile as there is no clear pattern to the rise of the communities.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Mark Konnert, 'Provincial Governors and Their Regimes during the French Wars of Religion: The Duc de Guise and the City Council of Chalons-sur-Marne', *SCJ*, vol. 25, no. 4 (1994), pp. 826-7.

<sup>12</sup> J.A. Bergin, 'The Decline and Fall of the House of Guise as an Ecclesiastical Dynasty', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 5, no. 4 (1982), p. 786.

<sup>13</sup> Roberts, *City in Conflict*, p. 36; 41.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

<sup>15</sup> Benedict, *Rouen*, p. 241.

Tensions between the two faiths burgeoned in alignment with the growth of the Reformed church. The Huguenots' confidence increased as more joined the cause, which led them to make their services more public and to openly challenge the authority of the Catholic Church. Their zeal was such that the cathedral chapter ruled to allow its clerics to grow beards in 1561, in order to lessen their chances of being attacked by Huguenots.<sup>16</sup> The Catholics were far from blameless, as they continued to carry out attacks on their opponents. For instance, in 1558, the Huguenot Claude Portesain was chased by a group of children, who cried after him 'Au lutherien, à l'heretique!', and then assaulted by a Catholic mob when they heard that he had told the local priests the church was nothing more than a pile of stones.<sup>17</sup> Eventually, both sides took to carrying arms in the street.

Climax to the tension came in the wake of the massacre at Vassy on 1 March 1562. The slaughter was echoed across the northeast, most notably in Sens where 100 Huguenots were killed on 12 April. By this time Esclavolles, a client of the duc de Guise who had been sent 'pour s'opposer aux entreprises des Protestans' on his behalf, had already limited guard of the gates to Catholic residents.<sup>18</sup> Fearing that a similar fate might befall them, the Huguenots impulsively seized charge of two city gates. Seemingly the Huguenots had not intended to take the violence further; they simply assumed the functions of the guards as a security measure. However, when news emerged that the Catholics were gathering in the quartier Saint-Jacques to design a response, the Huguenots took to the streets. Skirmishes occurred until 19

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<sup>16</sup> Roberts, 'Religious Conflict and the Urban Setting', p. 265.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 269.

<sup>18</sup> 'In order to oppose the enterprises of the Protestants': Jacques-Auguste de Thou, *Histoire universelle de Jaques-Auguste de Thou, avec la Suite par Nicolas Rigault, les Mémoires de la vie de l'auteur, un recueil de pièces concernant sa personne et ses ouvrages, y comprises les notes et principales variantes, corrections et restitutions qui se trouvent dans les mss. de la Bibliothèque du roi de France, de Mrs. Du Puy, Rigault et de Sainte-Marthe. Le tout traduit sur la nouvelle édition latine de Londres, et augmenté de remarques historiques et critiques de Casaubon, de Du Plessis Mornay, G. Laurent, Ch. de L'Écluse, Guy Patin, P. Bayle, J. Le Duchat et autres.* (La Haye: Henri Scheurleer, 1740, 11 vols), vol. 3, p. 208.

April, when the duc de Nevers entered the city and compelled the combatants to lay down their arms.<sup>19</sup>

The attempted coup was to have severe repercussions for the Huguenot community. Although Charles had sent ordinances urging all residents to live in peace, both officials and individuals at Troyes set about punishing and reconverting the Huguenots.<sup>20</sup> In July, Huguenots who had been involved in the coup were ordered to return to the Catholic Church or face imprisonment, though some were later sentenced to expulsion. Considering that soldiers and peasants lay in wait for those who passed outside the protection of the city gates, expulsion was tantamount to a death sentence.<sup>21</sup> In August, the Catholics, ‘qui étoit déjà très-animé contre les Protestans’, turned against their neighbours with fury. They seized Protestant books, tearing and burning them in public, and snatched babies from their mothers in order to carry them to the church and re-baptize them. Officials took part too, ordering that all Huguenot marriages had to be re-consecrated in Catholic churches and selling the properties of more than sixty prominent church members. Both men and women were murdered, their bodies dragged through the streets and thrown in the river.<sup>22</sup> In a supreme act of vengeance, the Reformed ministers were driven out of the city, leaving the besieged and scattered flock without a shepherd.<sup>23</sup>

Mark Konnert has stated that the period between the first and second civil war was characterized by uneasy coexistence, in which anti-Huguenots measures such as prohibition from holding public office or guarding the gates were instituted, but no

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<sup>19</sup> Roberts, *City in Conflict*, pp. 103-6.

<sup>20</sup> ‘[François de Guise] leur ôta la liberté de tenir leurs assemblées, quoique le Roi la leur eût accordée par ses Edicts.’ De Thou, vol. 3, p. 208.

<sup>21</sup> Roberts, *City in Conflict*, p. 108; 116.

<sup>22</sup> ‘[W]ho were already very animated against the Protestants’: De Thou, *Histoire universelle*, vol. 3, p. 209. The sudden violence was perhaps due to the massacre of Huguenots in Bar in August 1562.

<sup>23</sup> Roberts, *City in Conflict*, p. 69.

substantial violence occurred.<sup>24</sup> This was not the case in the years immediately following the declaration of peace. Although the Edict of Amboise was received in Troyes on 14 April 1563 and ratified shortly thereafter, neither the officials nor the people adhered to it.<sup>25</sup> As soon as the mayor and *échevins* knew the edict required them to release those Huguenots jailed on religious grounds, they hastily arranged to have them executed.<sup>26</sup> When the Protestant sieur de Bussy and his troops passed the city shortly afterwards, they were ambushed by twenty Troyen harquebusiers, who approached their quarry crying ‘Aux Huguenots, aux Huguenots, tue, tue!’<sup>27</sup> Both of these incidents were recorded by Pithou, whose anti-Catholic rhetoric might call the veracity of his account into question. However, when compared with other sources, he has generally been found to be reliable.<sup>28</sup>

Many Catholic residents may have participated in the violence as vengeance for the death of the much-admired governor François, duc de Guise. His assassination in February 1563 at the hand of Jean de Poltrot, who was a Protestant, meant that local Huguenots were vicariously blamed. His funeral cortège passed through Troyes on the way to Joinville, which prompted a wave of attacks on Huguenot homes and businesses. Charles de Bauffremont, the bishop of Troyes, and Noel Coiffart, the *lieutenant-général* of the *bailliage*, reputedly walked past the shop of an apothecary when such an attack was taking place; when the bishop attempted to

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<sup>24</sup> Konnert, *Local Politics*, p. 99.

<sup>25</sup> Pithou, vol. 2, pp. 514-5.

<sup>26</sup> They persuaded some Catholic prisoners to quarrel with the Huguenots, at which point soldiers were to be sent into the prison to restore order. In the event, the jailer discovered the quarrel first and one Huguenot strangled him to gain access to his keys and escape. A call went out across the town that the Huguenots had killed their jailer, to which the multitudes responded by storming the jail and killing the remaining Huguenots. Ibid., pp. 504-6.

<sup>27</sup> ‘To the Huguenots, kill, kill!’ Ibid., p. 522.

<sup>28</sup> Roberts, ‘Religious Conflict and the Urban Setting’, p. 260.

break up the disorder, the *lieutenant-général* persuaded him to refrain from involvement.<sup>29</sup>

In July 1563, the mayor, *échevins*, and the duc d'Aumale, who was acting governor on behalf of his young nephew Henri, duc de Guise, declared that Huguenots were excluded from public office, all assemblies were prohibited, they were not allowed to make or own weapons and Catholic rites on feast days were to be observed.<sup>30</sup> This legislation, combined with the physical attacks, demonstrated real disregard for the Edict of Amboise from both public officials and ordinary residents. To return to the religious survey carried out in Troyes once more, there were some moderates who raised doubts as to whether the council was qualified to declare that Protestant worship should not be allowed in the city, and who claimed they would attend their own services regardless of whether the Protestants had their own. However, their voices were firmly in the minority. Of the 8,488 people asked, the vast majority agreed with the proposition that a petition for exemption should be sent to the king.<sup>31</sup>

Pithou noted that Charles's arrival in March 1564 served as 'a bridle' to the religious passions that stirred in the city.<sup>32</sup> Catherine had urged the troublesome cities scheduled for a visit that they must showcase the good relations that had developed between the confessions. For example, in a letter to the *capitouls* of Toulouse in September 1564, Catherine wrote: 'nous vous recommandons le repoz, union et pacification de ladicte ville, affin que en nostre arrivée par dellà, toutes choses y

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<sup>29</sup> Pithou, vol. 2, p. 513.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., pp. 525-9.

<sup>31</sup> Roberts, 'Religious Conflict in the Urban Setting', p. 276.

<sup>32</sup> Pithou singled out the Catholics as the sole perpetrators of religious violence: '*[L]a presence du Roy deust server comme d'une bridle à ces mutins catholiques, pour refrener leur rage et passions viteuses, si est-ce toutefois que la plus part d'eux continuoît tousjours en leurs injures et outrages contre ceux de la religion.*' Pithou, vol. 3, p. 563. However, it would be naive to assume that the Huguenots did not initiate or engage in any attacks.

soient mieulx disposées à nous recevoir.<sup>33</sup> This warning ensured that no violence was carried out while the court was in town, because Charles was bound to punish those who contravened the edict for their disobedience.

However, this state of affairs did not mean that relations between the faiths were cordial. Both sides hoped to address their grievances to the king: the Huguenots made a list of the crimes committed against them, in particular those that directly contravened the edict, while the Catholics prepared a case for the abolition of the Huguenot faith.<sup>34</sup> Yet the Huguenots were prevented from receiving an audience with Charles and Catherine, and instead had to deliver their grievances to the duc d'Aumale, who ignored their demands. Little that was positive came from the court's residence in Troyes. Indeed, during this time, the sieur de Morvilliers warned the Protestants that the toleration accorded to them was provisional on the basis of the king's age, and that when he was old enough to deal with them more firmly, the edict would be repealed:

On sçay bien comment ceste tollerance des deux religions que vous appelez Edict, a esté bastie. Ça esté une chose forcée, et laquelle le Royne, et les principaux et plus anciens catholiques, conseillers de la couronne... furent contrains laisser passer, de peur de pis, esperans que sa majesté venue en aage, se feroit obeir, et ne souffriroit jamais. Cela vous a esté accordé par provision seulement, et le Roy estant en bas aage. Assurez-vous que luy qui a puissance de relever les mineurs, des contrats qu'ilz ont faictz, sçaura bien quelque jour, estant venu en aage, s'impartir ce mesme benefice, en une affaire d'une telle importance, où il y a totalement du faict de la religion catholique, et de l'estat de tout son Royaume.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> 'We recommend to you the repose, union and pacification of the town, so that by our arrival there, everything is best disposed to receive us.' *LCM*, vol. 2, p. 224.

<sup>34</sup> Pithou, vol. 2, p. 549.

<sup>35</sup> 'It is well known how this tolerance of both religions, which you call the Edict, has been constructed. It was a forced measure, and one which the queen, and the principal and most senior Catholics, the counsellors of the Crown... were forced to let through out of fear of something worse,



Charles did intervene in the council elections of 1564 to reinstate Protestant *échevins* in accordance with the edict. He also excluded Catholic extremists from standing for election, meaning that moderates could work towards the creation of peace.<sup>36</sup> Outbursts of violence lessened in frequency and severity over the next few years, but both sides viewed one another with extreme distrust. This was not unfounded, as the Huguenots were determined to restore and strengthen the community before reasserting their spiritual and political influence over the city, while the Catholics were adamant that they should retain all the control and push the Huguenots to return to the Catholic Church. Co-operation became paralysed by the tension between the faiths. When the second war of religion broke out, violence within the city walls resumed.<sup>37</sup>

Thus, the few mentions of the edict in the royal entry into Troyes were representative of the sentiments that circulated in the city following the war. From the Huguenots' first swell in population in 1558 to Charles's advent, there is evidence that many ordinary Catholics and certainly most city officials decried the existence of the false religion and the king's decision to provide toleration to its adherents. Hatred for the faith was manifested in both legislation and violence. Indeed, had it not been for the presence of the ambassadors at the ceremony, the royal entry might have been more Catholic and militant than the single sign: 'Un Dieu, Une Foy, Une Loy, Un Roy!'

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hoping that when His Majesty came of age, he would be obeyed and would no longer put up with it. This has been accorded to you only provisionally, the king being young. Be sure that he who has the power to release minors from the contracts they have made, will know well one day, having come of age, how to bestow this same benefit in a matter of such importance, with total regard for the Catholic religion and the state of his entire kingdom.' Ibid., p. 571.

<sup>36</sup> Roberts, *City of Conflict*, p. 130.

<sup>37</sup> Konnert, *Local Politics*, p. 100.

## Visions of Justice in Lyon

Charles's entry into Lyon was an altogether different affair. There was a plethora of imagery that indicated how the Edict of Amboise was perceived in the city. However, much of it was contradictory or ambiguous, making it difficult to assess which of the conflicting ideas or layers of embedded meaning was the real communication intended by the entry organizers. It is only after comparison with the religious and political events of the period that the essence of the imagery is elucidated.

The ceremony potentially featured one of the most conspicuous expressions of support for religious toleration seen across Charles's entries. In his *Histoire veritable de la Ville de Lyon* (1604), Claude de Rubys alleged that Charles was preceded in the procession by *enfants de la ville* who marched in pairs composed of one Catholic and one Huguenot. The Catholics were recognizable in the pairs by the gemstone and pearl crosses on their bonnets.<sup>38</sup> White crosses were regarded as a mark of Catholicism during the wars of religion because of their association with the Crusades, in which crosses were worn on the livery and shields of Christian soldiers.<sup>39</sup> However, the festival account does not distinguish between the *enfants*, although the caps of the *enfants* were described as being black velvet enlaced with gold and pearls.<sup>40</sup> It seems unlikely that a procession of the two faiths in harmony would have been omitted from the official publication, as expressions of religious toleration were encouraged by the Crown.<sup>41</sup> Rubys's version of the procession is

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<sup>38</sup> Rubys, *Histoire*, p. 402.

<sup>39</sup> Kevin Gould, *Catholic Activism in South-West France, 1540-1570* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 138-9.

<sup>40</sup> *Discours... tresillustre... Lyon*, fol. 6v.

<sup>41</sup> One such expression did occur at Montélimar in September 1564, when Catholic and Protestant nobles formed two companies to share in greeting the king at the city gates. Adolphe Coston, *Histoire*

probably incorrect, though there is an element of truth to it in that the harmonious march was planned. Barbara Diefendorf has found that two weeks prior to the entry the maréchal de Vieilleville, who had been sent to restore peace in Lyon after the war, wrote to Catherine to inform her that the Catholic *enfants de la ville* refused to march with their Protestant counterparts. He suggested she threaten to punish them for disturbing the peace in order to coax them into participating.<sup>42</sup> However, it seems that the problem was not resolved in time.

Rubys's account certainly appears erroneous when this peaceful scene is compared with the rest of the entry, much of which was characterised by dark and violent imagery. At the heart of the ceremony, and comprising roughly one third of its entire content, was a sequence of scenes devoted to the administration of justice. The imagery for this theme was far removed from the graceful and heartening return of Astræa to proclaim the world reborn in a Golden Age: corrupt magistrates and harsh legislators of Antiquity were brought forth to reveal in vivid detail the brutal punishments that were accorded to those who had contravened the law. The disparity is rooted in the fact that these figures embodied different motivations. Astræa was used in cities that were not especially concerned with the administration of justice because the motif of this goddess easily conveyed the idea – expected to arise in every entry – that the king was a wise and merciful judge. To the Lyonnais, the lack of justice (as they saw it) was a pressing issue and they hoped to draw Charles's attention to this through classical stories of the law that were memorable for their gruesome outcomes.

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*de Montélimar et des principales familles qui ont habité cette ville* (Montélimar: Bourron, 1883, 4 vols), vol. 2, p. 263.

<sup>42</sup> Barbara B. Diefendorf, 'Rites of Repair: Restoring Community in the French Religious Wars', in Graeme Murdock, Penny Roberts and Andrew Spicer (eds), *Ritual and Violence: Natalie Zemon Davis and Early Modern France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 30-51.

The sequence began with a double-staged theatre elevated on four Corinthian pilasters. At the base of the theatre, three frightened kings in antique costume were seen to advise a kneeling philosopher, whose arm was outstretched to draw attention to a book that he had written. Behind this scene was a portrait of a man with flayed skin, carrying the removed flesh over his shoulder. He was described in the festival account as ‘de regard fort hideux’.<sup>43</sup> Above this was written: ‘Carolus ix. Dicæo Draco & Sisannes ob violatam Eunomiam pœnas luunt.’<sup>44</sup> The kneeling philosopher was Draco, who first put the Athenian Constitution into writing in 662/1 BC, while the flayed man was Sisamnes, a judge who served King Cambyses II of Persia. Both were said to be repenting to Dikē, the goddess of justice, for their failure to respect Eunomia, the goddess of order.<sup>45</sup>

These images and inscription combined to create an allegory for the proper administration of justice. Although Draco was lauded for his formalization of the constitution, he made death the penalty for most offences, ranging from murder to stealing a piece of fruit.<sup>46</sup> His system was so ‘draconian’ that the Athenian legislator Solon repealed all but his homicide laws in the early sixth century BC.<sup>47</sup> Draco was thus the perfect example of an unjust legislator, because he failed to hand out proportionate sentencing and to act with mercy. Sisamnes’s fault lay in his corruption, which was discovered when he accepted a bribe in a lawsuit to judge in favour of the paying party. As punishment for his abuse of power and moral bankruptcy, King Cambyses cut Sisamnes’s throat, then flayed all of his skin and used it to cover the throne from which he had delivered his verdicts.<sup>48</sup> Together,

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<sup>43</sup> ‘Hideous to behold’: *Discours... tresillustre... Lyon*, fol. 13v.

<sup>44</sup> ‘Charles IX. Draco and Sisannes atone to Dikē for their attack on Eunomia.’ Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Smith, *Greek and Roman Biography*, vol. 2, p. 517.

<sup>46</sup> Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, 4.1; Plutarch, *Life of Solon*, 17.1-2.

<sup>47</sup> Aristotle, *Politics*, 2.1274b; Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, 7.1.

<sup>48</sup> Herodotus, *Histories*, 5.25.

Draco and Sisamnes represented the most detestable aspects of the judge: unfair sentencing and corruption. The scene as a whole acted as a *speculum principis* for Charles, who was addressed in the inscription, to look upon the punishments of the two men and remember to be a just and virtuous legislator.

On the lower stage of the Corinthian theatre, a sumptuous palace was painted, in front of which stood a beautiful woman dressed as a nymph. With a Roman sword (gladius) in one hand and a golden ruler in the other, the woman unmistakably represented Justice. She welcomed Charles as he looked to the stage and pronounced these verses:

Suivie de mes sœurs, Pieté, Paix, Clemence:  
Observer je feray tes Saintes Loix en France,  
Si que sera puny de tant & tant d'exces  
Qu'a fait à tels subjects ceste Hydre de Proces.  
Je m'esbranle desja, mon espée j'appreste  
Bien qu'il en ait plusieurs pour la rendre sans teste,  
Et pour mettre en ta main mon espée tresjuste  
Regnant sur tous d'un bras equitable & robuste.  
Tremblez mechans tremblez, car tous les obstinez  
Pour la seurté des bons seront exterminiez.<sup>49</sup>

The woman continued the previous call for Charles to be just in his rulings. However, by putting the sword in his hand, she also acknowledged that justice was as much about destroying evil at the point of a blade as it was about showing mercy.

The nature of the Hydra that Justice sought to slay is not specified in the verses. Based on the Lernean Hydra, the mythical beast with nine heads that

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<sup>49</sup> 'Followed by my sisters, Piety, Peace and Mercy:/ I will have your Holy Laws obeyed in France/ so that this Hydra of Trials will be punished for the countless excesses it has inflicted on subjects like this. I am stirring into action, my sword at the ready, to cut off its head, though it has many of them, and to place my most just sword in your hand, so you can rule over everyone with your fair and strong arm. All you evil people, quake with fear, for all the obstinate will be exterminated for the safety of the virtuous.' *Discours... tresillustre... Lyon*, fols 14r-v.

Hercules had to kill in his Twelve Labours, the Hydra was a generic term in the sixteenth century for a wickedness that had to be defeated. It was used particularly in cases of recurring or persistent trouble, as it was well-known that if one of the monster's heads were cut off, two would grow back in its place. In *Hecatographie*, Corrozet depicted Hercules with a sword and several discarded heads crushed underfoot by the seemingly-unafflicted beast. This emblem, *Multiplication de proces*, symbolized the fact that whenever one thinks a trial might be complete, there is always another factor to delay its eventual conclusion.<sup>50</sup> Erasmus, for instance, likened killing the Hydra to the never-ending toil of the scholar.<sup>51</sup> It found a longer-lasting and more chilling comparison in the civil wars, in which the Hydra represented sedition and conflict laying waste to communities, with the king invariably cast as the Gallic Hercules. This was vividly evoked in Henri IV's entry into Lyon in 1595, at the conclusion of decades of civil war, in a pillar bearing a statue of the Henri as Hercules standing over the Hydra and clubbing it to death.<sup>52</sup>

Yet, even within the civil war association, the Hydra took on new meanings. One of the most frequently circulated ideas of the early civil wars was that the Huguenot faith was the Hydra destroying France. Pierre de Ronsard, in his *L'Hydre desfaict* (1569), had the campaigns of the Huguenot army across France depicted in the form of a Hydra: La Rochelle was crushed by its tail, Angoulême was trapped in its claws and three heads drank from the Vienne. The missing heads lay severed in the cities where Henri of Anjou had triumphed over the Huguenot threat, such as

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<sup>50</sup> Corrozet, *Hecatographie*, Emblem 63, fol. Ivi.

<sup>51</sup> Antónia Szabari, *Less Rightly Said: Scandals and Readers in Sixteenth-century France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), p. 153.

<sup>52</sup> Corrado Vivanti, 'Henry IV, the Gallic Hercules', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 30 (1967), pp. 183-4; pl. 18a.

Jarnac and Poitiers.<sup>53</sup> In the later decades of the wars, however, the Catholic League became the Hydra. In Maurice Bouguereau's *Le Theatre Francoys* (1594), a map reassembling the provinces under three maps of a unified France was drawn to signify Henri IV's defeat of the Parisian Catholic League and his ascension to the throne. Its epigram read: 'si L'Hydre sentit d'Hercule le courage, La Ligue a éprouvé Henri plus méritier.'<sup>54</sup> Henri was seen to have brought the League's rebellions to an end, just as Hercules had decapitated and finally triumphed over the many-headed monster. In light of these many associations, it is impossible to say whether the Hydra mentioned in the entry at Lyon was intended to represent civil war or the Huguenot threat. However, the scenes that followed suggest that the organizers had both in mind when creating the scene for the lower stage.

In the niche to the left of this stage, the theme of brutal punishments continued with the depiction of a large man, who had been stripped naked and was being whipped with rods by two children. Above his head was written: 'Carolus, qualis in authores mali, hîc Phalisci pueri signant.'<sup>55</sup> This scene recalled the story of the schoolmaster of Falerii, who attempted to betray the Faliscans to the Romans that were camped outside the city primed to conquer it. Every day he walked his pupils further from the city to take their exercise, until he reached the outpost and offered the children to the commander Camillus, saying that their fathers were the leaders of the city and they would relinquish Falerii to the Romans to keep the children safe. Camillus listened in horror and responded that honour would not permit the Romans to do this, as they waged wars with justice as much as with courage. If they were to

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<sup>53</sup> Szabari, *Less Rightly Said*, p. 153.

<sup>54</sup> 'If the Hydra felt Hercules's courage, the League felt Henri's even greater strength.' Quoted in Jeffrey N. Peters, *Mapping Discord: Allegorical Cartography in Early Modern French Writing* (Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 2004), p. 54.

<sup>55</sup> 'Here the children of the Faliscans indicate the furious energy of Charles against the authors of malice.' *Discours... tresillustre... Lyon*, fol. 15r.

take the city, it would be won against armed men, not through threats against helpless children. As punishment for the schoolmaster's treachery, Camillus ordered him to be stripped with his hands tied behind his back, and returned him to the children along with rods, who were told to beat him all the way back to the city so that everyone would know what he had done. The Faliscans, seeing that the Roman army prized justice over victory, greatly admired this and promptly surrendered to Camillus.<sup>56</sup>

This niche presented Charles with two lessons. The first was that he should be prepared to deliver seemingly atrocious punishments if they are in line with the severity of the crime that has been committed. Betrayal of one's city, as in the case of the schoolmaster of Falerii, was among the most malicious and unforgivable crimes, so Charles should be particularly keen to discipline those guilty of this. Secondly, Charles was to learn that a great leader loves justice above all else and his people will love and commit themselves to him for this, as the Falerii did to Camillus.

Above this niche and the lower stage was the final level of the theatre, sustained by four more columns, on which there was a judicial seat covered in the skin of an old man. Elsewhere on the stage, a king directed a senator around the room and to the chair with great pomp. Above this was written:

Rex Cambyzes Othani sic patris tui Sisannis iniusti pellis hîc est, sede  
Iudex, pœnæ memor.  
Carolus ix. piiss[imus]. & iustiss[imus].  
Carolus ad pœnas piger est, ad præmia velox, Quîque dolet quoties  
cogitur esse ferox.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Livy, *History of Rome*, 5.27; Plutarch, *Life of Camillus*, 10.

<sup>57</sup> 'King Cambyzes [said to] Otanes, thus, there is the skin of your unjust father Sisamnes: Sit down Judge, recalling his punishment./ Charles IX, most pious and most just./ Charles is slow to punish and swift to reward, he grieves whenever he is compelled to be harsh.' *Discours... tresillustre... Lyon*, fol. 15v.



The last line was adapted from Ovid's *Epistulae ex Ponto*, in which the poet wrote to potential intercessors to ask the Emperor Augustus to forgive him for his crime.<sup>58</sup> In his letters, Ovid described Augustus as an ideal prince, who administered harsh punishments for the sake of justice but was otherwise merciful.<sup>59</sup> This inscription was included to encourage Charles to emulate Augustus.

The need to be severe at times was underlined in the imagery, which returned to the punishment of Sisamnes featured in the base of the theatre. Cambyses's judgement was unfolded in its entirety when he ushered Otanes, the son of Sisamnes, to take up the open judge's position and deliver verdicts from the throne covered in his father's skin.<sup>60</sup> Cambyses knew that the leather would act as a lasting reminder for Otanes that his father was corrupt, and consequently Otanes would strive to be a virtuous judge in order to avoid a similar fate. The terrible punishment inflicted on Sisamnes was thus constructive, in that it discouraged the new generation of judges from accepting bribes. The judgement of Cambyses was proof that a ruler's departure from his merciful nature was sometimes necessary, not only to provide a sentence commensurate with the heinous nature of the crime, but to ensure that the crime was never committed again by another.

The final stage of the theatre was completed by portraits on either side of this scene. On the right, an emperor crowned with laurels was painted putting his finger in the eye of a senator, below which was written: 'Carolus N[eufiame]. A[urelius]. Alexander Severus Imperator est, Cave tibi Iudex à digito.'<sup>61</sup> Alexander Severus was renowned as a just emperor, who granted pardons even to those who had committed

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<sup>58</sup> The nature of the crime has not been passed down the centuries. Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, 1.2.121-2.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 1.2.115-126.

<sup>60</sup> Herodotus, *Histories*, 5.25.

<sup>61</sup> 'Charles IX is the Emperor Alexander Severus. Beware, Judge, of his finger.' *Discours... tresillustré... Lyon*, fol. 16r.

serious crimes to save them from death.<sup>62</sup> However, he was not merciful towards those who demonstrated corruption in public office, and reputedly told an advisor that he always had a finger ready to tear an eye out of the heads of judges he knew to be thieves.<sup>63</sup>

Alexander was an apt example for compounding the message of the upper stage, because he reigned in circumstances similar to Charles. He had become emperor at the age of thirteen, so the affairs of government were passed to his grandmother and mother until he was capable of ruling alone. Even then, he was said to have continued to listen to his mother even if her wishes were at odds with his own.<sup>64</sup> Alexander too had conducted his reign against the backdrop of civil war.<sup>65</sup>

On the left of the theatre, a king in antique costume whose eye had been pulled out grasped the shoulder of a youth, who was also missing an eye. Above their heads was written: 'Carolus Zaleuco melior, iustus Legislator, piúsque pater.'<sup>66</sup> Zaleucus completed the theatre of justice as the ultimate embodiment of the lawgiver who balanced appropriate, if bloody, punishments with acts of mercy. Although his very existence is disputed, Zaleucus of the Epizephyrian Locrians was said to have been the first Greek to devise and write a code of laws.<sup>67</sup> Few of his laws survive, but those that do demonstrate the severity of his punishments was similar to those later laid down by Draco. For example, it was a capital offence to drink unmixed wine, unless prescribed as medication by a doctor, and adultery was punished by the removal of both eyes.<sup>68</sup> However, Zaleucus fostered goodwill among the people by

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<sup>62</sup> Herodian, *Roman History*, 6.7.

<sup>63</sup> Lampridius, *Life of Alexander Severus*, 15.4; 17.1.

<sup>64</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 80.19; Lampridius, *Life of Alexander Severus*, 14.7; Herodian, *Roman History*, 6.1; 6.10.

<sup>65</sup> Lampridius, *Life of Alexander Severus*, 1.6.

<sup>66</sup> 'Charles is better than Zaleucus, a just legislator and a pious father.' *Discours... tresillustre... Lyon*, fol. 16r.

<sup>67</sup> Cicero, *On the Laws*, 2.15; Strabo, *Geography*, 6.8.

<sup>68</sup> Aelian, *Historical Miscellany*, 2.37; 13.24.

refusing to hear cases unless both parties could prove they had attempted reconciliation.<sup>69</sup> The testament to his virtue as a judge is seen in his verdict when his own son was brought before him as an adulterer and had to be sentenced to double blinding. After wrestling with his desire to be merciful to his kin and his duty to carry out the law, Zaleucus decided that he would have one eye removed from his son's head, and one from his own, so to spare him complete blindness but see that the sentence was fulfilled.<sup>70</sup> The image of this, rounding off the complex and visually arresting theatre, concluded Charles's tour through the characteristics that his people expected him to embody and to avoid as their sovereign and judge.

The extensive and concentrated section on justice resulted in an entry that was unlike any other that Charles experienced during the tour. Although its content may seem obscure, the figures portrayed would have been recognized by many who witnessed the ceremony, especially merchants, lawyers and nobles.<sup>71</sup> Their biographies and images circulated in the city via the print houses of Sébastien Gryphe, Jean de Tournes and Robert Estienne, and the merchant-publisher Guillaume Rouillé. Rouillé in particular was famous for selling books with high quality engravings, such as Italian emblem books.<sup>72</sup> He even wrote his own emblem book, *Promptuarii Iconum Insigniorum* (1553), which detailed the lives of over 200 individuals from ancient history, the Bible and recent centuries. It proved to be so popular that it ran to three prints in Latin, four in French, three in Italian and one in Spanish.<sup>73</sup> The *Promptuarii* contained information on three figures that later

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<sup>69</sup> Diodorus Siculus, *Historical Library*, 12.20.3.

<sup>70</sup> Aelian, *Historical Miscellany*, 13.24.

<sup>71</sup> N.Z. Davis, 'Publisher Guillaume Rouillé, Businessman and Humanist', in R. J. Schoeck (ed.), *Editing Sixteenth-Century Texts: Papers given at the Editorial Conference University of Toronto October, 1965* (New York; London: Garland Publishing, 1978), p. 90.

<sup>72</sup> He published Andrea Alciato's *Emblemata*, as well as works by Paolo Giovio, Ludovico Domenichi, and Gabriello Simeoni. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

appeared in the royal entry: Alexander Severus, Cambyses II, and Zaleucus.<sup>74</sup> Even Catherine might have recognized the figures, as Rouillé had dedicated the Italian edition of the *Promptuarii* to her, as well as the Latin edition to her husband Henri II and the French edition to her sister-in-law Marguerite.<sup>75</sup>

The entry into Lyon stands out from the others crafted during the tour not for its unusual choice of imagery, but for the blunt and concentrated way in which it presented the theme of Justice. This approach suggests that the sequence at the heart of the ceremony had particular significance. Based on the political, religious and social state of Lyon at the time of Charles's visit, and indeed the imagery that followed the sequence, there were two probable motivations. The first was that the materiality of the city had been so damaged by the civil war, and its cherished political traditions so assailed, that the demand for justice was a call to restore and maintain order in the city. It was paramount that Lyon be returned to the state of pride and prosperity in which it had existed *antebellum*. Secondly, the entry implied that, if anyone was to be punished as a result of the civil war, it must be the Huguenots. They were to blame for the disharmony and penury in Lyon, and the city had little interest in offering the Huguenot community the toleration that Charles sought to establish in his edict.

The partisan imagery appeared moments after the encounter with the theatre of justice, when Charles was presented with another theatre, in which an old man was depicted crouching down with his foot attached to a lead. He gazed upward into the face of a standing figure, who held the other end of the lead. Below this was written:

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<sup>74</sup> Rouillé, *Promptuaire Des Medalles*, fols 116r; 56v; 66r; 49r. A further eleven judges appeared in his emblem book. Nine were from the Old Testament and two were from Classical Greece: Othniel (fol. 20r); Deborah (21v); Gideon (22r); Jephthah (29v); Ibzan (29v); Samson (32r); Samuel (33v); Josiah (47v); Ezekiel (51r); Lycurgus (41v); and Solon (54r). Marcus Furius Camillus, the Roman who judged the schoolmaster, and Mammea, mother of Alexander Severus, were also depicted in fols 66r and 116r.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89.

‘Carolus Piis[simus]. D[ium]. Paulum zelo sequitur.’<sup>76</sup> The image showed Saint Paul, one of the great missionaries of the Christian faith, bringing an individual to the true Church. Saint Paul’s zeal for converting the masses and sustaining them in their faith was well known from his Epistles, in which he provided advice to congregations on the theology and practicality of worship. Descriptions of the suffering that he endured in his quest, including being shipwrecked and stoned, were particular testament to the strength of his faith.<sup>77</sup>

The inscription declared that Charles imitated Saint Paul in religious zeal, which made the king’s personal commitment to Catholicism the focus of the image. Charles was characterized as a monarch whose Catholic faith was unquestionable and who was dedicated to bringing his people into the fold. Its appearance was somewhat odd considering that he sought to establish toleration for the Huguenots during his visit. Either the scene reflected knowledge of his efforts to recatholicize the people through his public acts of worship (certainly the city was aware that Protestant services were forbidden for the duration of the court’s residence), or it was a *speculum principis* calling on Charles to be as fervent and uncompromising in his religiosity as Saint Paul.

This religious theme was continued in a triumphal arch further along the processional route. On the right side of the portal, Piety held a chalice in her hand and the Host above her head, while a flaming heart burned in her stomach; on the left, Justice clasped a sword and scales. Both stretched out their hands to Charles, who was depicted in the frontispiece raising a female figure representing Religion above all three of their heads. The frieze carried one inscription: ‘Quod surgat toto

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<sup>76</sup> ‘Charles the most pious imitates Saint Paul in zeal.’ *Discours... tresillustre... Lyon*, fol. 17v.

<sup>77</sup> 2 Corinthians 11: 24-31.

rediviva Ecclesia Regno, Hoc Pietate tua, Iusticiáque facis.’<sup>78</sup> Another inscription was placed beneath the frontispiece: ‘Carolo ix. Gall[iarum]. Regi, Opt[imo]. Principi, Ecclesia Lugd[unensis]. P[osuit].’<sup>79</sup> The decoration was completed with the coats of arms of Charles, Catherine and his brother the duc d’Orléans.

The arch centred on the idea that Charles had restored Catholic worship and faith across France following the civil war, which was primarily communicated through the depiction of his device in conjunction with the inscription in the frieze. As the festival account makes clear, the arch was designed for these aspects to create the initial impact, which was then compounded by the personification of his device, *Pietate et Justitia*, on either side of the portal. The image of Piety is particularly striking as it depicts the sacrament of the Eucharist, which was a major point of controversy between Catholics and Huguenots. In physically raising the figure of Religion above himself, the representation of Charles was seen to confirm that the restitution of the Catholic faith was prioritized above all else. The arch was thus a tribute to the king in recognition of his dedication to the Church.

Throughout these images, however, there is a strain of ambiguity. The comparison with Saint Paul did not necessarily signify that Charles was, or ought to be, similarly consumed by the desire to bring people to Catholicism; the juxtaposition of the king’s device with the idea of ecclesiastical reinvigoration did not confirm that Charles was the standard-bearer for Catholic renewal. Conversion and the Eucharist belonged to the Protestant faith as much as it did to the Catholic faith. It is likely that the viewer was expected to make the connection to Catholicism, but in neither instance was the message explicitly stated. As a result, the lingering

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<sup>78</sup> ‘It is through your piety and justice that the Church renews itself across the kingdom.’ *Discours... tresillustre... Lyon*, fol. 20r.

<sup>79</sup> ‘To Charles IX, King of France and great prince, the Church of Lyon has raised [this monument].’ *Ibid.*, fol. 20v.

impression of the theatre and arch is that emphasis on Catholic revival was illusory. The entry deftly said a lot whilst actually saying very little, raising doubts as to whether it has declaimed the Huguenots or the Edict of Amboise. Yet, when the king proceeded to the next feature – a temple with supporting pillars on which angels carried the arms of the royal family and Princes of the Blood – the religious undertones in the entry were made unequivocal through an inscription. Similar to its appearance in Troyes, the inscription read: ‘Un Dieu, un Roy, une Foy.’<sup>80</sup>

### **Heterodoxy Dismissed**

Prior to the civil war, Lyon had a reputation as a centre of religious heterodoxy. Allowances were made largely as a matter of pragmatism: in order for the port to prosper, toleration of foreign merchants and their faiths had to be maintained. If the council posed a threat to businesses on the basis of religion, trade would suffer, as merchants would re-route their goods through more liberal ports such as Venice. This tolerant attitude was also applied to residents of Lyon. The city was home to many non-natives, who adhered to their own beliefs discreetly, and the nature of trade, particularly after the German and Swiss Reformations, dictated that new religious ideas would enter the city and find favour among locals. So long as the views were not confrontational or unpalatable, the council was prepared to overlook them. Moreover, the rise of heterodoxy was not unthinkable, given the favourable conditions in the city. There was no theology faculty to curb heretical practices or arbitrate on complex doctrinal issues, and its archbishops (such as the cardinal de Tournon) tended to be absent in favour of spending time at court.

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid., fol. 21r.

This relaxed stance on religion posed few problems until the 1550s, when a change was visibly marked by an increase in heresy trials.<sup>81</sup> Calvinism increased in popularity at such a remarkable rate over the 1540s and 1550s that, by the outbreak of civil war, approximately one-third of the city was Protestant.<sup>82</sup> Smaller and disparate faiths that had existed in Lyon previously were suddenly overshadowed by a cohesive religion that boasted thousands of members and directly contradicted Catholicism. This major adjustment to the social and religious fabric of Lyon caused much conflict. In the spring of 1561, for example, the Corpus Christi procession ended in bloodshed when a Huguenot attempted to seize the ciborium. Although he was swiftly handed over to the authorities, many Catholics took to the streets and attacked passersby whom they suspected of being Huguenots in retribution.<sup>83</sup> At this time, and in spite of the increased heresy trials, the council continued to treat Catholic and Protestant violence as equally abhorrent and punished offenders accordingly.<sup>84</sup>

The turning point for both faiths came when news of the massacre at Vassy reached Lyon. It created panic among the Huguenots, as it had among their counterparts in Troyes, with many fearing that the massacre would act as a release-valve to the current tension in the city. It was decided that the only way to ensure their protection was to administer the city themselves, so on the night of 29 April 1562, the Huguenots launched a coup. Much of the city, and particularly the *hôtel-commun*, was seized in the dark. Pockets of resistance to the Huguenots remained on

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<sup>81</sup> Hall, 'Lyon Publishing', p. 18.

<sup>82</sup> Hoffman, *Church and Community*, p. 31.

<sup>83</sup> Richard Gascon, *Grand Commerce et Vie Urbaine au XVIe Siècle: Lyon et ses marchands environs de 1520 – environs de 1580* (Paris: École Pratique des Hautes Études and Mouchon, 1971), p. 469.

<sup>84</sup> Watson, 'Lyon City Council', p. 233.



30 April, but unlike the coup in Troyes, these too were eventually defeated and the governor, the comte de Sault, was forced to capitulate on 1 May.<sup>85</sup>

The success of the coup was to lead the Lyonnais down a path that would mar their chances of reconciliation. Although the Huguenots denied accusations of sedition on the grounds that the king was ruling under duress and it was against the Guise usurpers that they took action, their actions appeared to many as an attack on the sanctity of the city's political institutions. The Huguenots themselves had great respect for the traditions of local government and were keenly aware that too much innovation in favour of Protestantism would result in further conflict, and so were loathe to take measures without the authority to do so. A week after the coup, local officials were called to the *hôtel-commun*, where it was proposed that the twelve current councillors would be merged with twelve new Reformed councillors. Together the twenty-four would govern Lyon, until the usual council of twelve was returned (with six Catholics and six Huguenots) in the December elections.

However, this compromise did little to repair the resentment created by the initial takeover, and only thirty-two of the sixty-five officials eligible to vote turned out. Twelve Reformed councillors were returned, but only six of the current councillors were willing to remain.<sup>86</sup> The comte de Sault soon deemed that he was no longer a figure of authority and left Lyon on 30 June, despite the Huguenots' request that he stay out of loyalty to the city, though they were surely motivated by the thought that his residence would be taken as a sign of recognition of the council.<sup>87</sup> By September, the six original councillors had departed, citing the reason as the unacceptable behaviour of their Protestant 'colleagues', who used their majority to

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<sup>85</sup> Gascon, *Grand Commerce*, p. 478.

<sup>86</sup> 7 May 1562: AM Lyon BB82, fols 151r-152r.

<sup>87</sup> Gascon, p. 482.

pass legislation that favoured their own community.<sup>88</sup> When the December elections finally came around, the new councillors were all Protestant.<sup>89</sup>

The new councillors considered themselves public servants first and Huguenot second, reiterating the claim that they were legitimate through their dedication to the everyday administration of the city and their condemnation of religious violence and sedition.<sup>90</sup> However, some decisions were taken purely with Protestantism in mind, the effects of which were seared onto the consciousness of many Lyonnais Catholics. Shortly after seizing power, Catholic worship was banned and the Mass was replaced with preaching in the city's principal churches. The church buildings were altered almost beyond recognition, as interiors were stripped of valuables such as precious metals and cloths to be sold off; the money was then contributed to the local treasury. Wood and stone were removed to be used as construction materials and lesser metals were melted down to be used in weaponry against the armed forces that surrounded the city. The council carried this out in an orderly fashion, but it was unable to prevent locals from reducing the churches even further in bouts of iconoclasm. When those Catholics who had fled the city after the coup returned at the end of the war, they found the cathedral of Saint Jean and the church of Saint Nizier devoid of all images and the church of Saint Just razed.<sup>91</sup>

This destruction and the fury it aroused would later be immortalized in the *De Tristibus Galliae Carmen* (1577), an account of the '*Excez commis par les Calvinistes contre les Catholiques, dans la Ville de Lyon*' in the successive wars until its publication.<sup>92</sup> The first of its four books contained two drawings of the destruction

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<sup>88</sup> Letter from *conseilleurs* to Catherine, 15 Sept 1563. Ibid., p. 481.

<sup>89</sup> 21 December 1562: AM Lyon BB83, fols 1r-3v.

<sup>90</sup> Watson, 'Lyon City Council', p. 217.

<sup>91</sup> Pelletier and Rossiaud, *Histoire de Lyon*, vol. 2, p. 136; Hoffman, p. 32.

<sup>92</sup> 'Excess committed by the Calvinists against the Catholics in Lyon': Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon (BML), MS.156, frontispiece.

of Lyon's ecclesiastical buildings in 1562. In one, the cathedral of Saint Jean was in the process of being dismantled by men on the roof and front steps, who wrenched statues and stone from the exterior, while women showed off to each other the vestments and luxurious cloths they had stolen from within. In the other, unnamed churches lay devastated, their walls crumbled and any semblance of their former sanctity extinguished as men with axes hewed their bells and reliquaries. In neither image were the perpetrators depicted as human; although their bodies were upright and clothed, their faces and hands betrayed the fact that they were monkeys.<sup>93</sup> The French marginalia to the Latin poem reads:

[Les Calvinistes] brulerent toutes des reliques qu'ils purent trouver  
briserent toutes les figures de saints, dont la face de cette illustre eglise  
de St Jean estoit ornée, ils n'épargnerent pas meme les Tombeaux qu'ils  
ouvrirent pour y Chercher les Tresors qu'ils croyoient y avoir été  
cachez... L'Eglise de St Just qui est la premiere collegiale de la ville de  
Lyon fut entierement demolie par les huguenots lesquels briserent les  
cloches pour ensuite les transporter à l'arsenal et en faire des canons.<sup>94</sup>

The manuscript was clearly a work of propaganda, rather than a history of the war. Its depictions of violence included pillages, battles and massacres; in each case, the Huguenots were shown as the responsible party. Excepting the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day, which had achieved legendary status among some Catholics as a righteous triumph over evil, violence instigated by the Catholics (notably the

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid., fol. 3r; 4r.

<sup>94</sup> 'The Calvinists burned all the relics that they were able to find and smashed all the figures of saints, with which the façade of this illustrious church of Saint Jean was adorned. They did not even spare the tombs, which they opened in order to search for treasures that they believed had been hidden inside... The Church of Saint Just, which is the primary collegiate church of Lyon, was entirely demolished by the Huguenots, who shattered the bells in order to then transport them to the arsenal and make them into canons.' BML, MS. 156, fols 3r-4r.

massacre at Vassy) was absent.<sup>95</sup> However, the manuscript serves to show that the damage inflicted to the face of the city had such a forceful impact on the Catholics that it would be remembered as an act of barbarism for decades to come.

The Huguenot councillors and the community as a whole were further despised for the penury that the war inflicted upon Lyon. Instability following the coup resulted in the Crown deeming the city unsuitable to hold its annual fairs, so trade was relocated to Chalons-sur-Saône. The economic decline was palpable, and even after the fairs returned to Lyon in August 1563, business was nowhere near as profitable as it had been before the conflict. Fiscal records show that import taxes contributed 55,000 *livres* to the treasury in 1560-61, but only 11,000 *livres* in 1562-63.<sup>96</sup> In lieu of this income, the council had to find other means of paying for the enormous cost of defence. To maintain the city as a Protestant stronghold, the military commander in the vicinity, the baron des Adrets, had provided forty-three companies and a frigate.<sup>97</sup> These soldiers needed food and pay, which placed a great burden on the municipal purse already half-empty from the improvements to the fortifications and manufacture of weaponry. One of the most lucrative solutions was to seize and sell the properties of the Church and those Catholics who had fled the city. But even this did not cover the cost and the council was forced to beg and borrow from other Protestant communities, particularly in Geneva. Local businessmen and councillors raised great personal loans to send to Lyon, all of which was to be repaid after the war.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Géraldine Lavieille, 'Les Illustrations du De Tristibus Galliae: la construction clandestine d'une mémoire ligueuse', Unpublished Mémoire de Master 1, École Normale Supérieure de Lettres et Sciences Humaines, 2006, p. 99.

<sup>96</sup> Hartley, 'War and Tolerance', p. 94.

<sup>97</sup> Roger Doucet, *Finances Municipales et Crédit Public A Lyon au XVIe siècle* (Paris: Librairie des sciences politiques et sociales, 1937), p. 64.

<sup>98</sup> The debts run up by the Huguenot councillors would be a polarising issue for years, in part because the city was unable to repay them but primarily because Catholic councillors claimed that the

The long-term success of the coup depended on the overall outcome of the war, and the Lyonnais Huguenots were unsurprisingly disappointed when peace was declared in the form of the Edict of Amboise. The terms of the treaty allowed them only two places of worship inside the city walls while reinstating Catholicism, a far cry from the Protestant idyll they had attempted to create and enjoy. Though they resisted its ratification for months, Vieilleville entered Lyon on 15 June and had the edict declared in public places on 24 June.<sup>99</sup> Mass was celebrated shortly afterwards on 18 July, in what was left of the cathedral of Saint Jean.<sup>100</sup>

As Catholics returned to the city, the tolerant attitude that had existed in Lyon before the war started to disappear. Vieilleville had been selected to enforce the edict because he was able to appeal to both sides of the religious divide; although Catholic, he was a well-known moderate. He managed to establish a fragile equilibrium between the Catholics and Protestants, but arguments continued to rage in the council chambers.<sup>101</sup> Those Catholic officials who had left their posts during the coup expected to return to their seats, asserting they had had no choice but to turn their backs on the unlawful Huguenot council. Conversely, the current Huguenot council refused to be removed on the grounds that not only had their initial takeover been legitimate, they had been elected in 1562 to govern alongside the Catholics who, in abandoning the city in needless protest, had forfeited their right to the seats.<sup>102</sup> This impasse led Vieilleville to intervene in the next elections in December 1563, in

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illegitimacy of the 1562/3 council meant that the debts were the personal responsibility of men who had sat on it. The matter was finally resolved in 1571. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

<sup>99</sup> Gascon, p. 492.

<sup>100</sup> Rubys, *Histoire*, p. 400.

<sup>101</sup> For instance he was able to orchestrate the sharing of the council equally between Catholics and Huguenots, Catholic worship had been returned, and the Huguenots had begun construction on their churches within the city. For the contract that established the temple of Paradis on 11 May 1564, see AM Lyon, 3 GG 084, fols 1r-4r.

<sup>102</sup> 19 August 1563: AM Lyon BB83, fols 132r-133v.

which six men from both faiths were nominated.<sup>103</sup> However, the animosity between the councillors was conspicuous, and meetings were beset by refusals to communicate. The fact that the Crown had superseded the ancient election traditions of the city was a bitter pill to swallow. The term was marked by ineffectual government and a sense among locals that it had debased Lyon's reputation as a self-directed city.

By the time Charles arrived in June 1564, the equilibrium was buckling under enormous pressure. The church of Saint Paul, for instance, had decided not to hold a procession at Easter in case it provoked trouble between the faiths.<sup>104</sup> To ensure that no violence took place on the day of the entry, Vieilleville issued an edict on 7 June stating that no residents of the town were to attempt to present themselves to the king and no weapons were to be carried, on punishment of death.<sup>105</sup> However, this was the latest in a series of edicts aimed at disarming the populace, which demonstrates that Vieilleville had repeatedly met with resistance on the matter.<sup>106</sup>

The entry itself was a shadow of the splendour that Lyon had once offered its monarchs. Rubys described it as 'ny sumpteuse en habits, ny ingenieuse en apparat de Theatres & Perspectives'.<sup>107</sup> There is not enough extant evidence to piece together how the programme was assembled, but it is clear from the religious scenes that the influence of Catholic councillors played a leading role. The imagery reflected the

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<sup>103</sup> 28 December 1563: AM Lyon BB83, fols 194r-197r.

<sup>104</sup> Gascon, p. 504.

<sup>105</sup> Anonymous, *Ordonnance de par le Roy et Monseigneur de Vieilleville Mareschal de France Lieutenant pour Sa Maiesté en Lyonnais, Dauphiné, Prouence &c. Par laquelle il est faict commandement aux maistres & compagnons des mestiers de cette ville, de ne faire aucuns aprests ou despence pour le iour de l'entrée de Sa Magesté : à peine de la vie.* (Lyon : Benoist Rigavd, 1564). Reprinted in Valois, *Entrée de Charles IX à Lyon*, pp. 51-3.

<sup>106</sup> 'Il faisoit souvent reiterer et publier par les villes l'edit et deffence de ne porter pistolles ni harquebuses, pour eviter aux assassinements et murtres qui se faisoent entre les hommes de divers party. [The edict that prohibited the carrying of pistols and harquebuses was often reiterated and republished in the towns, to avoid [further] assassinations and murders, which were perpetrated by men of the opposing faiths.]' Haton, vol. 2, p. 16.

<sup>107</sup> '[N]either sumptuous in costume, nor ingenious in the pomp of its drama and vision.' Rubys, *Histoire*, p. 402.

reality that the two factions in the city had not been reconciled, and arguably that the peace Charles saw was little more than a façade. Vieilleville had driven the legislation through, rather than the council, and prominent Catholics had no intention of keeping the Edict of Amboise indefinitely.

This became clear after Charles had departed from Lyon. During his stay, he had declared who would take over the council in 1565: eight were Catholic and four were Protestant.<sup>108</sup> The balance that had been scarcely maintained by the bipartisan council in 1563 and 1564 was then lost. Undoubtedly, the Catholic councillors took their numerical advantage over the Huguenots as authorization from the king to recover control of the city. The situation was further aggravated by Vieilleville's departure from Lyon. Jean de Losses, a staunch Catholic commander, was installed as the new *lieutenant-général* in August 1564 and immediately showed favour to his co-religionists on the council.<sup>109</sup> René de Birague, who replaced de Losses in August 1565, was even more eager to give Catholics the upper hand. For instance, he persuaded the Catholic councillors to extend their administrative powers outside the confines of the *hôtel-commun* and to create a fund to finance a city watch manned solely by Catholics.<sup>110</sup>

As these city fathers incrementally achieved political dominance, two factors beyond their control aided them in the restoration of Catholic zeal. The first was the devastating effects of the plague in 1564. Guillaume Paradin recorded in his *Mémoires de L'Histoire de Lyon* (1573) that the epidemic was worse than any other that Lyon had experienced.<sup>111</sup> No parish burial records exist to give an idea of the scale, but Richard Gascon has determined from baptismal records that as much as

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<sup>108</sup> Ibid, p. 404.

<sup>109</sup> Gascon, p. 508.

<sup>110</sup> Watson, 'Lyon City Council', p. 231.

<sup>111</sup> 'En ce temps la mortalité fut si extreme... qu'il n'est mémoire, ny par Histoires, ny de souvenirs des vivans, en avoir veu une plus cruelle.' Paradin, *Mémoires*, p. 379.

twenty-five per cent of the population was lost to the pestilence.<sup>112</sup> This occurrence led the populace to question whether they were being subjected to divine judgement. Plague was thought to be one of God's four great punishments, the others being the sword, and famine, and the noisome beast.<sup>113</sup> Indeed, Ambroise Paré, in the *Traicté de la Peste, de la Petite Verolle & Rougeolle* (1568), assigned a whole chapter to its origin as divine. He wrote:

C'est une chose resolue entre les vrais Chrestiens, ausquelz L'ETERNEL a revelé les secretz de sa sapience, que la peste & les autres maladies, qui adviennent ordinairement aux hommes, procedent de la main de Dieu... Dieu par sa Toute-puissance a crée toutes choses hautes, moyennes, & basses, aussi que par sa sagesse il les conserve, modere, encline ou bon luy semble, mesmes souvent change le cours naturel d'icelles selon son bon plaisir... s'il veut punir les hommes à cause de leurs pechez, afin de leur monstrier sa justice, ou les combler de biens, pour leur faire sentir sa bonté paternelle, il change sans difficulté cest ordre quand bon luy semble, & le fait servir à sa volonté, selon qu'il voit estre bon & juste.<sup>114</sup>

Paré's testimony is particularly interesting, as he had seen the epidemic at Lyon while travelling around the kingdom with Charles, to whom he was chief surgeon. Catherine asked him to write the treatise on the nature of plague after it had spread to

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<sup>112</sup> For a table detailing the records of Saint-Croix, see Gascon, p. 496.

<sup>113</sup> These were sent to Israel as punishment for setting up false idols: Ezekiel 14: 12-21. Similarly, the Whore of Babylon was destroyed through plague, famine and fire: Revelation 18: 4-8.

<sup>114</sup> 'It is determined among true Christians – to whom the Lord has revealed the secrets of his wisdom – that the plague and other illnesses that ordinarily happen to men come from the hand of God... God in his omnipotence created all things high, middling and low, and also in his wisdom preserves and curbs them, as he inclines or as seems good to him. He often even changes the natural course of things according to his pleasure... If he wants to punish men for their sins and show them his justice, or to heap good things on them so they feel his fatherly kindness, he changes their course without difficulty when it seems good to him, and makes it serve his will, according to what he sees to be good and just.' Ambroise Paré, *Traicté de la Peste, de la Petite Verolle & Rougeolle : Avec Vne Brefue description de la Lepre*. (Paris: André Wechel, 1568), fols 10r-11r.



other parts of France in 1565 and some of his conclusions will have been based on his eyewitness experience in 1564.<sup>115</sup>

The second factor that stoked Catholic passions in Lyon was the influence of the Jesuits. Edmond Auger S.J., the principal figure of the order in France, had already attempted to build a presence in the city in 1560 by offering to manage the *Collège de la Trinité*, but his proposal was declined. However, he received a warmer welcome following the coup, when he was invited to preach at the reinstatement of the Mass in 1563.<sup>116</sup> From this time, Auger and Antoine Possevin S.J. worked tirelessly to reclaim the Lyonnais for the Church. Both regularly preached in public places on morality and catechism, and printed vast quantities of polemical and devotional texts. For the first time in Lyon, Catholic works outnumbered Protestant works.<sup>117</sup> One of the more remarkable publications was translated reports from missionaries in Asia and the New World, for which Auger secured permission from the papal curia. This was an innovative measure, as it was the first time that news of successful conversions abroad was shared with the wider public.<sup>118</sup> Their services were rewarded when the city council became predominantly Catholic in 1565 and the Jesuits were finally invited to take possession of the *Collège de la Trinité*.<sup>119</sup>

The hatred that had developed during the civil war, combined with the pro-Catholic outlook of many city officials, the plague, and the influence of the Jesuits soon coalesced into a concerted movement toward Catholic revanchism. In 1565, the

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<sup>115</sup> Andrew Cunningham and Ole Peter Grell, *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse: Religion, War, Famine and Death in Reformation Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 281-4; A. Chaussade, 'Ambroise Paré et Charles IX (1561-1574)', *Revue Historique*, Tome 156 (1927), pp. 303-7.

<sup>116</sup> Watson, 'Lyon City Council', p. 234.

<sup>117</sup> From 1563-1569, approximately 50 Protestant books and treatises were published, compared with over 60 Catholic works. Pelletier and Rossiaud, vol. 2, p. 138

<sup>118</sup> Hall, p. 129.

<sup>119</sup> See Georgette de Groër, *Réforme et Contre-Réforme en France: le Collège de la Trinité au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle à Lyon* (Paris: Publisud, 1995); Pierre Guillot, *Les jésuites et la musique: le Collège de la Trinité à Lyon, 1565-1762* (Liège: P. Mardaga, 1991).

Calvinist ministers Pierre Viret and David Chaillet were thrown out of Lyon on the grounds that they were Swiss and therefore had no right of residence. Sectarian violence returned to the streets with fervour, garnering mention in the dispatches of Smith to Leicester and Cecil. One letter read:

There has been in like manner certain murders done at Lyons, of a minister and a gentleman of the religion, upon St Peter's Day last, by the people dancing in the street. There came about that time also to Lyons a barge full of men, women, and children from Geneva, such as have been fugitives in the troubles, in hope of this edict of peace to return into the country. The Vice-Governor, M. De Losses, hearing of their arriving, sent his lieutenant to command the master of the barge to carry them back, but he was not there. They cut the cable and put the vessel to the mercy of the River Rhone. Afterwards they were set on land, and the next day led with armed men through the town and commanded under pain of the whip and death not to tarry.<sup>120</sup>

This confirms that, while the Edict of Amboise had been enforced in the years immediately following the declarations of peace, most Lyonnais Catholics had not been in favour of it and did not intend to adhere to it. Indeed, the Huguenots concerned in the letter above were reported to have complained 'that the edict of pacification is kept in all points against them of the religion, but in none almost for them'.<sup>121</sup> This was set to continue into 1566, when Charles intervened in council elections and once again returned eight Catholics and four Protestants. When the choice of councillors was restored to the city in 1567, the moderate candidates and noble families that had provided handfuls of consuls abstained, no doubt warned off by the incessant sectarian conflict in the chambers. As a result, several ultra-Catholics were elected. The new council proceeded to retract Huguenot liberties and

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<sup>120</sup> Smith to Cecil and Leicester, July 1565. *CSP*, vol. 7, pp. 402-3.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*

threaten the community until Lyon re-emerged as an unmistakably Catholic settlement. In the course of 1567, the decades-old decision to overlook the import and publication of Protestant works for the sake of business was reversed and printing shops were searched for banned material. Huguenots were forbidden to teach and many had their property seized.<sup>122</sup>

The slowly-disintegrating peace of the last four years was finally torn asunder on the night of 27 September when, having heard news of Huguenot armed insurrection in Mâcon and fearing a similar situation in Lyon, the Catholics took up arms and seized the city. Prominent Huguenots suspected of plotting another coup were arrested. Having already destroyed the largest Reformed church of Terreaux in a bout of popular violence earlier that year, the Catholics targeted and razed the next largest churches of Paradis and Fleurs-de-Lys.<sup>123</sup> Further reports detailing the *Surprise de Meaux* convinced the Catholics that the Huguenots were determined to re-enact the events of 1562, which marked the end of religious toleration in Lyon. On 10 October, the poorer members of the Huguenot community were banished from Lyon; the rich were then ordered to leave on 23 December, unless they converted back to the Catholic Church by 31 December. When faced with these measures, the Huguenots had little choice but to flee to more accepting cities such as Geneva, or abandon their faith. By the end of 1567, the once-thriving Huguenot population of Lyon had been almost entirely wiped out.

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<sup>122</sup> Hall, p. 180; 138.

<sup>123</sup> Hartley, p. 97; Rubys, *Histoire*, p. 411.

## **Prescription Against Heretics in Toulouse**

The royal entry in Toulouse addressed the matter of religion in the same way as it had been approached in Lyon. The organizers attempted to blend their partisan sentiments in amongst other more prominent themes, for instance, images celebrating local heritage often contained allusions to the incontestable truth of the Catholic faith and the majesty of the Church. In doing so, they hoped to demonstrate their aversion to the Huguenots and the Edict of Amboise, but also to deny Charles's interpretation of the scenes if he was incensed. Unfortunately, this scheme was not well executed; whereas the Lyon entry shrouded its dislike in an intellectually complex and concentrated sequence, the Toulouse entry referred to religion intermittently and in such a clumsy way that the ceremony could be described as aggressively Catholic.

The tenor of the whole entry was captured in the welcome speech, in which Durand explained that the city had suffered famine, plague and civil war in recent years and insinuated that these torments had been the fault of the Huguenots, whose blasphemy had angered God and culminated in divine punishment.

Sire, la grandeur de noz pechez a tant amassé de l'ire de Dieu que nous nous sommes ressentis de la pesanteur de sa main par diversité de miseres et horribles calamitez comme de famine, peste et guerre civile procedant d'ambition et particulieres fantasies sur le faict de la religion... [par votre conseil] vostre peuple a esté deslivré de ung si horrible et prodigieux laberinthe de malleur où toutes violances, impietez et prophanation des choses saintes estoient exercées, la mer de ce royaulme fluctuante rendue calme et tranquille.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> 'Sire, the magnitude of our sins has so amassed God's ire that we have suffered from the weight of his hand through a diversity of miseries and horrible calamities, such as famine, the plague and civil war, proceeding from ambition and particular religious fantasies... [by your counsel] your people have been delivered from such a horrible and tremendous labyrinth of misfortune, where all violence, impieties and profanations of holy things were exercised. The stormy sea of this kingdom is now rendered calm and tranquil.' AM Toulouse BB274, Chronique 240, p. 368.

Durand was reluctant to identify the Huguenots, instead simply referring to a heretical faction in the city. This approach was maintained throughout the entry, but the viewers would have been in no doubt as to whom he meant. In his supplication, which rounded off the oration, Durand commented:

[A]insi aux citoyens voz très humbles subjectz qui sont la cité vive prosternée à vous piedz... [voyant] son roy le premier et le plus grand de la Chrestienté, vray zelateur de la gloire et pur service de Dieu, de l'observation de la religion catholique et antiquité sacrée, extirpation et aneantissement des heresies et prophanes nouveaultez, et vous presente en toute servitude très humble une constante et assurée voulente de perseverer en l'hobeissance.<sup>125</sup>

He spoke of 'new profane faiths' rather than the historical presence of heresy or recent cases in which individuals and small clusters had expressed heretical ideas.<sup>126</sup>

A clear message emerged from the speech. The Huguenots were seen as a source of evil and the people of Toulouse expected Charles, who was the Most Christian King and thus a chief celebrant and guardian of the Catholic Church, to eradicate them.

Following this provocative speech, it must have seemed wise to assure Charles that the city was profoundly loyal to him. To this end, he was led to his dais to watch the procession of local notables, after which he entered the city and immediately encountered the fantastic triumphal arch dedicated to Monarchy. Having done this, the subject of religion returned to the fore, though it was cloaked in a celebration of

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<sup>125</sup> 'And so to the citizens, your very humble subjects, who are the living city prostrated at your feet... [they see] the King is the first and greatest monarch in Christianity, a true zealot of the glory and pure service of God, of the observation of the ancient and holy Catholic religion, of the extirpation and annihilation of heresies and new profane faiths, and the city presents to you, in all humble servitude, a constant and assured will to persevere in obedience.' Ibid., pp. 368-9.

<sup>126</sup> No doubt the organizers were keen to avoid any allusions to the Albigensian heresy, because it marred Toulouse's image as a loyal and pious city, even though several Catholic polemicists wrote treatises in the 1560s based on the heresy. See Luc Racaut, 'The Polemical Use of the Albigensian Crusade during the French Wars of Religion', *French History*, vol. 13, no. 3 (1999), pp. 261-79.

local heritage. The legend of the Gold of Tolosa – in which the Tectosages had stolen treasures from Delphi and been forced to sink it into the lake in Toulouse to appease the angered gods – had been accorded its own theatre and paraphernalia. This was done to allow the part of the story in which Caepio was rewarded with misfortune when he tried to recover it to function as an allegory. It represented the Crown's recent attempts to reduce Toulouse's privileges, and the *capitouls*' resistance to the attack on their ancient rights and traditions.<sup>127</sup>

Yet this theatre had another function. Viewers were supposed to draw a parallel between the fact that Caepio had been exiled for attacking the sanctity of the treasures, and the fact that iconoclasm and the destruction of ecclesiastical buildings had taken place in Toulouse during the war. The connection was certainly made in the *Annales de la Ville*, in which the scene was described as having been constructed in part as a lesson on the inviolability of Church possessions.

[P]our faire entendre combien les sacrileiges sont detestables, et destourner ceulx qui pourroient avoir affection des choses sacrées ; car si ceulx qui ont prins et volé les choses desdiées aux idoles ont esté si grièvement punis et tourmentez... que doibvent esperer ceulx qui pilleroient les relicques, chasses et ornements sacrez et desdiez pour le divin service, et en reverence des saintz par lesquelz la ville a esté instruite en la religion et par leur intercession preservée de infinis maulx et perilz.<sup>128</sup>

The scene was another call to Charles to punish the Huguenots, this time specifically for their irreverence towards sacramentals, churches and holy houses. It further

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<sup>127</sup> See pp. 135-6.

<sup>128</sup> '[T]o make it known how detestable acts of sacrilege are, and to divert those who might have affection for sacred things; for if those who have taken and stolen things dedicated to idols have been so grievously punished and tormented... so must they expect, those who would pillage relics, sacred ornaments and those dedicated to use in divine service and in reverence to the saints by whom the town was instructed in the religion, and by their intercession preserved from infinite ills and perils.' AM Toulouse BB274, Chronique 240, p. 345.

cautioned the Huguenots who remained in Toulouse and all who harboured blasphemous ideas that the city council would continue to pursue offenders and ensure that misfortune commensurate with that of Caepio befell them.

The theatre was the first of three in a sequence that celebrated the magnificence of the Catholic Church and petitioned for the extirpation of the Huguenots. It was followed by a Doric triumphal arch outside the church of Saint Sernin, inside the arch of which the battles of Charlemagne against the Saxons, the Saracens and the Lombards were painted. An inscription toasted the immense personal piety of Charlemagne and his great deeds on behalf of the Church.

Carolo mag[no]. Imper[atori]. aug[usto]. Galliarum  
Regi iunctissi. Christianæ  
Religionis amplificatori munificentiss.  
Sacrarum ceremoniarum conservatori  
Gravissi. Cives Tollos. Ob nomini Caroli IX  
Gall[iæ]. regis ad se adventum.<sup>129</sup>

Three pedestals rose from the cornice, each bearing a different image. One of the outer pedestals showed the twenty-four monasteries founded or appreciably enhanced across France by Charlemagne, from which Saint Sernin stood out as the most honourable, because it was the principal church of Toulouse. Its named saint, Saturnin, was known as one of the seventy-two disciples of Jesus, as well as the first to spread the Gospel in the city after having travelled to France with Saint Denis. He was eventually martyred for ‘renouncing the pagan gods and revealing the gift of

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<sup>129</sup> ‘To Charlemagne, august Emperor of the Gauls, invincible Christian King, magnificent propagator of religion and great protector of sacred ceremonies, and to Charles IX, King of France, for his recent arrival, from the people of Toulouse.’ Ibid., p. 346.

Christ on the Cross'.<sup>130</sup> He died on the horns of a live bull, after he was condemned to be tied to the beast and savaged in the street for all to see.

Apostles and notable saints were painted on the other outer pedestal, including James the Greater, James the Less, Simon, Jude and Philip, who were five of the Twelve Apostles.<sup>131</sup> Their appearance reflected the fact that Charlemagne had acquired first-class relics of each man and housed them in churches and convents around France. James the Greater was an exception; his body was taken to Compostela after Charlemagne had received a vision from the saint instructing him to do so.<sup>132</sup> The relics of Saint James, who was the first to preach in Spain, transformed the church in Compostela into the second Apostolic See, because he was regarded as the most important of Christ's apostles after Peter. The interment had led to a revival of Catholicism in Spain and so was reputedly instrumental in the fall of Saracen rule.<sup>133</sup>

The final pedestal in the centre consisted of a canvas that featured Saracen and Lombard kings, and a statue of Charlemagne dressed in imperial robes and surrounded by the trappings of his rule. This recalled the painting of the battles of Charlemagne against the Saxons, Saracens and Lombards, seen only moments before in the arch of the triumphal arch, and thus bringing the monument full circle to reveal its intention. Whilst it honoured Charlemagne for his acquisition of the relics, it was primarily a *speculum principis* for Charles, urging him to deal with the present-day heretics as Charlemagne had dealt with those in the eighth century.

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<sup>130</sup> 'Quem negatorem Iovis ac Minervæ, Et crucis Christi bona confitentem...' Saturnin could not have been both a disciple and contemporary of Saint Denis, so this is at least part legend. Ibid., pp. 346-7.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., p. 347.

<sup>132</sup> Ronald N. Walpole, *An Anonymous Old Translation of the Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle: A Critical Edition of the Text Contained in Bibliothèque Nationale MSS fr. 2137 and 17203 and Incorporated by Philippe Mouskés in his Chronique rimée* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Medieval Academy of America, 1979), pp. 39-40.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., pp. 67-9.



The mediæval king's piety was such that he campaigned for decades to place foreign lands not only within his own Empire, but also under the influence and control of the Catholic Church. When Pope Hadrian I entreated him to conquer the Lombards for the sake of Rome in 773, he answered the call, just as his father Pepin had done for Pope Stephen.<sup>134</sup> His abhorrence of the profane precluded him from entertaining the idea of offering war settlements that required less than full submission to the doctrine and practices of the Church. Tales of his travels through Germany and Spain recounted that Charlemagne destroyed all idols he encountered and spared only those Saxons and Saracens who agreed to be baptized, putting the rest to the sword.<sup>135</sup>

The contrast between Charlemagne and Charles IX was an obvious one and potentially a source of reproof. Charles was seen to have abandoned his predecessor's approach in favour of tolerating the Huguenots, even allowing them to build places of worship in his kingdom. It made Charles seem nothing like Charlemagne, the greatest French king who ever lived, and thus implied that if he wanted to be worthy of wearing the same crown, he had to emulate his ancestor. The decision had to be reversed and the Huguenots had to be destroyed for their sacrilege.

This intolerance of the new religion was further exemplified in the third monument in the sequence. A pedestal was painted with row upon row of valleys, each filled with the purest wheat. Surrounding this image were two inscriptions, which read 'Avolent paleæ levis fidei' and 'Purior frumenti massa'. These phrases

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<sup>134</sup> Einhard, *The Life of Charlemagne*, with a foreword by Sidney Painter and translated by Samuel Epes Turner (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1960), p. 28.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., pp. 30-32; Walpole, *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, pp. 41-2.

were taken from the *De præscriptione haereticorum* of Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus, the early Christian apologist.<sup>136</sup>

Born in Carthage *circa* 145 AD, Tertullian converted in 185 AD and wrote prolifically on doctrine and ethics, eventually becoming known as ‘the father of Latin Christianity’.<sup>137</sup> In his treatise championing the apostolicity of the Church, Tertullian argued that one must expect the existence of heresy, because it proceeds from the weakness of mankind. Any individual can waiver in their faith – even great men like David and Solomon – as only God is perfect and free from sin. However, people must be wary of heretics, who will twist the Scriptures to fit their own truths, and in doing so jeopardize the salvation of others. The faithful should not engage with heretics but they may be consoled that God sees into the heart of men, and that ‘every plant, which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up’.<sup>138</sup> Those who succumbed to sin or doubt and did not repent of their fault against God and the Church would be condemned to eternal death and fire, and the true faithful would be made stronger by not having a deceiver in their midst.<sup>139</sup>

The pedestal thus chastized Charles for entering into dialogue with the Huguenots. Their heresy was a danger to Catholics, who might be drawn in by their lies, so Huguenots should have been excluded from society to preserve the purity of the faith. In allowing them to build churches and worship, Charles had effectively

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<sup>136</sup> AM Toulouse BB274, Chronique 240, p. 349. These are extracts from the full passage, which reads: ‘*Avolent quantum volent paleae levis fidei quocumque afflatu tentationum, eo purior massa frumenti in horrea Domini reponetur.* [Let the chaff then of the little faith be blown away by every blast of temptation; and by so much the more will the purer heap of corn be laid upon the floor of the Lord.]’ Joseph Beatty, *Tertullian’s Prescription against hereticks; and the apologeticks of St. Theophilus Bishop of Antioch to Autolycus against the malicious calumniators of the Christian religion, translated from their respective originals, with notes and preliminary dissertations* (Oxford: The Theatre, 1722), p. 16.

<sup>137</sup> Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson and A. Cleveland Coxe (eds), *The Ante-Nicene Fathers: The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325* (New York: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1885, 10 vols), vol. 3, pp. 3-4.

<sup>138</sup> Matthew 15: 13.

<sup>139</sup> Tertullian, *De præscriptione haereticorum*, in Roberts et al, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, pp. 243-4.

rewarded their irreverence when he should have looked to witness or himself enact God's vengeance. After this rather powerful sequence, the atmosphere cooled with a return to less religiously-charged scenes. The procession passed by the arch dedicated to the noble and ancient power of the *capitouls*, and the theatre in honour of Clémence Isaure, the mythical founder of the *Jeux Floraux*.<sup>140</sup>

Charles was then led to look upon a life-like statue of his father Henri II, which was flanked by representations of Religion and Mars atop a triumphal arch. A painting of the two-faced god Janus, who gazed at once toward the earth and toward the sky, appeared nearby. The festival account relates that the image of Janus symbolized how Henri had been a righteous king, who had always been concerned with the justice and administration of his domain, as well as the maintenance of the Catholic faith, knowing that God would judge him for his actions in death.<sup>141</sup> This was adapted from the traditional meaning, in which the god's two faces looked to the past and the future in order to signify that knowledge of the past must be used to ensure that the future will be a time of tranquillity.<sup>142</sup> The accompanying inscription read: 'Henricum pacis bellicae peritia laudat/ Henricum celebrat religionis amor/ Religio teras Henrico undice nacta est/ Henricus coelos religionis ope.'<sup>143</sup> Thus, the late king was lionized for having waged wars to protect and magnify the Catholic Church and for demonstrating great personal piety throughout his lifetime. The monument was a *speculum principis*, created to inculcate Charles with the commitment to Catholicism that his father had had.

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<sup>140</sup> See pp. 136-8.

<sup>141</sup> AM Toulouse BB274, Chronique 240, p. 358.

<sup>142</sup> La Perrière, *Le Theatre des bons engins*, Emblem 1, n.p.

<sup>143</sup> 'Henri is distinguished by his skill in peace and war, his love of religion has rendered him famous, he has won the earth for religion as its defender, and through religion he is raised to the skies.' AM Toulouse BB274, Chronique 240, p. 356.

The religious tone of the arch continued in additional imagery and an engraving above the arch, which read: ‘Procul o Procul esto prophani.’<sup>144</sup> These were the words spoken by the Cumaean Sibyl to Aeneas in Virgil’s *Aeneid* as he prepared to enter the Underworld to commune with his father’s spirit. In the poem, it represented a threshold, over which only the worthy and pious could pass, but had been appropriated into Christian parlance as a declaration that the profane were not granted entrance into sacred places of worship. The *Annales* described its function in the royal ceremony as a vehicle to inform the viewers ‘combien est dangereux prophaner l’escripture et mistere de nostre religion et les commectre indifferemment à toutes personnes’.<sup>145</sup>

A painting beside this quotation showed a king touching an altar with one hand while holding an olive branch in the other, around which was written ‘Pax pietatis opus.’<sup>146</sup> This last image is ambiguous, but becomes clearer when viewed in conjunction with the following arch. What is certain from the present arch, however, is that the statue of Henri surrounded by the *Aeneid* and altar references was intended to encourage Charles to reassess his religious policy. His father, like Charlemagne, was a celebrated French monarch, in large part due to his defence and devotion to the Catholic religion. If Charles hoped to be remembered in the same way, he had to show equal support for the Church and determination to rid France of its heretics.

Having passed this spectacle, Charles encountered an ornate arcade composed of sixteen columns and three archways. In the greatest arch, there was a statue of Charles seated and dressed in royal vestments, on either side of which stood the familiar figures of Justice and Piety. Adjacent to the statue of Justice was a painting

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<sup>144</sup> ‘Away from here, be gone, you who are uninitiated.’ The phrase should read ‘*Procul, o procul este profani*’. Virgil, *Aeneid*, 6.258.

<sup>145</sup> ‘How dangerous it is to profane the Scriptures and mystery of our religion, and to perpetrate them indifferently to all people.’ AM Toulouse BB274, Chronique 240, p. 357.

<sup>146</sup> ‘Peace is open to piety.’ Ibid., p. 358.

of the Emperor Trajan (r. 98-117 AD) handing a sword to the consul Sura, his most trusted advisor. This image represented the story that Trajan was so consumed by the desire to uphold justice that he gave Sura the unsheathed blade and had him promise to wield it for him if he governed well and against him if he ruled without virtue.<sup>147</sup>

The painting next to the statue of Religion showed Constantine I (r. 306-337 AD), the first Roman Emperor to convert to Christianity.<sup>148</sup> Above the Emperor was an altar made of a single stone, rough and bare, and the words: ‘Non edificabis altare de sectis lapidibus.’<sup>149</sup> This was a paraphrase of God’s instruction to Moses in Exodus 20 that any altar consecrated to Him was to be unaltered by tool or hand, and those worshippers who deviated from this caused their altars to become polluted.

The arch in this arcade was essentially an extension of the preceding arch, in which the statue of Henri II was replaced with Charles IX. It too called for the king to show his commitment to the Catholic faith. The altar and attendant quotation from Exodus represented the idea that anyone who strayed from the prescribed worship of the Lord made themselves impure. Indeed, the *Annales de la Ville* implied that the specifications for the altar were designed to prevent divisions in the faith arising from minor variations in the ways that the Israelites worshipped, as the decree was given among many other commandments that structured and unified them in their religion. This is evident from the observation that ‘Dieu [l’]avoit commandé en l’Exode XX<sup>e</sup> cap., prohibant par là division, heresie, scisme des fidelles en l’Eglise

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<sup>147</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 68.16.1; Smith, *Greek and Roman Biography*, vol. 3, pp. 1166-9.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., pp. 831-7. Smith notes, however, that the question of Constantine’s Christianity has been subject to much ancient and modern controversy.

<sup>149</sup> ‘Do not build an altar of hewn stone.’ The full passage should read: ‘*Quod si altare lapideum feceris mihi, non aedificabis illud de sectis lapidibus, si enim levaveris cultum super eo, polluetur.* [And if thou wilt make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stone: for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it.]’ Exodus 20: 25.

signifié par l'autel en plusieurs lieux de l'écriture.'<sup>150</sup> The suggestion was therefore that, having deviated in both faith and practical worship from the Catholic Church, the Huguenots were sinners in the eyes of God and the true believers. This goes a considerable way toward clarifying the intention of the earlier, ambiguous altar. It represented the Catholic religion, while the olive branch obviously evoked Peace. The monarch, touching both with his hands, sought his people to be united in the one Church now that the civil war was over.

The climax to this religious theme came moments later outside the church of Saint Barthelemy, where two pedestals bore women representing Victory and Peace, the latter of which was partnered by an old woman representing Discord. The old woman has been discussed at length elsewhere in this work, but her appearance and denunciation of conflict is important.<sup>151</sup> When considered in conjunction with the preceding architecture that celebrated the Catholic faith and denounced heresy, the old woman articulated the idea that most Toulousains longed for the restoration of peace in their communities and that the removal of the Huguenots would provide this. The scene capped a crudely constructed theme that stretched throughout the entry, in which – despite failing to mention once the Huguenots by name – the city was seen to oppose the religious toleration required by the Edict of Amboise.

### **A Catholic Island in a Protestant Sea**

For centuries, Toulouse had styled itself as a centre for Catholic orthodoxy. The Albigenian heresy of 1209-1229 had come to be regarded as a source of great

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<sup>150</sup> 'God had commanded this in Exodus Chapter 20, prohibiting through this the division, heresy and schism of the faithful in the Church, signified by the altar in several places in the Scriptures.' AM Toulouse BB274, Chronique 240, p. 359.

<sup>151</sup> See p. 155.

embarrassment, which tarnished the city's desired reputation as faithful to both the Church and the Crown. Whenever it was mentioned in official documents, which was seldom, the tone was one of odium and present-day Toulouse was distanced from its past. Moreover, the city had become a seat of the Inquisition in Languedoc on the order of Pope Gregory IX in direct response to the heresy in 1233.<sup>152</sup> This constant, ever-watchful presence ensured that heterodoxy was rooted out and punished as swiftly as possible.

However, by 1562, Toulouse had a considerable Protestant population, as did much of the south after several exiled Huguenots returned from training in Geneva to evangelize their compatriots in the late 1550s.<sup>153</sup> The exact size of the community is unknown: the parlement estimated that there were 4000 Protestants and sympathizers in the summer of 1561, but in a letter to Geneva in February 1562 a local pastor claimed that the city was in desperate need of more clergymen to administer to the congregation of over 8000.<sup>154</sup> The community was still in the minority, but the Huguenot Church had become bold enough to establish a consistory and to perform its own baptisms, marriages and funerals.<sup>155</sup>

As numbers rose, the city council and administrative offices were increasingly filled by converts and moderates; in 1561, the majority of *capitouls* were known or suspected Huguenots. Religious offences committed in the city swelled, forcing the creation of a temporary *chamber extraordinaire* to prosecute offenders until the surfeit had been reduced to a more manageable state.<sup>156</sup> These developments were observed with great consternation by the Catholic city fathers. The parlement was

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<sup>152</sup> Raymond A. Mentzer, 'Heresy Proceedings in Languedoc, 1500-1560', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 74, no. 5 (1984), p. 15.

<sup>153</sup> Nicolas Folion was sent to Toulouse in July 1559: Kingdon, *Geneva*, p. 36. Janine Garrisson-Estèbe, *Protestants du Midi, 1559-1598* (Toulouse: Privat, 1980), pp. 83; 123-53.

<sup>154</sup> Devic and Vaissete, vol. 11, p. 351; Greengrass, 'War, Politics and Religion', p. 77.

<sup>155</sup> Mark Greengrass, 'The Anatomy of a Religious Riot in Toulouse in May 1562', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 34, no. 3 (1983), p. 372.

<sup>156</sup> Gould, *Catholic Activism*, p. 111.

particularly determined to stifle Reformed influence in the *capitoulat* and the *sénéchaussée* and *viguerie* offered to work more closely with Catholic magistrates to ensure that the city was policed and secured against Protestant influence and attacks. The *présidiaux*, on the other hand, were dominated by moderates who meant to deal with criminal cases fairly, which angered ultra-Catholics.<sup>157</sup>

Religious tension was not confined to the political and legal chambers of the city. Incidents of violence multiplied from 1560 onwards, reaching a climax in Lent 1562. A man was stoned to death by a Catholic mob because they had heard him singing psalms by the river, and a Jacobin preacher was murdered during a sermon in Saint Sernin when a merchant in the congregation accused him of espousing heresy.<sup>158</sup> The most spectacular instance occurred when a Huguenot endeavoured to bury his wife according to the funeral rites of the new faith, but her parents objected on the grounds that she had supposedly died a Catholic. They entreated the parish priests of Saint Michel to inter her body in a Catholic cemetery, so the men tried to seize the body from the Huguenot funeral procession. When they were resisted by the mourners, the priests sounded the tocsin and the first to respond to the alarm were Catholics who had been holding a procession nearby to celebrate the Feast of Saint Salvador. Fighting broke out between the two sides, spilling from the quartier Saint Michel into Saint Étienne, and Huguenot properties were ransacked. As scores died in the streets, many Huguenots barricaded themselves in the *hôtel de ville*, only to be fired upon by arquebusiers who had been engaged by the *capitouls* to restore order. It was not until the following day that a truce was declared.<sup>159</sup>

Several years of increasing sectarianism came to a head in May 1562, when it was rumoured that the *capitou* Pierre Hunault, sieur de Lanta, had left the city to

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<sup>157</sup> Ibid.

<sup>158</sup> Schneider, *Public Life in Toulouse*, p. 93.

<sup>159</sup> Devic and Vaissete, vol. 11, pp. 381-2; Greengrass, 'Riot', pp. 373-4.



visit the prince de Condé to discuss how the city might be taken by the Huguenots. This news reached Monluc, then lieutenant-governor of Guyenne, who promptly wrote to the parlement to warn that they should prepare for an uprising. The parlement gathered a company of two hundred *hommes de guerre* to protect the city and sent letters to Monluc and Joyeuse, whose forces were in the vicinity, to ask for their assistance. On hearing that their plot had been uncovered, the Huguenots decided they had little choice but to bring the insurrection forward by a week.

Protestant militia were let into the city under cover of darkness on 12 May, and proceeded to take the *hôtel de ville* and three university colleges. Barricades were erected in preparation for the street fighting that erupted the next morning. Although the Huguenot campaign started well, due to the number of arms they had smuggled into the city and seized from the town hall, their advantage was short-lived.<sup>160</sup> The parlement, realizing the scale of the unfolding conflict, declared that the eight *capitouls* had colluded with the Huguenots and removed them from office. The men appointed to take their place were all staunch Catholics. Weapons were distributed by the parlement among those Catholics who had taken to the streets, and outside military relief slowly surrounded the city.<sup>161</sup>

Bloodshed within the city walls was high. Repeated attempts by the Huguenots to capture the cathedral were foiled by Catholic forces, with heavy losses on both sides. When it was discovered that the rebels were conducting part of their campaign from the Roman sewer at the Pont Vieux, huge volumes of water were sent through the tunnels to drown them and many were thrown from the bridge into the river.<sup>162</sup> Over two hundred homes in the largely Huguenot quartier Saint Georges were destroyed when the parlement allowed arsonists to set fire to it to flush out the

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<sup>160</sup> Ibid., p. 378.

<sup>161</sup> Devic and Vaissete, vol. 11, pp. 386-7.

<sup>162</sup> Greengrass, 'Riot', p. 379.

occupants. Several Catholic bands stalked the city looking to pillage Huguenot properties and murder those inside, which prompted Catholic residents to mark their clothes and houses with white crosses to ensure that they would not be mistaken for the enemy.

The death toll was coupled with mass destruction of the cityscape. Pillaging and the fire accounted for most of the damage, but the Huguenots wreaked havoc that was viewed as more heinous. Churches and convents were reduced to empty shells through sustained cannon fire and iconoclasm. The bell towers of the Augustins, the Cordeliers and the Jacobins were especially targeted with mortars, while the churches of Saint Georges and Saint Sernin were gutted. Crucifixes were cut down and set alight, and statues of the Madonna had their heads snapped off.<sup>163</sup> As if this profanation had not been enough, there was widespread defilement of the sacrament and sacramentals, for instance, a woman filled the font in the Église du Taur with human waste.<sup>164</sup>

Fighting lasted until 16 May, by which time Catholic soldiers had entered Toulouse and the hope of receiving Huguenot reinforcements had faded. Realising that they could not possibly win, the Huguenots agreed to negotiate a ceasefire. The terms of the truce stated that the community had to gather their belongings and leave the city within twenty-four hours and safe passage would be accorded. As they left in their hundreds the following morning, the hatred that the Catholics bore them proved too strong and a tocsin was sounded. Catholics came from across Toulouse to slaughter the Huguenots, killing more than had died in the conflict. It was heard up to ten miles from the gate, so those Huguenots that had survived the first cull found themselves ambushed on country roads by Catholics from the surrounding villages.

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<sup>163</sup> AM Toulouse BB274, Chronique 240, p. 332.

<sup>164</sup> Greengrass, 'Riot', p. 384.

The Reformed community was decimated, as they made up the lion's share of the four thousand killed in the attempted coup and its aftermath.<sup>165</sup>

The Huguenot community never recovered from the events of May 1562. Control of the chambers passed to the parlement, effectively placing the administration of Toulouse at the mercy of a body composed of ultra-Catholics.<sup>166</sup> They immediately mounted a campaign both to exile members of the Reformed church and to eradicate their influence within the city. An *arrêt* was issued, stating that all those who had aided the rebels or joined the consistory were guilty of *lèse-majesté*, and members of the public were obligated to report them to the authorities. Hundreds more were then executed. Administrative offices were purged of those who were suspected of having Protestant sympathies.<sup>167</sup> Monluc, who arrived the day after the truce, forced all foreigners to leave the city and burned the church that the Huguenots had constructed. As a lasting measure, the parlement decreed that the sentences handed down to the eight disgraced *capitouls* – who were either condemned in absentia or banished from Toulouse – should be read out each year on 17 May to remind inhabitants of what would happen to those who flirted with Protestantism.<sup>168</sup>

From the immediate aftermath of the coup to the arrival of the court in February 1565, anti-Huguenot legislation and attitudes prevailed. In August 1562, another *arrêt* was issued, which announced that the belongings of all those who had taken part in the rebellions in Languedoc were to be confiscated and those who had levied

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<sup>165</sup> Devic and Vaissete, vol. 11, p. 392.

<sup>166</sup> It was this transfer of power that enabled the *parlement*, for example, to fund military intervention and pass anti-Huguenot legislation. Greengrass, 'War, Politics and Religion', p. 89.

<sup>167</sup> In 1562, 22 officials in the *parlement*, seven in the *présidial*, two *trésoriers* and one *sénéchal* were removed from their posts. Ibid., p. 80.

<sup>168</sup> Gould, p. 122.

Protestant troops and pillaged churches were to be executed.<sup>169</sup> When the amnesty for religious prisoners was declared, the parlement petitioned Charles for Toulouse to be made exempt, but the king rejected it and called for the cells to be opened.

The partisan behaviour of the *capitouls* and parlement officials was in part a response to the damage that the Huguenots had caused, and the debts the city had incurred through employing military forces and ordering the destruction of parts of the city to root out their enemies in May 1562. When the borrowing was finally measured, the council reported that more than 160 000 *livres* had been taken from the coffers, and more than 40 000 *livres* was owed to the king.<sup>170</sup> The churches and convents had been so denuded of their treasures that they would later be offered the triumphal arches that had been created for Charles's entry, in order to restore partially the grandeur they had possessed prior to the war.<sup>171</sup> It was, however, repugnance for the false doctrine and diabolical nature of the Reformed faith that sealed the Huguenots' fate. In a manuscript entitled *Second Livre de l'Histoire* (1562), the unnamed author captured the opinion of many Catholics who had witnessed and engaged in the unfolding horror of the first war of religion. He wrote that the Huguenots' actions were against the honour of God and His Church, and they placed the rest of France in great spiritual peril. Moreover, they had shown how pernicious they could be by threatening the security of the country with their sedition.<sup>172</sup>

When the Edict of Amboise was declared, Charles appointed Henri de Montmorency-Damville to enforce it in Languedoc. This news was received poorly by Huguenots, who predicted that Damville's Catholicism would lead him to

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<sup>169</sup> Devic and Vaissette, vol. 11, p. 396.

<sup>170</sup> AM Toulouse BB274, Chronique 240, p. 331.

<sup>171</sup> AM Toulouse BB274, Chronique 241, p. 377.

<sup>172</sup> Anonymous, *Second Livre De L'Histoire de Toulouse* (1562) : '[C]ontre l'honneur de Dieu & son eglise catholique, un grand peril & danger de fouler & perdre le pays, de faire change du bien au mal.' Reprinted in Devic and Vaissette, vol. 12, pp. 601-3.

continue their persecution. However, he followed the regulations laid out in the edict as exactly as possible, placing loyalty to his king above personal opinion.<sup>173</sup> The obstructive force was the parlement. It agreed to ratify the edict, but added clauses stating that it would be upheld only while the king tried to restore peace and that the Reformed faith was not permitted in Toulouse or within a four league radius. It then refused to have the edict published and displayed in public on the grounds that it would provoke a violent reaction from the Catholics who saw it.<sup>174</sup> The amnesty given to those who had been removed from their office on religious grounds was circumvented with the order that they had to swear an oath to uphold the Catholic faith before resuming their positions.<sup>175</sup>

Charles was fully aware of the anti-Huguenot sentiment in the city, which crystallized as preparations for his royal entry grew apace. He informed Damville in a letter in January 1565 that the Protestants would be allowed to present their concerns to him, even though the Catholics had requested that they be denied the opportunity to do so. Having not required the city to disarm for his visit, Charles emphasized that the *capitouls* were responsible for public order and would be punished severely if any violence occurred.<sup>176</sup> In the end, the entry was performed without incident. However, the imagery that it contained would have seemed obviously antagonistic to Charles in the context of recent events in Toulouse and the poor response to his demand for toleration. Following the ceremony, he openly chastized the parlement in his *lit de justice* for their disobedience in refusing to register the edict without modifications and declining to enforce it:

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<sup>173</sup> For example, the Catholic city fathers had created a militant association in early March 1563 in the hope that it would prompt the reclamation of the city for Catholicism. As soon as Damville arrived in Toulouse to enforce the edict, he dissolved the association. Gould, pp. 128-9.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid., p. 129.

<sup>175</sup> Devic and Vaissete, vol. 11, p. 440.

<sup>176</sup> AM Toulouse BB274, Chronique 240, p. 336.

[J]e vous ay bien voulu visiter pour vous faire entendre ma volonté, qui est; Que vous gardiez, & faisiez garder & entretenir mes Edicts, & obeyssiez à mes commandemens, sans y faire faute: Et encore que comme mes bons & loyaux sujets, vous m'ayez gardé ma ville, pource vous ne devez estre moins obeyssans, & diligens à observer le contenu en mes Ordonnances & Mandemens; Ce qui e vous recommande tres-expressément de faire, sans y contrevenir aucunement: Aussi que vous administriez bien & deuëment le Justice à mes sujets.<sup>177</sup>

Unsurprisingly, this domination of Catholic spirit and disregard for the edict continued after the court's departure. In May 1565, the cardinal d'Armagnac, archbishop of Toulouse, with the cooperation of the *capitouls*, ordered that the inhabitants show as much devotion as possible to alleviate the drought that threatened to bring famine to the city. As well as offering prayers, sermons and processions to this end, they were to seek the diminution in number of those who were errant from the Church for the sake of its unity.<sup>178</sup> The *capitouls* and parlement remained vigilant against the establishment and practice of the Reformed faith on the grounds that 'quia concordia parve res crescunt, discordia maxime dilabuntur', and in May 1566, they discovered burgeoning communities in towns surrounding Toulouse. Their response was to inform Charles, Catherine and all nearby military commanders of the development, to move all the municipal arms to three secret locations in the city, to eject non-natives and to increase the city guard.<sup>179</sup> In July, the *capitouls* accorded

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<sup>177</sup> 'I have well wanted to visit you, in order to have you hear my will, which is: That you will guard, and make to guard, and uphold my Edicts and you will obey my commands, without fault. And although as my good and loyal subjects you have guarded my city, because you must not be less obedient, and diligent to observe the content of my ordinances and commandments, this is what I expressly recommend that you do, without any contravention. Also, that you will properly and duly administer Justice to my subjects.' Godefroy, *Le Ceremonial François*, vol. 2, p. 580.

<sup>178</sup> '[P]rieres, oraisons et processions pour... [l']estat de l'Eglise catholique romayne, reduction des desvoyez à l'union d'icelle.' AM Toulouse BB274, Chronique 241, p. 378.

<sup>179</sup> The original passage is 'nam concordia parvae res crescunt, discordia maximae dilabuntur [concord will make small things flourish, discord will make great things decay]', from Seneca, *Moral Letters to Lucilius*, 94.46. AM Toulouse BB274, Chronique 242, p. 390.

lodgings to the Jesuit order, which had just arrived in Toulouse, so that its ministers could remain indefinitely to preach the Catholic faith.<sup>180</sup> These measures to reduce the size and impact of the Huguenot community persisted up to the outbreak of the second civil war and beyond. Sales of Huguenot property over the period show that, by the early 1570s, there was little trace of the faithful left.<sup>181</sup>

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In conclusion, these three royal entries and the circumstances that surrounded their performance are revealing not only in terms of how the Edict of Amboise was received in each city, but also in terms of its reception on a national scale. In Troyes, two allusions to the edict were presented, only one of which seemed to imply that the new measures were a source of dissatisfaction. However, continued violence against the Huguenots and legislation that excluded them from office and attempted to prohibit their assemblies underlined the fact that many Troyen Catholics, in particular the governor and those in the city council, did not want to see the edict come to fruition.

The entry in Lyon cleverly veiled how the edict had been received in imagery that called on Charles to fulfil his sacred duty to administer justice. Yet the king would have detected the hidden message that condemned the Huguenots for their destruction of ecclesiastical property and the acquisition of debt during the war. Although Vieilleville managed to strike a balance between the two faiths when he was dispatched to enforce the edict – notably in the shared council and the provision of both Catholic and Protestant worship – the Catholics in particular were not willing

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<sup>180</sup> Ibid., p. 392.

<sup>181</sup> See tables 1 and 2: Joan Davies, 'Persecution and Protestantism: Toulouse, 1562-1575', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 11 (1979), p. 36.

to tolerate the Huguenots indefinitely. This stance was borne out by the fact that, as soon as the Catholics achieved a majority on the council and Vieilleville departed, the Huguenots' rights were increasingly rescinded and violence crept back into Lyon.

Toulouse was distinguished from the other two cities in that its entry barely disguised the hatred that local Catholics felt for the new faith. The Huguenots were never named, but the uncompromisingly Catholic imagery made it clear that no heretical group, nor any edict that supported their existence, was welcome in the city. This entry programme would not have surprised Charles, who was well aware that the orthodox Parlement of Toulouse had taken control of the civic offices and pursued a Catholic agenda. Even after the king rebuked local officials for their refusal to enforce the edict and warned them to show obedience, they continued to target the Huguenots with a view to either inspiring conversion or forcing exile.

From these cities, several patterns emerge that can be applied to the national picture. Principal among these is the fact that toleration was not readily accepted anywhere. Even in cases of prompt ratification, the legislation was usually passed with qualifying clauses, or ignored afterwards in favour of pursuing the local agenda. The onus was then on the commissioners and newly appointed governors sent out by the Crown to bring the edict into force in conjunction with local authorities.

This response was prompted initially by immense animosity for the edict. Huguenots hated it because it curbed and even reversed their triumphs from the civil war, for instance, the Lyonnais were obliged to give up their right to worship throughout their hard-won Protestant haven and be content with a handful of churches in the city centre and outskirts. This further embittered a community already incredulous at having to live among Catholics who refused to convert and continued to worship God through erroneous practices, both actions which Huguenots believed



made them wilfully sinful. Most Catholics despised the edict because it represented a new and unwanted future for France, in which two religions were expected to co-exist. This would have an untold impact on societal structures, as well as endangering the lives of Catholics who would have to endure the plagues that God sent to extirpate the heresy rooted in the country. The endemic violence that persisted after the peace had been declared was proof that there was a profound division between the two faiths.

Inclination to adhere to the edict was further reduced in places where the Reformed had attempted to overthrow the elected government. Known and suspected Huguenots were purged from their offices immediately after the coups in Troyes and Toulouse, while the legitimacy of the wartime Huguenot *conseillers* in Lyon was debated for years. Those who had seized power were seen to have betrayed their city and its ancient, inviolable traditions. For this attack, they forfeited their right to belong to the community. The offence was even greater if the usurpers had allowed the appropriation of private property and the destruction of places of worship.

These attitudes proved to be insurmountable when coupled with a further obstacle, which was the complex nature of government in sixteenth-century France. Across the three cities, myriad forces were at work in trying to enforce and derail the Edict of Amboise. While the duc de Nevers strove to bring moderation to the government of Troyes, the duc d'Aumale and the *échevins* undermined him in their partisan legislation and their indifference to religious violence when directed at the Huguenots. Vieilleville effectively ruled Lyon when the *conseillers* on the shared council refused to work with each other, but his inroads to toleration were obliterated after he was replaced with Jean de Losses and Catholics took over the council. The Parlement of Toulouse placed its creatures in the administrative offices and

relentlessly chipped away at the rights and spirits of the Reformed community, proving too great a match for Damville, who was unexpectedly moderate in his implementation of the edict.

There was no consensus between the different authorities on how to approach the edict, even though this was essential. Jurisdictions of local authorities usually overlapped, which could result in contradictory orders being issued to the public and hostility arising between officials who believed it was their right to make the decision. This was particularly likely to happen when one party supported the edict and the other did not. Without uniformity, the public became confused about what the authorities hoped to achieve and often continued in their small-scale conflicts against one another, believing that they would escape punishment. More importantly, any progress towards establishing toleration could then be undone by an opposing party.

This to-and-fro between authorities unquestionably exacerbated the difficulty in imposing the edict. Although it was an intricate process, the longer it took the more unlikely it became that it would succeed. The suspension of civil war did not automatically mean the suspension of enmity between the faiths. While the commissioners and governors struggled to restore equilibrium in cities – in terms of restoring property, providing compensation, and ensuring personal safety – the hatred occasioned by these problems continued to fester and grow. In July 1564, it seemed as though there was still hope that the peace could be sustained, as noted by Smith in a letter to Elizabeth: ‘The edict of religion is rather confirmed than (as the Papists looked for) broken, and by that reason France is in repose, except for the plague and dearth of things.’<sup>182</sup> However, the enforcement was too slow, and the added pressure of natural disasters brought the people to breaking point. What optimism had existed

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<sup>182</sup> Smith to Elizabeth I, 15 July 1564. *CSP*, vol. 6, p. 178.

in the year or so after the edict's declaration was gnawed away by time and continued troubles. In October 1564, Smith reported that the edict had failed: 'The Chancellor sustains the Huguenots. They carry the King about this country now mostly to see the ruins of the churches and religious houses done by the Huguenots in this last war.'<sup>183</sup>

This shift in attitude may explain why the entry in Toulouse in February 1565 was so much more forthcoming in its condemnation of the edict than other cities. Perhaps if the governors and commissioners had found less local obstruction or Catholic defiance of the edict (whether in an individual or official capacity) had been liable to more severe punishment, city inhabitants would have eventually recognized that they had no choice but to conform to the evident wishes of the Crown. However, Condé presciently reflected on the chances of the edict's success in a letter to Elizabeth shortly after it was declared, suggesting that the question of religion could be settled only 'if the malice of men does not oppose it'.<sup>184</sup> In the end, the malice of many men – both great and small – opposed it and France returned to a state of war.

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<sup>183</sup> Smith to Cecil, 21 October 1564. *Ibid.*, p. 227.

<sup>184</sup> Condé to Elizabeth I, 17 March 1563. *Ibid.*, pp. 207-8.

## Conclusion

In May 1566, the two-year progress of Charles and Catherine came to an end. According to Jouan, they had travelled 902 leagues – although the real figure is probably higher – and had entered into 108 cities and towns.<sup>1</sup> Throughout the period, Charles and Catherine had written innumerable letters to and met with officials across the kingdom to coordinate the peace, as well as holding several *lits de justice* to discuss the enforcement of the Edict of Amboise.<sup>2</sup> They had worked tirelessly to embed conciliation in the hearts and minds of their subjects.

Yet events outside of their control conspired to return France to a state of civil war. Unrest in the Netherlands in the autumn of 1566 prompted Philip II to send an army to restore order, which was led by the duke of Alva along the eastern border of France. This caused panic among the Huguenots; Spanish presence seemed to confirm the rumours that an agreement to annihilate the Reformed church had been made at Bayonne the previous year. In response to this ‘threat’, leading Huguenots devised a plot to capture the king on the grounds that this would remove him from the influence of his Catholic-dominated council. The *Surprise de Meaux* was carried out in September 1567 and ended in failure, but simultaneous uprisings did place several important cities, such as Nîmes and Montpellier, under Huguenot control. Royal forces were mustered to counter this and France was plunged once more into open conflict.

The successes of the *interbellum* were soon undone. As both sides of the religious divide took up arms, efforts to implement the edict were abandoned. The Peace of Longjumeau, issued at the conclusion of the second war in March 1568,

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<sup>1</sup> Jouan, fol. 79r.

<sup>2</sup> Charles met with the Parlements of Dijon (22 May 1564), Aix-en-Provence (19 October 1564), Toulouse (1 February 1565) and Bordeaux (12 April 1565). Ibid., fols 14v; 22v; 35v; 40r.

renewed the order for peace and toleration contained in the Edict of Amboise. However, it brought little respite from the chronic local violence, of which Huguenot nobles were a particular target. Machinations from both Catholic and Huguenot leaders – namely the cardinal de Lorraine, the prince de Condé and the admiral de Coligny – further exacerbated tensions over the continuing turmoil in the Netherlands. Chances of conciliation dwindled in the months after Longjumeau, and in September 1568 the Edict of Saint Maur was issued, which revoked all existing edicts of pacification.

Trouble in the Netherlands was no doubt pivotal to the renewal of the religious wars in France, which raises the question of whether the Edict of Amboise could have succeeded had not this external influence derailed its implementation. Perhaps if the fragile peace had lasted another year, the Crown could have made greater advancements and history would have been different. Yet it is clear that intent to resist the edict was in place throughout the tour. The royal entries created and performed in the *interbellum* reveal there were several factors that impeded the Crown's efforts and looked set to prevent the edict from being fully realized.

The primary issue was that neither of the faiths wished to see it succeed. Most Huguenots objected to the edict because it fell short of granting them the rights they believed they deserved; in some cities, such as Lyon, it was doubly decried as it annulled the freedom of worship and political control that the Reformed church had possessed during the war. To most Catholics, the edict represented an order to tolerate heresy, which was unconscionable given the Church's stance that all transgressors should be punished. Moreover, it placed communities in physical and spiritual jeopardy; God was likely to express His wrath in the form of natural

disasters and the false religion might lead some of the faithful astray, which would deny them their salvation.

Of the two faiths, the Huguenots were more inclined to support it, which is evident in their tireless petitions for the construction of churches and restoration of status and property. Moderate Catholics too argued that communities should adhere to the edict, whether from the point of view that it was a temporary measure; that it was the prerogative of the king to decide on the religious question; or, that freedom of conscience was an indisputable right. However, both of these parties were in the minority, as popular opinion tended towards a Catholic settlement. Imagery from the royal entries tends to suggest that the edict did not have substantial public support to see it through. In Lyon, scenes of brutal justice urged Charles to punish the Huguenots for their heresy and wartime destruction, while in Toulouse the welcome oration celebrated the king's 'observation de la religion catholique et antiquité sacrée, extirpation et anéantissement des heresies et prophanes nouveaultez'.<sup>3</sup>

Although in both cases the Huguenots were not explicitly identified, there were occasions during the tour when animosity toward the edict and the Reformed church was unmistakable. De Thou recorded that, at the assembly of the Estates of Bourgogne in 1564, Jean Bégat, a *conseilleur* in the Parlement of Dijon, was elected to address Charles on the subject of the Huguenots' freedom to public worship. In his harangue, Bégat listed several reasons why the people should not suffer two religions in the kingdom, and concluded that toleration was both injurious to God and contrary to civil harmony. His sentiments were so incendiary that Charles ordered they be refuted in writing and displayed to the public.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> See p. 233.

<sup>4</sup> De Thou, vol. 3, p. 502.

Bégat's speech reflected another obstacle that the Crown had to overcome in its attempts to enforce the edit. He spoke as a representative of both the local populace and his fellow officials in the Estates. He showed that hatred of the edict was not confined to ordinary citizens who manifested it in verbal denouncements and opportunistic violence, but that it was also to be found among those in power, who were in a position to hinder its enforcement. City councils and governors often did their best to undermine any progress that the Crown made. For example, the duc de Nevers endeavoured to induce political moderation in the Troyen authorities following the failed coup. However, the *échevins* and the duc d'Aumale introduced legislation to the disadvantage of the Huguenots and turned a blind eye to the religious violence that they suffered. This scenario played out across the kingdom, including Lyon and Toulouse, where local authorities reversed plans for toleration or pushed to rebalance shared councils in favour of the Catholics.

The complex nature of the political structures allowed this to happen, as the jurisdictions of separate agents of the Crown were vaguely defined. Catherine recognized that this had been a problem with the Edict of Amboise and sought to correct it in the Peace of Longjumeau. The only significant difference between the two was that the latter edict had to be sent directly to the governors for publication, rather than to the parlements for registration. Courts were ordered to ratify the edict as soon as it was received and to follow the implementation procedure laid down by the governor.<sup>5</sup> It was hoped that this would curb the obstructionism and confusion that had plagued the Edict of Amboise.

Yet uncertainty with regard to the edict was not exclusively generated by the actions of local authorities. The often sterling work of the edict commissioners,

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<sup>5</sup> Holt, *French Wars of Religion*, p. 65.

whose mission it was to present themselves as neutral parties and fashion agreements for peaceful co-existence between the two faiths, was undermined by Charles's overt demonstrations of Catholicism. Throughout the tour, the king and his court attended Mass, marched in religious processions and gave names to children in public baptisms. This behaviour may have seemed in keeping with the spirit of the edict, in that Charles and Catherine had designed it to hold the two sides in reconciliation while the Huguenots were persuaded to return to the Catholic Church. However, it clouded the true intentions of the Crown in pursuing its enforcement, and the endeavours of the commissioners appeared as disingenuous and a cause for suspicion. This muddled the waters entirely: the mixed messages allowed those who did not wish to accept the edict to reason that they would not be punished for their actions (or indeed inaction), because the king would have tacitly approved of their Catholic agenda.

Revocations of legislation that promoted toleration, as well as deliberate inertia, exacerbated the problems that already existed. There was some expectation at the outset that Charles and Catherine would succeed in compelling the cities they visited to implement the edict. Smith noted that in the first few months of the tour the Crown appeared to be making great gains. However, the pace at which conciliatory measures were agreed was, on the whole, disastrous. It often took weeks and even months for local councils to recognize the commission of those sent to lead negotiations, and the longer people waited for resolution the less likely it seemed that any would be reached. Stagnation then nursed the anger that people from both faiths had carried over from the war. Religious antipathy grew as hopes for a palatable solution diminished.



By the time Charles reached Angoulême in August 1565, the level of conflict had become so pronounced that the sieur de Boucart delivered an extremely candid speech in the Privy Council. He pleaded with Charles for an end to the order for toleration, citing the many deaths that had occurred since the ceasefire and the sustained threat of Protestant sedition as evidence of its failure. He claimed that the authority of the king was already despised by Huguenots, who saw the edict as a barrier to further rights, and that Charles ran the risk of having the Catholics disobey him too, because they needed to take up arms to protect themselves.

Il ya deux ans & plus q[ue] ceux de la Religio[n] sont massacrez en diverse parts, voire que la paix en a plus meurtry en plusieurs provinces, que la guerre. Or de tous les on a faict mille plainctes à vostre Majesté, aux Commissaires envoyez par les Provinces, aux Gouverneurs & Magistrats... Voste auctorité est publiquement mesprisée, les seditieux executent impuniment tout ce qui leur vient à la fantasie : Plusieurs des plus gra[n]ds font associatio[n]s, les villes s'eslevent de jour en jour contre nous, le plat pays commence desja à se mettre en danse : Et si ne voyo[n]s point que puissions eviter la mort, que par la bonté de Dieu & par nos armes.<sup>6</sup>

Charles's authority was increasingly undermined by his demands for toleration as the edict provided no visible alleviation to the conflict. Both sides had shown disobedience and Boucart noted that even prominent members of the king's own court had undercut and defied him. He drew attention to the recent incident in which the cardinal de Lorraine had declared his allegiance as the bishop of Metz to the Holy

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<sup>6</sup> 'It was over two years ago that those of the religion were massacred in different parts [of France], and indeed peace has killed more people in some provinces than the war. Now, from all of them, there have been a thousand complaints to Your Majesty, to the commissioners sent through the provinces, to the governors and the magistrates... Your authority is publicly despised, the seditious execute with impunity everything that comes to their fantasy; several of the grands make associations; the towns day by day rise against you; the Low Countries again start to dance. And so we do not see how we can avoid death than by the goodwill of God and our arms.' Anonymous, *La harangue prononcée par le sieur de Boucart devant la Majesté du Roy estant en son Conseil privé à Angoulesme le XVI jour d'aoust, mil cinq cens soixante cinq* (S. l. n. d.), fol. 5r.

Roman Emperor Maximilian II, in the expectation that the city would be placed under the imperial protection from encroaching heretical forces. Lorraine had attempted to have his Letters of Patronage published, but the sieur de Salcede, governor of Marsal, refused to allow this before he had received permission from the king, believing that the cardinal had sought protection without regard for his loyalty to Charles.<sup>7</sup> Boucart declared that the fiasco had been one ‘par laquelle vostre auctorité & reputation[n] estoit diminuée’.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, the whole harangue centred on the idea of Charles’s authority; the word is repeated no less than fourteen times in thirteen pages. The Estates clearly emphasized this issue because its members saw the kingdom on a precipice; they predicted that, without swift counteraction from Charles, France would fall into further conflict and they offered their unvarnished opinions as a plea to Charles to reassess his religious policies.

Catholics and Huguenots had taken to eschewing his authority in ever greater numbers, but there was rarely a sense that the perpetrators wished or were content to betray their king. This demonstrated that respect for the office of the king was still intact. Moreover, many asserted that Charles was not to blame for the continued violence, in that he had issued the edict with noble intentions. Boucart even proclaimed that God has inspired the ‘saintly desire’ for peace in Charles’s heart: ‘Nous cognoissons, Sire, parfaitement l’affectio[n] singuliere que vostre Majesté ha d’entretenir la paix, & louons Dieu d’heure-en-heure de ce qu’il a inspiré en vostre cueur un si saint desir.’<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Stephen Abel Laval, *A Compendious History of the Reformation in France, And of the Reformed Churches in that Kingdom, From the First Beginnings of the Reformation to the Repealing of the Edict of Nantz* (London: H. Woodfall, 1739, 4 vols), vol. 3, pp. 92-3.

<sup>8</sup> ‘[B]y which your authority and reputation is diminished.’ *La harangue... d’Angoulesme...*, fol. 5v.

<sup>9</sup> ‘We know, Sire, perfectly the singular affection that Your Majesty has to maintain the peace and we praise God hour by hour for this, that he has inspired so saintly a desire in your heart.’ *Ibid.*, fol. 3r.

The opening panegyric of the entry into Angers in November 1565 disclosed the principal reason for the decline in obedience. The war and its aftermath of protracted violence were not directly mentioned, but the orator alluded to them in the pronouncement that the French were naturally religious and so attached to their Catholic practices that those who had remained true to the faith could not bring themselves to endure the sanctioned existence of heresy in their cities.

L'obeissance n'est plus si gra[n]de depuis que le subject a comme[n]cé à s'estimer plus sage que son seigneur... [Le raison est] que le Fra[n]çois de son naturel... est fort religieux, fort cerimonieux, & d'aillieurs on pas si lourd & constant aussi qu'un Lacedemonien, pour ne se remuer pas facileme[n]t & endurer une bigarure en choses qui le touchent jusques au cœur.<sup>10</sup>

This speech neglected to cite the other principal reason for the lack of obedience. Imagery in the royal entries, on the other hand, precisely demonstrated that one of the greatest barriers to the success of the edict was Charles's youth. Throughout his progress, he was compared with legendary and historical child kings who had ruled with the skill and virtue despite their inexperience. Even Hercules, one of the most recognizable figures from the entries of his predecessors, was adapted to look like a young man so that the parallel with Charles was more acute. These representations functioned as a *speculum principis*; each child encouraged Charles to reflect on the merits and deeds that had brought them renown and then to commit himself to emulate their example. Their appearance gave voice to the common hope that Charles would bring the political and religious division in France

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<sup>10</sup> 'Obedience is no longer as great since the subject has started to esteem himself wiser than his lord... [The reason is] that the Frenchman in character... is very religious, strongly ceremonious and what is more, is not so heavy and constant as a Lacedaemonian; he cannot move easily and endure an assortment [of religion] in things which are close to his heart.' *Harangue... Angers*, fols 5v-6r.

to an end, as well as expressing the fear that this was too much to expect of a thirteen year old.

While Charles sat on the throne, Catherine was widely credited as the power behind it. Images of Saint Louis accompanied by inscriptions that implored him to listen to his mother alluded to Catherine's influence, while the few scenes in which she was accorded the same praise as Charles and the other Valois monarchs revealed the true extent of her authority. However, Catherine was not the legitimate ruler; indeed, she was a woman and a foreigner. The responsibility of governing France and settling its troubles was Charles's alone. Rotier expressed this view in the pamphlet *Responce aux blasphemateurs de la Sainte Messe* (1563), arguing that all Catholics expected him to be like the young Josiah, who purged his kingdom of the heretics and restored it to its formerly magnificent and righteous state. Only the mighty forces and harsh justice of the king could decapitate and kill the hydra of false religion that stalked the land and threatened to destroy France.<sup>11</sup>

The fact that Charles was unable to govern alone was a blow to his authority. His age prevented him from exercising control over the factious nobles at court and from effectively commanding his multitudes of officials and ordinary subjects. He simply did not inspire fealty or fear in them as an adult king might have done in his position. Although he turned sixteen the month after his return to Paris in 1566 and had learned much about statecraft during the royal tour, he still did not have the presence required to lead his people at its conclusion. Factionalism had become even more pronounced at court and Catherine showed no sign of withdrawing from the forefront of government. Charles needed more time to become the king that his people wanted him to be, but time had run out. Paradin was one of the very few to

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<sup>11</sup> 'Car sans voz forces & aspre justice, ceste hydre avec ses chefs, ne peult estre decoupée & extaincte.' Rotier, *Responce aux blasphemateurs*, fol. 7r.

give a frank assessment of the troubles in the early 1560s. He categorically stated that the youth of the king had given the people licence to take matters into their own hands. Charles's subjects perceived that he would be unable to curb the violence and so used the opportunity to effect as much destruction as possible in the name of religion.

Des ce temps les humeurs des troubles deja se commençoient fort à remuër, & se faisoit une grande inclination de desobeïssance quasi par tout ce royaume... le tout sous couleur de religion, encores que tels actes ne sentissent aucunement religion ny pieté. Le bas aage du Roy, & envie de remuër mesnage, furent cause que les amateurs de nouuelleté se donnoient licence, & occasion de se laisser couler en ces precipices, & dé tirer apres eux une grande ruïne.<sup>12</sup>

The royal tour was characterized by myriad images that encouraged Charles to become the formidable king his subjects needed him to be, in order to escape the religious and civil despair in which they were entrenched. Their dread of the alternative – watching Charles flounder as he struggled to mature and take control of the divided country at the same time – could hardly have been more pronounced. Unfortunately for his subjects, their fears rather than their hopes came true and Charles was unable to produce the peace he had conceived in the Edict of Amboise.

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<sup>12</sup> 'From these times [in August 1562], the humours of the troubles began to stir strongly again and caused a great inclination to disobedience throughout nearly the entire kingdom... all under the colour of religion, although such acts did not in any way have the appearance of religion or piety. The youth of the king and the desire to cause upheaval were the reasons that the lovers of novelty gave themselves licence and occasion to descend into the abyss and pull great ruin in after them.' Paradin, p. 365.

# Appendices

## Appendix 1

The Welcome Orations at Sens, March 1564: Éracle Cartault, *Entrée du roy Charles IX et de la reine mère Catherine de Médicis en la ville de Sens, le 15 mars 1563, relation inédite, extraite du manuscrit d'Eracle Cartault, chanoine du diocèse, et des délibérations et actes de l'Hôtel de ville de Sens*, reprinted and edited by Henri Monceaux (Auxerre: Georges Rouille, 1882; Paris: Claudin, Champion, 1882), pp. 35-7.

Sire,

Puisque les habitans de vostre ville de Sens reçoivent cet honneur, ceste grâce que d'estre très-humbles et très-fidèles subjects, y en aura-t-il un seul entre tous (s'il n'est de nature oubliant Dieu), qui ne reçoive joye et félicité indicible en la vue de Vostre Majesté, en laquelle apparoissent les singularitez, dons et grâces de Dieu dont les bons roys de l'Ancien Testament, tous prophètes, étoient honorez et dignifiez, depuis rapportez et successivement continuez es personnes de vos frère, père et ayeul, nos bons grands roys, et en laquelle Majesté nous remarquons et recognoissons la bonté de Dieu reluisant sous vostre jeunesse heureusement conduite par le prudent conseil de la Reyne vostre mère qui fera florir vos ans et remplira vostre siècle de toute félicité, et vostre nom de grande gloire et bénédiction éternelle.

Mais en ce grand heur et jouissance, que pouvons-nous pour vous, Sire, nostre vray Roy et souverain Seigneur ! Nous vous offrons et présentons en toute humilité, obeissance et subjection, non seulement ces clefs de

vostre ancienne ville de Sens, mais celles de nos personnes, de nos propres vies pour a toute heure, et quant il plaira a Vostre Majesté, les exposer et immoler bien volontairement.

Madame,

C'est chose impossible aux habitans de la ville de Sens, vos trèshumbles subjects, vous rendre grâce et remerciement du bien, de l'heur qu'ils reçoivent de vous qui daignez voir la ville, et y faire venir le Roy, nostre souverain Seigneur ; qui faictes espandre sur nous sa bonté, sa douceur et mansuétude, et sous la Majesté duquel nous vivons et reposons sous la sage conduite de la vostre.

Ce n'est point a tort, Madame, que le clergé vous obtempere que vous commandez, que la noblesse vous obéit, que le peuple fléchit sous vostre autorité et que tous les ordres du royaume vous servent et vous admirent. Est-ce que pour estre mère du Roy seulement ? Voste foy, vostre humanité envers tous, vostre tempérance et modération en adversité, vostre prudence incroyable, accompagnées de vos aultres immémorables vertus y étoient requises et y trouvent bon lieu.

Les histoires étrangères célèbrent la sagesse de Mammée, mère de l'empereur Alexandre Sévère, les nostres, celles de Blanche, mère du roy Louis IX ; l'une et l'autre, mères du roys bien jeunes, ont aidé a la conservation du royaume et empire de leurs enfants. Celuy de France, en ces derniers jours trop calamiteux et déplorez, luy-mesme malingre, a esté, par vostre seule prudence, entièrement retenu, le feu étient, la flamme suffoquée, les séditions populaires cohibées, les émotions

apaisées, la république de France bien composée et restituée a sa première concorde et tranquillité. Le Roy nous est conservé et nous sous Sa Majesté et la Vostre.

En effet, Madame, tout nostre repos, nostre sécurité, nostre propre salut en ce monde est et le tenons de vous sous l'autorité du Roy, par la volonté de Dieu. Nous le reconnoissons de visve voix, et nous osons en toute humilité vous offrir l'entière obéissance ferme et perpétuelle de nous tous.



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*desolationis, cum optimis remediis ibidem describitur. Brevis discursus in gloriam et honorem pulcherrime ac invictissime civitatis Avenionensis, cum debitis laudibus illustrissimi ac reverendissimi domini, domini Laurentii Lentii, episcopi Firmani, ac vicelegati ; excellentissimique Fabritii de Serbellone, hujus reipublicae gubernatoris dignissimi, necnon romanae religionis assertoris, XXIII septembris* (Avignon: P. Ruffus, 1564). BN, 4- LB33- 154.

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