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Thierry Waneggelen, Ed., *De Michel de L'Hospital à l'Édit de Nantes. Politique et religion face aux Églises*. Clermont-Ferrand: Presses Universitaire Blaise-Pascal, 2002. 612 pp. Notes. 37.00 € (pb). ISBN 2-84516-159-X.

Review by Michael Wolfe, Pennsylvania State University at Altoona.

Violence, hatred, persecution, terror. Suddenly the sixteenth century seems all too unsettlingly familiar. The tragic failure of Michel de L'Hospital holds new poignancy as a morality tale about the naiveté of the peacemakers. The twenty-nine essays in this collection originally formed a conference program, one of many in 1998, to commemorate the quadricentennial of the Edict of Nantes. Many of these proceedings also resulted in the publication of important scholarly collections.[1] While several of the essays under consideration here venture outside of France, the overwhelming majority of them focus on L'Hospital and the various groups that subsequently appropriated (and occasionally embroidered) his legacy of toleration and legal rectitude. However liberal they may appear to us in retrospect, historians of course know that L'Hospital's irenics helped pave the way for the *étatist* solutions to religious dissent that came later under the Bourbons as coercion and conformity--not liberty of conscience--and quelled religious tempers and their attendant disorders. Only later in the eighteenth century, when it became fashionable to attack the Catholic Church, did religious toleration seem less scary than, say, unbridled obscurantism. New moral absolutes, of course, lay on the horizon, however--but that's another story!

The essays in this finely crafted collection tell us much about the ambiguities and unintended consequences of the struggle by the so-called *moyenneurs* and *politiques* who quite understandably doubted the efficacy of force to settle religious disputes. Taken as a whole, the collection provides a broad rethinking of the question of toleration, the modern study of which began with Joseph Lecler's magisterial two-volume work published nearly fifty years ago.[2] Part one sets the issues of concord and tolerance in a somewhat eclectic comparative perspective. Ian Hazlett's opening essay on Mary, Queen of Scots, examines the parallels and divergences between the sectarian situations in France and Scotland. Mary Stuart's advocacy of liberty of conscience sprang more from political necessity than principled conviction, he argues, as she tried to navigate the treacherous confessional and clan politics in Scotland (unsuccessfully, as she was deposed in 1567) all the while seeking to preserve her tenuous claim to the English throne (perhaps too successfully, as her execution in 1587 attests).

Sidestepping confessional questions, at least temporarily, sometimes opened the way for successful pacification, as Michel de Waele demonstrates in his superb piece on Alessandro Farnese, Duke of Parma. Named Governor-General of the Spanish Netherlands in 1578, Farnese deployed the language of clemency and concord in tandem with siege trains and Spanish infantry to drive what became a permanent wedge between the predominantly Catholic towns in Brabant and Flanders and the Calvinist towns situated in the northern Netherlands. His accords with individual towns played on the contractual relations they felt they enjoyed with the Spanish crown. Accepting renewed confirmation of their municipal privileges eventually opened the way for the re-establishment of religious uniformity under Spanish rule.

These dynamics of civic peace and religious concord also shaped the course of confessional developments in the Holy Roman Empire, as shown in Gérald Chaix's essay on sectarian conflicts in sixteenth-century Cologne, and Olivier Christin's piece on Lazarus von Schwendi. Chaix argues that the 1555 Peace of Augsburg marked simply another stage in the ongoing "confessionalization" of German civic society, shifting confessional choice and its enforcement to local authorities. As Hermann Weinsberg's diary reveals, most individuals readily embraced this conflation of *Heimat* and faith. In the upper reaches of Imperial government, flexible adaptation to changing circumstances softened the harshest opponents of religious accommodation. Christin's probing look at the personal odyssey of Lazarus von Schwendi charts the gradual transformation of a die-hard papist into one of the staunchest defenders of the Peace of Augsburg. Inspired by L'Hospital's example in France, Schwendi maintained that civil concord was predicated on maintaining religious peace; indeed, some measure of confessional diversity was perhaps inevitable given the Empire's loose constitutional structure of dispersed authority.

The theme of localism also bulks large in Mark Konneret's essay on social psychological and sociological approaches to understanding religious belief and behavior, especially when the supposed correspondence between the two diverged so often and widely. While importing modern notions about dehumanization and alterity into the sixteenth century runs the risk of anachronism, Konneret's call for historians to appreciate the singular character of distinct local settings provides an useful reminder on the importance of time and place in the Reformation. Part one concludes with an interesting essay by Marianne Ruel-Robins on the multivalent nature of dance in human cultures. Bodies in movement ran along and sometimes across boundaries fraught with sacred and sexual import. Different confessions during the Reformation developed distinct normative discourses about the moral meaning of dance, with Catholics initially conceding it a greater degree of acceptability in part because of their belief in the corporality of the eucharist, and Calvinists sternly condemning what they considered to be a physical expression of unbridled human wantonness. In time, however, these attitudes gradually converged as moralists frowned upon a popular activity that secular authorities by and large tolerated, within bounds. Toleration, again, seemed less a virtue than a necessary evil.

Part two focuses on images of Michel de L'Hospital from the sixteenth century to the present, with each age finding its own Plutarch to shape Hospital's reputation according to the needs of the day. Frank Lestringant opens with an astute reading of two contemporary portraits of Catherine des Médicis's Chancellor by André Thevet and Théodore de Bèze. Both writers lauded L'Hospital's humanist erudition and commitment to religious reconciliation. However, the Reform leader De Bèze presented L'Hospital as a cyptocalvinist, while Thevet, a celebrated cosmographer on whom Lestringant has extensively written, depicted him (with some ambivalence) as a sincere Catholic.

The malleability of L'Hospital's reputation becomes further apparent in Daniel Ménager's essay, which traces its evolution from the poets of the Pléiade to the polemicists of the Catholic Holy League. L'Hospital's own achievements in Latin verse created a natural affinity with luminaries such as Pierre Ronsard and Joachim du Bellay, who lauded his sagacity and creativity, though some poets expressed outright hostility. Jean Dorat, for example, attacked him as a wily Machiavallian while Estienne Jodelle purveyed anti-Semitic innuendo about L'Hospital's rumored Jewish origins. Other writers visited the infamy of L'Hospital's father on the son, recounting Jean de L'Hospital's fateful decision to follow the treasonous Charles de Bourbon into exile in 1523. Time was not initially kind to L'Hospital's reputation.

Jacques Solé's essay on the L'Hospital's image at the time of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes focuses on Pierre Bayle's efforts to reclaim L'Hospital's tolerant tendencies to criticize the brutal intolerance of the Sun King. Jacqueline Lalouette traces the Chancellor's ongoing legacy as it waxed and waned in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Of particular interest are the artistic representations of L'Hospital that came to adorn public buildings in his native Auvergne as well as Paris. Lalouette also discusses acts memorializing L'Hospital in street name and schools. Modern France presented L'Hospital as an early hero of the Republic.

The next part of the collection consists of two fine essays exploring L'Hospital's piety and standing as a so-called *politique*. As both Denis Crouzet and Marie Seong-Hak Kim make clear, these seemingly contrasting qualities were not as incompatible as they may first appear. Crouzet considers L'Hospital's devotional poetry in the *Carmina* as a window into the Chancellor's notions about grace and liberty, arguing that he subscribed to an essentially Erasmian view of human failings redeemed in the face of divine wrath by an individual's performance of good works. L'Hospital's evangelical sentiments encouraged his liberal broadmindedness when dealing with religious dissent, valorizing persuasion and love as more attuned to God's intentions than coercion and hatred.

Marie Kim's training as both a historian and a lawyer make her well suited to consider L'Hospital's juridical idealism and pragmatism on the subject of religious difference. Drawing on her fine 1997 monograph, Kim underscores the deep complexity of L'Hospital's views on dissent, law, concord, and unity, arguing that his eventual advocacy of a more authoritarian monarchy came (despite misgivings) with his realization that the many contradictions afflicting France in the 1560s had to first be overpowered before they could be resolved.[3] As L'Hospital conceived it, the king's justice was both religious and political in nature.

The essays in part four further investigate L'Hospital's thoughts and actions, building on the broad framework established by Crouzet and Kim. Loris Petris explores L'Hospital's oratorical methods in speeches from the early 1560s, though the fact that they come to us second-hand raises obvious evidentiary problems. According to Petris, L'Hospital deployed a discursive strategy that constantly reiterated essential themes of social and political cohesion, avoided inflammatory rhetoric, and invoked historical precedent. Using the power of language, L'Hospital thus hoped to steer his compatriots away from the dangerous factionalism that threatened to tear the kingdom apart.

Marie-Dominique Legrand's essay focuses on the *politique* ideas found in the *Traité de la réformation de la justice*, which may or may not have been written by L'Hospital, and the Chancellor's larger oeuvre in the *Harangues* and his *Mémoires*. Her close reading of these texts establishes a clear set of shared values on irenics, liberty of conscience, natural law and the king's authority, and the venality of office that, taken together, offered a progressive *politique* vision of flexibility and moderation when confronting difficult public issues.

The next section of the collection begins with case studies of two of L'Hospital's contemporaries who embraced like-minded views. Wim Bots delves into the evangelical themes found in Joachim du Bellay's poetry, which touted the virtues of charity and tolerance in a church expunged of its many detestable faults, and under the firm tutelage of a pious king. According to Bots, Du Bellay's views served as a precursor to the eventual confessional settlement achieved under Henri IV in the 1598 Edict of Nantes. The diplomat Arnaud Du Ferrier, who, like L'Hospital, also studied law at the University of Padua figured among the cultivated jurists equally devoted to religion and the law, Alain Tallon argues in his excellent contribution. Equally suspicious of ultramontanism and excessive royal authority, Du Ferrier stood in the Gallican tradition long associated with the Parlement of Paris, as recently analyzed in Nancy Roelker's important study, a tradition that eschewed heavy-handed fanaticism of any sort.[4]

The power of words to sooth tempers or roil emotions forms the subject of the next three essays. Jan Miernowski begins with a look at the use of the term *politique* as an epithet in pamphlets published during the Wars of Religion. He finds a good deal of ambivalence in its use, for no one who employed it pejoratively wished to denigrate the vital importance of civic virtue. Polemics therefore often devolved into drawing tortuous lexical distinctions between "good" and "bad" *politiques*, "good" and "bad" Catholics, or "good" and "bad" reformers. These language wars, Miernowski argues, eventually led to the death of humanist eloquence.

Mario Turchetti's essay on the origin and identity of *politiques* during the Wars of Religion reviews the basic literature on the subject and examines central problems of chronology, semantics, and supposed membership that muddy our understanding of this rather amorphous group. Much of this rather disjointed essay goes over ground he has previously covered in earlier studies.^[5] A Huguenot perspective on purported toleration of the *politiques* comes in Gilbert Schrenck's essay on Agrippa d'Aubigné, who late in his life published his *Histoire Universelle* (1615) and a memoir to his children entitled *Sa Vie à ses Enfants* (1629). Hindsight was not kind, as a bitter pessimism ran throughout Aubigné's retrospective writings on the heady rise and tragic decline of the Calvinist movement in France. Aubigné had plenty enough blame to mete out, though he reserved his greatest scorn not for zealous Catholic Leaguers but rather the *politiques*. Their pragmatism and supposed tolerance masked an irreligion that seduced erstwhile champions of reform, such as Henri IV. Aubigné much preferred an endless war based on conviction rather than the false security bought by an unprincipled peace.

The language of peace and reconciliation furnishes the subject of the next group of essays beginning with Ullrich Langer's analysis of the conciliatory rhetoric found in Étienne Pasquier's published tributes celebrating the Treaty of Vervins and the Edict of Nantes, both of 1598. Invoking historical precedents, particularly from the Hundred Years' War, Pasquier recounted the paradoxes and surprises that eventually culminated in Henri IV's providential triumph over the forces of disorder. Langer compares Pasquier's discourses to Michel de L'Hospital's 1570 exhortation to Charles IX to bring peace to his afflicted people; where L'Hospital adopted classical motifs and *topoi*, such as the virtues of humility and prudence, Pasquier sought to discern historical symmetries by which to situate the significance of Henri IV's "miracle."

Marie-Madeleine Fragonard takes up the evolving meaning of peace in the writings of men often characterized as *politiques*, such as Pasquier and the remarkable François de la Noue. Foreshadowing in many respects the later theory of Thomas Hobbes, these writers advanced the rather radical notion that a servile peace was infinitely preferably to an interminable civil war; that security required the mutual surrender of personal liberty—particularly in the area of religious expression—to the superior sovereign authority of the Bodinian state. The quest to achieve some measure of religious toleration thus took France down the road of reason of state.

The next set of essays approaches the *politiques'* relationship with the monarchical state from a variety of perspectives. Jean Brunel takes up the tumultuous history of Jean de La Haye, who instigated the movement known as the Bien Public in western France during the mid-1570s. Personal ambitions and opportunism, colored as much by local politics as machinations at the royal court, led to the first cross-confessional alliance of Catholics (known as Malcontents) and Huguenots during the fifth religious war. Brunel hesitates to affiliate this episode too closely with the Michel de L'Hospital and the *politiques*, however, because it lacked sufficient ideological rigor.

Arlette Jouanna raises additional ambiguities in her very interesting essay on *politiques* and the Catholic Holy League. Many supposed *politiques*, such as Pasquier, Jean Bodin, and Guillaume Du Vair, echoed Leaguer criticisms of Henri III's moral failings and political misjudgments. In fact, they viewed the 1588 Day of the Barricades, and the 1589 regicide as evidence that God had abandoned the last Valois. Jouanna also identifies a *politique* wing in the Holy League itself, a group that later in 1592 helped to open the way to eventual reconciliation with Henri IV after he converted to Catholicism in July 1593. Myriam Yardeni argues in her essay on the political thought of Pasquier and Jacques-Auguste de Thou that the *politiques* of the 1580s and 1590s realized the basic humanist and Gallican goals earlier enunciated by Michel de L'Hospital in the 1560s, though they often took their own separate paths to get there.

The *politiques'* support of the intellectually dubious Salic law of succession forms the topic of Éliane Viennot's essay. Her look at the efforts of Pasquier, Bernard de Girard, Sieur du Haillan, and Du Vair to

vindicate its historical validity would have benefited greatly from an examination of Sarah Hanley's recent work on this subject. Opportunism and principle again competed to guide the course of the *Politique* project during the Wars of Religion.[6]

The final five essays take up the different meanings and experiences of the peace achieved by Henri IV in the Edict of Nantes. Robert Descimon offers a masterful account of the reconciliation of members of the Hotman clan after its confessional splintering in the 1580s. The familial crisis that occurred among the sons of Pierre Hotman created hard feelings and even more painful inheritance exclusions that took years to heal after the most intellectually gifted among them, François, became a Huguenot while others, such as Antoine, drifted into the ranks of the Catholic Holy League. As a result, the ascent of the Hotmans into high society in the seventeenth century became arrested, unlike that of the Colberts, for example, whose scions succeeded in breaking away from serving as clients of the grands by becoming close servants of the king.

Self-fashioning in relation to others sometimes occurred in order to realize personal rather than familial goals, as Anne-Marie Cocula discusses in her essay on L'Hospital, Étienne de la Boétie, and Michel de Montaigne. She ferrets out the subtle rhetorical strategy that Montaigne employed in his edition of the works of his dead friend, La Boétie, which he dedicated in 1570 to the recently disgraced Michel de L'Hospital. Montaigne drew a connection between these two men with an eye to his own decision to quit his legal career in the Parlement of Bordeaux and instead devote himself full-time to writing and, if called upon (as would occur in the 1580s), arbitrating the religious conflict much as L'Hospital had tried at the Colloquy of Poissy in 1561.

L'Hospital also served as a model for Guillaume Du Vair, argues Alexandre Tarrête. Like L'Hospital, Du Vair cultivated a deep humanist sensibility as he sought to fashion himself into the ideal virtuous magistrate. Similarly, Du Vair also became the king's chancellor in 1616 but proved temperamentally unsuited to the position. The collection ends with Mack Holt's very sharp essay on the evolution of the *politiques* in the face of hardening sectarian differences. As a result, the *politiques* gradually abandoned L'Hospital's original ideal of religious toleration for the more pragmatic goal of concord. Using abjuration records from late sixteenth-century Dijon, Holt argues that the abiding goal of authorities when it came to religious dissent was not to regulate individual belief but rather behavior. In the end, the outward social manifestation of religious affiliation through ceremony mattered much more than what transpired in the inner recesses of a person's conscience. Left to their own devices, Catholics and Huguenots sometimes worked out acceptable forms of co-existence in local communities, as Gregory Hanlon has shown in his fine study of early seventeenth-century Layrac.[7] In the end, Holt argues that liberty of cult was a much more central concern in the Wars of Religion than liberty of conscience.

While an index would have been quite helpful, the essays in this collection should nevertheless appeal to persons interested in the Reformation in general, and the French Wars of Religion in particular. Nearly every one of them raises new questions and approaches to central historical problems that seem, to this reviewer at least, uncannily timely given today's holy terrors in the West and the rest of the world.

LIST OF ESSAYS

- Ian Hazlett, "Marie Stuart, reine des Écossais, et la liberté de conscience: la mise au monde d'une idée mort-née."
- Michel de Waele, "Entre concorde et intolérance: Alexandre Farnèse et la pacification des Pays-Bas."
- Gérald Chaix, "Paix de religion et concorde civique: Hermann Weinsberg, bourgeois de Cologne (1518-1597), témoin des conflits religieux."
- Olivier Christin, "Lazarus von Schwendi, 'Politique' allemande?"

- Mark Konnert, "La tolérance religieuse en Europe aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles: une approche issue de la psychologie sociale et de la sociologie."
- Marianne Ruel-Robins, "Corps à corps. La querelle des danses et ses enjeux confessionnels, 1550-1650."
- Frank Lestringant, "Autour du portrait de Michel de L'Hospital: Bèze et Thevet."
- Daniel Ménager, "L'image de Michel de L'Hospital de la Pléiade à La Ligue."
- Robert Solé, "L'image de Michel de L'Hospital au temps de la révocation de l'Édit de Nantes."
- Jacqueline Lalouette, "Vie et déclin du souvenir de Michel de L'Hospital en France (XIXe et XXe siècles)."
- Denis Crouzet, "Grâce et liberté dans les *Carmina* de Michel de L'Hospital."
- Marie Seong-Hak Kim, "'Nager entre deux eaux'. L'idéalisme juridique et la politique religieuse de Michel de L'Hospital."
- Loris Périn, "'Causas belli præcidere eloquio, pietate'. L'éloquence de Michel de L'Hospital dans ses discours de 1560 à 1562."
- Marie-Dominique Legrand, "La *Traité de la réformation de la justice* et les idées 'politiques' de Michel de L'Hospital."
- Wim J. A. Bots, "Joachim du Bellay, diplomate irénique."
- Alain Tallon, "Diplomate et 'politique': Arnaud du Ferrier."
- Jan Miernowski, "'Politique' comme injure dans les pamphlets au temps des guerres de Religion."
- Mario Turchetti, "Une question mal posée: l'origine et l'identité des Politiques au temps des guerres de Religion."
- Gilbert Schrenck, "De Michel de L'Hospital à l'édit de Nante: le regard d'Agrippa d'Aubigné sur la tolérance des 'Politiques.'"
- Ullrich Langer, "La rhétorique de la conciliation dans la *Congratulations sur la paix générale faite au mois de mars 1598* d'Étienne Pasquier."
- Marie-Madeleine Fragonard, "Donner toute priorité à la paix du Royaume, un argument des Politiques?"
- Jean Brunel, "Le *Bien public* et l'opinion en Poitou, Aunis et Saintonge lors de la cinquième guerre de Religion."
- Arlette Jouanna, "Les ambiguïtés des Politiques face à la Sainte Ligue."
- Myriam Yardeni, "La pensée politique des 'Politiques': Étienne Pasquier et Jacques-Auguste de Thou."
- Éliane Viennot, "Les Politiques et la loi salique."
- Robert Descimon, "La réconciliation des Hotman protestants et catholiques (des années 1580 aux années 1630)."
- Anne-Marie Cocula, "Miche de L'Hospital, Étienne de la Boétie et Michel de Montaigne: histoire d'une filiation."
- Alexandre Tarrête, "Guillaume du Vair et l'héritage de Michel de L'Hospital."
- Mack P. Holt, "L'évolution des 'Politiques' face aux Églises (1560-1598)."

NOTES

[1] Among the titles are Lucienne Hubler, Jean-Daniel Candaux, and Christophe Chalamet, eds., *L'Édit de Nantes revisité: actes de la journée de Waldegg (30 octobre 1998)* (Droz: Geneva, 2000); Guy Saupin, Rémy Fabre, and Marcel Launay, eds., *La tolérance: Colloque international de Nantes, mai 1998: quatrième centenaire de l'Édit de Nantes* (Rennes/Nantes: Presses universitaires de Rennes/Centre de recherche sur l'histoire du monde atlantique, 1999); Michel Grandjean, Bernard Roussel, François Bos, and Béatrice

Perregaux Allisson, eds., *Coexister dans l'intolérance: l'édit de Nantes (1598)* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1998); Paul Mironneau, ed., *Paix des armes, paix des âmes: actes du colloque international tenu au Musée national du château du Pau et à l'Université de Pau et des Pays de l'Adour les 8,9,10, et 11 octobre 1998, sous la présidence de Jean-Pierre Babelon* (Paris: Société d'Henri IV, 2000); *Nantes et le pays nantais au moment de l'Édit de Nantes: actes du colloque tenu à Nantes le 19 avril 1998, à l'occasion du 400e anniversaire de la signature de l'Édit de Nantes. Société archéologique et historique de Nantes et de Loire-Atlantique, Université de Nantes* (Nantes: Société archéologique et historique de Nantes et de Loire-Atlantique, 2000); and Pierre Bolle, ed., *L'Édit de Nantes: Un compromis réussi. Une paix des religions en Dauphiné-Vivarais et en Europe. Colloque, Montélimar, château des Adhémar, 17 et 18 avril 1998* (Grenoble: Presses universitaires de Grenoble, 1999).

[2] Joseph Lecler, *Histoire de la tolérance au siècle de la Réforme*, 2 vols. (Paris: Aubier, 1955).

[3] Seong-Hak Kim, *Michel de l'Hôpital: the Vision of a Reformist Chancellor during the French Religious Wars* (Kirksville, Mo.: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1997).

[4] Nancy L. Roelker, *One King, One Faith: The Parlement of Paris and the Reformations of the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

[5] See, in particular, his monograph *Concordia o tolleranza?: François Bauduin (1520-1573) e i "moyenneurs"* (Geneva: Droz, 1984).

[6] In addition to her recent articles on the subject, see also Sarah Hanley and Marie Denizard, *Les droits des femmes et la loi salique* (Paris: Indigo & Côte-femmes, 1994).

[7] Gregory Hanlon, *Confession and Community in Seventh-Century France: Catholic and Protestant Coexistence in Aquitaine* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993).

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