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LOUISE OF SAVOY AND MARQUERITE D'ANGOUËME:
RENAISSANCE PATRONAGE AND RELIGIOUS REFORM

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

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1974

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VITA</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREFACE</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. CHILDHOOD, MARRIAGE, AND WIDOWHOOD</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. POLITICS, PATRONAGE, AND RELIGION</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. YEARS OF TRIAL</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. THE MATURE YEARS</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPILOGUE</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONCLUSION</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
During the last decade of the fifteenth century, France experienced changes of thought which historians have termed the Age of the Renaissance and Reformation. From Italy came new artistic and literary forms, that were quickly incorporated into the literary tradition of France. The northern lands of Europe likewise contributed a long-standing artistic tradition, coupled with an even greater emphasis on religious humanism. The latter movement soon became part of a general desire for religious reforms in the Catholic Church in France even before the more turbulent period of Martin Luther's break with the Church in 1517. These influences of the Renaissance and religious renewal were to coalesce in the lives of Louise of Savoy and her daughter Marguerite d'Angoulême of Navarre.

While the French monarchs Charles VIII, Louis XII, and Francis I again and again revived their dynastic claims in Italy, they also were noted for their introduction and fostering in France of artists and writers. Just as these kings combined their political desires with a great support of arts and letters, so important Frenchwomen soon followed in this tradition. Commencing with Anne de France and Anne de Bretagne, the political affairs, religious interests, and artistic patronage of French women increased into the period when Louise of Savoy and Marguerite d'Angoulême devoted their entire lives to these pursuits. These two women helped form and direct
both the political and religious policies of France, while serving as the foci of patronage.

Even after her mother's death, Marguerite d'Angoulême continued to advise her brother Francis I on important religious and political affairs, while carefully attending to her own kingdom of Navarre. The queen was often called on to lend her support to artists and writers with liberal gifts of money or positions in France and Navarre. As she had done when her mother was alive, Marguerite continued her protection of religious reformers and humanists. She served as a bulwark against the conservative Faculty of Theology's attacks upon all those who wished to introduce reform into France.

While investigating materials for this dissertation, I have found several basic works detailing the lives of Louise of Savoy and Marguerite d'Angoulême. Excellent accounts of Louise are those by Paule Henry-Bordeaux, Louise de Savoie, regente et "Roi", and Dorothy C. Mayer, Louise of Savoy, the Great Regent. There is a definitive two-volume study on Marguerite d'Angoulême by Pierre Jourda entitled, Marguerite d'Angoulême, reine de Navarre. In addition to these biographies, there are many articles which have appeared in the last one hundred years describing the lives of Louise and Marguerite, their activities, and persons whom they supported and protected. However, I believe that none of the authors has sufficiently detailed the artistic patronage and religious protection which these two women exercised in France. It
is my hope that I shall be able to describe their patronage as well as their support of such religious reformers as Lefèvre d'Étapes, Gérard Roussel, Guillaume Briçonnet, and Clement Marot.

In writing this dissertation I have worked at the British Museum, Bodleian Library, Bibliothèque Nationale, Musée de Condé, Bibliothèque Mazarine, L'Arsenal, Institut de France, Musée de Cluny, and the Bibliothèque de Ste.-Geneviève. I would like to thank all those librarians and archivists who so graciously assisted me. I am especially grateful to my adviser, Dr. Harold J. Grimm, whose encouragement and assistance have made this study possible, and to Mrs. Jane Gatliff and Mrs. Clara Goldsager of the Inter-Library Loan Department of The Ohio State University, who went out of their way to assist me.
CHAPTER I

CHILDHOOD, MARRIAGE, AND WIDOWHOOD

In September, 1476, Louise of Savoy was born to Phillippe de Bresse, of the House of Savoy, and Marguerite de Bourbon, sister of Pierre de Beaujeu, the husband of the regent, Anne de France. This baby was not brought into one of the wealthiest families of France; her father was known as Monsieur Lackland, and his pre-occupation with warfare constantly drew his attention away from home. Little is presently known about Louise's mother; however, it is through Marguerite's lineage that Louise gained rights to the vast Bourbon lands in the east of France.

From her earliest years Louise was a political pawn used by King Louis XI in a betrothal to Charles, count d'Angoulême, about seventeen years her senior. In 1478 Louis had demanded this alliance to forestall a marriage between Marie of Burgundy, the greatest heiress of Europe, and Charles. The king and later Anne, as regent, successfully prevented this union but they then permitted Mary to wed Maximilian of Austria. The dowry of the Low Countries passed forever out of French control.

At the death of Marguerite de Bourbon in 1483, Phillippe de Bresse decided to send his daughter and her younger brother Philibert to the court of Anne to be reared. Since Anne possessed all her
father's capabilities, she had been named by Louis XI to the tutelage and administration of her physically deformed brother, Charles VIII, until he came of age. As regent over her brother, political and military authority was concentrated in her hands. Brantôme says of her actions that "she governed as sagely and virtuously as if she were one of the great kings of France." 

Under Anne's care, Louise's education was supervised by Madame de Segré at the châteaux of Gien and Amboise. Her companions were her brother Philibert and Marguerite d'Autriche, the fiancée of Charles VIII. The educational training which Louise received must have been similar to that which Anne set down in a book dedicated to her own daughter, Susanne, the Enseignements d'Anne de France, which covered duties which any young girl of the court was expected to perform. She was not to slander anyone; rather she should see and bear everything but never repeat prejudicial comments. She should practice the virtues and necessities of patience, humility, and sweetness. "For no anger or envy is so great that it can not be softened by sweetness and humility." Other qualities desirable for the well-bred lady were industriousness in her governance of domestic duties, chastity in her personal life, as well as, prudence and modesty in her behavior.

We can be certain that Louise and her companions could pass much time in prayer and in reading the lives of saints and books of devotion. Domesticity was a norm for each young lady of the period; she would learn how to sew and spin as preparation for later married life.
Brantôme testified to the quality and extent of Anne's influence on the young ladies of the court, saying:

her court...was always very beautiful and large, ...and [she was] always accompanied by a large number of ladies and girls whom she nourished quite virtuously and wisely...and among her ladies and daughters of the nobility, there was not one who had not received her lessons. The House of Bourbon was then one of the greatest and most brilliant in all Christendom...5

Louise left her aunt's control in 1488 to become the bride of Charles d'Angoulême. The reason that this twelve-year-old girl was married was that the regent wished to secure the count's loyalty to her brother and herself. Charles had joined with his cousin, Louis d'Orléans, in an attempt to oppose Anne's regency during the minority of Charles VIII. The duke of Orléans soon learned that he could not oppose the regent successfully; he was captured by Anne's forces and imprisoned. The civil clash was to end for Charles d'Angoulême when royal troops began to invade his territory. He quickly submitted to Anne's will and agreed to marry her niece.

The terms of the marriage contract granted Louise the sum of 35,000 £ from her father, payable in three successive years. In return, the young girl had to renounce both her maternal and paternal claims to rights of succession in favor of her brother Philibert. From Charles VIII the couple received the seigneurie of Neals in Poitou, valued at 20,000 £. The count on his part gave to his new wife the châteaux of Romorantin and Chateauneuf-sur-Charente with an income of 3,000 £ deriving from the produce of these châteaux.6
This young girl was removed from her aunt's court at Amboise and introduced into Charles' circle at Cognac which was situated on the Charente river in Angoulême. Louise came under the tutelage of Jeanne de Polignac, a former mistress of her husband, who became her demoiselle d'honneur. Later, Louise's son Francis had a younger brother of Jeanne for his chamberlain. It was a court devoted to music and art and, in imitation of the Italian princes, to a passion for collecting manuscripts and books. Charles d'Angoulême had received numerous volumes in his library from both his father, Jean d'Angoulême, and his mother, Marguerite de Rohan. By the time of his death in 1496, the count and countess had collected more than 200 precious manuscripts and books. This extensive collection, with later additions of Louise, was to be transported to Blois to form the royal library of Francis I.

The count and Louise were patrons to one of the most famous booksellers and publishers of the fifteenth century, Antoine Verard. Verard supplied Charles d'Angoulême as well as Charles VIII, Anne de Bretagne, and Henry VII of England with volumes and manuscripts. His publications were mostly in the vernacular, consisting of devotional pieces, chivalric tales, poems, semi-scientific volumes, and translations from the classics. Many of the manuscripts were illustrated by the workshop of Verard or by Robinet Testard, an illuminator in service to Charles and Louise.

As early as 1485, the count ordered either Boccaccio's Decameron or In Praise of Noble and Virtuous Women from Verard
which must have served as models to his daughter Marguerite in her own work, L'Heptaméron. Other works commanded by Charles and Louise ranged from Dante's Divine Comedy to works by Aristotle. There were chronicles of France, her kings and their exploits. A few volumes requested were the Facetiae of Poggio, the Metamorphoses of Ovid, the Nouvelles nouvelles, and the Testament of Jean de Meung who had completed the famous Roman de la rose. In addition to the many secular works, religious volumes were quite numerous in the library at Cognac. The Parables of Solomon, the Golden Legend, the Imitatio Christi, the De vita Christi of Ludolph of Saxony, the Oraison of Saint Anselm, L'Ordinaire des chrétiens, La ressource de christianité, and the Orloge de dévotion all appear in the inventory done at the death of Charles in 1496. This passion to collect manuscripts was stimulated in Louise by her husband and later transferred to their children. Louise, Marguerite, and Francis all continued to support artists and writers as long as they lived.

From the expense role done for Louise in 1497, one can find the amount of money that the count and his wife expended in their patronage. The count and Louise paid to Antoine Verard the sum of 200 £ for works that he had created for their pleasure. They consisted of the following pieces:

For the parchment of the first volume of the book of Tristan, in which there are 81 leaves... 13 £ 10s.
Also, for the parchment for the second volume of Tristan...Also, for the parchment of the Grand Boéce de Consolation...Also, for the parchment for the Ordinaire des Crétiens...Also, for the parchment for the Orloge de Dévocation...For the parchment for the Heures en francoys
And in return for his trouble in having made several journeys from Paris to Cognac, by the command of my late lord...both to bring the books and to get the amount, as mentioned, for the items, 20 s.9

The expense role of 1497 also demonstrates that Louise commanded articles and volumes for herself and her daughter Marguerite. She asked her treasurer Master Droyn Galus to pay Johannes, "writer of my lady," the sum of 35 s. for his expenses in buying a dozen vellum skins and the making of a Book of Hours for Mademoiselle [Marguerite].10 The writer also received his expenses for renting a horse and the purchasing of more skins for Hours to bring to the countess. An additional amount of 105 s. was paid to this Jean Michal for the vellum necessary to copy the book of the Epistres d'Ovide which he did for the countess. This last work is the translation done by Octavián de Saint-Gelais and beautifully decorated for Louise.

A bookseller of Angoulême, Antoine Quarre, was paid the sum of 10 s. for a work entitled the Chroniques des roys de France abregé. It was a history of French kings from the Trojan War until the death of Charles VII in 1461. We know that Verard published a version in approximately 1493. This may have been one of the Chroniques which form part of the inventory of the late count.

Louise also lists merchants who were charged to acquire clothing, musk, and books to be used by Louise and her children. To a merchant residing at Tours the countess paid monies for his purchase of five books of Vincent l'Historial. He also brought to Louise some Vigiles (prayers for religious festivals), which were
decorated. For her children the countess bought ribbons, decorated boxes, and three relics. These last were destined for Marguerite and may have been reliquaries to hold some religious items.

To their château of Cognac, Louise and Charles d'Angoulême attracted artists, courtisans, and whole families seeking benefices. One family, that of the Saint-Gelais, was to dominate. It consisted of Pierre, chamberlain to Charles; Jean, a chamberlain and confidant to Louise; Octavian, Charles, and Jacques, who became clergymen; and Merlin, a poet and maître d'hôtel to Louise and, later, to her son.11

While Pierre de Saint-Gelais held the title to the lands of the Saint-Gelais, his sons were to become more important to Charles and Louise. Pierre's son Jean became a confidant to the count and is credited with Charles' submission and subsequent marriage in 1487.12 Jean de Saint-Gelais was to serve as Louise's chamberlain even after the death of her husband.

Following in the steps of their father and brother, Charles and Jacques de Saint-Gelais went into the service of the count. In 1487 Charles offered a Latin translation of the Regime des princes to Charles d'Angoulême.13 It had been written in the fourteenth century by Gilles Colonna, a tutor of Philip the Fair. The work was a manual on the art of war, politics, and domestic economy. It was designed to educate a youth in both a practical and moral sense. At the time Charles was a lawyer, but later he was raised to the bishop's see of Angoulême under Francis I. Jacques
de Saint-Gelais, bishop of Uzes, also dedicated a Latin work, translated as *L'Étrif de science, nature et fortune* by his brother Octavian, to the count of Angoulême. He hoped that the count would take the work to "taste the investigation of letters and the diversity of new writings," not only for the adornment of knowledge which every prince should have, but also for recreation and pastime reading pleasure.  

The translation of the preceding work was done by the most famous of the Saint-Gelais brothers, Octavian. Born about 1468, Octavian is classed as one of the leading poets and translators of the school called rhétoriqueurs. These men sought to make poets orators in imitation of ancient Rome. Classical writers and their works became their models.  

The rhétoriqueurs were entranced by the elegance of the Latin language and sought to translate Latin words with French conjugation and declension endings. They were in great demand to sing the praises of their lords, princes, and kings in poems of circumstance. As a result, much of their work is heavy in style and of little poetic value.  

Octavian translated his brother's *L'Étrif de science...*, as he says, while still a student in Paris. He refused to compose a new creation himself but would offer his translation to his "very great and very redoubtable lord, Monsieur, the Count of Angoulême..." The work is an allegory in which each personage, Science, Nature, Reason, and Fortune, boasted of her value and qualities at the expense of the others.
It is believed that Octavian was introduced into the court of Charles VII and Anne de Beaujeu through the efforts of his brother Jean. Once at court, Octavian began to create ballades, rondeaus, and poetry for the king and regent. During the years 1490-1494, he created the first of his poetic works from the Medieval Romance of Aeneas Sylvius, L’Istorie de Burialus et de Lucrese. This was a story of the love between a married woman, Lucretia, and a nobleman of the court of Emperor Sigismund. Their romance was destined not to be fulfilled; Burialus was recalled from Italy and Lucretia expired from her grief in the arms of her mother.

Reviving classical authors was part of the humanistic tradition of the fifteenth century. This Octavian did when he translated Les 22 Epistres d’Ovide for both Charles VIII and, later, Louise. It is a collection of romantic letters written by classical heroines to their lost or absent husbands and lovers. Octavian seems to have been chastised for his sensual preoccupation in translations. He attempted to justify his efforts to King Charles VIII in the following words:

To amuse yourself, sire, you commanded from me a work which quite bothers me, but I will obey you, not being able to do otherwise. Nevertheless, after diverse combat between my poor and good will, Reason made an accord and put an end to this argument. Determining and concluding that loyal service must not be spared, nor any true subject be released from all good and honest possible means to render a good account of himself to his lord; thus to employ his sense, time, and goods to show himself a servant such as a good master desires him to be.
Later, some well-known authors such as Cornelius Agrippa were censured for their free thoughts on religion and were deprived of their right of free expression. In 1521, Agrippa complained to Louise that he was unable to express himself. He had sent the regent his work *De sacramento matrimonii*, in which he had followed Luther's denunciation of clerical celibacy. After Louise knew of his complaints, his pension was delayed for some months. In one of his letters he charged:

> While one says I committed a crime upon freely saying what I thought, one leaves in the hands of ladies and even young girls the *Nouvelles* of Boccaccio, the *Facetiae* of Poggio, the adulterous loves of Euryale and Lucretia, the high deeds and loves of Tristan and of Lancelot. I admire how these rigid censors close their eyes upon dangerous books, and how even prelates are pleased to read them, to translate them; witness the bishop of Angoulême, who had not blushed to put into French the *Hercides* of Ovid.

Octavian's best known original work is *Le séjour d'honneur*, which must have been composed and edited before the time of Charles VIII's first expedition to Italy. It is a partly allegorical, partly historical, account in which the poet begins a pilgrimage of life; he proceeds from Sensuality, Abuse, and Vain Pleasure until he reaches Reason. Historical personalities such as Charles VIII, Anne de Beaujeu, Louis XII, and Louis d'Orléans have been identified in the poem. Most certainly the sources for the *Séjour d'honneur* were derived from Virgil, Medieval Romances, and Dante's *Divine Comedy*.

When, in 1494 the bishop of Angoulême died, Count Charles asked the king to submit Octavian's name to the pontiff for consideration.
as the next bishop.\textsuperscript{23} A request for his appointment was sent to Pope Alexander VI who quickly agreed to the proposal. Thus Octavian de Saint-Gelaie came to reside with his brothers at the little court of Louise and Charles. He brought with him a little boy, who was called his nephew, but who, later historians believe, was the bishop's illegitimate son. Merlin, as he was called, became one of Louise's servants as a Maître d'hôtel and also later served her son as well.\textsuperscript{24}

It was only a few weeks after installation as bishop of Angoulême that Octavian wrote some congratulatory lyrics to Louise and Charles. The event was the birth of Francis to the countess. The bishop responded with a ballad dedicated to Charles, expressing his future hopes for the baby.

\begin{quote}
This new one....
Anointed and crowned by his precious dream,
Collateral of the family branch of France,
Custodian and guard of the lands of Angoulême...\textsuperscript{25}
\end{quote}

The wish expressed by Octavian was that Francis might have all the good qualities of his father and some day wear a crown. Perhaps Octavian was as much a prophet as Saint Francis de Paula who also told Louise that her son would some day be crowned.\textsuperscript{26}

About two years later when Charles d'Angoulême died suddenly, Octavian created an 800-line elegy for his dead patron. He could not forget that all his family were dependant upon the largess of the count and his wife. He created a mood of excessive mental anguish through eulogies of the virtues of the late benefactor, and hope for the widow, sustained now by her two children, Marguerite and Francis:
Hal! Pen and ink, [with] what do you now amuse yourselves?  
In which delights of your exploits do you abuse?  

....  
Heart, body and mouth well lament;  
The tongue must satisfy in complaint,  
The great regret ought all proposals distract,  
With never more joy to speak....  

You, of Angoulême, now I summon you,  
Speak the name of this virtuous man,  
So that one may know for whom this lament proceeds  
Name at least and I shall say it again,  
Helas! It is Charles, late Count of Angoulême.  

But what will you do, sweet wife and companion,  
The most loved, where all honor reposes:  
Is there no heart who may compose a poem  
To regret such a lamentable thing?  
You have lost the most prudent and wise,  
Best appearing gentleman living...27  
He was to you a true Deucalion....

Octavian de Saint-Gelais and his brothers did not pass out of  
service to the countess and her children. There is the translation  
of Les épistres d'Ovide which was completed at the end of 1496,  
as we have seen from Louise's expense role.28 The illuminator  
must have been Robinet Testard who continued to illustrate works  
for Louise, just as he had done for her husband. The countess,  
herself, was to appear in various disguises in the accompanying  
miniatures. The heroines herein depicted all are slim waisted,  
with grey-blue eyes, and blond. There seems to be a clear indication  
of the name Louise on folio 71v. for the letters L...se appear. And  
in the stained glass window on folio 5v. the letter L appears.  

There exists also at the Bibliothèque Nationale a copy of  
Octavian's Sejour d'honneur which has beautifully decorated borders.  
Among the many trees, birds, and fruits one can see a salamander.  
As this symbol came to represent both Louise and her son Francis,
we can speculate that it either may have been part of the countess' collection, or it may have been presented to Francis before he ascended the throne.

When Charles d'Angoulême died on January 1, 1496, he left a wife of eighteen and two children: Marguerite, born April 11, 1492, and Francis, born September 12, 1494. We have an account of the count's illness and Louise's overpowering grief. She spent every moment with the dying count, until she had to be led from the chamber, more dead than alive. Her grief was so intense that "never in the memory of man has one seen the like...." However, Louise herself devoted only one terse line in her diary to the death of Charles. "The first day of January of the year 1496, I lost my husband."

Charles VIII immediately came to the aid of the widow and her children. He moved the family to his court of Blois, then established their home at Amboise. Relations between the king and Louise seem to indicate that Charles looked upon his late cousin's family as his own. Godefroi says:

He [the king] took this household in his hand as his own, carrying all affairs as his. And he did as much with wealth and honor to the mother, and to the children, that father, husband, son, nor brother could not do more.

However, the young widow was not allowed complete freedom to govern her life or that of her infants. Louis d'Orléans and Pierre de Rohan, cousins of her late husband, reclaimed the tutelage of Louise and her family because she was not then of legal age to control her property. From proceedings of the period, it is quite evident that Louise did not like to have the control of her children
wrested from herself and given over to these two royal cousins. "It displeased my lady that others than herself were named and had charge of administration, which she claimed belongs to her." Although her husband's will clearly gave the countess all governance of the affairs of the family, Charles VIII declared Louis d'Orléans and his lieutenant the Maréchal de Gisé as honorary governors of the household. After the death of Charles VIII, the new king Louis XII again confirmed Louise's control of her children, while maintaining the Maréchal as the overseer of the family at Amboise.

In order more carefully to supervise the household, the Maréchal began to substitute his own men for the servants and confidants who had accompanied Louise since the death of her husband. Most notable of these was Jean de Saint-Gelais, who was dismissed by Gisé from Amboise. The exact reason for this action can not be determined, but later historians believed that relations may have been closer than adviser to his lady. Louise, however, provided Jean with the Senechaussé of Agen after the death of his brother Octavian. Louise's retinue at Amboise soon grew to rival that of Queen Anne de Bretagne both in numbers and expense. Her courtiers increased from 105 officers in 1507, costing 5,234£, until 1515 when she employed 196 officers costing 28,114£. Louis XII soon granted his cousin the large sum of 20,000£ to pay the entire cost of Louise and her children at Amboise.

Although she had to accept the honorary governorship of both Louis and the Maréchal de Gisé, Louise continued to exercise control over the moral, physical, and intellectual rearing of her children. Educational precepts of the Renaissance stressed the intellectual
and physical growth of children through acquisition of knowledge, derived from a study of the classics and appreciation of the physical world. The tutors of these children worked hand in hand with the lady of the house. Both Marguerite and Francis shared the same educators and education. François du Moulin, called de Rochfort, abbot of Saint-Mesmin, taught them Latin and ecclesiastical history, while their mother gave them lessons in Spanish and Italian. The abbot of Saint-Martin d'Autun, Robert Hurault, later professor and protector to Bonaventure des Periers, taught Marguerite and Francis philosophy. Louise could draw upon these excellent teachers as well as the libraries which were at Cognac and Amboise. The love of letters which the mother encouraged in her children was to develop two of the most noted literary and artistic patrons of the sixteenth century.

As a result of this humanistic education, Marguerite knew something about theology, Latin, Hebrew, Italian, Spanish, and philosophy. In the Oraison funèbre of Marguerite de Navarre by Charles de Sainte-Marthe, the author described the methods used by Louise for her daughter's instruction:

Louise, the very lucid mirror of prudence and matronal gravity, understood very well what we say [Concerning the education of children]; she took such diligence and such care of her daughter's nourishment that to see it one might have rather judged her a Persian, instructed with a Persian severity, than a Frenchwoman.

Marguerite was given over to Blanche de Tournon, Madame de Chatillon, who guided the morals of the young girl. She was not permitted much leisure time or frivolous, vain, or dishonest pastimes which affected so many princely houses of the period. Wise
and tested teachers and philosophers were in constant attendance at Amboise. They gathered to teach both profane letters as well as the Scriptures. Sainte-Marthe says that these men imparted the philosophy of living happily as well as the philosophy of the Church to their young charges:

Marguerite was so well indoctrinated and instructed by her teachers [in] Evangelical philosophy, which is the Word of God, in the saints and salutary precepts that even though she had not yet reached fifteen years when the Spirit of God, which had seized her mind, began to be manifested and appeared in her eyes, in her face, in her step, in her word, and generally in all her actions. 39

Marguerite and Francis were sent many companions to live with them at Amboise. Many of these friends later served as military or political advisors, not only to her children but also to Louise. Robert de la Marck, Anne de Montmorency, Philip de Chabot, and Artus de Boissy all became closely connected with the reign of Francis when he ascended the throne. The sire de Fleuranges, Robert de la Marck, recounted the games of bows and arrows, hunts, and Italian bones that were played at court. He believed that he had never seen a prince "better indoctrinated that Madame, his mother, had nourished him [Francis]." 40

While in residence at Amboise, Louise continued to commission many manuscripts which were destined for the education and pleasure of her children. One of the most famous texts is Les écrins amoureux. 41 There has been a controversy as to who is depicted in the first miniature, Louise and Charles, or Francis and Marguerite. The shield of Folio 1r is of the arms of Angoulême-Savoie and upon the table one can see the shield of France. Because of the heraldic
insignias and the blond, blue-eyed woman who appears in the miniatures, I believe that this manuscript must have been done either shortly before the death of Charles, or else soon after. In the dedication miniature we are presented with portraits of a woman and two men who are playing checkers.\textsuperscript{12} The woman (Louise) appears in a red robe with green sleeves; a man (Charles) wears a fur-trimmed robe, a golden collar and a red hat. He is holding a dog's leash in his hand, which may be a symbol of marital fidelity. The third man must be a page. Several of the other miniatures seem to represent Louise as Dame Nature; a lady with blond hair, young and slender in stature. The borders are beautifully decorated with many flowers, birds, and numerous animals.

Perhaps the most interesting miniature portrays the music room at Cognac.\textsuperscript{13} Louise is shown seated upon two swans which may represent her desire for a son as the swan was quite commonly used as a mother-emblem. The illuminator, probably Robinet Testard, has created a typical Flemish-Gothic scene. He represented common sixteenth century musical instruments such as a lyre, a harp, an organ, a set of bagpipes, and a chorus at the chateau.

Many of the works which surrounded Francis and Marguerite at Amboise were done by servants or clerics as instructional readings. Typical of these were \textit{Le titre d'honneur},\textsuperscript{14} \textit{Le livre de noble espérance},\textsuperscript{15} and the \textit{Histoire de Totila}.\textsuperscript{16} The first had previously been created for Louis XIII by the bishop of Condom, Jean de la Mare. It listed fifteen virtues which Francis was to cultivate. A domestic servant Adrien de Vernages wrote the \textit{Book of Noble Hope} as a simple
work designed to give Francis both moral philosophy as well as a knowledge of natural science. The third work, by Jean de Lenoncourt, treasurer of the chapter of Tours, celebrates the need for mercy, the uncertainties of life, and the need to trust in God. He describes Francis as the flower of the virtues which grew at Amboise, and recommends that Francis develop good moral precepts.

One of the family's almoners wrote a little Latin moral tract on philosophy and dedicated it to "his most serene highness Francis." The author mixed sacred and profane authors to set forth a guide for living happily. He also suggested that one should recite the seven psalms of penance, listen to the saying of the Mass, and attend nocturnal prayers. There is even a chapter devoted to marriage. The station of marriage was comprised of reciprocal duties such as affability, gaiety, and even a certain liberty. "Since God has not drawn woman from the feet of man, but from his side, the husband ought to treat his wife as an associate, not in servitude, and maintain her suitably."

In 1505 François du Moulin wrote a Dialogue à deux personages which was dedicated to Francis but given to Louise. Du Moulin is listed in 1502 as chaplain to Louise; he was also a tutor and almoner to both the countess and her children. This work was a moral dialogue between a young prince and his confessor. The first miniature presents the confessor teaching his young student the evils of life; a crowd of gambling devils seems to introduce many temptations into the life of a young boy. The instructor teaches his charge that these vanities of life lead only to Misery, Avarice,
Sadness, and Ire. The young prince or king is shown that salvation is gained through contemplation of Christ. The prince receives his religious training from a cardinal to avoid these evils.

The second miniature represents Dame Prudence, who, in reality, is Louise, for the robe she wears is embroidered with large L's upon which are superimposed the initials F and M. The confessor and his charge discuss the manner in which one should reach and serve Dame Prudence in life.

This moral philosophical work is terminated with a ballade to the three Graces and an invocation to Louise, who is called the fourth Grace. The countess is pictured receiving the book from the author.

The purpose for which du Moulin created the work was to encourage Francis to flee from sensuality "by which we are like brutish beasts," and to contemplate the divine gift of God, the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross. The classical authors such as Plato and Socrates taught the thoughtful life as opposed to one of excesses; du Moulin warned against foolish games of chance such as card playing or even a game of tennis. The only activity which the confessor permitted was strolling which would lead the young man to the home of Dame Prudence.

Du Moulin also translated the first book of the *Cyropédie* of Xenophon just before Francis ascended the throne. Even more important that its historical value is the expressed wish and hope that Francis be worthy of ruling the country. The education which Louise had instituted through the person of du Moulin was designed
to develop a liberal and well-rounded young prince. The author confirmed these policies in the prologue when he said,

that you may be worthy of having precedence over the people of God, to which you shall succeed quite soon if you are as liberal and of such a good nature as I have always wished, since the moment that I have first had knowledge of your very illustrious person.... I shall live joyously and in good peace under your great protection all my life. 56

A humanist of French letters and natural science was introduced into the court of Amboise some time after 1508. This was Christopher Longueil, a lawyer, orator, and natural scientist whose reputation gained for him the honor in 1508 of making a panegyric to Louis IX of France. 57 Longueil was one of the first humanists to contend that France was the equal of Italy in religion, culture, warriors, and fertility of her soil. The author dedicated a copy of this speech in 1510 to Francis d'Angoulême, his pupil, and to Louise, naming her as instructrice of her son's education. 58 We know from this prologue that Longueil had been taken into Louise's circle as a teacher to her children in this year, thus it is not surprising that Longueil wished to thank his patroness.

While Louise devoted all her energies to the supervision of her two children, Louis XII sought to create political alliances through marital agreements. As early as 1502, the king sent Mathew Bacquier to England with a proposal of marriage of his ward, Marguerite, and Henry, prince of York, the son of Henry VII. The French king's plans were not to be fulfilled because the English desired to have one of Louis' own daughters, either Renée or Claude, not the unimportant sister of the duke of Valois. Bacquier returned
to his master with the following message:

...nevertheless it seems to the king...and to the men of his council that the king, his brother and cousin, and the queen his companion are still rather young and they could still have several children, sons as well as daughters; of whom the king...would desire with all his heart that it might be thus; which is why it is advised that the offer is not propitious or convenient; but if the lady were procreated from his own body and [here] his own daughter, the king would be happy and more inclined to reach an understanding with no other prince living today....59

Within three years the situation was to change drastically. Due to his illness in 1504, Louis XII had changed his will to name Francis his heir and to order a marriage to take place between Francis and his daughter, Claude. A regency was to be instituted immediately upon his death, composed of Cardinal Georges d'Amboise, the Maréchal de Gis, Queen Anne de Bretagne, and Louise of Savoy, who would rule until Francis came of age. The prospect of a marital alliance became much more appealing to the English who sent an ambassador to France. Lord Herbert proposed Prince Henry for Marguerite and added a request that Louise should leave France and marry Henry VII. Louise quickly refused the offer because she wished to be near her son.60 The English were not daunted, for Lord Herbert then asked Marguerite's hand for Henry VII. Louis XII agreed to this proposal and promised a dowry of 100,000 crowns to the bride. Although both the king and her mother might have accepted the English alliance, Marguerite refused to leave the country. She did not wish to leave France for England which was too far away; she desired to find "a young, rich, and noble husband without crossing the sea."61
Although Louise was not to lose her daughter for three years, Francis was betrothed to Claude de France in 1506. At Plessis-les-Tours the cardinal of Amboise spoke for the French nation and requested the king to link the Valois and Orléans families through a formal betrothal ceremony. The future marriage seemed to insure that Francis might accomplish his mother's hopes for his success. The political ascendancy of Francis necessitated that he go to the royal court to be trained as the dauphin of France. His mother recorded her thoughts about the departure of her son for court life: "the third of August, 1508, my son left Amboise to be a man at court, and left me all alone." Louise's consolation was to be that Francis made numerous visits to her chateau.

Soon after her son had left for the royal court, Louis XII had Marguerite betrothed and married in 1509. Louis XII arranged this marriage in order to bring a part of the royal house under his control. Duke Charles d'Alençon disliked the Armagnac branch of the royal house for it had been one of the principal opponents of the monarchy during the civil wars of the fourteenth century. Thus without the consent of Marguerite, the king gave her to the young duke of Alençon as his wife. She received a dowry of 60,000 crowns in return for which she renounced her rights of succession to the lands of Angoulême in favor of her brother. From her husband, Marguerite was assured an income from the lands of Vernouil, Sez, Bernay, and Alençon. The duke's mother, Marguerite of Lorraine, promised the young bride half of her jewels, household goods, and the silver and gold dinnerward.
Marguerite's marriage marked the first time that a work was expressly created for her benefit and pleasure. Guy de Fontenay, sire de la Tour de Vesvre in Berry, was a teacher at the college of Sainte-Barbe, who had previously published a Latin textbook for his pupils on the writing of prose and poetry. His effort to celebrate the marriage is entitled Guidonis de Fontanaye Bituricensis, Epithalamium super connubio... Caroli et Margarite. It was one of the poems of circumstance which congratulated the wedded couple, listed the worthiness of the bride and groom, and hoped for their happiness.

Although Marguerite spent much of her time attending to political duties at her husband's court in Alençon, she began to commission artistic works on her own behalf as well as to work in concert with her mother. A Latin manuscript was commanded either by Marguerite, or in concert with her mother, to be given to Francis. It is more important for its illuminations than for its contents. The presentation miniature is a portrait of the young Francis being led by Saint Agnes to a contemplation of the crucified Christ. The problem arises when the figure of Saint Agnes is identified as either Louise or Marguerite. If it is Louise, she does not appear as the blond, blue-eyed lady of Testard's earlier miniatures; on the other hand, there are too few illustrations of Marguerite at this young age to enable us to make a positive attribution. This same miniature also includes a rooster perched upon the back of a lion at the feet of a pope. Mr. Maulde de la Clavière claims this illumination symbolizes the French army in preparation for war against Julius II. If the supposition is correct, Francis was given this
tract just before he followed Louis XIII into Italy in order to protect French claims to Italian lands.

The illuminations of the manuscript are attributed to Barthelemy Guetty or Guyot who left his service to Louise and Marguerite to become a painter in the service of Francis I. Louise must have first discovered the talented Guetty and shared the artist's talents with her son during her life. The expense role for 1532-33 clearly indicates that this illuminator continued to be employed by both great patrons, the king and his dowager mother, for it reads:

To Barthelemy Guetty, 300 gold crowns, for two patrons (patterns) done by him where are designed and painted several histories...satires and triumphs which the king has had done lately in his tennis court of the Louvre and for a pair of Hours, illustrated with several stories, done with good colors,...and in this included the voyage that Guetty made, in post, from Tours to Dijon, where the lord was, in order to carry to him the Hours that he took for his service and pleasure. The late Madame had had them commissioned, for this three crowns.68

Another instance in which an artist gained the notice of Louise occurred in 1513. Jean Bourdichon was one of the most renowned painters of the later part of the fifteenth century. His patrons included Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne, for whom he created one of the most famous Books of Hours. The countess of Angoulême may have been attempting to imitate the queen in artistic support when a commission was given to Bourdichon to create a likeness of Saint Francis de Paula.69 The saint had predicted that Louise would have a son who would lead France. Her devotion to Francis de Paula was so great that in 1519 she herself paid the costs
of his canonization. It was only natural that she would choose one of the greatest artists in order to demonstrate her patronage as a rival to that of the queen. As with Master Guasty, Jean Bourdichon also passed into the service of Francis I.

Although Louise might have felt some remorse when Francis left for court and Marguerite was married to Charles d'Alençon, she did not remain alone at her chateau. Both her children were frequently in attendance at the ever-growing circle of artists and writers whom their mother supported. One can find the name of François Charbonnier as a secretary and poet in Louise’s expenses from the year 1512. This man was a great friend of Guillaume Crétin, a grand rhétoriqueur of France. It must have been through Charbonnier that Crétin began to dedicate épîtres to both Francis and Marguerite from 1513. Charbonnier himself passed into the service of Francis to serve as a page; he also republished a collection of Crétin’s songs, orations, and poetry and dedicated it to Marguerite in 1527.

Another writer, who was introduced into Louise’s circle at Amboise and Cognac, was the Franciscan friar, Jean Thenaud. After entering her service, Thenaud dedicated a world history to the countess of Angoulême entitled La Marguerite de France ou chronique abrégée des rois... à Charles VIII. In this history Thenaud traced the genealogy of the royal house of France through Assyria, Persia, Greece, and Rome into the fifteenth century. He remained in service to Louise even after her son had become king. A later dedication to Francis of the Traité de la cabale chrétienne
shows that he might have been a tutor or chaplain to the young heir of France.

I have come to know as much through writing, as by seeing far distant lands which through preaching as well as other ways [I have spoken] of these things to you. And [I am quite pleased] to have been present before such a holy and royal majesty as you were in [your] flourishing infancy. I still regard you as growing and flowering in exemplary excellence....

Thenaud must have become one of Louise's most trusted servants because in 1511 she commissioned him to make a voyage to the Holy Places and potentates of the Near East. The Egyptian sultan, Cansou Choury, had offered a safe-conduct to some ambassadors of Louis XII for the purpose of trade negotiations and a guarantee for the safety for the Holy Places in the Near East. In July of the same year, Thenaud went to Alençon where he received money and instructions from both Louise and her daughter. We can suppose that he was told to seek out diplomatic contacts not only with the Egyptians but also with those rulers in Persia. Neither the expectations of Louis XII nor Louise were to fulfilled during this voyage; the Venetians sailed to Cairo carrying greater presents than Louis XII had given; and friar Thenaud could not establish any worthwhile diplomatic contacts.

Upon his return to France, Thenaud wrote about his experiences as a traveler through Egypt, the Sinai peninsula, and Jerusalem. At one point he had to retire to the monastery of Saint-Catherine after having been attacked, beaten, and robbed of his clothing by bandits. *Le voyage d'outre mer*, of course, was dedicated to Louise. Thenaud excused himself in not fulfilling the countess' hopes on his trip; nonetheless, he wished his patroness to accept his work.
During the years from 1509 to 1515, Louise received several artistic efforts which owe their execution and dedication to her as the mother of the future monarch. An unknown cleric composed *Le trépassement de Saint Jerome* some time after 1509. He relates in the dedication that his parents, mother, father, and brothers were nourished in the illustrious house of Orléans-Angoulême. The author hoped that Louise would give the work to Francis "who is today the dauphin of France, very handsome, young and noble prince to the very noble, and adorned by all virtues, Madame d'Alencçon." 78

The first miniature of this work presents Louise wearing a fur-trimmed robe and a black veil. She is kneeling before a woman dressed in white, who represents an allegory of Faith receiving the book from upon high. Behind Faith stands Saint Jerome with his familiar symbol of the lion, a book in his hands. These illuminations are attributed by Paulin Paris to the same artist who created the *Échecs amoureux*, Robinet Testard. We know that Testard remained on Louise's expense role until at least 1522; 79 therefore, it is quite possible that he illustrated the work.

Another work of the same period is *La vie de notre dame* and likewise dedicated to Louise. The work is devoted to the life of the Virgin from her birth to her assumption. The author recognizes that Louise was the mother of the future heir, "descending from the sovereign stem to succeed to the high royal title." 80 The first miniature presents us with Louise and Francis receiving the work from the kneeling author. The second illustration is of the Virgin and the Holy Trinity.
Although Francis d'Angoulême and Claude de France were betrothed in 1506, the formal marriage did not take place until after the death of Queen Anne. Many historians believe that a political rivalry had arisen between Louise and Anne; each of the women might have hoped the other's child would die and thereby end the future joining of the two families. During the trial of the Maréchal de Giè in 1506, it was charged that the queen did not like Louise and did all in her power to weaken the countess' position at court. The activities of the queen seem to indicate that she sought any method to marry her daughter, not to Francis, but rather to Charles of Austria. In her own diary, the countess of Angoulême recorded quite maliciously that Anne attempted to produce a rival to her son. She said: "Anne, Queen of France, at Blois, the day of Saint-Agnes, January 21st, had a son; but he could not retard the exaltation of My Caesar, because he died...." The queen must have finally resigned herself to the acceptance of Francis as her son-in-law because she gave the administration of her goods and her daughters into the hands of Louise. Some time after her son had ascended the throne, Louise defended her behavior in regard to Anne and Claude, her daughter-in-law. She might have been trying to stop the rumors of her rudeness toward Claude when she recorded the following:

Anne, Queen of France, died January 9th, 1514, [and] left me the administration of her goods, of her fortune and of her daughters, even of Madame Claude, Queen of France and wife of my son, whom I have honorably and amiably guided; Each knows it, truth recognizes it, experience demonstrates it, it is also publicly renown.
After devoting her life to the education and political ascendency of her son, Louise must have been quite distraught when Louis XII announced that he would enter into a marriage with Mary Tudor, a daughter of Henry VII of England. Perhaps, a mixture of fear and malice caused her to comment that Louis XII was quite "old and debilitated when he greeted his intended." If the king had produced an offspring, Louise and Francis might never have reached the French throne. However, Louis XII soon fell ill and died on December 31, 1515. The house of Angoulême-Orléans claimed the right to govern all France in the person of Francis I. Louise set down her thanks for the pains she had endured on behalf of her children when she stated

...my son was anointed and crowned in the church of Reims. For this, I have been well held and obliged to the divine Mercy, by which I have been amply recompensated for all the adversities and inconveniences which have happened to me in my first years, and in the flower of my youth. Humility kept me company; and patience has never abandoned me.

Although Louise of Savoy commanded and received several devotional manuscripts, there is little evidence of her deep interest in religious reforms or reformers during her early widowhood. However, it has been suggested by E. Renaudet that Louise joined with Anne de Bretagne to support demands of the great bishop of Lodève, Guillaume Briçonnet, for monastic reforms and disciplinary changes in France. If the countess became acquainted with Briçonnet during these years, she might have introduced her daughter into the humanist circle which Briçonnet gathered about himself. It is most certain that after Louise became a political power as regent, she became involved with the new ideas and reforms.
CHAPTER I

FOOTNOTES


5 Brantôme, Oeuvres, VIII, 104-105.


7 Paris, Bibliothèque de Sainte-Geneviève, Ms. Fr. #2977, fol. 68.


11 B. Ste.-Gen., Ms. Fr. #2977, fol. 51, 68.


14 Molinier, Essai, p. 12.

15 Ibid., p. 12.

16 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fr. #1155, folios 3v-kr.

17 Ibid., fol. kr.

18 Molinier, Essai, pp. 63-64.

19 Molinier, Essai, pp. 68-69.


23 Molinier, Essai, p. 123.

24 B. Ste.-Gen. Ms. Fr #2977, fol. 68.


28 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fr#875.

29 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fr#12,783.


32 Godefroi, Histoire, p. 194.


34 Ibid., p. 370.


38 Jourda, Marguerite, I, 25.


41 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fr#143.
Ibíd., fol. 1.

Ibíd., fol. 65.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fr. #2476.

Ibíd., Ms. Fr. #2476.

Ibíd., Ms. Fr. #2126.

Maulde de la Clavière, Louise de Savoie, p. 237.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. #359h.

Maulde de la Clavière, Louise de Savoie, p. 232.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fr. #1863.

B. Ste.-Gen. Ms. Fr. #2977, fol. 70.

B. N. Ms. Fr. #2977, fol. 2r.

Ibíd., fol. 2r.

Ibíd., fol. 12r-v.

Ibíd., fol. 3v.

Maulde de la Clavière, Louise de Savoie, p. 238.


Maulde de la Clavière, Louise de Savoie, pp. 239-240.

L. Sandret, "Marguerite d'Angoulême, soeur de François Ier, projets de mariage et négociations," Revue des Questions Historiques, XIV (1873), 208.
60. A. Desjardins, Négociations diplomatiques de la France avec la Toscane in the Collection des documents inédits sur l'histoire de France (3 Vols; Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1861), II, 208-209.


70. Louise de Savoie, Journal, p. 91.

71. B. Ste.-Gen., Ms. Fr #2977, fol. 69.


77. Ibid., p. 115.


80. Maulde de la Clavière, Louise de Savoie, p. 312.

81. Maulde de la Clavière, Procédures politiques, pp. 31, 51, 133.

82. Ibid., p. 166.


84. Ibid.

85. Ibid., p. 89.

86. Ibid.

Upon the death of Louis XII and the subsequent accession of Francis I to the throne, Louise of Savoy and her daughter Marguerite quickly gained more political importance in the nation. Through their close unity with the monarch during the secular as well as religious conflicts, these two women were the focal points for literary works as well as those who sought to introduce religious reforms within the Church. Louise of Savoy became her son's most trusted confidante and adviser when he led the French armies into Italy in an effort to reconquer the claimed lands of Milan. Louise was named regent and governor in France to prevent any sedition or brigandage while Francis was far away.

Francis' sister, Marguerite d'Alençon, expended a greater part of her energies at the royal court than in her own. Like her mother, Marguerite devoted her activities in the pursuit of literary acquisitions and religious reforms. In truth, she became so closely attached to the religious reformers such as Lefèvre d'Étaples and Guillaume Briçonnet that she, herself, was suspected of unorthodoxy by the Faculty of Theology of the Sorbonne. In the areas of politics and religion, both women were united by a common desire to conserve the French nation and to aid in the propagation of new ideas in religion.
From his first days upon the throne, Francis I began to entrust lands, money, and power to his mother in repayment for her devoted care during his childhood. In his Ordonnances he recognized his filial duty to his mother for "...her guardianship, government, and administration."1

Francis raised Louise's patrimony of Angoulême to a duchy, and added more lands, titles, and lordships to her control. In addition, the duchy of Anjou and the counties of Maine and Beaufort were confined to her keeping and usufruct. As a special favor to his mother, Francis renounced all head taxes, loans, and subsidies in all of these lands in memory of his father, Count Charles d'Angoulême.2

To Marguerite and her husband the duke d'Alençon, the king gave the duchy of Armagnac, the revenues of the duchy of Berry, and created two governorships over Normandy and Brittany for Charles.3 Although some members of Parlement complained almost immediately that the king had alienated his own possessions when he had granted his sister the lands of Armagnac, there was little they could do to prevent him from fulfilling his desires.

Following in the footsteps of his two predecessors, Francis soon turned his attention to Italy. After alliance agreements had been made with Venice and England, Francis, armed with a declaration of rights to the Milanese lands inherited by his wife, crossed the Alps into Italy in July, 1515. By letters patent Francis stated the reason for his war, and named the person to whom he entrusted the nation, his mother. He stated,
Since we have the true and just right and title to the duchy of Milan, our heritage, ...which has been usurped and held by Maximilian Sforza, our enemy and adversary, after long and sure deliberation, we have raised a great and powerful army, with which and with the aid of God ...and of our good and loyal servants, we shall reduce him to obedience. Considering this, we have decided to give this charge and power to our very dear and beloved lady and mother the duchess of Angoulême and Anjou.... She will know how wisely and virtuously to acquit herself through her prudence [and] the great and singular love that she has for us, to whom also we leave a good and noble company of persons of all estates in order to aid her in the affairs.

While Francis and his army were engaged in defeating the Swiss mercenaries near Milan, his Chancellor Antoine DuPrat conferred with Pope Leo X in Rome in order to reach an accord in the area of religion. The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges had separated France from the Roman Pontiff's control since promulgated by Charles VII in 1438.

The Sanction had been reaction to the papal abuses of the fourteenth century and the anticounciliar stand which the popes had assumed after the end of the Great Schism. The French clergy had the right to elect their own prelates from among their own number. The Sanction also limited appeals to Rome as well as contributions to the papal treasury. Of course, Pope Leo X wished to return the troublesome independent French Church back under the authority of Rome; any pontiff would have wished to recover some of the revenues from France as well as the right to place benefices under papal control. On his own part, Francis I permanently sought to control the selection of the nominees for the ecclesiastical offices within France. It was to his advantage
to prevent any hostilities between his nation and the Church which had plagued his predecessor Louis XII.

After some months of debate, Francis and Leo IX met in Bologna for four days in December, 1515, to discuss the final draft of the Concordat between France and the Roman Church. The benefits to the papacy were the return of some of the annates to Rome and deletion of any mention of a council's power over that of the pope. Leo IX had to relinquish complete control over election to the French ecclesiastical offices. After this accord was signed, the local chapters could no longer elect their own archbishops, bishops, or priors; the king presented his own nominees to Rome. The pope decided upon the qualifications and accorded the benefices. In practice the accord served the interests of the French monarchs since they placed only trusted and loyal servants in the larger ecclesiastical benefices of the nation. Thus the DuPrats, Montmorencys, Bohiers, and other great families in government were rewarded with the grantings of Church offices to their various members for services to the monarch.

While Francis led his men into Italy, Louise as the regent again received many literary efforts. The first of these works might possibly be the manuscript entitled the Douze perils d'enfer. M. Quentin Bouchart credits the manuscript's presentation miniature as representing Louise, dressed as a queen and sitting among her ladies-in-waiting. The lady receives the work from the kneeling author. Particular attention to detail has been paid to the borders of the dedication illumination. It has been beautifully decorated with an assortment of carnations, dandelions, and other
floral creations. A series of smaller rondels depict scenes from the work. The entire work is framed by Gothic arches, surmounted by religious statues; a statue of the Virgin stands in the center of the arches. The shield of Savoy is represented on the bottom of each arch and the two Gothic flambeau spires. At the bag-de-page two angels hold a large shield of Savoy which led Quentin-Bouchart and Paulin Paris to believe that the work belonged entirely to Louise.⁹

The work is a devotional and educational tract offering a method to find and practice virtue, and the way to avoid the errors of life which lead one to eternal perdition. The author hoped that the lady would receive his little labor with great appreciation. His purpose was to educate the spirit through authorities and examples to correct through true penitance so that one could flee the perils of hell and its consequences. "The kingdom of God does not consist of words but of the execution of the divine commandments and operation of virtues."¹⁰

I believe that this manuscript has been falsely attributed to Louise by both Quentin-Bouchart and P. Paris. The author himself states that the tract was written by one of the lady's chaplains to be given to her son Charles de France.¹¹ As the first miniature portrays the woman wearing a crown, I believe that the figure represented is Charlotte de Savoie, mother of Charles VIII and wife to Louis XI, and not Louise. Reading further in the prologue, the author declares this work was intended for the queen.¹² We may suppose that this piece may have been part of Louise's collection of books, given her by
King Charles VIII, or it may have been part of the royal collection of works available at Amboise.

The second miniature of the *Douze perils* depicts a curate preaching to his flock. In the large crowd of parishioners gathered about the pulpit, one can see a definite division between the true believers and the bored non-believers. The virtuous ones listen intently, while the others turn away their heads, or even fall asleep. The accompanying discussion is concerned with the evils of ambition, avarice, voluptuousness, vainglory, and malice without regard to one's final end.

After discussing the various ways in which mankind was subject to eternal damnation through evil ways, the author recommends true penance for the salvation of the individual soul, stating,

*The true Christian shall have perfect charity in his heart and never wish to offend God and shall revere the Holy Catholic faith and Sacraments of the Church entirely by virtuous operation in accomplishing the commandments of His law; God shall have pity come into his soul by true penance while delivering him from the perils of hell.*

Another early work was written by Symphorien Champier in 1515/16 and dedicated to Louise. It was entitled the *Grands chroniques des gestes et faits virtueux des ducs et princes de Savoie et Piémont*. Champier was a physician residing in Lyon, who published many treatises on medicine, Platonic philosophy, and poetry and biographies of noble knights of slight value. In 1515 he accompanied his patron, Duke Antoine of Lorraine, into Italy with the French army and gained a great reputation for his
military ability during the battle of Marignano.\textsuperscript{15} He served later on the city council of Lyon during the period of Francis' captivity and the Hapsburg-Valois rivalry. Among his most famous works were the biography of the French knight Bayard and the Nef des dames, dedicated to Anne de Beaujeu and her daughter Suzanne. In the latter, Champier entered the famous "quarrelle des dames" in which he defended the feminine sex in verse.

In the prologue of the Chronicle, Champier discussed his interest in Platonic philosophy. We know that he had been in close contact with Lefèvre d'Étampes in Paris and had sought to introduce Platonic ideas in his De triplici disciplina (1508).\textsuperscript{16} Champier says in the dedication to Louise that although Plato was highly esteemed as the greatest of all the Greek and Egyptian philosophers, Aristotle and the Catholic doctors reproved him (Plato) in some matters "for (his) wishing to understand too much."\textsuperscript{17} In addition to Platonic philosophy, Champier included a genealogy of the House of Savoy and a history of the world, containing as much as man was able to know in his present state of incomprehension.

He explained to Louise that God was the center of all things, the cause of all causes through whom all the princes reigned and received victories. God was the "intelligible sphere" through whose grace her son was to reign in France.\textsuperscript{18}

The chronicle also traced the lineage of the dukes of Savoy through the sons of Noah to the Trojans, and then into the present period of Louise's father, Philippe de Bresse, and the duchess' marriage to Charles d'Angoulême. We may conjecture that Champier may have written to repay the king for the knighthood which the doctor had received for military prowess.
Among the most beautifully decorated books which Louise possessed was the *Commémoration et avertissement de la mort de Madame Anne, royne de France et duchesse de Bretagne* by the Heraut de Bretagne. At the death of Queen Anne, Louis XII ordered one Pierre Choque, surnamed Bretagne, the master of Anne's arms, to produce a recital of the funeral ceremonies of the queen. The court painter Jean Perreal, or Jean de Paris, was to be in charge of the bas-reliefs and decoration of the processions. After the funeral, the king again ordered Pierre Choque to compose the detailed and faithful recital of these events. He was authorized to make a great number of examples, in which there were to be eleven delicately painted miniatures representing the principal scenes of the ceremonies by Jean Perreal. It was decided to offer each one to a particular member of the royal family, or relatives of the queen. This explains the reason that Louise probably received her copy, for she was the mother-in-law of Anne's daughter Claude.

There is a series of six miniatures painted on vellum with representations of Louise in various disguises housed in the Hôtel de Cluny in Paris. In each miniature a virtue is portrayed and accompanied by a poem in which the first letter of each line is part of Louise's name. The acrostics can be read from top to bottom or in reverse as Louise de Savoie.

We have no precise date for the execution of the work, but as Mme. Saint-Surin points out in her work on the Hôtel de Cluny, the rondeau on Humility calls the duchess "the mother of such a great King." According to Mme. Saint-Surin, Louise
seemed to have taken notice of these acrostics for she made an illusion to them in her diary when she wrote that Humility had never abandoned her. We suspect that the duchess edited her journal some time after 1522; thus if the supposition is correct, these miniatures and poems were done between 1515 and 1522.

The first miniature represents Louise as Humility riding upon a lamb; she carries a lance with which she overturns Pride. The second one is Louise disguised as Liberality, mounted upon a rooster. In one hand she carries a golden plate, and in the other a ewer from which she pours out liquor; Avarice, carried by a bear, is being repulsed. The third displays Louise, dressed in white, with a blue and gold tiara upon her head. Mounted on a chestnut palefrey, she holds in one hand a heart upon which are engraved the initials I.H.S., and in the other a flaming star. Envy, carried by a white rabbit, bows her head upon passing the duchess. The fourth personified Patience. Dressed in white with her blond hair flowing to her shoulders, she rides an ox and carries a lance with which she topples Anger. The fifth is Sobriety, riding an ass; she pokes Gluttony, who is dressed in a shabby smock and mounted upon a pig. The sixth virtue is Chastity. Dressed in a white robe with edges trimmed in blue, she holds a dove and a palm leaf to signify virginity. Luxury, mounted upon a billy goat, has her breasts almost bared; she flees at the sight of the princess.

In an attempt to identify the author of the work, Mme. Saint-Surin ascribed the poetry to André de la Vignes. He was a secretary of Philippe de Savoie, the father of Louise, until
Philippe's death; then he passed into the service of both Anne de Bretagne and Charles VII as an orator and poet. In honor of King Charles' military expedition into Italy in 1494, de la Vigne composed the Le vergier d'honneur to recount the king's glorious exploits. It is quite possible that it was de la Vigne who composed the following acrostic in honor of Charles d'Angoulême, printed at the end of one edition of the Vergier d'honneur.

Cler camayeau,  D e région monarque,
Hault chef prissant,  A utentique gerarche,
A cueil humain,  N oble cœur princiflique,
Riche renom,  G arde de divine arche,
L es lumineux,  O riente marche,
E spoir des bons,  V ray seigneur pacifique,
S entier de Paix,  L orier scientifique,
C hambres d'honneur,  E xemple deiffique,
O mme de meurs  S oub's lumineuse tente,
N obile sire  M embre fleurdelifrique,
T rèspuissant prince  E n gloire terrififique,
E spoir des bons et des loyaux l'attent.

The entire ballade presents the following words in the acrostic:
Charles, conte d'Angoulême, gouverneur et lieutenant-general du Roy en Guienne. 23

According to H. Guy in his study of the French poets of the sixteenth century, André de la Vigne wrote at least two poems to Louise; the first of these was the "Louange à Mme de Savoie par les septes planettes" and an "Épître aux filles de Madame." 24 Both of the poems have disappeared, but Mallin de Saint-Gelais responded to the épître with the following: "Résponse des filles de Madame... aux lettres du S. de la Vigne" about 1526. 25 Thus we can speculate that there was a close connection between the family of Louise and the sire de la Vigne who could possibly have written the rondeaux to the accompanying miniatures.
From just one of the six extant rondeaux the reader will realize the slight poetic value in the effort.

**HUMILITÉ CONTRE ORGUEIL**

L'humilité très parfaite de tois,
O ustre le gré d'orgueil et de sa loy,
J usque au plus haut rang d'honneur t'a levée;
S us toutes Dieu te 'a divine approuvée
E te faisan mère d'un si grant Roy.

D'ipocrisie oncques n'euz ung seul doy;
E nvers chaszun seurs promesse et foy,
S ans estre ingrate, en toy on a trouvée
L'humilité.

A u tien grand cuour presumcion na voy;
V aine gloyre as regectées à par soy;
O ultre duydance est par toy reprouvée;
J e ne dis point parolles controuvée,
E ntre tes muurs clarament j'apperçoj
L'humilité.

Early in 1516 two Books of the Hours were done for the private devotion of the duchess. The first of these is part of the Sloan Collection at the British Museum. It contains about 116 folios with 17 miniatures depicting the life of Christ and His passion. The other Book of Hours is part of the museum collection on display at the Château de Blois. It was printed by a noted sixteenth century printer Geoffrey Tory in Paris. The work is rather crude in design and execution; the arms of Savoy appear at the bas-de-page which give the only clue to ownership.

Marguerite d'Alençon, like her mother, received many literary manuscripts during the early years of her brother's reign. One of the first works dedicated to Marguerite was written by Guillaume Crétin, chaplain of the Sainte-Chapelle. He was also in the group of court poets known as rhétoriquers, who created their poems specifically to be performed at royal
functions. Crépin had been in the employ of Anne de Bretagne, Octavian de Saint-Gelais, Pierre de Bourbon, and had entered the service of Louis XII as an almoner and poet. His friendship with François Charbonnier, a secretary of Louise, enabled him to have an easy access into the acquaintance and largess of Louise and Marguerite. And even before the young duke d'Angoulême had ascended the throne, Crépin dedicated an épitre to him shortly before the English attacked France.

The poem which Crépin dedicated to Marguerite was entitled "au nom de la royne Marie, à Madame la Duchesse." It is a letter of lamentation which Queen Mary Tudor supposedly had written in her grief to the young duchess. The tone is one of complete grief of the queen for her loss of her husband Louis XII.

Sad in thought and pitiable in face,
Plunged into the lake of tears which effaces joy,
Taken to distraction by an unfortunate grief,
And submerged in a cavern of pain,
I, tired, grieving, anguishéd, sleepless,
To whom can I now write the complaints
Of my regret as of lament and cries?
To whom shall my tears, sobs, and cries
Be shown by sad letters?

It is with you where such a wealth of goods are piled up
That, without lying, the least would be enough
To comprise treasures of ample richness;
It is for you, Oh, illustrious Duchess
It is for you that this letter is drawn.

Marguerite also received an undated treatise on faith entitled De Sainte Anne, mère des trois Maries, une messe. It would be impossible to date this work precisely, but I believe that it was done some time between 1515-1521 because of the subject matter. The unknown author makes no direct reference to the religious quarrel which was to erupt over Lefèvre d'Étaples.
interpretation of the true number of husbands and daughters of St. Anne. This Mass is very traditional in its view of St. Anne and her three husbands, and its devotion to the Roman Catholic Church. However, the constant emphasis upon the plurality of husbands and daughters would seem to be a defense of the traditional legends of the saint.

The presentation miniature shows the author kneeling before Marguerite and, probably, Charles d'Alençon. The duchess is seated on a Gothic style throne topped by a large baldachino. A retinue of ladies-in-waiting attend the duchess and duke. At her feet, is the shield of France-Angoulême.

The author states that he searched the Holy Scriptures in order to trace the lineage from Abraham to Christ. The true believer should be subject to the Roman Church, mother and mistress of all the other churches, as St. Anne pre-figured the present, just as the three daughters of St. Anne had seven sons, so the three parts of the world had seven original churches. He stresses the devotion to the Church militant and universal for the true believer. I believe that the date must have been very close to the outbreak of the Lutheran reform in Germany for the princes were urged to crush the infidels and regain the universality of Christendom. "We could truly hope that through the Church's intercession the very noble kings and princes of Christianity in unison would destroy and discomfort the infidels."

After the author had returned from a pilgrimage, on which he had intended to visit three churches dedicated to St. Anne, he desired to present the tract to Marguerite. A brother, perhaps a
cleric, would undertake to finish and present the present Mass to Marguerite. He hoped that the duchess would use her influence to persuade the papal legate to approve of the Mass's use in church. While it is impossible to date this work, one can speculate that the author intended it for Marguerite because he knew that she could use her power near the king to promote and protect the Catholic faith.

As we have seen, Louise was named the regent in France while her son pursued his military dream in Italy. It fell to her to prevent any sedition, brigandage, or foreign attack upon France at this critical time. Just before his departure, Francis had commanded M. de la Fayette to spy upon the English activities and report anything suspicious to Louise. The king wrote to his commander in Normandy, saying, "if you espy some affair where you will have to take action, warn Madame of it, to whom I have given and left the regency, government, and total administration in my absence from my kingdom; whereby [all France and all Frenchmen are] in obedience to her." Not only was the regent involved in the administration and protection of the country, but she also found the time to establish and encourage manufacturing. The city of Tours received grants from the royal treasury in order to create a prosperous silk industry. A Venetian ambassador testified to the foresight of the duchess as she had helped create one of the most profitable and decorous manufactures. Writing an account of Louise's efforts, he said, "One can judge how much importance the art of silk working adds to the wealth of a nation, when one has seen the regent establish the silk cloth factories at Tours which grow from day
to day...."36 Through this careful cultivation of industry, many Venetian and Genoese families were induced to migrate to France, bringing with them the secrets of silk weaving to its profit.

However, not even the best monarchs and governors can please all the inhabitants of the nation. During the second year of Francis' reign, three actors of farce were arrested and sent before Francis in chains. They had scandalized Paris when they had given a farce entitled "Mere Sotte." This "Mere Sotte" had ruled a nation through exorbitant taxation, pillaging, and robbing the people. The Journal d'un bourgeois records that "the king and madame were exceedingly angry and sent men to lead the prisoners to them."37 Thus, even while there was relative quiet in Europe, the regent and the king were confronted with unruly members of society. After 1517 the religious quarrels spread throughout all Europe and caused enormous problems for each government. The political events only aided the general discontent of the monarchs and their subjects; the German princes, the Turks, and the Hapsburg-Valois warfare kept Europe in constant struggle throughout the century.

While attending to the political affairs of the kingdom, both the regent and her daughter showed themselves deeply religious. In her diary, Louise recorded that the very day on which the king gloriously defeated the enemy at Marignano, she made a pilgrimage on foot to Notre Dame de Fontaines in order to "recommend to Him [God], whom I love more than myself, my son, [his] glorious and triumphant Caesar, subjugator of the Helvetians."38
In the late autumn of 1515 Louise, Claude, and Marguerite proposed to travel into the Midi in order to pay a visit to the shrine of St. Magdalene, and to greet Francis I as he returned from Italy near Lyon. As the ladies made their way to Lyon, the city councilors debated the appropriate honors and gifts to bestow upon their illustrious visitors. It was suggested that two poets, Jean Riche and Jean Yvonet, create some stories. It was the general practice of each city that a royal party visited to provide some token of respect to the royal visitor.

After the party had remained about a month in Lyon, they traveled into Provence in order to visit the holy shrines. On December 22, the courtage decided to stop near the city of Tarascon for the celebration of Christmas and to view the remains of St. Martha. Like the councilors of Lyon, the men of Tarascon felt they had to prepare some rich gifts for the pleasure of their royal visitors. The ladies received a gift of twelve golden rings valued at about 205 Florins. As the women approached Arles, the city fathers there ordered some golden images to be created as souvenirs for the ladies.

Finally, on December 31, 1515, Louise, Claude, and Marguerite reached their intended goal of the shrine of St. Magdalene. They remained there for two days. Later in the month of January, after Francis I had returned victorious from Italy, the court again returned to the shrine whereupon the king granted some money for the reparation of the saint's resting place.
From the first years of the reign of Francis I, there is evidence that Louise and Marguerite were greatly involved in several attempts to introduce monastic reforms into France. A conflict arose in 1515 in the convent of Yerres which refused to reform its discipline. The court of Parlement ordered the bishop of Paris, Etienne Poncher, to proceed against the convent to enforce the desired reforms. Throughout the year there were repeated demands that the desires be carried out; however, the abbess, Guillemelette Allegin, refused to comply.

When a new abbess, Marie du Moulin, was given control of the monastery, a complete revolt of some of the nuns occurred. The regent, Claude, and Marguerite each felt compelled to write to Parlement and ask that the discipline be put into effect. Marguerite wrote to Parlement while she was visiting the shrine of the Magdalene with her mother, saying,

Messieurs, the queen and madame, my mother, wrote you about the reformation of the monastery of Yettes which has been prevented by the abbess and two or three religious contravening your order; (they) are doing great harm to those religious who hold to the reformation, by which the monastery is quite scandalized and troubled. And for my part I wish and desire that this trouble might cease and the reformation might be undertaken; I beg you, Messieurs, as much as I am able, that you may take notice of this affair and that you may give all the provisions which will be necessary and required.... I shall hold myself quite beholden to you.... Yours, Marguerite.

The reforms were finally carried out, according to the wishes of the court and Parlement.

A similar reform of the convent of Alemanches was begun in 1517 by the duchess d'Alençon and Jacques de Silly, bishop of Secz.
They wished to introduce some discipline into the convent because the abbess, Jacqueline Heude, was too young and too loose in her morals to control the religious. Marguerite had written the bishop to stop the anarchy into which the nuns had fallen. He, in turn, had tried to warn the nuns to obey the reforms and had sent sixteen nuns from the convent of Fontevrault to instill some order. It was not until the duchess had begged Francis to write to Leo X and demand a papal bull that the offending nuns were quieted.  

When Marguerite's mother-in-law, Marguerite de Lorraine, founded the monastery of St. Claire d'Argentan, she gave her wealth to her son and daughter-in-law to provide the monastery with an income. Marguerite accepted this duty with pleasure and wrote her mother-in-law that she would acquit herself according to her desires, "...As long as Our Lord gives me life, I shall carry out for your convent, the rent and edification, according to your holy desire...."  

Because he considered his mother a trusted adviser, Francis drew Louise into the preparation for the introduction of the new Concordat with the pope in 1516. She was the one to whom the first copy of the agreement was sent in order that a group of sage men might inspect it and decide upon its value to the nation. The regent was ordered to have it inspected that she might inform herself with wise and tested men of good conscience if the Concordat was useful and profitable for the good of the king, of the kingdom, and of the Church. She responded, having communicated with a council and having found that, for the repose of consciences and salvation of souls, it was useful, required, and necessary.
Another council was called by the king in the spring of 1516 and agreed that the Concordat should be accepted by the French Church. However, some members of Parlement and the more conservative doctors of the Sorbonne continued to exhibit extreme reluctance to accept anything that they considered an abrogation of the liberties of the Gallican Church. These same men sought to block publishing and registering the document in France. Even when the king appeared personally before the Parlement and demanded that they follow his desires, there were many who refused to let the Concordat become law in France. The *Chronique du roi François Ier* records that in March, 1517, there was a great murmur and scandal of the universities and cathedral churches... who by force and violence succeeded in preventing the posting of the Concordat in the public places of the city, but there were not the strongest, and to revenge themselves they posted on the college doors and other places defamatory libels in Latin meters, against the great persons of the king's council; [These] was a scandalous thing and [should] not be tolerated, even in such a famous city."

In spite of the hostility of the Gallicans, the monarchy triumphed and the accord went into effect in France. The Concordat was permanently to end the rights of the individual elections by chapters of their officials. Henceforth, the king presented the names of several candidates and the pope accorded the symbols of office upon his choice of the names. This was not entirely new, for the monarchs had for years been following this practice; however, there was many conservatives who wished to preserve their control of these elections, free from the authority of the papacy. These candidates were also to be more acceptable to the Church in their
qualifications. One had to be at least twenty-seven years old and a master in theology to obtain a bishopric; in order to receive an abbey, one was to be at least twenty-three years old and a member of the order. "Several exceptions were permitted in favor of members of the royal family and of very important persons, to whom one could confide certain offices."^48

Just after the Concordat had been registered in France, Louise and Francis used their perogative in nomination to a high ecclesiastical office that was to have serious consequences in their political struggles. Érard de la Mark, bishop of Liège, uncle of Robert de la Marck III, the sire de Fleuranges, and childhood companion of Francis, had been promised a cardinalate. Francis I had supposedly written letters with this nomination to Rome; however, Érard did not receive the office. It went instead to Antoine Bohier, archbishop of Bourges, a descendant of one of the wealthiest families in service to the king. He was also a relative through marriage of Chancellor Antoine DuPrat. From the Memoires of Martin du Bellay, it appeared to du Bellay that Louise was responsible for the loss of the ecclesiastical office and the eventual defection of the bishop of Liège to the Imperial side. To compound the seriousness of the situation for France, Robert de la Marck II, brother of Érard and father of the sire de Fleuranges, also defected after Francis had removed his pensions to secure his loyalty to France. The regent supposedly had written letters to the pope, requesting that the pontiff should disregard her son's letters in favor of Érard and grant the cardinalate to Antoine Bohier.49
The position which Bohier had received was charged to the avarice of the duchess. A sum of 40,000 crowns supposedly was given by the Bohier family in order to secure the office. Du Bellay severely condemned such practices:

I have seen in my time that several gentlemen have taken leave of the service of the king through malcontentment; they have done greater damage to the king than any others; the bishop of Liège, the Prince of Orange, the Marquis of Mantua, the Duke of Bourbon, Andrea Doria, and several others.50

The sire de Fleuranges confirmed the accusation against both Louise and Francis in their secret negotiations with the papacy in the nomination to the cardinalate. He says that although he himself had taken the letters to his uncle, the king and Louise wrote second letters in favor of Antoine Bohier to the pope. This matter came to light when the chancellor of the bishop, Jerome Aleandor, saw these letters in Rome. He confronted both Francis and Louise with his evidence but they "swore on their faith that they knew nothing of it."51

Antoine Bohier was not long to enjoy his position which he had received through royal patronage, for he died only six months later. The regent recorded an unusual statement in her journal that may have been a reflection upon the unhappy episode. She wrote:

In November, 1518, the red monk, Antoine Bohier, a relative of our most revered chancellor and of confused high priests of finance, went to his repose; and there was then a scramble of abbeys, according to the mad ambition of several popes.52

Perhaps Louise had been forced to accept Antoine Bohier as the cardinal since Chancellor DuPrat was a close relative and had just helped to create the new Concordat with the papacy. The chancellor might have persuaded the family to submit a large monetary
gift to the king's treasury in return for the position. Finances were ever needed to support the king's bid for the Imperial crown against the German monies which Charles of Spain could levy.

In the period, approximately, when the Parlement and the Sorbonne reacted against acceptance of the Concordat, the duchess d'Angoulême received a gift of a manuscript entitled *Le zèle que les princes doivent avoir à la disposition de l'État de l'Église*. The author dedicated the work to Louise in the hope that she would become an advocate for the Church, just as St. John the Evangelist and the Virgin Mary had supplicated Christ for the protection and salvation of all Christians. He wrote,

> You, Madame, who are mother of the king in the example of the glorious and worthy mother of the king of kings, must take and accept toward the king, your very dear and loved son, ...the estate and office of the advocate of his subjects to demonstrate to him the things that are good and useful for crown, the public welfare, and the care of his subjects.  

The author was a lawyer in Parlement, as he tells us, who sought to advise Louise in reformation of the state of religion and the Church. Since the Church was the soul of the people and the king their head, it was only fitting that the king should mold the religion through a reform, if need be, to secure the "virtuous life, power, and prosperity of the people." The author felt the monarch had the right to see to the institution of new reforms in religious life because he had been made a representative of the divine when he was anointed at the time of his coronation. Just as the priests represent the living Church, so the monarch represents the union with God who is the soul of the public welfare. Since the French
kings had shown themselves throughout history to be the right hand of the Church, it is only right that Francis I should feel bound to carry out a general reformation if the need arose.

The second half of the work recited a list of evils which had invaded the Church along with possible solutions. There was a time in the primitive Church when the clergy was more interested in the salvation of souls than in accumulating gold, silver, and lands. As Apostolic poverty gave way to affluence, the author affirms,

Little by little they (the clergy) chilled in religion defaulted in virtue, diminished in charity, grew less in humility.... Their ambitions grew with unlimited ends so that the ministers of the Church, from the least unto the greatest, all are avaricious and ambitious....

The condemnations included within the tract are quite familiar as the cries of the reformers against the corruption within the Church. The author points out the well known search by some clergy for great wealth and plurality of offices to the detriment of salvation of souls, saying that "one sees today clearly that when it is a question of obtaining some priorate or other benefice, one makes no mention of the salvation of the subjects, but asks of the opulence and quantity of the revenues of the benefice." The author recommends that better qualified men in the highest positions be obtained. He desires that the clergy inculcate a better moral reputation through great integrity and probity. The benefices should not be given to those who ask for them but to those who merit them through their religious concern for the people. It would appear that this lawyer called for an assembly or council to
elect men of good repute. Although the call to a council had been popular in France for almost 200 years, the papacy would not consent to any authority as superior to its own; neither could the king support any council that might undermines his recently acquired power within the framework of the Concordat.

This critic of the ecclesiastical practices wished to see the king involved in the regulation of religious functions. He recommended that the prelates should no longer accept any money for their official duties, such as conferring benefices, benedictions, and consecrations. Their revenues were to be divided into three parts, one for the poor, another for the repair and maintenance of their individual churches, and the third for their needs. He attacked the familiar practice of pluralism among the clergy, stating that each prelate should be forced to reside in his parish, and that the king should confiscate the temporal goods of those who did not adhere to the admonition. The author also asked the regent to see if there could be set up some local councils to correct local abuses in religion.

Perhaps the author felt that the regent was in such close accord in religious feeling with her son that she could affect some of the desired reforms within the French Church. It would be natural to approach Louise through a dedication, for she was known to be deeply religious. The duchess controlled the nation while the Concordat was drawn up to recognize a peace between Francis and the papacy. Thus it was natural for the author to address Louise as the one person who could present new ideas in religion to the king and still remain his trusted adviser.
Louise of Savoy not only received literary and art objects because the creators hoped she would give them to her children, but because she was an important political figure in France. As long as she lived, Louise worked only for the glory and power of her son. She was to receive gifts from several French cities to insure that they would remain in her good graces. This was why the city councilors of Paris realized that they had to contribute a token of their affection to the regent to demonstrate their good feeling and obedience to her. In March, 1517, at the meeting in the Hôtel de Ville, city councilors voted to give the duchess a present in order to "capture her benevolence and to place in her grace and love this city of Paris." They reasoned that the city of Lyon and others had given similar tokens of reverence to the lady and "that the lady would not forget the honor and gift made to her by this city." The councilors thereupon decided to give Louise some gold plate to the sum of 2500éc as they had done for Anne de France.

In June of the same year, 1517, Francis I and his queen made their first entrée into the city of Amiens, accompanied by Louise and Marguerite d'Alençon. The royal party was received with great ceremonies and gifts by the provost, merchants, and city officers. While visiting the cathedral in order to view the many paintings dedicated to the Virgin, the regent expressed an interest in acquiring a copy of them from the city. The work was undertaken and hurriedly accomplished. On October 12, 1517, Bishop François de Hallevin sent two deputies to present a copy of the Chants royaux en l'honneur de la Sainte Vierge de Notre Dame de Pui d'Amiens to Louise.
The confraternity of Notre Dame d'Amiens had been founded in the fourteenth century to celebrate the principal feast days of the Virgin. Each year on February 2, on the Purification of the Virgin, the confraternity elected a master for the year from among the most important men of the city. This master then composed a royal chant, five and one half verses in length, which he presented along with an allegorical painting of his subject matter to the cathedral on Christmas day of that year.62

The work, presented to Louise, consists of forty seven miniatures of the Virgin accompanied by as many royal chants. In each of the paintings one finds the portrait of the donor at the bottom of his allegory. The townsfolk commissioned one Jacques Platel, a painter of the city, to trace the designs on the vellum. Jean de Beguines, a priest, transcribed the work into Gothic letters and wrote the individual ballades, while Guy de Flameng traced and illuminated the capitals of each page. It was found that there was no artist in Amiens who could paint reproductions of the cathedral; thus the book was taken to Paris where the painting and binding were completed.63 It was finally returned for inspection by the bishop who then sent it on to Louise.

The dedication portrait presents two unicorns holding the arms of the city of Amiens at the bottom of the page. Louise, dressed in black robes, is sitting on a large throne surmounted by her coat of arms. She is surrounded by a large retinue of her ladies-in-waiting. Two men, probably Andrieu de Monsure and Pierre Louvel, present the work to the regent.64 Although it had cost the city
about 38½ to create the gift, the men of Amiens were instructed to ask the regent that she cancel the 1500 é loan which the city had been asked to give to the royal treasury for the year. 65

The royal chant dedicated to Louise recounts her admirable qualities, and pleads the faithful obedience of the people of Amiens to both Francis I and herself.

I

Très excellente, illustre et magnifique
Fleur de noblesse exquise et redolente,
Dame d'honneur, princesse pacifique,
Salut à ta majesté precellente.
Tes serviteurs, par voie raisonnable,
Tant justiciers que le peuple amyable
De Amiens, cité dite d'Ameinte,
Récitant sont par humilité
Leur bien public en ta grace et puissance;
Toy confessant estre en réalité
Mère humble et france au grant espoir de France

Du sens moral, mystique allégorique
Qui le refrain du tableau représente
Fait mention par l'art de réthorique
Le chant royal qu'ensemble je présente
À toy, madame, excellente et notable,
Hautée princesse au François profitable.
Si te requiers que ta bénignité
Ce petit don plaise avoir accepté,
Du presenteur suppliant l'ignorance,
Qui te connoist sans ambigüité
Mère humble et france au grant espoir de France.

Dame de paix et de tranquillité,
Tes serviteurs d'Amiens, ville et cité
Veuille tousjours avoir en souvenance;
En toy prouvant jusqu'à l'extremité
Mère humble et france au grant espoir de France.

Another of the most beautifully decorated works which Louise received during the early years of her son's reign was the Épître de Charles VIII à François Ier. The manuscript contains about twenty-nine folios of which folios three and ten have elaborate decorations
of brilliantly executed miniatures with large foliated capitals. We can be absolutely certain as to the person for which the work was intended. The dedication names "the very excellent and virtuous oriental pearl, resplendent in the occident, very sublime, auguste, and of incomprehensible power, Princess, Madame Loyse de Savoy." The upper portion of the page has a series of diamond-shaped spaces inside which there is a crowned L upon a field of lilies. At the bas-de-page a crowned, winged capital F is surmounted by an orb against a background of lilies.

It is evident that the work was composed, as the author says, in the month of May. He mentions both the birth of the Dauphin François, February, 1518, and the death of Madame Louise de France, September, 1518. This would place the work in 1519. He also greeted Francis I as the future emperor, which means that it was finished before the electors of the Holy Roman Empire had elected Charles of Spain to the position.

While wandering in a charming valley, the author lay down beside a fountain when the princes of dreams put him to sleep. King Charles VIII appeared in all his royal splendor and commanded him to take pen and ink and set down an account his exploits for his successor, Francis I. The author explained to Louise that he could give this relation of his dream to her and the king because they graciously accepted even the least works given to them by their humble subjects. He says that Louise and Francis "compare to the higher gods and goddesses who look with sweet and clement regard upon the pure and frank affection of the men as on the quality or quantity of their presents."
In 1518 Jean Thénaud, the Franciscan friar who had undertaken Louise's diplomatic mission to the Levant in 1511-12, dedicated the first of two works, entitled Le triomphe des vertus, to the regent. In the prologue to the duchess, we learn that the author is titled the explorer of the four rivers who searches for the source of the terrestrial paradise where virtue is triumphant. Although paradise was ever hidden from view, there was a source from which the four rivers issued which demonstrated to the reader an idea of perfection. Louise, of course, was the source, who gave birth to four great rivers; Francis, Marguerite, the Dauphin François, and princess Charlotte. This first section of the work dealt with the qualities with which Francis and Marguerite were endowed by their mother.

The explorer proposed to create an allegorical pilgrimage of all life's experiences. He began his travels upon Mount Sinai, indoctrinated by a nymph who led him upon his ventures through the gardens of discipline, counsel, memory, Folly, to the region of Dame Prudence and her daughter Marguerite. The most interesting of the chapters is the one devoted to the discussion by Folly of all the foolishness in the world. Thénaud claims that he took this theme from the very excellent doctor Erasmus, who had decorated and clarified the century just as the sun had the heaven. Thénaud speaks through Folly as he discusses mankind's foibles. He is especially hard on the many religious abuses which the popes, bishops, theologians and laymen commit. He says of the indulgence sellers that "they promise to obtain grace for all offenses against God... by the payment of a bit of money, as if they had the seals of the
chancellory. They draw souls from purgatory as if they were judges and concierges, and they preach things far from the truth...."70

In his position Thenaud seems not more scandalized than the other religious reformers who were branded heretics.

The masters of theology also were attacked by Folly because of their superior airs:

These theologians who say that all others live upon earth as beasts... and that they alone live in heaven and as such come and chase after the theological truth with conclusions, corollaries, propositions, implicitly and explicitly, and in the end they lose the truth and are more heretical because they do not know what to conclude from all their knowledge.... Their arrogant humility is recognized by the name attributed to them, "masters."71

Thenaud, speaking through Folly, also attacks the highest officers of the Church for their arrogance and laxity of office.

Folly says of the pontiff:

The pope commits his charge to God, Saint Peter, and Saint Paul and believes that he carries out his charge too well. He well merits the name "most beatific" and "most holy" if he gives benedictions, anathemas, benefices, and offices; if he attends his church three times a year....72

The first book of the Triumphs ends when the explorer arrives at the terrestrial paradise of Dame Prudence (Louise), who instructs her daughter Marguerite in all things of wisdom. Generally, Thenaud used the allegory of a virtue to describe the virtue of a member of the royal family. The second half of the first work recounts the travels of the explorer among the kings and monarchs as they search for Dame Force. Francis I represented the virtue of Force as he sets out to recapture lands in Italy.
The second part of the Triumph des vertues was also dedicated to Louise by Thenaud. He stated in the prologue that he wrote this second book a year after he had completed the first. It appears that Louise so liked the volume that she urged him to complete the allegory of the royal family. In the prologue the author recalls his trepidation when he gave his work to the regent,

fearing that this treatise might come into the very victorious hands of your August highness, in whom all the wealth of Minerva's wisdom, and [she] glorious, affluent, and superabundant prose is located; and to whom each day the hoard of orators, poets, and senators dedicate books which are preciously enriched and floriated by elegant and new terms, in order to decorate your serene name.... I was afraid to complete [it], and even more afraid of presenting to you what I had written of Prudence and Force, because my poor power may reduce the glory of your Apollo and Diana (Oh, very prolific and divine Latona).

Thenaud's plan was to glorify the family of Louise to include the Dauphin François and his mother Queen Claude. A series of grisailles was included by the author to represent various parts of the volume. The first tableau presents a large basin from which there are four rivers flowing into four fountains. Each fountain displays the arms and the virtue of one member of the royal family. The first is Force which presents the Dauphin François; the second is Justice, who represents the king. The two basins at the bas-de-page are Temperance with the shield of Claude, and Prudence which represents Marguerite and her coat of arms. The author kneels before the central fountain in which a supreme crowned figure sits. It is of Louise who represents the source of all the virtues with which she had endowed her children and grandchildren. An inscription at the bottom of the page proclaims the divine Latona as the mother of Apollo and Diana, the fountain of all virtues.
This manuscript, like the first work, is divided into two sections; the first deals with the birth, education, and future glories of the dauphin; the second half is concerned with the virtues of Queen Claude and her eventual entree into the earthly garden, presided over by Dame Prudence.

Turning a moment from Louise's many dedications, we find that Marguerite d'Alençon received an épître in 1518 which was to begin an intimate association of literary patronage and royal protection between the duchess and the poet, Clement Marot. It was not strange that Marot should find his way into the court circle since his father, Jean Marot, was a noted poet, secretary, and valet de chambre to Anne de Bretagne, and later to Francis I.

Although we know very little about Marot's early childhood and adolescence, he was in the service of Nicholas de Neuville, seigneur de Villeroy, from 1515-1518/19. This seigneur owned a house and gardens along the Seine called the Tuileries. In 1519 an exchange took place between Francis I and Neuville of the Tuileries for the Hôtel de Chanteloup. This was accomplished through the efforts of Louise of Savoy who found the climate to be more suitable than that of the official royal palace. It might have been through this civil transaction that Marot was brought to the notice of royal patronage.

After he had dedicated several works and an épître to Francis I, Marot was finally presented to Marguerite through the efforts of her brother as Marot claims in the épître, "Les déspourveu," which was dedicated to the duchess in 1518,
But for the love of your unique brother,
King of the French, who at this time
Sends me to you, and presents me to you... 77

Perhaps the poet knew that there would be difficult times in his
future, because in the same poem he cited future religious sadness
as a reason that he should seek out Marguerite's good graces and
protection:

Thus if you search to draw from the great roadway
Some honor and wealth, you may wish to retire
Towards Alençon, the excellent Duchess,
And of your deeds, such as they are, present to her,
Because she can keep you from enduring a thousand ills.... 78

Although the princess later employed him as a secretary and
protected him from religious persecution, the only other early
literary pieces that Marot dedicated to Marguerite were done in
1521 when the poet accompanied the duke d'Alençon into northern France
to prepare for warfare against German Imperial forces. Entitled
"Du Camp d'Attigny, à Madicte Dame d'Alençon" and "A ladicte dame,
touchant l'armée du roy en Haynault," they depict the army and places
as they await the coming war. 79

Two works which appeared in 1517-1518, Vie de Sainte
Madeleine and Petit livret fait à l'honneur de Madame Sainte
Anne, expressly commanded by Louise, play such an important role in
the religious patronage of the regent that it is necessary to devote
attention to them apart from the many other works. It was some time
after the sojourn in the Midi that Louise asked François du Moulin de
Rochefort, her secretary and almoner, to explain more clearly to her
the legend of Saint Magdalene, whose shrine she and her children had
visited in 1516. Through du Moulin's diligent efforts in research,
a close relationship developed between the court and the reformers
at Meaux, Lefèvre d'Étaples and Guillaume Briconnet. It is probable
that the correspondence begun in 1521 between Marguerite and Bishop Brigonnet stemmed from this initial desire of the regent to be better informed concerning the life of Mary Magdalene.

From Louise's diary one can draw the conclusion that she planned to have du Moulin investigate the legend of the religious shrine while she was about to embark on the voyage from the city of Lyon. She records in her diary: "The 27th of November 1515, I gave to Rochefort two hundred crowns of gold, which were well employed; because he has a good wish of serving, I am quite assured of that." 80

Du Moulin was one of the most enthusiastic supporters of humanism in France. He joined with Guillaume Petit, the king's confessor, in an effort to beg Erasmus to visit the nation with the promise of a thousand-crown stipend. 81 Du Moulin was already firmly entrenched in service as a tutor to Francis and a writer of contemplative works dedicated to Louise and her son. Rochefort was later rewarded with the position as Grand Aumonier at the regent's request, which expressed the high esteem in which she held him. 82

The traditional view held by the Church was that Mary Magdalene was the sister of Martha and Lazarus, who had been a prostitute until, overcome by her sinfulness, she had washed the feet of Jesus and gained forgiveness of her sins; she then became a follower of the Lord. A problem arose after 1518 when Lefèvre d'Étaples published his thesis in which he adhered to an older Greek tradition that saw three distinct Marys in the Gospels. The central argument developed among the more conservative Church authorities when Lefèvre separated Mary Magdalene, the sinner, and Mary, the sister of Martha. 83
Du Moulin makes it quite clear from the beginning of his *Vie de Sainte Madeleine* that he began his exposition upon the express command of the regent. However, he researched materials for his biography and found that it was harder than he had first believed. If he failed in his attempt, it was not from a desire to serve the wishes of his patron. Not wishing to create a controversy, Rochefort followed a cautious path between outright support of the theory which Lefèvre would publish, and the traditional interpretation of the saint's life. He cites Saint Luke's description of the sinner Magdalene and says: "I would doubt that this lady sinner was a sister of Martha, and not without cause, if it were not against the interpretation of the Church."  

After he had finished with the biblical accounts of Saint Mary Magdalene, du Moulin recounted the several Medieval legends which had sprung up around the shrine established in France. After her death, she supposedly appeared to one of her followers floating in the air near a cave at La Baume close to Marseilles. Other relics and stories of her holiness were on view and were recounted for the pious pilgrims at La Sainte Baume, but du Moulin indicates that he viewed their validity with suspicion. He reported that the Jacobins were quite clever in the matter of relics and miracles. One of the more famous relics were the piece of skin of the saint's forehead which the Jacobins called *Noli me tangere* from her meeting with Christ on the third day after his crucifixion. Du Moulin says that he would rather call this relic *Noli me credere* than believe the Jacobin claims.
His skepticism was greatly increased when he found some materials in the library of the abbey of Saint Victor in Paris which denounced all the stories of the founding of the abbey of Sainte Baume as fiction. He has only very harsh words of condemnation for the theologians who maintain the old legends in the face of serious investigation. He states that theologians are

...hypocrites, who under the shadow of reformation and holy devotion, commit so many abuses and foolishness that I have a horror and a confusion in my conscience. And those whom you see the best coiffed, wearing theological hats, enameled with all colors, are sometimes the worst for this. Take care, Madame, of false prophets who come to you in sheep's clothing. And if I told this before the king... what I have seen; and how the holy theology of Paris is delicately nourished, how much hypocrisy, and theological wine is necessary in order to maintain it, I think he would take pleasure, but his stomach would become ill from laughing.

Beginning with folio 78 of the manuscript, du Moulin sets before Louise the conflicting Gospel accounts concerning Mary Magdalene. He doubts that the sister of Martha was a sinner, because the Gospel says nothing about her sins, and Saint John did not write that the Magdalene touched Jesus after he rose from the dead. Du Moulin relates the confusion of Saint Matthew who did recount that the Magdalene, sister of Martha, touched Jesus after the resurrection. Although his credulity increased when he began to compare the Gospel account of the unique person known as Mary Magdalene, he admitted that he was not permitted to go beyond the Church's determination with his own speculations.

The last twenty pages are a dialogue between du Moulin as Obedience who responds to questions which Louise posed concerning the Magdalene. It would appear quite evident that neither Louise nor
anyone in court had had definite relations with Lefèvre before 1518. Du Moulin certainly must be referring to Lefèvre when he replied to Louise about a man "whom you would like, if you knew his virtues...." Thus, it was most certainly due to the regent's desire to know more about the Magdalene that Lefèvre d'Étaples was first introduced into the court. As we know from the Petit livret which du Moulin also created for Louise, both the regent and her daughter knew Lefèvre by the end of 1518.

In the last folios Rochefort clearly follows Lefèvre's ideas when he finds that there was only one Magdalene from whom Jesus had cast the seven devils. He says that there was only one person who was the sinner, but not surnamed Magdalene. And the sister of Martha, Mary, was a wealthy, and honorable lady. He continues;

...if one attributes the name of sinner to her, I believe that is in error.

Madame, I have continued stories of this book according to the observance of the Church, whose ordinances I do not wish to oppose; ...nevertheless, it seems to me that I do wrong to none, if instead of one saint, I name three who have the power to intercede for you before God, and keep you in his grace.

In April, 1518, Henri Estienne published the first of Lefèvre's editions on the life of Mary Magdalene, De Marie Magdalena.... It was an attempt to answer some questions that du Moulin had raised to him while he was still writing his own response to Louise's queries.

A second edition soon appeared which included a dissertation on the marriages of Saint Anne and was prefaced by Josse Clichtovus to defend his master. These first two editions are even more important because they were both dedicated to François du Moulin. From this we
can surmise that many scholars recognized the power in religion which du Moulin could exercise upon the court in his close connection with Louise and Marguerite. In his response to the mounting attacks upon Lefèvre, Josse Clichetovus restated that Lefèvre had undertaken the explanations because Louise "and several noble persons of the court" wanted to know what the fathers and later scholars thought about the Magadalene.93

As he had done with the life of the Magadalene, François du Moulin wrote the Petit livret fait à l'honneur de Madame Sainte Anne in an effort to explain Lefèvre d'Étapes' ideas to Louise. This work was done in the midst of the religious attacks upon Lefèvre in hopes that the regent would receive the reformer's ideas and offer protection to him. Lefèvre had argued that the Church tradition which gave Anne three husbands, Joachim, Cleophas, and Salomas, and three daughters, named Mary, was false. Through textual criticism he proved that Saint Anne had only one husband and one daughter.

The presentation miniature is classical in setting. Louise is seated upon a throne; François du Moulin presents Lefèvre to the regent who receives the work from his hands. Because the figures are named, there is no doubt whom Louise's secretary was presenting. Rochefort at first felt that he would give the work to Francis, but he then realized that it was to the regent he owed more consideration. Du Moulin knew that Louise and her children shared their ideas and formed a perfect intellectual union. He says of them:

And what is good for one, is well done for the other; inasmuch as your wills are perfectly united.... There is some invisible, impalpable, and insensible resemblance that at no time can I make one of you as the wise Fabri
has done with three Marys, whom he has reduced to one daughter of Saint Anne. 94

Du Moulin also reminded Louise that she was the cause of this present work and the person responsible for Lefèvre's attempted clarification of the question of the Magdalene. He writes:

Because you, Madame, are the cause of what has been done. Do you not remember, Madame, that you commanded me to come to Paris to rework briefly the story of the Magdalene.... I am telling the truth because what Fabri has written of the Magdalene is so evident.... 95

He further stresses Louise's principal role in the creation of the present work when he urged her to write to the pontiff in Rome and ask him to investigate the work. If the Church found worth in the Petit livret and du Moulin's ideas, then the celebration of the Magdalene should be changed. Rochefort hoped that it would prevent further injury to Mary, the sister of Martha, by the ignorant and the hypocrites. 96

The second purpose of the Petit livret was a defense of Lefèvre's view concerning the number of husbands and daughters which tradition had given to Saint Anne. Du Moulin, as a humanist, made use of textual criticism to prove that Saint Anne could not have had more than one husband and one daughter. In the author's mind, only heretics or misguided theologians could wish to demean the place of Saint Anne in religion. He upheld the doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Virgin in order to strengthen his argument of the special devotion which the faithful owed to both Saint Anne and Saint Mary. As he says,
She is the second Eve, uniquely formed by the hand of God in the precious stomach of Saint Anne, more purely and more cleanly than ever was formed the first Eve, from Adam's side. And I am astonished by the diabolic opinion of some religious who have been so bold to say falsely that the mother of God was conceived in original sin...97

François du Moulin pleads Lefèvre's position to the regent in order to protect the reformer from the malicious and envious theologians of Paris. He sees that the doctors of religion cast aspersions upon Lefèvre through malice in order to deceive the poor and simple people. These theologians consider anything in error that they do not recognize. Their minds are closed to invention or correction; they have become part of ecclesiastical tradition. These intractable theologians credit Lefèvre with presumption rather than divine inspiration when he wishes to demonstrate that some legends have developed that are not to be found in the Scriptures.98 Rochefort hoped that Louise and Francis I would be moved through his arguments to write to the pope in support of Lefèvre's issues. "Also it will be inestimable glory for you because of the many great things which have been done through your prudence."99 In addition to desiring support for these new interpretations, du Moulin took the opportunity to urge the regent and king to force the prelates and preachers to become more diligent in their duties. In this letter, Rochefort repeats the frequent calls for disciplinary reforms in the entire clergy.

As already mentioned, François du Moulin continued to be closely connected with the royal family. In repayment for his services to herself, Louise saw to it that he was made the Grand
Aumonier of the king in 1519, and then bishop of Condom in 1522. From this initial contact with the ideas of Lefèvre d'Étaples through du Moulin's two books, Louise and Marguerite were brought into direct communication with the reformers.

As François du Moulin demonstrated in his work, Lefèvre d'Étaples became a center of controversy when Louise asked for an explanation of the theology concerning the Magdalene. Almost immediately there were many defenses of the traditional interpretation written against Lefèvre which seriously questioned his orthodoxy. Bishop John Fisher in England, Marc Granval of the abbey of Saint Victor, and Noel Beda, the arch conservative of the Faculty of Theology of the Sorbonne, led the attack upon Lefèvre. Beda's first work against Lefèvre was the Scholastica declaratio in which he determined that Pope Gregory had pronounced upon the number of Mary Magdalenes and that this interpretation had been accepted for a thousand years. If men such as Lefèvre questioned later ecclesiastical authorities, he declared, "we reply that doctors of the Church like Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, and Gregory were made ready to edify the people by divine inspiration, and to write after incessant prayer and long study."¹⁰⁰ Lefèvre d'Étaples and his defenders were not, however, to be allowed the same spirit of inquiry. It is quite apparent that Beda introduced the question of the Magdalenes to the meetings of the Faculty in August, 1519, but nothing was done until two years later when a determination was rendered unfavorable to Lefèvre's thesis.¹⁰¹
The final settlement of the question came in December, 1521, when the Faculty of Theology determined the singularity of the Magdalene according to tradition and condemned all other views on the subject. The immediate cause of this action had been brought about by one of the Maux preachers close to Lefèvre and Guillaume Brignonnet. Martial Mazurier, on July 22, had preached to the people Lefèvre's interpretation of the three separate Magdalenes. During the meeting of the Faculty on August 11, it was brought to the attention of the doctors that the common people had been troubled by this preaching. They ordered Noel Beda and Claude Rognard to investigate the matter. In October, Clichtovus was invited to appear before the doctors to explain both Lefèvre and his positions in regard to the Magdalene. He wrote a formula to testify to the fact that both he and Lefèvre had abandoned their former plurality claims for the person of Mary Magdalene, which was accepted in November by the Faculty. Nonetheless, a formal condemnation of the question was issued to prevent further innovations in tradition.

The Faculty of Theology may have wished to pursue Lefèvre and his defenders with a condemnation. However, the humanist had already made great friends at court. Francis I charged Guillaume Petit to investigate the work of Lefèvre and to determine whether there was anything detrimental to faith in it. The king's confessor judged it in accord with orthodoxy; the question was one of textual criticism, not faith. "The king forbade the Parlement to trouble Lefèvre, and the affair remained there."
In the year 1521, one individual became inextricably involved as the mediator between the reform group at Meaux and the royal court. This was Bishop Guillaume Briçonnet, who became the spiritual mentor not only for the group of intellectuals and haven of safe refuge from persecution, but also a religious guide for Marguerite d'Alençon, Louise, and Francis I. No one is better known in his relations with the duchess d'Alençon through letters than Briçonnet. Although the correspondence between Marguerite and the bishop is often of an incomprehensible, mystic nature, it is evident in various passages that Marguerite and her mother were being won over to a strong support for both the reformers at Meaux and their ideas of religious reform for the Church in France.

Guillaume Briçonnet belonged to one of the most influential financial and religious families of France. Guillaume Briçonnet, pope, had served the French monarchs Charles VIII and Louis XII as an advisor, bishop, and cardinal. The son had been promoted by his father into the abbacy of Saint Germain-des-Prés in 1507. It was to this abbey that Lefèvre d'Étaples, invited by Briçonnet, came to study and publish his works on the Scriptures, the Quinuplex Psalterium and the Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles. Perhaps through a close contact with Lefèvre Briçonnet became an ardent supporter of Church reforms; he, himself, introduced a reform of Saint Germain with the aid of Louis XII, Anne de Bretagne, and Louise of Savoy in 1512.

Although he had been named to the diocese of Meaux in 1515, Briçonnet did not actually enter his parish until 1518. He had been
sent to Italy to complete negotiations with the papacy on the Concordat. Once he returned, reform measures were introduced into the diocese in order to correct the faults which had grown up. In order to obtain residence in their respective sees, the bishop demanded that individual curates had to reside there in his synods in October, 1519, and again in 1520. He continued to demand that the priests fulfill their required duties, but it is evident from the lawsuits before Parlement of 1521 that he was not successful in his wishes. 107

The bishop was also determined to improve the quality of preaching which he found at Meaux. The Franciscans who had had charge of the public orations spoke only in the richer parishes, and this was done only occasionally. This was the reason why the bishop divided his diocese into thirty-two stations and sent popular preachers to fill the needs of the faithful, in the 230 parishes. And from 1521, Briçonnet sought to regulate the Cordeliers of Meaux from representing Saint Francis stigmatized in their church; these religious became so incensed against the bishop and his disciples that they brought a case into Parlement against Briçonnet, declaring that he favored heretics and the Lutheran Reformation. 109

The reforms that Briçonnet had demanded of the clergy were also extended into public life. In synods held in 1520 he forbade public dancing on Sundays, or the feasts of the Virgin, "as extremely dangerous to the purity" of the people. 110

In order to gain assistance in introducing the disciplinary reforms, Briçonnet called upon Lefèvre d'Étaples to take up his residence at Meaux and supervise the reforms. Lefèvre was first named as the supervisor of the leper house at Meaux, and then as the
vicar general of the diocese. This gave him authority over the reforms that had been introduced there.

Several other humanists in addition to Lefèvre d'Étaples were brought into the diocese who were soon in contact with the court. It was through their popular preaching before the common people and the court that the ideas of reform were spread through France. The first of these men was Gérard Roussel, a doctor of theology who had worked closely with Lefèvre while at St. Germain-des-Prés. After he came to Meaux, bishop Briçonnet first made him the curate of Saint Saintin; and later, he became a canon and treasurer of the cathedral. Roussel soon entered into a correspondence with Marguerite which continued until her death. He became one of the royal court's most favored preachers; Marguerite made him one of her almoners and then bishop of Oleron after she had become queen of Navarre.

Another correspondent during these years of the Meaux letters was Michel d'Aranda. From the indications contained in the requests of Marguerite and Louise for his presence, this d'Aranda did much to bring an appreciation of the religious reform to the royal court. It was probably through his preaching and reading from the New Testament that the regent seemed to move toward open support of the religious ideas which Briçonnet and Lefèvre and their disciples wished to introduce in France.

Other men were also brought by Briçonnet to his diocese in order to form a circle of reforming preachers. Pierre Caroli, a doctor of the Sorbonne, became a curate of Fresnes and Tancrèou.
Martial Mazurier, a former principal of the College of St. Michel in Paris, was made the curate of St. Martin in the market place to win the wool workers of Meaux to the reformer's ideas. It was due to his preaching of Lefèvre's theory concerning the three Marys that the Sorbonne wished to condemn the old reformer and his disciples.

The correspondence of Marguerite, Louise, and Bishop Brisonnet began during the summer of 1521 amidst preparations for war. In Italy Pope Leo X formed a confederation of Italian states in order to expel the French. Charles V of Spain also prepared to engage Francis I in both the northern lands of Europe and in Navarre. The internal problems confronting France were no less menacing than foreign involvement. Throughout the year it fell to Louise and her treasurer, Jacques de Beaune, sire de Semblangay, to devise methods by which the crown could secure money for the payment of the army.

It was the middle of June when Marguerite took it upon herself to write the bishop of Meaux in order to seek spiritual consolation. She asked the bishop for his prayers for the public good of the nation and an eventual victory for France. Marguerite was certainly aiding her mother in the governing of the nation for she exclaims that she was involved in many things which caused her to be afraid.

Included in the same letter is a request for the return to court of Master Michel (d'Arande?) who would be her consolation. Perhaps this preacher was already instructing the duchess and her mother in the ideas of the reform circle at Meaux in the hope that they would exert their influence on the Church.
The bishop replied to this plea for spiritual comfort, saying that a belief in Jesus Christ was Marguerite's sole hope for salvation and consolation. He counsels her that

If only one had love for the debonnaire Christ, this would suffice to combat all fears and grant victory and solace to the soul. Whoever has faith, hope, and love in His sole necessity [Christ] is out of reach of fear, and has no need of aid, and would have none if it were necessary, and is one and alone [with Christ]....

Believe [me], Madame, I have long taken pleasure in recognizing the Lord's grace in you.... I praise the fact that you are greatly afraid of losing it; you must be jealous of your sole necessity, and guard His gifts and grace....

Some time after June 19th, Marguerite wrote to Briçonnet thanking him for some tracts which he had sent to her. She greatly thanked the Lord for introducing herself to his Word through the medium of Briçonnet's letters. Included in her appreciation of Briçonnet's teachings which had been sent to the court, was the request that the bishop send Master Michel back to court when he deemed it proper. She wrote that both Michel (d'Arande) and Briçonnet were of the same opinion, "proceeding from the Holy Spirit;" if Michel could not come the bishop would continue to communicate "the love of God in her heart and make it sing." Marguerite concluded that Briçonnet's efforts to carry out reforms would be repaid by faith and love. She wished to "die as a member of his band in battle."

It was only a few days later that Marguerite again wrote to the bishop to thank him and Master Michel for their letters which were aiding her in her search for salvation. She wrote that while both men were her advocates before God, she would be theirs at the
royal court. She may soon have found a way to serve the bishop for she said, "I hope that if the fathers come here, they may be answered according to your advice..." M. Herminjard believes that the duchess was referring to the matter of the Cordeliers of Meaux whom Briçonnet had forbidden to represent St. Francis stigmatized. The matter was taken to Parlement which upheld the decision of Briçonnet against the order.

In August, 1521, the bishop began the first of his long meditative, mystical epistles to Marguerite. The purpose of the letter was to stress the development of inward contemplation of the divine nature of Christ through whose grace the duchess could hope to gain salvation of her soul. The mysticism which Briçonnet imparted to Marguerite was certainly derived from the Neoplatonism which Lefèvre d'Étaples had found in the writings of the German, Nicholas of Cusa. The salvation of the individual must come from an attempt to search for the divine essence of God through interior introspection of one's soul. Through one's love of Christ, the soul receives an illuminating grace from God. Briçonnet writes to Marguerite that Jesus Christ was constantly enflaming her heart with the true fire of salvation. He attempted to assure the duchess of her salvation as he wrote, "the soul is embraced by this sweet light (Jesus) which is the true, sweet, and debonnair fire;--illuminating, embracing, concerning, and vivifying."

The correspondence was broken off between the two when it became necessary for Marguerite and her mother to follow the French army into the northeastern provinces. However, during the last days
of September and early October, both ladies spent a few days in the
company of Briçonnet at Meaux. It is possible that the bishop urged
their support and protection for his reform circle against the
movements by the Sorbonne against the preacher Martial Mazurier and
the ideas of Lefèvre concerning the three Magdalenes. In addition to
the spiritual guidance which she received from Briçonnet, Marguerite
took the opportunity to institute a reformation of the abbesses and
religious persons of the convents of St. Andoche and St. Jean d'Autun.
A letter was sent to the treasurer which directed him to give the
required money in order to accomplish the desire of both the duchess
and her brother in the matter. 121

Toward the middle of October Marguerite again sought Briçonnet's
spiritual guidance in her contemplation. She compared herself to a
straying lamb that lifts its head "to take the air which comes from
the place where the great shepherd, by his good ministrations, has
accustomed him to give sweet nourishment...." 122 It was through
Briçonnet's letters and the expositor which he had left to her that
Marguerite hoped to reach the understanding of salvation. She
continued to beg for his consideration when she pleaded with Briçonnet
to clarify the deep mystical meanings of his correspondence. She
confessed her weakness in the following, saying, "[That is] why,
my father, I ask you, through letters to descend from the high
mountain, and to regard in pity...the blindness of all people
and aid her through writing, prayer, and recollection, drawing her
out of her sad shadows." 123

Briçonnet replied to Marguerite in two letters with a long
allegory about the lost lamb and Christ's sacrifice for our salvation.
His counsel with respect to the duchess' feelings of weakness was that Jesus, the good shepherd, had recognized Marguerite's desire to know more concerning the way of salvation. The Lord had elected her to become susceptible to the granting of grace. In his second letter the bishop continued the meditation upon Christ's sacrifice on the cross in order that the strayed lamb might be returned into the good pasture and the flock. He says, "We are present by his grace and will all be delivered from this error, and the door is open to us by what it pleased Him to be the victim." Brignonnet invited Marguerite to take upon herself the wings of an eagle in order to know the force and power of charity which held all creatures, both large and small, equally. This was to be accomplished through her contemplation of the divine sacrifice which Christ had made.

Marguerite had to confess later to the bishop that her knowledge was too weak to understand the hidden meanings in his letters. She expressed an ardent hope that God would aid her to rise to the heights which Brignonnet's counsels could afford her. Brignonnet responded with a long metaphorical passage in which he invited the duchess to cloak herself in the nuptial robe of salvation. She was urged to come to salvation through a love of Christ, the nuptial robe. Even while Brignonnet created a spiritual path to Christ for Marguerite, he found time to create a pun from Marguerite's name which in Latin meant pearl. He wrote, "...by faith you shall soon be a true pearl, and 'Marguerite' through charity and love, truly one with the super-celestial, superexcellent, incomprehensible, true 'Marguerite,' the sweet Jesus..."
Near the end of this same letter, the bishop openly urged Marguerite to undertake a conversion of her mother and brother so that all three could support the reform movement in France. He counsels her in the following way:

I know that you love God, the king, and madame, as you are held by duty, and there is no pain that you would not wish to take for the conservation and growth of their honor.... Be the good St. Cecile, who saved a husband, brother, and several others. You shall make known to the king and madame, that God, by his goodness has touched some great and excellent graces, and that you are now struck at heart for the honor of God. It will be easy to light a great fire when the three hearts are united in this. The occupations they have distract them, and I believe [they] set up by the enemy to prevent what he could see would be to the honor of God....

Monsieur Fabri very humbly recommends himself to your grace....

As is evident the bishop expected Marguerite to gain the religious support of the king and Louise for the Meaux group. The negative forces of which Briçonnet speaks must represent the doctors of the Sorbonne who had just published their condemnation of the teachings concerning the triple nature of Mary Magdalene. It was probably due to the recommendation of Briçonnet to Marguerite that she was able to persuade Francis I to intervene when the Faculty wished to pursue the religious question of the Magdalene in the month of December.

Some time before the middle of November Marguerite wrote again to Briçonnet along with a minister 97. 130 We might speculate that this was the beginning of the relationship between the duchess and Gérard Roussel which lasted until Marguerite's death in 1569. The letter was sent in both names to Meaux, which seems to indicate that
Master Michel had again been preaching at court and explaining the hidden meanings of Briçonnet's letters. The duchess also indicates that Louise received the messages and religious instruction which Briçonnet hoped would bring her to the side of the reform group. Marguerite writes to assure the bishop of this fact as she says, "God wishes, whatever the cost, that we might arrive at the port with her (Louise) as you desire." 131

Another letter written on the same day reaffirms the desires of Marguerite and her mother to reestablish the spiritual guidance which they had begun during their sojourn at Meaux. The duchess cautions the bishop that the women need constant letters and teaching because they encounter dangers and enemies at court. She tells Briçonnet that "you can not deny the crumbs to those who on the great highway are in danger of wolves...." 132

Later in the same month of November, Marguerite wrote from the château of Compiègne to thank the bishop for the sustenance that he had given to her religious comprehension, saying,

Because I can no longer ignore the fact that the life of man is not in bread alone, but in the word proceeding from the mouth of truth...the good Father can no more deny the bread to His child, but I believe that pleases Him when we learn to ask, so that in the knowledge of our debility and true nothingness, He may be strong in us.133

The postscript to the above letter demonstrates beyond a doubt that Marguerite was determined to use her influence to protect the reformers such as Lefèvre from the hands of those doctors who wished to condemn the reform movement. The duchess relates that her mother and brother have been brought to the recognition of truth in the matter of religion. She records the following to Briçonnet:
I do not know if I ought to rejoice more over being esteemed among the number of those whom I desire to resemble, or to be saddened to see our brothers fall under the color (actions) of well-doing. But, seeing that this thing does not touch me alone, but goes against the honor of Him who has suffered death through charity, pursued by the envy of hypocrites, under the name of lawbreakers, it seems to me that the sooner one nails shut the mouths of the ignorant the better; assuring you that the king and madams know that the truth of God is not heresy.

Gérard Roussel also sent Marguerite a meditation in which he advised her that mortal illness brings one closer to God. He also seems to allude to the troubles which the doctors of the Sorbonne had caused for the reformers or to the Cordeliers who had complained to Parlement when Briçonnet had tried to regulate their preaching and residence in Meaux. He counsels the duchess to hate the hypocrites and "pray our Lord, as you very prudently write, to shed some light on their shadows and blindness."135

By December, 1521, the war in the northern provinces against the Imperial forces had not turned out well for the French. There were increasing needs to supply the treasury with funds to provide for the payment of mercenary troops in Italy which drew most of the regent's attention. In Paris the doctors under Beda's leadership required a direct order from Francis I to forbid further persecution against Lefèvre for his religious ideas. Some time between December 2nd and 9th, Marguerite wrote to Briçonnet expressing her thanks for the guidance he had given her in his correspondance. She also hoped that Michel d'Arande would return to court and continue his preaching to gain new adherents for reform. For her own part Marguerite felt that her mother and brother were inclined somewhat to the desires of
the bishop, but she begged him not to leave her without his advice
to strengthen her spirit, perhaps also in the political sphere. She says,

I pray you that in all your pious desire for the
reformation of the Church, to which the king and madame
are more than ever attracted, and for the salvation
of all poor souls, you may have in mind that one
imperfect, uneven, quite counterfeit pearl (Marguerite)
.... Do not leave me in the affairs that I see coming,
without giving me something which may fortify the
spirit, because your poor daughter needs it more than
ever.

Marguerite.\textsuperscript{136}

In the last half of December, Bishop Briçonnet began a lengthy
seventy-one page dissertation on the state of the French Church. A
series of metaphores such as fire, water, manna were the sources for
the eventual salvation of the soul. He claimed that there were many
who did not permit the life-giving waters to flow. "Others, who hold
the keys of the bottomless source of the fountain of life, through
blindness and ignorance do not wish to permit others to enter."\textsuperscript{137}
These must be the conservative Church forces in France who sought to
halt the dissemination of the reform ideas from Meaux into all France.
He charges them with stopping the flow of spiritual salvation to the
detriment of peoples' souls. He says, "The Church is presently arid
and dry as the torrent in the great astral heat. The heat of avarice,
ambition, and voluptuous life has desiccated its water of life,
doctrine, and exemplarity."\textsuperscript{138}

In the second part of the long letter, the bishop began to
chastise the royal court because nothing had been done to spread the
reform. He had hoped that the fire of salvation had already entered
their hearts and had made Marguerite, Louise, and Francis the leaders
in his desired reformation. Although Briçonnet praised the king's permission for the Epistles of St. Paul to be printed, he felt that it was the duty of the royal family to do more on the Church's behalf. Thus he writes to Marguerite, saying:

It is to you, Madame, to whom I speak. I wonder whether the true fire which has been for such a long time lodged in your, the king's and madame's hearts through great and abundant graces, has not been converted and put to sleep; I do not say extinct, because God has not yet abandoned you through His kindness. But each of you should look into your heart (none but you can be the judge nor know it) to see if you have let it burn.

I praise our Lord that he has inspired the king to execute what I have heart (the printing of the Epistles). Upon doing this, he shall show himself to be a true lieutenant-general of the great Fire which has given him the great and distinguished graces in order to make them burn in his administration and kingdom.... I desire with all my heart that you may all be true salamanders of God, and that the effect may be according to the motto,* and the very Christian works, according to the word: To whom more is given, more is asked.

...I pray Him very humbly, that it may please Him by his kindness to alight such a fire in the hearts of the king, madame, and you, that I may see through His harsh and ravishing love so wounded and grieved, that from you three may issue, through exemplary life, a burning and illuminating fire to the rest of the kingdom and especially that state through whose coldness all the others are frozen....

Bishop Briçonnet in his lengthy letters felt that it was his duty to prod the royal court in order to further institute reforms in the Church. He urged Marguerite to use her position for God's work. He contended that it was the duty of the princes to rid the nation of the ignorance which ruled the Church and to begin the spread of God's word.

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*The salamander had become the emblem of Francis I and, sometimes, his mother.
The period from 1515-1521 seemed to portend only success for Louise of Savoy and her children. Her son ascended the French throne and led a successful military expedition into Italy. Both Louise and her daughter Marguerite increased their patronage of literary men and ideas. In religion, humanists and reformers looked to Louise and her daughter as those who would support reform of the Church in France. The royal court seemed to become more approachable than at any other time to carry out the desires of Bishop Guillaume Briçonnet, Lefèvre d'Étapes, and the preachers of Meaux. However, the coming years would prove to be a great disappointment for both the royal family and the religious movement. The eventual loss of the territory and Francis' defeat at Pavia halted the introduction of a reform in the Church as well as increasing repression of men and ideas within France.
CHAPTER II

FOOTNOTES


2. Ibid., pp. 218-131.


7. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fr. # 449.


10. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fr. #449, fol. IV.

11. Ibid., fol. 2r.

12. Ibid., fol. 2v.

13. Ibid., fol. 3v.


18. Ibid., fol. lv.


20. Ibid., pp. 219-220.


22. Ibid., p. 119.


27. Blois, Musée du château de Blois. Unnumbered Book of Hours.


29. Ibid., p. XXXVII.

30. Ibid., pp. 233-239, lines 1-10 and 81-85.
31 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fr. #1035, fol. lv.

32 Ibid., fols. 2v-3r.

33 Ibid., fol. 3r.

34 Ibid., fols. 3-4r.

35 E. Baux, "Louise de Savoie et Claude de France à Lyon (1515-1516)," Revue d'Histoire de Lyon, L (1902), 400.

36 Paris, Études, I, 98.

37 Journal d’un bourgeois, p. 44.

38 Louise de Savoie, Journal, p. 90.


41 Ibid., 143-144.

42 Renaudet, Préréforme, pp. 586-587.

43 Ibid., footnote, p. 587.


45 Jouanne, Exposition, pp. 7-8.


48 Renaudet, Préréforme, p. 584.

50 Ibid., pp. 119-120.

51 Fleuranges, Mémoires, I, 241.


53 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fr. #950, fols. 1r-v.

54 Ibid.

55 Ibid., fol. 2r.

56 Ibid., fols. 13r-v.

57 Ibid., fol. 15r.

58 Ibid., fols. 18r-v.


60 Ibid., p. 240.

61 Paris, Manuscripts français, I, 301.


63 Ibid., pp. IV-V.

64 Ibid., p. V.

65 Ibid.

66 Ibid., p. l.

67 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fr. #2286, fol. 3r.

68 Ibid., fol. 7r.
69 **Ibid.**, fol. 6r.

70 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fr. #443, fol. 81r.

71 **Ibid.**, fols. 85v-86r.

72 **Ibid.**, fol. 88v.

73 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fr. #144, fol. Br.

74 **Ibid.**, fol. Br.


76 Ordonnances des rois, II, 432-435.

77 Oeuvres de Marot, I, 125.

78 **Ibid.**, p. 121.


80 Louise de Savoie, Journal, p. 90.

81 Henaudet, Prériméreforme, p. 688.

82 Louise de Savoie, Journal, p. 91.


84 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fr. #24955, fol. I.

85 **Ibid.**, fol. 3v.

86 **Ibid.**, fol. 72r.

87 **Ibid.**, fols. 75r-76r.

88 **Ibid.**, fols. 79v-80v.

Paris, Arsenal, Ms. Fr. #4009, fols. 2v-3r.

Ibid., fol. 3v.

Ibid., fols. 4r-v.

Ibid., fols. 24v-25r.

Ibid., fols. 61r-63r.

Ibid., fol. 63v.


Ibid., p. 294.

Ibid., p. 296.


107 Michael Toussaint Chretien Du Plessis, Histoire de l'église

  Meaux Reformers" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation at Cornell University,


110 Ibid., p. 327.

111 Ibid., p. 321.

112 Ibid.

113 Ibid., p. 323.

114 Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, Ms. Fr. #11,495, June 12,
  1521, Letter from Briçonnet to Marguerite, fol. 1r.

115 Ibid., fols. 1-3.

116 Ibid., End of June, 1521, Letter of Marguerite to Briçonnet,
  fols. 3v-4r.

117 Ibid., 4r.

118 Ibid., after June 19, 1521, Marguerite to Briçonnet, fol. 6r.

119 A. L. Herminjard, Correspondance des réformateurs dans les
  pays de langue française (10 Vols; 1865 Facsimile; Nieuwkoop; B. de

120 B. N., #11494, August 1521, Briçonnet to Marguerite, fol. 7r.

121 F. Genin, Lettres de Marguerite d'Angoulême (Paris: Imprimerie

122 B. N., 11,495, October 1521, Marguerite to Briçonnet, fol. 8v.

123 Ibid., fol. 9r.
121 Ibid., Before October 24, 1521, Briconnet to Marguerite, fols. 9-10r.
125 Ibid., October 24, 1521, Briconnet to Marguerite, fol. 11r.
126 Ibid., fol. 17v.
127 Ibid., after October 24, 1521, Briconnet to Marguerite, fol. 19r.
128 Ibid., November 11, 1521, Briconnet to Marguerite, fol. 31v.
129 Ibid., fol. 33.
130 Ibid., before November 17, 1521, Marguerite and minister to Briconnet, fol. 40r.
131 Ibid.
132 Ibid., before November 17, 1521, Marguerite to Briconnet, fol. 40v.
133 Ibid., before November 22, 1521, Marguerite to Briconnet, fol. 44r.
134 Ibid., fol. 45r.
135 Ibid., November 22 (?), 1521, Briconnet to Marguerite, fols. 43r-v.
136 Ibid., December, 1521, Marguerite to Briconnet, fols. 46r-v.
137 Ibid., December 22, 1521, Briconnet to Marguerite, fol 59r-v.
138 Ibid., fol. 60v.
139 Herminijard, Correspondance, I, footnote, 85.
140 B. N. #11495, December 22, 1521, Briconnet to Marguerite, fols. 98r-v.
CHAPTER III
YEARS OF TRIAL

The political situation and the progress of reform were not settled during the next years. Both Louise and Marguerite were called on increasingly to protect France in war and to promote religious reforms in spite of the growing opposition from the Faculty of Theology in Paris. The Spanish-French struggles did not end; the French king was captured in 1525 by the Imperial troops and imprisoned almost a year in Spain. During the critical period Louise, as the regent, guided the political situation and managed to withdraw the former Imperial allies England and Milan to the advantage of her son. Marguerite was also pressed into the political arena as her brother and her husband went to fight in Italy. And after the capture of her brother, Marguerite was sent by her mother to negotiate his release with Charles V.

Both these women continued to be seriously involved in the reform of the French Church which Guillaume Briçonnet and his followers advocated. During the time of war, the opponents of religious reform were able to martial their forces and began a series of attacks upon the reformers. In addition to censorship of the press, the doctors of the Sorbonne began to imprison and execute suspected heretics. Both Louise and Marguerite were called on publicly to protect these reformers from the theologians.
At the beginning of 1522 Marguerite and Briconnet recommenced their correspondence. The princess begged her spiritual mentor to recommence his meditations upon the "water, fire, and manna" which he had written her at the end of the previous year. Marguerite's need of his religious counsel was such that she signed her letter to the bishop as his "frozen, debased, and starved daughter."

In several responses to Marguerite's demands, Briconnet continued his long meditations to satisfy the wishes of his devoted listener. He explained that the princess was gaining knowledge of true salvation through his teachings in the following words:

Madame, God knows that without lying I take great consolation and indescribable pleasure in knowing, by your letters, the evident grace [which] the great Giant of unbearable love [has given] you while placing you in the court of his vineyard, and deserving by that, to be freed from death; to live life not in [Fear of] death.

In March, 1522, the bishop again returned to one of his most pressing themes when he wrote Marguerite that the royal court should support a revitalization of the Church. Comparing the moral situation of the French Church to weeds choking an apple tree, he argued that God had given so much to Marguerite and her family that they should devote themselves to Christ's activities. Urging their action, he says:

With all my heart I desire that the king, madame, and you demonstrate how much the debonaire Jesus may have died for you, that he may live in you through true love. According to the pursuit of the restitution and reformation of his Church, ...I am assured, madame, that you feel the injuries of the king and madame; because you [are united] in them through visceral love.
which does not prevent the divine, but conforms to it. Because you love them in God who live and are members with you. [That is] why you feel it to be their well-being or their harm to you, being united in the body of Jesus Christ. Demonstrate likewise the desire for what touches directly and viscerally the flesh, and always be a true "marguerite" through an indivisible union with your sweet and debonaire husband Jesus, who so loved you that he died for you; and that his thorns—which are the injuries that one does to him—prick you also in your heart, as you are embraced with his love.

Help and aid the good lady and mother oppressed by affairs that I much lament, and together comfort the good and holy wish and desire that God has given to the king, and do not be, all three, ungrateful for the spiritual graces which are, without doubt, greater than the temporal ones.

God has not given you so great a fire to cover it, light and knowledge to extinguish and spoil it solely with unstable and transitory things.

Perhaps the advice of Briçonnet had already been taken by the king; a general council of prelates was scheduled for the purpose of eliminating the abuses and reforming the Church in general. The council was called together in March, but as the Journal d'un bourgeois relates, nothing seemed to have been accomplished.

Another letter of the duchess to her mentor again demonstrated her active interest in the education and spiritual growth of her subjects. She demanded that Briçonnet question one of her husband's scholars and decide if he should be sent for further education at the College of Toulouse. Her own sentiments of the utility of Briçonnet's educational method is evident as she says about the boy:

... if it seems good to place him in college, to learn the road of truth, tell me. I would like it better that we might maintain him there [at Meaux] than at Toulouse. He proposes to take some degree, as he will tell you. But if he can feel the power of the Gospel ... through holy desire, I would prefer to leave him remain at the
foot in humility, than to take such a long degree course. Do what you see to be the best. But I beg you to give me your advice, and keep him with you a bit until my response, in order that he may attend the school of your company for I hope in God that he will be a good man...

Political events in 1522 were to turn for the worse for French interests, especially in Italy. Francis I lost the duchy of Milan to the Imperial troops due to a defection of his Swiss mercenary troops at the fortress of Bicocco. Although some historians have placed the blame for this tragedy upon the cupidity of Louise, others have pointed to the maladministration of finances by the king's superintendent of finances, Jacques de Beaune, sire de Semblançay. When it was found that Semblançay had mixed state and personal financing needs in his manipulations, the case was sent to Parlement. Finally, in 1527, Semblançay was charged with misappropriations of funds and executed. In Louise's diary there is a statement which appears to have been added in order to justify the legal proceedings undertaken against the superintendent of finances. She wrote the following lines possibly to escape any culpability: "During the years 1515, 1516, 1517, 1518, 1519, 1520, 1521, 1522, my son and myself were continually robbed by the men of finance who were not properly supervised."

There was a break in the correspondence between Marguerite and Briconnet during the summer of 1522. Ph. Becker suggests that this silence might have been caused by the legal maneuvers taken against the superintendent of finances as he was Briconnet's uncle. In September, Marguerite again wrote the bishop in an effort to reproach
him for his long silence. Desiring Briçonnet's spiritual guidance, she termed herself his "unworthy Marguerite." Unfortunately Briçonnet's reply to Marguerite's letter is missing; however, she received a second letter accompanied by a small gift for her brother. The princess reported to Briçonnet how Francis had accepted both the gift and his religious message with the best regards. It is apparent from her letter that she believed that the king's salvation was greatly aided through the bishop's continuing correspondence. It may well be that the little gift which Briçonnet had sent Marguerite was a copy of the Commentaries on the Gospels of Jacques Lefèvre, which had been published the preceding June.

Briçonnet replied to Marguerite that he was pleased that the king seemed so ready to receive the message which he had written to Marguerite. Further, he urged Marguerite not to let the king become lazy about pursuing the new religious ideas in France, as he says, "Madame, I pray to awaken through your prayers the poor sleeper and do not permit him to enter into lethargy and do not worry over his imperfection that you endure maternally."

While Briçonnet hoped to bring the king his religious message, his disciple, Michel d'Arande, was residing near Louise and beginning to read the Scriptures by her own command. Later, Marguerite related to the bishop that she could not immediately send d'Arande back to Meaux, because, "by the command of Madame, to whom he has begun to read some Holy Scripture."

In the same letter the princess pleaded with the bishop to visit her, Louise, and Francis, for all three truly needed and wished
his counsel. She indicated that the trip would have a beneficial effect upon the spirits of both Louise and Francis as they had complete trust in the bishop's words. If Briconnet were to make a sojourn to the royal court, Marguerite believed that reform of the Church could be soon accomplished.  

Briconnet often repeated his plea that the royal family should take up the cause of religious reform. In October, 1522, both the English and Imperial troops had been repulsed in their attacks upon France. At the same time Louise had suffered an attack of gout. The bishop immediately wrote about both these events to Marguerite. He considered the physical problem an indication that the royal family should turn their attention to God, saying,

I heard, Madame, the sweet supercelestial Father opened his package and withdrew a delicate piece [the gout] to wound Madame; and through her, the king and yourself; of which I was so happy, hoping that through His secret and unknown artifice He would attract, while striking the foot, your affections to better recognize . . . and love Him. . . .

The bishop recommended that the king and his sister and mother ought to give public thanks for the victory over their political foes which God had given them.  

While Michel d'Arande was reading to Louise from Holy Scriptures during that autumn, he must also have been preaching some rather unorthodox opinions to the royal princess. The reformer's ideas soon excited a defense of traditional interpretations by the king's confessor, Guillaume Petit, who denounced him before the Faculty of the Sorbonne, November 15, 1522. The deliberations of the Faculty record Petit's charges against Arande:
that . . . a certain Michel, once a hermit, now in the secular clothes of a preacher, was working in the royal household; that he remained at court, and found himself assiduously in the apartments of the princesses, mother, and sister of the king; that each day, he preached to these women in these rooms, and not publicly. People affirmed that his was not a healthy doctrine, but that he held several errors, especially those touching the cult and veneration of the saints, proclaiming the heresiarch Luther a holy man, saying that he was not astonished that he (Luther) had erred on some points, seeing that the saints themselves had also erred, as Augustine and Saint Jerome and others.

The doctors of the Faculty then agreed to send an investigator who would question Arande as to his religious views. If this reformer were found subject to being questioned with respect to his orthodoxy, the Faculty would write to Louise and Marguerite and send two or three members to confer with the princesses. Although these communications were to be done in secret, the rumor of the denunciation soon reached the royal court. On December 6, Petit went before the Faculty and declared that someone had informed the king and the two women everything that he had said on the previous meeting with the Faculty. Evidently, someone had embellished the denunciation with "much invention and many wrongs." The men of the Sorbonne promised to seek out and expel the guilty party if he could be found. They also sent four commissioners who were charged to render an exact account to the chancellor in order to calm the anger of the king, Louise, and Marguerite.

It would appear from a letter which Briçonnet wrote Marguerite some time between late November and December, that the bishop was reacting to the denunciation that Petit had made before the theologians. He cautioned the princess to act more slowly in the conversion of her brother to the cause of reform, writing:
Please cover the fire [of religious reform] for some time. The wood [Louise and Francis?] which you wish to burn is so green that it would extinguish the fire [total Church reform]. And [we] do not counsel you [to continue] for several reasons... I some day hope to tell you, if you do not wish to extinguish the smoldering log [the acceptance of reform by the king and Louise], which will burn and enflame others.23

Louise seems to have added her own thoughts on the denunciation made by Guillaume Petit and the subsequent investigations undertaken by the theologians concerning Michel d'Arande. Some time after December, 1522, she added the following scornful remark to her diary:

The year 1522, in December, my son and I, through the grace of the Holy Spirit, began to recognize the hypocrites—white, black, grey, smoky, and of all colors, — from whom God may wish to defend us through His clemency and infinite kindness; because, if Jesus Christ is not a liar, there is no more dangerous characteristic [than hypocrisy] in all human nature.24

As in previous years, Louise and her daughter were given verses, dedications, and praise for their virtues as patrons of the arts and letters. There are three tapestries which were commissioned by Thomas Bohier and his wife Catherine Briconnet which, I believe, portray Louise, Marguerite, and Francis I. Both the Briconnets and Bohiers owed much to the royal patronage; thus these tapestries might have been an attempt to repay the royal family through artistic representation. Thomas Bohier's wife Catherine was the daughter of Cardinal Guillaume, father also of Bishop Guillaume Briconnet of Meaux.25 Thomas Bohier was a first cousin of Chancellor Antoine DuPrat and brother of Antoine Bohier, cardinal of Bourges, whose position might have been secured through the good offices of Louise. Bohier was also a secretary of finances and a lieutenant in the French army during the Italian campaigns.26
Since Thomas Bohier died during 1523, these tapestries were commissioned some time before his death in service to his king. At present, they form part of the Louvre Museum collection and were given by the Lacarés family in 1950. The one tapestry, which depicts the royal family, is called the "Travail de la laine." There are three persons presented upon a blue background heavily forested and down with wild flowers. At the upper right of the work is a coat of arms belonging to the Briçonnet family.

At the right side of the tapestry an older woman is depicted combing a sheep from whose neck hangs a little bell. Behind the woman sits a dog. I believe that the older woman is Louise because the symbol of the dog stands for steadfastness, while the sheep's bell is for leadership. In the center of the tapestry stands a princely shepherd who is rolling skeins of wool on a bobbin. At his feet is an iron-helmeted lion, a symbol of Francis I's kingship and military ability. At the extreme left of the tapestry sits a woman wearing a strange broad-brimmed green hat, who is working at a weaving loom. A little lap-dog is sitting at her feet on a fold of her garment. This latter animal must be a symbol of wisdom; it could also point out that Marguerite was a political ruler in her own territories.

Another work which Louise received in dedication was the Généalogie de Bourbon et louange de St. Loys. There is a presentation miniature depicting the author kneeling before Louise who receives his offering. This work seems to have been created specifically at the command of Louise because the author claims that he had searched a month in order to find the materials necessary to finish the work.
according to her wishes. The manuscript traces the lineage of the Bourbon family and their possessions from the period of Saint Louis to the year 1521, when Suzanne de Bourbon died. I believe that Louise commissioned this effort in order to support her claim to the Bourbon possessions which had passed into the duke of Bourbon's hands after his wife's death.

Eventually, there was a court case begun at the request of Louise as she tried to recover the Bourbon lands based upon her familial ties with the Bourbons. These important lands lying to the eastern portion of France were declared part of the duchess' heritage but they were to remain in possession of the duke of Bourbon during his life. However, this court case was one reason which prompted Charles de Bourbon to betray his king's country for an alliance with Charles V.

Also, in 1522, Jean Bouchet, a Poitevin lawyer and rhétoriqueur, created a new work which he dedicated to Marguerite d'Angoulême. It was entitled Le labyrinthe de fortune and contained a funereal lament of the death of Artus Goffier, sire de Boisy, the childhood companion to Marguerite and Francis. The author's intention was to create a spiritual consolation for the widow of the sire de Boisy as well as to prepare one for faith and the avoidance of perilous paths. He dedicated this work to Marguerite, as he says, because she was one of the three radiant stones in her brother's royal crown and would receive with pleasure this account of Monsieur de Boisy's praiseworthy morals.

As in the previous years, Marguerite and Briçonnet recommenced their correspondence in the first days of 1523. In January, 1523,
Marguerite recalled a promise which Briconnet must have made to her some time before, as she says, "the promise whose accomplishment I do not doubt when the sole Goodness shall recognize the necessity." A. Herminjard comments that this promise was perhaps to send Marguerite a copy of the New Testament in French which Lefèvre was translating.

The bishop also must have asked Marguerite to write him if she found something in the Scriptures which she could not comprehend. Marguerite readily admitted in her letter to Briconnet that she had recourse to his trusted explanations. "Because I confess that the least work whatever is too much for me, and the clearest is obscure to me." She continued her strong desire for his religious inspiration, as she says, "Please send me [some] crumbs, so that your old mother, enfolded in her first skin, may through this sweet and ravishing word of life renew her old skin, and be so polished, rounded, and whitened as she may be to the Sole Necessity."

Briconnet replied to Marguerite, saying that he would be very presumptuous if he thought that he alone could answer or explain all the obscure passages in the Scriptures. He states that there were men (Lefèvre, Gérard Roussel, and François Vatable) to whom he would pose her questions. These men were worthy because they "have a knowledge of Hebrew and Greek, [and] can clarify several shadows which are [some] through bad translations in the Holy Scriptures...." He gives an indication of the precise man to whom he will put Marguerite's questions, namely "fabre" (Lefèvre) who has a place in your household. I hope that he and his two companions will satisfy your desire...."
Because Francis I had given his sister the duchy of Berry in 1517, it was only natural that she should be vitally interested in its political as well as the religious affairs. During her correspondence with Briçonnet, in January, 1523, Marguerite decided to recall Michel d'Arande from the city of Bourges in order to preach the Gospel for Lent. She addressed to the men of the church of Bourges a letter thanking them for the reception which they had given her almoner:

Messiers, master Micel, my ordinary almoner, is presently returning from there, to announce the word of our Lord during this holy Lent. While he was there, he gave me a very good report and estimation of the order and required honesty that you keep in the holy divine service which gives me great pleasure and contentment with you all. And I pray you, as much as I can, ...to hold the evangelical doctrine in high esteem, according to the good zeal that God can give you and the good opinion which I am permitted to have of you....

Michel d'Arande's preaching disturbed the city later in the year. As we shall see, he soon returned to the city and began his evangelical preaching, only to be opposed by the archbishop of the city. Thereupon, it was necessary for Marguerite to intervene in order to protect her almoner from prosecution.

Returning to the letters of Marguerite and Briçonnet, we find that the bishop continued his despair over the mass of uncaring Catholics in France. He says of these Christians:

Hælas, Madame, I see one plague-stricken insensibility in this world. Most Christians are as a statue or image of Jesus that one puts in the churches, which, is insensible, does not see, hear, speak, taste, or smell, and always carries the resemblance and name of Christ.

Although Briçonnet had fostered reform ideas, the violence and denunciations of the Meaux preachers must have begun to disturb
the bishop by the spring of 1523. In April, he issued a revocation of the evangelical doctrines in Meaux.\footnote{1} There were specific pronouncements against further attacks upon the cult of the saints or attacks upon the veneration of the Virgin.\footnote{2} In order to remove himself from any further charges of Lutheranism, Briconnet, at a synod meeting held in Meaux the next October, ordered the burning of all the books by Luther and forbade his preachers from innovations in their sermons. The increased attack upon suspected Lutherans in France by the members of both Parlement and the Faculty of Theology determined the bishop to withdraw from any radical reforms within his diocese. However, when Lefèvre, himself, was attacked by the Sorbonne, Briconnet immediately wrote to Marguerite and asked her intervention on the humanist's behalf.

In 1523, one of the first humanists to feel the pressure of the Parlement and the Sorbonne was the young Flemish translator, Louis Berquin. On May 13, acting on orders from Parlement, books were seized belonging to the library of Berquin.\footnote{3} These investigators found original works by Luther, translations made by Berquin, and some original works of a suspicious nature in his possession. The members of Parlement then turned the matter over to the Faculty which was charged with questioning Berquin on the contents of his books.

Berquin, meanwhile, hurried to seek safety under the king's protection. On June 9, he received a copy of the following letter from Francis I, addressed to the Faculty of Theology:

Dear friends, M. Berquin has written an apology named Speculum theologastrorum and some other little tracts, and translated some dialogues ..., which you required
be transmitted to you and to be examined by you. We wish you diligently to examine the books and treatises. And if you find some erroneous or heretical articles, send them to us for we do not wish to have any heretics in our kingdom. If there are no errors, we do not wish to remove from anyone the liberty to write the truth....

On June 15, 1593, Berquin presented his letter from the king in an effort to prevent any decision before the king had been informed of all the charges. However, the Sorbonne immediately set about examining all the books which had been confiscated in Berquin's house. They examined Luther's De abroganda missa privata, De usu et efficacia missae and De institutio humanis; the Trias romana of Ulrich Hutten and his Paradisus Julii papae; Berquin's own work, the Decalus Moyse et papae; and one treatise belonging to Melanchthon. Among a group of manuscripts were an apology of Luther called the Speculum theologastrorum and a version of his Address to the Christian Nobility. A last group of works were translations into French of Luther's Contre Leo X sur leu raison de bruler sa bulle; La tryade romaine of Hutten; and two others entitled Le paradis du pape Jules, and Le catholique du pape et de Moyse, which were all condemned.

By June 27, the doctors had finished their condemnation of Berquin's works. Whereupon, Berquin appeared before the Faculty with a new letter from Francis which forbade the Faculty from exceeding their power. They had been told in the first missive to send their list of errors in Berquin's books to the king; this they did not do but went ahead to the process of condemnation. This second letter was more threatening as the king forbade any further action against Berquin:
Dear and well liked [doctora], you know that some time ago we wrote you to send us the translated articles and propositions of Berquin, which you have not as yet done. For this cause we have wished to write you so that you may understand our intention and wish. It is that you give not any opinion concerning Berquin or sentence him until we have had the translated articles and propositions seen and disputed by our loved and loyal chancellor and others whom we have deputized. Thus we expressly forbid you to continue all procedures against Berquin until we have had the matter looked into.\(^5\)

The Faculty retired to consider the matter which Berquin had presented to them through Francis' letter. They decided that they found a discrepancy between the two letters. Since the Parlement had asked them to investigate the matter, the doctors decided to turn over their condemnation of Berquin's books to Parlement and to prepare a dossier for the king if they needed it.\(^7\)

By July 8, a report from the Sorbonne was read to the members of Parlement in which Louis Berquin was declared a partisan of Lutheranism, and, as such, should be required publicly to abjure his actions and promise no further translations of any books touching upon faith.\(^8\) Later in the same month Berquin was questioned by Parlement as to the contents of the Faculty's determination. On August 1, Berquin was imprisoned in the Conciergerie until a definitive pronouncement could be given, later in the same month. The Faculty decided that Berquin should be sent to appear before the bishop of Paris; if he concluded that Berquin was guilty of the accusations, then Berquin would be sent to die.\(^9\)

A third time the king intervened to save Berquin from punishment. On August 7, a letter was sent to the doctors at the Sorbonne which
evoked the case before Francis' Great Council which was located at Blois under Louise's authority. It read as follows:

...We have been warned of the procedures which have been used in our court of Parlement against Louis Berquin, and understand the report that you have made on the books which he composed, as you were ordered by our court. This seems to us to be a thing of great importance, on which, as a very loyal Christian and first son of the Church, we have deliberated, to know and understand the reasons and articles put in these books by him and to see if they are found erronious and contrary to our faith. If so, we wish to be the first to punish him and [to have him] sit [before] our judgment. For this reason we expressly command and enjoin the commission and deputies of some of the wise and tested men of our Faculty of a number that seems good to you, to be sent to our city of Blois,... to appear before our very dear and loved lady and mother, our loved and loyal chancellor, and men of our Great Council, to deduce and judge at length the errors and abuses that are found in the books of Berquin. 50

On August 6, according to the Journal d'un bourgeois, the Court of Parlement ordered several books belonging to Berquin to be burned. 51 On the same day the king sent a captain Frederick to aid Berquin, the same man who had carried the letter which evoked Berquin's case to Blois. Another source of Berquin's salvation might have come directly from Marguerite and Louise. The "Livre de raison de Nicholas Versoris" may give a more correct relationship which Berquin enjoyed with the royal court. Versoris comments upon Berquin's release as a consequence of his "friends in court and having the strong support of some ladies of great estate and power." 52 Perhaps the humanists applied to Marguerite and Louise who used their power in order to have Francis convok the case and thus permit Berquin's escape from the religious and civil authorities.
The Faculty of Theology was thus left without any method by which they could attack Berquin. Toward the end of August, the Faculty decided to send a letter to Guillaume Petit in which the doctors attempted to explain their actions on the matter. The Faculty attacked the complete record of the procedure so that Petit could see that they had acted as protectors of the faith. Their hope was that the bishop would present the evidence to the king, along with the present letter, and thus quiet the king's possible resentment against the defiant attitude with which the doctors acted.

As to Berquin, he later made a full abjuration of any Lutheran propositions. However, he was not completely free of the charges; he was required to appear before the bishop of Paris six weeks later and submit his case to him. He was also required to pay all the expenses of one member of the court of Parlement and two councillors of the Great Council when the court consented to return to his case. This case seems never to have been reopened. Only in 1526 was Berquin rearrested and tried for the same crimes of translation and heresy which had begun in 1523.

While the Faculty of Theology was engaged in the actions against Berquin, they also began to compare Lefèvre's Commentaries on the Gospels with those of Luther. It is at this point that Bishop Briçonnet immediately wrote Marguerite to ask her aid in protecting the persecuted. He urged both Marguerite and Louise to act in the reformer's favor. Declaring that he knew Marguerite and Louise both had the Lord's affairs at heart, Briçonnet says that Christ will continue to fill their hearts with His love. He also demanded that
they help introduce knowledge of the Lord to the "poor lost ones." These were obviously the Faculty and Parlement who were to be saved or illuminated through prayers and preaching of the Gospel.

Francis acted quickly and named a commission headed by Antoine DuPrat to investigate the question in order to prevent possibly a link between his family and the question of their support for Lefèvre. June 19, the Faculty received a report of the matter which had been discussed by Chancellor DuPrat and his commissioners. The king made complaints against the Faculty:

1. The Faculty had spread and publicly sustained, in the College of Navarre, a proposition that was seditiously critical of the king, his government, the kingdom, and certain persons of noble birth.

2. The king did not like it that the writings of Jacques Lefèvre on the Gospels [and] that all the articles which [the Faculty] suspected of errors were examined and judged by the Faculty, before they had been submitted to the lords, chancellors, and prelates. The chancellor had ordered that these articles be remitted to him before Thursday, June 25, the day after the birth of John the Baptist.

3. It was even less pleasing to the king that the Faculty regarded as already convicted of errors and adhering to a perverse sect a certain master Michel (d'Arande), who, once a hermit, had become a secular priest and was a party of the household of Madame, the most illustrious duchess d'Alençon, his sister.

The members of the Faculty replied to the demands of the king on declaring that they would not communicate any of the articles which they had collected from the works of Lefèvre. Neither would the doctors go to discuss the matter before the delegated commission. It was reaffirmed that the Faculty was not discussing the person of Lefèvre, but the doctrine, which they believed to be within their right.
At the same time Bishop Briçonnet wrote to Marguerite of his chance meeting with the king. He expressed his admiration for the religious spirit with which the king had spoken and a disdain for the theologians. He stated that he was "joyous and consoled, seeing that the superexcellent divine goodness hides from those who presume and believe they have the key of divine knowledge (of which being excluded, they do not permit others to enter), and shines in the humble hearts confident of sweetness and mercy alone."\footnote{59}

Marguerite quickly replied to the bishop describing the reception which her mother and brother had to his letter when she read it to them. She declared to the bishop that her desire to learn and be indoctrinated in God's grace made her reply quickly. The bishop had so much experience in teaching that he could easily communicate it to Louise and her children. When she read his letter to her mother and brother, they were both overcome with tears for they, as she, did not wish to lose the good which God had given them. Marguerite ended her letter with the hope that God's grace would continue to enflame all their hearts and permit them to "stir up the wood, yet green."\footnote{60} From her letter it would appear that Marguerite fully expected that the bishop, working through the king, her mother, and herself, would be able to introduce some reforms into France in spite of opposition.

During the time Briçonnet pleaded with Marguerite for aid against the persecutors, the Faculty continued its examination of Lefèvre's Commentaries by its members. On June 18, they were informed that the king still wished that they might cease their activities
against the humanist unless they submitted the articles to the chancellor. The doctors thus found themselves in a dangerous situation because they had defied the king's desires by continuing their investigation. They ordered Guillaume Duchesne to submit to the chancellor all the extracted propositions which they had found. However, on June 30, Duchesne excused himself from this delicate situation. The Faculty then decided to answer the demand of the king only if it were again made. Nevertheless, they believed that it was their duty to continue their examination of the Commentaries and even requested a prohibition decree of Parlement which would have forbidden any public sale until they had finished their work.

By letters patent issued on July 11, Francis I evoked Lefèvre's case before his own Great Council as he would later do the prosecution of Louis Berquin. This action certainly must have come at the request of his sister and Briçonnet in order to save Lefèvre from further inquiries by the Faculty. In response to the king's evocation of the case, the Faculty sought to defend their own activities against Lefèvre. They designated Nicolas Beda to defend their position before the chancellor with the following remonstrance: "As the king prevented the declaration of the truth and extirpation of errors, it was necessary to search ways to oppose this sort of thing for the well-being of the faith and the salvation of the people." Although the Faculty sent representatives to both Louise and the chancellor to explain their position, Lefèvre was cleared of heretical propositions by the commission that had been created in June.
In the midst of these efforts to persecute the reformers, the
king left France in order to lead his army into Italy. Louise again
headed the government as regent in all political as well as religious
affairs. The Faculty then resolved to send letters and representatives
to both the regent and Chancellor DuPrat in order to justify their
position as champions of the orthodox religion. However, their
plans were not to be successful. The commission which DuPrat headed
rendered a favorable verdict upon Lefèvre's Commentaries.

During the same period the Faculty also denounced the preachers
in Meaux, especially Pierre Caroli and Martial Mazurier. In the many
meetings of the Faculty during the summer months, these preachers
and their sermons were categorized as containing numerous unorthodox
materials. On October 19, Nicholas Beda presented a formula of
retraction which the two preachers pronounced publicly in their
particular churches. Representatives were sent from the Faculty
in order to see that these two carried out the retractions.

However, both Caroli and Mazurier appealed to the Sorbonne
for a public discussion of the case. In turn, the doctors named a
commission against the preachers. A "determination," or pronouncement,
was leveled against Caroli and Mazurier which demanded that they
disavow any of the doctrines to which they had held. In addition,
both men were expelled as members of the Faculty, until the doctors
saw fit for them to appear before the full Faculty and recant their
errors.

The attacks upon the preachers of Meaux were used by the Sorbonne
to attack the reformist policies which Bishop Brignonnet and Lefèvre
wished to undertake within the diocese. As mentioned, the bishop began to issue a series of decrees in April and October forbidding attacks upon the saints and the Virgin. The decree of his synod in October sought to ride his diocese of all Lutheran books or pamphlets.

By September, 1523, the political situation in France began to occupy a great deal of the regent's attention. The defection of Duke Charles de Bourbon resulting from the court case started by Louise was a serious loss to the nation. In addition, the Faculty members attempted to demonstrate the dangers of the protection which the royal court had given to the many reformers. As the warfare increased, Louise began to seek methods in order to insure unity within the nation; she decided to organize a great mission of twelve officials who would stamp out heresy throughout France. There were to be representatives of four religious orders and three doctors from the Sorbonne. On September 19, Chancellor DuPrat sent a letter to the Faculty to inform them of the regent's decision and requested three members to meet with her at Blois.

Again in October Louise sent her confessor Nicolai Guilbert with letters concerning the eradication of heresy in France. The Faculty replied to Louise's questions with a series of recommendations by which she and the king could put an end to the spread of the Lutheran heresy in France. They declared that the king and the regent should support the arrests by Parliament of heretics. These proscriptions were to be given to every officer and enforced throughout the state.
Secondly, they recommended that the Church officials should collect all the banned books in France and have them publicly burned. It was believed that no one in the kingdom would be bold enough to sustain these heretical ideas.

In the second section of their response to Louise, the doctors discussed the question of some notable people in France who had given support to the Lutheran doctrines, stating that "It seems to the Faculty that the first occasion for this rumor, not only in this kingdom, but ... in other lands, has come from what several great persons, before they understood the things, have praised in Court ... and because said evil of all those who blamed and reproved the doctrine."75 The Faculty must certainly be referring to the support which Marguerite, her mother, and brother had given to such reformers as Lefèvre, Erasmus, and Guillaume Briçonnet, and the preachers at Meaux.

Next, the doctors blamed the king for not acting quickly enough in order to stamp out the doctrines penetrating the nation.76 They claimed that heretical books were banned only after the members of the Sorbonne had acted in the name of the orthodox faith. The Faculty also charged that there were some in the nation who had given misinformation to the bishops of the kingdom. As examples of their contentions, they cited the protection given to both Louis Berquin and Jacques Lefèvre. Declaring the works of Lefèvre and Berquin to contain items which were pernicious and perilous to the orthodox faith, the Faculty said that when their cases were evoked into the king's own council these errors were fostered. They also contended that many suspicious methods had been used in order to prevent any
investigation of the Lutheran doctrines contained in the reformers' works. In addition, there were some people in France who sought to prevent the doctors from their appointed tasks and who did not support the salvation of the nation, the purity of the faith, or the good of the kingdom. Concluding their reply to the regent, the doctors demanded a change of attitude from all those who had helped foster heresy in France, saying,

...It seems to the Faculty that there is no other way by which the persons can purge and justify themselves who have been or are the cause of these things, or who are charged with them, if they do not follow the example of St. Paul, who for a time through ignorance, once vicious, persecuted the Christians and reproved the healthy and salutary doctrine of Jesus Christ: but as soon as he understood that he had abused, he formed his proposals and began to forbid what he had impugned before, and to damn and reprove what he had through error praised and forbidden.77

In the midst of Louise's changing attitude toward religious reform, Jacques Lefèvre published his French translation of the New Testament. Lefèvre lists those responsible for his work and tells the French that they should be grateful for their support, saying:

...and presently it pleased the divine Goodness to incite noble hearts and Christian desires of very high and powerful ladies and princesses of the kingdom to have printed the New Testament for their edification and consolation, and for those of the kingdom.... That is why, very dear brothers ... each time you read this New Testament you ought not to forget in your prayers the very noble hearts who have procured for you this good and quite salutary divine exercise.... That is why all bishops, curates, vicars, doctors, preachers ought to move the people to have, read, and ruminate upon the holy gospels, accomplishing the will of God and the desires of very noble hearts,...78

Although she was devoted more than ever to the political events, the regent was also the recipient of a Latin poem entitled Ennea ad
sospitalem Christum in 1523. This piece was the work of Nicolas Barthelemy de Loches, a Benedictine who had received his education both in civil and Roman law at the University of Orleans. Since the subject of the Ennea is a meditation upon Christ crucified, Mr. R. Lebegue believes that the 1523 edition might have served Clement Marot as an inspiration for his later poem entitled l'Oraison contemplative devant le crucifix mise de latin en françois.

Although Louise received the work, it is probable that Marot became acquainted with Barthelemy's effort while he served as a secretary in Marguerite's household. Lebegue supposes that the work so pleased Marguerite that she might have given it to Marot, who then incorporated it in his own literary creation.

Another dedication which Marguerite received in the same year was a French translation of Baptista Mantua's La parthenice Mariane by Jacques de Mortières, chaplain of Chalon sur Saone. The work is based upon the Golden Legend by Jacobus de Varagine which recounted the Virgin's life, the Passion story, and the Virgin's assumption into Heaven. Marguerite's coat of arms head the work as well as the dedication which compares her virtues to those of the Virgin.

Upon the last folios of the work, Jacques de Mortières created seven couplets which celebrated the seven feast days of the Virgin. They were in the form of an acrostic and display the duchess' full titles:

Margarite de pres incomparable
A ureole des constans chrestiens
G entre à david progenie venerable
V ertu/valour/ et la force des tiens
R ien plus ne quiers que evaulcer tes maities
T e suppliant ne estre protection
E n la faveur de ta conception
The entire acrostic reads: Marguerite de France, Duchesse d'Alençon et De Berri, Contesse D'Armignac. 85

The beginning of 1524 saw the continuance of the correspondence between Marguerite and Briçonnet. The tenth of January, 1524, in addition to a letter Briçonnet also included a copy of the Epistles of Saint Paul which were part of the New Testament that Lefèvre just had published in November, 1523, 86 proving that Marguerite was still very much in contact with the reformers and humanists even though her mother had to direct the political troubles of the nation. The bishop told her that the king, Louise, and she were those who were drowned in God's grace. He says, "I do not know others in this kingdom who are so plunged or sunk in it." 87 Briçonnet also alluded to the treason of Charles de Bourbon and seemed to recognize that the regent had to alter her attitude toward reform in order to secure the nation against her enemies. Briçonnet stated that he knew God's interior grace was constantly flowing as a great river. He had no doubt that the reformers were humbly received by her mother even in the midst of the damnable conspiracy and treason of Charles de Bourbon.

He concluded his letter by saying that if the nation could rejoice and be consoled during Louise's governance, so should Marguerite be content while in her mother's company. She was instructed by the bishop to put her trust in God, not in her own industry or diligence during this perilous period. 88

Later in the same month, the bishop counseled Marguerite to use her influence with her brother in order to secure a better quality of Church officials in France. "I beg you, Madame, to work
for the future honor of God, in the election and choice of his ministers, if you do not wish to encounter His anger and indignation...."89

He recognized that all three, mother, son, and daughter, were responsible for the religious climate within France and so urged their compliance with his reorganization. "If you desire the Church to recognize her state and profession, and probably relead her to her established truth, I know God will give you three the will and that he accompanies with knowledge and power."90 Thereupon, the bishop urged Marguerite to select warriors of God to lead the masses to salvation with the same care as she selects those who defend state.

Marguerite immediately responded to Briçonnet's letter expressing an ardent desire that the religious reform continue. Her hope was that the members of the Church could be reformed and renewed through baptism and thus united with God.91 Later, she was to agree with the bishop that she had merited his admonitions which had excited her soul or, as she says, acted as "an alarm clock for the poor sleeper."92 Throwing herself upon his wisdom, she recommended herself to "you and Monsieur Fabry and all your lords, requiring alms from you."93

On February 24, Briçonnet wrote Marguerite saying that it was not only she who had to be awakened, but also the prelates of the Church, who should carry out the reforms. He explained that the royal family should continue their support of reforms even "if the execution does not seem to bring immediate results. You will be amazed that the light of peace will come to you when you least expect it."94
As we have seen, the duchess was very solicitous about the religious life within her lands; she had already sent Michel d'Arande into the city of Bourges some time before her letter of January, 1523. It is not surprising that Marguerite once again attempted to send d'Arande into her duchy of Berry. She announced her intention to the men of Bourges the following November, writing:

Messieurs, I have been advised by what M. the General de la Beaum and lieutenant Biget have written me how you are very agreeable to the preacher whom I have the intention of sending you. I hope that his doctrine and preaching will bear of little fruit there....

However, d'Arande's sermons must have contained much which was considered unorthodox. The archbishop of Bourges, François de Bueil, forbade him from further preaching despite the approval of the people and clergy of the city. Marguerite then defended her almoner against the charges of the archbishop. She wrote to the local chapter in Bourges, saying:

...We have had great pleasure in knowing the zeal that you have in God's word which we desire to have announced by our almoner, whom the king and lady and all this company have experienced several times when he has preached the Holy Gospel before them, by which they are well edified, and we are astonished by the opposition and defences that you say have been shown to him by a person named Gauden, self-appointed procurer of the archbishop of Bourges.

This must not take place, because it is a question of God's honor and of the charity that we owe our subjects. For which we find this opposition quite strange, and we can not think them to have proceeded from the archbishop, but rather from some evil spirit to whom God has not given much grace....

To this end, we have sent men to the archbishop to tell him the truth.... Please have the sermons and preachings of our almoner continue....
Be sure that the archbishop hears it, and when I shall have his response, we shall send it to you. May no one fear to hear the word of God.97

Marguerite vented her anger against the bishop and her fear of his penalties for her almoner to Briçonnet in February, claiming that the more tribulations grew, the more one's knowledge was augmented of Him who was the sole victor over the impediments which enemies placed before one. Her intention was to pray to God so that the blind and ignorant enemies would realize their perversity.

Marguerite also told the bishop that she intended to send a porter to him to recite all the activities of the archbishop and to receive Briçonnet's advice. She feared that if the remedy were not prompt, a "powerful cautery" would be applied to d'Arande.98 However, it was not d'Arande who received the cautery but the archbishop. The king sent an official reprimand to the prelate and had a portion of his temporal goods seized.99

Bishop Briçonnet immediately wrote back to Marguerite, expressing his wish that the archbishop would come to his senses without any interference from the royal family. He declared to the duchess that the royal family should not become involved in the struggle at that moment. Briçonnet seemed to have withdrawn suddenly from his constant pleas for royal leadership in religious affairs. He was temporizing, as he wrote to Marguerite, saying:

I wish that the aid of the king, Madame, and you would be delayed for use at a time when it would have the best effect. Excommunication [is a] thunder terrifying to the populace. Prudence [consists] in calming waters, not in undertaking or continuing the work whose issue is neither honorable nor of value. I am sometimes persuaded that reason and honesty ought to be content to dissimulate [for the best effects]....100
Briçonnet the next day again urged patience on Marguerite's behalf with respect to the archbishop. He told her to remit her cares for d'Arande unto God for "the cautery of the world is potential, that of God is actual." The bishop felt that even if d'Arande had to leave the city of Bourges because of his preaching, he still could be useful in other places. He says, "If he does not preach there, he will not be unfruitful elsewhere, and his money (religious ideas) will always be well received."^102 The result of this affair was that Marguerite relented and sent d'Arande to preach in the duchy of Alençon. He must have been more successful there in his preaching of the new doctrines and in converting of the people. The next year a group of songs were written entitled the Chanson des Luthériens which questioned his orthodoxy.

Your error grows unto Alençon
Under a simple courtesy
Michelot made the lesson
God knows of what theology. 103

In the midst of Marguerite's public support for her almoner, she was introduced to the works of Erasmus. In March, 1524, Claude Chansonnetto translated Erasmus' Eramus' Exomologesis sive modus confitendi from Latin into French as La manière de se confesser and dedicated it to Marguerite. Chansonnetto translated this piece for Marguerite probably in order to introduce her to the famed humanist; however, it was not until some time later that Erasmus actually wrote to the duchess. She never regularly corresponded with him.

The atmosphere in France was becoming more and more difficult for all those involved with reform. The élu of the city of Meaux, Nicolas Le Sueur, wrote to Guillaume Faral in Basel expressing a fear
that the censures of Parliament and the Sorbonne were increasing daily. He declared that the enlightened men could not openly reject the traditional faith even though they knew it to be false because they feared the consequences.105

However, Le Sueur certainly believed Marguerite to be of the same mind as the other evangelical reformers. He credited her with the sole protection of her works for the preservation of the reformers. Because of his esteem of the duchess' evangelism, Le Sueur planned to dedicate several popular treatises to her, but because the doctors of the Sorbonne were moving against such tracts, he did not dare to have them published.106

During the summer of 1524 the political situation was extremely critical against the French interests. Imperial forces began a siege of the port of Marseilles in order to gain a foothold, while the traitor Charles de Bourbon led troops from Italy into Provence. In an effort to stem this tide, the king had to lead his army against the forces in the Midi, while the regent and her daughter established their residence in Lyon.

By the end of September, 1524, Francis I had retaken his Milanese lands and had established his headquarters at the fortress of Pavia. The papacy, which had tried to remain neutral until this time, soon joined in a secret treaty with the French and the cities of Florence and Venice against the Imperial forces. 107

While the political situation became more settled, Clement VII decided to send a papal nuncio, Jerome Aleander, to point out to Francis the progress of heresy in France. On November 14, Aleander
complained to the king concerning the preaching of Michel d'Arande and Guillaume Briçonnet. He must also have demonstrated that the religious attitude which Marguerite displayed was not at all pleasing to the papacy. The king, however, refused to listen to any of the charges which the nuncio had made against the Meaux group or his sister.108

During their stay in Lyon, Marguerite was in contact with definite Lutheran sympathizers and translators. Pierre de Sabiville, a monastic reformer of Grenoble, writing to his friend in Zurich, expressed his feeling about Marguerite and the reception of those who created works for her. Commenting both on Marguerite's liberality and the evangelical tendencies in her preachers, he says that Anthonius Papilion was the first to translate Luther's works in France. Papilion translated the treatise De votis monasticis for Madame d'Alençon who rewarded him with a position as a first master of requests of the Dauphin. "There is none today in France more evangelical than the Lady d'Alençon. She has a doctor from Paris called Master Michel Eleymosinarius (d'Arande), who preaches only the pure Gospel before her."109

Antoine Papilion was soon drawn into the royal court where he could view the religious sentiments of the king, Louise, and Marguerite. Writing to Ulrich Zwingli at Zurich in October, 1529, he reported that both the king and his mother were animated by an excellent spirit in religion. According to Papilion, Marguerite lived her life only for God. He also urged Zwingli to dedicate his work on The True and False Religion to Louise.110 From his attitude, it would
appear that the humanists and reformers could still view Louise, as well as her daughter, as a patroness of reform.

The duchess d'Alençon also received a religious work by another French translator of Luther's works. This work was entitled *De la préparation à la mort*, translated from Luther's 1520 treatise *De preparazione ad moriendum* by Antoine d'Oraison. Little is actually known of d'Oraison. Perhaps he was one of the illegitimate nephews of vicomte de Cadenet, Antoine-Honorat d'Oraison, one of the most powerful lords in Provence. Since Marguerite had come to represent the spirit of royal support for reform, it would be quite natural for Oraison to dedicate the work to her. However, in 1524, it was extremely bold for him to translate Luther's work at the Sorbonne theologians were ever more threatening against reformers and their works. This early Lutheran influence was later to manifest itself in Marguerite who, in 1527, translated one of Luther's works the *Auslegung deutsch des Vater Unser für die einseligen*... as *Le Pater Noster fait in translation et dyalogue par la roync de Navarree*.

Although it is very difficult to date this work precisely, there may be a clue in the dedication which would place this translation in the year 1524. Oraison seems to be commiserating with Marguerite on the many deaths which had occurred in the royal family during 1524. Marguerite's aunt, sister-in-law, and niece had succumbed by September of that year. The dedication contains the following passage which might indicate the exact nature of the date:

*Helas, Madame, it is not necessary to toll and remonstrate with you how the remembrance and frequent commemoration of death occurs each hour in this life; however,* [it] *is*
useful and profitable for us to and maintain [ourselves] in the fear and love of God in this world, so as to prepare and dispose ourselves to take without danger the path and road of the other. Because I am sure that it is a practice [of which] you are rather excited and often think, as one can easily judge by your virtuous and praiseworthy way of living, that no one can follow if [he] does not have this death before his eyes without any servile fear.

Another work which was written some time between 1520 and 1525 is a Book of Hours done either for both Louise and Marguerite or as a gift from Louise to her daughter. The title of the work is Orationes devotissimae ad illustissimam piasimaque dominam christianissimae francorum regis matrem dedicate and the initial L is placed within a cartouche on the first folio. However, the last folio presents a significant problem of attribution. Marguerite is shown at her wool-weaving with the author who presents her with his work. The initial M appears in a cartouche as on many of the interior pages of the manuscript. In addition, there are several miniatures of Marguerite contemplating the Holy Family in the stable, and one of Charles d'Alençon and Marguerite expressing their adoration of the Christ Child. I believe that Louise commissioned this work and presented it as a gift to her daughter and son-in-law.

By the end of 1524 religious persecution of French reformers increased. One reformer, Aime Maigret, a Dominican who gave heretical sermons both in Grenoble and at Lyon, excited the local inquisitor because of his preaching. During the stay of Louise at Lyon, Maigret was denounced by Valentin Lyevin the inquisitor, who received the regent's permission to imprison the monk and transport him to Paris for trial.
One of Maigret's friends, writing to Guillaume Farel, reported the news of the reformer's capture. Maigret's only hope was that Marguerite was there to give whatever protection would be required. However, even with the duchess d'Alençon in attendance, Maigret was ordered to Paris and condemned to make an honorable amend in Lyon and to be imprisoned for his heretical opinions. Although Maigret languished in jail for two years until he was banished from France, he did not suffer martyrdom.

The year 1525 was the greatest test of the abilities of Louise as regent, and Marguerite, as her emissary and confidant, they were left to guide the internal and external affairs of the nation. On February 21, 1525, outside the walls of Pavia in Italy, the Imperial army of Charles V was completely victorious over the French. Even more critical to the events of the period was the capture and imprisonment of Francis I in Spain. This sudden turn of events necessitated that the regent prevent internal brigandage and sedition and carry on a series of international negotiations designed to free her son. In particular, Louise had to work much more closely with Parlement. Hence, she was obliged to cooperate with increased demands for the eradication of heresy.

In March, 1525, the members of Parlement thus found that they could begin to issue orders for the extirpation of Lutheran heresy in France. A special commission was organized on March 20, of four officials, two from Parlement, two from the Sorbonne, and were given special powers to investigate the diocese of Paris. Parlement, with its special commission, also focused its attention upon the diocese of Meaux as a center of Lutheran heresy in France.
Ulrich Zwingli tried to ask Francis I to stop the persecutions which the Sorbonne was undertaking at this time. He dedicated his De vera et falsa religionem to the king and listed the reasons why the king should protect the reformers against the theologians. He charged that the Sorbonists were ignorant of languages, and that they despised anyone who knew them. Anyone who taught doctrines from Scripture was called heretical and impious. Zwingli ardently hoped that the king could force these theologians to remain quiet and preserve France from God's indignation.

The Swiss reformer also demonstrated to the king that France contained other kinds of doctors, ones who cultivated the heavenly sciences and who possessed all the knowledge of languages, a simplicity of morals, and a holy life. He urged the king to place these men in positions of honor in order to eradicate all the improprieties of the Church. Zwingli also cautioned Francis that some unnamed person was deceiving the regent into supporting the Sorbonists against the good doctors. According to the Swiss reformer, this could result in a situation as in Germany where no one obeyed the word of their princes.

On April 10, Parliament sent a remonstrance to Louise in which it sought her approval for the creation of its commission to extirpate Lutheranism within the kingdom. It also demanded that the previous decrees, which had been stopped through royal authority, be reinstituted. The court was thus directly attacking the support which Louise and Marguerite had tried to give to the reformers of Meaux and Louis Berquin.
Louise then addressed a letter on April 29 to Pope Clement VII, seeking pontifical sanction for Parlement's special commission against Lutherans.\textsuperscript{127} She declared that many persons, books, and other writings had come into France from Germany, carrying the ideas of the pernicious sect of Martin Luther. She also demanded that the pope grant the desired powers to fight this heresy in France. However, as the regent only mentioned those specifically accused of Lutheranism, we may believe that she was determined to continue her support for the reforms of Meaux and those whom the Sorbonne had persecuted.

However, once the papal bull had been received, both the Parlement and Sorbonne began a series of attacks against the suspected Lutheran reformers of Meaux. On July 1, Pierre Caroli agreed to accept the Faculty's decision that he not preach outside his parish; at the same time an official from Paris was sent to investigate the errors in his sermons. However, Parlement did not wait long for the official investigation. A few weeks later it ordered the case be sent to the delegated tribunal for an immediate judgment.\textsuperscript{128}

The other noted preacher of Meaux, Martial Mazurier, also again fell into the Faculty's hands. During this time he was imprisoned by the Faculty while it censured some twenty errors drawn from his sermons. He eventually agreed that he was to be publicly condemned from his own pulpit at Saint-Martin. However, when the Faculty's representative read the statement, the populace created an uproar and struck the preacher.\textsuperscript{129}

Bishop Guillaume Briçonnet was also called before Parlement in order to defend himself against the charges of Lutheranism which
the Cordeliers of Meaux had launched.\textsuperscript{130} The bishop was linked with unorthodox doctrines such as had been pronounced by Mazurier and Caroli.

Secondly, Briconnet was charged with public support for Jacques Lefèvre and his Commentaries on the Four Gospels, even though the Faculty had stated that work contained errors of faith.\textsuperscript{131} Continuing their work of condemnation, the members of the Court of Parlement attacked quite strongly the translation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue as a pernicious thing.

The outcome of the serious accusations against Briconnet is found in an arrest of Parlement given on August 27, 1525.\textsuperscript{132} Although neither Briconnet nor Lefèvre was branded as an outright heretic, excessively harsh measures were to be instituted in the diocese of Meaux to prevent any further unorthodox sermons. Heavy censorship was also instituted which would not permit the translated Scriptures in France and measures were taken against printers who published such materials.

A final pronouncement was rendered by the Court of Parlement on February 5, 1526.\textsuperscript{133} No longer could anyone print any of Luther's books in France; all questioning of matters of faith was stopped; everyone was forbidden to translate the Epistles of St. Paul from Latin into French. The Journal d'un bourgeois recorded the person most responsible for the Court's actions in the following statement:

And it is to be noted that the majority of the clergy at Meaux were infected by the false doctrine of Luther. It was said, that one named Falry (Lefèvre), a priest studying with the others, was the cause of this situation, and among other things [Lefèvre claims] that one did not need to have any images in Church, nor to take holy
water to erase all sins, nor to pray for the dead, because straightaway after death one went into paradise or hell, and that there was no purgatory.\textsuperscript{139}

Returning the period of September 1, 1525, after the court had triumphed over Brignonnet, one of the prosecutors, Pierre Lizet, in speaking of Lefèvre, described the support which the king had given to the humanists writings and defended Parlement's right to protect the nation from heretical ideas. He declared that a great scandal had arisen surrounding Lefèvre since the king had forbidden the judgment and censure of the reformers propositions. Not wishing to controvert the king's authority, the members of Parlement urged the Faculty to inspect and censure Lefèvre's works. They reasoned that this right truly belonged to them. Their intentions were to turn over a final pronouncement to the king or his mother who could then act as they thought best.\textsuperscript{135}

Once the Court of Parlement had effectively condemned the activities at Meaux, the members turned their attention to the others implicated in the court case. The special delegates were ordered to begin a procedure against Caroli, Mazurier, Roussel, and Lefèvre. They even invited the regent to send Michel d'Arande to them in order to be prosecuted.\textsuperscript{136}

The effect of these attacks was to disperse the group surrounding Brignonnet and cause them to flee the country. Lefèvre and Gérard Roussel crossed into Strasbourg during the month of October and were later joined in exile by Michel d'Arande.\textsuperscript{137} Mazurier, however, was prompt to retract his errors to the satisfaction of the judges while Caroli sought refuge in the protection of another patron of the arts, Anne de Gravelle.
Probably through the urgent pleas from Marguerite and perhaps Louise, the king was pressed into protesting the treatment which the Court wished to exact upon the reformers. From his prison in Madrid, Francis sent an angry protest to Parlement. He declared that he had been informed of the legal cases of Lefèvre, Caroli, and Roussel which were before the Court. In the case of Lefèvre, Francis felt that some theologians had begun the procedure out of spite, wishing to slander the reformer’s good name. He recalled to the members of the Court that he had personally commanded a number of prelates and Faculty to inspect Lefèvre’s works. They had returned to him with a good report of the reformer’s methods, pious life, and deeds. For this reason, he sought to demonstrate his continued support for Lefèvre and all the other humanists, saying:

...we have had him (Lefèvre) in such opinion and esteem, that we do not wish him to be slandered, molested, or dealt with wrongly in our kingdom, lands, and lordships.

And, moreover, we have wished to have justice reign there (France), to maintain, entertain, and favorably treat persons and men of letters and good knowledge, who merit it.... We pray and command that you cease and hold in suspension the said procedures ...until our return to France....

Even this message from the king did not stop the actions of the Court. They complained to Louise that they had been permitted to form the special court, and then that the king sought to place obstacles in their path. Later, a second proscription sent to Parlement was greeted in the same terms; the Court continued its actions against the reformers until after Francis had returned to France.

There is only one indication that either Louise or Marguerite received a dedication of any work during 1525. Marguerite may have
received a book entitled *Le livre faisant mention des sept paroles que notre bencist Saulveur et Redempteur Jesuschrist dist...*, presented to her by a canon of the Sainte Chapelle. There is a problem in dating this work accurately since it has disappeared. Although the author supposedly dedicated it to "Marguerite de France," he also included the title of "queen of Navarre." Because Marguerite's marriage to Henry II d'Albret did not occur until 1527, the author might have created the work to celebrate Marguerite's marriage and for some reason dated it back to 1525.

The work was decorated with many flowers, including daisies (marguerites in French), strawberries, and cornflowers. The second folio was said to show the author presenting his work to Marguerite.

Also during the period of Francis I's captivity in Spain, the greatest of all the northern humanists, Erasmus, tried to establish contact with Marguerite d'Alençon. In the autumn of 1525, he wrote to her that his many friends, who had long admired her virtues, had urged him to write her a consoling letter during her time of troubles. He then proceeded to enumerate her marvelous qualities which he long admired, "prudence worthy of a philosopher, chastity, moderation, piety, the force of an invincible soul, and a marvelous scorn for all the vanities of the world."

Although we know that Erasmus and Marguerite never had seen each other from his statement, he relates that many good men of knowledge had carefully depicted her to him. Because he was in contact with the great humanists of Europe, it was quite possible that some of the Meaux group, or perhaps Guillaume Budé, the great
Hellenist at the French court, had written him of the personality of the duchess. However, even after so much effusive praise and hopes for the future settlement of the troubles between Francis and Charles V, there is no evidence that Marguerite ever responded to Erasmus.

The beginning of 1526 saw Parlement and the Sorbonne continue their persecutions of all those whom they regarded as heretics. Louis Berquin was again incarcerated for his activities—the translations of books which the Faculty had censured during the previous year.

After his first trial, Berquin returned to his translating activities in the lands of Picardy. During his absence the Faculty of Theology, between May 20 and June 1, 1525, condemned four of Erasmus' works which Berquin had translated in French: *La déclaration des louanges du mariage, La brièvre admonition de la maniere de prier, Le symbole des apostres* and the *Complainte de la paix*.145

During the month of January, 1526, Parlement made its second attempt against the writings of Berquin. On January 8, Berquin was arrested at Rambures and brought by a court usher named Mailly to the Conciergerie in Paris.146 Later in the same month, this porter was again sent to the lands of Amiens and Abbéville to investigate the life of Berquin and transmit his report to the Court of Parlement.

The Faculty of Theology proceeded during the months of February and March with their examination of Berquin's works. At this point Louise seems to have been the first member of the royal family to try and halt the case until the return of her son from Spain. In February and March, she attempted to have the doctors delay their proceedings;147 however, once again the doctors continued their opposition to the royal commands. Berquin, himself, gave an account of the regent's activities
on his behalf when he wrote Erasmus the following letter:

Twice the queen mother had written to the commissioners to suspend all action until the king's arrival; the very Christian king wishing to consult some wise and sensible gentlemen on LeFèvre's affair, on mine, on that of others likewise, and to establish judges for all these debates. However, the commissioners, whether not being able to moderate the violence of their anger, or desiring to please the Faculty, or fearing a defeat for their tyranny, after having attacked Erasmus' name, after having loudly called him heretical and apostate, and Berquin his disciple, produced a collection of extracted phrases...and declared them heretical, schismatic, and scandalous...

The Faculty finally declared Berquin a relapsed heretic on March 23, and handed him over to the civil authorities.

Marguerite d'Angoulême then turned her attention to Berquin's plight in late March after her brother had been released from his imprisonment. Marguerite thanked her brother for his intervention on Berquin's behalf when he had ordered a suspension of the hearings on March 17. She wrote:

Monsieur, the desire that I had to obey your command was great enough, without being doubled through your charity for the poor Berquin, according to your promise; ... And these (Faculty and Parlement) who, in your tribulation, have forgotten God and you, shall recognize their malice ...to have ignored the truth in spirit that the All-Powerful has given you; ... And for this grace I feel myself so obligated, that I begged Madame to do for me what I confess to be impossible for me.

Although the king had written in March in order to prevent any action being taken in Berquin's case, both the Faculty and the men of Parlement continued their opposition to the royal wishes. From April to November, the king sent several other commands for the removal of Berquin to the Louvre, but Parlement, again and again, refused. Finally, the king sent the provost of Paris to the Conciergerie on
November 19, and delivered Berquin into the hands of a captain of the guards and four archers who forcibly took the prisoner to the Louvre.\(^\text{152}\)

Marguerite then wrote to Anne de Montmorency at the end of 1526 and thanked him for the liberty which the king had accorded to Berquin, saying, "My son, ...thank you for the pleasure that you gave me in behalf of the poor Berquin, whom I esteem as if he were myself. You could say that you have drawn me from prison, since I esteem the pleasure [as] done to me."\(^\text{153}\)

During this same period the duchess d'Alençon also may have come to the rescue of Clement Marot who had been accused of breaking the Lenten fast. On March 13 Louis Guillard, bishop of Chartres, had Marguerite's valet de chambre brought before the Church tribunal at Chartres on a heresy charge.\(^\text{154}\) It appears that Marot had eaten meat during Lent and had been incarcerated in the Châtelet de Paris for his crime.\(^\text{155}\) However, the actions of the bishop saved Marot from the special ecclesiastical commission and gave him his liberty by May 1, 1526.

C. A. Mayer believes that Bishop Guillard did not come to Marot's aid out of friendship. This aid may have developed when Marot's friend, Lyon Jamet, addressed himself to the bishop who, in turn, might have wished to win Marguerite's kind regards by saving her protegée.\(^\text{156}\)

Some time later in 1526 Marot wrote another of his praises of Marguerite, possibly to thank her for his escape from religious persecution. The rondeau is titled "À la louange de madame la duchesse d'Alençon, Soeur unique du Roy."\(^\text{157}\) He recounted Marguerite's virtues and proclaimed that no princess in a thousand years was equal to her.
The duchess d'Alençon remained in contact with the Meaux refugees during their exile in Strasbourg. They had found there an excellent protector in the person of Sigismond de Hohenlohe, dean of cathedral chapter in the city.\textsuperscript{158} Probably in reply to the count's request, Marguerite, in late December, 1525, sent 4,000 crowns for the support of the refugees and twenty crowns to Cornelius Agrippa, in recompensation for his pension as court physician which Louise had not paid.\textsuperscript{159}

Marguerite and the count continued their correspondance through the summer of 1526. In March Marguerite wrote to thank Sigismond for his advice and consolation which he had given during the period of Francis' captivity. While she heartily thanked Sigismond for his protection of the religious refugees, and said that they would soon be recalled to France.\textsuperscript{160} There is also an indication that the count intended to voyage into France, perhaps to spread Lutheranism, as he was one of the most able propagators at this time. She says:

As to your desire to come into France, the porter will tell you the happy news which I have just received today. And, if you wish to see the poor prisoner (Francis I) whom the Lord has wished to free after having humiliated him, I counsel you, if that accords with your conveniences, to come at the end of March, or rather in mid-April, which would be a better time, because we hope that you will find there all your friends reunited.

I hope also with God's infinite mercy, that with your aid the word of truth shall be heard. At the beginning, as you can imagine there will be quite some difficulty. But God is God, and He is what He is; ...His glory and His victory are quite spiritual things, ...as you know Him better than I; also it would be better for me to be quiet than to speak. I wish to see you in order to receive instruction from you.\textsuperscript{161}
As soon as the king had been released from his captivity, he recalled the exiles from Strasbourg. "He has recalled the fugitives with honor, on the intercession of his sister," wrote Erasmus. Lefèvre d'Étaples quickly rejoined the court. In June he became a tutor to the king's children and library cataloguer at Blois.

In May, 1526, Marguerite again wrote to Sigismond concerning his proposed voyage to France. Evidently she had discussed the trip with the returning refugees and had decided that France was not yet ready to receive his religious message. She says:

...According to the judgment of all your friends, it is still not the moment to come here. As soon as that with which we are occupied for God's honor will be realized, I shall hurry to instruct you. I hope, if the All-Powerful may render us worthy, that we shall finish what He has permitted us to begin.... And, waiting till we see each other, if you think that there is something that I may do to witness my attachment to you, I shall act as for myself....

And for a third time in July, 1526, Marguerite wrote the count to inform him that the political and religious situations prevented his visit to France. She explained that her brother was still interested in religion but his children were still held as captives in Spain, When she felt the moment right for his voyage, she would inform him as she says:

...because the circumstances still appear to me such that your coming here could not procure for you the consolation you desire. It is not that the king might not see you willingly; but they (Spanish and French negotiators) are not yet completely in accord on the subject of the liberation of his children,... But as soon as I believe the time propitious, I hope in God that I shall not make you languish. 
During the summer of 1526 many of the other reformers returned to France and received positions through Marguerite's patronage. Michel d'Arando returned as her almoner and was soon named as the bishop of Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux. He was also to serve as the intermediary between Wolfgang Capito and Marguerite. He translated the German reformer's letter for the duchess; she was so edified by the contents that she begged Capito to continue his letters to her. 166

Another of the reformers who returned to France was Pierre Toussain of Metz whom Marguerite had helped free from imprisonment at Pont-a-Mousson and flee into exile in Basle. 167 On his return, Toussain wrote John Oecolampadius describing his reception by Marguerite and the acceptance by the king and Louise of the Gospel, saying:

I have met many times with the very illustrious Duchess d'Alençon and she received me with as much affability as if I were a prince or a dear friend; she offered me several situations not to be disdained. We have spoken very much of the propagation of Christ's Gospel, which is the object of her desires, not only of hers, but of the king's, himself. The queen mother is not opposed to their efforts. 168

During the summer of 1526 Gérard Roussel returned to France and received the position as almoner which Michel d'Arando had formerly held. 169 In a letter to Guillaume Farel, Roussel reported that he intended to give Marguerite a portion of his work which he proposed to publish. 170 A. Herminjard believes this work to have been the Five Books of Moses which were to form part of the French translation of the Bible by Leìèvre and Roussel, which was never completed. 170
In the midst of the critical political and religious strife, Louise and Marguerite continued to receive many literary gifts. The first of these, *Les gestes de la reine Blanche*, was offered to Louise by Etienne LeBlanc some time after Francis I had been released from captivity in Spain. The author was descended from one of the oldest noble families that had served in government administration from Charles VIII through the reign of Francis I. Etienne served as comptroller general and secretary to Louise, Marguerite, and, after 1521, the king.

In the presentation folio, Louise is shown seated beneath a baldaquin grasping the handle of a rudder which is placed in a basin of water. A pair of wings appear from her back. Lying at her feet is a young man, dressed in a turban and rich velvets, whose hands are tied together. Both figures are placed in a Renaissance loggia which looks out upon a royal castle, possibly Amboise, on a distant hill. This illustration obviously refers to Louise’s administration of France while her son was imprisoned in Spain.

The work is drawn from women of the Old Testament and from the regency which Blanche of Castile had exercised for her son Louis IX. The author explained to the regent that she had ranked with these women because “by your great providence, you have until now guarded and defended the peoples of France, and will do so hereafter, aiding by the kindness of our Lord.”

In this same year Marguerite received the first of several works dedicated to her by Jean de Vauzelles. He was a curate of Lyon and might have made the duchess’ acquaintance during her stay there...
in 1524 and 1525. The work is titled Histoire évangelique des quatre évangélistes, derived from the Latin work of Ottmar Nachtigall, who, in turn, had taken it from the Greek work of Amonius Alexandrin.

In the dedicatory epistle Vauzelles said that he had created this religious work for the duchess because he knew that she spent her time in reading or meditating on divine works, not in frivolous activities. He exclaimed that Marguerite is "the shelter of the weak, and like Job, the eye of the blind, the feet of the lame,...true example of all nobility." He also recognized that Marguerite had undertaken great pains in order to save her brother during his captivity and help give stability to France.

The year following this first work, Vauzelles received the priory of Montortier, perhaps through Marguerite's intervention. He continued in close relationship with the princess; and by 1539 he had been made one of her almoners.

Another dedication which Marguerite received in this year was the mystical treatise Le traicté du souverain bien, published by Simon DuBois. This is an allegory of one's approach to death; the soul of each Christian seeks a final union with God in eternal life which death procures.

There is a mystery connected with the printer Simon DuBois. He was established first in Paris until 1529, and then in Alençon, where he may have published religious propaganda until he was named as a suspected heretic in 1534. As he had printed the first editions of the Miroir de l'âme pêcheresse in 1531 and 1533, there is speculation that he hid himself under an assumed name in Marguerite's household.
as a valet, or perhaps, as the editor of Marguerite's poems, with the name Symon Silvius, dit Jean de la Haye. However, this last name does not appear in any of Marguerite's expense roles; thus no positive identification is possible.

The last work which Marguerite received in 1526 was a dedication by Henri-Cornelius Agrippa of his *De matrimonio*. Agrippa had been a doctor and astrologer to Louise until he predicted disaster because of the French ambitions in Italy. This dedication to Marguerite was certainly an effort to reintegrate himself with the royal court. In May, 1526 he wrote to Michel d'Aranda and urged him to recommend his work to Marguerite to whom he had dedicated it.

The Treaty of Madrid which had permitted the return of Francis I into France proved to be only a truce. Building on the preliminary alliance which his mother had made with England, a new alliance system, the League of Cognac, or Holy League, was formed by May, 1526. The Hapsburg-Valois rivalry in Italy recommenced and lasted until 1529. During the renewed warfare, Louise retained her title as regent in France as well as her political power. It was through the efforts of Louise and Marguerite d'Autriche in 1529 that a more lasting peace treaty was finally created between France and the Empire.

During this same period Marguerite, whose first husband had died after the battle of Pavia, was married to Henry d'Albret, king of Navarre, in January, 1527. However, even with her new importance as queen, Marguerite still retained her position at her brother's court and her ardent support for the many Church reformers. Testifying to Marguerite's sentiments and the success of evangelism in France,
Wolfgang Capito wrote to Zwingli, reporting that Peter Toussain and Gérard Roussel were at court. And the latter, supported by the prayers of his brothers, was preaching the Gospel at Blois. In addition, both Maigret and Berquin had been freed from prison. And the king still seemed favorable to the Gospel. 186

From the beginning of 1527, it appears that Marguerite was determined more than ever to support all persecuted by the Sorbonne. On January 16, Nicolas Beda told his colleagues they had received a request from Marguerite to transcribe all the deliberations of the Faculty from the beginning of the Lutheran period and present them to her. 187 They were to have all the condemned extracts of Lefèvre, Berquin, and Erasmus, and the sermons of Caroli and Maigret transcribed so that the court might read them. Fearing the consequences of their past actions, the Faculty seemed to hesitate to comply with Marguerite's wishes until they had received a more official command.

After her marriage to Henry d'Albret, Marguerite was able to secure the release of Louis Berquin and pass him into her household. Thereupon, Berquin, probably feeling that he was beyond persecution, openly challenged his sentence of heresy before Parlement. The Journal d'un bourgeois records:

And the king, having returned, saved him (Berquin). Because of her husband, Madame d'Alençon, Queen of Navarre, took Berquin into her husband's service. [That is] why God, wishing to punish Berquin, made his heart swell; then being in complete freedom, [Berquin] said and maintained that the judges had wronged and lied about him. Thus he started a case in the Court of Parlement, saying that he wished to have a reparation; and then [he] solicited very acidly against them (the judges) in the Court. 188
The reform party seemed to have gained complete mastery of the situation on March 18, 1527, when the king sent letters to the Faculty in which he demanded that Beda appear before him to answer for the charges which the Faculty had persistently made against the reformers.\textsuperscript{189}

No doubt Francis was acting under the influence of his sister.

For the next two months the doctors of the Faculty sought ways by which they could justify themselves and their attacks upon the reformers before the king. On May 1, the rector, the dean, and a great many of the Faculty appeared before Louise, Marguerite, and the chancellor, hoping that these would quiet the king's displeasure.\textsuperscript{190}

However, two months later Jacques Toussain, friend of Erasmus and later royal professor, described the loss of power which the doctors had suffered for their persistent persecutions of the humanists. He says:

They shall lose very much, our mateologi, of their pride and their power. How one has already beaten down their arrogance is seen in that those who declare themselves their adversaries not only conserve their former dignity, but still are raised every day to greater heights [and] more honorable positions. When Greek letters shall have the place which is due them, I do not doubt that the raging and discomforted sophists in a paroxysm of jealousy will attract a sentence of exile on themselves.\textsuperscript{191}

Meanwhile, Louis Berquin was preparing an attack upon his most hated enemy, Beda. He extracted articles from Beda's Annotations which had been written against Lefèvre and Erasmus. His purpose was to have these articles condemned as heretical after presenting them to the king.\textsuperscript{192}

On July 9, the king wrote to the University to express his displeasure with Beda who continued to seek a censure of the works of
Erasmus and Lefèvre. He also submitted Beda's articles to all the faculties of the University to be examined for their orthodoxy. However, the doctors never seem to have come to any definitive conclusion concerning the king's request. Although Beda's work was placed before the Faculty the following September, their decisions concerning the articles remained vague.

Even if Berquin had managed to launch an attack upon Beda, by the end of 1527 the Faculty once more took up the question of Erasmus' works. They revived the propositions which had been previously drawn from his work and censured them on December 16.

During the summer of 1527, Erasmus again attempted to make contact with Marguerite in a letter. Although from his letter we know that the princess had not written to him, Erasmus most probably was trying to engage her sympathies as well as those of her mother and brother while his works were being prepared for censure by the Faculty of Theology. He says:

For that which I have recently sent you at the persuasion of these same friends, I have received no other response than a simple good day. One says that you have written me a while ago by a certain Pole whom death surprised on the road; if it is true, I do not know.

In what touches you, it is more convenient to give you thanks than to make you use the spur of counsels to incite you always to protect the good letters and sincere friends of Christ against the malice of evil ones, who already owe very much to you and to your brother, the very Christian king, and to madams, your very pious and wise mother.

In addition to the protection given to the French reformers, Marguerite remained in contact with Lutheran influences from Strasbourg.
A Strasbourg lawyer, Nicolas Gerbel, wrote to Luther in 1527 saying that Sigismond de Hohenlohe was sending the queen a number of Luther's works translated into French. "The queen is good to the suspects and captives. He (Sigismond) even hopes, if you have the leisure, that you will exhort her to persevere." Whether Luther ever replied is not known. W. G. Moore speculates that the translations in question might have been the *Prophetico de Jessaie de l'enfant nouveau né, Jesus Christ* which Luther had written the year before.

Marguerite was also the recipient of several other works in 1527, one of which was the *Chants royaux, oraisons et autres petitz traits fait...par le feu Maistre Guillaume Crétin*, printed by François Charbonnier, secretary to Louise. Charbonnier dedicates his edition of Crétin's work to Marguerite, as he says, because she appreciated the art of rhetoric and rhythmic poetry of which Crétin was the best example. As we have already mentioned, Marguerite had received one of Crétin's poetic efforts even before her brother ascended the throne; thus Charbonnier was certain of a welcome reception.

Another manuscript which has to be dated from this year is the *Initiatoire instruction en le religion chrétienne pour les enfans*. The arms of both Henry d'Albret and Marguerite appear upon the work which may have been created to celebrate their marriage. Henry d'Albret appears in the first miniature holding a daisy, or marguerite, perhaps to give to his wife. Beneath the king's arms is a Latin inscription: *Inveni unam preciosam margaritam quam intime corde collegi*, indicating that this work was probably created to celebrate the king's recent marriage.
Another work dating from the same year was by Nicolas Mauroy of Troyes who dedicated his French translations from Latin of *Les hymnes communs de l'an née* to Marguerite. These hymns follow the holy days of the year, each with an appropriate woodcut.

Also in 1527, a priest named Ysambard de Saint-Léger wrote a defense of feminine qualities, called the *Myroor des dames nobles* and presented it to Marguerite. The first folio depicts the princess receiving the work from the kneeling author. Marguerite is shown seated under a baldaquin on a royal throne. She is attended by two ladies-in-waiting while a strange figure peers from out of a half-opened door. At her feet is a small animal, perhaps a lion, which could symbolize her position as queen of Navarre. Above the door appears the coat of arms of France.

It would appear from his dedication that Saint-Léger was a servant or scholar in service to the queen. He created this work as a mirror of the virtues and qualities which Marguerite and her ladies at court possessed. He hoped that his effort would be accepted as good doctrines and examples with which the courtesans could pass their time.

Saint-Léger also demonstrated his appreciation for the general renaissance of art and letters which Marguerite, Louise, and Francis I supported, as he declared:

...In this age, we see good doctrines and good letters revive and return in vigor through the prudent disposition and very wise ordinances of our very Christian King, sovereign lord, your brother; also [those] of my very illustrious lady, your divine mother and productive flower; also [those] which you have commanded and solicited. To the great profit, honor, and exaltation of all knowledge, whether divine or human, and to the augmentation of the Catholic faith.
A last manuscript, dating some time between 1527 and 1538, which belonged to Marguerite, is a Medieval mystery, Les actes des apôtres, created in the fifteenth century by Simon Creban for the King René, duke d'Anjou. This attribution is based, so Mr. Lebegue says, upon the two shields which appear on the title page. The one at the left is France surrounded by a collar of the order of Saint Michel, demonstrating that it belonged to either the daughter or sister of a French king after Charles VIII and before Henry III. The second shield portrays the arms of Henry d'Albret, thus indicating that it was quite probably in Marguerite's possession.

After the Faculty of Theology had censured Erasmus' works, the position of the French reform party appeared more precarious. At this moment Michel d'Arande asked Wolfgang Capito to seek favor with the French court in dedicating his Commentary on Hosea to Marguerite. This Capito readily did, as he says in a letter to Farel. The dedication was a congratulatory letter to the duchess who, as Capito says, was guided each day through Christ's spirit to a "knowledge of the truth." Capito tells Marguerite that he had once greatly feared for her faith, as she was surrounded by those "simulating piety though love of gain, and whose influence could weaken and pervert those who must remain faithful servants of Christ." However, his hopes had greatly increased when the duchess had found two expert religious advisers, Michel d'Arande and Gérard Roussel. Capito recognized that their message was heartily received by all the royal court, even Louise, of whom he says to Marguerite, "you hold your rank beside the Heroines, your mother, whose prudence, virtue, [and] grandeur of soul render [her] equal to the most illustrious men."
Recognizing Marguerite's protection and patronage which she extended to men such as Lefèvre, Capito praised her regard for all those who were refugees; this company was "placed in the shelter from the cruelty and violences of their persecutors." He stated that these reformers should be Marguerite's guides in all her activities for "it is better for them than we, ...to suggest prudence to you when you fear danger, measure when you wish to do good, counsel when you need to be instructed, and encouragement, when you feel yourself failing in the midst of the evangelistic movement." Without doubt, Capito looked to Marguerite and her company of refugees for leadership in ardently working for a reformation in France.

Capito seemed certain that Marguerite could learn much by reading his commentary because he knew of her ardent interest in the Scripture. Thereupon, he began a description of her religious progress from Catholic ritualism to evangelism, saying:

Your faith is, in effect, all the more [striking example, for the vast kingdom of France, since it is rarer today, as the past centuries have scarcely shown a like example. Raised in the courtly delights, you have always turned your thoughts to the things of God, letting yourself be led through fear of the Lord. It is under this influence that first you have traversed all the variety of superstitions, as I have learned from eye witnesses (the Meaux refugees at Strasbourg). Finally, you have given yourself over, according to the ideas of the time, to what one calls "the contemplation of God" (mystical theology), and you have happily profited from it."

Referring to several letters addressed to Marguerite which he had seen, Capito comments that they were filled with philosophical speculation on God's essence, much as in the works of Nicholas of Cusa. He felt that such speculation was too abstract to be of any
value. "You have equally felt how much this high flown philosophy brings with it fatigue and how it produces so little satisfaction." 217 Those letters and the philosophy contained therein must certainly be some which Guillaume Brignonnet had sent to Marguerite. As we have seen, the duchess often found herself hard pressed to ascertain her mentor's meanings.

Capito ends his dedication with congratulations to the princess who had placed herself in the midst of those who sought to introduce evangelism into the nation. He says:

But you have finished by seeing shine in the midst of all these shadows the true light and Him who is the life of the world, Jesus Christ... You have arrived at this degree of piety that one commonly calls the way of the cross... this cross, which the secretly disseminated churches carry on French soil, is the way which leads them to a glory all the more assured as the tests of which they now suffer are more redoubtable. 218

Contrary to Capito's hope for an eventual religious reformation, a general reaction began in 1528 against the spread of evangelism into France. Chancellor DuPrat begged the king to permit a calling of provincial councils in Sens and Bourges, in order to deal with the heretical growth. 219 And from February until May the greatest bishops and doctors of the Sorbonne assembled to deal with the matter. And in October their conclusions were published as a general statement against the ideas of Luther and against heresy in France.

During the same period a series of attacks occurred against the traditional faith which only served to strengthen the Sorbonists and to weaken royal support for reform. On June 2, 1528 a statue of the Virgin was attacked by unknown persons and heavily damaged. 220
Popular demonstrations followed; the doctors of the Sorbonne and scholars paraded to the spot where the statue had stood. Even Francis was forced to take part in a public procession, accompanied by the highest members of his court and prelates of France. It was immediately believed that the Lutheran party in France was responsible for the destruction. Nicolas Vrsoris says in his "Livre de raison," "One had no doubt that it might have been some Lutherans, who were strong at this time and did much evil and pain to good men, killing the true faith of the Holy Church."

Erasmus, writing to a friend at this time, expressed his fear that France would see a growth of religious persecution. He was inclined to believe that the most orthodox defenders of the traditional faith had gained favor with the chancellor and the queen mother. It is true that Louise had to give her major consideration to the political crises in the international scene. The summer of 1528 French attempts to besiege the city of Naples failed because Andrea Doria, commander of the French fleet, went over to the Imperial cause. Meanwhile, the French land army was surrounded and thoroughly decimated by the Emperor's forces. Thus Louise placed the political necessity over any desires to restrain the Sorbonists.

In the midst of the religious persecutions of 1528, Clement Marot once more sought aid from his patroness Marguerite, as he addressed a ballade to her entitled "À ma Dame la Duchess d'Alençon... Être couché en son estat." Ostensibly this verse was to praise Marguerite, but the true meaning lies in the fact that Marot hoped Marguerite would write to her brother reclaiming money which was due
him as valet de chambre of Francis. The poet had been given this position on the death of his father in 1526. However, through an error, his name had not appeared on the king's expense roles for the next year. Thus Marot went to someone who, he knew, could obtain his wages for him. The queen quickly wrote to Anne de Montmorency, saying:

My nephew, ...I shall beg you not to forget Marot in the next estates; and because you could forget this, I wished to bring it up to you, begging you, therefore, my nephew, to place him out of the pain of being paid through acquittances, and, following the king's intention, to place him in this year's estate. Doing this, you will do me a great pleasure, estimating that you will treat him as one of my own.

Marguerite also received a series of verses written to commemorate the birth of her daughter Jeanne in 1528 and her short-lived son Jean in 1530. Jean Salmon Macrin, best known of the neo-Latin Renaissance poets, wrote two verses in which he praised the lady's virtues and sang of the exploits of her future child. He later sent to Marguerite, first a verse extolling her second pregnancy, and then, after the subsequent death of her new son, a second verse of consolation.

Nicolas Bourbon was another of the great French Renaissance Latin poets who sought Marguerite's patronage. Beginning with a greeting for the new year of 1527, Bourbon later added his praises of Marguerite's auligies during one of her pregnancies of either 1528 or 1530. Later verses sent by Bourbon included an epitaph on Louise's death, another thanking Marguerite for taking him into her service, and one justifying himself against a charge of plagiarism.
His hopes were eventually fulfilled when he was appointed a tutor of Marguerite's daughter Jeanne de Navarre.235

For a third time, in June, 1528, Louis Berquin and the doctors of the Faculty entered into a court process. Believing himself completely protected by Marguerite and her brother, Berquin eagerly sought a new legal commission to retry his case. The pope was persuaded to create a new body of about twelve judges, of which Berquin chose six, the most famous being Guillaume Budé, to represent his ideas; the others were lay officials with Nicolas Beda representing the Faculty.236

Berquin's pride did not permit him to listen to the wiser council of Erasmus who warned him of the great perils which could ensue from such a case.237 He could not foresee that the king and Louise would become so enmeshed in the search for peace after the French military defeats in Italy that they had no time to act as his protectors.

Berquin enjoyed his freedom until March, 1529, but one day it appears he threatened one of his judges, for which he was taken into custody and placed in the spot reserved for civil suit litigants at the Conciergerie.238 However, even in confinement Berquin was still permitted to receive his friends and servants. One day, a servant carrying some of his letters fainted on the Pont au Change. These letters were collected by passers-by and given to a Jacobin, who, in turn, gave them to Nicolas Beda. These letters were found to contain heretical notations. Berquin was immediately imprisoned in the tower of the Conciergerie and the commission quickly moved to a final condemnation.239
As a last hope, Marguerite came forward in an effort to persuade her brother to save Berquin. She wrote:

My Lord, the poor Berquin, who through your kindness believes that God had twice saved his life, is going before you, having no other person to whom he can address himself, to give you knowledge of his innocence; and for this, My Lord, I know the esteem in which you hold him and the desire he has and has always had to do you service, I am not afraid to beg you through a letter instead of word that you may have pity on him.240

When her first letter had not fulfilled her desire to free Berquin, Marguerite again wrote her brother before the commissioners could render their final verdict. She said:

...Monsieur, for the end a very humble request; it is that you may have pity of the poor Berquin, who only suffers, I know, for the love of God's word and obeying yours. By which those who in your tribulation have done contrary [persecuted the reformers], have taken him in hate, so that their malice through hypocrisy has found lawyers before you, making you forget his right faith to God and love to you; so that it may please you to hear from him what it is going, he is in despair. Please, My Lord, do so that one may not say that removal from [France] has made you forget.241

The verdict was rendered by the commissioners on April 15, 1529. Berquin was condemned to make honorable amends for having been a part of the Lutheran sect and for having translated heretical works.242 Thereafter, he was ordered taken to the Place des Grèves where his books were to be burned before his eyes; then, he was to make an amends before Notre Dame, where he was to beg for God's mercy. Finally, he was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment by the bishop of Paris, never having recourse to paper, ink, or pen.

However, Berquin refused to sign the verdict and persisted in making an appeal of his sentence. Thus, the judges reassembled and revised their former verdict; they voted that the accused should be
burned alive along with his books. The Journal d'un bourgeois records on April 17 the necessity of quick action by the court. "This was done, and expedited this same day in great diligence, so that he [Berquin] might not have recourse to the king or madame, the regent, who were then at Blois."2h3

Marguerite, although she had failed to keep Louis Berquin, still accorded her protection to the other reformers. Peter Caroli was to continue his preaching in the duchess' lands of Alençon from 1526. Later, she attempted to have him reintegrated with the Faculty of Theology. On September 30, 1528, M. Dorigny, chancellor of Paris, read letters from the king and Marguerite supporting Caroli's petition.2h4 However, nothing was done to grant the petition.

The duchess tried again during the next years to fulfill her wish. In February, 1529 and 1530 other attempts were made but with no greater success.2h5 And Caroli again had to retire into Alençon and continue his preaching there until 1534.

Turning for a moment to literary patronage, the regent was the object or recipient of several works in the year 1529. The first of these was a French discourse pronounced by Robert Cenau, Louise's almoner, at the conclusion of the "Ladies Peace" which she and Marguerite d'Autriche had negotiated.2h6

A few years after Louise's death Cenau returned to the subject of his former patroness. He sang her praises as a heroine of France in a Latin panegyric addressed to Francis I.2h6

From the same peace treaty two other recitals of the meeting between Louise and Marguerite were written. They are Les grands
triumphez, faites par madame la regent & par Madame Margarite, and Les traictez des mariages, faitz en France; en Espagne, Angleterre & Lorraine, which are both joined as one manuscript. The first piece is a description of the meetings and persons present during the negotiations; the second discusses a marriage treaty, referring most probably to the marriage between Francis I and Eleanor of Spain, stipulated in the "Ladies Peace" (Cambrai) in 1529.

The Musée Condé at Chantilly possesses a charming manuscript which formed part of the regent's collection. The work retains its sixteenth-century binding upon which is placed the crown of France and a salamander. The back cover portrays the Virgin's lineage through a Tree of Jesse. Also there appears a shield of Savoy pointing to Louise's ownership of the book.

In his dedication the author explains that he received the following work in Greek which contained an explanation how the Egyptian priests wrote their secrets, using animals to represent letters. The author explains that these figures so pleased him that he sought to represent the victory of Francis I over the Swiss at the Battle of Marignano, using a crowned lion holding lordship over a chained bear.

Although she continued to lend protection to the reformers, Marguerite of Navarre's interest in support of the plastic arts was no less diminished. She wrote her chancellor of Alençon requesting him to add a court painter on the expense roles of Henry d'Albret and Marguerite for July, 1529, saying:
Monsieur, ...the king of Navarre and I have decided to take as a painter the brother of Jannet, painter to the king, into our service, and the seigneur and I will give him 100 £ on his and my estate for we have... something that we wish (him) to do; I beg you to send him to us straightaway, that he may be here on Monday at the latest; and (I) pray you to free some money to him to begin, in order to give him a well needed incentive. 252

In the summer of 1530, Francis, Louise, and many members of the court proceeded to the south of France in order to welcome Eleanore of Portugal, sister of Charles V, who was to become the new French queen. After the marriage, which took place on July 6, 1530, at Mont-de-Marsan, the company slowly proceeded through the lands until they approached Louise's duchy of Angoulême where they celebrated a great entrée. 253 During the festivities Louise received an acrostic done in her honor by Sir Guillaume Calveau, mayor of the city. 254 At the head of this acrostic is a miniature of the regent, presented as the virtue Prudence, seated upon a throne and extending her right hand to her son. The mayor is shown kneeling before the king and Louise, presenting a small portrait of the city of Angoulême, accompanied by the acrostic formed from the mayor's name. The acrostic is as follows:

S oub s l'influence de Mars et de Saturne,
J uno dicta, quelque temps importune.
R etour soudain l'an mil trente et cinq cents,
E n liè sse des fils François absens.
G uerre cessa, et en ce nombre d'or
V int en France la royne Alyenor.
J oy euse entrée firent en la cyté;
L e peuple estoit à grand joye incité.
L a dilligence et pollice du maire
A strict l'emprunt et fit tresoriers taire,
V oyre o l'aide de la dame Prudence,
M ère du roi, d'amour en préférence.
E my le prela roche estoit plantée
C urieuse de toute l'assembleé.
A ydant Dieu, la ville en son entier
Libérez fut de peste et de danger,  
V accabons princes, fustigurez et penduz,  
E n justice à tous guerdons rendu.  
A dûynt que lors pres l'houmeau fut construit  
U ng hospital qui moult fora de fruit,  
E t une tour fort belle grosse et grande  
S oigneeusement près la porte de Chando.  
QU ppides sont d'homeur iunes et vieulx,  
IE Rends à tous graces si faict n'ay myeulx.

Some time in the year 1530, Louise also received a *Histoire agrégative, des annales & cronicques daniou* from Jehan de Bourdigne, a priest and lawyer from Anjou. The author offered his work to the regent whom he designated as the "Pallas de Savoyes." The work was a history of the deeds of the various important persons, the dukes of Anjou, and of events occurring in Europe. It ended with Francis' attempt to raise an army in 1529 in order to free Pope Clement from the Imperial forces.

More and more in these years the reformers in France found themselves openly attacked by the doctors of the Sorbonne. They also saw the movement of the king in open support for suppression of heretical ideas. Even such men as Lefèvre d'Étaples, although protected by Marguerite, had to retire from the royal court by the end of 1531.

The spearhead of the movement was Nicolas Beda who published his *Apologia-adversus clandestinos Lutheranos* in 1529. In this work Lefèvre, because of his continuing translations of the Bible, Erasmus, Berquin, and those of the Meaux group, were cast as secret Lutherans in France. Fear for the safety of these reformers mounted over the period of the next year. In the spring of 1530, Oecolampadius wrote Zwingli that even the king had begun to menace the reformers because they were leading Marguerite away from faith, saying:
France shall come late to Christ. Those who came to us from Paris, April 17, tell us that the bishops and theologians agitate very much against those who profess Christ. The king not only is quiet, but he is threatening the wise Gérard Roussel and Jacques Lefèvre with fire, if they do not dissuade his sister from the ideas they gave her, and I see that our best friends over there are in great fear for themselves, and that whether or not he recovered his children, he may not disseminate the Gospel through hypocrisy. 258

In the autumn of 1531, Marguerite came to the aid of Lefèvre, offering him a safe asylum at her court at Nerac. Using a pretext of ill health, she wrote Anne de Montmorency, begging him to use his influence with the king in order to secure permission for Lefèvre to leave his duties at Blois. She said:

My nephew,... The good man Fabry has written me that he found himself ill at Blois,... And for a change of air [lui] would willingly see a friend of his for a time (this was to be a subterfuge), if it pleased the King to give him leave. He has put his library in order, marked the books, and placed all in inventory, which he will give to whomever it shall please the King. I pray you to ask his leave from the King.... 259

Lefèvre was permitted to leave his duties at Blois. He traveled to Marguerite's court at Nerac where he passed the rest of his life.

From a letter of the English ambassador Florence Vol sent to Thomas Cromwell we learn that Gérard Roussel was attacked by Beda for his doctrines which he had preached before Marguerite during the Lenten season. 260 The doctors apparently drew some articles from Roussel's preaching for which they wished to brand him as heretical before the king. However, their desires were not to be fulfilled. "The King has commanded Gérard whenever he preaches before his sister to have two honest men of judgment sworn to recite faithfully what he says, which is but a small punishment." 261 It could well be that
the duchess had intervened before her brother so that her preacher
was not placed in any danger by the Faculty.

The year 1531 broke the royal trinity of Louise, Francis, and
Marguerite. On September 22, at Grez-en-Gatinais, a few miles from
Fontainebleau, Louise succumbed to her long illnesses of gout and
nephritis. Thus, the nation lost a political leader who had been
able to protect the nation when, in the greatest moment of peril,
the king had been a captive. Her son would never again have such a
devoted adviser; Marguerite lost her first teacher as well as the
person who had first enlisted her patronage in support of artists
and writers.

Even in her last year the regent continued to receive items
given in appreciation of her care of the nation. The merchants and
councillors of Paris in the Hôtel de Ville tried to find the best
present to show their gratitude for her solicitude over the needs of
the city. On March 31, the councillors purchased from Jacques Morin,
a lapidary merchant, a gilded silver picture of Saint George and a
virgin, garnished with stones and valued at eight hundred livres.
They decided to replace Saint George with a picture of Saint Louis
and a golden tree, from which hung a dozen pearls costing two crowns
each.

Within a month of the regent's death, many of the poets, who
had already dedicated verses to Louise, Francis, or Marguerite,
gathered their eulogies together in a work entitled In lodoicae
regis matris mortem...Épitaphes à la louenge de ma dame mère du
roy... Poets such as Salmon Macrin and Mellin de Saint Gelais
were already well acquainted with the royal household. Others such as Benedetto Tagliacarno, dit Theocrenus, Victor Brodeau, and Antoine Herest, dit La Maison neuve, had entered royal service as either tutors, secretaries, or pensioners of the king, and before her death, Louise, and Marguerite.

Benedetto Tagliacarno, called Theocrenus, was one of the many Italian humanists, specializing in Greek, who came to serve at the French court in the early years of the sixteenth century. Theocrenus' reputation as a brilliant scholar and teacher secured for him a tutorial position over Francis I's children from 1524 to 1533. He even filled this position in Spain when Francis' two children were held as hostages by Charles V.

The king's bounty was always generous to Theocrenus. In addition to his tutorial position, he was a royal secretary. The king even provided him a house in Paris, gave him money, and named him a commendatory abbot of the abbey of Fontfroide near Narbonne. And when Theocrenus wished to retire from public life, the king secured for him the bishopric of Grasse where he retired in 1533.

The second of the poets, Victor Brodeau, was also very closely tied to the royal household in a variety of positions. It is believed that Brodeau first gained Marguerite's attention through his father, Jean, a furrier of Tours to both Queen Anne de Bretagne and Queen Claude. From his first position in 1524 as Marguerite's valet de chambre, Brodeau eventually rose to become her secretary; then from 1529 until his death in 1540, he held the title of chancellor and general comptroller of her finances for Alençon and Armagnac.
And at Louise's death, the poet was also listed on her estate role as an honorary notary to her and the king.270

While his early efforts show that he wrote typical verses, it is to the influence of Clement Marot's Psalms and Marguerite's *Miroir de l'âme pécheresse* that his *Les louanges de Jesus Christ* owes its religious origins.271 Printed only after his death, and dedicated to both Francis I and Marguerite, his purpose was to draw upon the Holy Scriptures of Man's salvation through Jesus Christ. A second religious work, entitled *Épitre d'un pécheur à Jesus-Christ*, appeared in 1543.272 In this Brodeau discussed articles of faith such as good works and the sacraments in orthodox terms; yet the Faculty of Theology censured the work the next year.273

The third of the poets who contributed epitaphs to Louise was Antoine Heroet, called La Maison Neuve. Descended from a noble family serving as treasurers to Charles VIII, Heroet was inscribed as a pensioner of Marguerite from 1524 until 1539.274 Heroet was one of the first to devote himself to translations into French of Plato's works such as *L'Androgyne* and *L'Accroissement d'amour*. His own best known work is *La parfaicte amie*, reflecting Plato's idea of Beauty.

Another of the best known Renaissance poets, Julius Cassare Scaliger, created an epitaph in honor of the regent.275 He was a noted physician and humanist who had come from Italy in 1528 to settle in Agen.276 So great was his fame that he became one of the consuls of the city. Later, he was appointed as a court physician to Henry d'Albret and Marguerite.277
Luigi Alemanni was also included among those poets who both praised the qualities and lamented the death of the regent in several verses dedicated to her son. He was a Florentine who twice had had to flee his native Italy because he had taken part in the city revolts against the Medici family in 1522 and 1527. In his exile he devoted himself to his patron Francis I for whom he created epics, lyric poems, satires, and dramatic verses. The king provided the money by which Alemanni could publish his works and gave the poet a house where he could write.

Later, in 1546, Alemanni dedicated a group of his verses known as the Epigrammi to Marguerite, who, he says in the dedication, was the person responsible for these "little and rude epigrammes." In one of these, the poet described Marguerite's radiant splendor which put even shining jewels to shame.

Clement Marot also created two pieces expressing his sentiments upon the regent's death. The first is a very short epitaph, "De Madame la Regente, Mère du Roy," in which he proclaimed that Louise could now rest for she had worked so hard for the repose of many. Marot's second effort is entitled "De Madame Loyse de Savoya, Mère du Roy, en Forme d'Éclogue." His lament was the first of a new genre in sixteenth-century French poetics, the eclogue. He drew upon several sources for his work: Greek pastoral poetry, Virgil, Ovid, and even the work of rhétoriqueurs such as Jean Lemaire des Belges. However, Marot was not entirely successful. The idea of cities lamenting the dead Louise through alliteration produces "almost an impression of parody belied by the recourse to the myth and image of the swan singing at the approach of death."
As we have seen previously, Jean de Vauzelles first honored Marguerite with a dedication of his *Histoire* évangélistes in 1526. Among his later works is an extremely rare lament which he created upon Louise's death, called the *Théâtre de francoise, désolation sur le trépass de la trèsauguste Loya*; *louable admiration de Sauvoye & de féminine gloire; représenté, dung vray zèle.* Using the familiar anagram of his name, "ung vray zèle," the author explains that he wrote this piece in an effort to console the queen of Navarre upon her mother's death.

In Vauzelles' elegy to Louise, all the trees, rivers, birds, and Frenchmen weep in deepest sorrow in their loss. Recounting Louise's exploits which had helped the nation, the author proclaims that her memory should always be with Frenchmen:

Not lost,...
But with faith all shall feel
In what tomb, not one of marble
Nor or cedar, nor stone or other wood,
But in the midst of all French hearts
She shall have a sepulchre,...

One other work which Marguerite received in this sorrowful year was a French translation, *Livre doré de Marc Aurele,* by R. B. de la Grise, secretary of the Cardinal Guillaume de Gramont.
Excusing his translation from Spanish into French, the author hoped nevertheless that Marguerite would happily receive and read his little endeavor upon her behalf.291

Thus end the years of greatest trial in politics, war, and religion for both Louise and Marguerite. Their abilities were tested time and again; necessity had required their supervision of the state during the king's captivity, protection of persecuted reformers, and encouragement of the arts.
CHAPTER III
FOOTNOTES

1. B.N. #11,495, January, 1522, Marguerite to Briçonnet, fol. 118r.

2. Ibid., February 17, 1522, Briçonnet to Marguerite, fol. 158r.

3. Ibid., February 26, 1522, Briçonnet to Marguerite, fol. 176r-v.


7. Ibid., pp. 257-259.


10. B. N. #11,495, September, 1522, Marguerite to Briçonnet, fol. 212r.

11. Ibid., September, 1522, Briçonnet to Marguerite, fol 212r.


13. B. N. #11,495, September 18, 1522, Briçonnet to Marguerite, fol. 213.


15. Ibid., p. 106.

16. B. N. #11,495, October 20, 1522, Briçonnet to Marguerite, fol. 219v.

173
17. Ibid., fol. 220r.


26. Ibid., p. 37.


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75 Ibid., p. 328r.

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77 Ibid., p. 238v.

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85 Ibid., last unnumbered folio.

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87 Ibid., p. 182.

88 Ibid., pp. 182-183.

89 Ibid., I, #87, 187.

90 Ibid., p. 107.
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92 Herminjard, Correspondance, I, #88, 189.

93 Ibid.

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95 La Ferrière-Percy, Marguerite d'Angoulême, p. 160.

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CHAPTER IV
THE MATURE YEARS

Although Marguerite of Navarre was never officially named regent in France, she replaced her mother as one of the closest political advisers to the king. At times, this close affinity with Francis I's policies proved to be a sore trial because her own husband, Henry d'Albret, king of Navarre, tried to secure his lands of Navarre through tentative alliances with Charles V, mortal enemy of the French.

Marguerite also continued her active participation for religious reform until she was personally attacked by the Sorbonne upon the republication of her poem, Mirror of the Sinful Soul. In addition, the queen's position as a forceful protector or patroness of the other reformers was greatly lessened after the "Affair of the Placards" in 1534. Although she remained in contact with Protestant reformers such as John Calvin and gathered and protected humanists and reformers in her lands near Nerac, she retreated more and more into religious contemplation and the creation of her own poetry.

In spite of any desire to retire from an active public life, Marguerite soon found herself fulfilling political duties near her brother. In response to condolences sent by Héroule d'Este, husband of Renée de France, Marguerite assured him of Francis' continued affection and added that the king had not permitted her to leave his side. She said,
My cousin, ... I would not know how to thank you enough for the good visitation and consolation that you have done me in my most extreme and unendurable tribulation through your gracious letter..., and how it pleased the king to command me always to be near him. Be assured that if in his stead I could do some pleasure for you or your household, I shall demonstrate to you that I have inherited the good affection which the late Madame had for you.¹

Marguerite's continued interest in reform, whether of the Catholic Church as a whole or a particular convent, is evident in a letter to the French ambassador in Rome at the end of 1531. She asked her representative to secure the pope's permission to reform a Franciscan convent, saying,

...The necessity is to reduce and place in good and due reformation the convents of Saint Francis on the occasion of irregularities committed there each day; the superiors are not obeyed by their inferiors or are in very bad order (illegible word) and obedience.... I truly desire to aid in the holy religion..., pray present to our holy father my letters, ...so that... [He may carry out] the wishes expressed in them....²

Again, in the early part of 1532, her general interest in salutary monastic morals demanded that she write to her bailiff at Alençon concerning the activities of a monk named Robert Cavey. The duchess ordered his arrest because he had lived "in apostasy, scandal, and vituperation...of all religion."³

Continuing her position as the protectress of those persecuted for their religious opinions, Marguerite gave aid to Clément Marot. It would appear that the poet was charged in 1532, as in 1526, for having eaten meat during the Lenten season. From the registers of Parlement on March 18, 1532, we learn that two councillors were charged to inform themselves of the case of Marot and six accomplices "for having eaten meat during Lent and other prohibited days,..."⁴ Some
two days later, Marot was released through the actions of one of Marguerite’s secretaries:

Wednesday, 20th day of March, 1531/32, ... This day Estienne Clavier, secretary of the king and queen of Navarre, had pledged and cautioned Célestin Marot, sub pone convicti, [who] has promised not to leave the city without warning the court one or two days beforehand with all accustomed submission.

Within two years, Marot was publicly named a heretic and had to seek safety with his patroness in Nerac.

Marguerite did not forget her support of the other French reformers; in July, 1532, she secured additional money for Pierre Caroli. As she exclaimed in a letter to one of her councillors, "the king gave Caroli, my almoner, a prebend of Bayeulx (sic) vacated in regale by the death of a person named Fouguerolles, and this at my request." Later, in the same year, Gérard Roussel was to receive the abbey of Clairac which was situated near Marguerite and her little court at Nerac.

Although Gérard Roussel had been able to preach before the queen of Navarre during the Lenten season of 1531-1532 without any serious reactions, his sermons delivered during 1533 must have been quite unorthodox. He had been at first called to give his sermons only before Marguerite and her husband at the Louvre; however, his sermons were so successful that many others at court crowded to hear him. A young man from Strasbourg, Peter Siderlander, wrote to one of his friends in Strasbourg describing Roussel's popular following, saying, "there were not fewer than four or five thousand listeners; and he had to change places three times. They could scarcely find one where he could preach conveniently and which was large enough."
Roussel's sermons soon exasperated the doctors of the Sorbonne, especially Nicolas Beda, who complained to the Faculty of the errors which had been preached during the Lenten season. The Faculty then commissioned six bachelors to denounce all errors and heresy through their sermons. In addition, the doctors followed every sermon and noted down any propositions which were considered unorthodox and submitted them to Nicolas Beda who acted accordingly. The Faculty also decided to send three of their number to the bishop of Paris, Jean du Bellay, in hopes that he would find their complaints valid.

It appears that the bishop of Paris did not readily listen to the Faculty's grievances against the erroneous sermons which had been preached during the previous Lenten season. The young bachelors then began a series of violent sermons and charges against the Lutheran errors and those who seemed to be supporting these ideas. As Siderander related in his letter:

Therefore, Picart and other doctors did not hesitate in their public discourses to speak against the king of Navarre [and Marguerite] and to criticize him, accusing him of Lutheranism and heresy, and relying upon the Sorbonne's authority. Therefore they tried to create a tumult and excite the people so that this pestilential heresy might not take root.

When John Sturm wrote to Martin Bucer in August of the same year, he further added details which linked the king, Marguerite, and Jean du Bellay to the charges which the Faculty's preachers had made. Nicolas Beda became the focus of the public attacks against the royal court which threatened to produce a violent public reaction to the reform ideas. As Sturm says:

They (the young bachelors), therefore, began to vocally denounce the heretics and the Lutherans; and at the same
the king, his sister, and the bishop, whom they accused for their silence, that they were as those whose defense they took up. They gave an account of all to the bishop and to the queen of Navarre. Beda, however, excited by the writings, gave permission to his orators, as in virtue of a decretal of the theologians, not to cease exciting the people in their sermons. 10

These preachers succeeded quite well; soon printers had caricatures poetry, and satiric pieces which attacked both Marguerite and her husband in print.

As the agitation increased, efforts were made to warn the king of the seriousness of the attacks on the royal family. In his letter Sturm continued his recitation of the facts, saying that the king of Navarre was incited by Marguerite and the bishop of Paris to speak to the king. Henri pointed out the importance of the matter as he recalled the cruelty which the doctors had used against Berquin. He also labeled these attacks upon himself, Marguerite, and Jean du Bellay as sedition. 11

Once the king had been informed, he charged Chancellor DuPrat, Guillaume Petit, and his councillors in Parlement, Guillaume Poyet, to investigate the charges against the preachers, "of whom some said that they preached propositions against the faith, ... others through their sermons tried to move the people to sedition, and some scandalized others without valuable foundation,..." 12

Following the king's orders, on April 15, DuPrat ordered that the Faculty present all the erroneous propositions which Gérard Roussel had made. And at the following meeting of the Faculty, it was decided that all the members who had attended Roussel's sermons should write down all the errors which they had heard. These were
probably given to DuPrat's commission composed of Guillaume Petit, Pierre de Lestolle, Leonard de la Guyonnière, and François Tabary to be inspected.\(^\text{13}\)

Again in May a request was sent by the king's commission to the Faculty requesting the alleged errors of Roussel. On May 9, the doctors decided that the full Faculty should step aside and hand all the questions to a delegated commission of sixteen of their number.\(^\text{14}\) This may have been a result of some of the doctors wishing to escape any penalties which Francis I might bring against those who supported the charges against Roussel.

On May 15, after the Faculty had approved the list of articles which the special commission had gathered, Beda had two witnesses, Master Boissel and Jean de Salignace, appear before the Faculty to relate what they had heard in the course of Roussel's sermons. However, Boissel insisted that he would only give his testimony before the king's judges. Jean de Salignace declared that he had observed nothing in Roussel's preaching which was contrary to the Faculty's teaching.\(^\text{15}\) Thus, it became immediately more difficult for the doctors to sustain their charges against Roussel.

Marguerite tried to enlist Anne de Montmorency in Roussel's defense against the persecution by the Faculty. Urging the Grand Master to speak to the king, she said,

\begin{quote}
At this hour they are about to finish the process of Master Gerard, whence I hope that, the finish well known, the king will find that he is worthier of more than fire; and that he has never held any opinion to merit fire, nor preached anything heretical. I have known him for five years, and believe that if I had seen anything doubtful, I would not have suffered such a poison for such a long time, nor subject my friends to it. I pray you (that you may not be afraid to carry this
word for me, because I hope that the thing shall be so well proven that you and I shall be found truthful....16

The duchess' influence was soon to be felt by the Sorbonne.

On May 18, Francis I wrote to his councillors in Paris concerning the charges of heresy which the Faculty had lodged against Roussel, saying,

We earnestly desire that all heresies will be extirpated from our kingdom, and the heretics and those who indoctrinate them will be grievously punished, as well as those who in their sermons preach words moving the people to sedition and against the honor of their superiors....

Although we desire to look into the affair, for the present, we can not do so, because we are presently voyaging for the good of the kingdom and ourselves... we command and enjoin that you be well informed of the contents of the articles which the Faculty has sent us; we enjoin...you to keep the information until our return. In the meantime we have ordered that M. Gérard be given in safekeeping to our very dear and loved sister, the queen of Navarre, to hold him until our return.... We have also commanded M. Gérard Roussel not to preach until otherwise ordered. 17

At the same time the king struck directly at the power and position which Beda has exercised over the Faculty and the persecution of heretics when he ordered Beda's exile from Paris.

And inasmuch as we have been warned by worthy men of faith that the doctor Beda, self-appointed procuror of the Faculty of Theology, under the shadow of his self-appointed authority, made several maneuvers in the Faculty that are a cause of scandal.... We have desired and ordered,... until otherwise ordered by us, that he may not approach our city of Paris by twenty leagues....18

A more partisan view was continued by John Sturm of the disgrace which Beda suffered. He described the situation to Bucor as follows:

It pleased the king that Beda and his orators, on one hand, Gérard Roussel, on the other, might remain, each in his house, as in a private prison, and that one might learn of the heresy and sedition which appeared to have been provoked against the king.
The theologians pressed their articles on the king. The king, irritated, made fun of them as of a troop of arcadian asses, and they returned to Paris. They invited the preachers to say who had permitted or ordered them to excite the people and offend the king. They responded: "It was by the consent and good pleasure of our master;" which the theologians, seeing the peril, begged to deny. At the end, they discovered that all this came from Beda. As soon as the king sent letters and Parlement sent a condemnation, Beda and three others were immediately exiled from Paris. I have learned that it was the intention of the king that Beda should never return.19

The results of the matter were thus to encourage the French reformers while placing the Faculty on the defensive. Although the charges against Roussel were later discussed within the meetings of the Sorbonne, after July, the doctors seemed to have dropped any idea that they might pursue Marguerite's almoner for heresy.

As if to further endanger Marguerite's position as the protector of French reformers, some of her subjects in Alençon committed desecrations and blasphemes against the Catholic faith. On June 11, Jean Coumyn and Etienne Laignel broke the windows in the chapel of Saint-Blaise and carried away the statue of the Virgin and Saint Claude which they hung from the rain pipe of one of the houses in the center of the city.20 Furthermore, three priests and an Augustinian named René Dufour who had supposedly preached some heretical doctrines in the city.21 It appears that these suspects were not harshly dealt with by local authorities; thus, Francis named two of his own commissioners to investigate the situation. Marguerite hurriedly wrote her brother that she would obey his commands and would instruct her officers to cooperate with the king's desires.22
Following Marguerite's protection of Roussel and the incidents which occurred at Alençon, popular sentiment began to oppose the freedom which the reform seemed to enjoy in the nation. In the first days of October, 1533, some school boys performed a satiric play of the queen and her almoner Roussel. Writing to his friend Francis Daniel, John Calvin described the events as following:

On October the first, at which time of the year the boys who pass out of the grammar class into that of rhetoric, are wont, for the sake of practice, to act a play, they performed on in the Navarre Gymnasion which was unusually pungent.... The persons brought upon the stage were a Queen, who, in womanly fashion, was taken up with spinning, and wholly occupied with the distaff and needle; then the fury Megaira (Roussel) appeared, bringing lighted torches near to her, that she might throw away her spinning and needle work. For a little while she opposed and struggled; but when she had yielded, she received the gospel (the ideas of the Meaux group) into her hand, and straightway forgot all she had formerly grown into the habit of, and almost even herself. Last of all, she became tyrannical, and persecuted the innocent and unfortunate by every method of cruelty. Many other devices were introduced in the same style, most unworthily indeed against that excellent woman, whom, neither indirectly nor obscurely, they tauntingly reviled with their reproaches.23

When Marguerite learned of this attack upon her person, she demanded that the guilty parties be punished. The provost of police occupied the College of Navarre but was unable to discover the author of the farce. And while he proceeded to arrest the performers of the play, stones were thrown by some of the other scholars.24 Because the author had not been captured, the authorities sought out the persons who had permitted the farce to be played when they might have stopped it. A renowned master named Lauret was to be imprisoned in the house of one Commissaires. Another named Morinus was ordered under house arrest, while an inquiry was being held into the matter.25
The Sorbonne also came into direct confrontation with the queen, when the doctors attempted to censures a re-edition of Marguerite's *Miroir de l'âme pêcheresse*. It had become customary for every book published in France since 1531 to carry an authorization of the Faculty. While fulfilling his charge for the Faculty, Nicolas Leclerc seized the newly printed edition of the *Miroir*. He had the work placed upon the list of forbidden books, not because it contained heretical errors but because it did not carry an authorization of the Faculty.  

When Marguerite learned of the Sorbonne's action, she immediately sought her brother's aid against the doctors. He, in turn, wrote to the doctors asking whether they had examined the book and if they had found any unsound religion within the work. They were to give him an account of anything so considered.  

Thereupon, Nicolas Cop, rector of the University of Paris, called all the colleges together, those of arts, canon law, medicine, theology, and philosophy, and explained the king's message to them. To the Arts' Faculty, Cop advised that they should not treat the queen of Navarre arrogantly, "if they did not wish to incur the displeasure of the king, or to array themselves against the queen, that mother of all the virtues and of all good learning." The other faculties were soon of the same mind and quickly tried to disassociate themselves from the deed.  

Lastly, Leclerc arose to defend his actions on behalf of the faith. While praising the king as the staunch defender of the Catholic faith, he claimed that there were sinister men who were trying to pervert the king and to destroy the holy Faculty. He then
defended his confiscation of the book belonging to the queen of Navarre, as it had been published without prior Faculty approval.

As Calvin continues in his letter, stating that

this was his defense, that what was called in question had been done under warrant and commission of the Faculty; that all were partakers in the offense, if there was any, although they might point-blank deny it. And all this was spoken in French, that all might understand whether he spoke the truth; they all cried out, however, that he pleaded this pretended ignorance by way of excuse.29

The king's confessor Guillaume Petit was also present at this meeting to defend Marguerite. He said that he had read the book and had found nothing contrary to the faith.30 Under his impetus after three sessions on October 27 and November 3 and 8, the Faculty declared that they had neither condemned nor approved the work because they had never seen nor examined it; thus they could render no judgment on the subject.31 On November 1, Nicolas Cop appeared before the faculties and delivered a theological discourse in which he attacked the scholasticism of the doctors and declared himself for the new Gospel of the reformers.

A great furor immediately arose from these propositions.

Several doctors of the Faculty of Theology denounced him before Parlement. On November 19, Cop called the various faculties together to a meeting at which he denied the charges.32 He also tried to have the faculties condemn those who had brought him before Parlement but the theologians and canonists refused to follow the others. After he had retired from the chamber, some porters of Parlement appeared before the faculties to ask for Cop. Thereupon, the rector fled from France into Switzerland.
Upon the Sorbonne's renewed attempts to persecute the reformers, Marguerite immediately tried to offer as much protection as she was able. She sent letters to Cardinal Jean de Lorraine supporting Cop's position in hopes that he and Jean du Bellay would speak to the king of the affair.33 According to E. Dornegus, Marguerite must have been acquainted with Calvin as she intervened to stop the pursuit of Calvin who had gone into hiding at Noyon.34 As in previous years the queen continued her ardent protection of the reform in 1534. Her almoner Roussel received a complete pardon from the king, absolving him of any heretical charges.35 Martin Bucer testified to Marguerite's continuing religious support, saying, "We have better news from France. The queen of Navarre is strongly opposed to the efforts of the evil ones."36 Encouraged by this evangelical attitude, Guillaume Farel addressed to Marguerite a request for the release of his brother, who had been imprisoned at Gap on charges of heresy. He says of her ability and his hopes in the queen, "It is not necessary to say how much those who love our Lord desire your well being, and how much they salute you, in Our Lord, and how much pleasure it would do them in Our Lord, if through your method the poor would be freed...."37

From a defense of his sister which the king demonstrated in February, 1534, one can note the overwhelming influence which she had assumed at court. The theologians sent one of their number, begging the king to defend the Catholic faith; this orator intimated that Marguerite was protecting the reformers. However, Francis was so overcome with anger that he had the deputy seized and imprisoned by Anne de Montmorency.38
Marguerite was always known for her liberal patronage not only of artists but also of scholars. In May, 1534, she wrote to the Faculty of Medicine in Paris, recommending a student named Pierre Roussel to the Faculty. It is not known whether this student was a relative of Gérard Roussel, although V.L. Saulnier believes that Pierre Roussel likewise came from Amiens; for a person named Pierre Roussel was listed as a pupil at the local university in 1531.

During the summer of 1534 there was a series of attempts by Francis I and the German Protestants to reach a political alliance. At this same time Marguerite was in contact with Philip Melanchthon who wrote her June, 1534, in order to recommend another scholar, Claude Baduel, to her protection. Baduel was a native from Nimes who had studied at the University of Louvain until his funds had been depleted. Traveling first to Wittenberg, then Tübingen, Baduel was able to secure a letter from the German theologian recommending him to the queen. Recognizing Marguerite's liberal patronage, Melanchthon said that it was quite bold for a man of such a common station to recommend someone to her. However, rumors of her piety had spread throughout the world; thus, he would dare propose that she support a liberal arts student, saying:

this young Claude Baduel, native of Nimes, ... showed me the course of his studies and the iniquity of fortune, through which, he complains, if your highness does not aid him, he will be torn from the liberal arts and forced to other arts, which by nature and will he is quite repugnant, because he desires solely to finish the study of eloquence and holy letters, which he entered with a good hope of success. But poverty seized his collar, ... and would drag him out of this noble career. But he resolved to suffer all the extremities before renouncing it....

I do not think that your piety may have need of more words, I believe that I must add only that this genius
seems especially worthy to me, not only for his vehement love of study, but more because, having already made so much progress, it would be a shame if he were retired from this career. His style in Latin is not only pure and singularly elegant, but also very agreeable. And his morals are very pure.\textsuperscript{42}

Provided with the letter, Baduel was welcomed by Marguerite who supported his studies for the next eight years.

Some time during this year Marguerite received a gift from her former tutor Paul Paradiso, called Canossa. From the year 1531 this converted Jew had been named to a chair of Hebrew at the Royal College which Francis I had created.\textsuperscript{43} His work was titled \textit{De modo legendi haebraico, dialogue}, which was a Latin aid to the reading of Hebrew.\textsuperscript{44} As he says in the dedication, his fate was similar to that of a ship near the rocks of Scylla while Marguerite could give patronage to a writer if she found favor in his work.\textsuperscript{45}

Also in 1534 one Jean Du Pré, a noble from Quercy, composed \textit{Le palais des nobles dames} which he presented to Marguerite. He began the work with a little poem in which he says that no work could have a better reception than that of the princess. To which the book replies that it will do its duty and be content if Marguerite accepts this effort.\textsuperscript{47} There follows a woodcut representing a stage setting in which the author welcomes the Noblesse feminines, or all the noble women of history.

Du Pré drew upon stories from the ancient classics, the Bible, and French history to create a virtual palace of great women such as Cleopatra, Sara, and Saint Elizabeth, ladies who had helped their husbands. He created this work under Marguerite's favor, as he says, in order to defend honest women from the detractors of the period.\textsuperscript{48}
In a concluding eulogy, Du Pré praises Marguerite's descent from Louise of Savoy, whom he names the second Cyble who guided France through Francis I's recent imprisonment. He says of the queen mother that she carried a knight's heart in all her duties.

In the month of August, 1534, the queen of Navarre traveled to her lands of Alençon where the investigations of the religious incident involving the mutilated statues were proceeding, to attend the wedding of Isabeau d'Albret, sister of Henry d'Albret, to the Vicount René de Rohan. While there she received an épître titled "Épître présentée à la Royne de Navarre par Madame Isabeau et deux autres damoysselles habillées en Amazones en une monerie" from Clément Marot. This épître carried Marot's congratulations upon Marguerite's recent victory over the Sorbonne who had tried to censure her Miroir.

A day after the wedding, while Marot and the poet François Sagon were walking in the park at Alençon speaking of religion, they came to blows. This was the beginning of the great and bitter feud between the two poets.

The second reason for Marguerite's voyage into Alençon was probably to secure Pierre Caroli from any heresy charges. Francis I appointed a new commission of seven members charged with the prosecution of all those responsible for the attacks and blasphemies of the previous year. However, these members did not wish to act on any charges of heresy against Caroli which the local bishop might have presented for fear of angering the queen of Navarre. These members disengaged themselves from any persecution of the case with the following document: "The commissioners ordered by the king on
the deed of Alençon have deliberated and concluded among themselves that it will be good and expedient to warn the king of the case of which Master Pierre Caroli has been charged for three or four years, to be ordered by him what he will." Whatever the charges may have been, no case was brought to any court.

On October 17, 1534, the partisans of religious reform committed one of their great blunders in an effort to urge the king to introduce reforms into France. This affair became known as the "Affair of the Placards" because of posters which were placed in Paris, Orleans, Amboise, and even in the king's own bedchamber, that violently attacked the Mass, the Catholic faith, and the saints. This one act pushed the king onto the side of the persecutors and lessened Marguerite's ability to support publicly the ideas and proponents of reform. All the faculties, members of Parliament, and the nation cried out for retribution against the malefactors who had perpetrated this act. Marguerite later wrote her brother that she believed others had committed the attacks in order to restore religious persecutions in France.

A general procession was ordered by the king in expiation of the placard affair on January 25, 1535. The king, accompanied by his court, paraded through the streets, bare-headed, carrying candles in solemn procession. On the same day six Lutheran suspects were burned; during the next weeks, many others met the same fate. At the end of the month Francis issued a new ordinance against anyone in the nation who protected or attempted to hide Lutherans, promising them the same punishments as those meted out to the heretics.
At this same time a list of known Lutherans appeared in Paris carrying both the names of Pierre Caroli and Clement Marot. Caroli immediately fled into Switzerland where he preached in behalf of the Protestant cause. Marot, immediately after the placards were posted, fled from Blois and made his way in search of safety to the court of Navarre.

C. A. Mayer believes that Parlement had issued orders for Marot's arrest but he had escaped them in October; they then sent out throughout all France a command to imprison the poet. That may explain why Marot was arrested and brought before the Parlement of Bordeaux in November, 1534. The following document gives an indication of the charges and Marot's responses:

November 27, 1534, M. Clement Marot, suspected of following the Lutheran cause, was brought to be questioned by N... court porter, ... said to be about 28 years or thereabout [read 38], a native of Cahors in Quercy; and he said that he was the king's valet de chambre and secretary of the Queen of Navarre, but he did not have letters of his estate. Questioned as to whether he had not been in Paris for a long time: He had said that he was there more than six months ago and in that time the king presented him to the queen.... Questioned whether he was at Amboise when some persons posted some placards against the Catholic faith, he replied that he was then at Blois....

The poet was not imprisoned and soon joined Marguerite's court in Pau near the end of the year. However, this was not to be a permanent haven; possibly fearing the penalties to anyone who harbored known Lutherans, the queen passed Marot into the service of Renée de France, duchess of Ferrara. Just as he left Marguerite's service for Italy, Marot signaled his new position in an epigram, "De Marot sorty du service de la Royne de Navarre et entre en celluy de Madame de Ferrare."
Some time in 1535, while traveling through the lands of Navarre and Foix, Marguerite had a last interview with Lefèvre d'Étапles whom she had protected at Nerac since 1531. Although the precise date of the meeting is unknown, Heminjard believes that it had to be before January, 1536, the proposed date of Lefèvre's death. At this last interview Lefèvre designated Marguerite as his heiress to care for the poor. He also gave all his books to Gérard Roussel.

The summer of 1535 brought a renewed French interest in an alliance with the German Protestants against the emperor. Although there had been negotiations for this purpose in the summer and fall of 1534, the "Affair of the Placards" and subsequent religious persecution quickly blocked any progress. After the king's anger had cooled against the reformers, his ambassador Guillaume Du Bellay and possibly Marguerite persuaded him to invite Philip Melanchthon into France where a possible religious accord could be arranged. And in July, 1535, Francis had his previous edict against heretics rescinded, and promised those amnesty who returned and abjured their former errors. Once again, however, the plan failed owing to the refusal of the Sorbonne to accept any discussion of Protestant theology. In August, 1535, Elector John Frederick of Saxony refused to permit Melanchthon's intended voyage. He had received disturbing comments from other reformers who distrusted Melanchthon's conciliatory nature. The elector also had a political motive for his refusal; he was attempting a rapprochement with the emperor which would not have been to his profit if an accord had been concluded with the French.
As Marguerite continued her travels in southern France, she visited the city and University of Toulouse in July. There she encountered Jean Boysonne, Doctor-Regent and Professor of Law. This professor was already one of the most famous scholars and poets of the area, though he had been once arrested for heresy in 1532. It is evident from a letter which Boysonne wrote to his friend Etienne Dolet that Marguerite hoped he would accept a position at her University of Bourges. Perhaps she wished to give her protection to the lawyer as well as support the intellectual growth of Bourges.

Proceeding from Toulouse, on July 15, Marguerite arrived in the city of Rodez where her protegé, Bishop George d'Armagnac, crowned her countess of Rodez and presented her with the keys to the city. While visiting the city, the princess met Guillaume Philandrier, a noted local architect. He must have impressed Marguerite very favorably because it was due to her money that Philandrier was later able to publish his Latin observations on Quintilian's *Training of the Orator*.

Some time later in 1535 Marguerite received a new edition of Anne de Beaujeu's *Enseignements moraux* from a rich Toulouse merchant named Jehan Barril. The frontispiece carries Marguerite's coat of arms. In the dedication Barril declares that just as a painter might have painted the queen's features, so he wished to print these Moral Teachings which were a depiction of Marguerite's devoted spirit. Barril was well acquainted with Marguerite's master of requests Jean de Vauzelles. He had printed the deeds which Vauzelles had done in 1531 to feed the starving people in Lyon during a famine. The close ties
between these two can be seen even in the dedication to Marguerite. The title salutes the queen on behalf of Jehan Barril while presenting the anagram of Vauzelles' name, "Jehan Barril, marchant de Thoulouze, par ung vray zelle...."76

In September, 1535, the bishop of Oloron in Bearn died. Both Marguerite and her husband quickly addressed letters to the pope in favor of Gérard Roussel, then abbot of Clairac. The king of Navarre also wrote the local chapter in rather menacing tones to choose Roussel as their next bishop over any local opposition. He wrote, "...the provision of holy father would be of no value to any other than to him for whom the king of Navarre [has] written."77

Marguerite may have tried to allay any suspicions of Roussel's orthodoxy when she sent one of his disciples to speak with the pope the previous July.78 The pope listened with great kindness to this person. On February 1, 1536, Pope Paul III named Roussel to the seat at Oloron, according to the wishes of both the king and queen of Navarre.79

Late in December of the same year, the city council of Geneva wrote to Marguerite thanking her for all her efforts to help persecuted people. It is also quite evident that these men considered Marguerite part of Francis' inner circle of advisers as well as protectress of reformers, when they wrote:

Madame, the Seigneur de Verey has told us what we have known for a long time; not only of ourselves, but of him who oversees your great charity for all afflicted ones. It pleases God that we are presently and were never abandoned by Him, but [always] visited by his mercy.... We are not vanquished by suffering, but through stronger faith, [we are strengthened]....

We are writing to the king; we have no doubt that all may be communicated to you.80
While the court was at Lyon in January, 1536, Marguerite met two men who entered into her service and dedicated several works for her enjoyment. Master Antoine DuMoulin, a scholar from the city of Macon, became a valet de chambre to the queen in that year. It is believed that DuMoulin had been introduced into Marguerite's circle during her stop in the city of Toulouse where he was a student.

Marguerite also came in contact with one of the most famous French poets, Bonnaventure Des Periers, during her stay at Lyon. Even before he had met the queen, Des Periers was well acquainted with her own works. However, as he says, he was greatly ashamed to present himself to the "feminine, virile, and angelic" princess. He then set about writing a serious religious piece in order to gain her favor. Through the medium of Antoine DuMoulin, Des Periers addressed his attack upon astrology, La prognostication des prognostications, to further enhance his reputation with the queen. The princess was evidently impressed enough to take him into her employ. This first position was that of a copyist for which he immediately composed several more pieces. When he did not receive the secure position for which he had hoped, more efforts were created to flatter Marguerite. No matter the position, almoner, page, secretary, lackey, or stable boy, he asked only to be secured within the queen's household. Eventually, he was made one of Marguerite's valets de chambre, for which he wrote a satiric piece against all those who prostrated themselves before his patroness as before the goddess Athena.

Des Periers remained among Marguerite's courtiers until the publication of his most famous work, the Cymbalum mundi, late in 1537. Equally attacking the intolerant religious practices of both
the reformers and the Catholics, he could not count on support from either group. Although he was classed by some as a religious sceptic, V. L. Saulnier and Peter Nurse believe that Des Periers displayed a new evangelism, in which, instead of militancy, he called for quietism. There was to be a stronger reliance upon Christian spirituality, emphasizing Saint Paul's view of charity.

A great scandal arose surrounding the printing of the work. Francis I, himself, sent a letter to the First President of the Court of Parlement, Pierre Lizet, requesting men to seize the book at the printer's shop because it contained "great abuses and heresies." The matter was then referred to Parlement for a definite judgment. However, in the final verdict the members of the Court gave an extremely light sentence. "We are suppressing it, although it does not contain express errors in faith, but because it is pernicious."

Des Periers was not to suffer martyrdom as some of the other evangelists. His biographer believes that it was due to his patroness, Marguerite. Yet, the scandal was great enough to force the poet's removal from the queen's court from the summer of 1538 until the next year. He retired to the safety of his friend and Marguerite's first tutor, Robert Hurault, abbot of Saint Martin, awaiting the time when he would be permitted a return to court.

The poet re-entered Marguerite's service in 1539 and remained there writing poetry until 1541, when he retired to Lyon. Even after he had left her service, Marguerite gave him money to buy a fief and continued his wages as a valet de chambre for the rest of the year.
Master Antoine DuMoulin remained in service to Marguerite longer than his close friend, Des Periers. Steadily employed as her secretary and valet de chambre, it was not until Des Periers' probable suicide in 1543 that he retired to Lyon and began his literary productions. His first effort was the *Recueil des oeuvres de feu Bonaventure des Periers*, dedicated to Marguerite. In his dedication, DuMoulin explains that it had been Des Periers' intention to give the queen a copy of his works; however, death came before he could put his poems into a suitable composition for a presentation.

The queen of Navarre was also called upon to lend her protection and sympathy outside France. She and Renée de France maintained a correspondence dating from Renée's marriage to Hercule d'Este, duke of Ferrara. Especially in the period of 1535-1536, when Clément Marot was forced to flee to Italy and seek the haven of Renée's humanist circle, were the two women in frequent communication.

Almost as soon as Marot had reached Ferrara, Matteo Tebaldi, the Ferranese orator at Venice, informed Duke Hercule that he was harboring a potential Lutheran in his lands. He wrote,

*I believe it my duty to warn Your Excellency that a Frenchman, Clément by name, recently has come to establish himself near your serene duchess, after having been banished from the kingdom of France as a Lutheran. He is a man very capable of introducing this poet into the court, from which divine goodness may wish to preserve us.*

Added to the danger of heresy in Ferrara was the political division which existed between the duke and his wife. Hercule's marriage to Renée had been one of political security, linking the duchy with France. The duchess had brought with her her French
entourage, headed by Michelle de Saubonne, called Madame de Soubisse, who was also favorable to French interests and religious reform. From the summer of 1535, the duke sought political ties with both Charles V and Paul III in order to secure his lands from possible war. At precisely the same time, Madame de Soubisse and Marguerite proposed that Renée make a voyage to Lyon where she could meet with Francis I and his sister. When the duke learned of the plan, he quickly prevented its execution. His ire was so great against Madame Soubisse that he forced Renée to send her closest friend back to France.

Unfortunately, the religious protection which the duchess of Ferrara had given the French refugees was not to last. Duke Hercule used the first incident to invoke the inquisition within his lands and so destroy his wife's circle.

The first incident involved Jehannet de Bouchefort, who had fled into Italy to escape religious persecution. On April 14, 1536, Good Friday, Bouchefort left the church before the adoration of the cross. For this act, he was sent before the inquisitor in Ferrara while his companions were also hunted. Duke Hercule later wrote an account of this incident to his ambassador at the French court on August 5th. He stated:

Twelve months ago a Frenchman named Jehannet, a chanter, arrived here, whom we took into our service to please Madame the duchess, on condition that he live in an honest and Christian way, because we had learned that he had fled France accused of Lutheranism.... Then a certain Clement Marot, and several other persons,... came to join him, and unfavorable rumors were not slow to arise concerning their kind of life. Complaints came to us from several sides, even from Rome, and we were asked not to suffer that heretics of this kind might sojourn in our state.
Then on holy Friday, the Mass of the Passion being celebrated in one of the churches of this city,... Jehannet not only absented himself but also retired with ostentation, as to witness his scorn of Christ's Cross. This news soon came to the designated inquisitor... who carried this complaint before us, demanding that Jehannet, whom he considered for many reasons as suspect of heresy, was remitted into the hands of justice....

In the course of instruction the inquisitor was informed by a French monk and by several servants of the duchess, that the named Clement Marot, La Plancho Corinian (Renée's secretary), and a good number of others attached to the duchess' household and living near her were infected with heresy,... We, thus through regard for H. the duchess,... have begged her, with all possible regards, to enjoin the accused to be justified before the inquisitor, so that the evil might not spread its ravages and the scandal might be squashed without rumor. But they replied they would rather leave this city and even go to justify themselves at Rome than to recognize the jurisdiction of the inquisitor....

Not content with questioning Jehannet de Boucchefort, the inquisitor must have appeared before the duchess and asked that she hand over her servants for investigation. The inquisitor must have severely threatened the duchess for she, in turn, complained to Marguerite. Asking the queen's aid against this inquisitor, she wrote:

My sister, I have no doubt at this hour that Madame de Soubise may not have told you of my condition, and of even the assaults which have been made on me since her departure. ... And it is not necessary, my sister, that I tell the cause from which it proceeds, neither the end where it tends. So that you will know enough about it I have quite wished to write you this little word to beg you give me the kind of aid that I have received from you in my other affairs.... And I especially wish to employ your authority to Fenaris, General of the Jacobin order, as it will appear to repulse the boldness and insolence of him who is the inquisitor in this city. He has not only harbored no respect for me, but also has addressed me in such rude and strange terms that you would be astonished if you knew them, defaming me and my house. And beyond that he has not kept any form of justice in his method of proceeding, neither having regards for God or for duty, but for the appetite.
solely of those whom he wished to please. If such authority remains in the hands of such a dangerous man, many good men on whom he has his teeth shall not live in peace.¹⁰⁸

The duchess of Ferrara was forced to write several more letters to the French court, urging that pressure be applied on behalf of members of her court who had been imprisoned. Her husband was finally counseled to be more moderate or incur the extreme hostility of the French court. And on August 8, 1536, Renee's secretary and Jehannet de Bouchefort were delivered into the hands of George d'Armagnac, the French ambassador at Venice.¹⁰⁹

What of Clement Marot's fate during these months? From a letter which the duke of Ferrara wrote to his ambassador in Rome on July 18, 1536, he specifically named Bouchefort and Renee's secretary as being prisoners and says that another had fled out of his lands.¹¹⁰ Some writers have maintained that the unnamed person was none other than John Calvin who had gone into Italy in order to bring about a close spiritual contact with the duchess and her French refugees and himself. However, C. A. Mayer concludes that this person was undoubtedly Clement Marot.¹¹¹ From the documents only Marot's name appears with frequency during the inquisition. And while Marot was known publicly as a Lutheran, as we have seen in the two instances when he was imprisoned because of his actions in 1526 and 1531, John Calvin was not as well known until the publication of his Institutes of the Christian Religion.

Marot fled to Venice where he awaited a safe-conduct in order to return to the French court. While there, he composed several pieces destined to be given to Marguerite. In the first épître, "A la Royne,"
the poet recalls his flight from Ferrara pursued by the "chiens de Pau" whose babble he still heard in his haven at Venice. The second piece is entitled "À la Roynë de Navarre, de laquelle il avait receu une Épistre en Rythme." Marot recounts the pain which he had given to his patroness and the conditions which Renée de Ferrara had endured from her husband while Marot was exiled there.

Oh flower whom I have first served, Those whom you put out of servile pain Have given you pain, helast not deserved; Well I know,

Hai Marguerite, listen to the suffering Of a noble heart of Renée de France; Then, as a sister, stronger than hope Console her. You know how [she has] gone from her land, And that relatives and friends left there; But you do not know what treatment she has In [the] strange land.

[Renée has] few friends whatsoever [and she] If far from them. Your brother the king and you and your nephews Are the saints to whom she says her vows, At each hour. From France there is no great one who secures her, And of the little ones who are in her house, Her husband wishes, to see that nons may remain there.

Without removing the strength or the will of the lady, He [the duke] truly wished [to prevent her] From securing the French passing here; It is their refuge.

The poet finally received permission of Francis I to reenter the kingdom in December, 1536. He had to appear before cardinal de Tournan, governor of Lyon, and abjure his errors. On the fourteenth of the month the cardinal wrote to the Grand Master, Anne de Montmorency, describing Marot's complete repentance. He said that he believed Marot had returned to Lyon with good intentions.
The poet had decided to repent of his former ways and to make a solemn abjuration before the cardinal and clergy of the city. For this reason it seemed to Tournon that Marot was going to live as a good Christian; thus, he asked Montmorency to write to the king so that Marot might have complete freedom of movement in France.111

Perhaps Marguerite also joined her efforts to the reintegration of her former secretary. Writing at the end of the year to the Grand Master, she praises her brother for favoring writers at his court. She says that she will send Montmorency a poet, perhaps Marot, whom she hopes he will give money and writing materials so that his exploits may become famous:

My nephew, it seems to me that Our Lord has given so much grace to the king and his servants, for there was never more need to favor the poets than now, for [there are] so many worthy things done in this time. May they not be forgotten through the lack of those who can write such happy and virtuous chronicles; and because you know that this porter (Marot) has few such [worthy people] or praiseworthy deeds to honor through his writings. Willingly, I have given him this letter begging your aid for enough to buy parchments you have done [in the past] with those things which merit filling [perhaps she meant telling], because his wealth is not as sufficient as [what] you may give him [to purchase] unlimited materials; and if you do this good to him, I am sure that his pen will thank you as long as books shall last;....115

No matter she was most responsible, Marot was again received into the French court. By March 8, 1537, he resumed his position both as secretary to Marguerite and as a valet de chambre to Francis I.116

The year 1536 saw the outbreak of warfare between the old rivals, Francis I and Charles V. With pretentions upon both the duchy of Savoy and Milan, Francis I launched his attacks during the spring. Marguerite was called upon by her brother to fulfill the position
which her mother had nobly held during her regencies. She spent much of her time traveling from Lyon to the Grand Master's fortified camp near Avignon and writing to him about the war.

In the midst of the summer campaigns a tragic event occurred on August 10, 1536, when the Dauphin Francis was poisoned by an Italian named Sebastian Montecucculi. The king received condolences from every side. Marguerite also received several poems on the death of her nephew. One Jehan Le Houx, sire de Branville, addressed some verses to her in the "Deploration de feu monseigneur le dauphin de France." He related that Marguerite's laments moved all to pity:

Oh choice of flowers, Oh marguerite insignia,  
Next to the lily, surpassing the ladies,  
Your piteous eye demonstrates enough through a sign  
How much death is written in a pierced heart  
With harsh regrets and sadness which surpasses  
As a flower, whose sad complaint  
Makes many a lady and princess cry.

Another lament on the dauphin's death, "Eglogue marine sur le trespas de feu monsieur Francoys de Valois...," was written and dedicated to Marguerite by Hugh Salel. The work consists of about two hundred verses on the illness, convalescence, and final death of the dauphin as introduced by royal poets Victor Brodeau and Mellin de Saint-Gelais.

Salel was another student trained at the University of Toulouse, who eventually became part of Francis I's court as a valet de chambre and maître d'hôtel. It appears that Salel presented Marguerite with this work some time early in 1537, probably in the hopes that she would recommend him to the king's service. His hopes
were soon fulfilled because by 1540 he received permission as one of the king's valets de chambre to have a book of poems published. He remained at Francis I's court until the king's death, when he retired to a place near Chartres.

Political events of the period proved very favorable for the French by the end of 1536. Imperial troops were sent to invade the southern portion of France and besiege the cities of Marseilles, Nimes, and Arles. Anne de Montmorency had these cities fortified so well that on September 13 the emperor was forced to abandon his plans. The fighting front then moved into the northern lands of Picardy and Artois, and south into the Piedmont until a truce was concluded at the end of 1537.

During the fighting, the king of Navarre became an intermediary between Francis I and Charles V. His purpose was to help restore a general peace and retake former lands belonging to his kingdom of Navarre. Having established relations with the emperor at the end of 1536, in March of 1537, he carried messages to Francis I for a planned interview between the two sovereigns. However, because Francis I believed that he could thoroughly defeat Spain, he would not agree to any meeting. He did, however, tell Henry that a new French-Navarrese alliance could be reached through a marriage between Jeanne de Navarre and a Frenchman, but would not listen to any discussion of territorial aggrandisement for Henry.

What he had not been able to get from Francis I, Henry tried to receive from the emperor. He would try to increase his own lands, propose a marriage between his daughter and the emperor's son, and take his daughter from France to marry without Francis I's permission.
With this in mind, he and Marguerite proposed to return to their own
kingdom. However, they were recalled by Francis who proposed an army
for the retaking of Navarrese lands. Suspicious of his brother-in-law's
intentions, Henry wrote that he did not wish to gain anything through
war.

All thought of negotiations with the emperor were soon forgotten
by the king and queen of Navarre during the summer. Marguerite, on
her brother's behalf, entered into peace negotiations with Queen
Marie of Hungary, while her husband as the king's lieutenant-general
and admiral of Guyenne led forces into the Piedmont battles.

At this same moment, another of the Neo-Latin poets, Jean
Visagier, called Voulte, also began to send verses to Marguerite. Born
near Rheims, he was educated at the college Sainte Barbe in Paris
where he received a Master of Arts degree. Later, in 1533, he was
hired along with Charles de Sainte-Marthe to teach at the new University
of Guyenne. By 1534, he had moved to the University of Toulouse where
he proceeded to study law while lecturing on Greek. While there,
Visagier formed a very close friendship with Jehan de Boyssoné and
Etienne Dolet.

In Voulte's first epigram to Marguerite, "De componenda pace," he congratulated her for her many efforts to seek peace. Possibly
referring to her assistance at the Peace of Cambrai, Voulte proclaimed
that her feminine nature had enabled her to arm France and protect
the nation in time of war. A second, "Ad eandem," is an allusion to
the current war which had just broken out between Francis I and
Charles V. Voulte related that for a second time peace would come
to France through the queen of Navarre's participation. And from a
third verse, the poet turned his attention from war to the qualities which the princess possessed. He recorded that instead of merely spending her time in womanly activities such as embroidery or sewing, she honored all women by using her masculine honors.

One year later, Voulte again wrote a verse to the queen included in his *Hendecasyllaborum Libri IV*. Obviously referring to a close relationship which had sprung up between them, he excused his tardiness in not translating Marguerite's *Mirror of the Sinful Soul* into Latin from the original French. He declared that he could not excuse his guilt in the task which he had so freely undertaken for the queen.

One of Marguerite's physicians from the University of Angers, Guillaume Rognoul, in 1537 offered her a French translation titled "*Epistre de Saint Augustine à Dame Proba, sur la manièrè de prier Dieu.*" Excusing his unsuitable training and capabilities, Rognoul declared that his intention was to defend the traditional Catholic faith, "against which the unfortunate time has permitted some interpreters or corrupters to murmur," for the pleasure and instruction of the princess.

Again in 1538, the king of Navarre, possibly with his wife's consent, reengaged in negotiations with the emperor concerning a marital alliance between Spain and Navarre. However, nothing came of this plot. After Francis I and Charles V had met at Nice and signed a formal truce ending their warfare, Francis ordered that his niece be removed to his chateau of Plessis-les-Tours. This was obviously done to prevent any further alliances of the kingdom of Navarre without French consent.
For the next two years Marguerite contented herself with withdrawing to her own concerns instead of engaging in political ventures. She began to reedit two editions of her *Miroir*, a copy of which she sent to Henry VIII of England in 1539. 136

As we have seen, Marguerite had been supporting Claude Baduel in his studies after he had been recommended to her by Philip Melanchthon. In 1537, while visiting John Sturm at Strasbourg, Baduel met and talked with the reformer Martin Bucer. Very impressed with Baduel's qualities, 137 Bucer wrote the princess, recommending this excellent student to her. Again, in July of the following year, the reformer urged the queen to create a chair of theology for Baduel, saying,

I heartily recommend to your Highness our friend Baduel, a very wise and religious man of solid judgment. They say that there is a chair at Poitiers of interpreting the Holy Scriptures whose nomination belongs to the Very Christian king. May Your Highness obtain it for Baduel! He knows Hebrew, Greek, [and] moreover, he is so sweet, so good, so enlightened that it would be useful to God's reign to have him given it. Your kindness shall be remembered thus by a client more worthy than all others of his protection, and [if you] will pardon me for so many letters when, for the love of Christ and the saints which are in France, I often abuse this kindness. 138

When Baduel returned to Paris in 1539, he was solicited by the University of Nimes to direct the College of Arts. Marguerite attached a letter in his support to the Councillors of Nimes in which she hoped they would receive this talented scholar, with the following words:

Messieurs, I have heard from Master Claude Baduel that you wrote him and begged his aid in setting up a college in your city, for which reason I believe that he will
know well how to acquit himself. He is now proceeding to you for this purpose. And as I have supported him in studies, I pray that you will give him your support while he is there; and in doing this, you will make me quite happy.139

At this time Marguerite also received an ode from a renowned Renaissance scholar, printer, and martyr, Etienne Dolet. She had probably become acquainted with him during her stay at Lyon in 1536. A few months later, the princess obtained a full royal pardon for him for a murder for which the poet had been forced to flee from the city.110

Obviously referring to his recent persecution by the civil authority, Dolet praised Marguerite because of her protection from the menacing crowd given to all good men of letters. He claimed that the queen's fame would not die, because the men whom she protected would spread her glory for posterity:

Pallas feared for her enfants; she was disturbed by the fear that the stupid, the vulgar, and the men, strangers to the liberal arts, might treat roughly, might make the elegant spirits, polished and ennobled through literature, suffer, those of the Muses' lair, whom she would send into France.

She offered you to the men of letters, you, whose protection and authority would cover them with a salutary shield against the violence of a blind populace and the menaces of furious enemies.

Must one thus be astonished if, at Pallas' prayer, having placed the intellectuals under your aegis, you honor them, love them, defend them, and employ your power to secure them.

How they tremble, how they burst with anger, these evil ones pestered by the glory which returns to you, and [how they] attacked to soil the renown of your celebrated name.

But you will be recommended to posterity through the praises spread afar by this illustrious troop of Pallas' sons, who are sheltered under your protection.111
In the same year, Marguerite was also mentioned in a "La triompho della bellezza" from the collection of verse entitled *Rime tosanne d'Amomo per Madame Charlotta d'Hiscar*.[1][2] The queen of Navarre is listed as one of the many beauties who adorn Francis I's court. E. Picot tentatively identified the author of the work as Jean de Maumont, son of Charles de Maumont and Ann de Bourdeille, aunt of Pierre de Bourdeille, sire de Brantôme.[3] Maumont studied at the royal college with other humanists of the period such as Jacques Amyot, Pierre de Ramée, and Jean Dorat. As to the identification of Charlotta Hisca, Picot believed that she was one of the damoiselles at the French court, either Charlotte de Dintville or Charlotte de la Roche Andry, a dame d'honneur to Queen Eleanor.[4]

Among the many Neo-Latin poets who gathered at Lyon, a minor one, Guilbert Ducher, addressed a Latin epigram to the queen in 1538.[5] Ducher praised both Marguerite's Christian qualities and her bodily form which was that of a goddess. However, he recognized that while many men praise her qualities with inane, windy ambition, for himself, he would be content just to say that she was virile externally, while godlike internally.[6]

In January, 1539, the Italian novelist Matteo Bandello and Marguerite began an acquaintanceship. It is apparent that the author had sent some verses to the queen which were very well received.[7] Obviously, hoping to secure the queen's patronage, Bandello sent her an unedited copy of his latest Italian translation, the *Euripide*, in July of the same year.[8]
In his dedication to the queen, Bandello recites the difficulties which he encountered when he attempted to translate the work into the vulgar tongue. He says that the writers are especially prone to critics who tear their works apart from envy and malice. Wishing to escape these malefactors, he had kept this manuscript hidden, until, at the insistence of his friends, and his own recognition of her qualities, he decided to send it to her.\textsuperscript{149}

Although he admits that he does not know her personally, "ne la per presenza la conosco," he certainly had read her Miroir, as evidenced in his use of the metaphor "in uno transparente, e lucidissimo speglio la veggo."\textsuperscript{150} He also knew that she would enjoy his work because she had been trained in languages and enjoyed reading both sacred and profane works. If the queen would excuse his boldness and grant him the money to publish the work, Bandello hints that he would be happy to send her other gifts.

We can not be certain that Marguerite gave the poet his requested money; however, in a later Novelle likewise dedicated to the queen, Bandello reported that Marguerite had written him a very complimentary letter after she had received the Ecuba.\textsuperscript{151} He says that the description which his patron, Cesare Fregoso, had given him concerning Marguerite's qualities was certainly verified. The queen's virtues and personality would live for centuries; none could ever hope to be able to praise her enough.

Bandello also declared to Marguerite that he soon intended to send her a new work. It was to be a recital of a chronicle of the House of Savoy, beginning with the origin of the house from which Louise descended and containing a recital of the deeds by Tristan de Moneins, lieutenant-general of Guyenne, in the region of Pigneur\textsuperscript{152}
In 1541 Bandello's patron Cesare Fregosa was acting as a French ambassador to Constantinople when he was assassinated outside Paris. In recompense, Francis I gave the castle of Bazens near Agen to Fregosa's widow Constanza. Accompanying the widow as her secretary, Bandello traveled to France where he remained until his death.\(^{153}\)

While acting as Constanza's secretary, Bandello met Jean Scaliger and they became fast friends. Through this physician, later appointed to Marguerite's household, Bandello may have come into closer contact with the queen of Navarre. In a later *Novelle* Bandello reworked the story which he drew from Marguerite's *Heptameron* directly, or, from a recital of the tale which Scaliger had told him.\(^{154}\)

The works of the noted Italian secretary, art critic, and poet, Pietro Aretino, were to be known in France from the translations made by Jean de Vauzelles dating from 1539. From a letter sent by a Lyonaisse banker to Aretino, it appears that Vauzelles was very anxious to establish a relationship with the writer because he wished to translate one of Aretino's works into French.\(^{155}\) This he was finally to accomplish with the publication of the *Trois livres de l'humanité de Jesus Christ* which he dedicated to his patroness, Marguerite.\(^{156}\) However, even after Vauzelles had translated Aretino's work, he did not receive any massage from the Italian. For this reason, he then wrote Aretino a perfect model of the precious and obscure style to secure the approval of his undertaking, saying:

To the divino Pierre Aretino,

The inadvertence of your messenger, who, passing by Lyon without making me happy with the desired letters from your grace, was very disadvantageous, Seigneur.... I pray thus to tell you about the great devotion that I have in spreading your glorious renown among all the
Gauls. This present porter, Jean Baptiste, spokesman and interpreter of my works, who will inform you of my anger for not having been given your awaited letters concerning my translation of your Humanity of Christ....

Even if Aretino did not deign to respond to Vauzelles' requests, the latter must have composed several works which were destined to be given to Marguerite of Navarre. The first was a Life of the Virgin which Vauzelles proposed to translate as soon as possible for her. The second work, although unnamed, was mentioned in one of Aretino's letters of February, 1540 to a friend residing at Lyon.

Another Italian poet, Nicolo Martelli, also began to send Marguerite verses during these years. Through the same Italian banker, Bartolomeo Panciatichi, who had written Aretino of Vauzelles' intention to translate his works, Martielli wrote in January, 1539 to thank Marguerite for her kind reception of his verses which the banker had read her. Some six months later, in June, 1539, he again addressed to her two additional sonnets in which he praised the princess' reception of his unworthy works.

Twice more, in 1540 and 1543, the poet sent some sonnets to the princess for her pleasure. In his Rime toscane, Martelli praised all Marguerite's qualities. He claimed that her humility and piety were granted to her each day from Heaven. Likewise, in his Querale piacevoli he gratefully acknowledged that the princess' acceptance of his efforts, such as his Rime toscane, made him blush with shame.

In 1539 Marguerite of Navarre received a religious and feminist tract from Marie Dentière entitled Épître ... composé par une femme Chrétienne de Tornay, ...contre les Turcs, Juifs, Infideles, Faulx Chrétiens, Anabaptistes & Luthériens. From a manuscript of
Guillaume Farel's friend, Antoine Froment, at Geneva, we find the following information concerning the authoress of the letter and the consequences of its publication. He recorded:

It happened at this time when Calvin and Farel were banished from Geneva that the Queen of Navarre, sister of the French king, wished to know of her fellow-sponsor, named Marie Dentière, from Tournay, wife of Froment, the first woman of our time exiled for the Gospel, having left her abbey and monastery and staying at present at Genova,—wished news of her and how this difference (of opinion or expulsion) had come about, and why they had exiled the ministers of God's word from Geneva. To whom she sent a letter entitled, "Against the Turks, Jews, Infidels, false Christians, Anabaptists, and Lutherans." But the ministers who had again returned, after exiling the others, could neither endure nor support this letter, feeling themselves wounded by it. Thus they had it seized by the Seigneurie and imprisoned the printer. The Seigneurie ordered it stopped for a time, seeing the differences and hisses which were in the Church, because of the preachers.165

The authoress began her letter by describing the problems which amateurs in truth had in searching for the true faith without falling into false errors or heresies. Referring, probably, to Marguerite's own work, The Mirror of a Sinful Soul, Marie stressed the needs which women had for this search of the truth or Gospel.166 However, according to the authoress, when certain true evangelizers tried to preach the simple faith which Christ and his disciples had given for everyone's salvation, they were persecuted through envy, malice, and larceny, and rejected "principally by the wise [men] of the people."167

Through the medium of this letter, Marie Dentière thanked Marguerite for her writings which had helped Francis I put an end to the many religious divisions in France. She also hoped to encourage women to take an active role in European affairs as they sought the true religion. She says:
...my very honored Lady, you wished to write, not only to teach yourself, but also to take pains to urge your brother, the king, to obviate all these divisions which reign in spots, places, and peoples over whom God commissioned him to reign and govern... Not only for you, Madame, have I wished to write this letter, but also to give courage to other women held in captivity, so that they do not fear being chased from their lands, relatives, and friends, for God's word as I have been, and principally for the poor little women, desiring to know and understand the truth; who do not know which road, which path they must take.... Until now this truth has been so hidden (from women) that they said nothing, and it appeared that women ought not to read anything nor understand the holy letters. This is the principal concern, Madame, (that) moved me to write you, hoping in God, that henceforth women should no longer be scorned as in the past.165

Further in her letter, it becomes clear that she was writing an apology for Jean Calvin, and Guillaume Farel who had been forced into exile by their opponents in Geneva. She condemned the false prophets who were endangering the Gospel in Geneva, saying,

And if now one complains of our [false prophets] throughout the earth, it is not without legitimate cause, seeing that they have been cowardly gendarmes in battle. Because when it is a question of battling against the enemies, they are good at the table, to fight, bite, and beat. But when they find themselves assaulted in skirmishes and ambushes by the enemies of truth (thus as those who have been chased out), they do not wish to bite, since there are blows, injuries, and outrages.169

Her purpose in this latter portion was to warn the queen that she must beware of welcoming these "humbugs" who boded only ill for the true Gospel in France.

Although a truce had been agreed upon between Francis I and Charles V in 1539, it proved to be a very temporary one. From this period until war again broke out in 1542, Francis' ardent desire to resecure his Milanese territory directed his policies. A series of negotiations was carried out in order to create an alliance system
with both Henry VIII and the German princes against the emperor. In this context, a marital alliance was arranged between William de la Marck, duke of Cleves, and Jeanne de Navarre; despite the determined opposition of both Marguerite and Henry d'Albret to Francis I's plan, they eventually were forced to accept his wishes by the summer of 1541.

Although weighed down by the court activities, Marguerite found time to correspond with a renowned lady of the period, Vittoria Colonna. Equally devoted to maintaining artists and writers, the marchesa de Pescara was also known for her evangelical poetry. Thus, it was quite natural that those two women communicated their ideas and religious feelings.

Commencing in February, 1540, Vittoria replied to an undiscovered letter from Marguerite. The marchesa excused her tardiness in replying, saying that she was simply admiring the contents of the princess' letter. Until Marguerite had sent her this letter, Vittoria had felt there were no guides to life who could teach or show the way. However, this letter had demonstrated all the good qualities united in one person, whom, the marchesa hoped very soon to see.

Marguerite replied to these effusive praises saying that her letter had done much to relieve her worries although Vittoria was much too kind in her judgment and praise. The marchesa had made her realize that the love which she carried for Marguerite was of a greater worth than any of the worldly dignities or riches of a king's daughter or wife. She also hoped that Vittoria would continue these letters permitting her to attain the same glory which God had already given to the marchesa.

In turn, Vittoria replied that one had to admire that virtue, intelligence, and religion which perfected one's soul as evidenced
by Marguerite. She protested that it would have been impossible for her to take up the correspondence first, since Marguerite possessed such a superabundance of all the qualities which had been enumerated.

Although there are no remaining letters between the two women from this period, other eye-witnesses relate continued contact. In June, 1540, Pietro Vergerio made a trip to the French court carrying letters from the marchesa to Marguerite; he then wrote back to Italy his impressions of Marguerite's cordial reception and the tenor of their religious conversations. He wrote to Vittoria, saying,

The very serene Queen of Navarre had me read the last letter of Your Excellency, accompanying it with long and profound reflections... In short, I have never heard either a dearer or greater consolation than in this queen, whose ardent words and marvelous manners could reheat the coldest hearts of the world to God's service.

He expanded upon these meetings in a second letter in which he reported a meeting with the queen which lasted some four hours. They spoke of the state of the Church, the study of sacred texts, and other spiritual things, after which he set about creating a resume which he intended to send to the marchesa.

Later, Marguerite asked that a copy of Vittoria's sonnets be sent to her by Georges d'Armagnac who was in Rome. This was done by the ambassador from Ferrara. However, Anne de Montmorency intercepted these sonnets and inspected them for their orthodoxy. When nothing contrary to the Catholic faith was found in them, the Grand Master, much to his shame, was forced to give them to Marguerite before her brother.
Another author from the important city of Toulouse, Guillaume de la Perrière, dedicated a work to the queen of Navarre. H. Guy comments that Perrière was a writer without talent but with some genius. He was a lawyer, a poet, and a chronicler of the activities of the city magistrates. He lived in the city of Toulouse where he edited about seven annuales of civil activities. One of his most famous works, the Annales de Foix, recounted the chivalrous acts of the various counts of Foix. To his work Jean de Boyssoné added an introductory piece in honor of both Marguerite and Henry d'Albret.

In 1540 La Perrière dedicated Le théâtre des bons engins solely to Marguerite. He related that Seneca, the greatest of the moral philosophers, was his inspiration for this little work containing one hundred moral sayings. Excusing the hurried completion of his work, he traced the popularity of emblems used to represent words from the Egyptian hieroglyphics to his own time when Andre Alciat, the noted Hellenist, created some Latin ones. Each of his emblems was accompanied by a matching verse set in finely engraved borders.

The devotion which Marguerite displayed throughout her life was remarked upon by many of her contemporaries and subjects. A lawyer from the city of Pamiers named Bertrand Helié demonstrated this fact in his Historia Fuxensium comitum which he gave to both Marguerite and Henry in 1540. He says that the queen spoke constantly of the Bible, loved writings devoted to religion, and concentrated all her meditations upon holy items. And when she came to the city of Pamiers, she had an interview with the author and asked him to read several pages from the Bible each day for her edification.

In the year 1540 Marguerite also received some verses from Charles de Sainto-Marthe, later enrolled as one of her masters of
request. His father had been in royal service to Louis XII as a doctor and counselor. Of Charles de Sainte-Marthe's early life little is known except that he received training in law and philosophy at the University of Poitiers. In 1533 he was invited to the new College of Guyenne at Bordeaux where he remained for a year and a half teaching classes in composition and giving orations, dialogues, comedies, and public readings. It is here that he became acquainted with other poets such as Jean Visagier, called Vaulx.

Some time during 1535, after he had left Bordeaux, Sainte-Marthe arrived in Poitiers where he received a doctorate in law, and a theological degree by 1537. After receiving his degrees, he had an interview with Francis I and Marguerite, possibly near Amiens, whereby he obtained the post of Regius-Professor of Theology at Poitiers. While studying for this latter degree, he must have come under the influence of Calvin's ideas. After reading Calvin's Institutes, in April, 1537, he wrote to congratulate the reformer upon his ideas. Because of this, the authorities of Poitiers felt his sympathies were too favorable to evangelism and he had to retire from Poitiers.

After traveling around the nation, Sainte-Marthe must have entered into Marguerite's household for a short time in 1539. In his oraison funèbre he gave an account of Jeanne de Navarre's illness of that year and the motherly affection which the queen demonstrated. This he could only have written after spending some time with Marguerite. However, he was not to remain in her service long; within a few months he had traveled to Grenoble by 1540 where he was soon imprisoned, possibly for his religious opinions.
During his captivity Sainte-Marthe must have written the two verses to Marguerite which appeared in his *Poesie française* of 1540. In the first he complained to Marguerite of the abyss into which Fortune had thrown him and seemed to plead with the queen for her aid:

How Jupiter is deaf to my prayer,
But if Juno, treasury of Grace,
Wished to make him hear of my deed,
I would mount, where one makes me descend. 189

The second verse resumes the account of his unfortunate life, deserted by his family and friends; yet, as he says, he still had hopes in Marguerite’s benovolence. 190

After his release from prison Sainte-Marthe served briefly as a professor at Lyon until 1541, when he must have gone to teach in Geneva. However, for some reason he ventured back into Grenoble where he was arrested and imprisoned a second time for his religious poetry. 191 Although he was released in 1543, we do not know when he actually became a permanent part of the queen’s household. He is mentioned only once in Marguerite’s later expense roles as one of her counselors and masters of request in 1548. 192

Beginning in the summer of 1540 the French ambassador at Venice, Guillaume Pelicier, sought Marguerite’s liberality for an Italian architect, Sebastien Serlio. Although Serlio had already dedicated a book of architecture to Francis, he had not yet received the three hundred crowns which Francis I had ordered paid him. For this reason, Pelicier wrote the following plea to Marguerite:

*...knowing no other better recourse than to your clemency and kindness as a conservatrice of all good men of sound morals and virtues, finding himself at present in very great necessity, for the great cost*
of living he has had this year, [Serlio] kneels before you, begging you to have pity and compassion for him, reminding his Majesty to put his good will into execution. Nevertheless, he (Serlio) told me that he would rather serve His Majesty or you in poverty than another prince who might have great wealth. 193

This letter seems to have had its effect. Francis granted Serlio a pension of 200 crowns per year and a house, while his name was inscribed upon Marguerite's expense role for the rest of her life. 194

After Serlio had reached France, he repaid Marguerite for her liberality in 1537 when he placed her name at the front of his Quinto libro di architettura. 195 However, after the deaths of both Francis and Marguerite, the architect traveled to Lyon where he lived in great poverty. He even had to sell his manuscripts to an antiquarian, Giocomo de Strada, to pay the costs for the printing of his works. 196

From September, 1540, Marguerite and John Calvin seem to have corresponded a few times. When, if ever, they actually met is not precisely known; however, Calvin did correspond with Gérard Roussel and visited Lefèvre d'Étaples at Nerac during the first months of 1534. Thus if Marguerite had not spoken with the French reformer, she could have learned of his ideas through her closest associates and spiritual mentors.

At the beginning of 1541 one of Calvin's friends, John Sleidan, traveled to France charged with letters for Francis I and Marguerite. 197 The next August, Marguerite replied to Calvin saying that her brother had welcomed Calvin's activities in his behalf at the Diet of Regensburg. 198 Perhaps the reformer had urged a closer alliance of the Protestant Germans with the French king. She continued in the same letter to demonstrate her wishes to maintain close relations with the reformer,
saying, "Praying that if you see I could do you some good service, do not spare me; and I assure you that I shall employ myself with a good heart, and shall do for you and the others [Protestants?] all that will be possible for me and according to the power that God shall give me." This spirit of conciliation was not to last; by 1545, Calvin sharply attacked Marguerite for harboring two Spiritual Libertines in her lands.

Marguerite received very few verses or dedications during 1541. In addition to a sonnet which Nicolo Martelli sent to her, a lawyer from Tours, Jean Brêche, in his Manuel royal wrote a short dixain in which he praised the queen's kindness and hoped that she would excuse the boldness of his verse.

From mid-1542, at the outbreak of the fourth series of wars between her brother and Charles V until her return to Francis I's court in Paris at the beginning of 1544, Marguerite retired to her own lands of Béarn and Navarre. Nevertheless, she still was quite active in her own possessions, giving aid to those persecuted for heresy, maintaining Navarre against possible attacks from Spain, and receiving artistic gifts.

While in her own lands of Nerac, Marguerite felt both herself and her brother injured by the preaching of a nearby bishop of Condom. Erard de Grossoles-Flamare was one of the most activite persecutors of heretics within his diocese. He was not afraid even to launch attacks upon the queen, probably for her protection of reformers. Marguerite thereupon complained to Francis I concerning the bishop's sermons. She writes to Francis:
My Lord,...as to M. de Condom, I pray you...believe that I do not desire to do evil to those who do it to me. And if none other than I were offended, I would have more pleasure in pardoning than in punishing. But your offense can not be forgotten by those who have you before their eyes; and I hope, My Lord, that while sending commissioners here, you will be better known and feared in this land and that you will learn that they have wished to hide from you, and you will find great faults.... As you desire that the innocent may not be viewed with malice, you also wish that the bold the bishop? and whoever twists God's scripture in liberty from the pulpit and those who show disobedience to their superiors may be punished.

Later, on December 29, in a letter to one of her intimates, Marguerite again complained of the bishop's sermons. He must have attacked the king and even spoken of poisoning Marguerite. She was also glad that her brother was sending some men who would investigate the situation in Nerac, as she says:

Monsieur Izernay....I could not tell you how I esteem the grace the king does me in sending here the commissioners [that] he named to me, than of sending M. de Condom to Blois, because I have not so much hate of him as I have a desire that the king may be loved and obeyed in this land.... You know that I have never wished to anger the king; but since he (the bishop) has had leave to return to his home, you have never seen the bravery that his relatives have shown. And through some warnings that I have had that they use poisons on that side, I have begged the king of Navarre,... that he might have someone remove from this city those who were on the bishop's side, which he has done sweetly, giving them my opinion. And they gave orders that no one may enter into our offices. The invention that they say the monks use in poisoning in this land is in the incense, of which I must have no fear...

We do not know the exact details which settled the matter with the recalcitrant bishop of Condom. Marguerite merely says to her confidant M. Izernay on December 30th, that she was content the affair was arranged. Some days later, she did report that the king had sent two men to inquire into the matter but went no further.
in explanation. The bishop was probably threatened with severe penalties if he did not cease his accusations against both Marguerite and Francis I.

Beginning in 1542 the queen of Navarre came to the aid of a suspected heretic named André Melanchthon. He was really a Breton who used this name to gather Marguerite's attention. This individual settled first in the city of Tonneins ostensibly to teach school but soon he openly began to evangelize. He was quickly imprisoned in the city of Agen. Surely thinking that André Melanchthon was a relative of Philip Melanchthon, Marguerite immediately wrote to the Parlement de Brodeaux on June 22, seeking his release. He was thus transferred to the Conciergerie at Bordeaux in the same month.

On August 3, the members of Parlement decided that Melanchthon was to be expelled from the lands of France and cautioned never to return. However, this command was never carried out. The suspect was transferred from the Conciergerie to the dungeons of Château-Trompette in Bordeaux where he languished for about two years.

One year later, on July 31, Marguerite sent Charles de Gramont, archbishop of Bordeaux, to appear before them and pleaded for Melanchthon's release. He related a letter which Marguerite had written him. It appears that Charles V had spread a rumor among the German princes seeking to prevent any alliance with the French that "the Germans were maltreated in France by the king and his officers, and that one had them burned and executed ignominously." And further, the duke of Saxony had also written to Marguerite saying that Melanchthon was one of his subjects and a close relative to the German reformer.
Tho members of Parlement decided to defer their sentence upon Melanchthon until a later time. The next year, on March 24, 1544, Marguerite, herself, came to plead André's case. She said that Philip Melanchthon had twice written her seeking freedom for the suspected heretic. It was also her intention that Melanchthon was to remain at the Château-Trompette until she had spoken with the king. She then proceeded to ask the court for any proof of their contentions that the prisoner was indeed a Breton, not German, which she would take to the king.

Whether it was directly due to Marguerite's intervention or not, apparently Melanchthon had been released by the next July, when John Sturm wrote Philip Melanchthon. This demonstrates that, at least in this one instance, both Marguerite and the pursuers of heretics were duped in a brilliant ploy, that of impersonating a relative of the German reformer.

During her withdrawal from the French court, Marguerite also lost her most faithful secretary and poet, Clement Marot, as he again sought flight to escape possible persecution for heresy. Although there had been new proscriptions against Lutherans in France beginning in 1538, by 1541 there appeared to be a relaxation against heretics. Just at this time Marot published his French translations of the psalms, Trente psaumes de David. The Protestant churches outside France eagerly began to incorporate these translations into their liturgies. The Sorbonne placed four of his works on a list of prohibited books between Christmas 1542 and March, 1543. However, the poet could not be imprisoned as he had already fled the nation.
Marot was eagerly welcomed into Geneva by John Calvin. These two most certainly had met in 1536 when Calvin had visited the court of Renée de France at Ferrara. Because Marot’s flight into the city indicated a possibility for the completion of more Psalms into French, thus Calvin applied to the city council for a pension for Marot. In this, Calvin was not successful, which may explain the reason that Marot had translated about nineteen more Psalms which were sent to the press. After he left Geneva, Marot traveled into Savoy where he spent his remaining days, until he died in September, 1544. While in Savoy, it seems that he tried to reenter Francis I’s service; he wrote an eclogue in honor of the Dauphin Henry and Catherine de Medici’s son.

In these last years of her life, Marguerite spent more and more of her time traveling in her own lands, remaining for longer periods at her chateaux, especially Pau. It is hardly surprising that a great deal of reconstruction and extensive furnishing took place at Pau. From records which were made of the chateau in 1565, there are numerous indications of tapestries, furnishings, and religious items, some of which were certainly commissioned by either Marguerite, Henry d’Albret, or later, Jeanne de Navarre.

In 1565 the concierge of the chateau, Robert Cordier, drew up the following list of tapestries:

- A tapestry showing Francis I mounted on a white horse with gold inscribed letters and a fleur de lis: Franciscus primus; a History of Nabuchadnezzar; the Destruction of Troy; a History of Jerusalem; a History of Hercules; a History of David; Roboam and Jeroboam; the History of Herod; a tapestry of a crowned lady, where Jason, Medea, and others are painted; six pieces of nine knights, embossed with gold, and a piece which served as a sky;
eight pieces, embossed in gold, of the History of Saint John,...; a tapestry on which is written: Non sunt tales mei amores; the History of Charlemagne; the History of Vespasian; finally, a piece with the arms of Bearn and Foix.214

Other furnishings from the chateau included a large needlepoint silk rug probably belonging to Marguerite in the middle of which is a woman holding a child and at the four corners are initials of Henry and Marguerite.215 In addition there were numerous pieces embroidered in gold, silver, velvet, and many other objects d'art.

Marguerite took such an interest in literary support that she probably supplied some of the following titles as listed in a manuscript inventory of 1612: "Aymery de Narbonne, Artus de Bretagne, Lancelot du Lac, Girons le Courtoys, L'Escu de Foix et Bearn, La bible ystorialle; Croniques de France et Angleterre, de Froissart, du comte Gaston, d'Aragon, Guy de Warwick, Amadis de Gaulle, La vie des saints, La mer des istories."216

Soon after he had become rector of the University of Nimes, Claude Baduel publicly thanked the queen of Navarre for her scholarly support. In 1542 he created a funeral eulogy upon the death of Floretta de Sarra, dame de Saint-Voran and wife of a lawyer, Jean de Montcalm, which he dedicated to Marguerite. In his eulogy he praised the qualities of piety and education which both Marguerite and Floretta de Sarra had instilled in his, saying:

I believe my duty [was] to give homage to this excellent lady (Floretta) who had honored me with the greatest kindness. I have thus praised her in public, in the manner of the ancients, and I have given her after her death the testimony that she merited during her life. I am not limited in testifying to her admiration before my citizens who knew her as I; I wished to make her known to other men. I have thus published my discourse and I have dared to dedicate it to you [Marguerite]
to recall the virtues that you loved in Florette de Sarra and to show you that I maintain the taste of the studies and of the piety in which you had me instructed. 217

While away from the French court, Marguerite received only one other short verse. In 1543 Claude Chappuys, a pensioner and valet de chambre of Francis I, created the Discours de la court... in honor of his patron. 218 After the author had described incidents and other members of the court, he spoke of Marguerite's angelic qualities:

Pallas their (referring to Francis I's children) aunt among the Marguerites,
The flower of flowers, the elect of elected Queen in Navarre has merited praise,
Not from the voice of man, but of an angel Because she is less human than divine... 219

Marguerite was recalled by her brother in February, 1544, to rejoin the court. He accompanied his letter with a ballade and a crucifix. The queen was so overwhelmed by his kindness that she could only kiss the cross through reverence for her "two Christs," Christ and her brother. 220

As she proceeded to the royal court, the queen of Navarre decided to visit her duchy of Alençon for the first time in many years. There, during the festivals in her honor, a lawyer poet, Guillaume Le Rouville, penned an épître in her honor, entitled "Épistre composée par l'auteur au nom des Rossignols du Parc d'Alençon, a la très illustre Royne de Navarre...." 221 The author described the joy with which the nightingales, trees, and flowers had sung Marguerite's praises upon her return to the duchy. 222

Although Marguerite returned to her former important position at the side of her brother, she still found time to solicit from
Cardinal Alexander Farnese a cardinalcy for Georges d'Armagnac, then bishop of Rodez. When her desire had been accomplished, she addressed the new cardinal a letter in which she recommended that he place himself in the care of Vittoria Colonna, whose friendship she considered a very precious thing. Marguerite tells the new cardinal that the marchesa would show him that one should forget the worldly vanities and live only for the word of God. "Happy were those who knew God for they will be recompensed as promised by the prophet." 

Marguerite also confided a letter to Armagnac to be delivered to Vittoria Colonna. She wrote that she was very happy to know that Vittoria lived a spiritual life in Christ, having detached herself from all earthly things which were worth nothing, being only transitory. She also recommended her "dear son" to the marchesa, whom, she hoped, could help him avoid the errors of so many cardinals, unworthy successors of the apostles, who were ruining the Church. Therefore, Marguerite hoped that Vittoria would take d'Armagnac in hand as a mother would her own son. 

As in previous years, the princess received several verses done in her honor. One of these was by Giovanni Giustiniano di Candia who translated L'Andria and L'Euncho of Terence and presented the translation to Cardinal Georges d'Armagnac. In his dedication the author says that he was quite overwhelmed when the cardinal recommended him to the queen of Navarre. He knows of no one who would not like to be presented to her whose kindness, knowledge, and religion were recognized throughout the world.

In 1544 Eustorg de Beaulieu wrote the Diverse rapporti in one verse of which, addressed to the queen, he asked permission to be
listed as one of her servants. Beaulieu was one of the courtly
blasoneurs or flatterers of the early sixteenth century. An early
dilettante in rhymes, he especially loved to compose songs for the
accompaniment of lute and organ. A priest as well as a musician, he
settled in Lyon in 1536 where he was able to enter the court circle
of Catherine de Medici.

Another of those persons pursued for heresy addressed his hopes
for his safety to the queen of Navarre. In the Second enfer, Etienne
Dolet sent an épître to Marguerite, hoping that she would plead his
case before her brother. The cause of his discomfort arose because
he had been charged with sending heretical books imported from Geneva
to Paris. Having already been once arrested, tried for heresy, and
released through the king's efforts in 1542, Dolet now escaped into the
Piedmont. The publishing of the Second enfer was an effort to reintegrate himself into the nation. However, he was not successful;
captured in September, 1544, he was imprisoned in Paris and executed
about two years later in 1546.

Among the many poets whom Marguerite came to know, one with
the great distinction of heading a group known as the Lyon School,
was Maurice Scève. A poet, musician, painter; and humanist, Scève
knew most of his literary contemporaries, including many of Marguerite's
circle such as Charles de Sainte-Marthe, Antoine Hercoet, Antoine Du
Moulin, and Bonaventure Des Periers.

Scève may first have been introduced to the princess through
one of her courtiers while in residence at Lyon. In 1544 he added
his praise of the queen in his Délie:
If pure white is immaculate Faith,
And gay green is joyous Hope,
Flaming red though simulated color
Of Charity is the significance;
And if these three of diverse substances
(Each in itself) have a special virtue,
Virtue being divinely royal,
Where shall one, according to their high merit,
Ally them in their equal power
If not in one and sole Marguerite?

It would appear that Scève enjoyed such favor of the princess that he was privileged to add two laudatory poems when Marguerite's own poetry was published. In 1547, *Les marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses*, published by her problematic valet de chambre, Jean de la Haye (Simon Du Bois?), carried a sonnet headed with the initials "M. Sc." The author of the piece made the goddess Diana praise the queen's radiant qualities. Likewise in the *Suyte des Marguerites* there is a sonnet dedicated to Jeanne de Navarre carrying the initials "M. Sc." This second is also a panegyric to Marguerite's virtues which the author hopes Jeanne would inherit.

The year 1545 marks a break in the cordial relations which Marguerite had established with John Calvin. This arose because the princess permitted a wide latitude of religious beliefs within her own lands which was little appreciated by the Genevan reformer. Some time before 1545 Marguerite received two *illumines*, or "Spiritual Libertines," who preached doctrines little liked by Calvin or orthodox Catholics. They must have developed mystical themes before the queen, who in her own right had been heavily influenced in mysticism by her earlier correspondence with Bishop Briçonnet. Anthony Pocqué and a man named Quintin held to the exterior rites of the Church but developed some unusual ideas; they maintained that man was identical to God and must let God act within him. These men had tried to
spread their antinomian ideas in Geneva but Calvin had immediately sought to stop their activities. In 1544 he published a pamphlet called *Against the Fanatical and Furious Sect of the Libertines Who Call Themselves Spirituales* which attacked the Libertines for their feigned ecstasies and lack of moral restraint. When Calvin was told that these men had found a refuge with the queen of Navarre, he immediately wrote her to justify his position against these "Libertines" and to warn her of the danger in which she placed her soul. He says:

Madame, I have received a letter from a man of this town, written, as he said, by your command, by which I understand that you are very unhappy with me because of a certain book composed by me, which I have called *Against the Libertines*. I am sorry to have saddened you, except insofar as it was for your welfare, for such sadness ... is so profitable that we have no occasion to repent having caused it. But I do not know, Madame, why or how this book has been able to make you so angry. The man who has written to me alleges as the reason that it is composed against you and your servants. So far as you are concerned, it has not been my intention to touch your honor, nor to lessen the reverence which all the faithful owe to you. I mean in addition to the reverence which we all owe to you, because of the royal majesty in which our Lord has exalted you, the house whence you are descended, and all the excellence that is in you, as in the world.... Besides, I know the gifts which our Lord has given you, and how he has engaged you in his service, and has employed for the advancement of his kingdom, which affords reason enough for honoring you, and holding your honor in esteem. Likewise, Madame, I pray you do not allow yourself to be persuaded by those who excite you against me, seeking neither your advantage nor my damage, but rather to estrange you from that good will and affection which you bear to the Church of God, and to discourage you from the service of our Lord Jesus, and of his members, which you have rendered to this hour.

Calvin continued his justification of the pamphlet as he wished only to condemn the "Libertines" and not the princess. He said that he had been called by the Lord to prevent the destruction of the world by these men. Their doctrine led the simple souls into perdition as
they opposed the true and holy doctrine. He thus could not stand idly by when God's truth was attacked but had to defend the Church.241

Some time after her stay of 1542 in her capital of Pau, Marguerite began to plan for her own collection of stories known as the Heptameron. Because her work was certainly heavily influenced by Boccaccio's Decameron, the princess must have eagerly awaited a French translation which was to be published in 1545 by Antoine Le Macon.242

This writer was the general receiver of the king's finances in Burgundy and secretary to Marguerite. The author reminded the princess that she had commanded this work from him just after he had spent one entire year in Italy. While she was in Paris, Le Macon had read her some of the stories of Boccaccio. Finding them to her liking, Marguerite then asked him to translate the work for her. Le Macon related that the princess had set him a very hard task, since he had heard that one could not translate Boccaccio into French. He then excused himself, stating that he was a native of the Dauphine, where, he says, the language is far removed from good spoken and written French.243 Le Macon took about one year to complete this translation; as long, he explains, as it had taken Boccaccio to write the work. If the princess found his work worthwhile, his hopes were satisfied. As for those who might have charged that he spent his time in trivial things, he knew that Marguerite would nail shut their mouths when they sought to scorn him.244

For the rest of the year 1545, Marguerite spent much of her time at court working for the annulment of the marriage between her daughter and the duke of Cleves. Finally, in November, Pope Paul III granted her request.245
Already ill, Marguerite then retired into Angoulême and Navarre in 1546 where she spent her time writing poetry and reediting the *Heptameron*. She did not even heed her brother's request to come again to the French court the same December, nor even after his death the following March. Thereafter, as her illness increased, coupled with the loss of her beloved brother, her general health began to decline quite rapidly. Her endless wandering throughout the lands was broken only in the summer of 1548, when she and her husband were forced to accept a new marital alliance for their daughter and Duke Antoine de Bourbon.

In spite of her removal from the royal court of France, Marguerite continued to receive many works of art. The most renowned writer of the French Renaissance, François Rabelais, may have hoped to escape censorship from the Sorbonne when, in the *Troisième livre des faicts & diets héroiques du noble Pantagruel*, he headed the work with an épître to Marguerite: "À l'esprit de la reine de Navarre:"

Abstract, charming, and ecstatic spirit,
Which frequenting the heavens, your origin,
You have left your hout and servant,
As your body agrees, to digress
In an educated free life.
Without sentiment and in apathy,
Would you not wish to make a sortie
From your divine, perpetual manor,
And see there-below a third part
Of the joyous deeds of the good Pantagruel?

His hope was not realized for his work was condemned; he then sought refuge in the city of Metz.

Neoplatonism was being introduced into France through such writers as Antoine Heroet and Bonaventure Des Periers. One such author was Jean de la Haye, dit Simon Sylvius, who translated *Le commentaire*
de Marsile Ficin, sur le banquet d'amour de Platon, and dedicated it to Marguerite. This mysterious author who claimed to be a valet de chambre to the queen but was not listed on any of her expense roles, discussed the differences and quarrels between Platonic love and human physical emotion. Spiritual love had been beaten when the god Cupid had gathered his forces and had retired to the heavens. This love which Plato described had only returned to earth when it found a suitable reception with Marguerite.

In 1546 Marguerite also received two verses from Charles Fontaine from his La fontaine d'amour. Fontaine, a humanist and lawyer from Lyon who held the position as Doctor-Rector of the College of the Trinity. He is most noted for his La Contr'amy (1541) in which he attempted to combat the Neoplatonism with an emphasis upon physical love. His one desire was to seek royal favor for a permanent position and its monetary rewards. His verses to Marguerite reflect this effort, as he says of her, "the beautiful sun in all its age has not seen a more noble or wiser queen.

Another work has only recently been discovered which lends further evidence of Marguerite's encouragement of letters. Emile Telle reports that in 1546 Louis Enoch, a master of languages and a native of Berry, dedicated a work to the princess: Prima infantia utriusque linguae simul et Gallicas...

This work gives simultaneous elements of Greek, Latin, and French grammar and a method by which the languages could be taught together. Enoch related that the queen of Navarre had given him great encouragement even when he was discouraged and felt that he could not continue.
His central thesis was the defense of the increasing use of French as a mode of expression. He believed that French had evolved from Greek through the later addition of Latin. The Gauls had first learned the Greek language; then they were occupied by the Romans. However, the Gauls, wishing to return to the Greek language, created the French language. Thus, Enoch stated the superiority of the French language to any other in Europe.\textsuperscript{256}

In 1547 one of the most noted French humanists, Jacques Peletier du Mans, addressed several verses in his \textit{Oeuvres poétiques} to Marguerite.\textsuperscript{257} An early member of the group known as the Félibrée, his interests included teaching, law, mathematics, medicine, and astronomy. His first of two verses to the princess expressed a hope that she would welcome his effort and described her personality through a metaphor of the four seasons.\textsuperscript{258} A second verse, likewise, praised her virtues and ranked her own poetry as worthy of Pindar.\textsuperscript{259}

As we have seen, Marguerite was finally recalled to the French court because her nephew, Henry II, wished to marry Jeanne de Navarre to Antoine de Bourbon, duke de Vendome. The marriage took place the following October, 1548. Afterward, both the king and queen of Navarre withdrew once more into their own kingdom.

Many poets came forward to congratulate the young couple on the event of their new marriage. In addition to verses addressed to both Jeanne and Antoine de Bourbon, Nicolas Bourbon, Jeanne's former tutor, composed an \textit{epithalamium} or nuptial song to Marguerite.\textsuperscript{260} He called upon the queen to be very joyous at the happiness of her daughter. Although the Pallas of France, expert in the art of the Muse, had only been interested in religious things, Bourbon invited the queen to show
her joy to all persons. He predicted great things from this marriage, such as a possible future rule of the nation.

A little known French poet from Yssouldun, François Habert, also sent Marguerite an epigram on the wedding of her daughter entitled, "À la Royne de Navarre aux epousailles de ma Dame la princesse, sa fille."\(^{261}\) By modern standards the verse appears to be of somewhat questionable taste. The poet congratulated Marguerite and says that soon she should see many children come forth after the loss of Jeanne's virginity.

Some time after the death of Francis I, the rhétoriqueur from Poitiers, Jean Bouchet, wrote the Triomphe, du trèschrétien...roy de France, François.... in which he included a verse to the queen of Navarre.\(^{262}\) Bouchet hoped that Marguerite would always remember him and give him support; for this purpose, he decided not merely to write an epigram of her dead brother but a little moral history, pointing out not only Francis' virtues but all virtues which resided in the nobility. However, as H. Guy says, Bouchet's abilities could not sustain his hopes; the work is inept and exasperating to read.\(^{263}\)

In 1549 Marguerite received one last testimony of her generosity in support of scholarly work. Charles Girard, a Doctor-Regent of the University of Bourges, translated Aristophanes' Plutus into Latin and dedicated it to Jeanne de Navarre.\(^{264}\) Although he gave the book to her daughter, Girard devoted most of the verse in praise of Marguerite's qualities. She was named the Minerva of France for her generous liberality to Girard and the University of Bourges. Because of her interest in studying languages, Marguerite had Jeanne instructed by the greatest Latin scholar, Nicolas Bourbon. Thus
Girard knew that Jeanne would be happy to receive his Latin translation.265

It would seem that Marguerite immediately responded to Girard's work with a new demonstration of her generosity. On June 26, 1549, she ordered her treasurer of Berry, Olivier Bergoin, to pay one hundred livres as wages to Girard in his position as a master professor and reader of her university.266

During much of her last year of life Marguerite remained apart from her family and friends. Sunk in religious contemplation but still finding the time to write poetry, she retired to her chateau of Odos, near Tarbes, where she spent her last months. On December 21, 1549, surrounded by only her servants, she received the last rites of the Catholic Church and passed away about three or four o'clock in the morning.267

Both in France and Navarre great funeral services were held in her memory and for the repose of her soul. Soon those who knew Marguerite's patronage or who had actually served in her household praised her life in many orations and verses. Charles de Sainte-Marthe offered his Oraison funèbre to Jeanne de Navarre, while, from England, the Seymour sisters, Jeane, Marguerite, and Anne, joined their own one hundred Latin verses to many done by the most renowned poets of the age, forming Le tombeau de Marguerite de Valois, royne de Navarre....268
CHAPTER IV
FOOTNOTES


2 Ibid., #552, p. 123.

3 Jourda, Marguerite, I, 170.

4 Mayer, La religion, p. 15.

5 Ibid., p. 16.


7 Herminjard, Correspondance, III, #148, 55.


9 Herminjard, Correspondance, III, #148, 55-56 and Footnote #14.

10 Ibid., #142, pp. 73-74.

11 Ibid., p. 74.

12 Ibid., VI, #16166, 445.


14 Delisle, Notice, articles #132-133, pp. 88-89.

16 Hermannjard, Correspondance, III, #4.17, 53.

17 Ibid., VI, #4.17, Bis., 44-7.

18 Ibid., pp. 44-7-44.8.

19 Ibid., III, #4.4.2, 74-75.


22 Genin, Nouvelles lettres, p. 38.


24 Ibid., p. 37.

25 Ibid., p. 38.

26 Ibid.

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid., p. 39.

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EPILOGUE

There is a series of undated works and manuscripts which can only be placed as an epilogue to the main body of my study. From their contents, some may or may not have been done for Marguerite of Navarre; librarians, writers, and historians have on several occasions confused Marguerite d'Angoulême with Marguerite de France, daughter of Francis I, or Marguerite de Navarre, queen of Navarre and France, who was the wife of Henry IV. It is thus very difficult to ascertain with reliability a correct attribution of these works.

The first of these manuscripts is the Livre premier des dialogues traitans de la maistre de Dieu, written by one Robert Lavardin and given to the queen of Navarre. The author declares that our eyes and minds are often blinded by any contemplation of divine things. However, when all else fails, simple faith sustains us and permits us to understand the universe, the majesty of God, and the Trinity.

In the same manuscript there is also a dedicatory verse addressed to the queen in which the author gives thanks that she has saved the nation from a traitor's efforts. This statement would appear to place the manuscript around the date when Charles de Bourbon fled to the Imperial side in 1523. Thus, it would perhaps be Marguerite d'Angoulême who received this work.

Another manuscript dating from the early sixteenth century is La louenge du miliebre et femynin sexe containing a recital of the
good qualities and virtues which a wise and faithful lady should possess. And there is only one person worthy of this praise and that is Marguerite, the lily or flower of all France.

Jean de Luxemburg, bishop of Pamiers, also sent Marguerite an épître of about seven hundred verses in length. The undated work is a debate between some ladies and gentlemen who had gathered at the chateau of Nancy to discuss the qualities of beauty. The bishop happened to be in attendance and copied the debate which he presented to Marguerite.

Another manuscript dedicated to the queen of Navarre was the Soliloques françois by Jehan Lucas Delafons. It appears to be an attack upon Charles V who is called the mortal enemy of France. The author congratulates Marguerite because she had protected France from an enemy just as Louise of Savoy and Anne de Bretagne had done.

I would date the creation of this manuscript somewhere between 1536 and 1544, during the second and third wars of Charles V and Francis I because the author makes references to a newly published alliance with the Turks. Since the first treaty was created in 1536 with Suleiman II, and the Turkish navy was permitted to use the city of Toulon as a winter naval base during 1543-1544, Delafons could only be referring to this period.
EPILOGUE

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CONCLUSION

As we have seen, the importance of Louise of Savoy and Marguerite d'Angoulême can not easily be overstated. The sixteenth century was a critical period in French history, both from a political and religious standpoint. These two women became the most important advisers to King Francis I and served as the supporting force of religious reforms. In addition to their royal duties, both women were always interested in artistic and literary patronage.

Although Louise of Savoy had been born with few prospects for her future importance in France, she was trained from her early childhood, first by her aunt, Anne de France, and second, after her marriage, by her husband Count Charles d'Angoulême. These first educators of the young girl developed her sense and appreciation of beauty and literature. Thus, even after the early death of her husband, the countess continued to receive and commission literary and artistic works. This love was communicated to her two children, Marguerite and Francis, who, likewise, always maintained the arts and artists in France.

In the area of religion, Louise may have made the acquaintance-ship of Bishop Guillaume Briçonnet when Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne helped introduce disciplinary reforms into the bishop's diocese. Through her possible early interest in religious reformation, Louise may have actually encouraged Marguerite's religious devotion before she met Briçonnet.
And it was to be Louise of Savoy, not her daughter, who asked for an explanation of the shrine near Marseilles devoted to Saint Mary Magdalene. Through the medium of François du Moulin, the ideas of Lefèvre d'Étапlес concerning the triple persons of the Magdalene were introduced to the regent and her daughter. Moreover, it was Louise who could have suggested thorough Church reform, serving as regent and chief adviser to her son Francis I.

As Louise and Charles d'Angoulême's first born child, Marguerite received the best humanist education. Even in later life, many of the diplomats and literary figures regarded Marguerite as the most educated person in the French royal court.

Like her mother, Marguerite d'Angoulême was soon enmeshed in the political and religious affairs when her brother ascended the French throne. Perhaps more than Louise, Marguerite sought spiritual guidance from Bishop Briçonnet and his disciples at Meaux. Through long letters with the bishop, it is evident that the princess was charged to convert or guide the royal court toward Church reform. We find that Marguerite seemed to have made a great impression on her mother and brother who appear ready to reform the French Church. Louise and Francis did work to protect Lefèvre d'Étапlес, Michel d'Aranda, and Louis Berquin against both the Faculty of Theology of the Sorbonne and Parliament. It was only after the captivity of Francis I, 1525-1526, that Louise succumbed to the demands of the Sorbonists and asked for pontifical aid against open Lutherans in the nation. The political necessities demanded that the regent give as much stability and order in France as she was able. The national crisis overawed any personal reform inclinations which Louise may have harbored.
Although her mother may have had to institute harsh laws against the reformers, Marguerite retained her prominence as a supporter of the Meaux group throughout the period. As we have demonstrated, she was the object of Lutheran translations and the hope of future French reform. Her protection of Gérard Roussel and Clement Marot remained constant. Especially during the years, 1531-1534, Marguerite used her position to provide security for Roussel whom the Faculty of Theology wished to persecute as an open heretic. It was assuredly through her intervention that he escaped martyrdom. Roussel continued to receive the princess' protection within her own lands of Navarre, receiving first the abbey of Clairac, then the bishopric of Oloron.

While she lent her religious support to others, Marguerite was herself attacked for her own poetic work, the Mirror of a Sinful Soul. While disclaiming any knowledge of authorship, the doctors of the Sorbonne obviously wished to prevent any further royal support for the Church reformers when they sought to condemn her work. Perhaps, it was the series of theological attacks against Marguerite and her protegés that determined her later retreat away from open reform and into mystical poetry.

Coupled with the protection given to the Meaux reformers, was the aid extended to Clement Marot. Twice before, Marguerite may have come to the poet's aid as she did in 1534, when his name appeared as one of those suspected of complicity in the "Affair of the Placards." Although we lack many details, it appears that the poet sought a safe asylum with the queen in 1535, but was not permitted to remain at Marguerite's court in Nérac. Whether or not Marguerite felt her protection failing at the moment is unsure, but Marot was forced to
leave France and seek refuge at the court of Duchess Renée of Ferrara in Italy. It was during this exile in Italy, that the poet may have met with John Calvin who visited the duchess' court in the spring of the next year.

Although Marguerite may have had to send Marot out of France, she sent him to an assured friendly atmosphere. Unfortunately, just at that moment, Renée's husband Duke Hercule d'Este sought to protect his own lands from the incessant Italian wars of France and Spain. The duke's politics forced his wife's abandonment of religious protection for the French refugees. Although Marguerite and her brother tried to moderate the duke's activities against the refugees in Ferrara, they achieved little success.

Once Francis I's anger had lessened against those who had committed the "Affair of the Placards," he sought a political alliance with the German princes against Charles V. This action necessitated a relaxation of the religious persecutions in France. Clement Marot was able to return to France and, perhaps through Marguerite, to be installed as a poet in Anne de Montmorency's employ. The poet remained in France until 1542, when the Sorbonne condemned his translations of the Psalms into French. Fleeing to Switzerland, Marot tried unsuccessfully to secure a pension from the Genevan City Council. Failing this, he crossed into Italy awaiting a safe-conduct pass back to France. However, he died before his hopes were accomplished.

After the "Affair of the Placards," Marguerite d'Angoulême divided her attention between royal duties in France and her own kingdom of Navarre. Nonetheless, she corresponded with many religious leaders such as Martin Bucer and Philip Melanchthon concerning her
educational support for Claude Baduel, the later school reformer of Nîmes. There were also many letters sent by Marguerite to Vittoria Colonna discussing religious matters. And there is evidence indicating that Marguerite regularly corresponded with John Calvin from 1539 until 1545. Relations with Calvin, however, were broken off when Marguerite, always more of a mystic than an active reformer, entertained certain men at her court whom Calvin termed "Spiritual Libertines."

Marguerite spent more and more of her later years traveling in her own kingdom of Navarre. Only once more was the queen actively involved in securing religious protection; and that was for an imposter named André Melanchthon who duped Marguerite and others into believing that he was closely related to the German reformer. The princess was increasingly bereft of friends and family as her life ebbed away after 1545. Disturbed by Francis I's control of her daughter and her second husband's double dealing with Charles V, Marguerite retreated into poetry for her solace. Her last moments were spent alone, without either her daughter or husband in attendance.

As I have tried to demonstrate in this paper, both Louise of Savoy and Marguerite d'Angoulême were centers of artistic effort. Throughout her life, Louise continued to receive and commission many manuscripts. Likewise, Marguerite was trained and encouraged by her mother in artistic appreciation. Even surpassing her mother, Marguerite contributed her own literary poetry, directly inspired by her close religious involvement with such men as Briçonnet and Lefèvre d'Étaples. Marguerite was soon recognized as a great patroness; therefore poets addressed many works to her, epigrams and other artistic efforts, hoping to secure pensions. Their desires were accomplished in many
instances. The princess also supported many educational institutions and scholars, thus acquiring an international reputation for her extreme liberality.

In summary, we may say that although these two women earned attention for their political positions alone, their religious protection and artistic patronage were vitally connected with all their actions and had a great importance for the spiritual and intellectual life of France.
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