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‘Messieurs les cinq enfans de M. le connestable, de qui on a remarqué une chose qui a estonné beaucoup de personnes de ce temps, dequoy pas un de tous ceux-là n’en fit aucun d’église...’<sup>1</sup>

When Brantôme noted the absence of the church in the careers of Anne de Montmorency’s five sons (three of his seven daughters became nuns), the second son Henri, future constable of France, was already well on his way to acquiring the benefices which by 1606 would have brought him some 100,000 *écus*.<sup>2</sup> The failure of the Montmorencys to develop as an ecclesiastical dynasty comparable with that of their political rivals the Guises should not lead to an easy assumption that the church did not count in their family’s fortune and patronage networks.<sup>3</sup> This paper explores the role of the church in Henri I duc de Montmorency’s patronage network, particularly in Languedoc where he was governor from 1563 to his death in 1614. It focuses on monastic rather than episcopal benefices which have been briefly studied.<sup>4</sup> Although the papers of Montmorency and his secretaries yield significant evidence of dealings in benefices, they cannot present a complete picture of his church patronage and revenues as they cover in detail only the period from 1595 to 1609.<sup>5</sup> Since the wars of religion have left their mark on the monastic archives in Languedoc, it is virtually impossible to supplement Montmorency’s correspondence by recourse to the records of the benefices themselves. Yet if it is impossible to substantiate completely the gains to which the constable admitted in 1606 when he sought papal forgiveness, that is no reason to doubt the total.

The institution of the *commende*, the practice whereby a monastic benefice was granted to someone who was not a member of the relevant religious order, notoriously flourished under the regime of the Concordat of Bologna, allowing the early modern French monarchy to treat the church as an adjunct of its wealth and patronage system.<sup>6</sup> Closely associated with the *commende* was the practice of *confidence* which allowed a secular, often lay individual to appoint to a benefice by virtue of a royal brevet, perhaps retaining most of the revenues while allowing the incumbent mere subsistence. Montmorency had profited from these practices on the death of his Protestant cousin Odet, cardinal de Châtillon in 1571, a notorious pluralist. The cardinal de Bourbon was granted Châtillon’s bishopric of Beauvais together with the abbeys of St Lucien, St Germer and Froidmont, all in the same diocese close to the main Montmorency family estates. Charles IX recognised, however, that Henri II had granted these benefices to the constable Anne de Montmorency to reward ‘the singular devotion which he had to the crown and his labours and merits’, so that it was unreasonable that the family should lose all interest in them; he therefore granted Henri de Montmorency, then marshal de Damville, the right of nomination upon Bourbon’s death ‘to whomever he judges suitable, and that all letters and despatches shall be sent, at the request of the said marshal, to the Roman curia and elsewhere without any further express order from His Majesty being necessary apart from that contained in the present brevet’. In addition, the marshal secured a pension of 20,000 *livres* drawn on these benefices, which he later traded for a claim to the Languedocian see of Carcassonne.<sup>7</sup>

While bishoprics, especially within Languedoc, brought Montmorency financial and political advantages, his ability to deploy monastic patronage nourished his clientele. Though Languedoc’s twenty-two bishops constituted the first of the

three Estates of the province, abbeys and priories could have significant wealth to compensate for their lack of representation: the priory of Cassan in the diocese of Béziers paid a higher *décime* than the bishopric itself.<sup>8</sup> Montmorency sought bishoprics - Carcassonne, Lodève, Agde and Montpellier - for grandsons and for an illegitimate son who had been raised in the cardinal de Bourbon's household but other benefices had a role to play in supporting his family economy. Abbeys went to two more of Montmorency's illegitimate sons, less obviously marked out by their upbringing for ecclesiastical advancement. A grandson by his only acknowledged female bastard who was destined to become bishop of Uzès thanks to his father's family, also looked to Montmorency to assist his acquisition of a monastic benefice - deprecatingly described as 'un meschant prieuré'.<sup>9</sup> Male and female connections of Montmorency's household and clientele looked to his patronage directly, or indirectly through his secretaries, *intendants* and *maîtres d'hôtel*, to assert their own claims or advance those of their relatives and friends.<sup>10</sup>

Montmorency obtained the Benedictine abbey of St Thibéry in the diocese of Agde for Jules, one of his three sons by his mistress Catherine de Guilhem, madame de Richier. While nominally an ecclesiastic as a knight of the Order of Malta since 1578, Jules de Montmorency pursued an exclusively military career, and therefore held the abbey *en confidence*. Montmorency had written to the king on his son's behalf requesting the next vacant abbey or priory in the spring of 1596 when the steady advance of pacification perhaps made the rewards of a military career less certain. Henri IV was willing to gratify his constable but stated, somewhat speciously, that he had decided to grant no more *brevets de réserve*.<sup>11</sup> It is not known when St Thibéry fell vacant; the standard source for the French church states that, after abbot Louis Flavin's tenure 1565-85, there was no true successor until 1603. The abbey's surviving records suggest that Henri III nominated one Jean Daurous on Flavin's death in 1585 but he may not have taken possession. This was the moment when the king's lack of confidence in his governor of Languedoc culminated in Montmorency's dismissal and the abbey's possessions certainly lay in Montmorency's power.<sup>12</sup> Montmorency must have been well aware of St Thibéry's possibilities when he petitioned Henri IV in 1596, since it was situated in a diocese he effectively controlled through his confidantary bishop Bernard Dupuy, besides being conveniently close to his principal residence in Languedoc, La Grange des Près near Pézenas. St Thibéry had suffered considerable physical damage at Protestant hands in the 1570s but its revenues were evidently still attractive and, despite the destruction, enough remained for Jules and his younger brother Splendian to use it as their residence from time to time.<sup>13</sup> Montmorency was patently using the abbey to meet his obligations to his illegitimate offspring. Before St Thibéry became available, the duc de Ventadour, husband of Montmorency's legitimate daughter Marguerite, while protesting his fraternal feelings, had objected to the chevalier's aspirations to the comté of Pézenas, his own residence as lieutenant-governor of Languedoc. Soon after Jules received St Thibéry he fell dangerously ill and his mother immediately begged Montmorency to ensure that the abbey, along with a royal pension and command of his regiment, be secured for their youngest son Splendian. Jules, however, evidently felt that he had received all too little from his father, as his comments about the expenses of obtaining provisions for the abbey made clear: 'j'ay asses a fere a m'entretenir avec ce peu de comodité qu'il vous a pleu me laisser'.<sup>14</sup>

By August 1596, Jules was evidently trying to establish his rights over the abbey's property. Purchasers of land sold during alienations of church lands earlier in

the wars of religion and tenants who felt threatened or exploited by the chevalier complained to Montmorency, with what justice it is impossible now to assess; but Jules had secured the support of his father's client bishop Dupuy.<sup>15</sup> The chevalier had significantly focused first on the revenues, addressing the problem of finding a suitable *confidentiaire* only in the following year, when he requested one of his father's secretaries to deal with problems in the drafting of the provisions. His first candidate, Michel d'Arles was described as a 'false abbot' installed simply to allow the receipt of the revenues (though it is not clear how this distinguishes him from many other *confidentiaires*). Alerted in 1599 by one of his father's clients 'Silvano' (probably the *maître d'hôtel* Silvano Giustiniano, or captain Pompée Silvano, a Roman by birth) to the possibility of obtaining the papal provisions gratis, the chevalier asked for his father's support and the king's favour, as the 1,000 or 1,200 *écus* which they would normally cost would exhaust his resources. Such expenses may suggest something about the potential revenues of the abbey since the cost of provisions to a benefices included the annates.<sup>16</sup> Then in September 1603 François Boyer, a monk of the abbey and native of Béziers, received the bulls and was duly installed by bishop Dupuy the following June. This appointment apparently met with Montmorency's disapproval and Jules had to remind him that it had been discussed in his presence three years before at Lyon with the support of secretary Castillon (also from Béziers) and Henri de Thézan, seigneur de Saint-Geniès, lieutenant of his gendarme company. Boyer survived as abbot until 1635 and the chevalier's patronage was valuable enough to be sought by Castillon's ever eager brother-in-law Besson, although he cavilled at the 200 *livres* cost of placing his fourteen-year-old son David in the monastery.<sup>17</sup>

Cendras in the diocese of Nîmes, another Benedictine foundation, had similarly suffered during the civil wars and remained dysfunctional through most of the seventeenth century. It was, however, conveniently situated just outside Alais, one of the Montmorency residences in Languedoc.<sup>18</sup> The constable evidently had some title to the abbey by November 1596, when Claude Convers, his *intendant des affaires* for Languedoc, reminded him to speak to the duc de Luxembourg-Piney, newly appointed ambassador to Rome, about obtaining the papal provisions as cheaply as possible, along with those for the see of Carcassonne and other benefices.<sup>19</sup> Montmorency's chosen abbot was his *aumônier* Baptiste Fortuna, but problems arose because the mother house St Victor of Marseille had named another candidate who had had the presence of mind to go to Marseille in October 1596 as soon as the vacancy occurred. This individual, Jacques de Ribes, may have been a member of the Pézenas family prominent in Montmorency's local clientele and therefore willing to defer to his wishes; certainly Fortuna was in possession by 1600, thanks to the endeavours of Montmorency's archivist Aberlenc in Alais as well as his agent Pamphilio in Rome.<sup>20</sup> Fortuna was, however, a *confidentiaire* for another Montmorency bastard Annibal who, like Jules, followed a military career but did not even possess the figleaf of membership of the Order of Malta to cover his lay status. Montmorency decided to grant Cendras's revenues from January 1599. These were valued at some 3,000 *livres* a year when Annibal sought back-dated compensation from his father's *fermier-général* Georges Granjon because the abbey had hitherto been included in the general lease of Montmorency's properties in Languedoc.<sup>21</sup> Annibal's enjoyment of Cendras was not without its problems. He demanded furniture from his father's chateau at Alais for his new residence and claimed that two seigneuries leased with the comté of Alais actually belonged to his abbey. Fortuna's

tenure as abbot also seems to have run into difficulties since Annibal wanted to install another abbot in 1605. He asked his father to use his influence to get the bulls gratis for a Benedictine monk Jacques Vaubelle, pointing out that Cendras was his only resource so he could not afford the 400 *écus* which would normally be charged - a reminder echoing his half-brother Jules's complaint in connection with St Thibéry. Fortuna, who remained in Montmorency's service to the end, had clearly been an absentee abbot so perhaps Annibal preferred to have in post his own client who could be more effective in securing his rights. Whether he succeeded is uncertain since, after Fortuna in 1600, there is no official record of another abbot until about 1630.<sup>22</sup>

Members of the constable's military clientele less closely connected than Jules and Annibal de Montmorency were also recipients of ecclesiastical patronage. The family of Jean de Guers seigneur de Castelnau regarded the Cistercian abbey of Valmagne in the diocese of Agde as his sole reward for decades of service. Castelnau had been *guidon* and *enseigne* in Montmorency's gendarme company 1561-7 after serving with him in Piedmont during the 1550s; he then became governor of Montpellier. The king recognised his service and that of several brothers who had died in the wars, granting him Valmagne in 1577. This was not, however, at Montmorency's request who had instead backed the claims of bishop San Severino of Agde, uncle of the late abbot. Montmorency's stance was probably influenced by his ambition to secure the bishopric itself (as he did in 1578) and perhaps some resentment that Castelnau had held aloof from the union with the Protestants in 1574-7.<sup>23</sup> From 1578 to 1603 the abbot was Pierre de Guers, probably one of Castelnau's brothers. Castelnau himself died in 1602, by then fully reconciled with Montmorency who was the godfather of his infant heir. He also left a young widow whose competence in managing his estate was doubted by his surviving siblings. They looked to Montmorency to preserve the heir's inheritance, requesting that he support their nomination to Valmagne of Anne de Murviel, son of Castelnau's sister and bishop of Montauban. But Castelnau's widow, who married Jean de Veyrac, seigneur de Paulhan early in 1604, had her own candidate; Paulhan himself had travelled to Rome in the autumn of 1603 to secure the papal provisions for his client priest Étienne Vergier.<sup>24</sup> By 1606 the family quarrels about the abbey had reached the *conseil privé*. Montmorency seems to have held aloof from the lawsuit but promised the bishop of Montauban and Castelnau's siblings in 1607 that he would ensure that Valmagne was preserved for the young Henri de Guers, rather than allowing madame de Paulhan to claim it for her jointure of 10,000 *écus*. How these disputes were settled is uncertain but on the death of abbot Vergier in 1613 Valmagne passed to a son of Miles Marion, Montmorency's former secretary and member of his Languedoc council.<sup>25</sup>

In wartime, Montmorency followed the example of his Protestant allies in exploiting the revenues of ecclesiastical property.<sup>26</sup> In recognition of their services at the fall of Aigues-Mortes in 1575, he granted the revenues of Psalmodi, some 3,000 *livres* a year, jointly to the Huguenot captain Antoine Dupleix seigneur de Grémian and to Guillaume de La Vergne seigneur de Montbazin, *guidon* of his gendarme company and first husband of Marie de Montmorency, his illegitimate daughter. Some fifteen years later, the revenues of Fontfroide were made over to Guillaume du Caylar, seigneur d'Espondeillan, lieutenant of Montmorency's company and governor of Béziers (and formerly a Protestant).<sup>27</sup> The services of François de Montlaur seigneur de Murles against Antoine-Scipion duc de Joyeuse at Villemur in October 1592 were felt to merit both the captaincy of the citadel of Carcassonne and the 'petite

abbaye' of Montoulieu.<sup>28</sup> With the close of the civil wars, such autocratic distributions came to an end and formal nominations to benefices became necessary to obtain long term profits. At this point, Montmorency's exercise of patronage became less certain, subject to competition from other brokers, to royal caprice and papal rigour. Furthermore, it was evident that within Montmorency's own network, there were competing interests as was demonstrated by Espondeillan's experience with two benefices, the abbey of Aniane and the priory of Cassan.

St Sauveur d'Aniane had been one of three abbeys held by the secretary of state Simon Fizes that the queen mother wished to secure for his relatives after his death in 1579. Laurent Fizes duly received the bulls in 1582 along with those for the priory of Celleneuve dependent on the abbey. In 1593 Espondeillan acquired the abbey and its dependencies perhaps through his own family connections since his brother Antoine had married Barthélemine Fizes, Simon's sister.<sup>29</sup> His patron Montmorency's influence only came into play in 1597 when Espondeillan wished to replace his *confidentiaire* Pierre Host, a priest of the diocese of Béziers, with his fifteen-year-old son. After Montmorency had duly secured Louis du Caylar's nomination, Espondeillan then asked for letters to the pope, to the cardinal protector Joyeuse and to the ambassador in Rome recommending a dispensation for his son's youth.<sup>30</sup> After her husband's death in August 1599, Espondeillan's widow suggested that cardinal de Joyeuse could secure both the dispensation and a free grant of the papal provisions. Montmorency's *aumônier* Baptiste Fortuna supported these requests. The anxieties manifest in this campaign to secure undisputed title to the abbey were well founded. By 1602, the king had given the *commende* of Aniane to the son of Pierre Le Blanc sieur de Raullet, apparently as a reward for loyalty as royalist governor of Pont de l'Arche in Normandy during the civil wars. Madame d'Espondeillan was incredulous that the king could take away a favour he had granted her son for Montmorency's sake, and immediately appealed for the renewal of his protection in her husband's memory. Thomas de Bonzi, bishop of Béziers rallied to her cause, as did her husband's nephew Jacques de Baderon de Maussac, *conseiller* of the *parlement* of Toulouse. Maussac claimed that the Espondeillan family was now largely dependent on Aniane for their maintenance but he was almost certainly exaggerating his cousins' plight. Louis du Caylar abandoned the lawsuit for a pension on Aniane, and pursued a military career, taking his title from Cazilhac, a seigneurie purchased by his father during the alienation of the temporalities of the see of Béziers. Montmorency himself had, however, lost a useful piece of subsidiary patronage, since madame d'Espondeillan had been willing to lease the priory of Celleneuve in accordance with his wishes, foregoing cash in hand and accepting lower bids than those made by the clients of Montmorency's son-in-law Ventadour's.<sup>31</sup>

Montmorency's role in respect of the priory of Cassan, also claimed by Espondeillan, was much more ambiguous. This was a notably valuable benefice, worth perhaps some 8,000 *livres* a year. According to Montmorency's secretary and intendant Pierre Forestier, Cassan had been granted in 1552 to a monsieur de Cavoye - almost certainly Hector d'Ogier, an officer of François de Montmorency's gendarme company, whose descendant François would serve Henri II de Montmorency as chamberlain. Cavoye had appointed a *confidentiaire* who was simply a *prête-nom*; the revenues had always gone to him and his son who resigned the priory to Montmorency in 1598. Pierre Gayon, a former secretary living in Béziers, immediately requested the provisions for his wife's uncle, claiming that Montmorency had promised them some years before.<sup>32</sup> At this point Jean Bouchard emerged, apparently with the support of the Guise family, denying Cavoye's claims to

the priory on the grounds of simony and failure to obtain proper provisions, although Forestier was able to refute this by producing the relevant documents. Bouchard, however, secured Espondeillan's support, perhaps promising the resignation of the benefice. Obviously Espondeillan could not expect Montmorency's favour in these circumstances, but turned instead to his cousin Louise de Budos, Montmorency's second wife. She gave her backing to Espondeillan's candidate Bouchard, despite her husband's continued support of Cavoye's rights. The death of the young duchess shortly thereafter in September 1598 prevented further revelations of embarrassing fissures in the patronage structure. By 1599 Espondeillan was back on side, promising that Cassan would only be leased in accordance with Montmorency's wishes and complaining that one of the monks had been named as prior by the congregation of St Ruf, which had evidently decided reform was necessary. But whether Montmorency or Espondeillan secured the revenues of Cassan is impossible to determine; the prior in 1600 appointed as administrator of the revenues a gentleman in Montmorency's suite - no less than Jean de Veyrac, seigneur de Paulhan who would be caught up in the dispute over the abbey of Valmagne - but later a prior with Bouchard connections was in place.<sup>33</sup>

Tensions within the clientele are also revealed by the case of the Gras family. The priory of Bagnols, the parish church of Montmorency's barony, had been held by Jean de Gras since at least 1591; he was also prior of Cassaignes in the diocese of Mende. By 1598, Montmorency had nominated him to the abbey of St Pierre de Sauve, another monastery in the diocese of Nîmes which had suffered severely during the civil wars. Problems arose: first Montmorency had to find money for the bulls, then difficulties were made in Rome about a dispensation from pluralism. To meet this objection, Jean de Gras suggested his older brother as prior in his stead, assuring Montmorency that Convers would vouch for him. Ultimately Gras obtained papal approval, although some of Montmorency's servants in Languedoc - excluding Convers - considered using the abbey, thought to be of little value, to secure the co-operation of a major creditor, Barthélemy de Roddes of Avignon, who had destined a son to the church.<sup>34</sup> Convers' patronage of the Gras family is emphasised by his support for Louise de Gras, sister of the prior, as abbess of Gorjan in 1599, when she needed half a dozen letters from Montmorency to cardinals and to Pamphilio for a moderation of the costs of the provisions; later Convers asked that she be granted a brevet for the convent of the Clarisses in Montpellier. Louise de Gras was, however, soon displaced at Gorjan by Françoise de Thémynes, sister of marshal Pons de Lauzières marquis de Thémynes, seneschal of Quercy. Convers could not prevail against Jacques du Caylar d'Espondeillan de Conas when he asked Montmorency to ensure that the Gras family accepted Ventadour's arbitration over Gorjan in 1600.<sup>35</sup>

Conflict also surrounded the priory of Bagnols itself. Montmorency had taken the opportunity of the wars to aggrandize his barony at the expense of the church by incorporating a *métairie* at Carmignan. Jean de Gras indicated his disapproval in 1591 when he refused the town's request to reinstate the traditional bread dole every Sunday on the grounds that he could not afford it without this property, threatening to abandon his benefice if Montmorency did not restore the priory's ancient rights. By 1599 the prior believed that Montmorency had returned the *métairie*; but further trouble developed in 1602 which led to a lawsuit. The *maître d'hôtel* Revest and Convers tried to persuade the prior to give way, reminding him that his family owed their benefices to Montmorency. Gras, unmoved, persisted until Montmorency's judge in Bagnols began proceedings in the *parlement* of Paris. Laval, judge of

Bagnols, and Convers both blamed Montmorency's irascible *viguier* of Bagnols Pierre Augier for inciting the prior, but Laval was not a disinterested observer since his young brother-in-law Charles de Latils was being groomed to succeed to the prior's benefices. Only in 1610 was the matter finally settled when Montmorency acknowledged that, on the advice of his council, he had incorporated Carmignan into his domaine; however, following his desire and intention as always to conserve the property of the church, he now gave Revest authority to return the land. Was this one more example of the growing sensitivity of his conscience as he advanced in years?<sup>36</sup>

As Convers' role of broker between Montmorency and the Gras family suggests, members of the administrative household were in an ideal position to exploit the opportunities arising from the correspondence which passed through their hands or from dealing with accounts. Secretary Castillon's relatives were swift to seize the chance of minor benefices in the gift of Montmorency's clients, while other clients placed female relations in the Caen abbey. René Girard, a former secretary and father of another, looked to the constable for letters to the pope, the cardinal protector Joyeuse, the French ambassador in Rome and Montmorency's own Roman agent Pamphilio, when one of his sons encountered problems in securing a canonry at Aigues-Mortes to which he had been named by the king. The problem, as his father admitted, was that the young Girard was only twelve and half years old whereas the decrees of Trent required a minimum age of fourteen. The outcome of this overture is uncertain but in 1610 René, third son of the former secretary and presumably the aspirant canon of Aigues-Mortes, successfully secured the *commende* of the priory of St Nicolas de Campagnac in the diocese of Uzès. The historian of the priory suggests the benefice may have been obtained from the king by René's brother Jean-Baptiste Girard, later a *trésorier de France*, but an ascription to Montmorency's patronage may be equally fair.<sup>37</sup> Jean-Baptiste Girard certainly had dealings with Henri IV at this period, but as Montmorency's secretary when he was involved in negotiations for the return of his master's daughter and son-in-law, the prince and princesse de Condé, from their flight to Brussels from excessively amorous royal attentions.

The ecclesiastical ambitions of Hercule, son of the *premier secrétaire* Pierre de Gaillac, are more fully documented. He was destined to the secular abbey of St Aphrodise at Béziers which fell vacant in the autumn of 1591. While it is not certain that Montmorency secured the original brevet - in January 1592 he had sent Gaillac to report to Henri IV on the situation in the south which gave the secretary an opportunity to obtain the benefice personally - the multiple defects to Gaillac's title soon meant that his influence was brought to bear. Since Hercule was perhaps six years old, his grandfather Martin Ribes was named *économé* and in June 1592 Dominique Resseguier, a priest of Lézignan where the Ribes family held property, became abbot allegedly by simony. Furthermore, the previous abbot François Troitin having died at Rome, the pope had promoted his own candidate François Izarny in 1591. Strictly, therefore, Gaillac's title to the abbey was void from the very beginning, leaving aside all considerations of whether Henri IV, still a Protestant, could make nominations. Resseguier admitted in 1597 that he was merely a *confidentiaire* and that, obeying the 1591 decree of the royalist *parlement* at Tours, he had not sought provisions from Rome, but was maintained simply by Montmorency's authority; after seeking absolution from the legate in Avignon, he resigned in September 1597.<sup>38</sup>



By then secretary Gaillac had been dead some eighteen months and his protégé and fellow-Biterrois secretary Guillaume Castillon had accepted the role of advocate for his family and their claims on the abbey. This involved him in a case which paralleled his colleague Maridat's concerns to secure the see of Nîmes for his uncle Pierre Valernod; in both cases debate about Henri IV's rights to make church appointments became entwined with local factionalism fuelled by competition for ecclesiastical profits. The papal nominee Izarny had appointed Gabriel and Jacques Trotin, citizens of Béziers and presumably close relations of his predecessor, to rent out the abbey's revenues. These appointments led to a lawsuit in 1594 against Ribes before the royalist *parlement* at Béziers. The judgment went largely in Ribes's favour, but he continued to have problems with the local *présidial* court where the *juge criminel* Cabrayrolles was a friend of the Trotin brothers.<sup>39</sup> Pierre de Gaillac's premature death and the consequent need to secure his young family's future precipitated efforts to establish undisputed title to St Aphrodise. As soon as the sad news had reached Languedoc, Ribes wrote to Montmorency asking for the abbey for one of the secretary's children. In the summer of 1596, madame de Ribes, in Paris to deal with her late son-in-law's affairs, was promised by Forestier that she would soon receive despatches about the abbey. Early the following year, thanks to Montmorency, Ribes obtained the king's brevet naming Hercule de Gaillac who asserted his claims as soon as Resseguier resigned.<sup>40</sup> But the Ribes-Gaillac family would have to struggle for another four years to establish their rights. Hercule was still much too young, only commencing his college studies in 1598, and Resseguier proved to be a far from compliant *confidentiaire*.<sup>41</sup>

Resseguier's resignation in September 1597 was made in duplicate, one in favour of the king's nominee Gaillac and the other for the papal candidate Izarny. Proceedings soon began in the *conseil privé* where the notary who had received Resseguier's statements was cited as a reluctant witness. Obligated as a *notaire royal* to take down these acts Raymond Fonteneto, a cousin of secretary Castillon, was clearly embarrassed by his situation and, providing Ribes with copies, he reported that Resseguier had been influenced by Izarny's vicar Jean Lenoir, member of a leading Biterrois family who was also close to the Trotin brothers. Nonetheless, the Ribes family evidently bore a grudge against the secretary, claiming later that it was his cousin Fonteneto's fault that Hercule was not 'monsieur l'abbé'.<sup>42</sup> Whether or not Fonteneto appeared as witness, Izarny was induced to withdraw his claims in August 1601 as the case seemed to be going in Gaillac's favour. Montmorency then obtained another royal nomination for the son of his late secretary but Hercule, in consultation with his family, resigned in November to Pierre Dalmas whom his grandfather had already appointed vicar in 1600 and was almost certainly another *confidentiaire*.<sup>43</sup>

Montmorency was involved throughout with Hercule's cause before the council and at Rome. His daughter the duchesse de Ventadour had solicited support for Hercule, as had the child's mother Gresende Ribes. Castillon, citing his obligations to Pierre de Gaillac, begged his master to sign letters which his colleague Maridat had ready; these probably included requests to various cardinals for Resseguier's resignation to Hercule to be accepted, with a reduction in the cost of the bulls.<sup>44</sup> That the case took four years to resolve reflects negatively on Montmorency's influence although during this period his agents in Rome were pursuing more pressing matters including the confirmation of Valernod at Nîmes, the attempt to secure a red hat for Thomas de Bonzi bishop of Béziers and then their master's own marital problems. Certainly one of Montmorency's agents regretted the damage to his master's prestige in the Roman court caused by his persistence on behalf of Gaillac

against an abbot duly appointed by the pope, noting that Montmorency was being blamed for the proceedings in the *conseil privé*. Hercule's grandmother felt that reinforcements were necessary, gleefully reporting that cardinal de Joyeuse, on his way to Rome, had promised wonders in the case although she still wanted the constable to encourage him.<sup>45</sup> Ultimately, however, the St Aphrodise case may be reckoned a success for the royalist and Gallican stance adopted by Montmorency. For Hercule de Gaillac the outcome was less satisfactory; in 1610 he tried to recover the abbey, once again soliciting Castillon's aid, but Dominique de Bonzi succeeded Dalmas as abbot.<sup>46</sup>

The Ribes family was less successful in their aspirations to the Benedictine abbey of Villemagne, also in the diocese of Béziers. In 1579 Reynaud Vigor, *conseiller* of the *parlement* of Rouen, had obtained the *commende*, but seven years later Montmorency, in rebellion against the crown, seized the abbey which he claimed was vacant. Apparently Henri IV also regarded the abbey as vacant when he granted it on 20 September 1589 to Marguerite Pautard, madame de Ribes, who had accompanied the duchesse de Montmorency to the north of France; her enthusiastic royalism was noted on her return to Languedoc. This grant to madame de Ribes seems to have led some observers to believe that it was she, rather than her son-in-law Gaillac, who had received St Aphrodise. Vigor had not abandoned Villemagne, however, and the royalist *parlement* at Béziers required Martin Ribes to render account for the revenues he had received to commissioners appointed to investigate the competing claims.<sup>47</sup> Ribes asked Montmorency at some point to obtain confirmation from Henri IV of the gift of Villemagne, but there is no evidence that Montmorency exerted himself. By 1600 the Ribes abandoned the struggle after the king had granted the *commende* to marshal de Thémines who passed the revenues to his brother-in-law, Thomas d'Avanson. The Ribes tried to obtain some recompense from Avanson for the king's original gift to them in 1589; but Vigor reached an accommodation with Avanson retaining a pension on the abbey which cut out both the Ribes and their patron Montmorency.<sup>48</sup>

The confusion surrounding royal and papal nominations during the 1590s, compounded by Henri IV's willingness to gratify more than one noble with the same benefice, can also be illustrated by the case of the abbey of Montmajour in the diocese of Arles. Here again Montmorency was unable fully to enforce his claims on behalf of one of his *aumôniers* Guillaume Corti (or Dacorti) who was nominated by the king in 1592, while Clement VIII gave the bulls to the Leaguer archbishop of Embrun Guillaume d'Avançon. Then in January 1595 the king granted Montmajour's revenues to Alphonse d'Ornano, the lieutenant-governor of Dauphiné, although Corti continued to act as abbot until 1612 when Ornano's son succeeded him. As a fellow-Corsican, however, Corti was perhaps as close to Ornano as he was to Montmorency.<sup>49</sup> Thus Corti's appointment to Montmajour may have been a double piece of patronage shared between the two military commanders who had been collaborating against Henri IV's enemies in the south-east. There remained, however, the problem of obtaining papal provisions in 1598-9 and for these Corti certainly looked to Montmorency with his prestige as constable and his agent in Rome, asking for letters to various luminaries including the cardinal-nephew and the auditor of the Rota. But Montmorency's agent moved circumspectly, having been alerted to problems about the application of the Concordat of Bologna to the abbey and it was not until August 1602 that the bulls were forthcoming.<sup>50</sup>

Montmorency's principal *aumônier* Fortuna accumulated several benefices which doubtless relieved his master's budget (no salary for clergy is recorded in Montmorency's surviving household accounts). Apart from the abbey of Cendras, discussed above, he was also a canon of Béziers cathedral, and prior of Mello near Chantilly; by 1612, he was on the royal payroll as an *aumônier* to the queen regent, Marie de Medici.<sup>51</sup> Other members of Montmorency's household were similarly funded from ecclesiastical sources. His physician François Ranchin received the priories of Aumont and Florac in the diocese of Mende, thanks to bishop Adam de Heurtelou who was on the fringes of the clientele. Aumont's value is unknown, but Florac was thought to be worth 1,200 *livres* a year by Convers, though just half that by Montmorency's *receveur* and *vice-bailli* at Florac.<sup>52</sup> Heurtelou also responded positively to the general appeal launched by Montmorency in 1607 for benefices to support Jean Guymart, newly-appointed tutor to his twelve-year-old son. Other bishops who received requests included Castres, Albi, Lavaur and Nîmes but, apart from a possible prebend at Nîmes, only Mende came up with a firm offer, of the priory of Gabriac worth 300 or 400 *livres*.<sup>53</sup> Montmorency's manipulation of benefices to support his household expenses is perhaps best demonstrated in the case of the deanery of collegiate church of Pézenas. When dean Alphanty died suddenly in Paris in August 1609, Montmorency's client bishop Dupuy of Agde tamely issued provisions for Fortuna. Ten days later, the bishop was prepared to accommodate his master's change of candidate to the tutor Guymart, even though, before either of these nominations was made, he had already approved the chapter's candidate, endorsed by Montmorency's daughter the duchesse de Ventadour.<sup>54</sup> Much earlier in his career, Montmorency's treasurer Antoine Martin became abbot of the wealthy Benedictine foundation of Juilly, near Paris, in 1569. For some reason - possibly inexperience - Montmorency apparently failed to arrange a pension on the abbey's revenues. When he wished to fund the education of a bastard, Jules or his brother César, at the Collège de Navarre in 1580, he appealed to the king and queen mother to require the resignation of the incumbent in favour of his son, arguing that 'those who are merely guardians of benefices are obliged to resign whenever required by the person in whose favour it was granted'; but Martin remained in possession at his death eight years later.<sup>55</sup>

Apart from *aumôniers* such as Corti and Fortuna, the household member best qualified to receive Montmorency's ecclesiastical patronage was in fact among the least successful supplicants. This was his *maître d'hôtel* Pierre de Paris (or Parisson) seigneur de Revest who was based in Avignon. He had held a number of benefices in the dioceses of Toulon, Aix and Avignon, apparently being in minor orders as an apostolic protonotary before his marriage in 1578 to Jeanne de Quiqueran, a well-connected member of the Comtat Venaissin nobility. Although anxious about his wife's illhealth and griefstricken at her death on 20 October 1597, almost immediately he investigated his prospects of securing the Cistercian abbey of Sénanque worth 800 *écus* a year, left vacant by the death of the bishop of Riez on 28 October.<sup>56</sup> Nothing came of this enquiry but about a year later St Eusèbe in the diocese of Apt was in his sights. On 2 January 1599 Revest despatched certification of the abbot's death on 12 November 1598 with a request that Montmorency obtain provisions in the name of his nephew Horace de Parisson de Revest, provost of Riez cathedral.<sup>57</sup>

It was soon evident that securing St Eusèbe would be problematic. Like Montmajour, this had been a benefice where Mayenne had made a nomination. Jean

de Tulle bishop of Orange had received the bulls in 1592 to this family benefice on his brother Pierre's death but has looked to Mayenne rather than the king, at that point still a Protestant. Henri IV seems to have compelled the bishop to withdraw in favour of the royalist nominee, abbot Gaspard Bugnier, in 1595.<sup>58</sup> The Tulle family had not, however, completely abandoned the abbey. When Revest requested the provisions he knew that the bishop's nephew, Pierre de Tulle seigneur de La Nerle, had just returned to Avignon claiming to have obtained St Eusèbe for his brother by the resignation of the abbot, although refusing to show any proof. Doubts crept into Revest's mind and, terribly alarmed, he reported a rumour that Jean de Tulle, the bishop's nephew, had indeed obtained the king's brevet, thanks to the comte de Soissons who had also secured a dispensation from the rule of twenty days' survival after resignation. By February 1599 Revest tried to cultivate an impression of indifference to the abbey which he now claimed was only worth 100 *écus* a year. But by March Revest had now received a brevet providing his nephew and Montmorency requested his agent in Rome to obtain the bulls, assuring him that the king was writing to the pope.<sup>59</sup> Despite this, Revest swiftly conceded most of his claims, in return for an annual pension of 200 *écus* (which suggests that St Eusèbe was rather more valuable than his earlier estimate) and in effect selling his brevet to Tulle for another 500 *écus*. He begged Castillon to be discreet about this simoniacal transaction and reminded the secretary that he wanted only his own name, not his nephew's, mentioned in a document ceding the abbey. The formalities evidently took some time since Revest was still enquiring about progress when he arrived in Paris in November 1599. It was not until 1601 that the bulls were issued for Jean de Tulle and, despite Revest's anxieties, they did indeed mention the resignation of his nephew, Horace de Parisson.<sup>60</sup>

The saga of St Eusèbe is not simply a reminder of the confused flurry of brevets which quite often seems to have been issued when a benefice looked likely to fall vacant. It also provides some insight into the way that Montmorency's patronage was channelled by his secretaries. Insistent that the matter was kept secret, Revest dealt entirely with Castillon, reminding him that the household *surintendant* Girard knew nothing. It seems that Castillon's colleague Maridat was also ignorant of Revest's aspirations since he seems to have been instrumental in securing the first brevet for Tulle to succeed on Bugnier's resignation. This was granted at Monceaux on 12 November 1598 on the recommendation of none other than the constable, although the second brevet, with dispensation from the twenty days survival, was issued the following day at the request of the king's mistress Gabrielle d'Estrées. Pierre de Tulle seigneur de La Nerle was at Paris in December dealing with Maridat, hoping to get Montmorency's backing for letters granting him the financial administration of the abbey until the papal provisions arrived. He offered 500 *écus* for these *lettres d'économat* as well as a pair of silk stockings and 50 *écus* for Maridat himself. Intriguingly La Nerle had expected Revest would endorse this request, asking Maridat if he had sent any news about the abbey - presumably wanting to know whether abbot Bugnier was yet dead.<sup>61</sup>

In light of this evidence, Revest's furtive behaviour looks to have been an opportunistic attempt to usurp the Tulle claim on St Eusèbe, taking advantage of the abbot's death while La Nerle tried to formalise his resignation. Was it a coincidence that the date of Bugnier's death, as reported by Revest, was exactly the same as that on the brevet allowing his resignation in favour of Jean de Tulle, but stipulating his survival survival for twenty days? If Revest's claim was dubious this goes some way to explaining his obsessive insistence on secrecy and willingness in the end to have

his claim bought out. Revest's abandonment of the pursuit seems to have resulted from a realistic assessment of his chances and scarcely represents a failure of Montmorency's patronage; his secretaries had, after all, secured royal brevets for both candidates, even if his agents could not secure the papal provisions.

Revest's realism was certainly well-informed since his expertise in ecclesiastical affairs was freely acknowledged by Montmorency's servants; René Girard sought his advice as well as the constable's patronage to resolve problems about his under-age son's canonry at Aigues-Mortes.<sup>62</sup> Revest perhaps had particularly valuable insights since, not only had he been in orders but following his marriage in 1578, he had also served the co-legate cardinal d'Armagnac as *maître d'hôtel* in Avignon. He soon became associated with a French party in Armagnac's circle, which favoured peaceful compromise with local huguenots, whereas the Italian party, with which the nuncio Dandino sympathised, wanted a more rigorous approach. Recognising Revest's loyalty to Henri III and Catherine de Medici, the cardinal sent him on several missions both to the French court and to the prince of Orange in the Netherlands, but the nuncio suspected him of Protestant sympathies and dealings with Henri of Navarre.<sup>63</sup> On Armagnac's death in July 1585 it would therefore have been natural for him to enter Montmorency's service. The cardinal's successor in Avignon was Domenico Grimaldi, leader of the Italian party, whereas Montmorency, whose political stance largely coincided with that of the French party, was just then rejecting the Holy League and renewing his alliance with Navarre. Furthermore, Montmorency had strong personal connections with Avignon through his mistress Catherine de Guilhem and their children; and another *maître d'hôtel*, Paul-Antoine de Puget seigneur de Sauvin, was a citizen of the papal state.

Revest was not alone in transferring from Armagnac's service to that of Montmorency. Cesare Pamphilio, Armagnac's secretary, became Montmorency's agent in Rome, succeeded by Giulio, probably his nephew, from about 1593 for the next six years.<sup>64</sup> Maintaining an agent in Rome seems to have been somewhat unusual. Even Montmorency's father, who made many acquisitions for his collections from Rome and elsewhere in Italy, seems not to have had permanent agents; the Guises clearly had extensive contacts in the papal city but these were focused on their political objectives. Montmorency's correspondence suggests that the Pamphilios were used mostly to further his patronage, but they also supported his political strategies. Giulio Pamphilio's services were offered to the duc de Nevers during his negotiations for Henri IV's absolution in 1593-4 and he seems to have assisted the mission of the future cardinals Davy du Perron and Ossat, sending optimistic reports to Montmorency in 1595 on their progress towards the successful conclusion in September.<sup>65</sup> Although Pamphilio conferred an obvious advantage on Montmorency's status as an ecclesiastical patron, he also incurred significant costs. In 1596 he was reported to keep a secretary, three servants and three horses on Montmorency's account - and apparently had a private arsenal where he lodged a messenger Mercier, on the grounds that coming from wartorn France he would feel at home. The *maître d'hôtel* Sauvin praised his talents, much sought after by Italian aristocrats who desired such 'un grand et si bon parti parmi les chapeaux rouges', but these had to be paid for. Sauvin mentioned eighty or a hundred *écus* outstanding for Giulio Pamphilio's salary; presumably Montmorency also paid Giulio's expenses and there are various reminders in the correspondence about a pension unpaid since he had taken over from Cesare Pamphilio. Giulio Pamphilio's last service seems to have been in connection with Montmorency's tangled matrimonial affairs.<sup>66</sup> The

somewhat unsatisfactory outcome of these dealings combined with increasing financial stringency perhaps led Montmorency to abandon the luxury of a Roman agent; in addition, Henri IV now had in place his own effective French connection in the papal city.<sup>67</sup>

Of course, it is also possible that Pamphilio's disappearance from the ranks of Montmorency's correspondents represents another aspect of his crisis of conscience which produced the 1606 evaluation of his profits from the church. For whatever reason - concern for ultimate salvation, political expediency or even the retirement in 1608 of Maridat, nephew and brother of clergy - ecclesiastical patronage seems to represent a smaller proportion of Montmorency's correspondence as he moved towards his own final withdrawal from court. But the survival in Montmorency's archive of lists of cardinals and prelates, annotated with their allegiances, is a reminder that he had been a reasonably effective manipulator of the ecclesiastical scene.<sup>68</sup> Montmorency's total profit of 100,000 *écus* admitted in 1606, does seem exaggerated, bearing in mind the evidence above including the transfer of household maintenance costs, the pensions he held from cardinal de Bourbon in the 1570s, and took for a number of years from the Abbaye aux Dames in Caen, as well as his control of notably wealthy bishoprics in Languedoc.

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<sup>1</sup> P. de Bourdeille, abbé de Brantôme, *Oeuvres Complètes*, (ed. L. Lalanne, 11 vols., Paris, 1864-82), iii, 377.

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<sup>2</sup> For this figure and papal concerns about aristocratic control of monastic benefices, J. Bergin, *The Making of the French Episcopate 1589-1661* (New Haven and London, 1996), 152-3. The importance of nuns for the family's strategy is examined in J. Davies, 'The Montmorencys and the abbey of Sainte Trinité, Caen: politics, profit and reform', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, lii (2001), forthcoming.

<sup>3</sup> J. Bergin, 'The decline and fall of the house of Guise as an ecclesiastical dynasty', *Historical Journal*, xxv (1982), 781-803 and 'The Guises and their benefices 1588-1641', *English Historical Review*, xcix (1984), 34-58.

<sup>4</sup> M. Greengrass, 'Aristocracy and episcopacy at the end of the wars of religion: the duke of Montmorency and the bishoprics of Languedoc', *Miscellanea Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, viii (1987), 356-63.

<sup>5</sup> Manuscript references throughout, unless otherwise indicated, are to the Archives du Musée Condé, Chantilly, Lettres des Montmorency.

<sup>6</sup> J. Bergin, *Cardinal de La Rochefoucauld Leadership and Reform in the French Church* (New Haven and London, 1987), 138-41; idem, *The Making of the French Episcopate*, 143.

<sup>7</sup> Brevet, 4 Jan. 1572, and Montmorency's surrender of pension 30 Dec. 1578, B[ibliothèque] M[unicipale de] T[oulouse] MS 612, fos 336, 334-5. Montmorency-Damville's brothers may have received similar brevets for other former Châtillon benefices; the family recovered abbeys granted to the duc d'Aumale and to cardinal Pellevé, Frangipani to Rusticucci, 31 Aug. 1571, J. Lestocquoy et al. (eds), *Acta Nuntiaturae Gallicae* (Rome and Paris, 1961- in progress), xvi, 151.

<sup>8</sup> For the political dimension of Languedoc's bishops who had the right to sit each year as the first of the three provincial estates: M. Peronnet, 'Pouvoir monarchique et épiscopat: le roi et les évêques députés nés des États de Languedoc à l'époque moderne', *Parliaments, Estates and Representation*, iii (1983), 115-121; W Beik, *Absolutism and Society in Seventeenth-Century Languedoc* (Cambridge, 1985), 120-4. For comparative wealth of bishoprics and monastic benefices: F. J. Baumgartner, *Change and Continuity in the French Episcopate. The Bishops and the Wars of Religion 1547-1610* (Durham, N.C., 1986), 62. The *décime* was a royal tax on benefices formalised in 1561.

<sup>9</sup> Jean de Fay-Peyraud to Montmorency, 11 Mar. 1607, L xxxii, fo. 100. Peyraud's wife was Marie de Montmorency and their son Paul-Anthoine became bishop of Uzès in 1613. The priory is unidentified.

<sup>10</sup> For Montmorency's influence in placing clients' daughters in the Abbaye aux Dames, Caen: Davies, 'The Montmorencys and the abbey of Sainte Trinité'.

<sup>11</sup> Billiad to Montmorency, 11 Mar. 1596, L xxvi, fo. 36, reporting that the king promised the next vacant abbey or priory, given his regard for Montmorency, but that he had decided to grant no more reservations of benefices.

<sup>12</sup> *Gallia Christiana* (ed. D. de Sainte Marthe et al., 16 vols, Paris, 1715-1865), vi, col. 718. A[rchives] D[épartementales] Hérault, 7H 4. For Montmorency's dismissal in September 1585, resulting in the effective division of Languedoc between him and the Joyeuse family, see J.M. Davies, 'Languedoc and its *gouverneur*, Henri de Montmorency-Damville, 1563-1589' (London Univ., Ph.D. thesis, 1975), pp. 306-14.

<sup>13</sup> Jules wrote to his father from there, 3 Apr. 1599, 2 July 1602 and 20 Nov. 1603; Splendian wrote on 26 Oct. 1598: L xlvi, fo. 199, lxvi, fo. 4, cix, fo. 145; xliv, fo. 62.

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<sup>14</sup> Ventadour to Montmorency, 4 Dec. 1595, B[ibliothèque] N[ationale] MS Fr 3586, fos. 45-6. Catherine de Guilhem to Montmorency, undated [spring 1597?]; Jules de Montmorency to Montmorency, undated [1599/1603], L cx, fo. 114; cix, fo. 144.

<sup>15</sup> Sebastien to Montmorency, 26 Aug. 1596; La Motte to Montmorency, 27 Aug. 1596; bishop Dupuy to Montmorency, 5 Nov. 1596; Jules de Montmorency to Montmorency, 10 Nov. 1596; monks of St Thibéry to Montmorency, 13 Nov. 1596: L xxviii, fos. 257, 260-1; xxx, fos. 33, 65-6, 81.

<sup>16</sup> Jules de Montmorency to Castillon, 14 Nov. 1597; to Montmorency, 3 Apr. 1599, and undated [1599/1603?]: L xxxvii, fo. 316; xlvi, fo. 199, cix, fo. 144.

<sup>17</sup> *Gallia Christiana*, vi, col. 718. Jules de Montmorency to Montmorency, 20 Nov [1603]; Besson to Castillon, 4 Feb. 1604, L cix, fo. 145; lxxv, fo. 114.

<sup>18</sup> R. Sauzet, *Contre-réforme et réforme catholique en bas Languedoc: le diocèse de Nîmes au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris and Louvain, 1979), 130, 355, 443. An episcopal visitation in 1663 elicited complaints that the abbey's property was held by 'some powerful individuals who keep control with full authority', suggesting that little had changed after the Montmorency network had given place to those of Orléans and Conti.

<sup>19</sup> Convers to Montmorency, 18 Nov. 1596, L xxx, fo. 107.

<sup>20</sup> *Gallia Christiana*, vi, col. 520. Ruffières to Montmorency, 20 Dec. 1596; Pamphilio to Montmorency, 26 July 1597; Convers to Montmorency, 24 Feb. 1598; Aberlenc to Maridat, 6 Jan. 1599: L xxx, fos. 320-1; xxxiv, fos. 202-3; xxxix, fos. 234-47; xlvi, fo. 17.

<sup>21</sup> Convers to Montmorency, 3 Apr. 1599; Annibal de Montmorency to Maridat, 23 Feb. 1600: L xlvi, fo. 189; lii, fos. 161-2.

<sup>22</sup> Convers to Montmorency, 7 Apr. 1600; Annibal de Montmorency to Montmorency, 29 June 1605: L liii, fo. 24; lxxxi, fo. 247. Y. Chassin du Guerny, *Le Chartrier de Castries* (Paris, 1975), 142-4. The inadequacies of the abbey's records make it impossible to establish the succession at this period with any certainty.

<sup>23</sup> For the Guers de Castelnau family: C. Baschi d' Aubais and L. Ménard, *Pièces Fugitives pour servir à l'histoire de France* (2 vols. in 3, Paris, 1759) I(i), 288. Henri III to Montmorency-Damville, 13 July 1577, M. François et al. (eds), *Lettres de Henri III* (Paris, 1959 - in progress), iii, 317. AD Hérault 9H 14, case brought by Jean de Castelnau against bishop San Severino, 1578.

<sup>24</sup> For Castelnau's death, leaving a two-month-old son, Revest to Montmorency, 7 July 1602, L lxvi, fo. 13. His brother's concerns about the abbey: Étienne de Guers, seigneur d'Olargues et de Castelnau to Montmorency, 5 Oct. 1603, 2 Jan. 1604, L lxxiii, fo. 132, lxxv, fo. 9. Vergier's provisions: AD Hérault, 9H 14. Paulhan's journey to Rome reported by Revest to Montmorency, 1 Oct. 1603, L lxxiii, fo. 116. Paulhan was also a member of Montmorency's clientele, further complicating the situation.

<sup>25</sup> Olargues's complaints against his sister-in-law were mirrored by hers against him: Charlotte de Monteil de Grignan to Montmorency, 14 Jan. 1604, L lxxv, fos. 38-9. *Arrêt of conseil privé*, 16 Jan. 1606, F. Dumont et al., *Inventaire des arrêts du Conseil Privé (règnes Henri III et de Henri IV)* (5 vols., Paris, 1969-76), iv, no. 10422. Sébastien de Murviel (brother of the bishop of Montauban) to Montmorency, 15 Apr. 1608, L xci, fo. 74, pointing out the necessity of keeping Valmagne so that his nephew could meet his mother's demands, as well as the claims of aunts and uncles. *Gallia Christiana*, vi, col. 725 gives the succession from 1577 to 1613. Further information in AD Hérault 9H 14 and 16.



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<sup>26</sup> M. Greengrass, 'Financing the cause: Protestant mobilization and accountability in France (1562-1589)', in P. Benedict, G. Marnef, H. van Nierop and M. Venard (eds), *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands 1555-1585* (Amsterdam, 1999), 236-9.

<sup>27</sup> AD Gard G 764, 1105; AD Hérault B 22582.

<sup>28</sup> Montmorency to Henri IV, 25 Oct. 1592, BN MS Fr 23195 fos. 74-5. Montoulieu had been one of the benefices of the cardinal de Guise murdered at Blois in 1588. Henri III then nominated Christophe de Lestang bishop of Lodève but, unsurprisingly, no papal confirmation was forthcoming. Montmorency's nominee seems to have been no more successful unless a number of *économés* [financial administrators] up to 1624 were his *confidentiaries*: *Gallia Christiana*, vi, cols. 1006-7; Bergin, 'The decline and fall of the house of Guise', 786-7.

<sup>29</sup> H. Fisquet, *La France Pontificale* (21 vols., Paris, 1864-73), xvi, 369-71; a 1,200 *écus* pension on Aniane in 1571 to Jean de Saint-Romain, the apostate archbishop of Aix, indicates the abbey's value. Catherine de Medici to d'Abain, 12 Jan. 1580, H. de La Ferrière and G. Bagueault de Puchesse (eds), *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis* (10 vols., Paris, 1880-1909), vii, 219-20. For the Fizes family: L. Guiraud, *La Réforme à Montpellier* (2 vols, Montpellier 1918), i, 384-5, 646.

<sup>30</sup> Espondeillan to Maridat, 5 Jan. 1597, and to Montmorency, 5 Jan., 26 Sept. 1597, L xxxi, fos. 26 and 31, xxxvi, fo. 197

<sup>31</sup> Isabeau de Serignan to Montmorency, 3 Nov., 22 Dec. 1599, 20 Oct. 1602, L I, fo. 208, li, fo. 155, lxxvii, fo. 200. Fortuna to Maridat, 6 Nov. 1599, L I, fo. 227. Maussac to Montmorency, 15 Oct. 1602; Bonzi to Montmorency, [Nov. 1602] L lxxvii, fo. 185; lxxviii, fo. 149. For Cazilhac, purchased for 1,900 *écus* in 1576-8, AD Hérault B 22560. I am grateful to Dr Stuart Carroll for information about the Le Blanc du Raullet family.

<sup>32</sup> Forestier to Montmorency, 26 Nov. 1598; Gayon to Montmorency, 3 Dec. 1598: L xlv, fo. 223; xlv, fo. 16. For the Cavoye family, *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française*, vii, 1511-2.

<sup>33</sup> Espondeillan to madame de Montmorency, 13 Sept. 1598; Espondeillan to Montmorency, 11 Mar. 1599: L xliii, fo. 140; xlvii, fo. 15. Prior Simon Gouzin's procuration for Jean de Veyrac seigneur de Paulhan, 6 July 1600, A[rchives] N[ationales] M[inutier] C[entral] LIV 455. *Gallia Christiana*, vi, col 417 lists several priors from 1560 who may have been *confidentiaries*. By February 1605 Jean Assier held the priory by royal nomination and with papal provisions: *procès-verbal* of bishop Jean de Bonzi's visitation of Cassan printed in *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique Scientifique et Littéraire de Béziers*, 3rd series, iv (1902), 232-5. See also S. Sotos, 'Le prieuré de Cassan', *Bulletin des Amis de Montagnac*, xxiii (1990), 17-32. G. Tallemant des Réaux, *Historiettes* ed. A. Adam (2 vols., Paris, 1960), ii, 760, confirms the the priory's wealth and the interest of the Bouchard family: in the 1620s Cassan was held by Jean Baptiste Hullon, stepson of Jean Bouchard.

<sup>34</sup> Jean de Gras to Montmorency, 24 Oct., 24 Nov. 1599, 10 May 1600, L I fo. 137, li fo. 27, liii fo. 150. Gras *ainé* to Montmorency, [Feb. 1600], L xcvi fo. 214. Convers to Montmorency, Feb. 1598, L xxxix fos. 239-47. Marion, Rochemore and Revest to Montmorency, 27 June 1599, BN MS Fr. 3447 fos. 44-6. Sauzet, *Contre-réforme et réforme*, 130.

<sup>35</sup> Convers to Castillon, 7 June 1599; 21 June 1602 L xlviiii fo. 213; lxxv fo. 205. Espondeillan de Conas to Montmorency, 21 Sept. 1600, L lv fo. 28. Espondeillan de Conas's wife was the sister-in-law of Gloriande de Lauzières-Thémines. For the

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succession at Gorjan see *Gallia Christiana*, vi, col 607. The Clarisses of Montpellier were so poverty-stricken that Convers' first candidate had spurned his patronage; for their chequered history, Guiraud, *La réforme à Montpellier*, i, 212, 314, 672.

<sup>36</sup> P. Béraud, *Bagnols-sur-Cèze en Languedoc* (Bagnols, 1984), 82-3. Convers and Revest to Montmorency, 5 Oct. 1602, Convers to Montmorency, 7 Mar. 1603, L lxxvii, fo. 151, lxx, fos. 27-9. Laval to Montmorency, 31 Mar., 5 June 1603, L lxx, fo. 119, lxxi, fo. 197. Augier to Montmorency, 5 June 1603, L lxxi, fo. 198. Charles de Latils to Montmorency, 7 Oct. 1603, L lxxiii, fo. 144. Louis de Latils to Montmorency, 18 Mar. 1608, L xc, fos. 161-2. AN MC LIV 475, 21 Oct. 1610, Montmorency's procuration to Revest.

<sup>37</sup> René Girard to Maridat, 7 Mar. 1601, L lviii, fo. 102. E. Germer-Durand, *Le prieuré et le pont de Saint-Nicolas-de-Campagnac* (Nîmes, 1864), 36-9, 141-2 states that René Girard *fils* was ordained in 1611, when he was thirty seven; perhaps alerted by the problems at Aigues-Mortes, he may have become more circumspect in admitting to his age.

<sup>38</sup> The account in *Gallia Christiana*, vi, col. 396 of the complicated succession can be supplemented by an anonymous, undated but probably 1597 'mémoire sur Saint Affrodise de Béziers', partly in Italian, which solicited Montmorency's support for Izarny: L cx, fo. 234. For Gaillac's mission to Henri IV: Montmorency's instruction to Gaillac, 29 Jan. 1592, BN MS Fr 23195 fos. 1-11.

<sup>39</sup> AD Haute-Garonne B 92(d) fo. 55, 22 Nov. 1594. Ribes to Castillon, 24 Dec. 1597 and 5 Mar. 1598, L xxxviii, fo. 203, xxxix, fo. 274.

<sup>40</sup> Ribes to Montmorency, 15 May 1596; Forestier to Castillon, 24 July 1596, L xxvii, fo. 226; xxviii, fo. 127. According to *Gallia Christiana*, the king's nomination was dated 3 Mar. 1597, but Ribes had sent the original brevet to an agent in Béziers at least a month before this: Girauld to Castillon, 3 Feb. 1597, L xxxi, fo. 224.

<sup>41</sup> According to his mother, Hercule was sent to a tutor in 1595 and later to Avignon, presumably to the Jesuits: Gresende Ribes to Gaillac, 12 Nov. 1595 and to Castillon, 1 Jan. 1598, L xxv, fo. 43, xxxix, fo. 1.

<sup>42</sup> *Arrêts of conseil privé*, 30 Dec. 1598, 29 Oct. 1599, 28 Mar. 1601, *Inventaire*, ii, nos. 2641, 2742, 3658. Ribes to Castillon, 24 Dec. 1597 and Fonteneto to Castillon, 27 Dec. 1597, L xxxviii, fos. 203, 223. Jacques Railhac to Castillon, 26 Dec. 1601, L lxii, fo. 252; Railhac admitted that his in-laws, the Ribes, were wrong to blame Castillon who had tried for more than four years to secure the abbey.

<sup>43</sup> The case certainly continued up to July 1601 when Gaillac's vicar Dalmas reported to Castillon on the *avocat* Du Laurens' requirements, asking that Ribes be informed of his efforts: 23 July 1601, L lxi, fo. 14. Izarny backed down on 16 Aug., according to the chronology of *Gallia Christiana*, and the royal nomination was forthcoming just three days later. Hercule's resignation was doubtless influenced by an anonymous, undated 'advis donné sur l'abbaye Saint Aphrodise', which argued that Rome should be asked to sustain the judgment against Izarny but that since Hercule was only fifteen he should give way to someone qualified until he was himself a graduate: L li, fo. 234. Ribes had considered the duchesse de Ventadour's chaplain and a nephew of Castillon before deciding that Dalmas had the strength of character necessary to impose himself on the fractious canons: Ribes to Castillon, 22 Jan. 1600, L lii, fo. 63.

<sup>44</sup> Castillon to Montmorency, 17 Oct. 1597, and undated drafts in Castillon's hand to the cardinal-nephew Aldobrandini, and Trivulzio, with a note that four additional letters would be required: L xxxvii, fo. 80, li, fos. 181-3.

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<sup>45</sup> Giustiniano to Maridat, 29 Oct. 1597; Marguerite Pautard to Castillon, 20 Nov. 1598, L xxxvii, fo. 177; xlv, fo. 193.

<sup>46</sup> Hercule de Gailhac to Castillon, 20 July 1610, L civ fo. 203; *Gallia Christiana*, vi, 396. Hercule followed an ecclesiastical career, becoming precentor of Béziers cathedral, where he was succeeded by his brother Henri, an unsuccessful candidate for a canonry at Pézenas in 1609: H. Barthés, *Les documents nécrologiques du diocèse de Béziers* (Saint-Geniès de Fontedit, 1988), 203, 216; Henri de Gaillac, Anne Ribes, Marguerite Pautard to Montmorency, 27 Aug. 1609, L c fos. 116, 117, 300.

<sup>47</sup> *Gallia Christiana*, vi, cols. 411-3, notes Montmorency's interest but ignores the Ribes claim. *Arret of parlement* at Béziers, 16 Nov. 1594, AD Haute Garonne B 92 (d) fo. 19. For Marguerite Pautard's royalism: Châtillon to Henri IV, 18 Feb. 1590, BN MS Fr 3564 fo. 49. Although the brevets for St Aphrodise seem to have been for her husband as *économé* and for her grandson Hercule de Gaillac, according to *Gallia Christiana* Resseguier confessed to being a *confidentiaire* for the grandmother of Gaillac in 1597 and Rome's reluctance to approve her as 'l'abaisse' was reported by Giustiniano.

<sup>48</sup> Ribes to Montmorency [undated] and to Castillon, 14 Feb. 1600, L cxi fo. 172, lii fo. 130. Avanson had links to Montmorency's clientele through his sister, wife of Jacques Caylar d'Espondeillan, and his daughter who married Raymond de Thézan de Pujols in 1606.

<sup>49</sup> Corti wrote from Ornano's residence at Moras in Dauphiné, congratulating Castillon on becoming secretary and sending greetings to Maridat and Miles Marion, 'lequel je tiens comme mon père propre', 19 Aug. 1596, L xxviii, fo. 223.

<sup>50</sup> Pamphilio to Montmorency, 5 Mar. 1598; Corti to Castillon, 1 Mar. 1599, L xxxix, fo. 276; xlvi, fo. 259.

<sup>51</sup> Besson to Castillon, 4 May 1598, L xli, fo. 33; AN MC LIV 478, 16 May 1612

<sup>52</sup> Aumont: AD Lozère G 2112. Florac: Convers to Castillon, 12 May 1599; Ranchin to Montmorency, [Oct. 1600], L xlvi fo. 60; lv fo. 201. Florac was leased at 120 *écus* in 1579, AD Lozère G 3037. It was among the benefices for which Convers recommended his master speak to the new ambassador to Rome, in order to obtain free provisions, in 1596.

<sup>53</sup> Heurtelou to Montmorency, 5 Apr., 31 Aug. 1607, L lxxxvii fo. 100, lxxxviii fos. 156-7.

<sup>54</sup> Revest to Montmorency, 11 Sept. 1609; Dupuy to Montmorency, 17 Sept. 1609, L c fos. 220, 239. Who of these, if any, was finally appointed is not clear, since the consuls had also obtained confirmation of a fourth candidate from the archbishop of Narbonne.

<sup>55</sup> C.Hamel, *Histoire de l'abbaye et du collège de Juilly* (1868), 41-6, 73; Montmorency to Henri III and to Catherine de Medici, 18 Mar. 1580, BMT MS 611 fos. 232v, 233. In these letters Montmorency identified the recipient of his patronage as 'Jehan Martin mon serviteur domestique'; either Jean Martin passed the abbey on to his brother, a more suitable candidate as *aumonier* to Charles IX, or their master had problems in distinguishing his servants. Antoine acquired several benefices in Languedoc, probably through his master's influence, including the priory of St Sebastian, dependent on the the Collegiate church of St Gilles in the diocese of Nîmes, by collation 26 July 1564, AD Gard E 879; he was described as Damville's *argentier*. He was also installed as Montmorency's abbot at St Guilhem du Désert in the diocese of Lodève around 1577 although his patron's claim to the abbey does not seem to have been maintained. Montmorency-Damville to assembly of Lunel,

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February 1577, I.V. Lutchitsky, *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire de la réforme et de la ligue* (Kiev, 1875), 81; Montmorency-Damville to Henri III, 12 July 1577, BN MS Cinq Cents Colbert 8, fo. 432; *Gallia Christiana*, vi, cols. 598-9.

<sup>56</sup> For Revest's benefices: AD Vaucluse 3E 10/126 fos. 149, 159; 3E 10/127 fo. 623; 3E 10/130 fos 561v, 569v. For his marriage on 4 Jan. 1578, AD Vaucluse 3E 10/133 fo. 6. For his bereavement and Sénanque: Revest to Montmorency, 7 Oct. and 1 Nov., and to Maridat, 1 Nov. 1597, L xxxvi, fo. 295, xxxvii, fos. 222, 224.

<sup>57</sup> Revest to Castillon and to Montmorency, 2 Jan. 1599, L xlvi, fos. 4, 6.

Greengrass, 'Noble affinities', 287 and n. 84, identifies Revest as 'abbé J. de Revests' and St Eusèbe as 'St Niebe in Provence'; he mistakenly believes that Revest obtained this abbey and another from cardinal d'Ossat. In fact Revest only looked to Ossat to facilitate his pension on the diocese of Agde.

<sup>58</sup> *Gallia Christiana*, i, col. 381; *Gallia Christiana Novissima* (ed. J. Albanès, 7 vols, Valence, 1899-1920), vi, cols. 201-2. For the Tulle family and their claims on St Eusèbe, P. Hurtubise, 'La famille de Tulle et la siège épiscopale d'Orange', *Archivum Historiae Pontificae*, xxv (1987), 411-30.

<sup>59</sup> Revest to Castillon, 2 Jan., 10 Jan., 22 Feb., 25 Mar., 1599; Montmorency to Pamphilio [undated minute, early 1599], L xlvi, fos. 4, 20, 201, xlvii, fo. 92; cx fo. 1.

<sup>60</sup> Revest to Castillon, 25 Mar., 30 June, 20 Nov., 1599, L xlvii, fo. 92, xlviii, fo. 304, li, fo. 6. Concordat on St Eusèbe between Revest, described as a clerk of diocese of Toulon, and Jean de Tulle clerk of Avignon, 15 May 1599, AD Vaucluse 3E 6/488 fos. 155-60; a vacancy was admitted on the death of Bugnier, not by his resignation, and it was conceded that Revest had obtained the nomination. The bulls of 7 July 1601 noted that Horace de Parisson had held the abbey *in commendam*: *Gallia Christiana Novissima*, vi, col. 203.

<sup>61</sup> La Nerle to Maridat, 10 Dec. 1598, L xlv, fos 54-5. He promised to settle his dues to Montmorency with Revest in Avignon. Castillon received vager promises of gratification from Revest, but was sent 10 *écus* to pay the clerk of the secretary of state Potier de Gesvres.

<sup>62</sup> René Girard to Maridat, 7 Mar. 1601, L lviii, fo. 102.

<sup>63</sup> Dandino to Côme, 10 Nov. 1578, 23 Nov. 1579, 17 Feb., 19 July 1580, *ANG*, viii, 255, 546, 601, 712; Armagnac to Catherine de Medici, 14 Feb. 1581, and to Henri III, 12 July 1584, 'Lettres inédites du cardinal d'Armagnac' ed. P. Tamizey de Larroque, *Revue historique*, v (1877), 331, 342. According to Dandino, one of Revest's brothers was in the service of the prince of Orange. Certainly his nephew Guillaume de Paris made a Protestant marriage in 1595 to the sister of Forest de Blacons, who claimed to be governor of Orange: AD Vaucluse B 2530 fos. 105-112.

<sup>64</sup> Cesare was Armagnac's secretary from at least 1573: Galli to Salviati, 9 Oct. 1573, *ANG*, xii, 649-50; see also C. Samaran, 'Lettres inédites du cardinal d'Armagnac', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'école française de Rome*, xxii (1902), 104-6, 118-34. Giulio had known Montmorency's secretary Valernod who died in 1593: Pamphilio to Maridat, 8 July 1596, L xxviii, fo. 80.

<sup>65</sup> Montmorency's instructions to Saint-Aubin, 5 Mar. 1594, BN MS Dupuy 62 fo. 91; Montmorency to Pamphilio, 21 Sept. 1595 [minute], L xxiv, fo. 151.

<sup>66</sup> Mercier to Revest or Sauvin, 21 Oct. 1596; Sauvin to Montmorency, 31 May 1597; Louis Maridat to Maridat, 22 Mar. 1599; Pamphilio to Maridat 21 Nov. 1599; L xxix, fos. 264-5; xxxii, fo. 137; xlvii, fo. 79; li, fo. 18. For Montmorency's dealings with Rome in connection with his third marriage: J. Davies, 'The politics of

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the marriage bed: matrimony and the Montmorency family, 1527-1612', *French History*, vi (1992), 77-9.

<sup>67</sup> B. Barbiche, 'L'influence française à la cour pontificale sous le règne de Henri IV', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'école française de Rome*, lxxvii (1965), 277-99.

<sup>68</sup> One example, undated but from about 1603: L cix, fo. 116.