

HUGUENOT PREACHING, 1629-1685

HUGUENOT PREACHING AND HUGUENOT IDENTITY:
SHAPING A RELIGIOUS MINORITY THROUGH FAITH,
POLITICS, AND GENDER, 1629-1685

By

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the development of Huguenot confessional identity and political strategy under the Edict of Nantes through sermons. Here, sermons serve as a vital medium of ideological exchange, shaping and reflecting the mental world of France's Protestant population, while acting as a source of dialogue between Huguenot ministers, their parishioners and readers, and the crown. As a result, this study demonstrates the cultural tools that influenced how the Huguenot population made sense of their position in France in the seventeenth century, and it shows that, while Huguenots lost much of their effective political power after 1629, their ministers were active in the decades after through informal but telling channels, instructing their parishioners about proper civic and political belief, and positing for their various audiences a view of the French polity – and of its absolutist monarchy – that included a legitimate place for the Huguenot population.

The introduction and the first chapter provide the historical and historiographical background, while also offering a detailed explanation of the training and vocation of Huguenot ministers, shedding light on their sermons and their social and professional networks. Chapters two and three provide the heart of the argument, exploring the elements of the sermons that emphasized, first, the necessity of religious particularism for Huguenots within France and, second, their abiding devotion to the crown. Together, these dual elements of Huguenot identity meant that they were negotiating their own vision for the kingdom and their place within it. The final three chapters examine the prevalence and significance of the Huguenot dual identity in diverse sermon themes, while also showing its legacy beyond the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

This dissertation provides an important contribution to Reformation and French historiography, while also complicating notions about religious identity and the development of absolutist thought by demonstrating a confessionally-distinct political activism that is not often recognized. It also reveals the interwoven nature of religion and politics in the Reformation era, here as it is manifested in sermons.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT – iii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS – iv

TABLE OF CONTENTS – v

INTRODUCTION – 1

Historical Context – 5

Huguenot Historiography – 18

Sermons Literature – 28

Sermons as Text and Event – 37

Division of the Text – 50

CHAPTER ONE – THE MEDIUM AND THE MESSENGERS – 55

Basic Structures of the Huguenot Sermon – 56

Preparation and Expectations – 69

Practical Aids and Reflexive Sermons: Preaching about Pastors – 87

Dignity and Duty as Sermon Themes – 92

Conclusion – 104

CHAPTER TWO – AN EXCLUSIVE COMMUNITY: DEFINING THE
HUGUENOT *PETIT TROUPEAU* – 106

Theology, Controversy, and the Catholic Church: *Ceci est mon corps* – 109

A Voluntary Minority: *Là où il y a deux ou trois* – 126

Defining Identity Through Psalms... – 132

...And Prophets – 143

Conclusion – 160

CHAPTER THREE – CIVICS AND RELIGION, OR WHY HUGUENOTS
MAKE THE BEST SUBJECTS – 163

The Evolving Political Situation of Huguenots – 165

The Politics of Publishing – 172

Craignez Dieu, Honorez le Roy: Biblical Imperatives and
the Divine Order – 179

Civics and Huguenot Political History – 189

Uniquely Huguenot Approaches to Being a French Subject – 203

Conclusion – 220

CHAPTER FOUR – MARRIAGE AND CONFSSIONALIZATION, PART 1: SHAPING HUGUENOT IDENTITY THROUGH SERMONS ON THE CONJUGAL UNIT – 222	
Influences on Huguenot Marriage – 224	
The Purpose and Utility of Marriage – 237	
Gender and the Ordering of Marriage – 243	
Clerical Marriage, Sacramental Status, and Other Differences – 256	
The Danger of Mixed Marriages – 270	
Conclusion – 275	
CHAPTER FIVE – MARRIAGE AND CONFSSIONALIZATION, PART 2: SHAPING HUGUENOT IDENTITY BEYOND THE COUPLE – 277	
Husbands, Love Your Wives, Just as Christ Loved the Church – 282	
<i>Le Petit Troupeau vs La Grande Paillarde</i> – 290	
Obeying Husbands and Kings – 297	
Conclusion – 306	
CHAPTER SIX – AN EPILOGUE, or: HUGUENOT IDENTITY BEYOND THE REVOCATION, FAMILIAR IMAGERY AND HUGUENOT HISTORY IN REFUGEE SERMONS – 308	
Towards the Revocation and Beyond – 309	
The Netherlands – 317	
Brandenburg and Britain – 330	
Conclusion – 339	
CONCLUSION – 341	
APPENDIX: BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION FOR PASTORS CITED – 353	
BIBLIOGRAPHY – 361	

INTRODUCTION

On 21 August 1636, the Huguenot temple at Charenton was host to an extraordinary display of preaching. It was a day dedicated to fasting and worship, and this included three separate sermons by three of Paris' leading pastors. The occasion was organized as a way for the Huguenot community to show their support for the king's armies as they undertook to oust the Spanish from the town of Corbie, and it reveals a great deal about how sermons served to define two key components of Huguenot identity under the Edict of Nantes – religious particularism and political loyalism – and how sermons constituted a means of participating in a discussion about the nature of absolutism and the place of Huguenots within the French polity. The event itself helped reinforce Huguenot particularism since both the journey upriver from Paris to Charenton and the gathering as a community of believers at the temple worked to physically and ritually distinguish the Huguenots from among the larger population of Paris. At the same time, though, the reason behind the event also helped to engender a sense of inclusion and loyalty within the kingdom. The sermons themselves – which were preached by Jean Mestrezat, Charles Drelincourt, and Jean Daillé – were central to this process of defining the position of the Huguenots in France.¹ When Charles Drelincourt took the pulpit, he preached a sermon about sinfulness and contrition, telling his audience that they needed to lead better lives and to sincerely repent for their moral failings. But in addition to religious pedagogy, and in many

¹ Jean Mestrezat et al., *Sermons faits au jour du jusne célébré à Charenton pour la prospérité des armés du Roy* (Geneva, 1637).

ways as an extension of it, Drelincourt's sermon also served to articulate a particular sense of Huguenot identity – they were at once uniquely God's chosen people and also the devoted subjects of the French crown, and he used the imagery of sinfulness and piety to emphasize both.

All together, this event and its sermons represent an important and under-documented political strategy on the part of Huguenot ministers as they sought to define their community and its place within France, and this study asserts just that – that sermons need to be considered a central element shaping Huguenot religious and political identity. Printed sermons were a popular genre among Huguenots, and constituted a confessionally-aware medium that was at once politically subversive and loyal. Ideologically, these sermons helped to carve out a unique Huguenot niche within a broader world-view, relying on a repetition of images and arguments whose significance would have been easily understood by those inside and outside of the Huguenot church. Cumulatively, they gave shape and legitimacy to Huguenot identity while contributing to a debate about how the political situation in France should be composed. Seen this way, for Huguenot sermons, both the medium and the message were part of a political strategy whereby Huguenot ministers attempted to define a place for their confessional community in France, displaying a political agency that challenges the idea that Huguenots were passive or powerless beyond the Peace of Alès in 1629.

The contours of Huguenot history under the Edict of Nantes (from 1598 until its revocation in 1685) are generally accepted, but especially in terms of the

formation of group identity and political ideology, those contours have been established without sustained reference to sermons. Instead, Huguenot confessional identity, which brought together these religious and political dimensions, has been explained with reference either to theological treatises and similar works or through quantitative studies that reveal underlying beliefs. Yet, sermons are a necessary link between these two sources of influence and information, acting as an intermediary between minister and congregation, between expectation and reality, and between the Huguenot Church and the crown. Sermons provided people with the images and collective stories necessary to abstract and concretize their connections to their confessional community and their kingdom, and to reify the differences separating them from their opponents; for the historian, they are vital to confirm and explain the other evidence that sheds light on the Huguenot position under the Edict of Nantes. Moreover, the period studied here (1629-1685) represents a very fertile time for the production of printed sermons and a unique time for political negotiation. Because of this, the present study provides a valuable elaboration on how the Huguenot population in France conceived of themselves, and how they made sense of their situation during the seventeenth century. In the process of negotiating this existence, Huguenot ministers also proposed an image of France in which their church constituted an essential part, and sermons were a vital means to articulate and mediate that with the Huguenot faithful and with the crown. Moreover, every reaffirmation of Huguenot identity was also a response to the circumstances that Huguenots faced

in France and an articulation of their political perspective; and therefore, their sermons must be seen as part of a dialectical process, trying to establish a place for Huguenots within the political regime that was developing in France.

In consideration of that, this study is concerned with demonstrating, first, the key elements of the Huguenot hybrid identity as they were expressed in sermons and, second, the inherent political strategies that were a product of expressing a particular place for Huguenots in France. That is, especially after 1629, Huguenot sermons provided an understanding of absolutism that made room for religious pluralism, a message that revolved around shaping a Huguenot identity defined by both religious particularism and political loyalism, and a message that was intended not only for the Huguenot faithful but broadcast to the crown and the Catholic Church as well. In both their preached and printed forms, sermons were at the very centre of this, providing a vocabulary and a set of mental tools through which to interpret the Huguenot situation in France; and as such, they are key to understanding *how* a specific conception of the place of Huguenots in France was promoted. What results is an image of a confessional community that was fundamentally concerned with remaining a distinct and integral part of the French kingdom; and as such, the sermons offer a position that was firmly in favour of an absolutist Bourbon monarchy, but in doing so they were offering their own image of what that absolutism should look like, while framing their religious devotion as a way to be politically engaged. To properly explore the political significance of Huguenot preaching, however, it is necessary to first establish an

historical – and historiographical – context, which is the concern of the rest of this introduction.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT:

The history of Protestantism in France is generally well-established, although there are many aspects still subject to debate. To understand the situation of Huguenots under the Edict of Nantes, though, only the broad contours are necessary to revisit, but those contours, by outlining the Huguenot experience in France, are necessary to understand the ways in which sermons operated as a political medium. The standard narrative describes a domestic reforming impulse that emerged under François I and was composed in varying parts of Humanism, Catholic Reform, and Lutheranism. This “pre-reform” then became increasingly influenced by Calvinist thought coming from Geneva. John Calvin, along with other important reformers such as Guillaume Farel and Theodore de Bèze, were natives of France, and carried out their work in Geneva with an eye to “winning” their homeland to their cause.² This was done through correspondences, publications, and as Robert Kingdon famously points out, through the coordination and training of missionaries.³ As a result, there was a strong flavour of Genevan Calvinism in the emerging Protestant communities in France, both theologically and ecclesiologically, insofar as it was possible to introduce the structures of a city into a large kingdom and without magisterial support. For Philip Benedict and

² Fredric J. Baumgartner, *France in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1995), 142.

³ Robert M. Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion in France, 1555-1563* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1956).

Nicolas Fornerod, this era was a “crucible for Huguenot organization”, combining liturgical and institutional aspects from Geneva with local exigencies.⁴

In addition to general liturgy and forms of worship, the consistory – the body charged with maintaining orthodoxy and discipline – was imported from Geneva, although it took on a unique French incarnation for the Huguenots. As Raymond Mentzer points out, the consistory in Geneva was marked by a close relationship between church and political leaders, while in France, the Huguenot Church was often at odds with magistrates and the crown.⁵ As a result, there was less co-operation between authorities in the area of enforcement, but that meant more freedom for the church to effect reform as they saw fit.

For the purposes here, what is important is that, by the 1550s and 1560s, the Protestant movement in France was becoming more cohesive and developing along clearly Calvinist lines, and that by the seventeenth century, they were a well-established faith within the Reformed camp. This tie to 'International Calvinism' was reinforced by the many Huguenot ministers who studied in Geneva, and by

4 Philip Benedict and Nicolas Fornerod, *L'Organisation et l'Action des Églises Réformées de France* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2012), vii-xxxiv. Contributing to this discussion, Glenn Sunshine emphasizes the indigenous component to French Protestantism while also asserting that places like Strasbourg and Lausanne should be seen as sources of inspiration in addition to Geneva in his study *Reforming French Protestantism: The Development of Huguenot Ecclesiastical Institutions, 1557-1572* (Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2003).

5 Raymond Mentzer, “The Genevan Model and Gallican Originality in the French Reformed Tradition,” in *Adaptations of Calvinism in Reformation Europe: Essays in Honour of Brian G. Armstrong* ed. Mack P. Holt (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2007), 149-151. Many of Mentzer's other works also reveal the importance of the consistory in regulating Huguenot communities and in helping to establish a unique Huguenot sense of self. See, for example, Raymond Mentzer, “Morals and Moral Regulation in Protestant France,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 31:1 (Summer, 2000), and Raymond Mentzer, “*Disciplina nervus ecclesiae*: The Calvinist Reform of Morals at Nîmes,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 18:1 (Spring, 1987).

their involvement in the transnational debates about Calvinist orthodoxy.⁶

Huguenot doctrine was defined, like other Protestant faiths, by an emphasis on faith and on God's grace, and on the singular importance of the Word of God; in terms of salvation, they shared the Calvinist concerns about God's unconditional election and, therefore, the total inability for mankind to aid their own salvation. In addition, there was a consistent drive to identify and condemn Catholic error, whether decrying Mass, the veneration of saints and relics, the belief in purgatory, works righteousness, clerical celibacy, the tyranny of the Papacy, or any other of the common targets of Protestant attack, all of which found good use in sermons.

The social composition of the people attracted to this new church has long been a focus of debate, a debate that has resulted in an increasingly accurate though necessarily general image of the Huguenot population. In a kingdom that was overwhelmingly rural, Huguenots were more urban than their Catholic counterparts, and they were made up of a wide spectrum of urban people.⁷ Within that spectrum, though, Huguenots were more likely to be found among literate

6 An excellent study that places Huguenot doctrinal debate within the broader attempts to fix Calvinist orthodoxy is Brian G. Armstrong, *Calvinism and the Amyraut Heresy: Protestant Scholasticism and Humanism in Seventeenth-Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969).

7 A century ago, Henri Hauser and then Lucien Febvre began to define Huguenot demographics with greater precision, locating the main thrust of Huguenot appeal coming from the urban bourgeoisie. See Henri Hauser, "The French Reformation and the French People in the Sixteenth Century," *The American Historical Review* (vol.4, no.2 (1899) 217-227), Lucien Febvre, "The Origins of the French Reformation: a badly put questions?" trans. K. Folca, *A New Kind of History: from the writings of Febvre* ed. by Peter Burke (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1973, 44-107). With constant refinements, the urban element has been reaffirmed, but within that category, certain professions are over-represented in the Huguenot population, whether those of newer trades, or those with higher rates of literacy. The thorough statistical analysis of Philip Benedict confirms as much, that more Huguenots were found in the "fringes of elites", while the lowest ranks (such as day labourers) were under-represented in the Huguenot Church. See Philip Benedict, *Rouen During the Wars of Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) and the essays in Part 1 of Philip Benedict, *The Faith and Fortunes of France's Huguenots, 1600-1685* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2001).

trades and less likely among the lowest rungs of urban society. Of course, as Mack Holt demonstrates, the lack of a strong Huguenot contingent in Dijon – where the conditions should have been prime – shows that simple socio-economic conditions alone are not sufficient to explain adherence to different faiths.⁸ The middle of the sixteenth century, then, was a time when ecclesiological and doctrinal crystallization was taking place; the Huguenot population was also growing larger while the crown and the Catholic Church began to take more concerted steps to eradicate the Protestant heresy. All together, this meant that religious difference in France was heading into a profound period of crisis and confrontation; and for the Huguenots, this period introduced the large-scale persecution that would feature prominently in their collective history and profoundly shape their identity.

When Henri II (r.1547-1559) died unexpectedly in a jousting accident, he left behind a legacy of actively combating Protestantism, such as in his use of the *Chambre ardente* – a tribunal tasked with trying heretics – and the Edict of Chateaubriand (1551) – a comprehensive edict aimed against heretics and their texts, especially those published in Geneva. But by leaving the throne to a fifteen-year-old François II (r.1559-1560) whose reign was followed quickly by the minority of Charles IX, Henri's death also ushered in an era of monarchical weakness and political instability. In the same year as Henri's death, Huguenots held their first national synod, important not only for its organizing effort but also for its symbolic value as a demonstration of Huguenot confidence and strength.

⁸ Mack P. Holt, “Wine, Community and Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Burgundy,” in *Past and Present* 138 ((Feb. 1993) 58-93).

This marked a transition from clandestine forms of worship and disparate individual churches to a more unified and public national church. Added to this organizational impulse was the increasing number of Huguenot faithful which, especially with the noble converts, meant greater visibility, power, and influence.

For Catholics, however, this was a dangerous intensification of the heretical presence in France and a very real threat to religious and social unity. Already in 1557, the *Affaire de la Rue St-Jacques* – where Catholics attacked 400 Protestants worshipping inside a private residence – demonstrated how intensely the fears of heretical pollution were felt. After the brief reign of François II, his ten-year-old brother ascended to the throne as Charles IX (r.1560-1574). Under Charles and his mother Catherine, the policy oscillations that would define the crown's position on the Huguenots over the coming decades began, whereby tolerance and persecution proceeded one another in an attempt to solve the religious question. An early attempt at tolerance, for instance, was the Edict of St-Germain (1562), which granted Huguenots limited rights of worship. At the same time, though, it can also be seen as an attempt at moderation, to find a *via media* between the two noble factions that headed each religious camp in an attempt to prevent either from gaining too much influence. However, for Catholics, this edict of toleration was a direct affront to the idea of religious unity and purity, and to the crown's duty to promote such aims. Soon, the religious and political tensions would develop into open fighting, with the first of the Wars of Religion following shortly on the heels of the Massacre at Vassy (1562), in which Huguenot

worshippers in the town of Vassy (Wassy) were killed by the soldiers of the Duke of Guise as he was attempting to attend Mass.

The Wars of Religion marked a time of civil disorder that was defined by numerous pitched battles and negotiated settlements.⁹ Moreover, away from the battlefield, there were also significant instances of interpersonal and collective violence perpetrated by both sides, where the Wars of Religion were played out between the inhabitants of cities and towns.¹⁰ The most infamous case of such violence is the St-Bartholomew's Day Massacre, which began in Paris and then spread to numerous provincial centres.¹¹ The massacre occurred after the first three outbreaks of war, and helped lead to the fourth; its proximate cause, meanwhile, was the presence of Huguenot nobles in Paris celebrating the marriage between Henri de Navarre (at the time a Huguenot and the future Henri IV) and Marguerite de Valois (the king's sister). The catalyst was the assassination of the Admiral Coligny, a Huguenot leader, and this soon led to widespread popular violence in Paris. For Huguenots, the St-Bartholomew's Day Massacre was a significant blow to their position in France: many Huguenot leaders, including the Admiral Coligny, were killed, and Henri de Navarre was forced to convert; 2000-3000

9 See, for instance, treatments such as R.J. Knecht, *The French Wars of Religion, 1559-1598* (London: Longman, 1989), and the more recent Mack P. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629, 2nd Edition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

10 This is examined, famously, in Natalie Zemon Davis' seminal article, "The Rites of Violence" in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays by Natalie Zemon Davis* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975, 152-187). Similarly, Denis Crouzet's study *Les Guerriers de Dieu: La violence au temps des troubles de religion, vers 1525-1610* (Seysssel: Champ Vallon, 1990) explores confessional violence and its symbolism, linking it to a broader eschatological angst.

11 For a compelling analysis of the social and religious conditions that led up to the Massacre and the symbolism and impact that gave it its significance, see Barbara Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

Huguenots in Paris and 3000-8000 more elsewhere in France were killed, and many more abjured soon thereafter; it also brought an end to the confidence and zeal that had marked the Huguenots to this point.¹² At the same time, the Huguenots that remained became more radicalized; but, in terms of absolute numbers, Huguenots would never again reach the size that they had at the outbreak of the Wars of Religion, a number that Mark Greengrass places at around 2 000 000, or around ten percent of France.¹³ Moreover, the massacre would help to solidify the geographical distribution of Huguenots, whereby the great majority of Huguenots lived within the 'Huguenot crescent' in the Midi, from La Rochelle, across Languedoc and into the Dauphiné.¹⁴ St-Bartholomew's Day notwithstanding, Paris remained an important place for Huguenots throughout the coming decades of peace, especially with regard to the Huguenot nobles at the royal court; for the north in general, though, Huguenot populations shrunk considerably, and significant Huguenot communities, such as in Rouen, would never be more than small minorities.¹⁵ Symbolically, the massacre became one of the most profound episodes to make up Huguenot collective memory, a striking example that the Huguenots were a persecuted minority.

Two years after the massacre, Charles IX died and was succeeded by his younger brother Henri III (r.1574-1589). Under Henri, the final Wars of Religion

12 Holt, *French Wars of Religion*, 95-98; Mark Greengrass, *The French Reformation* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1987), 78. The lower numbers of 2000 in Paris and 3000 in the provinces are Holt's, and the higher numbers of 3000 in Paris and 8000 in the provinces are Greengrass'.

13 Greengrass, *The French Reformation*, 43.

14 For a good study of Calvinism in the Midi in the sixteenth century and the specific culture that emerged from it, see Philip Conner, *Huguenot Heartland: Montauban and Southern French Calvinism during the Wars of Religion* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2002).

15 Benedict, *Rouen During the Wars of Religion*.

were marked especially by the rise of the Catholic League, which emerged under Guise leadership and became especially significant in their opposition to Henri de Navarre when he, a Protestant, became next in line to the French throne upon the death of François, Henri III's younger brother, in 1584. At this point, the Catholic nature of the French crown became more acutely important, further accentuating the discourse about religion and politics that the Reformation had introduced; and, as a consequence of these concerns, when Henri IV (r.1589-1610) converted to Catholicism in 1593, that act cemented the “Catholic nature of the French monarchy” as a “defining ideological characteristic”.¹⁶ Henri's Catholic faith helped to win over towns and nobles who were otherwise hesitant to submit to a Protestant king, as he re-established his sovereignty over a kingdom that had become fragmented over the course of the Wars of Religion.¹⁷ Henri's conversion, then, was a turning point in his consolidation of power by winning to his side moderate Catholics, while also a significant acknowledgement of the Catholicity of the sacred nature of the French crown. From that point on, Henri IV could focus on re-asserting monarchical authority and, importantly, focus on producing a stable religious settlement, the Edict of Nantes (1598).¹⁸

The Edict of Nantes was made up of ninety-two articles, fifty-six 'secret and particular' articles, and two letters patent, which together established a framework for religious co-existence. Specifically, the edict allowed for a co-

16 Megan Armstrong, *The Politics of Piety: Franciscan Preaching During the Wars of Religion, 1560-1600* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2004), 2.

17 See the penetrating study of the symbolism and significance of the conversion in Michael Wolfe, *The Conversion of Henri IV: Politics, Power, and Religious Belief in Early Modern France* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).

18 The Edict of Nantes will be discussed at greater length again below, in chapter three.

existence that would perpetuate the Catholic majority while ensuring the safety of the Protestant minority, by providing a specific number of locations where Huguenots could legally worship, but also ensuring that Catholic worship was found throughout the kingdom. There were also provisions for the maintenance of Huguenot ministers and *places de sûreté* – towns that served as military strongholds for Huguenots – out of the crown coffers, the creation of *Chambres de l'édit* – courts that were tasked with upholding the edict and ruling on disputes – and other regulations concerning specifics of Huguenot life. For Huguenots over the next nine decades, the Edict of Nantes served as the source of their legal legitimacy in France, and it played an important symbolic role in their collective memory, with preachers often invoking it in sermons to assert Huguenots' political and religious rights. This period also marked the introduction and more widespread acceptance of the other key component of Huguenot identity in the seventeenth century – explicit political fidelity to the crown. Though not yet universally accepted – as the rebellions under the Duc de Rohan would illustrate – this strong loyalty to the king was making increasingly significant inroads among the Huguenot population.

Just twelve years after promulgating the Edict of Nantes (or less, since some *parlements* resisted registering it), Henri IV was assassinated by a Catholic zealot, and left an eight-year-old Louis XIII (r.1610-1643) as the next king of France. Under the regency of Marie de Médicis the Edict of Nantes was re-confirmed, but Huguenots soon began to mount accusations that the edict was

being contravened or ignored. With the influential Huguenot leaders the Duc de Sully and Philippe Duplessis-Mornay no longer playing a central role, a new generation of noble leadership took over, notably the brothers the Duc de Rohan and the Duc de Soubise. Together, they headed the faction of Huguenots who favoured an armed response to the perceived encroachments against their privileges and led the military campaigns that, together, formed the final stage of the Wars of Religion from 1621 to 1629, and which culminated in the Siege of La Rochelle and then the Peace of Alès. The Peace of Alès (1629) marked the end of the military and political power that Huguenots, as a group, had possessed by revoking the *places de sûreté* and prohibiting political assemblies, while reaffirming the religious freedom of conscience spelled out in the Edict of Nantes. This loss of political power was further enhanced by the conversion of many nobles to Catholicism, while some of those that remained Huguenots took commissions within the royal army. However, by maintaining the basic rights of Huguenot worship, Louis XIII and Richelieu showed that they were willing to tolerate a religious minority within the kingdom so long as they were powerless and loyal. Moreover, as this study argues, despite the loss of political power after 1629, Huguenots – and their leaders in the pastorate – remained politically active. From this point until the Edict of Nantes was revoked in 1685 by the Edict of Fontainebleau, the settlement of Alès conditioned the legal existence of the Huguenots – a legally tolerated religious minority, but one with little official power; and the sermons that are studied here are almost exclusively from this

period between the Peace of Alès and the Edict of Fontainebleau.

For the rest of Louis XIII's reign, the Huguenots became more uniformly loyal to the French crown, and as Brian Strayer notes, they were becoming “politically almost indistinguishable from Catholic subjects around them”.¹⁹ This meant a strong sense of monarchism, which had already been popular among northern Huguenots, and which was in contrast to the idea of a Protestant 'state within a state' that the fortified towns had engendered. Moreover, although the proximate cause of the crown dismantling the Huguenot 'state within a state' was the rebellions of the 1620s, such a policy is also consistent with the development of absolutism in France at the same time. And although a generation of studies has shown that government under Louis XIII and Louis XIV was not the modern, efficient, rational, and top-down system that the term 'absolutism' has implied, they have also shown that the Bourbon dynasty nonetheless ushered in an era where centralization, standardization, and bureaucratization became key components of structural change, and the ideology of divine-right monarchy was articulated with an emphasis on royal sovereignty and a monopoly over coercive force.²⁰ Moreover,

19 Brian E. Strayer, *Huguenots and Camisards as Aliens in France, 1598-1789* (Lewiston, NY: The Edward Mellen Press, 2001), 83.

20 See, especially, works such as William Beik, *Absolutism and Society in Seventeenth-Century France: State Power and Provincial Aristocracy in Languedoc* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), James B. Collins, *Fiscal Limits of Absolutism: Direct Taxation in Early Seventeenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), Albert N. Hamscher, *The Conseil Privé and the Parlements in the Age of Louis XIV: A Study in French Absolutism* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1987), Sharon Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers, and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), Guy Rowlands, *The Dynastic State and the Army under Louis XIV: Royal Service and Private Interest, 1661-1701* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), which, in examining a specific aspect of royal government, together account for the nuance and contradictions of absolutist France; or the good overview by David Parker, *The Making of French Absolutism* (London: Edward Arnold Publishers, Ltd., 1983).

although this divine-right absolutism in France was characterized by the phrase “*une foy, une loy, un roy*”, which by definition was a rejection of religious pluralism, Huguenots passionately voiced their loyalty to the Catholic crown, enumerating the many ways in which they were devoted and thankful.

That Huguenot political loyalty was highlighted after the death of Louis XIII, when his son, Louis XIV (r.1643-1715), succeeded him at the age of just five years. Like that of his father, Louis XIV's reign began with the regency of his mother, Anne of Austria, together with Cardinal Mazarin. A significant example of this Huguenot monarchism took place during the Fronde, rebellions by nobles and *parlementaires* between 1648 and 1653, during which Huguenots remained loyal to the crown. At the same time as that domestic crisis, the English Civil War was taking place across the Channel, and especially after the beheading of Charles I the Huguenots were forced to distance themselves from their regicidal and republican co-religionists while reminding audiences in France that it was Catholic zealots who had killed Henri III and Henri IV. In these cases, political events, though potentially posing problems for Huguenots, also allowed them to demonstrate their devotion to the monarchy through sermons and other means.

Despite initially being appreciative of their loyalty, Louis XIV soon started to move against the Huguenot population and began to interpret the Edict of Nantes *à la rigueur*, meaning that it was applied in increasingly narrow terms from the perspective of Huguenots, bringing an end to a period that has been called both the “good years” and the “eye of the storm”.²¹ This process accelerated with Louis'

21 Elisabeth Labrousse, *Conscience et Conviction: Etudes sur le XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Voltaire

personal reign, which began in 1661, and was further aided by the added attention Louis could devote to the Huguenot problem after concluding peace treaties with Spain and the Netherlands. The results of this policy of constriction meant that there were further limits placed on Huguenot worship and celebrations, academies were closed and temples began to be torn down, while Louis also instituted financial inducements for converts while barring Huguenots from entering many professions. Finally, 1681 marked the beginning of the infamous *dragonnades*, where soldiers were billeted in Huguenot households in order to coerce their conversions. Collectively, these conditions elicited both conversions and emigration, and they also disrupted life for those Huguenots – who were the majority of them – that remained. Again, such conditions helped to reconfirm the image that Huguenots had created for themselves as a persecuted minority of God's elect. At the same time, they also amplified appeals to monarchical authority, hoping that the king would bring a return to earlier freedoms.

Convinced that these policies were successful in bringing Huguenots back to the Catholic Church, Louis XIV finally revoked the Edict of Nantes in 1685, deeming it no longer necessary.²² The Edict of Fontainebleau undid the Edict of Nantes by ending the legal tolerance of Calvinism in France and making Catholicism the only legitimate faith. As a result, all Huguenots were expected to convert to Catholicism and to participate in Catholic worship. However, many of these *nouveaux convertis* were only superficially so, and many established ties to

Foundation, 1996), 86; G.A. Rothrock, *The Huguenots: A Biography of a Minority* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1979), 145.

²² For a longer discussion of the revocation, see the epilogue below.

an underground Huguenot Church, the *Église du désert*. Moreover, although leaving France was prohibited by the Edict of Fontainebleau, around twenty-five percent of Huguenots fled to places like Switzerland, the Netherlands, Great Britain, or the New World. As a result, although Louis XIV was able to end the open and legal existence of Calvinism in France, important remnants remained, both abroad and within the kingdom, with the latter being made especially clear with the Camisard revolts during the first decades of the eighteenth century. In this post-revocation period, the influence of a unique Huguenot identity continued to be felt, whether in the form of secret assemblies in France or in the form of distinct communities in their adopted countries, and sermons continued to play a role in maintaining and adapting this Huguenot identity.

HUGUENOT HISTORIOGRAPHY:

The history of Huguenots under the Edict of Nantes has been of scholarly interest ever since the edict's revocation. Of greatest interest here, though, is scholarship that relates Huguenot history to broader themes such as tolerance and co-existence, absolutism, or confessionalization. For instance, both Gregory Hanlon and Keith Luria have documented the complex and nuanced ways in which the co-existence instituted by the Edict of Nantes actually manifested itself, and in the process have enriched an historiography that they see as having been too focused on conflict.²³ There were many areas of confessional interaction along

²³ Gregory Hanlon, *Confession and Community in Seventeenth-Century France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993); Keith P. Luria, *Sacred Boundaries: Religious Coexistence and Conflict in Early-Modern France* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2005).

with many forms of careful separation; and in both cases the peaceable management of these conditions was often the result of purposeful settlement as opposed to spontaneous action. On the other hand, Hanlon and Luria also acknowledge the many sites of conflict, where the two confessions fought for position or privilege. Luria's analysis of graveyards, for instance, provides telling examples of both negotiated interaction and conflict, since graveyards were places of intense spiritual and social importance and were subject to sharing, division, and fighting, depending on the case.²⁴ What Luria also notes, moreover, is that over the course of the seventeenth century, there was a trend towards confessional separation. So, despite the social and cultural similarities that Catholics and Huguenots shared, there was a shift from a system more defined by permeability or negotiated demarcations to one of firmer boundaries and ostracization.²⁵ These firm lines of separation, moreover, were frequently demanded in sermons, linking religious particularism to a broader social separation.

Looking more strictly at the Huguenot population and at their relationship to the crown, studies such as those by Elisabeth Labrousse and Janine Garrisson provide another important element to the Huguenot experience under the Edict of Nantes.²⁶ In Labrousse's *'Une foi, une loi, un roi?'*, although the book is ultimately concerned with showing that the Revocation was the logical result of the religious and political issues of France during the seventeenth century and not the betrayal

²⁴ Luria, *Sacred Boundaries*, 103-142.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, xxvii-xxx. Importantly, Luria makes it clear that it was not a simple chronological evolution and that the different forms of co-existence themselves coincided.

²⁶ Elisabeth Labrousse, *'Une foi, une loi, un roi?'* *Essai sur la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1985); Janine Garrisson, *L'Édit de Nantes et sa révocation: histoire d'une intolérance* (Paris: Editions de Seuil, 1985).

of a progressive attempt at tolerance, much of the text is devoted to describing the Huguenot experience in the seventeenth century.²⁷ In that capacity, Labrousse looks at the evolving legal conditions and the factors contributing to a unique Huguenot experience under the Edict of Nantes, especially in the two decades leading to the Revocation.

Elsewhere, Labrousse closely examines the political and ideological strategies that Huguenots employed in the seventeenth century, discussing their collective myths and the religious identity that emerged.²⁸ Similarly, the socio-cultural studies that make up Philip Benedict's *The Faith and Fortunes of France's Huguenots* also provide contour to the lived experience of French Calvinists, and the final two essays especially are useful for understanding the nature of confessionalization and co-existence in France.²⁹ Together, all of these studies point to the issue of religious difference from different perspectives, whether by discussing the dynamics of confessional existence in France, or by exploring the construction of Huguenot identity; in either case, there is much to be gained by thinking from the perspective of what Benedict calls the “weak theory of confessionalization”.³⁰ What Benedict terms the 'strong theory', which was articulated by historians such as Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling, sees

27 In that capacity, Labrousse's study, and similar work from recent decades helps to enrich and nuance earlier assertions, such as that by Emile Léonard in his *Histoire générale du protestantisme vol.2* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1961), which links many problems that the Huguenots faced to their own apathy and in-fighting; or by Jean Orcibal in his *Louis XIV et les Protestants* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1951), which sees the Revocation as emanating squarely from the will of the king.

28 Labrousse, *Conscience et Conviction*, 69-133.

29 Benedict, *Faith and Fortunes*.

30 *Ibid.*, 313.

confessionalization as process of social ordering where church and state together attempted to better regulate and discipline society. In contrast to this top-down model, the 'weak theory' sees confessionalization as simply a “process of rivalry and emulation” where the different faiths “defined and enforced their particular versions of orthodoxy and orthopraxy, demonized their rivals, and build group cohesion and identity”.³¹ As such, the 'weak theory' captures well the important 'othering' process of forging a confessional identity, something that is a common feature of Huguenot sermons, and allows for the fact that the Huguenots and the crown were often at odds with each other. However, this view must also be nuanced, since the Huguenot Church was constantly negotiating the terms of its existence with the crown, and shared with the crown many of the same concerns about order and morality.

Such an amended view of the 'weak theory', moreover, at the heart of my study, on account of the political engagement of Huguenot sermons. Because they were a uniquely pervasive and important medium, sermons, in an equation of confessionalization, provide a window into that process of othering, and the attempts to demonize the competing confession while concretizing group identity. Sermons provided the vocabulary and the mental tools to forge a particular attitude and identity, establishing the ideological parameters of a confessional group. Sermons also encouraged a specific image of Huguenots to be projected, based on

31 *Ibid.* In addition, Marc Forster's study *Catholic Revival in the Age of the Baroque: Religious Identity in Southwest Germany, 1550-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) challenges the top-down model of confessionalization by showing that religious identity was not imposed on a passive population by elites but, instead, took place through a more dynamic process that was directed from below as well.

their hybrid identity, for those beyond the church and offered an ideological dialogue with the crown.

As noted, the sense of religious particularism began to be forged in the sixteenth century, and the Wars of Religion provided Huguenots with the specific notions of affliction and of being a persecuted minority; this sense of separateness was reinforced by doctrinal difference, especially in the Calvinist concept of election, and found resonance in imagery of the plight of ancient Israel taken from the Old Testament, and from the Psalms in particular.³² As a result, Huguenots by the late sixteenth century had developed a distinct identity based on history, experience, and faith; and from that they saw themselves specifically as God's chosen people, and in a situation where persecution was a sign and a test of that special status. This image of the church remained throughout the seventeenth century and beyond, reinforced by new instances of abuse and a small population.

Until the reign of Henri IV and the Edict of Nantes, Huguenot political identity was defined more by resistance than by monarchical devotion. Informed by de Bèze's resistance theory and monarchomach ideas, and by traumatic experiences such as the St-Bartholomew's Day Massacre, many Huguenots saw the monarchy as a tyrannical power that was oppressing the true religion.³³

32 Luc Racaut, "Religious polemic and Huguenot self-perception and identity, 1554-1619," in *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559-1685* ed. Raymond A. Mentzer and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 29-42; Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross*, 136-142; François Lebrun, *Être chrétien en France sous l'Ancien Régime, 1516-1790* (Paris: Seuil, 1996), 30; Raymond A. Mentzer, "Marking the Taboo: Excommunication in French Reformed Churches," in *Sin and the Calvinists: Morals Control and the Consistory in the Reformed Tradition* ed. Raymond A. Mentzer (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2002), 97.

33 Julian H. Franklin, *Constitutionalism and Resistance in the Sixteenth Century: Three Treatises* (New York: Pegasus, 1969); Hubert Bost, *Ces Messieurs de la RPR: Histoires et écritures de huguenots, xvii^e-xviii^e siècles* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2001), 156-157.

However, with the ascension of Henri, Huguenots began to adopt a more pro-monarchy stance, a position that would become more thoroughgoing after the Peace of Alès, and increasingly so. From 1629 until the Revocation, then, the Huguenot sense of religious particularism was combined with a fervent loyalism to the French crown, creating what Keith Luria calls a “dual collective identity”.³⁴ The same observation has been made elsewhere by other scholars too, such as Mark Greengrass' description of Huguenots as defined through collective myths as a minority in France, but one that shared “the rest of France's love affair with the absolute monarchy”.³⁵ This tension was the result of trying to balance the “poles of obedience” that were their religious and political loyalties,³⁶ although this tension was not incompatible in the minds of many Huguenots, in effect providing their own definition of absolutism. In fact, many Huguenot writers emphasized the intrinsic harmony of the two poles, often positing that it was Catholics who were suspect subjects on account of their allegiance to the pope.³⁷ It is because of such a position that Elisabeth Labrousse refers to the 'hyper-gallicanism' of Huguenots, since they could argue that their loyalties lay squarely within the French kingdom and not beyond the Alps.³⁸ In one sense, such a position, in contrast to the

34 Keith P. Luria, “Sharing Sacred Space: Protestant Temples and Religious Coexistence in the Seventeenth Century,” in *Religious Differences in France, Past and Present* ed. Kathleen Perry Long (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2006), 72.

35 Mark Greengrass, “The French Pastorate: Confessional Identity and Confessionalization in the Huguenot Minority, 1559-1685,” in *The Protestant Clergy of Early Modern Europe* eds. C. Scott Dixon and Luise Schorn-Schütte (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003), 194-195; or see Janine Garrisson's discussion of the tension that existed between their faith and their loyalty to the monarchy in Garrisson, *L'Edit de Nantes et sa révocation*, 41.

36 Hugues Daussy and Véronique Ferrer, *Servir Dieu, le Roi et l'État: Philippe Duplessis-Mornay (1549-1623)* (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 2006), 15-16.

37 Luria, *Sacred Boundaries*, 281-282.

38 Labrousse, “*Une foy*”, 92.

Monarchomachs of the sixteenth century or the Huguenot rebellions of the early seventeenth, marked a return to the politics of Jean Calvin himself, who had counselled obedience and reverence to all magistrates, even to unjust rulers.³⁹ However, it can also be seen as a pragmatic response to the situation in France. In any case, it was a political strategy where such concerns served more than an internal conversation about political views and must also be seen as directed at the crown as well, as a means to express support for the monarchy through a Huguenot filter.

Naturally, neither Louis XIII nor Louis XIV were ever depicted as unjust in Huguenot sermons; the emphasis was always on the sincere obedience owed to them and on their royal generosity, and such discussions allowed ministers to plainly express Huguenot loyalty while positing a legitimate place for Huguenot in France. In part, this was a response to the persistent accusations that Catholics levelled against Huguenots, alluding both to the long Wars of Religion as clear evidence that the Huguenots were seditious rebels and republicans, and to the more abstract notion that Huguenots were antithetical to the Catholic monarchy and the *une foi, une loi, un roi* that defined the French kingdom.⁴⁰ In an important

³⁹ John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, vol.2, ed. John T. McNiell, trans. Ford Lewis Battles (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960), 1485-1513. Of interest here, the 'Calvinist' position did not favour absolute monarchy over other forms of government – if anything, Calvin thought that aristocracies had the best chance of just rule – but stated that all forms are ordained by God and that tyrants should be seen as a punishment. On the other hand, he also notes that God sometimes works through 'agents' to check tyrants. Perhaps since it was not Calvin's – or anyone's – position to promote such agents, he consistently counselled obedience to all magistrates. Importantly, Calvin's assertion that all forms of government are ordained by God potentially accounts for the diverse governments under which Calvinism existed and serves as a basis from which Huguenots adapted to new lands while retaining key Huguenot elements.

⁴⁰ Bost, *Ces Messieurs de la RPR*, 154; Arthur Herman, "The Huguenot Republic and Antirepublicanism in Seventeenth-Century France," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 53:2 (Apr.-Jun. 1992), 250-254.

sense, then, the construction of a Huguenot identity was a dialectical process and a dialogue with Catholic portrayals. After all, Huguenot identity was not formed in a vacuum, nor was it formed strictly according to the desires of the Huguenot community; rather, it developed in conversation and debate with the crown and their Catholic adversaries to create competing narratives, and it was further influenced by religious concerns, social order, and the many extraordinary and mundane conditions that existed on a community level.⁴¹ As a result of all of these factors, the development and maintenance of a collective Huguenot identity necessitated a careful interpretation, distillation, and negotiation of influences and demands in order to ensure – or impose – a more coherent sense of self and community, offering a specific image of the Huguenot community and its place within France, and this is where sermons prove to be so valuable.

Since sermons defy simple analysis, there are important concepts drawn from various historiographical fields and beyond that can be used to uncover their value more readily, such as from sociology, cultural studies, and literary criticism, concepts and disciplines that provide insight into the development of group ideologies and identities.⁴² For instance, Caroline Walker Bynum's approach to Christian metaphors is valuable in its ability to reveal the underlying mental world that produced them, seeing them as representative of the values – sometimes

41 Racaut, “Religious polemic and Huguenot self-perception,” 42-43; Luria, “Sharing Sacred Space,” 54.

42 In Mary Morrissey's article “Interdisciplinarity and the Study of Early Modern Sermons,” in *The Historical Journal* 42:4 (Dec. 1999), her main point of contention is that the study of sermons suffers from the lack of interdisciplinarity, and that historians and literary scholars can learn a lot from each others' methods.

subconscious – of their cultural context.⁴³ Important also are anthropologists such as Clifford Geertz, who is so central to cultural history through his semiotic approach which, like Bynum's insights, are important for exploring the “conceptual world” of a group.⁴⁴ Similarly, Geertz's explanation of how cultural patterns – here religious belief – give meaning and act as a “gloss” on the mundane world is important in showing the inextricable bond between religious and political concerns in Huguenot sermons and in the Huguenot world view more generally.⁴⁵ Together, drawing from such work adds depth to how sermons are conceptualized as a medium of religious instruction, social navigation, and cultural influence, important not only for their effect in shaping the contours of Huguenot identity but also in their ability to speak coherently about the Huguenot condition to audiences beyond the church, namely the French crown.

In addition, sociologists and social psychologists such as Serge Moscovici usefully provide insight into issues such as the inclination of minority groups to establish distinct identities, and the social function of consensus within groups in order to reaffirm identity.⁴⁶ Such ideas are important not only in consideration of

43 Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 7-13.

44 Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (London: Hutchinson and Co. Publishers, Ltd., 1973), 24. Here, his essays “This Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture” and “Religion As a Cultural System” are of greatest importance.

45 *Ibid.*, 93-124.

46 Serge Moscovici, *Social Influence and Social Change* trans. Carol Sherrard and Greta Heinz (London: Academic Press, 1976), 152. Similarly, see the introduction to *Social Representations and Identity Content, Process, and Power* eds. Gail Moloney and Iain Walker (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), about the importance and process of group belonging, and H. Tajfel and J.C. Turner's chapter “An integrative theory of intergroup conflict,” in *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations* eds. W.G. Austin and S. Worcheff (Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing Co., 1979, 33-47), about the composite nature of social identities and the motivation for identification.

the Huguenots as a minority within France, but also in terms of their internal dynamics and the acutely felt need for uniformity through orthodoxy. Similarly, notions of minority influence and identity politics help to illuminate the role that sermons played in offering a definition of the kingdom, seeing them as potent statements from the Huguenot perspective.⁴⁷ Further, concepts such as intersectionality and positionality, which are drawn from post-structuralist feminist and gender studies, can be valuable when their conclusions are introduced to Early Modern confessionalization despite the significantly different contexts.⁴⁸ This can be done as they help to underscore the complexity of the Huguenot situation, while also bringing attention to the fact that different elements of Huguenot identity were based on different social, cultural, or religious relationships, or positions.⁴⁹ After all, although Huguenots were French Protestants, their cultural composition was more than a simple admixture of French and Protestant; rather, Huguenot identity, in addition to being French and Protestant, was influenced by specific historical and social circumstances, factors which were both dynamic and relational, and which contributed to a specific confessional identity.

Finally, the sociology of cultural influence is important for relating sermons to a broader discussion of identity and ideology.⁵⁰ In this case, Ann

47 See Craig Calhoun, *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994).

48 Seventeenth-century French Protestants, naturally, are different than twentieth-century African-American women, but the way in which identity is constituted still holds many valuable lessons.

49 See Leslie McCall, “The Complexity of Intersectionality,” in *Signs* 30:3 (Spring 2005) 1771-1800; Ann Phoenix, “Intersectionality,” in *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13:3 (2006), 187-192), and Linda Alcoff, “Cultural feminism versus post-structuralism: The identity crisis in feminist theory,” in *Signs* 13:4 (Summer 1988), 405-436.

50 See Ann Swindler, “Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies,” in *American Sociological Review* 51:2 (April 1986), 273-286.

Swindler's insights about cultural forms can be applied to sermons. She sees cultural influences as sources that offer a “‘tool kit’ of symbols, stories, rituals, and world-views”, where their causal effects can be seen in 'strategies of action', and where culture “shapes the capacities from which such strategies of action are constructed”.⁵¹ This is a useful way to see sermons, since it emphasizes their cultural influence while acknowledging a role in the production of social capacities and strategies instead of focusing on specific responsive actions, which is more difficult to discern causally. Together, drawing from these disciplines adds depth to how sermons are conceptualized as a medium of religious instruction, social navigation, and cultural influence, important not only for their effect in shaping the contours of Huguenot identity but also in their ability to speak coherently about the Huguenot condition to audiences beyond the church, namely the French crown.

SERMON LITERATURE:

To properly place Huguenot sermons within their religious and political context it is, naturally, important to consult not only the scholarship on French history, but also that of sermons. As an historiographical focus, sermons have been a valuable – if underutilized – source of information, and this is increasingly the case as recent studies have moved away from a simple concern over style and composition, for instance, to more dynamic approaches that place sermons in more

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 273-277.

complex cultural contexts.⁵² This is especially valuable for Early Modern historiography, where the centrality of preaching has long been seen as one of the core characteristics of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations. Many early Protestant reformers, such as Luther, Zwingli, and Bullinger, were noted for their preaching and its role in spreading their message, while one of the major liturgical changes was the abolition of the Mass to be replaced by a sermon focused on Scripture. On the Catholic side, mendicant and Jesuit preachers were instrumental in fighting the spread of Protestantism while, at the same time, continuing and fostering spiritual renewal and religious instruction among the Catholic faithful. In an age of faith, it is natural to look at such expressions of religiosity for insight into the era and to gain access to prevailing beliefs and values, hence their importance to studying pre-modern Europe. However, sermons are not simple and straightforward sources of normative influence about doctrine and belief, but rather complex cultural products whose reception can vary. As a result, sermons can be revealing sources when framed the right way, and many recent studies have found rewarding approaches to answer nuanced questions about the role of sermons in society and religious belief.

Any study of Huguenot sermons must begin with Françoise Chevalier's comprehensive study, *Prêcher Sous L'Édit de Nantes*, which is a largely quantitative study of hundreds of Huguenot sermons preached and printed during the seventeenth century.⁵³ In the work, Chevalier explores the training and

⁵² Morrissey, "Interdisciplinarity", 1111-1112.

⁵³ Françoise Chevalier, *Prêcher Sous L'Édit de Nantes: La prédication réformée au XVIIe siècle en France* (Geneva: Labor et fides, 1994).

formation of the ministers and the major themes found in their sermons, while also demonstrating how these sermons were products of the conditions that developed under the Edict of Nantes. Until Chevalier's study, the most extensive study was Alexandre Vinet's *Histoire de la Prédication*, which was published a century and a half earlier as a collection of biographical studies of leading preachers.⁵⁴ Apart from these studies, the work of Kristine Wirts, Peter Bayley's *French Pulpit Oratory* and the volume on the Reformation in Hughes Oliphant Old's series *The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures* all employ Huguenot sermons prominently, at least in focused sections.⁵⁵ These latter two titles are less extensively – or exclusively – concerned with Huguenot sermons, but they still each provide unique perspective to the topic, examining the homiletic, literary, and oratorical qualities that were common to them. Such works help to redress the underutilization of sermons as historical sources, but apart from Wirts' studies, these examples take the sermon as the end and not just the means of the historical enquiry.

This is not to say, of course, that their conclusions do not reach beyond the nature of sermons, since Chevalier and Bayley both provide useful insights about

54 Alexandre Vinet, *Histoire de la Prédication parmi les Réformés de France au dix-septième siècle* (Paris, 1860).

55 Kristine M. Wirts, *From the Pulpit to the People: Huguenot Rhetoric and Ideology During the Era of Religious Conflict* (PhD diss., Auburn University, 2003); see also her articles “Cordeaux d’Humanité: Huguenot Artisans and the Ideology of Community,” *Cahiers d’Histoire* 26 (Automne, 2006), 21-38 and “Droit divin et humain: The Rhetoric of Huguenot Resistance,” *Argumentum, Revue du Séminaire de Logique discursive, Théorie de l’argumentation et Rhétorique* 5 (2006/2007), 145-160; Peter Bayley, *French Pulpit Oratory 1598-1650: A Study in themes and styles, with a Descriptive Catalogue of printed texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Hugues Oliphant Old, *The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church: Volume 4, The Age of the Reformation* (Grand Rapids: W.E. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 2002), 409-448.

the broad socio-cultural and confessional influence of sermons. Chevalier, for instance, calls ministers “privileged witnesses of the life of their communities”, and that through their sermons we “perceive the religious atmosphere of the seventeenth century”.⁵⁶ That is, beyond being a record of religious instruction, Huguenot sermons show the marks of the confessional struggle from which they emerged, and are a way to understand broader concerns. For Peter Bayley, the sermon is a “record of temperament, taste, and convention, and an especially valuable record at a time when church-going is widespread and mass media are unknown”.⁵⁷ Again, the implication of Bayley's understanding is that sermons reflect cultural characteristics of their native community beyond simply spiritual and moral orthodoxy. Nonetheless, Wirts' work is most revealing about the social and cultural insight that sermons provide. By looking at sermons with an eye to how the metaphors and analogies employed reflect the social composition and the material reality of Huguenots, Wirts is able to show the value in sermons as a means to create a sense of community and mobilize the Huguenot population through a carefully thought-out ideological position. In this way, all three scholars not only provide detailed analyses of Huguenot homiletics, but explore other dimensions of preached and printed sermons as well, demonstrating how sermons contain evidence of social norms and cultural values.

Taking that approach further are a number of historians for whom sermons play a central role in understanding the religious culture of pre-modern Europe as

⁵⁶ Chevalier, *Prêcher*, 10.

⁵⁷ Bayley, *French Pulpit Oratory*, 4.

well as society more broadly. For example, David D'Avray looks at the rise of Franciscan preaching in the Middle Ages, linking it to the increased role of preaching in general and, as such, the advent of the sermon as a form of 'mass communication' in the thirteenth century.⁵⁸ And while D'Avray locates part of the impact of sermons in their being an important medium before the development of the printing press, many of his insights are nonetheless important to the study of sermons during the Reformation, when the printing press played a crucial role. In the first place, D'Avray explores the ways in which sermons influenced thought and behaviour, highlighting the role of recurrence – or the frequent occurrence of common themes – and seeing it as a “form of power”.⁵⁹ Moreover, the power of recurrence can exist as repetition within sermons – as a rhetorical device – and across sermons – as a common theme or image. In either case, the repetition helps to solidify ideas in the memory and to reify their truth and consequences, a quality of frequent preaching. In describing the pervasiveness and impact of sermons, D'Avray uses the imagery of modern print media, likening pre-modern sermons to newspapers and magazines.⁶⁰ Again, the emphasis is on repetition and cumulative effect, while acknowledging that individual influence is impossible to know. Nonetheless, D'Avray concludes that sermons had a significant but variable influence on attitudes, explaining that when an “idea is constantly repeated [...] some will be unaffected, some will be heavily influenced, and many will fall

58 D.L. D'Avray, *Medieval Marriage Sermons: Mass Communication in a Culture without Print* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

59 *Ibid.*, 8.

60 *Ibid.*, 14-30.

between the two poles”.⁶¹ In addition to recognizing the power of repetition, the idea of aggregate influence will be important to my study, functioning, like strategies of action, to indicate the broad ideological power of sermons.

Hervé Martin's *Le Métier de Prédicateur*, which examines preachers in Northern France from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, is another exemplary medieval sermon study, which explores a number of concerns related to preaching, from the training of preachers to their use of rhetorical devices.⁶² Martin also looks at the relationship between preacher and audience, while concluding about some of the broad religious uses and influences of preaching.⁶³ Importantly, Martin also shows how sermons can reveal broad cultural traits, in this case a widespread eschatological angst.

However, sermons not only serve as a record of cultural characteristics, but as an influence too, a point made in Anne Thayer's essay “Ramifications of Late Medieval Preaching”. She explores the relationship between late-medieval sermon themes and the popularity of Protestantism, finding trends that suggest an influential role for sermons, and providing important insights by seeing people acting on their religious understandings that were formed through sermons.⁶⁴ Working from that, Thayer moves on to an explanation of the sermon's import in that regard, stating that the “ideas taught in regular preaching provided the

61 *Ibid.*, 14.

62 Hervé Martin, *Le Métier de Prédicateur en France Septentrionale à la fin du Moyen Age (1350-1520)* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1988).

63 *Ibid.*, 619-620.

64 Anne T. Thayer, “Ramifications of Late Medieval Preaching: Varied Receptivity to the Protestant Reformation,” in *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period* ed. Larissa Taylor (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, Inc., 2003), 359.

religious and mental equipment with which people made sense of their lives and evaluated, and sometimes adopted, new understandings”.⁶⁵ Because of this, although model sermon collections cannot reveal everything about the message and its audience, they still provide an “excellent access to the ideas in circulation from which many preachers were regularly drawing inspiration”.⁶⁶ Together, these conclusions highlight the value of sermons as a window into mental world shared by preachers and their audiences, an important starting point for this study as it explores sermons and their imagery, and their role in shaping Huguenot identity.

In many successful Reformation-era sermon studies, some of the scholarly approaches already seen are once again present. Both in her monograph *Soldiers of Christ* and in the essay collection *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period*, for which she is the editor, Larissa Taylor explores the centrality of sermons to Early Modern society and culture, and their effect on belief and action.⁶⁷ After warning against sermon studies that see their textual focus as simply a “literary genre, without reference to the social, political, and religious context”, or “*only* as examples of oratory and style” without an appreciation for their spiritual purpose, Taylor suggests that such studies fail to recognize important components of the purpose and reception of sermons.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 361.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ Larissa Taylor, *Soldiers of Christ: Preaching in Late Medieval and Reformation France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); *Preachers and People*. This is also the case for works such as Beth Kreitzer's *Reforming Mary: Changing Images of the Virgin Mary in Lutheran Sermons of the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), where sermons provide a window into evolving religious sensibilities along with revealing the gender norms of a society.

⁶⁸ Taylor, *Soldiers of Christ*, 52. [author's emphasis]

Naturally, rhetorical and oratorical concerns help to uncover the efficacy, appeal, and force of sermons, but that is only part of the picture. So, in response to this, Taylor offers that sermons reveal not only the preacher's own motivations but also elements of the “religious sentiments of his age”;⁶⁹ and more broadly still, sermons provide a glimpse of contemporary *mentalités*.⁷⁰ Much of the same perspective is carried into *Preachers and People*, both by Taylor and by the other contributors. Here, Taylor focuses on the unique circumstances of France, but the collection as a whole shows how the impact of sermons transcended borders. The result is a mapping of the “mental landscape” of the Reformation era through preaching, while recognizing that recovering individual experiences is an improbable task;⁷¹ from that, Taylor and others conclude that the sermon “not only reflected the beliefs and interests of the society in which it took place, but had the power to influence that society in a very active way”.⁷² Similar positions are taken by other historians in the collection, such as Corrie Norman's assertion that sermons can be a revealing source of “lived religion”, and as a vehicle of communication, it is a “medium of exchange” and not just a means of “social control” exerted by ministers.⁷³ Together, these works provide rich examples of how to read sermons for the sake of gleaning evidence into their contemporary mental world, providing examples of the images and ideas that people used to interpret the world around them, and showing that sermons are more than just a record of preachers'

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 56.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 226.

⁷¹ Larissa Taylor, “Preface,” in *Preachers and People*, ix-x.

⁷² Larissa Taylor, “Dangerous Vocations: Preaching in France in the Late Middle Ages and Reformations,” in *Preachers and People*, 119.

⁷³ Corrie E. Norman, “The Social History of Preaching: Italy,” in *Preachers and People*, 162-171.

perspective. Such concerns will also be present in this current study, not only in terms of their relationship to a Huguenot audience but to a broader French audience too.

Further contributing to an understanding of the scope of sermons' effect is Megan Armstrong's *The Politics of Piety*, which, by looking Franciscans during the Wars of religion, demonstrates the important role that preaching had in shaping political opinion and directing discussions about the nature of the French monarchy.⁷⁴ And finally, examining sermons within processes of conversion and identification, work by Andrew Pettegree places them alongside media such as images, plays, and pamphlets; but the sermon was unique among them by being both a central part of “church life” while also playing “an important role in the wider information culture of premodern society”.⁷⁵ Moreover, in Pettegree's 'culture of persuasion', he echoes what has been noted elsewhere in terms of the development of a “particular form of social self-identification” for Huguenots, based both on unique ecclesiology and on a sense of “embattlement”.⁷⁶ What this shows, then, is that although sermons were not alone in shaping religious behaviour or cultural perspective, they are an invaluable window into the process of confessional persuasion and the development of unique group identities.

Collectively, these studies demonstrate how sermons are a uniquely important source for examining religious sensibilities and broader cultural beliefs

⁷⁴ Armstrong, *The Politics of Piety*.

⁷⁵ Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 10; and see also *Cultures of Communication from Reformation to Enlightenment: Constructing publics in the early modern German lands*, ed. James Van Horn Melton (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2002).

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 195-197.

by identifying the mental tools that were available to people, a position that is integral to my own reading of Huguenot sermons. Sermons, moreover, were something that all Huguenots experienced, and those sermons formed a repository of ideas and images to make sense of their situation in France, and to interpret it in a specific way. In asserting a position that was rooted in being a separate religious group but one with an abiding devotion to the monarchy, sermons reveal a particular political strategy aiming to legitimize a place in the kingdom for the Huguenot Church, a strategy derived from their sense of identity within France. In arriving at this understanding of group identity, sermons were instrumental in providing an interpretive vocabulary aimed at their position in France, whereby the two poles of their identity were both essential and necessarily compatible, and done in a way that spoke both to the Huguenot faithful and to the crown.

SERMONS AS TEXT AND EVENT:

While these aforementioned studies highlight the historiographical value of sermons, they also bring attention to the problematic areas of the genre, which are found primarily in issues of transmission and reception, and in the relationship between the sermon as text and event. In many ways, these are related issues, and a consequence of trying to reconstruct the impact of sermons within their contemporary context in relation to the version that exists for posterity. However, for this study here, those difficulties are, in fact, valuable, since they point to the multiple contexts and audiences with which sermons engaged. In terms of

transmission, the issue is about how accurately the text reflects the spoken sermons. There is internal evidence that suggests that the form that printed Huguenot sermons took in the seventeenth century closely resembles the oral version on which it was based; this is in contrast to being abridged or revised versions, which was often the case elsewhere.⁷⁷ For instance, in a sermon on Hebrews 13:15, Charles Drelincourt begins by saying: “we told you last Sunday...”.⁷⁸ Louis Herault, a minister at Alençon, also invokes a “last time” and a “last Sunday” in sermons from one of his published collections.⁷⁹ That few modifications were made between the preached and printed form of Huguenot sermons is also a conclusion that Françoise Chevalier reaches.⁸⁰ That this is the case is important for being able to make inferences about the content of seventeenth-century sermons. However, the relationship between the printed word and preached word is, in many respects, only part of the puzzle. It is for this reason that historians speak of a more holistic and complex 'sermon as event'. Reducing the sermon to simply a text misses many important aspects, since the preached sermon was at once oral and textual, it was conditioned by the environment in which it was delivered, and it was both presented from a position of authority and mediated between preacher and audience. At heart, a sermon was thus a didactic

77 Jonathan Strom, “Preaching and Discipline: the Case of Seventeenth-century Rostock,” in *Cultures of Communication from Reformation to Enlightenment: Constructing publics in the early modern German lands*, ed. James van Horn Melton (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2002), 79.

78 Charles Drelincourt, *Recueil de Sermons sur Divers Passages de l'Écriture Sainte*, vol. 3 (Geneva, 1664), 407.

79 Louis Herault, *Le Pacifique Royal en Duel, compris en douze Sermons sur quelques textes de l'Écriture* (Saumur, 1649), 30 & 128. Note also that printed sermons also retained many vocative phrases such as “mes frères”, “mes frères bien aimés”, or on occasion “mes soeurs”.

80 Chevalier, *Prêcher*, 11.

spectacle, aiming to communicate the social and religious necessities of the community while also a dialogue with a mixed audience. Moreover, the readership of published sermons introduces more breadth and variety in terms of audience.

In trying to capture these many dimensions of a sermon, the difficulty of the 'event' becomes clear. The unrecoverable elements of the environment and experience mean that making firm conclusions about the spectacle of the preached sermon is a complicated prospect. Andrew Pettegree and Larissa Taylor agree that reconstructing the event of the sermon is difficult, if not impossible;⁸¹ and Peter Bayley adds that making the leap between printed and preached version is so problematic that it is perhaps not worth the effort in the first place.⁸² In response to the difficulties entailed, the emphasis on reconstruction shifts to reception – to look for evidence of the impact of preaching. In that regard, judging reaction has followed two general paths – either looking at individual reactions or looking at broader movements as responses to the preached message. For the former, the task involves appealing to diaries, letters, or complaints, and looking at what people consciously thought about a preacher and his sermons.⁸³ Unfortunately, few such sources exist for Huguenots.⁸⁴ For the latter, historians look for cases of, for instance, interpersonal violence or iconoclasm and the underlying attitudes that

81 Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, 11; Taylor, "Introduction," *Preachers and People*, x. As a sign of the general concern with reconstructing the sermon as event, many of the other contributors to *Preachers and People* also comment on the state of the problem, such as: Norman, "Social History," 162; Susan C. Karant-Nunn, "Preaching the Word in Early Modern Germany," 216; Lee Palmer Wandel, "Switzerland," 222.

82 Bayley, *French Pulpit Oratory*, 16.

83 James Thomas Ford, "Preaching in the Reformed Tradition", in *Preachers and People*, 81-85. Unfortunately, Philip Benedict has found that Huguenots kept few diaries or personal records, or at least few have survived (*Faith and Fortunes*, 153).

84 Benedict, *Faith and Fortunes*, 153. Benedict notes that Huguenots kept few diaries or personal records.

support such responses, as a measure of audience impact, or as “examples of behaviors that demonstrated responses to preachers”.⁸⁵ Seeing sermons as an influence on 'strategies of action' and employing D'Avray's insight about repetition, this study takes the position that the value and impact of sermons are found in the themes, images, and interpretations that are present as a result of a dialogue between pastor and audience. After all, the means of establishing a strong Huguenot identity under the Edict of Nantes was a continuous process, and it is one in which sermons played an integral part. Acknowledging that printed Huguenot sermons closely resemble the text of the preached version, the extant pages are, therefore, a close reflection of the *words* preached and thus of the vocabulary and symbolism employed. As a result, they display the ideological framework and the specific imagery used to discuss the place of Huguenots within France and within God's plan. In that way, the evidence for the impact of sermons will be found with reference to the essential components of Huguenot identity that have been identified by other scholars.

The fact that the great majority of extant Huguenot sermons were published means that their printed existence must also be included in the equation. To a certain extent, they simply form an extension of the influence effected by preached sermons, since they are effectively a recorded sample of all of the sermons preached; however, they are not a random sample, but often the best sermons of the most pre-eminent ministers, and so they are exceptional as much as they are

⁸⁵ Taylor, “Dangerous Vocations,” in *Preachers and People*, 91. Such as position is also instrumental in informing such works as Davis' “The Rites of Violence,” Diefendorf's *Beneath the Cross*, and Armstrong's *The Politics of Piety*, in which sermons serve as both a proximate cause for acute events and as a contributing influence on deeper attitudes and beliefs.

typical. Printed sermons also introduced new audiences and new forms of interaction; they were used as *exempla* and as inspiration for the composition of other sermons, and they were read privately as devotional literature and as part of the “*culte domestique*” in Huguenot households, where the father would read them aloud to the rest of the household.⁸⁶ In these capacities, the sermon existed in a different medium and so was received under a different set of circumstance, but it was an opportunity for the same message to be repeated again.

Considering the concerted attempts made by the crown to control the printing and book-selling industries, the appearance of Huguenot sermons from the printing presses or as volumes sold openly at book vendors entails a more complicated political relationship as well. Therefore, the history of Huguenot printed sermons charts an important trajectory bearing on the position of Huguenots in France. Although pre-publication censorship only slowly became better enforced over the seventeenth century, books printed in France under Louis XIII and Louis XIV ostensibly existed by virtue of royal permission.⁸⁷ Huguenot sermons published in France would, therefore, have been tacitly approved by royal censors. This places the crown and the Catholic Church as further audiences, and means that the sermons were deemed, at least, sufficiently innocuous from the crown's perspective and, at most, could be seen to participate in what Henri-Jean Martin calls the crown's “cultural policy” of using language and printing to

⁸⁶ Chevalier, *Prêcher*, 31-32.

⁸⁷ Henri-Jean Martin, *Le Livre français sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris: Promodis, 1987), 143; Henri-Jean Martin, *The French Book: Religion Absolutism, and Readership, 1585-1715* trans. Paul Saenger and Nadine Saenger (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 29-40.

promote royal authority and public order in the kingdom.⁸⁸ Moreover, beginning with Richelieu, censorship was combined with sponsorship, so that the crown was involved in both limiting and encouraging works, depending on their value.⁸⁹ This means that Huguenot publications could have played a role in support of crown policy and, ultimately, to promote the absolutist aspirations of the monarchy. As this study will show, though, this promotion of absolutism came with a unique Huguenot flavour.

The circumstances are different, but not entirely so, for Huguenot sermons printed beyond the French borders. As Joseph Klaitz points out, it was easier for the crown to regulate printing than to control distribution;⁹⁰ and, indeed, many Huguenot sermon collections were printed abroad, especially in Geneva, which, according to Henri-Jean Martin, was a simpler process for Huguenots than printing within France.⁹¹ Therefore, although there was still a relationship between the crown and the Huguenot population in foreign-printed texts that was mediated through censorship, it was of a different sort than that which existed for domestically-produced texts. There was less pre-publication supervision possible, but the fact that the texts carry the place of publication and the author's name demonstrates that they were not trying to hide their provenance; they, therefore,

88 Martin, *The French Book*, 31. Martin also notes that this policy included the desire to shape the “religious and intellectual life” of the kingdom, but it seems unlikely that Protestant publications could be categorized in this way, at least in terms of religious belief.

89 Joseph Klaitz, *Printed Propaganda under Louis XIV: Absolute Monarchy and Public Opinion* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 8.

90 *Ibid.*, 36.

91 Henri-Jean Martin, “Les Relations Entre Les Libraires Genevois et la France au XVIIe Siècle,” in *Cinq Siècles d'Imprimerie Genevoise: Actes du Colloque International sur l'histoire de l'imprimerie et du livre à Genève, 27-30 avril 1978* eds. Jean-Daniel Candaux and Bernard Lescaze (Geneva: Société d'histoire et d'archéologie, 1980), 292-294.

most likely circulated openly among Huguenot vendors and patrons with at least tacit knowledge by the authorities.⁹² In both cases – whether a domestic or a foreign publication – the state of censorship, haphazard as it might have been, meant that sermon texts existed as a political discourse between Huguenot ministers, Catholic leaders, and the crown, on account of their contents and by virtue of their existence.

From the beginnings of Huguenot worship in France, the sermon was a ubiquitous form of moral, doctrinal, and social discourse. However, the presence of printed sermons on any scale was limited to a much more limited period – during the period studied here – and that requires some explanation. The above pages describe the context, but that alone does not explain the history of printed sermons. For that, unfortunately, there are more questions than answers, although there are some interesting points. The issue in this regard is: why did printed Huguenot sermons begin to appear in number in the 1630s and then decline sharply from the 1660s onwards?⁹³

The second half of the question is more straightforward, since the decline in the number of printed sermons corresponds with the increased legal repression that followed the beginning of Louis XIV's personal rule. For instance, in a *règlement* from April 1666 concerning the exercise of the Reformed religion, there is an article aimed specifically at limiting the publication of Huguenot religious

92 Such marks of clandestinity include false titles, authors, and publishers, or a lack of publication information on the title page.

93 This trajectory is based on Henri-Jean Martin's study of Paris in *Livre, Pouvoir et Société à Paris au XVIIe siècle, 1598-1701* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1999), which makes use of Alexandru Cioranescu's calculations.

works, reinforcing many of the earlier rules and emphasizing the need to gain permission from local magistrates and crown officials before any text could be published.⁹⁴ The article also insists upon collective responsibility among Huguenot ministers to make sure that nothing inappropriate was printed from among their ranks. The same requirements were reiterated in an *arrêt* from November 1670.⁹⁵ Such specific regulations are but two instances within a much broader torrent of legislation aimed at the Huguenot population, especially the ministers, legislation that, take together, was able to profoundly limit aspects of Huguenot religious and social life, print culture among them. This was especially true because of the improved censorship apparatus that had been introduced by Richelieu and then Mazarin. Though there are undoubtedly more elements, whether cultural or confessional, that contributed to the drop in published sermons – a trend that coincided with a sharp rise in printed Catholic sermons – the legal backdrop provides a compelling narrative to explain the downward trajectory.

Printing trends in the early seventeenth century, however, are much more difficult to explain, requiring a journey back to the sixteenth century to better explain conditions. The Edict of Châteaubriant of 1551 marked a seminal moment of religious censorship in the Reformation era, as it attempted to stem the tide of heresy by targeting books, prohibiting texts from Geneva and requiring published material to be approved by Paris' Faculty of Theology. However, the development of a clandestine book trade and the lack of effective means of widespread

⁹⁴ *Recueil Général des Anciennes Lois Françaises, depuis l'An 420 jusq'à la Révolution de 1789*, eds. François-André Isambert et al. (Paris: Librairie de Plon Frères, 1822-1833), vol. 18, 78.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 424.

censorship meant that Calvinist texts continued to exist in France. Regulations required publications to have the king's seal to be legal during this time, while the edicts of toleration that concluded the many instalments of the Wars of Religion often contained concessions for Huguenot printing in places with established worship. This idea was enshrined in the Edict of Nantes too, which allowed Huguenot books to be published, so long as they were not considered libellous or defamatory.⁹⁶ Books could even be brought to Huguenot towns – or places of established worship – from elsewhere, but in all cases, the texts would be scrutinized by crown officials and Catholic theologians. Moreover, individual sermons might be confiscated, and their authors and publishers punished, if the contents were deemed seditious.⁹⁷ All together, though, such conditions meant that, in theory, Huguenots could publish and sell sermons legitimately in France so long as they avoided the most incendiary language, and yet there is no evidence that this actually took place from the reign of Henri IV. Catholic sermons were being published – such as those by Pierre de Besse published in Paris – as were other Huguenot texts – such as Pierre Du Moulin's *Apologie pour la sainte cene* in La Rochelle – but no Huguenot sermons. In Geneva, where a significant number of Huguenot sermons would be published during the seventeenth century, sermons by Theodore de Bèze or the Lausanne minister Nicolas Séguier were coming off the presses, but it seems not to have been until the 1620s when the sermons of Samuel Durant, one of Charenton's ministers, were first printed in Geneva.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 15, 177-178.

⁹⁷ Alfred Soman, "Press, Pulpit, and Censorship in France before Richelieu," in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 120:6 (Dec. 1976), 439-463.

Under Louis XIII, the legal and institutional aspects of printing and censorship began to change. In 1618, printers in Paris were separated from the university and organized into a guild,⁹⁸ although the Faculty of Theology still retained a censorship role. It was under the direction of Richelieu, though, as mentioned above, that more effective forms of control over print media were developed. Since such developments also corresponded with the final end to the Huguenot rebellions, the marked rise in printed Huguenot sermons that began in the 1630s began after numerous significant changes in the political and religious atmosphere within the kingdom. As a result, it is difficult to isolate a clear explanation for that rise and, like the decline four decades later, is likely attributable to a variety of conditions.

In terms of the legal-institutional factors, it makes sense that, at least for the Huguenot printers in Paris, the publication of sermons – or any other religious text for that matter – would have begun in earnest *after* control of the printing industry was shifted away from the arch-Catholic Faculty of Theology. Apart from that, though, it would seem logical that printed Huguenot sermons would have flourished in the immediate wake of the Edict of Nantes, when they were a legitimate religious minority with legally-enshrined liberties, and where the print industry lacked comprehensive means of regulation or censorship. However, the opposite is true – Huguenot sermons were printed in greater number as controls over the print trade became better instituted. It follows, then, that the Huguenot book trade may have benefited from a more clearly articulated regime of printing

⁹⁸ *Recueil Général*, vol. 16, 117.

and selling. That is, it may have been easier or more effective to bring texts to print under a system that had better defined policies, institutions, and authorities through which Huguenots, as an isolated minority, could operate. At the same time, greater numbers of Huguenot sermons began to be printed in Geneva, joining the trade of religious texts that helped to meet the demand of Huguenot markets.⁹⁹

Yet, although benefitting from a reorganization of the book trade may explain a rise in Huguenot publications, a rise in sermons in particular may be due in part to the changing confessional dynamics of France. As many have noted, the incendiary tone of religious polemic decreased over the course of the seventeenth century as a new *status quo* developed and as the crown discouraged the most provocative works. To be sure, religious controversy never left France under the Edict of Nantes; the Huguenot reading public retained a penchant for confessional debate,¹⁰⁰ and Huguenot ministers remained at the forefront of such encounters. However, it took more nuanced forms, often through devotional literature, such as sermons, or controversial works asserting orthodoxy and debating doctrine. Moreover, according to Philip Benedict, there was a growing appetite for sermons by the Huguenot public over the seventeenth century.¹⁰¹ As a result, the increase in printed sermons may also be due in part to these factors – a greater demand for sermons or an evolving intellectual climate, along with a shift in the tone of confessional debate in which elements of religious controversy were confronted through less acerbic texts. Related to that second point, an increase in printed

99 Martin, “Les Relations”, 292-294.

100Benedict, *Faith and Fortunes*, 170.

101*Ibid.*, 171.

sermons may also reflect new priorities that came out of the *status quo* established by the Edict of Nantes, whereby issues of belief and action, though treated through a confessional lens, were often focused more on internal discussions than across the religious divide. This is not to say that the role of sermons fundamentally changed under the Edict of Nantes (as in the sixteenth century, they continued to be at once pastoral, polemical, and political), but that their ability to be a multivalent medium allowed them to acquire a significant printed presence, fulfilling a vital ideological role for Huguenot ministers.

In the end, there is no perfectly satisfying explanation for the marked increase in printed sermons in the 1630s, although there are a number of circumstances that provide hints. Considering that printed Catholic sermons decreased in the same decades and were outnumbered by Huguenot ones for a while,¹⁰² it is possible that the reasons were unique to the Huguenot situation, or at least were rooted in the confessional dynamics of seventeenth-century France. And while the eventual decline of printed Huguenot sermons seems connected to the worsening legal situation in the years that led to the Revocation, the emergence of those texts decades earlier is more enigmatic. Ultimately, it seems reasonable to conclude that some of the conditions that defined the greatest period of relative stability for the French Reformed Church, whether legal, social, or religious, also contributed to the rise of sermons as a printed genre for the Huguenot community.

This printing context and the relationships that it entailed form a central part of my argument because they demonstrate a response to the conditions and

102 Henri-Jean Martin, *Livre, Pouvoir et Société*, 1070.

multiple audiences for whom a discussion of Huguenot identity was directed.¹⁰³ That is, these sermons were a forum to portray Huguenots in a certain way in response to Catholic portrayals and in relation to the crown; and, since the sermons were unfailingly positive about the crown and its sovereignty, they can be seen to support not only the monarchy but also absolutist ideology.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, following Charlotte Wells' conception of citizenship in Early Modern France, these sermons support the absolutist idea of a citizen as an obedient subject to the king that emerged in the seventeenth century.¹⁰⁵ For, Huguenot ministers were contributing to the debate about citizenship by offering a position that placed national – or royal – affinity firmly before local ties, and they were doing so even as belonging to the kingdom and dutifully serving the king became increasingly tied to a subject's Catholic faith. Nonetheless, by virtue of positing the legitimacy of religious pluralism, they were also challenging the image of Bourbon absolutism and the catholicity of subjecthood; therefore, the sermons of Huguenot ministers were engaging in a debate about what absolutist France should look like and not simply aping the royal position.

All together, these different media in which sermons existed, and the different audiences with which they engaged, illustrate the variety of ways that

103This non-Huguenot audience can also be seen in the government observers that were sent to Huguenot services to monitor and make sure that sermons did not contain criticisms of the crown or especially incendiary remarks about the Catholic Church.

104Jason Sager notes a similar phenomenon of invoking royal authority, but in controversial tracts, in his article “‘God Reigning through You, Reigns with You’: The Charenton Controversy and the Development of Royal Authority in Early Bourbon France,” in *The Catholic Historical Review* 98:3 (July 2012), 456-475.

105Charlotte C. Wells, *Law and Citizenship in Early Modern France* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 96-117.

sermons were disseminated and encountered, but also the discursive constraints that were necessarily placed upon them. That is, in addition to being concerned with religious instruction and devotion, sermons were also engaging in an ongoing dialogue with various different audiences, defining the place of Huguenots in France. In that way, sermons are both an important force for shaping Huguenot identity as well as a reflection of the relationship between minister and audience and of mental tools upon which that identity was founded; they provide, as a result, a valuable window into the formation of the Huguenot confessional identity and debates about the nature of the French kingdom, and one that has so far been underutilized.

DIVISION OF THE TEXT:

To thoroughly explore the relationship between Huguenot sermons, confessional identity, and ideas about Huguenot's as subjects of the French crown, this study is divided into three parts: the first part provides details about the Huguenot Church, its ministers, and their sermons; the second part examines the two main axes of Huguenot identity from 1629 onwards as they exist as sermon themes – religious particularism and political loyalism – and how they were arranged to create a coherent ideology; and the third part provides 'case studies' of sermons in which the themes of religious particularism and political inclusion find a buttressing voice beyond the most obvious sermon topics.

The first part looks at the institutional context of Huguenot ministers and

their sermons, such as the academies that trained them and the synods that supplied networks and served as the locus for national and provincial ecclesiastical organization and decision-making. Emphasizing the centripetal forces that came out of these institutions, I posit that, despite the diversity that resulted from local differences and minor theological disputes, there was a unity of purpose and message that existed which linked Huguenots throughout France ideologically, especially from the 1630s onwards, a unity made possible by those institutions and networks.

The second part establishes in two chapters how the two poles of Huguenot identity were articulated in sermons, first by looking at the ways in which Huguenot religious particularism was constructed, and second by looking at how their position within France was conceived. On the religious side, Huguenot uniqueness was supported through biblically-based arguments, where their situation in France was interpreted providentially and where the doctrinal differences that separated them from the papacy were repeatedly emphasized. On the political side, the Bible also formed the basis of the discussions, whereby scriptural injunctions about the requirement to submit to superior authorities provided the foundation for Huguenot obedience to the crown. However, this political position was further informed by references to recent history that were used as models and precedents for continued Huguenot loyalty. Seen together, this religious particularism and political loyalism provided the general foundation of Huguenot identity that saw Huguenots as a necessary part of France but

necessarily separate from their Catholic neighbours, offering their own take on absolutism in the process.

The third part of the dissertation provides examples for how these two components of Huguenot confessional identity permeated the discussions within other homiletic themes. In two chapters, the focus is on marriage and gender and how they reinforced the ideas of order, hierarchy, and difference that were essential to establishing the ideological framework of their identity. That is, marriage was used as a practical means to define the Huguenot community while it also provided the imagery of obedience and difference that reinforced the need to be distinct from the Catholic Church and true to the Reformed faith while also being loyal and dutiful to the king. The final chapter looks at the legacy of Huguenot identity beyond the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, showing how sermons preached by ministers who fled France after the Revocation continued to employ many of the same themes of identity in their adopted countries in trying to retain their sense of being God's chosen people while negotiating new political loyalties. What becomes evident is that many aspects of Huguenot identity that were forged under the Edict of Nantes continued to define Huguenot communities after 1685 within France and beyond its borders, showing how thoroughly debates about political and religious ideology were interwoven throughout sermons.

Throughout the chapters, then, the central argument is that sermons were instrumental in shaping Huguenot confessional identity and, in the process

contributing a unique position on absolutism in France, even if it is one that was ultimately rejected in 1685. Through their sermons, therefore, Huguenot ministers were not only defining the contours of confessional identity for the Huguenot faithful, but also defining their place in France to a much broader audience as well. The key elements of Huguenot identity have been well-established by other historians, but by focusing on sermons – that most penetrating of media – the success of that identity and its ideological framework become clearer. Sermons were at the heart of Huguenot worship, but they also provided the mental tools that Huguenots had at their disposal in order to negotiate the loyalties that they felt to church and crown. At the same time, by employing imagery appropriated for the Huguenot cause but common to all French people, these sermons – and their position on the nature of the French polity – could be readily understood by the crown and the Catholic Church, providing an alternative version of absolutism that included Huguenots in the equation. This situation resulted from an intersection of competing influences, and was shaped within the turbulent political and religious situation of seventeenth-century France; it was then distilled by sermons through a repetition of themes and images, shaping beliefs, attitudes, and plans of action, resulting in a form of political engagement. All of this was integral as the foundation for the broad desire for Huguenots to maintain their existence in France, but also to actively attempt to shape that existence.

Moreover, the construction and negotiation of Huguenot identity also reveals how complex the process of confessionalization could be. Following the

evidence from sermons, the 'weak theory' of confessionalization closely approximates the situation experienced by Huguenots. However, insofar as Huguenot concerns about order and morality were in concert with those of the crown, and insofar as Huguenots contributed to discussions about the nature of French absolutism, notions of agency, cooperation, and dialogue need to be considered part of the process too. Eventually, the Revocation would rupture the uneasy balance that Huguenot identity had found and reject their political vision of France. But this was not before a number of decades had passed in which Huguenots reconciled their loyalties between church and state, experiencing a particular form of confessionalization that was shaped and interpreted by sermons. For Huguenot ministers, sermons were essential for negotiating and broadcasting the elements necessary to produce the hybrid identity that accounted for the complex nature of their religious and political affinities and which formed the basis of their political vision.

CHAPTER ONE
THE MEDIUM AND THE MESSENGERS

When Drelincourt, Daillé, and Mestrezat together took to the pulpit on that August day in 1636, the sermons that they preached did not emerge out of a vacuum, but were conditioned by numerous forces. Their sermons were shaped by their own academic formation, the expectations that they needed to fulfil, laws and regulations that governed their vocation, their relationships with each other and their parishioners, and by the broader social and cultural context in which they worked. Each minister, therefore, brought their own experiences to their sermons, but each minister also shared with his colleagues profound similarities in purpose and perspective, similarities that allow their sermons to be seen as a collective record of the Huguenot experience over the course of the seventeenth century. As both a reflection of Huguenot norms, and an integral means to reinforce them, sermons, and the ministers who composed them, are uniquely placed to explore how Huguenots conceived of themselves under the Edict of Nantes and, consequently, how their mental world shaped their response to the conditions they experienced under the early Bourbon kings. Indeed, as Kristine Wirts argues, the language used in sermons reflects the mentality of Huguenots and the “strategic rhetoric” employed to access it; and further, that the spread of French Protestantism was aided by the symbols and imagery used in those sermons.¹⁰⁶ To fully appreciate the breadth and import of sermons, then, it is integral to first understand the formation and expectations of their authors, the networks that

¹⁰⁶Wirts, *From the Pulpit to the People*, 162-166.

ministers maintained, and the role of sermons and ministers more generally within Huguenot worship and social world.

BASIC STRUCTURES OF THE HUGUENOT SERMON:

The Huguenot sermon of the Early Modern period is a unique manifestation of preaching and a product of its temporal and doctrinal context, but also thoroughly indebted to legacies and precedents that go back right to the beginnings of Christianity. Huguenot ministers consciously saw themselves as belonging to the same pastoral tradition as Jesus and the apostles, while they were also indebted to the the influential homiletics of the Patristic Fathers, especially Augustine and Chrysostom. Of course, historians also point out that apostolic forms did not emerge in a vacuum, but were themselves shaped by the dual influence of Jewish and Greco-Roman ideas.¹⁰⁷ In these cases, the religious role, the rhetorical form, and even the simple imitation of authority helped give direction to preaching in the early church. On the other side of the Patristic era, a millennium of medieval preaching with its important scholastic and then humanist traditions also influenced the Huguenot sermon, both through the adoption and rejection of medieval forms. By the time of Huguenots preaching under the Edict of Nantes, moreover, there were also generations of Protestant preachers – such as Luther, Bullinger, and obviously Calvin – to whom Huguenot ministers could look

¹⁰⁷O.C. Edwards Jr., *A History of Preaching* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2004), 5-14. Edwards' text is a very useful and succinct overview of the history of Christian preaching and, along with Hugues Oliphant Old's multi-volume work *The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church* (7 vols., Grand Rapids: W.E. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1998-2010), serves as an important source for my brief background to Huguenot preaching.

for direction and inspiration. The resulting Huguenot sermon is defined, then, by a number of key characteristics that were assembled in the context of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries but based on more than fifteen hundred years of custom and practice; and, to best see what these characteristics are, it is useful to use an actual sermon for reference.

To turn again to Charles Drelincourt and one of his sermons preached away from Charenton, when he took the pulpit in La Rochelle on 20 May 1657, he was showcasing many of those key characteristics of Huguenot homiletics.¹⁰⁸ In the first place, Drelincourt's sermon, like almost all Huguenot sermons, and Protestant sermons more generally, is an expository sermon. Unlike the thematic sermons popular in the Middle Ages – which, though rooted in biblical pericopes (passages composed of one or more verses), were focused on taking particular themes or concepts as their topic – an expository sermon takes as its central concern the deep explanation of a specific passage of Scripture. In the case of Drelincourt's sermon, the passage is Malachi 4:2 (“*Mais à vous qui craignez mon Nom se levera le Soleil de justice, & la santé sera en ses ailes*”). In dealing exegetically with that passage, moreover, a Huguenot minister preferred a literal-historical-grammatical interpretation, and that strict focus meant a narrowing from the four-fold exegesis of medieval theologians which included allegorical, anagogical, and tropological methods of interpretation alongside the literal. This can be seen beginning in Drelincourt's introduction, as he describes the historical context of the Book of

¹⁰⁸Charles Drelincourt, *Recueil de Sermons sur Divers Passages de l'Écriture Sainte*, vol. 2 (Geneva, 1660), 692.

Malachi as a means to introduce the passage.¹⁰⁹ Of course, a literal expository exegesis did not preclude figurative exploration of the text or the discussion of broader themes, and the first part of this sermon on the Sun of Justice is a discussion of an extended metaphor linking the images of sun and light with God or Jesus. Similarly, Drelincourt concludes his sermon by telling his audience that the Sun of Justice shines where the Gospel is preached and where the faithful fear God, thus drawing a lesson about the importance of the Word of God and the minister's job of preaching it.

Demonstrating the typical Huguenot structural form, Drelincourt moves from the introduction to an explanation of the passage, to its application, following what James Thomas Ford calls the “Reformed method”. This method is characterized by a structure with an opening section that introduces the biblical passage, a concluding section that reflects upon the significance, and a large body, which is a flexible section meant to contextualize and explain the passage, discuss its significance, and apply it to the lives of the parishioners.¹¹⁰ These divisions are plainly evident in Drelincourt's sermon; in its published form, the sermon includes the headers “Premiere Partie”, “Seconde Partie”, “Troisieme Partie”, and finally “Enseignemens & Consolations”, and his introduction closes with an explanation of the divisions to come: who the passage is addressed to, what promise it entails, and how God is the 'Sun of Justice' are the “three points that, with God's help, we will explain to you”.¹¹¹ Closely related to this form of division was the plain-style

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*, 695.

¹¹⁰Ford, “Preaching in the Reformed Tradition,” 71.

¹¹¹Drelincourt, *Recueil de Sermons*, vol.2, 696. Most printed sermons did not include such divisions of the text.

method of preaching, which strove for precise and unpretentious speech, and which preferred simple metaphors to complex rhetorical devices. In both cases, the purpose was to more effectively communicate the Word of God by avoiding complicated formatting and prolix language that might be confusing to the audience. Together, the plain-style and the 'Reformed method' formed, by the seventeenth century, a new Huguenot preaching orthodoxy. According to Peter Bayley, with the rejection of medieval divisions, the desire soon arose for a new sermon structure which, after a period of “rigidly imposed” method, became a “natural [...] clear and fruitful convention”¹¹² Drelincourt participates in this process, demonstrating the need for clear divisions in his sermon; however, looking at his other sermons, while divisions remain, the number can vary from two to four. This shows the forces of both orthodoxy and flexibility to be at work in the structural composition of Drelincourt's sermons.

Another key element that Drelincourt's sermon illustrates is the way in which Huguenot preachers cited sources in their sermons. Generally, Huguenots followed the Calvinist maxim of interpreting Scripture through Scripture, a notion earlier advocated by Augustine.¹¹³ In Drelincourt's sermon, he cites the Bible eighty-six times, and his references come from throughout the Old and New Testaments. What is significant is the frequency of these biblical citations (an average of two references per page, or one every one-hundred words), and their use to the exclusion of all other sources. However, while biblical references were

¹¹²Bayley, *French Pulpit Oratory*, 110-111.

¹¹³Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, *De doctrina Christiana, libri quattuor*, 3.26-28.

always predominant among Huguenot sermons, Drelincourt's sermon does not represent those instances where other sources were included as well, sermons that help to demonstrate the full extent of intellectual influences on Huguenot sermon construction. For instance, Pierre Mussard, a minister at Lyon, cites the Bible over one-hundred times in his sermon on Acts 20:28, preached on the occasion of a new minister being ordained to join him in ministering to the Lyonnais congregation.¹¹⁴ At the same time, though, he also cites Chrysostom and Augustine, along with Jerome, Cyril, Irenaeus, and even a 'pagan' source, Aulus Gellius. In this sermon, Mussard falls generally within the Huguenot norm, quantified in Françoise Chevalier's comprehensive analysis of Huguenot sermons, where her calculations show that Scriptural references account for 98% of all references in the sermons that she examined.¹¹⁵ So, for Mussard and others, while patristic and classical sources could add depth and clarity to a sermon, the overwhelming source of authority and elucidation remains the Bible.

One important element of Huguenot homiletics that cannot be illustrated through one sermon is the tendency to preach in *lectio continua* series. An approach rooted in the practices of Augustine and Chrysostom, the *lectio continua* approach meant that a minister would preach a set of sermons on consecutive passages from Scripture. In practice, this meant that the minister would preach on an entire book of the Bible from beginning to end over the course of many weeks or months. This method was in opposition to *lectio selecta* series, common to

¹¹⁴Pierre Mussard, *Sermons sur Divers Textes de la Sainte Ecriture* (Geneva, 1673).

¹¹⁵Chevalier, *Prêcher*, 69.

Catholic worship, where sermon topics followed themes set out in liturgical calendars or lectionaries. There were exceptions to the *lectio continua* rule in Huguenot homiletics, such as Jean Daillé's catechetical sermons (which also depart from the norm of expository sermons since they are not based on a specific biblical passage), or the extraordinary sermons preached for fasts or ordinations that will be examined later.¹¹⁶ On top of that, important times in the Christian year often also called for a departure from *lectio continua* series, such as at Easter. This is shown clearly in the collected manuscript sermons of David Vignier.¹¹⁷ From October 1678 to June 1681, and possibly beyond (June 1681 is the end of the collection but not necessarily the end of the sermon series), Vignier slowly made his way through the Letter to the Ephesians, preaching bi-weekly at the temple at Réalmont.¹¹⁸ In 1680, for instance, Vignier faithfully preached on Ephesians throughout the year, except for Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas, for which services he chose readings from Mark, Colossians, and Luke respectively. In printed form there are also examples of *lectio continua* series, such as Jean Daillé's collections of sermons on the letters to Timothy and Titus. In general, though, printed collections tend to be diverse sermons gathered together, *mélanges* of a pastor's 'best' sermons.

¹¹⁶The purposeful choice of biblical passage can be seen in casual remarks such as the one in Jean Daillé's *Quinze Sermons Prononcez En divers lieux, et sur divers sujets* (Geneva, 1669), 267, when he refers to: "la texte j'ai choisi".

¹¹⁷David Vignier, *Cent vingt trois sermons*, (BPF Ms 883/1-883/5).

¹¹⁸In addition to preaching at Réalmont, Vignier's notes indicate that he occasionally preached the same sermons in nearby towns such as Montauban, which would indicate that, despite laws prohibiting such actions, Vignier was possibly the pastor for more than one congregation, perhaps ministering to small village communities surrounding the larger Huguenot population in Montauban.

A final structural-thematic trend that, more than the others discussed, reflects the unique Huguenot context, is the tendency for the sermons to include an anti-Catholic or anti-papal message, whether a brief barb or an extended discussion of Catholic error. Both Bayley and Chevalier note the importance of this tradition – fifty percent of the sermons that Chevalier studied contained at least a paragraph of anti-papal controversy – but both also note that the frequency of such rhetoric decreased over time.¹¹⁹ In Drelincourt's sermon, the anti-papal component is present, but muted: he compares true Christians, whose lives are lit by the Sun of Justice to those who follow the “erring fires of Tradition and human invention”.¹²⁰ While clearly setting papal 'innovation' against the 'pure Gospel' of the Huguenots, it is also a carefully constructed point, staying clear of any direct or blatant accusation against Catholicism in general; in that way Drelincourt's comment is representative of how Huguenot ministers could decry Catholic practice by incorporating their criticisms within the theme of their sermon, highlighting a sense of difference without being unnecessarily provocative.

Now, although these structural elements are integral to understanding the shape and construction of Huguenot sermons, apart from the frequent anti-papal component, there is often little that shows explicit bearing on the shaping of Huguenot identity within the structure of the sermons. After all, while many of their forms may have been conscious rejections of certain aspects of Catholic homiletics, there is no evidence that this was a point mentioned in sermons

¹¹⁹Bayley, *French Pulpit Oratory*, 110-111; Chevalier, *Prêcher*, 195-196.

¹²⁰Drelincourt, *Recueil de Sermons*, vol.2, 733.

themselves to emphasize confessional difference. In terms of the sermon's liturgical role, it existed in contrast to Catholic forms of worship, most notably Mass, which was consistently proclaimed by Huguenot ministers to be a dangerous and false form of worship. With the pulpit replacing the altar as the focal point of worship, the sermon assumed a correspondingly important role. Moreover, while the preacher was responsible for administering the sacraments, caring for the sick and dying, and performing marriages, preaching was at the heart of their office, as Chevalier notes.¹²¹ Regarding its place within Huguenot worship, the sermon was also the focus of a social ritual that marked Huguenots as distinct.¹²² In many ways, then, the sermon loomed large within the Huguenot world – it was at the heart of the minister's craft, and it was a core element of ritual and instruction that defined the community and its confessional identity.

What remains from seventeenth-century Huguenot ministers, save for a few extant manuscripts, are the published sermons, whether as collections or as individual sermons. Generally, printed sermons tended to be those penned by the most significant and well-renowned pastors and theologians. Geographically, the most important ministers were often found in the most important cities (with Paris chief among them), at academies (such as Moyse Amyraut at Saumur), or both (such as Pierre du Moulin who spent time in Charenton and Sedan). While this

¹²¹Chevalier, *Prêcher*, 9.

¹²²Attending services at the Huguenot temple – both the travel to and from the temple and the presence at the temple – was an occasion that identified Huguenots as a distinct community, a symbolic and visceral separation from the Catholic majority, and a moment of sociability to reinforce the boundaries of the church. See, for instance, Philip Benedict's discussion of the preparation for attending the temple and the associated 'travel literature' in *Faith and Fortunes*, 239-241.

necessarily focuses the study on only the pastoral elite, their influence can make them especially useful to study. For, beyond being examples and products of Huguenot orthodoxy, they also exerted an influence beyond their congregations through their presence in synods, their published work, the counsel they provided, and the networks of correspondence that they maintained. In this latter case, the letters that they wrote – whether to each other, to nobles and intellectuals, or to foreign Protestants – were a means to establish pastoral and patronage networks, maintain an *esprit de corps*, resolve disputes, and participate in the politics of both church and state.¹²³

Their ability to broadcast their authority and their influence was also due in large part to the result of their printed works, since a single print run brought hundred of books into circulation.¹²⁴ For printed sermons, the intended market included both lay readers and other ministers. For the former, this was for the sake of pious edification and education, as they were 'private' sermons that could be read at home. For the latter, printed sermon collections were read for inspiration and imitation, essentially as *exempla* sermons.¹²⁵ There is even evidence of the

123See the special edition “Correspondances Pastorales”, *BSHPPF* 159:1 (Jan-Mar 2013). Here, the extent of pastoral letter-writing is vividly revealed, not only amongst each other, but with other correspondents as well, especially with various Huguenot notables. Of especial value here are Roger Zuber's article “Daillé mondain? Sa place dans la correspondance de Guez de Balzac” (37-47), Julien Léonard's “La correspondance passive de Paul Ferry, 1612-1669: quels apports d'une analyse quantitative?” (49-65), Jane McKee's “La correspondance de Charles Drelincourt, 1620-1669” (67-77), and Jean-Luc Tulot's “Les pasteurs en maris et pères, au travers des correspondances adressées à André Rivet, 1620-1650” (79-91).

124 Jean-François Gilmont, “L'imprimerie au XVIe siècle,” in *La Réforme et le livre: l'Europe de l'imprimé (1517-v.1570)* ed. Jean-François Gilmont (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1990), 27-28. In the sixteenth century, at least, the average print run in Paris was between 1000 and 1350 copies, although print runs could be as small as 250 or as large as 5000 in some cases.

125See also the discussion in the introduction above about key characteristics of printed sermons, along with the discussion about what made the preached sermon as an 'event' unique from the printed form. In addition to these pastoral concerns, published ministers were also cognizant of

more established ministers certifying the orthodoxy of others' sermons for publication.¹²⁶ The printing press was also a means to influence orthodoxy more generally, a point that Elizabeth Eisenstein has made about the Catholic Church.¹²⁷ Many of these purposes were voiced in printed sermons, whether about the “*édification du lecteur*”,¹²⁸ or references to the sermon collections as devotional literature for those who, having heard the sermons, now want to read them.¹²⁹ In another case, the editor refers to the sermons collected as “precious relics”,¹³⁰ hinting, with a strikingly un-Protestant image, at the spiritual value of the texts.

Not only were printed sermons a continuation of spoken sermons, though; for, some saw them as having their own advantages. In the introduction to a sermon by the Blèsois minister Nicolas Vignier, for instance, sermons are described as a rain that sprinkles and moistens the earth for a moment, while books

more literary considerations according to Nicolas Schapira in his article “Carrières de pasteur, carrières d'écrivain au XVIIe siècle: Le cas de Jacques Couët-du-Vivier,” in *BSHPF* 150 ((avril-juin 2004): 257-281). That is, publishing a sermon could entail more than just a desire to provide devotional reading to an audience; it also involved elements of professional ambition whereby a published work, dedicated to the right patron, could prove vital to improving one's renown.

126 Pierre Hespérien, *Sermon sur le IV. Chapitre de l'Evangile selon S. Jean, vers. 12* (La Rochelle, 1675).

An attestation in the prefatory section to the sermon says: “Approbation: We, the undersigned, attest that we have found nothing contrary to our Confession of Faith nor to our Discipline, in the *Sermon de Monsieur Hespérien*, our honoured brother... P. Degeac. I. Morin.” (n.p.)

127 Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change, vol. 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 355. In addition to the work of Eisenstein, there are numerous important studies that examine the important role that the printing press played in the development of Protestant and Catholic reformations along with the development of society and culture during this era, such as Gilmont's *La Réforme et le livre*, Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France* trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), or Philip Conner et al., *The Sixteenth-Century French Religious Book* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).

128 René Bertheau, *Sermon sur les Deux Premiers Versets du chapitre 4. de la seconde Epistre à Timothée* (s.l., 1675), n.p.

129 Jean Daillé, *Mélange de Sermons, 1e Partie* (Geneva, 1666), n.p.

130 Michel le Faucheur, *Sermons sur Divers Textes de l'Esriture Sainte, 1e partie* (Geneva, 1660), n.p.

are like the snow that remains on the ground longer.¹³¹ In this metaphor, the printed sermon is valuable for its depth and permanence and, consequently, for its resulting ability to be influential away from the pulpit. The printed sermon was, therefore, understood as a valuable component of the Huguenot pastoral program and an extension of the minister's message.

Preached and printed sermons each had their own unique concerns, then, and their own relationships with their audiences. A preached sermon was a spectacle where the Word of God was read and interpreted, and it was conditioned not only by the preacher's skills and the audience's expectations, but also by the physical context – the position of the pulpit within the temple, for instance, or the position of the temple in relation to the town or city.¹³² Printed sermons, on the other hand, had a permanence and an ability to reach further audiences that preached sermons lacked, while they were also mediated by printing, editorial, and censorship demands. Nonetheless, preached and printed were still two sides of the same coin. For, despite the impossibility of capturing the live elements of the event, printed sermons were a largely faithful chronicle of their preached

¹³¹Nicolas Vignier, *Sermon de préparation à la Table du Seigneur* (Charenton, 1645), n.p.

¹³²As mentioned, the pulpit became the focal point of Huguenot worship and the construction of Huguenot temples reflects this; the temples were generally either round or rectangular, and the pulpit was placed in a position that best allowed the congregation to hear the Word of God preached. Also, the position of the Huguenot temple within (or outside of) a town and the journey required to get to the temple also affected the way in which Huguenot worship was interpreted. In many cases, the position of the temple was a reflection of the relative strength of Huguenots within the community, while having to travel a significant distance beyond the city walls (such as in the case of the Charenton temple for the Huguenots of Paris) could in itself contribute to the sense of affliction and particularism associated with being a Huguenot. Such issues are discussed by Michel Richard in *La Vie Quotidienne de Protestants sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1966), Jacques Pannier in *L'Église Réformée de Paris sous Louis XIII*, vol.1 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1931), and Philip Benedict in *Faith and Fortunes*, 239-241.

counterparts. Since the Huguenots were a religious minority in France, their identities as a group and as individuals were strongly shaped by their religion and religious affiliation. This meant religion both in terms of beliefs and actions, and in terms of how the church existed as an institution within France and in relation to the French crown, or how the Huguenots existed as a group of people within France.¹³³ In all of these elements, Huguenot ministers played an important role, especially through their sermons, forging a sense of identity based both on specific ideals and on a conscious differentiation from the Catholic majority and on an ardent devotion to the crown, together defining a unique place for Huguenots within the French polity.

Engaged in that program were the more than two dozen pastors cited in this project who, by and large, were the leading lights of the Huguenot pastorate of the seventeenth century.¹³⁴ In that regard they are exceptional cases as much as they are representative. Nonetheless, many of their experiences are indicative of those faced by their lesser-known colleagues, while they also exerted an influence over other ministers, too, through their leading roles in synods, their positions as professors, and their printed works. In that way, their influence on other ministers is also revealed in their sermons, as are the perspectives and experiences that transcend their privileged positions. At the top of the list in terms of influence and importance are the many ministers who tended to the flock in Paris.¹³⁵ In fact,

¹³³As Donald R. Kelley explains in *The Beginning of Ideology: Consciousness and Society in the French Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 341, 'religion' in the era of confessionalization was a totalizing idea, and included sacred and moral issues as well as social and political ones.

¹³⁴For brief biographical information on the pastors cited in this study, see Appendix 1.

¹³⁵This is a logical course of events since, not only was the Paris congregation a large one, they

Alexandre Vinet asserts that there were not really any celebrated ministers of this era who did not spend at least some time at the temple in Charenton.¹³⁶ Vinet singles out Pierre Du Bosc, the long-time minister at Caen who refused numerous invitations to join the group of ministers in Paris, as one noted exception; for him, only the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes could force him to leave his congregation in Normandy. In addition to Du Bosc, who was among the last generation of Huguenot ministers under the Edict of Nantes, Moyses Amyraut, who was from the generation earlier (active from the 1620s to the 1660s), also deserves mention as a celebrated pastor never to have served in Paris.

The group of ministers that served Paris contemporaneously with Amyraut are those who feature most frequently in the coming pages. The most important of this generation are Jean Daillé, Jean Mestrezat, and Charles Drelincourt.¹³⁷ Mestrezat began his pastorate in Paris in 1614, and was joined by Drelincourt in 1620 and Daillé in 1626. All three of them continued to serve for decades; Daillé, for instance, served the congregation until his death in 1670 and, during that time, he only left Paris twice for non-ecclesiastical matters. Out of that career came over 700 published sermons, by far the most for any Huguenot minister. For Drelincourt (d.1669) and Daillé, the end of their careers coincided with the personal rule of

were also the ones closest to the political, legal, and religious (Catholic) leaders of France. On account of this, Paris needed the most promising ministers, those who combined theological orthodoxy, preaching excellence, and the diplomatic skills necessary to succeed in that difficult environment. They were not the only highly visible Huguenot community (especially as crown informants who sat in on Huguenot services became commonplace), but the most immediately visible; therefore, those best suited to the Paris ministry would be representative of the Huguenot community, but also an elite member of the clerical-educated rank.

¹³⁶Vinet, *Histoire de la Prédication*, 72.

¹³⁷In addition to those three men, Charenton was also served at this time by Edmé Aubertin, Raymond Gaches, and Michel Le Faucheur.

Louis XIV and the deterioration of the Huguenots' situation in France. It was the next generation, though, those who were contemporaneous with Du Bosc, that faced the final years under the Edict of Nantes.

Of the final generation of Parisien ministers, the most renowned was Jean Claude. He was a pastor in important Huguenot towns in the Midi such as Nîmes and Montauban before coming to Paris. From 1666 until 1685 Claude was the face of Huguenot Church, and was the frequent opponent of Bossuet. In contrast to these elite members of the Huguenot pastorate, ministers like David Vignier, who was active from the middle of the seventeenth century until towards the Revocation, was a pastor in a small town who, had it not been for the survival of his manuscript sermons, would have left a significantly smaller trace of his ministry. Nonetheless, while there were many notable differences between someone like Jean Claude and someone like David Vignier (or a minister who left no extant written record) in terms of visibility, influence and, likely, preaching capability, they shared, in many respects, a common experience. After all, whether a minister was little-known or well-renowned, he had to undergo the same training and education, pass the same formal inspection and installation, and live with with the same set of expectations.

PREPARATION AND EXPECTATIONS:

To become a Huguenot minister, many years of schooling, training, preparation, and commitment was needed in order to have the proper theological

and practical knowledge, and in order to live according to the standards that were expected of them. A minister was expected to be thoroughly familiar with the Bible, have a firm grounding in doctrine, and be able to express that knowledge through preaching; to do so, he needed to use his exegetical skills to explain Scripture and impart it with significance and relevance. On top of that, the ministers needed to acquire a strong voice and a good command of language to clearly articulate and properly communicate ideas to their congregations. They had to attend to all the pastoral duties required of them, and they had to conduct their own lives – and the lives of their families – according to the principles that they preached. For, in order to best impose their authority over their parishioners, ministers had to live up to the expectations of those same parishioners. To produce a consistent cadre of such ministers, the French Reformed Church relied on the Protestant academies within France, and a number of institutions abroad as well. Such a training endowed them with the skills and authority to shape identity and political perspective, and served as an incubator for the networks that would encourage affinities across France. By the middle of the seventeenth century an established infrastructure existed for that purpose, but it took time for that to be put in place.

The ecclesiastical institutions of the French Reformed Church took time to develop into the form that it would assume under the Edict of Nantes. Protestantism first appeared as a decentralized movement, and it was not until the second half of the sixteenth century that a concerted and consciously unified

French Protestant movement began. In Robert Kingdon's classic work *Geneva and the Coming Wars of Religion*, this explosion of Protestantism in France is inextricably linked to the influx of missionaries trained in Geneva.¹³⁸ In Geneva, French refugees had swelled the population of the city, profoundly changing its composition; and, like fellow Frenchman John Calvin, converting France to the Protestant faith became an important goal to those newly arrived Genevans. An essential component of this program was the training of missionaries to serve in France, both as itinerant ministers, and increasingly as pastors for churches that were either *plantée* or *dressée*.¹³⁹

After Calvin cemented his political authority in 1555, he and the Geneva Company of Pastors were free to dedicate more time to reforming France, and so they organized a “formal and systematic missionary effort” to that end.¹⁴⁰ A trickle soon became a steady stream, as more and more ministers were dispatched to France, men who were originally from France, trained in Geneva, and then sent back to congregations throughout the kingdom.¹⁴¹ In 1559 the training of ministers in Geneva – both those destined for France and those who would remain in Geneva and its environs – became more formalized with the founding of the Academy of Geneva. The Academy, focused for this purpose on doctrinal and

¹³⁸Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming Wars*. As mentioned in the introduction, the work of Glenn Sunshine has also alerted us to the fact that Geneva was, early on, not a monolithic source of inspiration for ecclesiastical development.

¹³⁹If a church was *plantée*, it meant that there was a settled group of worshippers, but that they were lacking institutions of a fully functional church. When a church was *dressée*, on the other hand, that meant that there was full suite of ecclesiastical positions – minister, deacon, elders, and an active consistory.

¹⁴⁰Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming Wars*, 2.

¹⁴¹*Ibid.*, 12.

exegetical education, provided a formal institution to train ministers, and was joined to the existing practice of obtaining practical experience by preaching in the rural parishes around Geneva.¹⁴² In this setup, the Company of Pastors oversaw all the major components that were required of future pastors – theoretical, practical, and ethical – in order to effectively interpret Scripture, preach, administer the sacraments, and live a model life. The success of this system was brief but profound. Kingdon asserts that the presence and the results of these Calvinist missionaries in France was a significant contributing factor to the outbreak of the Wars of Religion since they exacerbated the threat posed by Protestantism; the fighting, which began in 1562 and continued on and off for the next three decades,¹⁴³ disrupted the network of missionaries so that their numbers would drop drastically never to recover.

While the Wars of Religion disrupted the links between Geneva and the Calvinists in France, the Huguenot Church itself continued to develop institutionally. It continued to hold regular national synods, and in the year following the St-Bartholomew's Day Massacre, the Huguenots opened their third academy in just over a decade; the newest one, opened in Orange, joined academies in Nîmes and Orthez, which opened in 1562 and 1566 respectively. At the end of the sixteenth century and beginning of the seventeenth century, five more Huguenot academies opened; Montpellier's academy opened in 1596, just

¹⁴²Karin Maag, "Education and training for the Calvinist ministry: the Academy of Geneva, 1559-1620," in *The Reformation of the Parishes: The Ministry and the Reformation in Town and Country*, ed. Andrew Pettegree (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 134-138.

¹⁴³Or the next six decades, if we follow the interpretation that the wars did not, in fact, end until the Peace of Alès in 1629, rather than the traditional view that says that the wars ended with the Edict of Nantes in 1598.

two years before the Edict of Nantes, while the other four were created soon after the Edict, with Saumur and Montauban coming in 1598 followed soon thereafter by Sedan (1602) and Die (1604).¹⁴⁴ These domestic academies, modelled on what existed in Geneva and elsewhere, were useful on account of the difficulties of depending on foreign institutions.¹⁴⁵ These Huguenot academies were also symbols of the success of the French Reformed Church and, as Karin Maag explains, Huguenot leaders were “increasingly keen” to oversee training and monitor standards themselves.¹⁴⁶ What existed, then, was a network of institutions, linked by the national synods (the highest level of Huguenot organization) according to purpose and common statutes.¹⁴⁷ These 'General Statutes' set out rules for the formation of councils, the choosing of rectors and professors, and the scheduling of lectures, disputations and exams.¹⁴⁸ Even earlier, at the national synod at La Rochelle in 1607, the various links between the synod and the academies are clear: for example, Article 31 of the “General Matters” directs the manner of teaching by expecting theology professors to make more thorough use of commonplaces;¹⁴⁹ and, the synod's distribution of funds are recorded as well, showing how many

¹⁴⁴Three of these academies (Orthez, Sedan, and Orange) were located in territories that, at the time of their founding, were outside of the Kingdom of France. Orthez, as part of the Béarnais territory of Henri IV became part of the French crown (as opposed to tied to the crown through a personal union) in 1620, ten years after Henri's death. Sedan was absorbed by France during the Thirty Years' War. Finally, Orange was captured by Louis XIV.

¹⁴⁵Later, it would become illegal to study abroad in any case.

¹⁴⁶Karin Maag, “The Huguenot academies: preparing for an uncertain future,” in *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559-1685*, eds. Raymond A Mentzer and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 141.

¹⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 147.

¹⁴⁸J. Aymon, *Tous les synodes nationaux des Eglises réformées de France*, 2 vols., (The Hague, 1710), 2,

¹⁴⁹Aymon, *Tous les synodes*, 1, 313.

livres were given to each academy.¹⁵⁰ In these examples, the influence of the national synod on the academies and the next generation of ministers is clear.

The purpose of these academies was, of course, to furnish the Huguenot church with its ministers, providing them with the necessary philosophical and intellectual foundations, along with the more specific theological and pastoral skills necessary for their vocation, although they provided education for others not destined for the clergy as well. In terms of funding, Montauban and Saumur were in the best position because they had actually been established by national synod, rather than a local initiative;¹⁵¹ and, illustrating the recognized importance of the Huguenot academies outside of French dominion, the Academy of Sedan also began to receive funds from the national synods beginning in 1601.¹⁵² The three academies of Montauban, Saumur, and Sedan were the most highly regarded, and the latter two especially would become the most important centres of Huguenot intellectual tradition, with Saumur as the more liberal school and Sedan as the more conservative. Some of the most notable Huguenot theologians would, apart from their pastoral duties, teach at these academies – Moyse Amyraut was long associated with Saumur, and Pierre du Moulin was a central figure at Sedan. Most important Huguenot ministers would also study at one of these academies, and sometimes at both; Charles Drelincourt and Pierre Allix, for instance, studied at

150 *Ibid.*, 1, 339: Montauban and Saumur each received 3333*l*; Montpellier, 1500*l*; Nîmes, 1833*l*; and Sedan, 2400*l*; for a grand total of 12400 *livres tournois*.

151 Maag, “The Huguenot academies,” 142. Notice, in n.39 above that Montpellier and Nîmes both received less than the two 'national' academies, and less than a 'foreign' academy, and that the recently-formed Academy of Die was not even mentioned.

152 *Ibid.*, 145. Notice, in n.39 above, that Sedan is the only 'foreign' academy that received any funding from the national synod, although Sedan would become part of France in 1651.

both Saumur and Sedan. J.-P. Pittion has found that, among students more generally, over fifty percent of students who studied theology at Montauban between 1645 and 1655 had also studied at Saumur.¹⁵³ What these examples show is that the connections linking these Huguenot academies were achieved in a number of ways. Not only were they united by a common cause and by the direction of the national synods, but also by the *peregrinatio academica*, the tradition of students attending more than one school. Working against this notion of a monolithic group of academies, the schools also developed their own unique identities and methods, had their own histories and, as a result, each acquired their own “personalities” and “esprit de corps”.¹⁵⁴ Moreover, there were also differences in theological emphasis which marked academies as unique from one another, such as the different 'schools' associated with Amyraut at Saumur and Du Moulin at Sedan.¹⁵⁵ In these ways, the training of Huguenot ministers had elements of both centrifugal and centripetal forces, with tendencies of both unity and diversity. Ultimately, though, the forces of similarity were greater, encouraging a common perspective among ministers, and allowing for a certain uniformity of purpose and message.

Throughout this period, although the Huguenot Church had established a number of academies capable of preparing ministers for their vocation, French Protestant students continued to go to Geneva as part of their education. According to Mark Greengrass' count, almost half of the 288 ministers of his sample from

153J.-P. Pittion, “Les académies réformées de l'Edit de Nantes à la Révocation,” in *La Révocation de l'édit de Nantes et le protestantisme français en 1685: Actes de colloque de Paris (15-19 octobre 1985)*, eds. R. Zuber and L. Theis (Paris: Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, 1986), 197.

154*Ibid.*, 192-193.

155See Armstrong, *Calvinism and the Amyraut Heresy*.

1660 had gone to school in Geneva; nearly another dozen more went to Leiden.¹⁵⁶ This international dimension added another option to the formation and training of Huguenot pastors, and it demonstrates some ways in which Huguenots participated in an intellectual and religious community defined as 'international Calvinism',¹⁵⁷ that umbrella that linked Protestants in Geneva, the Netherlands, Scotland, France, and elsewhere. Greengrass speaks of a “scholarly 'international Calvinism' that had been imprinted on [French pastors'] consciousness during their training”.¹⁵⁸ That is, both the doctrinal inculcation and the personal and professional relationships established helped Huguenot ministers returning to France understand themselves and their parishioners as part of a larger community.

Naturally, the French Reformed Church had its own tendencies towards inclusivity and accord, through the frequent national synods, and documents such as their *Confession of Faith* and *Church Discipline*; yet, the non-hierarchical structure of the Reformed Church also meant that, apart from the national synods, there was no central authority to direct the church. To that effect, the first article of the first national synod states that “no church can claim primacy or domination over another; nor, equally, the ministers, elders or deacons of one church over those of another”.¹⁵⁹ Regional difference was important too. In the sixteenth century, being a Protestant in France was experienced in different ways depending on location. As Philip Conner argues, to be a Huguenot in Montauban, where

¹⁵⁶Greengrass, “The French Pastorate,” 185.

¹⁵⁷This term is taken from, among other places, the collection of essays *International Calvinism* ed. Menna Prestwich (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

¹⁵⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹Aymon, *Tous les synodes*, 1, 1.

Protestants were a majority for a while, was different than being a Huguenot in Paris, the powerful Catholic heart of France.¹⁶⁰ There were different feelings of security and confidence, as the relative strength of each religion helped to contour the social and political settlements of towns, and the various incarnations of co-existence illustrate the divisions and interactions that marked the religious situation in France.¹⁶¹ Despite these differences, though, there was a profound national unity among Huguenots, one that shaped – and was shaped by – how they saw themselves in relation to the rest of the kingdom. Ministers were integral in this, in large part through their sermons, since they were a means to diffuse ideas to a wider public, a relay point that “reinforced religious and social identity”.¹⁶²

Although French Protestantism started quite covertly, itinerant missionaries and clandestine services soon gave way to *églises plantées*, with pastors, elders, consistories, and the other defining structures. Huguenots began to worship more openly and, in 1559, they held their first national synod. This first synod, and those to follow, were important as they symbolized the presence of an established church in France apart from the Catholic Church. A national synod was composed of deputies who were ministers and elders representing the various provinces into which the French Reformed Church was divided (the individual provinces themselves also held synods, composed of representatives from the next smallest unit, the colloquy); then, for the synod, a moderator, his deputy, and secretaries

¹⁶⁰Conner, *Huguenot Heartland*, 217. Elisabeth Labrousse, in *'Une foi, une loi, un roi?'*, 50-51, highlights how this phenomenon existed beyond the period that Conner studies and into the seventeenth century.

¹⁶¹The best examples of such studies are: Benedict, *The Faith and Fortunes*; Hanlon, *Confession and Community*; Luria, *Sacred Boundaries*.

¹⁶²Pittion, “Les académies réformées”, 197.

were elected.¹⁶³ In the seventeenth century, there was also a royal commissioner who sat with the moderator and opened the synod “by the will of the king”.¹⁶⁴ Although non-hierarchical, the synods still chose the more renowned and capable ministers to be moderator, thus, for example, Pierre du Moulin as moderator of the synod in 1620 or Jean Daillé in 1659. As the effective face and voice of the French Reformed Church, as well as being its most important organizational institution, the national synod had many roles to fulfil and many tasks to perform, some of which were unique while others were routine.

Over its existence, during which it met on an average of once every three years on average until it was banned by Louis XIV, the national synod developed a familiar shape, while also dealing with a series of exceptional situations. Many rules and precedents governing the national synods were set out in the first synod of 1559. Some rules would evolve over time, to better reflect the needs and capabilities of the churches, at least insofar as the records have been displayed in Aymon's *Tous les synodes* and John Quick's *Synodicon*.¹⁶⁵ As a source of organization and orthodoxy – but also as *the* source of final authority – the national synods routinely dealt with 'general' and 'particular' matters brought forward by individual delegates;¹⁶⁶ general matters were those concerned with the Church throughout France, while particular matters were unique to individual

¹⁶³Aymon, *Tous les synodes*, 2, 141.

¹⁶⁴Dénes Harai, *Pour le “Bien de l’État” et le “Repos du Public” : Auguste II Galland (1572-1637), conseiller d’État et commissaire de Louis XIII aux synodes des Églises réformées de France* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2012), 44.

¹⁶⁵Soon after the Revocation, Quick, a Reformed minister in London, provided a printed version of the national synods along with historical documents such as the Edict of Nantes and the *Church Discipline*: J. Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia reformata*, 2 vols. (London, 1692).

¹⁶⁶Aymon, *Tous les synodes*, 1, 420-428 (eg.).

provinces, colloquies, or churches. These matters could be about minor liturgical issues, about providing direction to consistories, in response to a situation with secular officials, or any number of other issues. The national synods were also responsible for monitoring the finances of the Church (such as money coming from the crown or Huguenot nobles), and how they were distributed to provinces and institutions (such as academies).¹⁶⁷ Providing continuity from one meeting to the next, each national synod also provided for the clarification or alteration of decrees made at the previous one.¹⁶⁸ In these ways, the national synods offered the French Reformed Church with a bureaucratic apparatus, and one which could direct in common the individual churches according to matters that were ostensibly religious and ones which were more political.

The national synod of 1620, held in Alès, is typical in many ways, and so is a useful example to explore synodal mechanics. The text begins by providing the date and location, and then stating that the synod is taking place “[p]ar la Permission de LOUIS XIII, Roi de France, dit le *Juste*”.¹⁶⁹ This is followed immediately by listing the moderators and secretaries; then, over the next three pages, there is a list of all the provincial deputies and which churches they represent. A little bit later an oath is pronounced, and then the Confession of Faith is read. All of this serves not only an administrative purpose, but also as ritual to create a sense of identity, community, and legitimacy. Towards the end of the document this is reinforced: in contrast to the list of ministers taking part in the

¹⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 2, 212-218 (eg.).

¹⁶⁸*Ibid.*, 2, 10-14.

¹⁶⁹*Ibid.*, 2, 139.

synod – and, therefore, taking part in the church body more broadly – there is also a list of “Ministres Apostats, Déposés, et Vagabonds”.¹⁷⁰ That running list – which kept track of one-time Huguenot ministers who had either joined the Catholic Church, had been deposed for lack of skill or for immorality, or who for some reason were barred from obtaining a parish – while a practical measure to guard against unsuitable or untrustworthy ministers, was also, through exclusion, a way to demarcate belonging to the Huguenot church. Moreover, while those two lists are common features to synodal records, this synod of 1620 includes a thirteen-page list of all the Reformed Churches in France under the authority of the national synod, and who was serving them as ministers.¹⁷¹ Like the other lists, this more extensive one has the practical purpose of compiling the names in one place, but it is also a useful way of conceptualizing the *visible* Huguenot church and thereby fostering an exclusive and unified group identity. The resulting perception of the national synods as the voice and face of the French Reformed Church had important implications beyond facilitating national unity; indeed, with respect to communicating with other figures and institutions, both within France and abroad, the national synods played an important 'diplomatic' function for Huguenots.

As the 'voice and face' of Huguenot churches, national synods received and disseminated important political and legal information, and registered and responded to letters from a variety of figures. For instance, the synod of Privas, in 1612, registered both a letter of amnesty and a *brevet* from Louis XIII. The

¹⁷⁰*Ibid.*, 219-220.

¹⁷¹*Ibid.*, 220-232.

amnesty was extended to Huguenots who had gathered for unauthorized 'political' meetings, while also emphasizing the illegality of any further such meetings beyond the allowed consistories, colloquies and synods.¹⁷² And the national synod at Tonneins in 1614 responded to a correspondence from James I of England, letters from leading Huguenot nobles, such as the Duke of Rohan, Philippe Duplessis-Mornay, and the Duke of Bouillon, as well as a letter from their co-religionists in Geneva.¹⁷³ What these correspondences demonstrate is that the national synods truly acted as representative of all the Huguenot churches in many capacities. Moreover, even after Huguenots lost many political and military rights after the Peace of Alès in 1629, the Huguenot *church*, through the national synods, continued their dialogue with the crown about the legal contours of French Protestantism.¹⁷⁴

Still, the national synod was primarily concerned with the internal organization of the French Reformed Church and with directing its many congregations; and, in that regard, one of the most important way in which the synods accomplished this, especially with regards to the roles and qualities of the ministers throughout France, was through the *Discipline*, a document borne of, and

172*Ibid.*, 1, 405-407. “Nous avons défendu à tous nos dits Sujets de la Religion de tenir à l'avenir aucune Congregation ou Assemblée pour y traiter d'aucune Matiere, pour y disputer, ou pour s'y assembler publiquement, sans en avoir reçu notre Permission Roiale, sur peine d'être punis comme Infracteurs de nos Edits, & Perturbateurs de la Paix publique, néanmoins nous leur donnons pleine Liberté de tenir leurs Consistoires, Coloques, & Synodes Nationaux & Provinciaux, de même qu'il leur a été accordé autrefois, mais avec cette Condition qu'ils n'y admettront point d'autres Personnes, sinon les Ministres & des Anciens, pour traiter de leur Doctrine, & de la Discipline de leurs Eglises” (406-407).

173*Ibid.*, 2, 62-77.

174*Ibid.*, 2, 628-651 (These correspondences are concerned with defining the position of the French Reformed Church with the new king, Louis XIV, and his mother, acting as regent for the six-year-old king).

consistently reviewed and edited by, the national synods. The *Discipline des Eglises Reformées de France* is a document that came out of the first national synod in 1559, but was thoroughly edited, expanded, and glossed upon by all the successive synods. Unfortunately, there is no extant copy of this first version. Illustrating that evolution, though, all of the synodal records published by Aymon include a section titled “Revision et Correction de la Discipline Ecclesiastique” or, elsewhere, “Observations, Corrections et Additions...”.¹⁷⁵ Then, in Issac D'Huisseau's 1666 edition of the *Discipline*, he includes these synodal modifications and comments as an apparatus throughout his text.¹⁷⁶ Although the *Discipline* was, as Greengrass notes, not a “public' document” like a confession of faith, copies of it were kept by individual churches, and it served to govern proper behaviour and procedure, obligations and expectations.¹⁷⁷ As D'Huisseau, a minister at Saumur, explains in his introduction, discipline and doctrine are like the nerves in a body, uniting all the various parts and giving them force and direction.¹⁷⁸ In this image, doctrine and discipline are complementary: doctrine teaches what to do, and discipline teaches how to do it. The *Discipline*, then, offered the French Reformed Church a comprehensive program to organize and regulate itself, as it had chapters concerning specific vocations (such as ministers, elders, and deacons), different assemblies (colloquies and synods), and actions required of a minister (baptism, communion, and marriages). Although it is perhaps best seen in its entirety, as a wide-ranging document, here the focus will

¹⁷⁵*Ibid.*, 2, 8; 1, 14.

¹⁷⁶Issac D'Huisseau, *La Discipline des Eglises Reformées de France* (Geneva, 1666).

¹⁷⁷Greengrass, “The French Pastorate,” 179-181.

¹⁷⁸D'Huisseau, *Discipline*, iii-iv.

be on the first chapter, the section that prescribes the requirements, procedures, and expectations for becoming and being a minister.

The first article sets out the general principles that inform all of the following ones: that ministers ought to be elected following the apostolic tradition, and that they need to be examined thoroughly according to their doctrine and morals.¹⁷⁹ To become elected, a prospective minister first had to go through a period of examination conducted by at least seven other ministers from the provincial synod or local colloquy; during turbulent times, that body could be reduced to just three ministers and the consistory of the church in question.¹⁸⁰

The candidate first needed to have good references from his academy and from any other church with which he might be associated. He then had an exam based on passages from Scripture, in French and Latin, along with demonstrations of his working knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, and his ease and familiarity with relevant philosophy.¹⁸¹ Finally, there was a disputation based on the Confession of Faith. Having found success in this examination for election, so the *Discipline* explains, a minister would then gain a sort of probationary status, where he was had to preach a sermon on three consecutive Sundays so that the congregation could observe his command of Scripture and manner of teaching.¹⁸² He was not permitted to administer sacraments or bless marriages during this probationary period, but simply had to prove himself agreeable to the consistory and the congregation. If the minister had shown himself intellectually capable and a good

¹⁷⁹*Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁸⁰*Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁸¹*Ibid.*, 6-7.

¹⁸²*Ibid.*, 8.

candidate in the eyes of the consistory and congregation, his election was then ritually confirmed at a special service with prayers and the laying on of hands by other ministers, and by signing the Confession of Faith and the *Discipline*.¹⁸³

What becomes clear from the regulations found in the *Discipline* is that, while the administration of sacraments and other rites was an important function of being a minister, their principle role was predicatory and pedagogical – through sermons they were supposed to interpret and disseminate Scripture while instilling proper faith and behaviour. This concern can be seen with the close attention paid during examination and election to proper scholarly formation and the ability to preach effectively. Moreover, the twelfth article of the chapter on ministers, which D'Huisseau identifies as the most important article and the one most frequently discussed at national synods, begins by stating that the “office of minister is principally to evangelize and announce the Word of God to the people”.¹⁸⁴ What follows are exhortations for ministers to preach according to the principles that were discussed earlier, establishing a standard by which to govern preaching and a way to promote an agreement of beliefs among the many Huguenot churches.

Importantly, the probationary period during which the congregation was to evaluate the qualities of the minister demonstrates how they were also part of the election process and, therefore, vested with a source of authority from which to voice their expectations. And, the participation of the parishioners was not limited to that either; instead, right from the beginning of Calvinist ministers being sent to

¹⁸³*Ibid.*, 10-13.

¹⁸⁴*Ibid.*, 16.

France from Geneva, French congregations were writing to the Genevan Company of Pastors, actively seeking out ministers and emphasizing specific traits. In these letters, familiar concerns were voiced – demonstrated good learning, skilled in public speaking, and someone who will represent their church well.¹⁸⁵ Maintaining a sense of distinction between the role of parishioners and attending ministers during election, however, Pierre du Moulin, in his *De la Vocation des Pasteurs*, explains clearly that the congregation participates in the *election* of the new minister, but only the ministers present at the ceremony participate in the *ordination*.¹⁸⁶ Seen that way, although there was undoubtedly cooperation in the installation of a new minister, there was also a unique clerical role, whereby ordination through the laying on of hands was the final step to becoming a full-fledged minister, including the right to administer sacraments.

Viewing the charge of a Huguenot minister through the lens of the academy, synod, election, and consistory, it is clear that there was a very concerted attempt to regulate ministers and enjoin them to perform in a very prescribed manner; and these various forms of supervision and cooperation demonstrate great concern for the proper functioning of the Huguenot pastorate. The result was, ideally, a minister who could competently attend to his practical and didactic responsibilities, while also edifying his flock in word and in deed; and, faced with an increasingly well-educated Catholic clergy that was categorically opposed to Protestantism in France, Huguenot ministers' vocation inevitably included a degree

¹⁸⁵Greengrass, "The French Pastorate," 183.

¹⁸⁶Pierre Du Moulin, *De la Vocation des Pasteurs* (Geneva, 1624), 24-25.

of apologetics and polemics.¹⁸⁷ It was not just a matter of a competent and capable clergy, however. The system of training and regulating Huguenot ministers also aimed for a certain degree of uniformity between ministers. The different philosophical emphases of Saumur and Sedan notwithstanding, the hope, as evidenced by the actions of the national synods, was a similarity of *product* coming from the academies. This would have been reinforced by a common ideology that developed in response to the Huguenot position in France, by the personal and professional connections created through the many institutions of the French Reformed Church, and by those institutions themselves, which required collaboration in the absence of a church hierarchy.

Once ordained, Huguenot ministers also wielded a significant amount of influence. They were the intellectual, religious, and moral leaders of their communities, and both as individuals and as a collective, Huguenot ministers served as a vital link between the crown and Protestant communities; they were also a link to the world beyond France. This was an important function of sermons, a consistent and penetrating medium that covered a wide range of topics on proper belief and action, including expectations about their own vocation. That is, numerous sermons engage with the conditions, duties, privileges, and powers

¹⁸⁷Although France in the early sixteenth century encountered the same central ecclesiastical/episcopal problems that Luther had highlighted, such as simony, pluralism, and absentee bishops, Catholic reform in France ushered in an era that is known as the 'century of saints'. In addition to manifestations such as an increased interest in monasticism and religious societies, an important part of this was a better-educated clergy, and a clergy better able to combat the threat of Protestantism in France. For this period, useful studies include Henry Phillips, *Church and Culture in Seventeenth-Century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), Ann W. Ramsey, *Liturgy, Politics, and Salvation: The Catholic League in Paris and the Nature of Catholic Reform, 1540-1630* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1999), or Elizabeth Rapley, *The Dévotes: Women and Church in Seventeenth-Century France* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990).

incumbent upon a minister, shedding light in a reflexive way on the practice and perception of being a pastor.

PRACTICAL AIDS AND REFLEXIVE SERMONS: PREACHING ABOUT PASTORS

Biblical passages relevant to expositions about the pastoral vocation would inevitably be encountered by virtue of *lectio continua* preaching, and so the nature of their own ministry would surely be expounded from time to time by Huguenot ministers; but in the world of published sermons, it was extraordinary occasions such as at the opening of synods or when a new minister was established in a church that lent themselves to sermons about the pastorate. In those cases, the preacher would choose a biblical passage touching on some element of being a minister so as to frame the sermon around the relevant duties and dignities. In that way, these sermons are a useful tool to examine how ministers perceived themselves, how they portrayed themselves, and how they envisioned the ideal relationship between pastor and parish. These sermons are a window into the worldview of pastors, the religious life of their parishioners, and the relationships between them; and, in that respect, they are not just a window into religious sensibilities and beliefs, but also into notions of social and political affiliation.

To engage meaningfully with their various functions, sermons were expected to be composed with forethought, drawing on the many resources available to pastors. The education that was provided to academy students about

exegesis, and not just preaching, was central to their craft since their sermons were a showcase for their biblical interpretation; as such, both biblical commentaries and other sermon collections were valuable resources in sermon composition.¹⁸⁸ Further, there was important instructional and reference material that stressed preparation, consideration, and thoughtful and appropriate exposition, such as Andreas Hyperius's *De formandis concionibus sacris*, and Jean Claude's *Traité de la Composition d'un Sermon*.¹⁸⁹ These texts are preaching manuals that aim to explain how to combine exegesis and rhetoric for the sake of edification.¹⁹⁰ Claude's text, for instance, offers advice on composition and exegesis combined with lots of examples and demonstrations. He explains how to provide context and meaning for different types of biblical passages, and reminds the reader to preach to his specific audience and to do so with simple, sober, and uplifting language.¹⁹¹ In the more polemical *De la Vocation des Pasteurs*, Pierre du Moulin adds that ministers are engaged in a perpetual battle against vices (within the church) and errors (outside of the church), and they must work tirelessly in their preaching and actions.¹⁹² By combining these many resources, the minister could hope for a sermon that would resonate with their audiences, contributing to the development of their beliefs and actions.

As mentioned, printed sermons functioned in many of the same ways as

¹⁸⁸Bayley, *French Pulpit Oratory*, 61.

¹⁸⁹Andreas Hyperius, *De formandis concionibus sacris...* (Basel, 1563); Jean Claude *Traité de la Composition d'un Sermon* (s.l., s.d., BHP). Hyperius' text was also translated into French and English in the late-sixteenth century.

¹⁹⁰Bayley, *French Pulpit Oratory*, 61.

¹⁹¹Claude, *Traité de la Composition*, 163-178, 192-193.

¹⁹²Du Moulin, *De la Vocation*, n.p.

preached ones, since they also aimed to educate, edify, and influence. However, on top of those reasons, sermons were also frequently published for the sake of commemoration, patronage, or apologetics, reasons to which the dedicatory letters often attest; and especially in the case of patronage, this could help link Huguenot elites to the church while at the same time demonstrating that link to readers.¹⁹³

Many sermons and sermon collections are dedicated to important and influential nobility, both men and women, ostensibly for their pious study. For instance, a number of Charles Drelincourt's sermons in his *Recueil de Sermons sur Divers Passages* are dedicated to the *salonnière* Mademoiselle de Rambouillet, by her “humble and obedient servant”, Drelincourt.¹⁹⁴ Combining patronage and commemoration is the sermon *La Dignité du Saint Ministère de l'Évangile* by Parisien pastor Raymond Gaches, dedicated to Madame Sarrau, the widow of Claude Sarrau, a former *Conseiller du Roi* for the Parlement of Paris, and the mother of Isaac Sarrau, whose ordination was the occasion for Gaches' sermon.¹⁹⁵ In both of these cases, seeking affiliation with leading Huguenots can be seen as evidence of patronage in line with literary conventions, but also of identifying for multiple audiences their political engagement.

As with Gaches' example above, the ordination of a new minister was often commemorated through a printed sermon. Perhaps two of the most interesting of such sermons are Drelincourt's *Le Pasteur Fidèle* and Daillé's sermon on

¹⁹³Of course, as Nicolas Schapira points out in his article “Carrières de pasteur”, such elements also show printed sermons to be in line with established literary conventions too.

¹⁹⁴Drelincourt, *Recueil de Sermons*, vol. 2, n.p.

¹⁹⁵Raymond Gaches, *Seize Sermons sur Divers Textes de l'Écriture Sainte* (Geneva, 1660), 651-654.

Ephesians 4:11-12.¹⁹⁶ In both cases the sermon was preached on the occasion of the laying on of hands of the minister's son, Henry Drelincourt and Jean Daillé (*fils*) respectively.¹⁹⁷ In all of the examples mentioned, the choice of sermon and the choice of dedication reveal religious and political sensibilities through the association of event, theme, and patron; and the commemoration of ordinations in print show a desire within the Huguenot community to highlight this event, strengthening the position of their religious leadership.

The ordination ceremony for a new minister was an obvious opportunity for preaching about pastoral care. It was, moreover, an occasion for the congregation and the wider Huguenot Church to see itself as a distinct community maintaining its own traditions. In commemorating the ordination by reproducing the sermon, though, these publications often included an account of the ritual itself. So, not only do they reproduce the sermon preached for the occasion, but they also describe many liturgical details – the prayers, the words of ordination, the responses of the ordinand, and the actions of the participants.¹⁹⁸

196 Charles Drelincourt, *Recueil de Sermons*, vol. 3, 112-204; Daillé, *Quinze Sermons*, 264-315.

197 These instances where ministers' sons and the sons of *parlementaires* became pastors must have added force to notions of the 'dignity' of the vocation, about which many these following sermons are concerned, since they demonstrated the appeal of the position to well-educated and well-positioned families, and reveal the development of pastoral dynasties. Among the pastors read for this study, the presence of pastoral 'dynasties' is very strong, beyond the instances of the Drelincourt and Daillé families. The father of Pierre Allix (1641-1717), also named Pierre, was a minister in Alençon, and one of his sons (named Pierre, again) became a chaplain in England. Jean Claude's father was a minister at Montbazillac and then La Sauvetat, where Jean was born. Pierre Du Moulin's father, Joachim, was a minister at Sedan. The son of Nicolas Vignier (*fils*), however, kept the profession but switched confessions, becoming an Oratorian. Marriage could also consolidate such dynasties, such as Jean Maximilien de Langle (de Baux) who married Marie, the daughter of minister René Bochart, or André Rivet, whose second wife was Marie, the sister of Pierre Du Moulin.

198 As Ann Ramsey points out in the introduction to *Liturgy, Politics, and Salvation*, liturgy, in the Catholic Church, was important for fostering what she calls the "collective effervescence" of the community. This seems to be applicable, too, for the Huguenot Church, despite differences in the understanding of sacred immanence. After all, participation in the ritual itself is important

In addition to closely following the liturgical forms established by the French Reformed Church, there were also efforts made to align the Huguenot process of ordination with what Calvinists saw as apostolic tradition, something that was set out in the *Discipline*. This is achieved, in one way, by the reading of long passages taken from Scripture about the requirements for being a pastor. This fulfils the function, common to Protestant faiths, of differentiating themselves by rejecting Catholic liturgy and ritual in favour of forms of worship deemed to be more exclusively biblically based. For Huguenots, this was both for the sake of symbolism and, as the various texts illustrate, a concerted effort at imitation. For, while there were elements in the Huguenot form of ordination common to medieval practices (laying on of hands and public acclamation, for instance), the French Reformed Church consciously sought a more simplified ordination than that practiced in the Catholic Church, and one that took place during a normal Sunday service. It was a self-conscious attempt at differentiation from Catholic tradition and the errors that belonged to its hierarchical and sacerdotal clergy. All together, these ceremonies were an opportunity to both distance themselves from the Catholic Church and to instill a sense of inclusivity among Huguenots, contributing to a specifically Huguenot experience. The congregation and the reader also became witnesses to the expectations that were placed on a new minister and the reciprocal obligations entailed. Moreover, these same concerns

for creating and sustaining group cohesion. See, for instance: Daillé, *Quinze Sermons*, 304-315; Drelincourt, *Recueil de Sermons*, vol. 3, 185-198; and Gaches, *Seize Sermons*, 698-716. See also Pierre Allix, *Les Devoirs du Saint Ministere, ou Sermon sur les Paroles de S Paul à Tite, au chapitre II v. 7&8* (Charenton, 1676), whose similar description shows a consistency in Huguenot ecclesiastical ceremony in the face of increasingly restrictive laws regarding the practice of their religion.

are at the heart of the ordination sermons themselves, the sermons which, after all, were a central focus of the service and the main element of the printed form. As a result, not only do they provide an example of broad Huguenot unity, they also illustrate some of the centripetal forces acting upon Huguenot ministers as a group, while also underlining the source of authority that allowed ministers to so profoundly engage with Huguenot identity.

DIGNITY AND DUTY AS SERMON THEMES

Looking at the sermons themselves, they are most often concerned with explaining the duties and expectations of the pastoral vocation, along with the relationship between a minister and his congregation. Inevitably, the situation in France and the Huguenot antipathy to the Roman Catholic Church frequently found their way into the discussion too, themes which, together with the other considerations, helped to define Huguenot collective identity while asserting the ministers' authority to influence such concerns. In these sermons, two of the most thoroughly considered themes are contained in the titles of individual sermons such as Gaches' *La Dignité du Saint Ministère* and Allix's *Les Devoirs du Saint Ministère*. Although they appear in separate titles, the two themes – dignity and duty – are inextricably linked, and they are both elaborated upon by a common fund of metaphors and examples, images which, though not unique to Huguenots, help to illustrate the qualities, responsibilities, and relationships that define an ideal pastor and their role in the Huguenot community.

In exploring the dignity and duties of their vocation, ministers routinely explored and reinforced the same central issues that have already been observed. A sermon that Daillé preached as part of his *lectio continua* on I Timothy, for instance, provides a familiar list of pastoral duties: preaching to the faithful, explaining the mysteries of the religion, administering sacraments, and exhorting people to conduct themselves dutifully.¹⁹⁹ Pierre Mussard, in a sermon on Acts 20:28, provides a similar list, which defines pastoral duties as: taking care of themselves and their flock, preaching, administering sacraments, and keeping good order.²⁰⁰ Stating which among these functions are the most important to a pastor, René Bertheau, in a sermon on I Timothy 4:1-2, notes:

It begins with preaching the word of God. That must be his occupation, his study, and first among his concerns. It is this the great *chef-d'oeuvre* of his profession, and the only means of succeeding in his Office: It is by this that a man of God identifies himself, and how he accomplishes all of his good work.²⁰¹

In other instances, the sermons explained these matters with more robust or poetic language than the more strictly prescriptive texts already seen. In these cases, the descriptions often went beyond enumerating the duties of ministers by providing additional details and exploring the qualities and character traits of a good pastor too. Pierre du Moulin lends an esoteric element to the discussion by stating that the “task of Ministers is to be *dispensers of the secrets of God*” in reference to their role as preachers of the Gospel.²⁰² In vocalizing the duties thusly, a set of standards

199 Jean Daillé, *Exposition de la Première Epître de l'Apôtre Saint Paul à Timothée en Quarante-huit Sermons, vol. 1* (Geneva, 1661), 641-642.

200 Mussard, *Sermons sur Divers Textes*, 616.

201 Bertheau, *Sermon sur les Deux Premiers Versets*, 15.

202 Pierre Du Moulin, *Cinquième Decade de Sermons* (Geneva, 1642), 163.

against which a pastor's comportment could be judged was provided.

Many of the sermons take care to also list the responsibilities of the congregation. Charles Drelincourt, in the sermon preached at the ordination of his son, provides a comprehensive explanation of what a minister should expect from his congregation. He says that the congregation should love their pastor, be humble towards him, and take care of him; they are no less obliged than their pastor to live a pure and moral life; and they ought to delight in listening to, and following, what their pastor teaches them.²⁰³ Both Jean Daillé and Moysse Amyraut focus on the duty of attentive listening, with the former telling people to “listen with assiduity, with respect and attention, and receive the words as though they were spoken by Jesus Christ himself”,²⁰⁴ while the latter requests: “simply listen attentively to the truth that we speak, and conform your lives to it accordingly”.²⁰⁵ By involving the role of the parishioners in discussions about their pastors, these sermons emphasize the co-operative elements of religious life, and they show how the duties of the minister and his congregation were both closely bound to the sermon, whether to preach or to listen and learn.

Another pastoral duty, and one closely tied to their efficacy and authority, was the necessity of leading a morally upstanding life. Nicolas Vignier, for instance, states that ministers “can neither move hearts nor uproot vices if their words are not accompanied by good works”.²⁰⁶ Similarly, Du Moulin says that all of the qualities and gifts of a minister are useless if “good doctrine, good works,

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 176-180.

²⁰⁴ Jean Daillé, *Sermons sur le Catéchisme des Eglises Reformées, tome 3e* (Geneva, 1701), 313.

²⁰⁵ Moysse Amyraut, *Quatre Sermons sur quelques Sentences de l'Ecriture* (Saumur, 1648), 59.

²⁰⁶ Nicolas Vignier, *Pratique de Repentance* (Charenton, 1671), 209.

and a holy life are not joined together”.²⁰⁷ So, although all sources note that preaching is the most important task of ministers, it is by no means a stand-alone activity. To the contrary, preaching is described as quite ineffectual without being accompanied by the appropriate moral behaviour. On the other hand, it is made abundantly clear that there is nothing worse than a bad minister: sins and vices are, due to their source, worse when they are those a pastor.²⁰⁸

Based on the descriptions of, and elaborations on, the duties of a minister, it is obvious that it was hard work to accomplish all of the expectations, and many sermons do not hesitate to mention the difficulties involved. François Murat, a pastor at Grenoble, tellingly states that a “Pastor is called, not to idleness but to work, not to rest but to toil”.²⁰⁹ But along with that toil came the dignity, and sermons often discussed the source of that dignity and its bearing on the vocation. That is done by emphasizing a minister's relationship with Scripture, and how that relationship defines their role as interpreter and supplier of the word of God. Pastoral dignity was enunciated by Pierre Allix in the beginning of his sermon on the duties of the ministry where he states that “there is nothing in the whole world more august than the sacred ministry, with which it pleased God to honour pastors in the church”.²¹⁰ Nicolas Vignier discusses the importance of ministers by tracing their legacy back to the apostles – he introduces the topic by explaining how Jesus called Peter and Andrew to a “more excellent vocation”, part of which was the

207 Du Moulin, *Cinquieme Decade*, 181.

208 François Murat, *La Nasselle de l'Eglise Agitée* (Geneva, 1643), 25; André Rivet, *XII Meditations Chrestiennes sur quelques passages choisis de l'écriture sainte* (Leiden, 1622), 578-579.

209 Murat, *La Nasselle de l'Eglise*, 17.

210 Allix, *Les Devoirs du Saint Ministere*, 1.

“*grand oeuvre*” of preaching.²¹¹ Indeed, an integral part of any discussion of the status of the ministry involves mention of its relation to apostolic tradition, an appeal both to scriptural authority and to Protestant imagery. Unlike the Papacy, whose authority was based upon an unbroken line of succession from Peter, the Huguenot relationship to the apostles was founded more upon a model and a tradition that was mediated through the Bible. In that spirit, it can be said that more fundamental to the dignity of Huguenot ministers than their relationship to pastoral depictions in Scripture was their relationship to Scripture itself.

Although it seems almost tautological, it is also simply logical that the central duty of a Huguenot minister – preaching – was so closely related to their key source of dignity – Scripture. Preaching the Word of God was the most important task of a pastor, but that relationship *to* the Word of God is also what conferred such importance upon him, not least of all for the sake of his congregation. Amyraut makes this abundantly clear to the listeners and readers of a sermon on I Corinthians 1:21 when he says that his purpose is to show how “the Gospel is absolutely necessary to bring men to salvation” and, therefore, how God had provided preaching as a means for saving believers.²¹² Murat follows the same sentiment when he says that God employs ministers as “instruments for the salvation of others”, as does Daillé when he states that a pastor is “responsible for the salvation” of his flock.²¹³ These passages are striking because they describe a

211 Nicolas Vignier, *Le Pescheur d'Hommes, ou du Devoir et des qualitez des Ministres de la Parole de Dieu* (Blois, 1632), 6-7.

212 Moyse Amyraut, *Sermons sur Divers Textes de la Sainte Ecriture, Prononcés en divers lieux* (Saumur, 1653), 122-123.

213 Murat, *Sermon du Devoir*, 4; Daillé, *Exposition de la Premiere Epitre*, vol.1, 683.

close causal relationship between the actions of the pastor and the salvation of his flock. While these passages are not arguing for a system akin to what Protestants perceived to be wrong with the Catholic sacerdotal, sacramental and salvific priesthood, there does seem to be hints of a soteriological monopoly held by the pastorate. Providing some nuance to this, Raymond Gaches describes ministers as “announcing the promises of salvation”, and as not being the *source* of good things, but only the *presenters* of such things through the Gospel.²¹⁴ In this way, there is a distinction between the roles of God, the Gospel, and preacher in salvation. Asserting a special access to the Bible, this formulation – where the minister announces salvation – privileges the religious role of ministers (upon which their *dignity* is predicated), though stopping well short of attributing to them any power to actively mediate or effect the salvation of anyone, focusing attention instead on the efficacy of their sermon.

Preaching as presented here, then, is a nuanced source of vocational and religious significance, defining and delineating the power and prestige of the pastorate; and, while subtly distinguishing Huguenot ministers from their Catholic counterparts in this way, there are also many instances where more forceful anti-papal rhetoric is used in order to define the Huguenot minister. The Catholic foil served many purposes, not the least of which was to better define the value and orthodoxy of the Huguenot position by highlighting the errors of the “Roman” Church, and to emphasize the particularism of the Huguenot Church. In that spirit, Gaches' exploration of pastoral dignity is accented by a depiction of the Catholic

²¹⁴ Gaches, *Seize Sermons*, 684, 658.

Church which serves as a warning so that Huguenot ministers

do not become lost through pride, and so that their flocks do not view them with idolatry. The example of what happened in the Roman Church should make us afraid, where the respect of the people is abused to the point that the Bishops of Rome is seen as a visible divinity, and where the greatest Monarchs on earth are obliged to humble themselves at their feet.²¹⁵

Using the Catholic 'example' as one extreme, Gaches can counsel against both veneration and disdain for what ought to be a *glorieux employ* instituted by God. Similarly, Allix can assert the legitimacy of the Huguenot ministry's purpose and actions by describing the Catholic clergy as having become a “temporal magistracy”, and as being more concerned with sacrificing the body and blood of Jesus than with preaching the Gospel.²¹⁶ These examples, and others like them, point to an important polemical purpose to these sermons and, especially in a confessionally-divided society, of shaping group identity more clearly by providing clear contours of the 'other'.

One final way that sermons were able to communicate ideas about the pastorate was through a rich reserve of metaphors that were common to Christian culture. As will be seen throughout this study, Huguenot ministers frequently used imagery that would have been familiar to any contemporary audience, not just their coreligionists, but used it to define the Huguenot Church. Here, they served to underscore the authority of the ministers using them and, in the context of the confessional debates in France, they were used in conjunction with arguments distinguishing Huguenot ministers from their Catholic counterparts. Fulfilling the

²¹⁵ Gaches, *Seize Sermons*, 655-657.

²¹⁶ Allix, *Les Devoirs du Saint Ministere*, 15.

demands to combine learning and eloquence, and to make themselves understandable to their audience, these metaphors, drawn from nature, society and the Bible, provided a variety of themes through which to explain the role and purpose of pastors. The most common metaphor employed in describing the purpose and position of ministers comes, naturally enough, from the pastoral origins of their titular name. As *pastors*, ministers were *shepherds* watching over their flock, where this metaphor defined the spiritual responsibility of ministers as well as their obligations to their flock, and vice versa. A typical example of this is François Murat when he asks: “if the pastors of sheep must pay careful attention to their charge, how much more so is this the case for the pastors of God's fold?”²¹⁷ Here, the congregation was also equated with a shepherd's flock, a well-established and natural way to describe their relationship to their minister. Similarly, Drelincourt explains that “Holy Scripture frequently compares the Faithful to sheep [...] because they listen to the voice of their pastor and follow it”.²¹⁸ However, while it may have been the most common and obvious metaphor to use to describe the role of a minister, it was by no means the only.

As Drelincourt points out with the pastoral theme, the Bible was a rich source of metaphors for the ministry. A source of pastoral imagery, the Bible offered numerous images, chief among which were two significant archetypes employed to describe ministers: angels and apostles. In both cases this is on account of their evangelizing, as both angels and apostles had the task of

²¹⁷ Murat, *Sermon du Devoir*, 8.

²¹⁸ Drelincourt, *Recueil de Sermons*, vol. 3, 139.

announcing the Gospel. Gaches makes this connection when he says that “Angels themselves were the first Preachers of grace, announcing the good news to the shepherds”.²¹⁹ In terms of the apostles, they were symbolically important to the Huguenot pastorate, in addition to apostolic tradition being an important liturgical inspiration. Focusing on their paradigmatic role as evangelizers, Amyraut explains how the apostles “planted crosses on all sides by preaching”.²²⁰ So, while the the pastoral metaphors were focused on the minister's authority and leadership, invoking angels and apostles had as its focus a specific aspect of that ministry – preaching. This was important not just for association, but also to elaborate upon the importance and prestige of a minister's preaching duty.

As with the biblical allusions just mentioned, sources of imagery drawn from nature or society were also useful to highlight the authority of ministers and to to establish a common standard by which to judge them. Since, as Nicolas Vignier points out, it is not enough for a minister to preach good doctrine but that he has to do so in consideration of the diversity of “people, times, and locations”,²²¹ it makes sense that ministers relied on a variety of everyday images to better communicate concepts about their vocation. This is, after all, one of the central tenets of good preaching. Basing his sermon on Mark 1:17 (“Follow me and I will make you fishers of men”), Vignier employs fishing as an extended metaphor to explain the dignity and the duties of the ministry. He says that, for such fishermen, their nets are Scripture, the fish are people, and that their catch is

²¹⁹ Gaches, *Seize Sermons*, 655-656.

²²⁰ Amyraut, *Sermons sur Divers Textes*, 134.

²²¹ Vignier, *Le Pescheur d'Hommes*, 29. This is also precisely the point made by Kristine Wirts when she focuses on the natural and artisinal imagery present in Huguenot sermons.

gaining souls for God.²²² He continues: “There where the fish bear the image of God eternal, and are redeemed by the precious blood of the Son of God, is it not a great honour to be Fishermen in that sea? Certainly, my Brothers; the Spirit of God himself honours our vocation”.²²³ Exhibiting the familiar exegetical techniques already seen, Mussard elaborates on his sermon's text about the responsibilities of a minister (Acts 20:28) with reference to Ephesians 6:19; he calls ministers “Ambassadors of Jesus Christ” sent to reconcile men with God.²²⁴ As this is in Mussard's introduction, that diplomatic image helps to set the stage for the rest of the sermon, positing the pastor as an important interlocutor in the relationship between people and God.

Moving slightly away from biblical sources, Allix makes use of a well-established trope, comparing pastors to medical doctors (*medecins*, not simply the learned *docteurs*). He says: Paul does not want pastors to “simply be *Docteurs* who bear the light, [but] *Medecins* to cure souls of their diseases and their evil passions. He does not simply want our doctrine to be full of candour and integrity, but that it also cures the spiritually unwell of their infirmities”.²²⁵ In this metaphor is a useful way of explaining the expectation that it was not sufficient just to be a well-educated minister and that, rather, it was necessary to also possess the practical pastoral skills of spiritually caring for and healing the parishioners. Therefore, the curative emphasis and the applied skills of a medical doctor provide an apt image of what the minister's practice provides to his congregation,

²²² *Ibid.*, 37.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 37-38.

²²⁴ Mussard, *Sermons sur Divers Textes*, 610-611.

²²⁵ Allix, *Les Devoirs du Saint Ministere*, 20-21.

especially since the focus of his combat, sin, was commonly described as disease.

Finally, Huguenot preachers also had recourse to metaphors based in nature in order to express notions about their duties and effects. Like the image of fishermen, these motifs could also be based upon biblical commonplaces, such as Rivet's sermon on Matthew 5:13 ("You are the salt of the earth..."). Comparing pastors to salt, Rivet says that the former is like the latter in that it is "very useful and necessary so long as it retains its properties; on the contrary, when it loses them, it serves no use and there is nothing in the world more vile and contemptible".²²⁶ He carries the metaphor throughout the sermon, noting later that salt can fix bland meat but that nothing can fix bad salt. He explains this to mean that "a good and saintly ministry can bring others to the right path; but when the guide strays, there is no good means to rectify that".²²⁷ In comparing the ministry to salt, Rivet is able to assert the central importance of a pastor's role, along with his innate value, positing that a good minister is necessary and beneficial, but a bad one is at best useless.

Relying on the animal kingdom for inspiration, Vignier compares the pastor to a rooster.²²⁸ In this metaphor, it is again the duty of preaching and the importance of setting a good example that are the key aspects elaborated upon:

Like the Rooster wakes himself up and shakes the dust from his wings before he sets himself to singing to wake up the others; so Ministers of the word of God must wake themselves and shake off the dust of their negligence, and clean up the garbage of vice in order to arouse the same in

²²⁶ Rivet, *XII Meditations*, 551.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, 579.

²²⁸ A full chapter is dedicated to 'animal analogies' – especially the sheep-wolf binary – in Wirts, *From the Pulpit to the People*, 42-73.

others.²²⁹

This image shows the pastor as an integral force in organizing, motivating and awakening the souls of his parishioners, while also illustrating the importance of leading by example in order to provide his message with meaning. It may also have tapped into notions of the rooster as both a Christian and a French symbol. Raymond Gaches, on the other hand, compares ministers to bees. Like bees, ministers must work hard in order to produce their honey. However, while bees visit an “infinity of flowers” in order to do so, the fruit of a minister's labour comes from good works, study, and meditation, and produces a “honey of consolations and instructions”.²³⁰ As in the other examples, Gaches is able to highlight the significance and requisite nature of certain aspects of the Huguenot ministry with recourse to metaphorical imagery, in this case emphasizing how essential hard work is to the success of a pastor.

In the cases here, the sermons use a variety of metaphors in order to provide emphasis for the dignity and duties associated with being a pastor in the French Reformed Church, not just peripheral elements but the core aspects of the vocations, especially preaching. Self-reflexive, these sermons focus on the necessity and the spiritual worth of the pastoral functions, in effect justifying preaching as they preach. Finally, the imagery included serves a complementary role to the other aspects of the dialogue about the Huguenot ministry, explaining their spiritual purpose, social role, and relationship to the laity, of which preaching

²²⁹ Vignier, *Pratique de Repentance*, 208.

²³⁰ Gaches, *Seize Sermons*, 51.

was the central component. In terms of confessional identity, the metaphors were not unique to the Huguenot Church, but they were used to define key ecclesiastical and pastoral elements, and to define them in opposition to their Catholic opponents. These techniques are significant for reinforcing the authority and leadership of ministers, and also for providing a window into the mental world shared by ministers and their audiences.

CONCLUSION:

Sermons were an important part of Huguenot religious and social life in both their preached and printed forms. They were at the heart of Huguenot worship and also integral to negotiating their place under the Edict of Nantes. And to approach sermons for study means first needing to approach their authors, to understand the pastoral training, expectations, and ecclesiastical contours that shaped them. For Huguenot ministers, these factors included their training at the academies, the organization provided by synods and colloquies, and the correspondences that were maintained by ministers across the kingdom. These resources helped to regulate the Huguenot pastorate, defining the essential duties and dignities, and encouraging a common set of expectations, and the result was a network of pastors, linked through an ecclesiastical web and through academic contacts.

In the coming chapters, we will see how Huguenot ministers explored the complex situation that their communities found themselves in through their

sermons, balancing religious particularism and political loyalism, very conscious of their place and history within France. The training and resources that Huguenot ministers had allowed for a pastoral corps that shared a number of similarities across the kingdom, and those foundations were translated into their sermons which acted as an intersection of elite training and popular mindsets.²³¹ In these cases, the sermon was at the heart of how Huguenot ministers established images, arguments, and narrative to define their community by and, hence, how a Huguenot identity took shape and how a political strategy was formed.

²³¹Wirts, *From the Pulpit to the People*, 12.

CHAPTER TWO
AN EXCLUSIVE COMMUNITY: DEFINING THE HUGUENOT
PETIT TROUPEAU

On the first Sunday of November in 1657, Simon De Goyon took to the pulpit in Bègles – where the Huguenots of Bordeaux gathered to worship – and preached a unique sermon to his congregation.²³² Breaking from his *lectio continua* series, De Goyon chose the verse Acts 18:28²³³ to defend the scriptural integrity of Huguenot doctrine in response to Jesuits who had lately been trying to convert members of his congregation. His sermon was borne of a specific crisis in Bordeaux, but it was one that was familiar to Huguenot communities across France.²³⁴ It also illustrates some of the key concerns that Huguenot ministers faced within the confessional battles under the Edict of Nantes, not only in confronting the Catholic attempts to win Huguenots to their fold, but also in shaping Huguenot confessional identity by providing a vocabulary of images and narratives that encouraged a sense of religious particularism among the Huguenot faithful as French subjects.

In their attempts to create a well-defined godly community, Huguenot ministers faced a number of challenges, from their parishioners and from beyond their community. They battled what they saw as insufficient religious knowledge and poor morals within their congregations,²³⁵ and they had to guard against too

232 Simon De Goyon, *Les Articles de la Confession de Foy des Eglises Reformées de France, Prouvée par les saintes Ecritures, Contre les nouveaux Disciples de Veron, ou Sermon sur le Chap. XVIII v. 28 les Actes des Apostres* (Paris, 1658).

233 “for he powerfully refuted the Jews in public, showing by the Scriptures that the Christ was Jesus” (ESV)

234 The fact that this sermon was published on its own early the next year in Paris shows its assumed broad appeal.

235 See, for instance: Gerald Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978); or, Raymond

much negative contact with those outside of their community of faithful and the threat of losing members to the Catholic Church. Such fears were due to the many interactions of the members of two ostensibly hostile faiths which, as described earlier, were defined by a sort of negotiated settlement, marked by both conflict and co-operation, by closed boundaries and permeability.²³⁶

In addition to such interactions at the personal or community level, the crown also played an active role in mediating and shaping relations. For, as Keith Luria sees it, cross-confessional interaction was fundamentally defined by the crown's relationship to the two confessions; it was also defined, in Mario Turchetti's formulation, by the occasional desire of the crown for religious *concord*, where the two faiths would be obliged to reconcile, ostensibly under the Catholic fold.²³⁷ In this case, the notion of concord is distinct from *toleration*, the begrudging acceptance of a competing faith; and for Huguenot ministers, the consequences of the two policies were such that they would have preferred the latter, as the former implied their defeat as a separate church. In an important way, this notion of toleration also permeated their political strategies, since it informed their idea of religious pluralism. It was the *status quo* that they sought to maintain and an acknowledgement of the crown's role in shaping their existence.

As the leaders of the French Reformed Church, Huguenot ministers expended a lot of energy responding to these particular circumstances, meaning that their pastoral duties were often inevitably flavoured by defence, retrenchment,

Mentzer, "Morals and Moral Regulation in Protestant France.

²³⁶Luria, *Sacred Boundaries*, xvi-xxvi.

²³⁷Mario Turchetti, "Religious Concord and Political Tolerance in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 22:1 (Spring, 1991).

and particularism. As Philip Benedict points out, Huguenot preaching and catechizing was often aimed directly against Catholic missionary attempts and the resulting threat of conversion.²³⁸ In their sermons, not only were ministers concerned with explaining points of doctrine or with instilling the imperatives of moral living, but these goals were approached within the context of defining the Huguenot church as a distinct church and community; they were defining their church and community in response to the political conditions that they faced, and often in contrast to the beliefs and practices of the Roman Church.

The Papacy, in these cases, served as a foil for Huguenot ministers and, in the process, helped to give shape to the Huguenot position itself. And while this was explicit in most Huguenot homiletics,²³⁹ many other sermons also contained a strong awareness of the Huguenot condition in France in different ways. Such an understanding closely resembles Philip Benedict's 'weak-theory' of confessionalization, which is characterized by “rivalry and emulation” and a strong enforcement of a set system of beliefs.²⁴⁰ Taking Benedict's notion of Huguenot confessionalization and invoking sociological scholarship, Mark Greengrass looks at its relationship to *identity*, explaining the “inevitable desire” of minorities to “create for themselves a strong and independent identity”.²⁴¹ In that spirit, the pastors acted as “guardians of the Protestant collective memory” and used collective myths to “patrol and define [the church's] continuing

²³⁸Benedict, *Faith and Fortunes*, 71.

²³⁹Chevalier, *Prêcher*, 195.

²⁴⁰*Ibid.*

²⁴¹Greengrass, “The French Pastorate,” 194.

existence”.²⁴² It is from that perspective, then, that Huguenot sermons must be seen; preaching served not just the needs of consolation and religious pedagogy, but also to provide meaning, direction, and interpretation to the Huguenot experience. Through the themes that will be explored below, sermons were a frequent source of information with which a Huguenot identity rooted in religious particularism was constructed; this was done by playing up the perceived theological, ecclesiastical and moral differences between faiths to insist upon the necessity of being a separate community of faithful, creating a narrative that defined the Huguenot Church as God's chosen people, and an identity that saw them as a necessarily distinct community within France.

THEOLOGY, CONTROVERSY, AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH: *CECI EST MON CORPS*

Among the many differences that separated the French Reformed Church from their Catholic opponents, there were a number that featured prominently and repeatedly in the pastoral and polemical literature from both sides. In terms of Huguenot differentiation from Catholicism, some of the chief points of contention were the different understandings of the Eucharist, Justification, and the authority of the pope. After all, these points were central to both faiths' understandings of orthodoxy, liturgy, salvation, and society.²⁴³ Huguenot ministers took issue with the

²⁴²*Ibid.*

²⁴³It is this last category – society – that historiography over the last few decades has examined so fruitfully in order to better understand the dynamics of the Reformation, especially in the case of controversies over the Eucharist. Integral to this expanded view of religious culture is John Bossy's “The Mass as a Social Institution 1200-1700,” (*Past and Present* no.100, (Aug.1983)), which highlights the role of celebrating Mass and Corpus Christi in defining community and

doctrine of Transubstantiation and the sacrificial notions of the Mass, with Catholic works righteousness, and with what they saw as the worldliness and spiritual oppression of the Papacy. In sermon form, these issues arose frequently: Chevalier's calculations show that, in sermons engaging with religious controversy, the Eucharist, the Papacy, and salvation through good works are the three most frequently discussed themes, appearing in 23.7%, 16.7%, and 11.1% of the sermons respectively.²⁴⁴ This frequency, moreover, allowed the opportunity for the ministers both to reinforce the Calvinist position and to repeatedly illustrate the errors and dangers of Catholic doctrine. In that way, these sermons were integral to defining and confirming the church's theological foundations and to shaping the collective identity of its members of in opposition to the Roman Church.

The Lord's Supper was usually celebrated four times a year by Huguenots – Easter, Pentecost, autumn, and Christmas – and it was a time of solemn importance, preparation, and reflection; it also represented an opportunity for ministers to break from their *lectio continua* and preach on a passage more relevant to Eucharistic concerns. This was true not only of the Sunday of celebration itself, but also of the services leading up to it, so as to fully prepare mentally and spiritually. Ministers would announce an upcoming celebration two

social relationships. Related to this is Natalie Zemon Davis' "The Rites of Violence," and, later, Barbara Diefendorf's *Beneath the Cross*, both of which identify the consequences of an Early Modern society that interpreted religious difference as dangerous social pollution. More recently, the introduction to Mack Holt's *The French Wars of Religion* provides a useful exploration of the social and anthropological dimensions of religion and, along with his review article "Putting Religion Back into the Wars of Religion," in *French Historical Studies* 18:2 (Autumn 1993), discusses the necessity of recognizing the historical importance of religious belief.

²⁴⁴Chevalier, *Prêcher*, 251.

or three weeks in advance in order to facilitate this preparatory period, a period that was accompanied by relevant sermons.²⁴⁵ The focus on preparation also provided printed sermons with an important role – they were a means to meditate and prepare for the Lord's Supper at home. When it came to actually celebrating the Lord's Supper, that too assumed a powerful force in delineating the Huguenot community since inclusion was closely monitored, and since, in its social value, it was a “moment for repentance and the restoration of communal harmony”.²⁴⁶ In all of these facets, sermons were an important medium, complementing the religious ritual, and providing a commentary that distinguished Huguenot practice from that of the Catholic Church.

A telling example of a sermon concerned with the many aspects of the Eucharist is the Parisien pastor Jean Mestrezat's sermon *Du Tableau du Sacrement de la Sainte Cene*. In it he explains the religious importance of the sacrament and, despite explicitly seeking to avoid focusing on religious controversy, he devotes significant space to the profound problems he sees with the Catholic Mass. He begins by explaining the central act of the celebration – it is a “visible Gospel” whose actions demonstrate two things: Christ's sacrifice for the remission of sins and the spiritual nourishment of a soul that is hungry and thirsty for justice.²⁴⁷ He then goes on to explain his choice of text – “*ceci est mon corps, etc.*” – which also explains his main themes of the sermon:

Now that, by the grace of God, we are assembled here today to prepare and

²⁴⁵Mentzer, “The Genevan Model and Gallican Originality,” 159-160.

²⁴⁶*Ibid.*

²⁴⁷Jean Mestrezat, *Vingt Sermons sur Divers Textes de l'Escriture Sainte, Prononces en Divers temps à Charenton les-Paris* (Geneva: 1657), 857-858.

dispose ourselves to the celebration of the Lord's Supper, we have chosen for our purpose and meditation in this hour the words of Jesus Christ at the Last Supper, not to lead you to thoughts of controversy, which from this text you could doubtless consider (that would not be appropriate for this hour, in which we have more to say against the hardening of our hearts, impenitence, mistrust and other vices and faults than against our Adversaries), but to present for you what meditations and functions the words of Jesus Christ ought to produce in your souls.²⁴⁸

Immediately after explaining this aim, though, he carefully adds the caveat that, although the present purpose is not to treat the religious controversy at hand, he might be obliged to refer to it in order to better explain some other point. And, indeed, Eucharistic controversy becomes an important part of this sermon.

After placing the Huguenot celebration of the Eucharist within the long history of God's relationship to humanity, Mestrezat's discussion of the Catholic view of the Eucharist begins with a deconstruction of Transubstantiation, and by comparing it to the notion of *commemoration*. Explaining that Jesus said “do this in commemoration of me” having foreseen misinterpretation, the Catholic Church nonetheless falsely holds Transubstantiation to be correct, effectively “adoring a piece of bread as the substance and person of Jesus Christ, [and] confounding the Sacrament and memorial for the thing for which it is a Sacrament and memorial”.²⁴⁹ An important corollary of that misinterpretation, which Mestrezat turns to next, is the resulting Catholic sacrificial notion of the Eucharist, which is a “human invention” and contrary to the “perfection of the unique oblation on the cross”.²⁵⁰ That is, the Lord's Supper is a commemoration of a singular and

²⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 859.

²⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 873.

²⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 865.

sufficient sacrifice, not itself a sacrifice. The sermon then turns to some useful themes upon which to meditate, such as the charity and justice. However, he promptly returns to Catholic doctrine in order to further define the Calvinist position. “Considering in passing” the Catholic position on the nature of *eating* the Eucharist, Mestrezat dismisses physical consumption, concluding that “the action by which one receives the body and blood of Jesus Christ cannot be but spiritual, that is to say, it is an action of the soul and not the mouth”.²⁵¹ What is significant here in these examples is not the specific theological position being defined in this sermon but, rather, the fact that Mestrezat felt compelled to invoke Catholic doctrine as a significant means to explain Calvinist orthodoxy, especially having explicitly hoped to avoid controversy, revealing one of the important dynamics in the construction of confessional identity.

Jean Daillé's three-volume *Sermons sur le Catechisme des Eglises Reformees* shows a similar approach, offering four separate sermons to define the Eucharist, including a sermon on section fifty-two of the catechism, “Against the Sacrifice of the Mass”.²⁵² The following sermon is equally telling, being “On the Real Presence and on the Retrenchment of the Cup”. As is the case with Mestrezat's sermon on the Eucharist, the reliance on a Catholic foil is a sign of

²⁵¹*Ibid.*, 896-897.

²⁵²Daillé, *Sermons sur le Catechisme*, vol 3., 525. It is significant, too, that John Calvin, the author of the catechism upon which the sermons were composed (Jehan Calvin, *Catechisme, c'est a dire le formulaire d'instruire les enfans en la Chrestiente, fait en maniere de dialogue, ou le Ministre interroge, et l'enfant respond* (Geneva, 1553)), also found it necessary to include specific passages denouncing the Catholic Mass. These sections, moreover, are found within a larger part – from section forty-six onwards – devoted to the sacraments, explaining their purpose and signification, as well as more confessionally-conscious sections explaining why there are two (as opposed to seven) sacraments, or why infant baptism is legitimate.

how Huguenot beliefs and identity were framed in relation to a competing faith and a dangerously familiar one. Such pronouncements were an important part of defining Huguenot eucharistic ritual since, as Amy Nelson Burnett notes, “the deliberate rejection of certain rituals was itself a powerful ritual statement”.²⁵³

In the same sermon collection by Mestrezat mentioned earlier, for instance, there is a sermon, “On Justification by Faith without the works of the Law”,²⁵⁴ that shares many similarities to his sermon on the Lord's Supper. His purpose is to demonstrate the necessity and universality of justification by faith, in the process exposing the insufficiency of justification by any other means. Mestrezat begins with an historical discussion, looking at the ancient Israelites and the tension that existed between searching for justice and obedience through Adam's disobedience and Mosaic Law, and searching for God's mercy, like the example of David.²⁵⁵

Mestrezat then ties the example of Ancient Israel about the tension between *loy* and *foy* to his own era, explaining the errors of the Roman Church in their views of justification, namely, the concurrence of justification by faith and by works.²⁵⁶

After describing the errors of the Catholic system, he goes on to refute that position of “*nos Adversaires*” with frequent references to Scripture.²⁵⁷ Putting together these various debates about justification, the final section of Mestrezat's sermon – *Application et doctrines* – extracts the doctrinal significance for his

²⁵³Amy Nelson Burnett, “The Social History of Communion and the Reformation of the Eucharist,” in *Past and Present* 211 (May 2011), 79. Here she is paraphrasing Bernard Roussel's essay on funerals in *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World* eds. Mentzer and Spicer.

²⁵⁴Mestrezat, *Vingt Sermons*, 369-428.

²⁵⁵*Ibid.*, 380-382.

²⁵⁶*Ibid.*, 394-395.

²⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 407.

Huguenot audience. Having spent the first half of the sermon laying out the scriptural and logical reasons for the superiority and orthodoxy of the Huguenot position, Mestrezat turns afterwards to play on soteriological concerns, comparing condemnation by the law to the justification that comes through faith in Christ.²⁵⁸ In that way, Catholic belief is woven throughout Mestrezat's sermon, helping him to define and explain Huguenot orthodoxy, and helping him to demonstrate the comparative benefit of Huguenot doctrine by highlighting the dangers and insufficiencies of Catholic error.

Similarly, Pierre Du Moulin, in a sermon on Romans 13:14 offers a treatment of justification by faith with a lengthy discussion of Catholic doctrine. Following the passage itself – “clothe yourselves with the Lord Jesus Christ” – Du Moulin begins with an extended metaphor about clothing. He notes that there are two sorts of clothing that Jesus offers those that love him, that of grace and that of glory; the former is for the present life, while the latter is for the future life.²⁵⁹ He then explains that,

[o]f this clothing, the material or fabric is the grace of the Holy Spirit. The labourer is the Holy Spirit. The shop where it is made is the Church of God. The activity needed to make it is the study of good works. The measure is the rule of the word of God. The pattern upon which it is formed is Jesus Christ...²⁶⁰

Du Moulin then relates that one must be “clothed in Christ” in both an exterior and an interior manner. This begins at baptism, and continues with an “overt profession that one makes by mouth and by all actions wanting to adhere to Jesus Christ,

²⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 413-419.

²⁵⁹Pierre Du Moulin, *Sermons sur Quelques Textes de l'Esriture Sainte* (Geneva, 1635), 37-38.

²⁶⁰*Ibid.*, 40.

renouncing superstition and human inventions, to live in profession of the Gospel”.²⁶¹

Soon after making broad appeals against 'superstition' and 'human invention', Du Moulin begins to more explicitly denounce Catholicism, explaining that “against this doctrine [of justification by faith] the Roman Church sins variously and confuses all the doctrine of the Gospel [...] placing justification in our good works”.²⁶² He also provides examples of Catholic 'human invention' – namely, the Treasury of Merit – citing Clement V and Robert Bellarmine as those who taught, respectively, that the “satisfactions of the saints serve to complement the merit of Jesus Christ”, and that “the saints are in a way our redeemers”.²⁶³ Challenging that Catholic position, Du Moulin re-emphasizes the Calvinist pillars of Gospel and Faith, and explains that good works have soteriological importance, but as a path to follow, not as a means to earn salvation.²⁶⁴ Again, as with the examples from Mestrezat and Dailé that came decades later, Catholic doctrine looms large in this instance for Du Moulin's homiletics, relying on it to distinguish the Huguenot position's orthodoxy, and handling it as a tradition both familiar and dangerous to his audience. These examples show both the variety and the repetition of a theme, helping to thoroughly etch the differences that existed between Huguenots and Catholics in the minds of the Huguenot faithful; they also illuminate the ideological interdependence that existed, a relationship that was

²⁶¹*Ibid.*, 49.

²⁶²*Ibid.*, 51.

²⁶³*Ibid.*, 59.

²⁶⁴*Ibid.*, 53.

defined both by distinction and “cross-fertilization”.²⁶⁵

Having seen the Catholic Church be employed to help define specific points of Huguenot doctrine, there were also many instances of generalized attacks and thorough defences against the Papacy and its church. For instance, Simon De Goyon, in the sermon cited at the beginning of the chapter, explains the scriptural basis of Huguenot faith through his exposition of Acts 18:28 in response to Catholic attacks.²⁶⁶ It is a sermon, but very much focused on controversy and debate. The title, too, gives the impression that its *published* purpose was to participate in some confessional disputation. It is, in some ways, a regular sermon, having been preached to De Goyon's congregation on a Sunday in November; as De Goyon admits, though, it is also a sermon preached in extraordinary circumstances, forcing him to temporarily abandon his *lectio continua*, explaining: “Dear Brothers, it is not without reason that, leaving my ordinary text, I chose these words to be the subject of the present exercise”.²⁶⁷ The reason is that he is responding to a Catholic challenge to the scriptural basis of the Huguenot *Confession of Faith*, taking the time to reassure his parishioners about the truth and faith found in Scripture, so as to “resist the new disputants who make so much noise”.²⁶⁸ De Goyon accuses his Catholic opponents of marginalizing and defaming the Gospel, and of instituting non-scriptural doctrine. He is also asserting the scriptural basis of the *Confession of Faith*; and, against accusations

²⁶⁵Luc Racaut, *Hatred in Print: Catholic Propaganda and Protestant Identity During the French Wars of Religion* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Co., 2002), 4.

²⁶⁶De Goyon, *Les Articles de la Confession de Foy*.

²⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 9.

²⁶⁸*Ibid.*, 10.

that Huguenot articles of faith cannot be found word-for-word in the Bible, he counters thusly:

But it is that the articles of our Confession of faith are but expressions, explications and declarations of doctrines contained in Scripture; from which it follows that if they are conceived in other terms for greater intelligibility, these terms neither add, nor change, nor diminish anything of these doctrines.²⁶⁹

While perhaps not fully satisfying his opponents with that response, the sermon in general provides both a defence of the Huguenot position, and an attack against Catholic practice and one that might have hoped to prove effective with a Huguenot audience familiar with appeals to the 'pure Gospel'. Moreover, while preached originally for his parishioners, the text reads as though there are two simultaneous audiences – Protestant *and* Catholic.²⁷⁰ It is an environment where Huguenot ministers and their flocks were under threat from many Catholic sources, and so the need for confessional distinction and the fear of apostasy were at the forefront of pastors' minds.

An important consequence of the doctrine of justification by faith alone on Huguenot identity was its practical application in giving meaning to the condition of the Huguenot Church in France, where the afflictions they faced became tests of faith. In addition, it also provided a particular way in which to face that condition. This orientation is particularly evident in a number of sermons dealing with themes of faith, hope, and perseverance, sermons that are encouraging a specific interpretation to temporal conditions. In his sermon on Romans 5:5 about the

²⁶⁹*Ibid.*, 48.

²⁷⁰The various ways in which the Catholic Church and the crown were able to keep tabs on Huguenot preaching and printing, though, means that this idea of multiple audiences was more than a rhetorical device.

'Foundations of Christian hope', Raymond Gaches aims to show how true faith in manifested, noting that "hope and faith are inseparable".²⁷¹ Moreover, true faith understands that "men can make plans, but God alone arranges events". That is, accepting God's plan regardless of its trajectory is an important demonstration of faith. Linking hope closely to faith allows the theological themes to extend logically into the turbulent and mundane aspects of life, giving them practical and consolatory value, and framing them in a way that affirms the experiences of the Huguenots.

A similar effect is achieved in earlier sermons by Samuel Durant, an early-seventeenth-century pastor at Charenton, and Michel Le Faucheur, one of his successors, each preaching about faith and constancy in the face of hardship, and each appealing to the difficulties of the Huguenot condition as opportunities to demonstrate fidelity to God. Both Durant and Le Faucheur describe general and specific difficulties, how enduring them is a mark of firm faith, and how present perseverance will result in future glory. Le Faucheur, towards the beginning of his sermon, explains that Christians all suffer, but not necessarily in the same way, since

in the life of the faithful there is a great number and many different sorts [of suffering]. This person here by experiences of one sort, that person there by another, but no one is exempt from all. One has a heavier cross, another a lighter one, but everyone has their own, as much as it pleases God to impose. Each person themselves has many sorts. So the Christian has, in his own body, with respect to that which it is exposed, falls, and sicknesses, and injuries, and wounds, just like the infidel; but he does not take them as faults of nature, or as accidents of fortune, but regards and considers them as visitations from God, as exercises of faith, as proofs of

²⁷¹Raymond Gaches, *Seize Sermons*, 268.

his wisdom.²⁷²

Durant explains true faith as being accompanied by “certitude, efficacy, and strength”, and as manifesting itself as “a peace of conscience, the assurance of the remission of sins, patience in affliction, a distaste for this world, and a desire for heaven”.²⁷³ In both cases, the pastor begins his sermon by describing what true faith will look like, focusing on specific characteristics and on a particular orientation to the world.

Both pastors also provide brief explanations of symptoms inconsistent with true faith, naturally taking Catholics as examples. In these cases, doubt and weakness are key to their depictions, conditions that have been produced by the Catholic clergy. Durant, for instance, explores this by saying that “the poor people of the Papacy have learned to doubt whether they are going to heaven or hell, [but] the faithful knows he is the child of God”.²⁷⁴ Le Faucheur, too, describes the situation created by the Papacy, stating that, since people prefer an easy life of pleasures and honours, “people in the Roman Church who recognize well, both by the light of the Gospel and by the evidence of reason, the difference that exists between the abuses of their religion and the purity of ours, languish nonetheless in the filth that they condemn”.²⁷⁵ From these explanations, then, faith shows itself in the firmness of one's conviction, and in the willingness to endure difficulties for that faith. After all, as Durant insists to his audience, it is not enough to make a

²⁷²Michel Le Faucheur, *Sermon des Soufrances des Fidelles, & de leur gloire* (Paris, 1640), 9-10.

²⁷³Samuel Durant, *Sept Sermons sur l'Eschelle de Jacob, l'Agneau Paschal, la Remission des Peches, la Perseverance* (Geneva, 1627), 175-176.

²⁷⁴*Ibid.*

²⁷⁵Le Faucheur, *Sermon des Soufrances*, 4.

“profession of the Religion” and assume that that covers up for vice and baseness; rather, life must be a “spiritual combat”.²⁷⁶ However, what might seem to be a difficult choice – to reject ease and pleasure for combat and suffering – is really quite simple, according to Durant and Le Faucheur, as soon as one recognizes the eternal reward, a remuneration that they both emphasize.²⁷⁷

For Durant, the spiritual call to arms that he describes has many purposes. First of all, in the middle of hypocrisy and profanity, the faithful person serves as a candle that “enlightens others”.²⁷⁸ The ultimate reward for a difficult life of spiritual combat, however, is salvation.²⁷⁹ Le Faucheur, too, highlights this ultimate reward, and the contrast between present troubles and future glory features as a strong theme to that end. At one point he states: “If the days of our pilgrimage are unpleasant, so too are they short”;²⁸⁰ later, in quick succession he explains that: “all the suffering to which we have been exposed will end in glory”, and that: “if our current affliction angers us, this future glory consoles us”.²⁸¹ He concludes by telling his audience that: “the glory in which we will triumph will be infinitely greater than the present suffering under which we groan. Since we have suffered on the earth, we will rejoice in Heaven; we have suffered for a time, and we will

²⁷⁶Durant, *Sept Sermons*, 186-189.

²⁷⁷Naturally, the focus on salvation should not be surprising since it was at the heart of all aspects of the Reformation, from theological debates about the nature of justification to the popular violence described by Natalie Zemon Davis, Barbara Diefendorf, and Denis Crouzet, violence that sought to purge threats to collective salvation.

²⁷⁸*Ibid.*, 176.

²⁷⁹*Ibid.*, 210.

²⁸⁰Le Faucheur, *Sermon des Soufrances*, 14. Of note, also, is the mention of the seemingly Catholic practice of pilgrimage – and elsewhere of relics. What it shows, though, is the continued rhetorical value of pilgrimage, used in an allegorical sense like Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, as opposed to condoning its penitential use.

²⁸¹*Ibid.*, 39.

rejoice forever; we have suffered at the hands of men, and we will rejoice in the hands of God”.²⁸² Through this iteration, Le Faucheur reinforces the notion that, being members of the 'true church', facing steadfastly the current problems – the violence, harassment, intimidation and isolation – is a small price to pay for eternal salvation. Yet, while salvation is an undeniable concern here, an important by-product is the role that such discussions have on Huguenot identity, by emphasizing the role of differentiation that was central to the Huguenot context and experience, and by interpreting their situation in a way that reaffirmed the legitimacy of being a religious minority in France.

In addition to recognizing and internalizing affliction and persecution as signs of the 'true church', ministers also sought to see an awareness of the separateness of the French Reformed Church acted out in discernible ways. That is, 'spiritual combat' needed to be a recognizable rejection of idolatry and superstition and a constant demonstration of moral integrity, in part to enlighten others, as Durant teaches, but also to distinguish oneself and one's church from those outside of the faith. For, while Durant provides an image of the faithful as a light in darkness, others speak more of *withdrawing* from the darkness, and thus imposing a more pronounced separateness.²⁸³

In a sermon on Hebrews 13:13, Charles Drelincourt appeals to many of the same themes that we have already seen: he explains that all suffering and affliction

²⁸²*Ibid.*, 42.

²⁸³Such uses of light and darkness as marks of division are familiar to the influence of apocalypticism, which Paul Christianson in *Reformers and Babylon: English apocalyptic visions from the reformation to the eve of the civil war* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978, 3-5) notes was a powerful source of imagery in Protestant attacks against Rome.

is the “suffering of Christ”, and something to which the faithful are called;²⁸⁴ he terms all true Christians “soldiers of the Lord Jesus”;²⁸⁵ and he calls their victory an “eternal triumph”.²⁸⁶ Taking the martial imagery further, he divides into two camps the *World* and the *Church* and, perhaps echoing themes of Augustine's *City of God* or of monastic ideals, he tells the faithful to renounce “all the dirtiness of the World, all the vanity that it loves, and all its false idolatry”.²⁸⁷ He also says: “[m]y brothers, Consider the folly of those who remain in the enemy camp, and wearing the livery of the Devil imagine themselves to be in the grace of the Lord and hope to have part of his glory. They promise a victory without combat and a triumph without victory”.²⁸⁸ Using that imagery, Drelincourt promotes moral behaviour as a mark of difference; but more than that, he is also calling for separation, or even segregation, from the surrounding sinful world.

In a similar way, Michel Le Faucheur, in a sermon on Ephesians 4:17-21, insists on the need for a thorough separation from sin and heresy. He states simply: “You are no longer of the world, you must not live any longer like the world”.²⁸⁹ For Le Faucheur, though, it is a change of heart evidenced through actions that demonstrates this separation and not simply belonging to a different confession, since he instructs: “It is not enough to separate yourselves from the world for its false religions, you must also withdraw from its vicious and depraved morals”.²⁹⁰

284 Charles Drelincourt, *Recueil de Sermons*, vol. 3, 386-387.

285 *Ibid.*, 383.

286 *Ibid.*, 385.

287 *Ibid.*, 382.

288 *Ibid.*, 396.

289 Michel Le Faucheur, *Sermons sur le Quatriesme Chapitre de l'Epistre de S. Paul aux Ephesiens* (Paris, 1641), 248.

290 *Ibid.*, 271.

After all, he asks rhetorically, “does the bad life not lead to Hell as easily as bad doctrine? dissolution as well as idolatry?”²⁹¹ In addition, he warns against those who approach their faith insincerely, explaining that:

grace will be useless to them, and will even turn into their greatest condemnation, if after God has enlightened them and let them enter his path, they live as before, and pollute themselves, since their conversion to the Faith, with the same vices with which they polluted themselves during their infidelity.²⁹²

For Le Faucheur, it was imperative to demonstrate with actions the faith that one professed with their mouth, to reject easy and lascivious living for a purposeful, zealous and sober existence.

For both Le Faucheur and Drelincourt, on top of being a religious imperative, this moral living was part of the program to instill a sense of difference and separation for the Huguenot Church from the larger surrounding Catholic population. To aim for a more morally rigorous life was of primary spiritual importance. However, it also formed an important part of Huguenot identity, as a collective code of conduct, as an impetus to emphasize separation, to attempt to influence how they were perceived,²⁹³ and a way to give direction to an outwardly self-righteous and self-conscious sense of difference. Moreover, as regards Huguenot identity, rather than any actual difference in morality between Huguenots and Catholics, it was the perceived sense of greater moral rectitude that is important, creating a collective culture of piety and moral superiority that was

²⁹¹*Ibid.*,

²⁹²*Ibid.*, 244.

²⁹³Drelincourt, *Recueil de Sermons*, vol. 3, 397, where he decries behaviour that “afflicts the good souls of our Flock, and scandalizes those that are not part of our communion and who come here by curiosity”.

based in part by its distinction from an immoral and dangerous Catholicism.

Framing the situation of the Huguenots in this way, ministers were able to connect a central component of Calvinist theology to the difficulties faced by themselves and their parishioners. Their faith in times of trouble is what set them apart as the 'true church', and emphasizing that message would further foster a response to adversity and interpretation of difficulties positively. There were, after all, a number of difficulties and sacrifices incumbent upon being a Huguenot, both financial and social.²⁹⁴ What the themes in these sermons did, then, was help create a sense of group identity that both accepted and embraced the problems that they were faced with, regarding them as crosses to bear, and as signs and tests of God's love. As a complement to this, Huguenot ministers devoted many words and pages to defining their theological superiority and particularism with respect to their Catholic – or, more specifically, *papist* – counterparts, accusing them of superstition, oppression, and human innovation. After all, as Labrousse notes, the doctrine of justification by faith alone “tended to be assimilated by a *glissement facile*” to the concerns of 'correct belief' and 'pure doctrine',²⁹⁵ thus linking the many theological and controversial points of contention together. This was also important to create an awareness of difference, to instill a sense of danger to associating with Catholics, and to combat the Catholic missionary efforts and the consequent fears of apostasy. Together, these notions contributed to a group identity defined by an outlook that Brian Strayer calls “a kind of stoicism

²⁹⁴Labrousse, *'Une foi'*, 34.

²⁹⁵*Ibid.*, 53.

sanctified by piety, defensiveness, and a self-righteous assurance that they had the truth”.²⁹⁶ They were self-consciously different, and the difficulties that resulted from that helped to confirm their faith and reinforce that sense of separation.

A VOLUNTARY MINORITY: *LÀ OÙ IL Y A DEUX OU TROIS*

In addition to emphasizing themes of theological difference and superiority, and the necessity of a persevering faith, Huguenot ministers also examined the Huguenot minority status in France, interpreting it, with the material and social difficulties faced by French Protestants, as a mark of distinction. That is, an important part of maintaining the Huguenot particularism that, in Elisabeth Labrousse's terms, was a *voluntary* minority,²⁹⁷ was an analysis and affirmation of that numerical minority itself, and an embrace of it.²⁹⁸ To that end, a number of key Bible passages served as means to associate the French Reformed Church with the small (and often persecuted) churches of the apostolic era and Jews of the Old Testament.

Jean Daillé, in a sermon on Luke 12:32, begins by making clear that

²⁹⁶Strayer, *Huguenots and Camisards*, 84.

²⁹⁷Labrousse, *'Une foi'*, 53-57.

²⁹⁸The population of Huguenots in France – and the percentage of French who were Huguenots – has been a long-debated issue among historians. A thoroughly researched calculation, using both the work of earlier demographers and parish church records, is produced by Philip Benedict in his chapter “The Huguenot Population of France, 1600-1685,” in *Faith and Fortunes*, (pp.34-120). In this study Benedict charts a slow but steady decline in the number of Huguenots, from over 1 000 000 in 1600 to around 750 000 on the eve of the Revocation. Benedict finds no single cause for this, but rather a combination of conversion, lower birth rate, and a more urban population. Citing John Locke's travel diary from France, Benedict shows that population change was thought about by Locke's contemporaries, and that they perceived the population to be somewhat static. They would have, of course, known themselves to be a small minority of the French population, but perception about demographic change is important to a broader sense of community health.

association with the Apostles as he explains the purpose of his homily: “these words, with which the Lord earlier consoled his first disciples, against the ills and dangers attached to their condition, belong to us too; and they can be legitimately employed to your usage on this occasion”.²⁹⁹ Providing a good example of how Huguenot homileticists parsed Scripture, his first focus within the passage is on the phrase *petit troupeau*, looking first at the significance of *troupeau* – of the faithful as a flock of sheep – and then at the significance of *petit*. It is this second word that is of greater importance here, and his interpretation of it according to both quality and quantity.³⁰⁰ Daillé first interprets *petit* by noting that the Christian Church is made up of few kings, nobles or people esteemed in the world.³⁰¹ Daillé spends more time explaining the second meaning of *petit*, noting that “for the Lord calling his Church a *petit troupeau*, look at the small number of persons of which it is composed”.³⁰² So, despite the fact that with “Christ having opened his Father's house to the Gentiles”,³⁰³ true members of the church are still small in number. As Daillé argues, first in reference to the Pagans, and then to later heresies: “if one compares each portion of the Church with the people who live at the same time outside of its communion, it is without difficulty seen as but a *petit troupeau*”.³⁰⁴

Through this discussion of *petit*, Daillé appeals to the minority status of his

²⁹⁹Jean Daillé, *Mélange de Sermons, 1e Partie*, 275-276.

³⁰⁰*Ibid.*, 281.

³⁰¹*Ibid.*, 282. Although perhaps increasingly accurate in a comparative sense and because of the exodus of nobles from the Huguenot church in the first decades of the seventeenth century, this socio-economic *petit troupeau* is nonetheless difficult to reconcile with the Huguenots that made up his audience at Charenton, which contained many important people and families, and in that sense possibly includes elements of rhetorical humility instead of a faithful description of demographic reality.

³⁰²*Ibid.*

³⁰³*Ibid.*, 283.

³⁰⁴*Ibid.*, 284-285.

Huguenot audience, interpreting those conditions as an affirmation of God's plan.

As with the sermons concerned with suffering and perseverance, Daillé's homily also has a strong element of encouragement. To help hearten his audience, Daillé says:

I admit that in comparison to this large population with whom we live, we are like a small island in the middle of the Ocean, battered from all sides by an infinitely large sea. But what others take as an unpleasant mark, we have as an argument for our happiness, since it is to the *petit troupeau* that the Son of God sends his consolations.³⁰⁵

With that, Daillé describes an insular community, and instructs his audience to embrace their numerical disadvantage and the danger it entails, taking it, like their other afflictions, as a sign of God's grace. Following the same theme as Daillé's sermon, both Moysse Amyraut and Pierre Du Moulin also discuss the Huguenots' numerical situation in sermons, although in both of their cases it comes from a discussion on Matthew 18:20: "For where two or three assembled in my name, there am I with them". At other times, Amyraut and Du Moulin might have shown disagreement, but with these two sermons, the two sometime-opponents share a number of similarities as they use the passage to discuss God's guidance of his church, and the significance of the Huguenot numerical minority; and, as is common to Huguenot homiletics, these sermons also provided the opportunity for both preachers to explain the errors of the Catholic Church.

Amyraut, for instance, accuses the Catholic Church of misinterpreting the passage in order to assert the infallibility of their councils;³⁰⁶ and the result has

³⁰⁵*Ibid.*, 287.

³⁰⁶Moysse Amyraut, *Sermons sur Quelques Sentences de l'Ecriture* (Saumur, 1648), 90.

been to allow the councils to be governed by the “Court of Rome”, and to create a tyranny over the laity.³⁰⁷ In contrast to that papal rule, Amyraut describes the French Reformed Church as directed by God; for, since they are gathered in his name, they are “governed in their judgements by the efficacy of his presence”.³⁰⁸ Addressing the *deux ou trois* of the passage, Amyraut provides justification for the size of the Huguenot population along with their decentralized ecclesiastical structure. Explaining why Jesus stated two or three, rather than a higher number, Amyraut says:

because of his infinite Wisdom, He foresaw that since his Church in general would be a *petit troupeau* in comparison to the rest of the world, it would be composed of diverse *petits troupeaux*, so that it would be impossible for them to assemble in such a large number as to settle the questions and differences that exist between brothers.³⁰⁹

In that way, Amyraut can satisfy questions about Huguenot numbers or church structure, which would have been acutely important in the face of a numerically superior, well-structured, and hierarchical Catholic opposition.

Pierre Du Moulin echoes these same themes, taking some of them further in their application. Appearing in some ways to be an astute sociologist, Du Moulin begins his sermon by discussing different fraternal and social groupings. He explains that,

when two burghers of the same city meet one another in a foreign and faraway country, they embrace with joy, and help and assist each other according to their needs. So the children of God in this world are burghers of the celestial Jerusalem, strangers and travellers in this world. As a consequence, they must keep together by mutual offices of charity and by

³⁰⁷*Ibid.*, 91;97.

³⁰⁸*Ibid.*, 68-69.

³⁰⁹*Ibid.*, 70.

words of exhortation and consolation.³¹⁰

Thus his discussion of the *deux ou trois* begins by explaining the importance of going to church. It is a time set aside by God where Christians are to join prayers and encourage one another by the public profession of the same religion.³¹¹

Through this discussion of Christian community, Du Moulin exhorts his audience towards unity and, in the context of seventeenth-century France, towards being a cohesive and distinct community.

Du Moulin next discusses the numerical minority of the Huguenots, by way of mentioning the Catholic majority. The Catholics, Du Moulin claims, base their claims of legitimacy on their numbers: “Our adversaries, seeing truly our weakness and our small number, speak about us with great contempt. They boast about having more temples and monasteries than we have houses; of having more priests and monks than we have people; of having more captains than we have soldiers”.³¹² However, he counters, “even when the Church of Israel was in bloom, such as in the time of David and Solomon, the people of Israel were as though nothing compared to the great pagan empires and the rest of the world”, while Jesus himself “called his Church *le petit troupeau*”.³¹³ Using both historical example and scriptural evidence, Du Moulin is able to conclude that “it is a great abuse to take multitude as the mark of the true Church”.³¹⁴

Like Daillé and Amyraut, then, Du Moulin interprets the fact of a Huguenot

310 Pierre Du Moulin, *Septieme Decade de Sermons* (Geneva, 1648), 144-145.

311 *Ibid.*, 147.

312 *Ibid.*, 151.

313 *Ibid.*, 152.

314 *Ibid.*, 153.

minority to lend credence to their claim of being the true church. Moreover, like Daillé and Amyraut, this provides for Du Moulin an opportunity to console his audience, noting that “Jesus Christ, therefore, promised to be present among a small number”, and that, since God is continually with them, they ought to be happy, “even amid afflictions”.³¹⁵ Towards the end of the sermon, Du Moulin comes back to the idea of church as community, as an “assembly of faithful in one body”, where we learn “who are the people that we must love, and whose company we ought to frequent”; after all, “there is no mark more certain for recognizing the morals and inclinations of a person than to observe who are his choice of friends, and whose company he loves. If you love God, you will love those who love God”.³¹⁶ Therefore, while Du Moulin notes that church as a community is defined in part by church attendance, it is also something more thorough and expansive too. That is, Du Moulin indicates that a *petit troupeau* is also a community beyond the walls of the temple, demonstrating their faith and conviction by associating with people who share the same moral rectitude and confessional devotion, in effect directing Huguenot social relations. As a result, Du Moulin was contributing to Huguenot particularism, providing an explanation for their small numbers and counselling his audience to put into practice the social significance of being God's *petit troupeau*.

The themes in these above sermons contribute to a particular identity for Huguenots, and to shape a certain orientation to their condition in France under the

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 255-256.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 162.

Edict of Nantes. They offered a carefully constructed narrative to explain and reaffirm the Huguenot condition while frequently employing Catholic theology as a foil. In many ways, it is just practical homiletical or oratorical exigency to use contemporary and local examples in order to better explain a point, since a central purpose of preaching was, after all, to make the Word of God relevant to the audience. However, the sermons were also tapping into a deeper sense of Huguenot self-identification.³¹⁷ A consequence of this here is to reinforce a sense of difference, not only by acknowledging it but also by providing it with substance and meaning, and thereby making difference and separation important and necessary. As a result, Huguenots were provided with the imagery and doctrinal foundation to see themselves as God's *petit troupeau*, and to embrace that distinction and its consequences.

DEFINING IDENTITY THROUGH PSALMS...

More than any other confessional group during the Reformation, the French Reformed Church relied on Ancient Israel and the Old Testament as a source for lessons, imagery, liturgical material, and a sense of identity; the Jewish experience provided useful examples and rich imagery that found a sympathetic frequency with Huguenots. As Elisabeth Labrousse describes it, the Huguenots were unique, even among Calvinists, in the extent to which their collective myths – the stories and images that united them – were informed by the “spiritual

³¹⁷For instance, Luke 12:32, “ne crains point petit troupeau”, appeared on some communion tokens, as seen in Raymond A. Mentzer, *La Construction de l'identité réformée aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles: la role des consistoires* (Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 2006), 252.

heritage of Israel”.³¹⁸ The Old Testament formed an integral part of their liturgy, and it resonated with the conditions that Huguenots faced throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This close identification with Ancient Israel was also manifested in many ways, not least of which was through Huguenot homiletics.

An easily visible example of this is the frequency of Hebrew first names among Huguenots.³¹⁹ Breaking from traditional French Catholic naming patterns, many Huguenots chose instead to give their children names such as Samuel, Abraham, or Sarah.³²⁰ An even more profound example of the Huguenot relationship with the Old Testament, though, is the central role that the Psalms played in their worship. Translated into rhyming French by Clément Marot and Theodore de Bèze, the Psalms held an intimate spot in Huguenot religious practice and in the popular consciousness of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century France because of it. The Psalms were a source of strength and consolation; and, by being sung in public and in temples, the Psalms held an important symbolic and experiential position in the lives of Huguenots and in the confessional struggles in France.³²¹ They were a key characteristic of the Huguenot church from the very beginning, and it was one of the ways in which Huguenot leaders sought to emulate the worship of the early church.³²² Psalms were also at the heart of the

318 Elisabeth Labrousse, *Conscience et conviction*, 71-72. Mark Greengrass, too, discusses the importance of Ancient Israel to the collective myths of Huguenots in “The French Pastorate”, 194.

319 *Ibid.*, 72.

320 This trend is seen to an extent in the pastors studied here as well. For, while there are many ministers with traditional French names such as Pierre, Jean, Charles, and Louis, there are also those named Moyse, Daniel, Samuel, and Josué.

321 Davis, “Rites of Violence”, 168, 184. Taking Davis' accounts as examples, Psalm-singing frequently formed part of the narrative of religious violence in France.

322 Pannier, *L'Eglise Réformée de Paris*, vol.1, 229.

legal battles about Huguenot worship; understood to be central to the French Reformed Church, the crown eventually forbade the Psalms from being sung in public.³²³ William Monter has called the production of Psalters in Geneva – many of which were destined for Calvinist readers in France – the “largest printing venture of its time”;³²⁴ and Philip Benedict has found that, other than Bibles, Psalters were the most frequently inventoried book in Huguenot collections.³²⁵

There were also other less pervasive but nonetheless telling signs of the importance of the Old Testament to Huguenot identity. For instance, Philip Benedict has found that art-owning Huguenots in Metz had an affinity for Old Testament scenes,³²⁶ and even the symbol of the French Reformed Church was taken from the Old Testament: the Burning Bush. At the national synod of 1583 it was decided that the seal of the church would contain an image of the Burning Bush and the phrase, taken from Exodus 3:2 “flagror non consumor”;³²⁷ this symbol is also described in a sermon by Charles Drelincourt, in which he calls it the “rich emblem of the Church of God”, and an appropriate one too, since the Huguenot Church has faced so many afflictions but has not been consumed by them.³²⁸ In various ways, then, France's Huguenots identified with ancient Israel and, consciously or subconsciously, they fashioned themselves accordingly.

The Old Testament also featured prominently in sermons both as pericopes

323 *Recueil Général*, vol. 17, 369. This prohibition was again reiterated in 1666 – see *Recueil Général*, vol. 18, 79.

324 E. William Monter, *Calvin's Geneva* (New York: Wiley, 1967), 181.

325 Benedict, *Faith and Fortunes*, 166.

326 *Ibid.*, 202.

327 Swift, *Synodicon vol.1*, 146.

328 Drelincourt, *Recueil de Sermons vol.3*, 554-555.

and as supporting evidence. Sermons *preached* on Old Testament passages are common in printed sermon collections, such as Michel le Faucheur's *Sermons sur Divers Textes de l'Esriture Sainte*, which dedicates one of its two volumes to the Old Testament, and the other to the New Testament.³²⁹ Le Faucheur also published a *Vint Sermons sur Divers Psaumes*, containing, as the name suggests, strictly sermons on passages from the Psalms.³³⁰ In Françoise Chevalier's research, she finds that 40% of biblical references in Huguenot sermons were from the Old Testament; in addition, the Book of Psalms was the most frequently cited book in the entire Bible, and Isaiah was in the top five.³³¹ Preachers could also draw on lessons and images from the Old Testament without direct citations: both Jean Daillé and Pierre Du Moulin, in sermons on New Testament passages, use Noah to provide an analogy of the Huguenots, where Du Moulin explains that the true church can be small, at one time as small as Noah's family, and Daillé describes how God will always protect his church in times of trouble, “like Noah's Ark among the waves”.³³²

Turning specifically to sermons on Old Testament passages, such examples can provide insight into how Huguenots adopted aspects of Old Testament imagery, using centuries-old examples to carve out a unique collective identity. These passages provides a unique lens through which to interpret the Huguenot experience, focusing especially on the practices and experiences of Old Testament

329 Michel Le Faucheur, *Sermons sur Divers Textes*.

330 Michel Le Faucheur, *Vint Sermons sur Divers Psaumes* (Geneva, 1669).

331 Chevalier, *Prêcher*, 69. (Psalms: 1724 citations; John: 1006 citations; Matthew 740 citations; Romans 722 citations; Isaiah: 713 citations).

332 Du Moulin, *Septieme Decade de Sermons*, 151; Daillé, *Mélange de Sermons*, 308.

Jews, both as examples and warnings. Creating parallels that way, these sermons provided material to construct a group identity informed by an earlier incarnation of 'God's chosen people', contributing to a particular image of Huguenots under the Edict of Nantes.

The Psalms were essential to Huguenot worship, homiletics, and print culture, and as the focus of sermons, they lent themselves to themes of praise and consolation. However, especially in the case of discussing affliction, consolation, and perseverance, the Psalms offered Huguenot preachers a special voice of historical experience and a voice long recognized for both lamentation and hope; and their literal-historical exegesis allowed them to apply ancient Jewish examples and the context of the Psalms to the conditions that French Calvinists were facing. Following a similar exegetical approach that Calvin applied to Psalms, these examples show little evidence of the Christological interpretations favoured by medieval theologians and some Protestant thinkers (such as Luther), preferring instead readings that focus on David as a model for the faithful.³³³ Moreover, from the earliest incarnations of Calvinism and especially during times of affliction such as the Wars of Religion,³³⁴ the Psalms were central not only for consolation, but also to inform identity and faith, shaping a spiritual orientation that was distinct from their fellow French subjects, and distinct even from other Calvinists, for whom affliction did not play as central a role in their collective narratives.

Many of the major concerns already seen in Huguenot sermons reappear in

333 G. Sujin Pak, "Luther, Bucer, and Calvin on Psalms 8 and 16: Confessional Formation and the Question of Jewish Exegesis," in *The Formation of Clerical and Confessional Identities in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Wim Janse and Barbara Pitkin (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 169-177.

334 Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross*, 137.

these particular ones explicating the Psalms. In Raymond Gaches' sermon on Psalm 119:175, preached on New Year's Day in 1655 at a time of comparative peace for Huguenots, he begins by appealing to the commonplaces of praising God and of bemoaning the sinfulness of the congregation: he explains how God has sustained and protected the Huguenots during trying times but that that had perhaps served only to obscure their wickedness.³³⁵ To continue to be in God's favour and to be more deserving of God's grace, then, the congregation needed to: “accomplish more faithfully his laws, and to live more religiously in his presence than we have done in the past”.³³⁶ For Gaches, despite the trouble and afflictions that surround the Huguenots, God has kept them safe; however, to maintain this, it is imperative to demonstrate more ardent faith and more pious behaviour.

Michel Le Faucheur, too, broaches the themes of affliction and consolation in preaching on the Psalms. He explains that God “exercises his children with diverse kinds of tests, and he sustains them with many sorts of consolations”.³³⁷ He also reassures his audience that God has a plan for his children, despite instances where the faithful die from illness or accident; after all, the ultimate consideration should be on the soul, not the flesh, on joining God in heaven, not on an easy earthly existence.³³⁸ As has been seen elsewhere, the result of this sermon is to locate within the conditions that the Huguenots faced an affirmation that they are the 'true church'.

Elsewhere, there are other echoes of ideas already seen. Jean Daillé, for

³³⁵ Gaches, *Seize Sermons*, 557.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, 558.

³³⁷ Michel le Faucheur, *Sermons sur Divers Textes, 1e partie*, 131.

³³⁸ *Ibid.*, 147-148.

instance, takes Psalm 133 as an opportunity to insist upon the importance of harmony within the church. To do this, Daillé, calling the Psalm an “elegy for spiritual concord”, explains that “brothers” are not just those belonging to the same family or state, but those of the same church.³³⁹ Importantly for the sake of Huguenot identity, Daillé frames his discussion around the notion that the French Reformed Church constitutes its own community. He talks about how concord is necessary for those who “profess the same religion”, for those “united by the same faith”, and “not those who share the same land, but those who have the same heaven as their inheritance”.³⁴⁰ In that way, he minimizes the importance of good relations with the Catholic subjects in France while insisting on the necessity of a unified Reformed Church, a sentiment that can be expressed to the crown too, perhaps offering that two faiths can exist in France without agreeing with one another.

Providing depth and explanatory power to the Huguenot sense of particularism, the Psalms themselves contribute invaluable components, especially genealogy and imagery. Helping to establish a genealogy of hope and suffering, the Psalms were important for demonstrating a precedent and highlighting parallels in the Huguenot experience. In that spirit, Michel Le Faucheur, in a sermon on Psalm 10:1-12, speaks of seeking consolation from the “insolence and persecution of evil people that the most saintly men of God have suffered since the beginning of the world”, and hoping that God, “who relieved them [ancient Israel]

³³⁹ Daillé, *Quinze Sermons*, 165.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 166.

during their afflictions will relieve us similarly from ours”.³⁴¹ In another sermon,

Le Faucheur speaks similarly of the utility of the examples in the Psalms:

When we hear, my brothers, these beautiful and memorable examples of the constancy of the faithful in their love of God, and in his service and his providence in their conservation and their salvation, it must help us not only to celebrate his glory and their praises, but also to reanimate our courage and re-inflame our zeal in the midst of the most unpleasant trials with which we are faced.³⁴²

A similar sentiment is found in Jean Daillé's sermon on Psalm 137:1-9 when he suggests that the ancients Jews are a helpful example, so that “their tears instruct us, that their courage fortifies us, that their prayers console us”.³⁴³ In both cases, the pastors show the applicability of the Old Testament, and hence its ability to influence Huguenot identity.

Likewise, Nicolas Vignier uses David, the psalmist, as an example, exhibiting his attitude towards God as a model. Vignier focuses on an occasion where David does not claim that his people's merits or innocence produce any good fortune, but only the mercy and goodness of God.³⁴⁴ Looking at these examples together, the Psalms served as a good source of material for preachers to draw on to reassure their audiences in times of trouble. They provided examples of hope, humility, and faith, and allowed the ministers to draw parallels for models and lessons for the Huguenots in France. This allowed the Huguenots to identify with Old Testament tribulations, finding common ground in their afflictions, and a model in their constancy. On top of that, the Psalms provided Huguenot ministers

341 Le Faucheur, *Vint sermons*, 115.

342 Le Faucheur, *Sermons sur Divers Textes, 1e partie*, 155.

343 Daillé, *Melange de Sermons*, 566-567.

344 Vignier, *Pratique de Repentance*, 298.

with a valuable way to interpret their own situation as an afflicted Godly minority, to insist upon the importance of religious particularism and to retain the hope that their difficult political circumstances would improve.

The imagery gleaned from the Psalms was not innovative, but emphasized, among other things, equating the church with Jerusalem, especially in the sense of a 'spiritual Jerusalem'. Nonetheless, that did not stop Huguenot ministers from claiming the legacy of Jerusalem, Zion, or Israel uniquely for themselves, doing so with subtle inflections. Jean Daillé makes this connection clear when he states: “dear Brothers, looking at Jerusalem, make the figure that you see the portrait of the Church”.³⁴⁵ Daillé can then apply this image to a lesson about the permanence of the true church, assuaging fears of a Huguenot church under assault: Zion will exist forever in its second form – the Church – and no human force can destroy it.³⁴⁶ Moreover, having established this allegorical relationship, the ancient Jews and their devotion to Jerusalem, which is manifested in the Psalms, serve as a model for Christian commitment to their church; as such, Daillé opens his sermon by stating that,

[a]mong all the affections of the ancient Faithful of the Jewish Church, there was none more ardent than that which they had for the city of Jerusalem. They regarded it as the residence of their happiness, the seat of their prosperity, the column of their liberty, and the source of all the pleasure in their lives; its peace was the first and last of their desires.³⁴⁷

In another sermon, Daillé simply states that the Psalm under examination (Psalm 133:1-3) and, in effect, Israel itself, is a witness (*témoignage*) to the felicity of

³⁴⁵ Daillé, *Mélange de Sermons, 2e Partie*, 348.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 372.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 345-346.

God's grace.³⁴⁸

Nicolas Vignier, too, uses this ecclesiological metaphor of Jerusalem.³⁴⁹

First comes his historical-grammatical explanation, noting that “in the Old Testament, Zion was often taken to mean the whole of the Church of Israel, as those who all assembled there. So David is not using it here to mean only the City, or the Kingdom that was centred there, but for the whole Church together”;³⁵⁰ and then later, that “under the name of Zion both the strength and the felicity of the Church is well represented”.³⁵¹ The application of this metaphor leads to a discussion of the 'true members of Zion' or, put another way, to a discussion of the marks which identify the French Reformed Church as 'true Christians'. Echoing themes seen elsewhere, belonging to Zion, for Vignier, was not indicated by a multitude of people but by a faithful, just, and ardent subjection to Christ and to his ordinances.³⁵² In the next sermon in the collection, Vignier provides the most straightforward use of this metaphor applied to the Huguenots, combining images to say: “our Jerusalem, this *petit troupeau*, this Church assembled here”.³⁵³ With these words, Vignier plainly links the imagery of Jerusalem with the Huguenot Church, evoking a small group oppressed but protected by God. Out of it comes an

348 Daillé, *Quinze Sermons*, 164.

349 The metaphorical Jerusalem has a long history, reaching back to the Bible itself, such as in the books of Ezekiel or Revelations. It is also an idea that was well-established in Christian thinking, from Augustine's *City of God*, through the Middle Ages, and into the Reformation and beyond, such as among the Puritans in England and the New World. With that in mind, the examples here from Huguenot ministers are not necessarily original but, rather, are making use of a common trope of biblical allegory to underscore the heritage and legitimacy of their church.

350 Vignier, *Pratique de Répentance*, 299.

351 *Ibid.*, 302.

352 *Ibid.*, 305-307.

353 *Ibid.*, 328.

affinity for the experiences of ancient Israel and, with it, a sense of a shared episode. Analyzing their own situation through this lens could also provide Vignier's audience with reassurances about their own plight; it could also reinforce an insular sense of their community, while providing a vocabulary of images through which to filter their experiences and form a common heritage for their group identity.

In various ways, then, the Psalms were integral to the Huguenot experience, as an interpretive tool and as a source of great symbolic and practical value; Psalters were a ubiquitous part of Calvinist print culture, and the Psalms themselves were an integral part of Calvinist worship, being sung in temples, on the streets, and in homes. In these capacities – as prayers and hymns – they were important for spiritual strength and unity, helped to inform aspects of Huguenot identity, and were a demonstration of being God's 'elect'.³⁵⁴ As the focus of a sermon, a Psalm provided a number of themes with which the minister could shape his homily. The Psalms were a source and example of hope and perseverance in the face of affliction; they were also a way to explain God's providence and grace, and a means to discuss God's chosen people and their relationship to his church and to the world around them.

An important part of exploring the Psalms exegetically meant applying their meanings and lessons to the specifically Huguenot situation, the natural and necessary part of making the message relevant to the audience. In the case of the

³⁵⁴ W. Stanford Reid, "The Battle Hymns of the Lord: Calvinist Psalmody of the Sixteenth Century," in *Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies*, vol.2 (Jan., 1971), 40-43.

Psalms, an important consideration must be about the application and contextualization within the processes of shaping Huguenot identity; after all, as Labrousse asserts, while the Huguenots were, above all, “French of their time”, they had also “annexed the spiritual heritage of Israel and identified themselves with the chosen people”;³⁵⁵ and Carter Lindberg notes that the Psalms “provided identity, unity, and courage” to the Huguenots.³⁵⁶ The transmission and, consequently, the adoption of these ideas is clear in these sermons, where the situation of the French Reformed Church was interpreted through Old Testament verses, events, and attitudes. As such, the Huguenot audience was directed to see themselves through the lens of ancient Israel – like the Jews, faced with afflictions but comforted by God's protection and the knowledge thereof, and hopeful for God's deliverance. They were God's chosen people, surrounded by a multitude that stood outside of their 'Zion', and the Psalms were useful to provide insights and assurances in light of this fate. Such discussions allowed Huguenots to see themselves as belonging to a long heritage of God's afflicted, and it also provided religious legitimacy to their place in France.

...AND PROPHETS

While the Psalms may have been the most ubiquitous book of the Old Testament for Huguenots, it was by no means the only significant one. As noted, Chevalier's calculations demonstrate that Isaiah was among the most frequently

³⁵⁵ Labrousse, *Conscience et Conviction*, 72.

³⁵⁶ Carter Lindberg, *The European Reformations* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1996), 269.

cited books from either testament; and other Old Testament books, like Proverbs, Jeremiah, or Lamentations, though further down the list, were not cited in insignificant numbers (234, 218, and 134 citations respectively).³⁵⁷ As the focus of sermons, passages from these books provided Huguenot ministers with access to a long history of oppression and emancipation, of disobedience and faith in God, while also contributing to the Huguenot claim to be the 'true church'. These examples were important as lessons, either to emulate or avoid, and served as a lens through which to examine the French Reformed Church. Often combining these various elements within one sermon, many Old Testament passages were especially favoured as a preaching topic during – or in preparation for – a fast. Combining calls for repentance, renewed piety, and faith in God's providence, Huguenot fasts were an important time of contemplation and prayer, of self-examination and self-identification, and frequently a passage from the Old Testament provided parallels and precedents for just such an occasion. These fasts were an important ritual and distinguishing mark, and the sermons further emphasized the Huguenot particularism that these fasts entailed.³⁵⁸ As Keith Luria points out, ritual was an important part of shaping religious rivalry, and Edward Muir notes that ritual is experientially necessary for “achieving group cohesion”.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁷ Chevalier, *Prêcher*, 232.

³⁵⁸ See especially the insightful study about Huguenot fasts and their role in Huguenot culture by Raymond A. Mentzer, “Fasting, Piety, and Political Anxiety among French Reformed Protestants,” in *Church History* 76:2 (June 2007).

³⁵⁹ Keith P. Luria, “Rituals of Conversion: Catholics and Protestants in Seventeenth-Century Poitou,” in *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800): Essays in Honor of Natalie Zemon Davis* ed. Barbara B. Diefendorf and Carla Hesse (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1993), 65; Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 4.

This was plainly the case for the Huguenot fast, which was a unique form of worship that perceptively defined the boundaries of the community both as a distinct community and as a constituent part of the kingdom.

The first national synod established the groundwork and explained the conditions under which a fast should be undertaken, namely “in times of great persecution, war, plague, famine, and other general affliction”.³⁶⁰ The fast was accompanied by prayers and a long service, and could be called nationally, provincially, or just for a particular church. An example of this is seen in the records of another national synod, in 1583:

The Company, considering the great number of calamities menacing us, like War, Plague, Famine, the Revolt of many, and the little zeal and Reformation shown by most of those who do not abandon our Communion, is of the opinion to order a Fast that will be celebrated throughout the Kingdom of France, a day of the last week of July, according to the convenience of the Churches.³⁶¹

This, then, was a specific and fundamentally different application of fasting than the contemporary Catholic use, where it was part of the regular liturgical cycle, tied especially to Lent. For Huguenots, a fast was called in response to – or in expectation of – a unique occurrence, and the regulations set down during the Wars of Religion remained relevant throughout the seventeenth century. The services were long and involved a number of prayers and readings, and then also a sermon. Citing an *Acte* for a fast at the temple at Charenton, Jacques Pannier describes the service, and the overwhelming Old Testament influence is simply unmistakable:

The lector sings all of Psalm 38, reads all of the prophet of Jonas; he sings

³⁶⁰ Aymon, *Tous les synodes*, 1, 6.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 1, 160.

all of Psalm 102, reads all of the prophet Joel; sings Psalm 79, reads two chapters from *Lamentations*; sings all of Psalm 74, reads the three last chapters of *Lamentations*; sings Psalm 69. Then, and only then, the pastor can take the pulpit; if he is not yet there, the lector reads nine more chapters and sings four Psalms (nine in total).³⁶²

As the sermons demonstrate, fasts were significantly related to repentance and renewal, since difficult circumstances were regarded as the result of sinfulness, and required a plea for divine aid; and, since sermons were an opportunity for instruction, sermons celebrating a fast often brought attention to the differences between Calvinist and Catholic practice, explaining in words what the occasion made clear through ritual, reinforcing the notion of Huguenot particularism. Moreover, over the course of the seventeenth century, fasts increasingly gained a political dimension, used openly to show devotion to the crown.³⁶³

Addressing the issue of sinfulness, which formed a central part of Huguenot fasts, Raymond Gaches, in a sermon on Jeremiah 3:22, commands his audience: “rebellious children, repent, so that this fast today is followed by an eternal abstinence from sin”.³⁶⁴ Similarly, Charles Drelincourt, preaching on *Lamentations* 3:22-24 and fearing that his admonitions are falling on deaf ears, says: “I greatly dread that this fast will be just like the one that we celebrated not long ago, after which everyone returned to their ordinary path and abandoned themselves to their passions”.³⁶⁵ Explaining *why* these public fasts are important, Jean Mestrezat provides a careful depiction of the role they play in a sermon on

Isaiah 57:15:

³⁶² Pannier, *L'Eglise Réformée de Paris vol.1*, 242.

³⁶³ Mentzer, “Fasting, Piety, and Political Anxiety”, 342.

³⁶⁴ Gaches, *Seize Sermons*, 755.

³⁶⁵ Drelincourt, *Recueil de Sermons*, vol. 3, 547.

It is therefore to the faithful, during public calamities, to come to the breach of God's anger, as much for themselves as for the rest of the people, among whom they converse. Because, as the Church is within the States of the earth, it shares in all the miseries that the diverse accidents of nature and civil society brings. Having this animal and temporal life in common with the rest of man, we are battered by all their scourges...[but with] God changing for his children the afflictions into benedictions and assistance for salvation. This is why, my Brothers, in scourges of pest and famine that have afflicted and continue to afflict many parts of this Kingdom, this day has been consecrated to God in fasting and humility.³⁶⁶

The importance placed upon fasts is clear, for both soteriological and civic reasons. In terms of a Huguenot sense of self, it is also telling that Mestrezat depicts the Huguenots as part of society but also apart from the rest of the world.³⁶⁷

Finally, to assert the orthodoxy of Huguenot fasting, and to distinguish it from the corrupted version practised by the Catholic Church, Du Moulin provides a comprehensive list, faulting the Catholics for many innovations. His sermon on Daniel 9:1-9 notes how the Jews of the Old Testament and the Disciples of the New Testament celebrated a fast for appropriate reasons, but that his adversaries – the Papacy – have “polluted the holy exercise with many corruptions”.³⁶⁸ Du Moulin accuses the Papacy of having introduced innovative new laws and observances and, linking the Catholic understanding of a fast to their penitential system,³⁶⁹ says that they produce “mercenary tears and artificial crying”.³⁷⁰ The difference to Du Moulin is clear: “it is a humbling, and not a payment; it is a

366 Mestrezat, *Vingt Sermons*, 577-578.

367 This theme will be expanded upon in the next chapter.

368 Du Moulin, *Sermons sur Quelques Textes*, 162-163.

369 At issue here for Du Moulin is how he sees Catholic dogma as wrongfully holding that good works can aid salvation (or lessen time in Purgatory) and that one person can do penance for another.

370 Du Moulin, *Sermons sur Quelques Textes*, 163-165.

salutary exercise for yourself, not a satisfaction for another”.³⁷¹ Such examples show a strong instructive element, taking the opportunity to discuss points of worship and doctrine and use Catholic belief as a foil to better define and position Huguenot doctrine, establishing Huguenot identity through its difference from Catholicism.

Looking at Old Testament sermons more broadly, their focus on the theme of repentance also provided an opportunity to distinguish Huguenots from the Catholic Church and to identify failings of the Papacy. In Drelincourt's sermon on Malachi 4:2, which takes the Sun of Justice as its theme and utilizes an extended metaphor where light represents God, he asserts a Huguenot particularism while placing the Catholics in a long legacy of opponents to the true church stating that:

God raises the Sun of his grace on those who fear him, during which he exercises his just vengeance on the impious, and for them it is a consuming fire; know that the impiety and the wicked life of those in the middle of whom we live will not be an obstacle to our salvation, so long as we take part neither in their impious words nor their infernal works; And that we live in the corruption that is the World like Lot lived in the city of Sodom, and Joseph in Egypt, and like the Prophets lived in Babylon[...] Deplore the condition of the Pagans, the hardened Jews, and the Mahometans[...] Deplore also the condition of the Christians who profess to receive no other light than that which comes from the Sun of justice but who follow the erring fires of Traditions and the inventions of men who lead them into the abyss.³⁷²

Later, he concludes the sermon using a well-established Protestant phrase, stating that the Sun of Justice only shines where the Gospel is preached “in its purity and simplicity”.³⁷³ With a subtle reference to a commonplace of the Reformation,

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 166.

³⁷² Drelincourt, *Recueil de Sermons*, vol.2, 732-733.

³⁷³ *Ibid.*, 736.

Drelincourt, as has been done in many other ways, presents a vision of the French Reformed Church as a separate and unique entity under God's providence.

Pierre Allix also takes an Old Testament passage as an opportunity to denounce the Catholic Church and to present a 'Defence of the Reformation' (the title of the sermon), using the message of Jeremiah 6:16 – to examine the crossroads and take the ancient path – to remind his audience of the superiority of the Huguenot Church, and to counter the Catholic position that saw Huguenots as innovative.³⁷⁴ At the same time, he also calls for a more fervent faith among the Huguenots, bemoaning the indifference that has crept in to their lives. For this discussion, Allix introduces two types of “imperfect Christian”, the *peu-instruits* (those who were born into the Reformed Church on account of their parents but have only a superficial grasp of the truths of the religion), and the *mal-instruits* (those of the Roman Communion who are instructed in erroneous doctrine).³⁷⁵ To help counter the *peu-instruits*, Allix offers the simple solution of more careful instruction during childhood. To guard against the *mal-instruits*, however, it takes a comparison of the two rival faiths, a comparison that will show that Protestantism is the 'correct path'.

Allix, first of all, sees this passage from Jeremiah as an “oracle [...that] firmly justifies the work of our holy Reformation”.³⁷⁶ After all, Allix explains,

³⁷⁴ What this sermon and the preceding sermon by Drelincourt also demonstrate well is the complex exegetical nuances that Huguenot homiletics could acquire. For, despite the focus on literal-historical interpretations, in practice, the need to fully explore the significance of a passage meant entertaining its analogical and symbolic elements; in these cases, that means looking at the Christological meaning.

³⁷⁵ Pierre Allix, *Douze Sermons Sur divers Textes* (Rotterdam: 1685), 3-4.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 9.

Jeremiah had exhorted the Jews to carefully examine the doctrine that they had been taught and compare it to the the laws of God – exactly what the first Reformers had done with the errors of the Catholic Church.³⁷⁷ Allix then lists a number of errors found in the Catholic Church, repeating that examination for his audience. He lists: Papal infallibility, Transubstantiation and Mass, the cult of images and the invocation of the saints, prayers for the dead and Purgatory, and illegitimate sacraments, among others.³⁷⁸ He concludes by noting how plainly evident both Catholic errors and Reformed orthodoxy are; then he uses this difference to justify the separation of the two faiths, exclaiming: “There! There, my Brothers, is the true and unique means to justify the separation in which you find yourselves”.³⁷⁹ In these examples we see how the Old Testament could serve the important purpose of distinguishing the Huguenot faith from that of their Catholic neighbours, and even justify the whole program of reformation in general, further emphasizing the fact and necessity of the Huguenot Church existing as a separate – and 'true' – church.

These sermons also hint at the common overarching theme of repentance and hope in sermons based on Old Testament passages, not only to foster a unique attitude, but also as a means to interpret the Huguenot situation and demand more rigorous piety from the faithful. Repentance is a common focus of sermons on the Psalms, and it is also a central element of sermons on passages from other Old Testament books, often describing a cycle of sin, affliction, repentance, and hope,

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 15.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 24-40.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 50-53.

providing an explanation for the difficult circumstances faced by the Huguenots and a way to overcome them. Reflecting this on the occasion of a fast, Pierre Mussard, in a sermon on Proverbs 16:7, states that “the principle is to make your peace with [God], to appease him and to make yourself favourable through a true repentance and by a well-ruled life: that is how you change your fears into assurances”.³⁸⁰ Mussard continues by explaining that the ills of the world are caused by man's rebellion, and that the best way to gain respite from earthly enemies is to be agreeable to God. Explaining it in a different way, Mussard says that God permits attacks against the church as tests or combats, and then details the way to overcome them: dismissing both a violent response and the passive acceptance of incorrect practices, he posits that the only effective path is to do what God wills, since only that will earn his protection.³⁸¹ In this way, Mussard is able to establish the need for repentance as it is the only means to better the situation facing the Huguenots; at the same time, he is able to link repentance and piety to how Huguenots must orient themselves to their position in France – they should engage in neither rebellion nor Nicodemism, but simply live firmly according to their faith.

Many other sermons also contain similar chastisements and imperatives, echoing the tenor reflective of a fast. Raymond Gaches, in his sermon on Jeremiah 3:22, laments that people never think of God until they are in trouble, noting that it is better to repent before God's vengeance arrives than to look for remedies after

³⁸⁰ Mussard, *Sermons sur Divers Textes*, 359-360.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 378-385.

the ills have fallen.³⁸² Jean Mestrezat, preaching on Isaiah 57:15, warns that it is a grave problem to have God's anger aimed at the Huguenots;³⁸³ and Michel Le Faucheur, on Joel 2:15-17, declares simply that the Huguenots sin too much, and lists a number of reasons why: dancing, and frolicking, and ignoring the exhortations of their ministers, among others.³⁸⁴ Finally, Louis Le Blanc de Beaulieu, a nobleman and pastor at Sedan, in a sermon on Zachariah 12:10, tells his audience that the fruits of faith can only come from repentance, since “no one can achieve this peace and this joy except by the salutary sorrow of a true repentance, and by the tears and grief that must cause the sinner to sense his faults and the enormity of his sins”.³⁸⁵ The topic of repentance, then, served for these preachers as a means to demand better behaviour from their parishioners, since they consistently linked the afflictions that the Huguenots faced with their own sinfulness. As a consequence of this, though, Huguenot particularism was reinforced by illustrating the elements that made their church distinct.

To elaborate upon the need for repentance, along with the need for faith and constancy in the face of afflictions, these preachers also relied on the Old Testament for historical examples, in the hope of instilling in their audiences an urgency and a sense of assurance. To do that, numerous examples were employed, both as models and as warnings; with their relevance to the situation of the French Reformed Church made explicit, this provided more opportunities for

382 Gaches, *Seize Sermons*, 717-718.

383 Mestrezat, *Vingt Sermons*, 576.

384 Le Faucheur, *Sermons sur Divers Textes*, 537-538.

385 Louis Le Blanc de Beaulieu, *Décade de Sermons sur Divers Textes de l'Esriture Sainte* (Sedan, 1676), 321-322.

identification with ancient Israel and elaboration on a unique heritage. Pierre Du Moulin, in his sermon on Daniel 9:1-9, provides a characteristic description of ancient Israel in his introduction, offering in his representation both the commendable qualities and the ones to avoid, noting that

[t]he state of the people of Israel from the servitude in Egypt up to the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ is but a tissue of continual afflictions. In recent stories as much as ancient ones we cannot find any example of any people who have been so frequently and grievously afflicted. The cause of this is double: one is the wisdom and goodness of God, the other is the incorrigible hardness of this nation.³⁸⁶

He explains that the first cause is on account of God chastising more carefully those that he loves for the sake of correction, and the second on account of ingratitude and disobedience being naturally worthy of punishment.³⁸⁷ Du Moulin, thus, provides an interpretation of affliction for the sake of strengthening the faith of his audience and in order to encourage more pious behaviour. In this passage, the obstinacy of the Jews and the love of God are seen as useful lessons for their audiences, further strengthening the use of ancient Israel to describe Huguenot identity.

Keeping with the theme of repentance, Jean Mestrezat uses the ancient Jews as his example while telling his audience to meditate on the words of Isaiah 57:15,³⁸⁸ since, through those words, “the Lord showed to the people of Israel the means by which they would receive deliverance from their miseries, namely, to

³⁸⁶ Du Moulin, *Sermons sur Quelques Textes*, 150.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 150-151.

³⁸⁸ For this is what the high and exalted One says— he who lives forever, whose name is holy: “I live in a high and holy place, but also with the one who is contrite and lowly in spirit, to revive the spirit of the lowly and to revive the heart of the contrite. (NIV)

present to him the contrition and humility of a serious repentance”.³⁸⁹ In a sermon by Charles Drelincourt, on Malachi 4:2, ancient Jews serve as an example for remaining faithful when surrounded by irreligion when he refers to those “truly Faithful who amid the corruption that reigned in Israel kept their consciences pure and burned with zeal”.³⁹⁰

However, if these references to ancient Israel were not sufficiently evident models, Huguenot preachers could also make the relevance of the lesson more explicit. Hence, Michel Le Faucheur in a sermon on Joel 2:15-17, where he says to his audience: “I pray thee, that when we read their history, or when we hear it recited, we reflect on ourselves and contemplate our image in their eyes, to profit at their expense, and to take from their pains our salvation”.³⁹¹ With that, Le Faucheur provides a general approach to reading the Old Testament profitably: to read the Huguenot situation into it and through it, and to learn from its stories. In the preceding examples that conceptual framework is applied at least implicitly; but in the following examples, that utility is made more explicit.

Similarly, Du Moulin tells his audience to: “pass from the sins of Israel to our own, as we have a reason to make a similar (indeed, more humble) confession”.³⁹² Finally, Gaches makes quite clear the Huguenot identification with ancient Israel and the sense of a shared heritage when he says:

My brothers, we are the children of the God of Israel, as much as the inhabitants of Jerusalem once were: we have rebelled from him as much as they have in many ways, God calls us today like he once called them to a

389 Jean Mestrezat, *Vingt Sermons*, 579.

390 Drelincourt, *Recueil de Sermons vol.2*, 729.

391 Le Faucheur, *Sermons sur Divers Textes 1e partie*, 531.

392 Du Moulin, *Sermons sur Quelques Textes*, 180.

serious repentance, and we give him the same promise to heal our rebellions if we return to him.³⁹³

By framing the need for repentance this way, Gaches appeals to earlier events in the history of God's relationship with humankind. As such, ancient Israel is a precedent, demonstrating the need to be truly repentant and the dangers of disobeying God's will. At the same time, these various examples taken from the Old Testament, stories that the sermons' audiences were told to meditate upon and interpret their predicaments through, are also important sources upon which Huguenot identity was formed. Explicitly linking the Huguenot experience to Ancient Israel through sermons like this helps to explain how their sense of identity was so rooted in the Old Testament. It also reveals how Huguenots could frame their condition under the Edict of Nantes according to a narrative that affirmed their experiences, a narrative which provided tangible parallels and which was made familiar to them in word and in print.

Among the many sources of Old Testament imagery, one of the most frequently used examples through which the condition of the Huguenot church was explored, was through the image of Babylon and the Babylonian Captivity. Beyond being a formative period of Jewish history, the Babylonian Captivity also holds important symbolic significance throughout Judeo-Christian thought, and has been invoked from the New Testament to the slaves of the American south, and beyond, both as an image of persecution and as an allegorical counter to Jerusalem (or Zion or Israel). Within Scripture, the Whore of Babylon in

³⁹³ Gaches, *Seize Sermons*, 722.

Revelations is an important allegorical example, and one that would find particular resonance again in the apocalyptic impulses of Calvinists and others during the Reformation.³⁹⁴ In the Middle Ages, the Avignon Papacy became known as a Babylonian Captivity, and at the outbreak of the Reformation, Martin Luther penned his well-known tract *On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church* analyzing the seven sacraments of the Catholic Church. Within the confessional struggles of France, the Babylonian imagery was employed by both sides. François De Sales, for instance, invokes Babylon when discussing the Huguenot rejection of the Papacy;³⁹⁵ and, as the following examples show, Babylon loomed large in the Huguenot sense of their situation.³⁹⁶

In some instances, Babylon is employed as a means to create a sense of difference or affliction. In Michel Le Faucheur's sermon on Psalm 66:12 he contrasts the 'world' to the 'church' by comparing how the Chaldeans and Israelites measured their days. The former began with daytime and ended with night, the opposite of the latter, which shows that “the world begins with a day of temporal prosperity but ends with a night of anguish and eternal darkness; the Church, however, begins with a night of adversities that it suffers here for a time, and ends with a day of consolations that will be had up above for always”.³⁹⁷ In another sermon, Le Faucheur simply uses the Chaldean army to signify destruction and

394 For instance, Christianson *Reformers and Babylon*, and Frances E. Dolan, *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender, and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture* (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1999).

395 Jason Sager, “François de Sales and Catholic Reform in Seventeenth-Century France,” in *The Formation of Clerical and Confessional Identities*, 269.

396 In chapter six, a discussion of such themes as they were employed beyond the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes is found.

397 Le Faucheur, *Sermons sur Divers Textes 1e partie*, 132-133.

distress.³⁹⁸ With these instances, the Babylonians exist in opposition to the Godly, as oppressors and as those in temporal ascendancy. Following the theme set out by Luther, Charles Drelincourt sees the struggles against the Papacy in the same terms, calling the Reformation as an act where God “miraculously delivered [the faithful] from the spiritual servitude of the new Babylon”, in his sermon on Lamentations 3:22-24.³⁹⁹ In this instance, Babylon again serves the role of church oppressor, where God's deliverance was needed to free his children.

Seeing the Babylonian Captivity and the destruction of Jerusalem as a punishment and a test – not unlike the contemporary situation of the Huguenots in France – Jean Mestrezat, in his sermon on Isaiah 57:15, explains that Israel was “battered and humiliated, broken and torn miserably by the desolation and destruction” of those events, but that deliverance is only offered to those who “in the humility and misery of their condition humble their souls to turn to God”.⁴⁰⁰ Babylon, then, is a model test of faith, and one with many parallels to the situation of the Huguenots.

Jean Daillé employs Babylon in a similar manner. He begins his sermon on Psalm 137:1-9 by describing the situation:

Of all the calamities suffered in the past by the Church of Israel, nothing was as great as the Babylonian captivity, when this miserable people, after having seen their country ravaged, Jerusalem taken and sacked, and the burning and ruin of the temple, were torn entirely from their land in Canaan and transported to Chaldea into the middle of a barbaric and idolatrous nation.⁴⁰¹

398 Le Faucheur, *Vint Sermons*, 96.

399 Drelincourt, *Recueil de Sermons vol.3*, 576.

400 Mestrezat, *Vingt Sermons*, 582.

401 Daillé, *Mélange de Sermons*, 565.

He then continues, explaining that the ancient Jews, faced with this situation, provide an instructive example for his audience. They did not “mutter anything against the Lord, or oppose the blows of his discipline”, but cried and prayed with repentance and humility, keeping Zion fresh in their memories.⁴⁰² Continuing with his lesson about the Babylonian Captivity, Daillé notes that part of remaining true to God's law meant that the faithful were “obliged to be separate from the Chaldeans during the time of their exile, hold them as strangers, without ever mixing with them or incorporating themselves into their religion or their State”.⁴⁰³ The import of this on the Huguenot situation in France is clear, with the corollary being that the Huguenots ought to remain a unique and distinct group separate from the larger surrounding population. Finally, in his application of the text being preached on, Daillé draws out the lesson of the Babylonian Captivity for his audience, clearly linking that ancient event to contemporary Huguenot experience:

Here, dear Brothers, is what we have told you for the exposition of this Psalm... [W]e learn about what storms the Church is subject to, and how vain is the fantasy of those who see themselves always triumphant in prosperity and peace. You see how the Church of Israel, which is the figure of our own, was treated: torn from their country, their world thrown upside down, and transported to Babylon, where they hardly breathed in that miserable captivity. Christians, do not doubt that you could fall into similar disgraces... Prevent the judgements [of God] with a serious amendment of your life. Respect his Word and renounce our Idols, that is to say our vices and our passions.⁴⁰⁴

In this sermon, then, Daillé focuses on the theme of Babylon and uses it as a lesson about perseverance, as a warning against sinfulness, and as a model of faith; at the

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*, 569.

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*, 580.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 591-592.

same time, Daillé asks his audience to identify with the experience, framing their own situation, and their response to it, through that ancient example.

Taking the image of Babylon to its fullest application to the Huguenot experience, though, is Pierre Du Moulin. In his sermon on Daniel 9:1-9, Du Moulin draws many parallels to the Babylonian Captivity, while also providing a very nuanced explanation of the Huguenots' current captivity. Early in his sermon Du Moulin notes the importance of the story of the Babylonian Captivity, explaining that it: “serves as an example for us, so that we can be of those who wait for the deliverance and consolation of Israel; us, I say, who await a second deliverance from a Babylonian captivity”.⁴⁰⁵ In Du Moulin's understanding, though, the Huguenots' deliverance is through the Gospel, not through an emancipation like the ancient Jews experienced with Cyrus the Great.⁴⁰⁶ Significantly, Du Moulin's analysis places the responsibility for the captivity squarely on the shoulders of the Huguenots themselves, as opposed to describing it as a sort of oppression by forces outside of the church. As a means of encouraging greater religiosity, this use of Babylon finds its potency in the fact that deliverance is incumbent upon humility and piety, and not in a violent struggle for freedom. So, although Du Moulin is more explicit in calling the Huguenot situation a 'new Babylonian Captivity', his use of the imagery is familiar, focusing on the elements of sin and repentance, and on the spiritual – rather than the temporal – nature of the captivity.

⁴⁰⁵ Du Moulin, *Sermons sur Quelques Textes*, 156.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 157.

As was the case for many faiths during the Reformation, the Babylonian Captivity served an important rhetorical and pedagogical purpose for Huguenot ministers. For them, it represented a valuable example of a church afflicted and the dire consequences of incurring God's divine justice; at the same time, the constancy shown by the ancient Israelites was also a model of faith in the face of adversity, faith in an eventual deliverance. Internalizing that narrative, moreover, represents an important part the Huguenot identity. That is, the parallels and the lessons that the ministers told their audiences to re-appropriate for their situation in France allowed them to see themselves as God's chosen people in the heritage of ancient Israel, afflicted but bound for deliverance, and unique from those around them that stood outside of the 'true church'. This imagery helped to evoke a sense of particularism, illustrating the shared experiences of Huguenots that separated them from the Catholic majority, and aligning them within the long history of God's providence. Moreover, this imagery of Babylon applies to their political situation too, since it was a way to condition a response to their difficult circumstances defined by hope, promoting the idea that Huguenots as a separate community within France have a future to strive for.

CONCLUSION

Defined by a profound sense of religious particularism, Huguenot identity was frequently delineated and emphasized by ministers in their sermons, often focusing on the differences between their own church and the Roman Catholic

Church, performing what Keith Luria calls “boundary work”.⁴⁰⁷ These sermons engaged with the doctrinal differences and behaviour of the two French confessions, while also encouraging their audiences to see themselves as belonging to a long heritage of God's chosen people. This was a heritage from which a majority of their contemporaries were excluded. In these discussions, Huguenot belief was distinct from – and superior to – Catholic doctrine, and defined not only by what it was, but what it was *not*. Likewise, the demands for a strict morality were imposed not just as a matter of religious necessity, but as a mark of perceived distinction from their Catholic neighbours.

To provide their audiences with the mental tools to interpret their situation thusly, Huguenot ministers read their experiences through Scripture and, reflexively, Scripture was read through their experiences, asking audiences to embrace their afflictions and to wear them proudly. Such a message is also important to understanding Huguenot political strategy, since it encouraged Huguenots to see themselves as a distinct community within France, but it also gave their position religious legitimacy. Moreover, it shaped their view of – and responses to – political events, allowing them to have hope – and hope in the king – that their situation in France would improve. The Edict of Nantes had created a situation where Huguenots existed as a sort of separate order within France,⁴⁰⁸ and Huguenot homiletics actively reinforced that state of existence.

By explaining how they constituted a unique community within Catholic-

⁴⁰⁷ Luria, *Sacred Boundaries*, xxiii.

⁴⁰⁸ Yves-Marie Bercé, *The Birth of Absolutism: A History of France, 1598-1661* trans. Richard Rex (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 85.

majority France, this emphasis on religious particularism was an integral part of Huguenot confessional identity, and it profoundly shaped their political perspective. However, it was also only part of the equation that informed the Huguenot 'hybrid' identity; for, in addition to being concerned with maintaining a distinct religious existence, Huguenot identity was also defined by political devotion. As the next chapter shows, this was explored through sermons in a variety of ways, highlighting the complementary components that together defined Huguenot confessional identity.

CHAPTER THREE
CIVICS & RELIGION, or WHY HUGUENOTS MAKE THE BEST SUBJECTS

Living under the Edict of Nantes posed difficult political questions for Huguenots as they tried to carve out a place in France as a distinct religious minority, combining the religious particularism seen in the last chapter with an impassioned loyalty to the French crown and kingdom. This hybrid identity entailed a marked departure from the monarchomach ideas that had gained traction during the Wars of Religion, being informed instead by a deep devotion to the divine-right kings of France. Moreover, it was not simply a process of self-definition – of Huguenots fashioning a political response to their situation – but also a process of defining the kingdom, of engaging in a dialogue with the crown about the nature of the French polity. That is, by following a political strategy of being engaged *as Huguenots*, French Protestants both reaffirmed and challenged important ideas about their kingdom as it was developing, an important function served by sermons.

As the leaders of their community, Huguenot ministers had an important role in shaping this identity in communicating to their coreligionists and to the crown. In this way, the pedagogy of sermons extended beyond issues of doctrine and morality and into the realm of civics and political theory, without abandoning, naturally, their fundamentally religious tone. By exploring themes of secular obedience and civic duty, and by invoking episodes from French and Huguenot history, sermons could be a means by which – and a record of how – Huguenot hybrid identity was asserted and how that identity was a fundamental part of

Huguenot political ideology and engagement under the Edict of Nantes. In this way, sermons were describing the contours of Huguenot belief and inscribing the consequent confessionalized political position upon their audiences.

The political dimension of sermons can be seen in a number of ways. The themes of religious particularism seen last chapter carried an implicit political message, as did the sermons of piety and contrition attached to fasts, both asserting the legitimacy of religious pluralism. There are also more recognizable themes of civics and political theory, drawn from Gospel messages and from examples of Huguenot experience. The discussions and messages that emerged from these themes championed the French monarchy, emphasized the duties and obligations of the audience, and explained the political value of piety and prayer. Beyond being a means of civic and political education, moreover, these sermons were also political acts in their own right, both in preached and printed form. In both cases, the messages contained within the sermons exist as part of a political dialogue with the crown as well as Catholic authorities. In printed form, their dedicatory epistles demonstrate a desire to be associated with particular patrons, and their very act of being licitly printed and sold – often to commemorate an important political event – exhibits a desire to engage with and enter into dialogue with an audience of the politically powerful. In either format, sermons implied a visibility for the Huguenot community within the kingdom, whose very presence denoted a legitimacy apart from messages to that effect. In that capacity, these sermons are not only shaping their Huguenot audience to be good subjects of the French crown,

but also engaging with the French crown to demonstrate that, far from being a separatist or republican sect, the Huguenots are profoundly loyal to France, the king, and the political order. As a result, these sermons were involved in articulating a uniquely Huguenot vision of France and interpretation of absolutism.

THE EVOLVING POLITICAL SITUATION OF HUGUENOTS

The relationship between Huguenots and the French crown in the sixteenth century was defined by entrenched opposition, where charges of heresy and sedition were countered in word and act through rebellion, proselytization, and print. Then, although the 'official amnesia' of the Edict of Nantes erased the four decades of internecine religious war that preceded it, the Huguenot legacy was nonetheless one of lengthy military struggles mediated by a series of edicts offering various permutations of pacification and religious toleration. On top of this there was the monarchomach literature that came from late-sixteenth-century Huguenot pens, such as François Hotman's *Francogallia* (1573) or Theodore de Bèze's *Du droit de magistrats* (1575), which posited a political order in stark contrast to the prevailing notions of divine right monarchy current in France at the time. This political literature provided resistance theories for the Huguenots, linking religious persecution with tyranny and legitimizing active resistance to such political regimes.⁴⁰⁹ These ideas lost favour with the Huguenots when Henri de Navarre, then a Calvinist, became heir to the throne; logically, this is the same time that the Catholic League adopted such ideas in response to the possibility of

409 Franklin, *Constitutionalism and Resistance*.

Henri assuming the French crown.⁴¹⁰ International Calvinism also created image problems for Huguenots in absolutist France, not only by being a possible competing source of affinity but also through affiliation with non-monarchical governments such as Geneva, the Dutch Republic, and eventually Cromwellian England (to further complicate matters, France was also at different times either allied with or against Protestant territories such as England and Holland). Moreover, the fact that English ships were sent to aid the Huguenots during the Siege of La Rochelle left a lasting impression of ties to foreign Protestant powers. The rebellions under Louis XIII that led to the Peace of Alès in 1629 – and of which the Siege of La Rochelle was a part – showed the Huguenots, as before, to be at odds with the crown. At the same time as those rebellions, however, there was also an increasingly large segment of the Huguenot population that preferred obedience to resistance as the immediate means to achieve long-term prosperity.⁴¹¹

Then, at the outbreak of the Fronde, Huguenots chose to remain faithful to the crown as noble and judicial factions opposed the king; they also decried the actions of their Puritan co-religionists in England during the civil war. These major events created image problems for Huguenots, but also opportunities through which to demonstrate their loyalty and show themselves to be obedient and legitimate subjects. Mazarin thanked the Huguenots for their loyalty in 1652;⁴¹²

⁴¹⁰*Ibid.*, 44.

⁴¹¹Labrousse, “*Une foi*”, 30. Labrousse notes a 'fissure' between the north and south, whereby the northern Huguenots, more of a minority and less secure, preferred to take a more monarchist position, while the Huguenots in the Midi, where their presence was stronger and more secure, felt more strongly about standing up to perceived legal encroachments. This fissure, however, faded in the 1620s as Huguenots more uniformly adopted a pro-monarchy position.

⁴¹²Geoffrey Treasure, *Richelieu and Mazarin* (London: Routledge, 1998), xiii.

Louis XIII also appreciated the Huguenot Church's fidelity and, as Brian Strayer notes, by the middle of the seventeenth century, Huguenots were politically indistinguishable from French Catholics.⁴¹³ Similarly, Keith Luria notes Huguenot protestations to being labelled unfaithful subjects, where they argued that they could be loyal *and* Huguenot, and better subjects than the Catholics since they did not have any allegiance to a foreign power such as the pope.⁴¹⁴ These expressions of fidelity were such that Elisabeth Labrousse talks of a profound Huguenot Gallicanism, seen in the praises about absolutism and divine right monarchy, and in the overt patriotism, royalism, and adoration for the king.⁴¹⁵ However, there were also practical reasons for this position – the Huguenots' existence in France was dependent on the *bon plaisir* of the king,⁴¹⁶ and so currying this favour in word and deed was a practical means to continue their legal protection.

Through all of this, Edict of Nantes was a normative and regulating force for the Huguenots, both as a legal reference point and as a mythic text integral to their identity and their existence. In addition, the official relationship between the monarchy and Huguenot church was shaped by – and mediated through – numerous *edits* and *arrêts* issued by the crown. These varied from single decisions altering the specifics of public prayers to the multifaceted edicts affecting worship, education, and travel. For the period from the Edict of Nantes to its revocation, the legal relationship between the Huguenot Church and the crown evolved from reaffirming the Edict of Nantes, to reinterpreting it, to finally revoking it in 1685.

⁴¹³Strayer, *Huguenots and Camisards*, 54-83.

⁴¹⁴Luria, *Sacred Boundaries*, 281-282.

⁴¹⁵Labrousse, “*Une foi*”, 68; Labrousse, *Conscience et Conviction*, 75-81.

⁴¹⁶Labrousse, *Conscience et Conviction*, 90.

The Edict of Nantes is itself an historic and well-known document, whose meaning, significance, and impact have rich historiographies.⁴¹⁷ For purposes here, however, the important historical features are its contents and its role and authority as mediator between Catholics, Huguenots, and the crown, and, of course, the way it practically and symbolically shaped Huguenot identity. The ninety-two articles, fifty-six 'secret and particular' articles, and two letters patent that Henri IV enacted provided a comprehensive framework for religious coexistence that was able to last longer than earlier edicts. The articles provided for the freedom of conscience of Huguenots within an officially and thoroughly Catholic kingdom, where they were to be left unmolested and free to worship in many – but not all – areas, as long as a Huguenot temple had already been established. This arrangement was to be regulated by the *Chambres de l'Edit*, confessionally-mixed courts that were to enforce the edict, and whose mandate was spelled out by the edict. The 'secret and particular' articles provided elaboration or exceptions, while the two letters patent – or *brevets* – dealt with the most controversial aspects: the fortified garrison cities – or *places de sûreté* – held by Huguenots and paid for by the crown, and the

⁴¹⁷This historiography begins almost immediately after the Revocation, as Élie Benoist, a Huguenot minister who fled to Holland, soon began working on his *Histoire de l'édit de Nantes* (Delft, 1693-1695), which provided a narrative history of the edict while also collecting and publishing key documents that “serve as proofs” for that history. Since then there has been a regular stream of literature examining and re-examining the edict and its revocation. The publications become especially numerous around anniversaries, where the memorialization can reinforce the edict's symbolism, such as with Janine Garrisson's *L'Édit de Nantes et sa révocation*. Naturally, it features as a central part of French historiography of the period, sometimes as a terminus, and sometimes as a turning point, such as in Mack Holt's *The French Wars of Religion*. It also serves as a broader means of interpretation of the period, such as in Jean Quéniart's *Le révocation de l'Édit de Nantes: protestants et catholiques en France de 1598 à 1685* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1985), or as an important lesson in the history of toleration, for example Ruth Whelan and Carol Baxter's *Toleration and Religious Identity: The Edict of Nantes and its Implications in France, Britain and Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003).

Huguenot ministers, whose wages were also paid by the crown.⁴¹⁸ Together, these articles and *brevets* established a document that would be a central feature and reference point for Henri's son and grandson and the Huguenots under their rule.

One of the first legal acts upon Louis XIII taking the throne (during the regency of his mother) was, in the spring of 1610, a declaration reconfirming the Edict of Nantes.⁴¹⁹ This act was repeated again two years later,⁴²⁰ and then many more times by way of the edicts of pacification that punctuated the 1610s and 1620s.⁴²¹ Of course, the most significant edict in this regard is the Edict of Grace (or the Peace of Alès) of 1629, which marked the final end of Huguenot rebellions. This edict retained and reiterated a great deal of the Edict of Nantes, while stripping the Huguenots of their military and political power.⁴²² In it, Louis XIII pardoned the rebellious Huguenots, largely those in the Midi, ordered their defensive walls torn down, and guaranteed the *religion prétendue réformée* – as it was officially known – the liberties of conscience and worship as according to earlier edicts, namely the Edict of Nantes.

While the legal relationship between the Huguenots and Louis XIV began by resembling that which existed with Louis XIII, it quickly evolved as the Sun King began to assert himself more fully. After the death of his father in 1643, Louis XIV began his 'legal' relationship with the Huguenots under the regency of his mother with a declaration confirming the free exercise of the *religion*

418Benoist, "Recueil d'edits, conferences & autres pieces," *Histoire*, vol. 1, 62-98.

419*Recueil Général*, vol. 16, 5.

420*Ibid.*, 39.

421*Ibid.*, 87. As this example from 1616 shows, the edicts of pacification were composed with one eye on the specific proximate events and one eye on the normative role of the Edict of Nantes.

422Benoist, "Recueil d'edits, conferences & autres pieces," *Histoire*, vol. 2, 92-98.

prétendue réformée in conformity with earlier “edicts, declarations and rules”.⁴²³

Then in 1656, five years after declaring his majority, Louis XIV again made a declaration to keep and observe the Edict of Nantes and all the other laws relating to the Huguenots.⁴²⁴ This shows, in one sense, his continued good will towards the Huguenots, but perhaps also reveals that these laws were not, in fact, being maintained; moreover, it also hints at the idea that the laws are dependent on him, rather than being truly irrevocable. From this point onwards, though, Louis' *arrêts* and *déclarations* concerning the Huguenots began to increase quickly, especially after the beginning of his personal rule in 1661. In 1666, Louis XIV compiled the recent judgements into a new *réglement* about Huguenot worship with fifty-nine articles.⁴²⁵ In a few years, though, legal changes began to quickly increase again, as Louis suppressed the *Chambres de l'Edit* and began to legislate against Huguenot academies, hospitals, pastors, and families.⁴²⁶ This increasingly narrow interpretation of the Edict of Nantes led, eventually, to its revocation in the Edict of Fontainebleau in 1685, which aimed to expel the Huguenot pastorate and convert the laity.⁴²⁷

Throughout this period, the Huguenot Church and the crown had various forms of political interaction. Beyond the important role the the Duc de Sully played under Henri IV or the influence of Philippe Duplessis-Mornay in the early years of the Edict of Nantes,⁴²⁸ there soon emerged more institutionalized ways in

423 *Recueil Général*, vol. 17, 32.

424 *Ibid.*, 335.

425 *Recueil Général*, vol. 18, 77-85.

426 *Recueil Général*, vol. 19, 269-378, for examples.

427 *Ibid.*, 530-534.

428 Hugues Daussy, *Les Huguenots et le Roi: Le combat politique de Philippe Duplessis-Mornay*

which Huguenots and the crown communicated. There were the *Chambres de l'édit*, which were courts meant to resolve issues related to the Edict of Nantes, but also some significant government positions that likewise aimed to mediate the presence of Protestants in France. There was a Secretary of State whose jurisdiction included the *religion prétendue réformée*, and a Councillor of State who also served as a commissioner at national synods as the king's representative (but was an informal liaison outside of synods too).⁴²⁹ Until 1659, national synods also formed an important forum of political organization and dialogue. Finally, in addition to extraordinary Huguenots like Turenne or the Marquis de Ruvigny, who distinguished themselves as military leaders and diplomats, there were other Huguenots nobles who served as deputies at court on behalf of their coreligionists (at one time chosen by the national synods, they eventually became handpicked by the king). In addition to these defined political avenues, there was also petitions and letters, and informal political dialogue that took place involving ministers through religious disputations, the pulpit, and print.⁴³⁰ Their audience was, at once, the crown and their Catholic opponents, as well as the Huguenot faithful, meaning that the ministers were instructing their parishioners how to participate politically *as Huguenots*, while also engaging in a dialogue with others about the nature of

(1572-1600) (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2002).

429 Luc Boisnard, *Les Phélypeaux: Une famille de ministres sous l'Ancien Régime, essai de généalogie critique* (Paris: Sedopols, 1986); Bernard Barbiche, *Les institutions de la monarchie française à l'époque moderne* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1999), 178-180; Harai, *Pour le 'bien de l'état' et le 'repos du public'*, 41-51.

430 As Jason Sager points out in “God Reigning through You, Reigns with You”, elements of political philosophy and patronage were present in religious controversy; government observers present at Huguenot worship also meant political dimension was also present in Huguenot temples; and the politics of print are discussed below.

the French polity and the place of Huguenots within it. Over the course of the period under study, the political message of Huguenot sermons remained ideologically stable, perhaps aided by the networks that ministers maintained and by the underlying world view that they shared. In the face of increasingly narrow interpretations of the Edict of Nantes, Huguenot ministers maintained their praise of the French crown and the claims of belonging, themes which became more intense towards the Revocation and which maintained that Huguenots were a legitimate but distinct part of absolutist France.

THE POLITICS OF PUBLISHING

While the messages that sermons contained were often to varying degrees politically engaged, many of the aspects surrounding publication also contain a political element, whether through patronage and commemoration, or simply by engaging with the censorship régime in France. Examples of patronage demonstrate how printed sermons cohered with broad literary conventions,⁴³¹ but also exist as attempts to define the Huguenot community through affiliation with particular nobles or towns. Just as importantly – if not more so – printed Huguenot sermons also participated in the politics of publishing and censorship, entering into a reciprocal relationship whereby the crown tacitly approved of the books that appeared in Huguenot shops, and where those books contained messages in support of the monarchy.

In terms of patronage, Jean Daillé's *lectio continua* collection *Exposition*

⁴³¹Shapira, “Carrières de pasteur”.

de la Premiere Epitre de l'Apotre Saint Paul a Timothée offers a useful example, being dedicated to “Monsieur de Ruvigny”,⁴³² the aforementioned Henri de Massue, a Huguenot general, a lieutenant general in the French army, and a diplomat for Louis XIV. In a more overtly political publication, Charles Drelincourt and Raymond Gaches' *Deus Sermons sur la Paix entre les Deux Couronnes*, which were preached in celebration of the peace between France and Spain, offers another telling example of a significant dedication.⁴³³ In this case, the publication is dedicated to Turenne, or Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, one of the most celebrated military leaders of his time. He was, moreover, until his conversion in 1668, one of the most high profile Huguenots. In both of these examples, the dedication is made to someone in a unique position in France at the time: someone who is both esteemed by Louis XIV and the Huguenot community. In these instances, the dedication can serve a double role: providing Louis XIV with examples of powerful and loyal Huguenots and, in the process, showing how integral they are to his kingdom, while also reaffirming links between powerful Huguenot nobles and the Huguenot Church. These many considerations can be seen in the words of the dedication itself; Daillé's epistle to De Ruvigny notes the important services that he provides the Huguenot churches, that he was chosen to do so by the king himself, and that Daillé hopes that, through De Ruvigny's work and the king's protection, the Huguenots can continue to live under the king's edicts and: “with other subjects, have our part in the sweetness of this happy peace

432Daillé, *Exposition de la Premiere Epitre...Timothée*, vol. I, n.p.

433Charles Drelincourt and Raymond Gaches, *Deus Sermons sur la Paix entre les Deux Couronnes* (Geneva: 1660), n.p.

that he has given France after the victories and triumphs of a long war”.⁴³⁴

In other publications, while the link to such key French figures is absent, the political dimension is still very much evident. One example of this is the single sermon by Raymond Gaches titled *Action de Graces pour la Publication de la Paix entre l'Angleterre et les Provinces Unies* was both preached for and then published in dedication to Guillaume Boreel, a Dutch nobleman and ambassador to France.⁴³⁵ The occasion for the sermon was the conclusion of the First Anglo-Dutch War; and, although the end to these hostilities is reason enough to celebrate, especially in the presence of an ambassador, it is also interesting to consider that these were two Reformed and republican nations who had been at war, and that the sermon was published in the Catholic kingdom of France. At times, Huguenots' ties to 'international Calvinism' could be a challenge to their attempts to prove their loyalty to the crown, but with Louis XIV's on-again-off-again alliances with Protestant nations, Huguenots could – and did – serve a diplomatic role for their king, a relationship hinted at here.

In another case, Louis Herault's *Le Pacifique Royal en Dueil* was dedicated to the Charles II of England soon after his father was executed. The sermons were preached and published in France, but before Charles became an exile in France. In the letter, Herault shows himself to be a firm monarchist, lamenting the troubles in England which stem from a lack of “obedience that subjects are obliged by their consciences to render to the superior powers that God has established over

434Daillé, *Exposition de la Premiere Epitre...Timothée*, vol. I, n.p.

435Raymond Gaches, *Action de Graces pour la Publication de la Paix entre l'Angleterre et les Provinces Unies* (Paris, 1654), n.p.

them”.⁴³⁶ This clear espousal of divine-right monarchy is echoed throughout Herault's sermons in this volume. In this dedication, it is not just a statement in defence of the Stuarts, but a statement in favour of monarchy in general, for the sake of consumption by Louis XIV and a French audience. In that sense, just the fact of publication is a useful political strategy, as an opportunity to reaffirm Huguenots' love for their own king.

In addition to this element of patronage, the role of commemoration played by these printed sermons also had a political dimension. This is seen in an earlier collection of four sermons by Daillé, Drelincourt, Jean Mestrezat, and Jean Maximilian De l'Angle.⁴³⁷ This published work documents the series of prayers and sermons, mentioned in the introduction, that were given on the same day (21 August, 1636) as the French army faced Spanish forces in Picardy and Flanders. The publication of these sermons makes a political statement as much as any dedicatory letter would, showing the Huguenots to be ardent supporters of the French monarchy and its foreign policy, while also commemorating a significant and public group event that combined Huguenot religious and political devotion. Such publications, then, serve as a sort of public relations manoeuvre, a reminder in print of the loyalty and royalism of the Huguenots to outsiders as much as they instruct the Huguenot faithful about proper political beliefs and virtues.

A political reading of published sermons includes not only the printed words but also the act of printing itself. Printing and book-selling were both very

⁴³⁶Louis Herault, *Le Pacifique Royal en Dueil*, n.p.

⁴³⁷Mestrezat et al., *Sermons Faits au Jour du Jusne*.

closely regulated in Early Modern France, meaning that Huguenot publications would not have escaped the notice of monitors. Statutes governing the book trade in Paris, for instance, demanded that texts carry the printer's name and mark along with the place of publication, while titles were closely inspected and shipments of foreign books were closely examined, lest any material appear that would undermine the honour of God or the peace of the state.⁴³⁸ As mentioned earlier, a concerted effort to regulate the book trades really only began under Richelieu.⁴³⁹ Richelieu's policies combined censorship and sponsorship, suppressing certain works while championing others; and since printing was easier to regulate than distribution, he also initiated a system of pre-publication censorship – for a time under the authority of a royal chancellor – where texts were closely scrutinized before getting to the presses. Only in the 1620s – and especially by the 1630s – was printing, therefore, anything like an effectively controlled industry.⁴⁴⁰ From this period onward, the French authorities wanted to prevent the spread of bad books – whether Protestant or not – while encouraging texts that supported the political and cultural policies of the crown and promoted public order, which served as an overarching philosophy.⁴⁴¹

For Huguenot printers and vendors, not only were they subject to the same laws governing their Catholic counterparts, but they were also faced with

438For example, *Recueil Général*, vol. 16, 117-125.

439Klaits, *Printed Propaganda Under Louis XIV*, 8-9; Martin, *Le Livre français sous l'Ancien Régime*.

440Jeffrey K. Sawyer, *Printed Poison: Pamphlet Propaganda, Factions Politics, and the Public Sphere in Early Seventeenth-Century France* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 6-25.

441Henri-Jean Martin, *The French Book*, 31-34.

additional regulations and scrutiny – in 1666, a ruling stated that Huguenot works to be published needed approval by select ministers as well as judges and crown prosecutors, while works could only be sold in locations where the Reformed religion was legally practiced.⁴⁴² It was in this period that, according to Jane McLeod, censorship in France was most successful, having built on earlier innovations but before Enlightenment printing trends created a new era of less control.⁴⁴³ Moreover, while Huguenots had printers and vendors in many French cities, it was still easier for them to print their works abroad, especially in Geneva (which served as a major source of books for Protestants in the Midi).⁴⁴⁴ The fact that the four sermons commemorating a political fast were published in Geneva seems to indicate that the choice to print abroad might have as much to do with haste or simplicity, as much as the contentiousness of the texts. In terms of the sermons studied here in general, Paris and Geneva were the two most common places of publication, while other Huguenot centres such as Saumur and Sedan appear on title pages as well.⁴⁴⁵ Moreover, sermons were “best-sellers” for Huguenot *libraires*,⁴⁴⁶ an important genre that was produced with frequency by ministers within the legal constraints placed upon them.

With the situation as it was, it would have been difficult to conceal the

442 *Recueil Général*, vol.18, 78.

443 Jane McLeod, *Licensing Loyalty: Printers, Patrons, and the State in Early Modern France* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), 6.

444 Martin, *Livre, Pouvoir et Société*, 162-176; Martin, “Les relations entre les libraires,” 292-294.

445 The major names in Paris include Louis Vendosme and Olivier de Varennes, while in Geneva it was Samuel de Tourne and the Choët family. Elsewhere, Isaac Desbordes was an important printer in Saumur and François Chayer in Sedan. There were also Huguenot printers (who produced sermons studied here) in Rouen, Montauban, and La Rochelle, as well as in Blois, Bordeaux, and Niort, where widows continued the trade of their husbands.

446 Benedict, *Faith and Fortunes*, 168.

most incendiary religious controversial tracts, especially since Huguenot printers and book-sellers were known to the authorities, and in terms of preached sermons, the crown was involved with censorship by forbidding the use of certain “charged” words while encouraging messages of political loyalty.⁴⁴⁷ This situation means that sermons were a site of dialectical political discourse; and for printed sermons, they were approved by the authorities, demonstrating at least passive involvement by permitting the publication of Huguenot works. That being the case, the simple act of publication has to be seen as a political statement quite apart from the text of the actual sermons, a means to show the king and his officials that Huguenots were engaged with their kingdom and strong proponents of their monarch, but also a dialogue with the crown, since their very existence implies an acknowledgement on the part of the government. Even texts imported from Geneva or Holland would fall into this category in order to be sold by Huguenot vendors.

The pillars of Huguenot politics of the seventeenth century that formed this dialogue with the crown were a biblically-based civic ideal and a clear divine-right monarchy, combined with an abiding belief in being God's *petit troupeau*. This meant being civically-engaged and 'of this world', and showing due reverence to the divinely-ordained monarch that kept them safe, all while maintaining a distinct confessional existence. In tracts such as Pierre Du Moulin's *Bouclier de la foi* or Moyse Amyraut's *Disours sur la souveraineté des rois*, the authority of kings and the obedience of Huguenots as good Christians is clearly articulated; and in Amyraut's text, the articulation of divine-right absolutism is especially

⁴⁴⁷ Garrison, *L'Edit de Nantes*, 87.

pronounced.⁴⁴⁸ Moving from large tomes – Du Moulin's is over 850 pages – to sermons, the same ideas are present, reinforcing Huguenot political philosophy to a larger cross-section of Huguenot faithful and not just the educated elite.

CRAIGNEZ DIEU, HONOREZ LE ROY: BIBLICAL IMPERATIVES AND THE DIVINE ORDER

When looking at Scripture as a source of political thought, perhaps Huguenot ministers found it useful to announce that Scripture could, in fact, be a useful source. For example, Louis Herault, a pastor at Alençon, in a sermon on Proverbs 13:3, begins by stating: “Sacred Scripture, my Brothers, does not just give us precepts and teachings about the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but also provides us with prudent counsel so that we know not only how to conduct our actions but also our words in the civil discourse among men”.⁴⁴⁹ Moreover, a number of sermons stress the point that, not only is Scripture useful, but it also provides a very clear imperatives regarding political ideas. In a sermon on the text “*Craignez Dieu, Honorez le Roi*” (I Peter 2:17), Pierre Du Bosc, minister at Caen until the Revocation, explains that “after service to God, there is nothing that Law and Gospel recommends more strongly than [service] to Kings”.⁴⁵⁰ Similarly, Jean Maximilian De l'Angle, a minister at Rouen for over half a century, cites that same passage in a sermon on Luke 13:1-3, telling his audience that it is an “act of

448Pierre Du Moulin, *Bouclier de la foi* (Geneva, 1624); Moyse Amyraut, *Discours sur la souveraineté des rois* (Paris, 1650).

449Louis Herault, *Le Pacifique Royal en Joye, compris en Vingt Sermons sur divers textes de l'Escriture* (Amsterdam, 1665), 452-453.

450Pierre Du Bosc, *Sermons sur divers Textes de l'Escriture Sainte, convenables au Tems, vol.4* (Rotterdam, 1701), 121.

Religion” to honour the king and fear God.⁴⁵¹ Echoing the same sentiment, Louis Herault, in a sermon on the passage “*Que toute personne soit sujette aux Puissances Superieures*” (Rom:13:1), states that there is “no doctrine more careful to inculcate and recommend this duty to men, nor one that establishes more forcefully the authority of princes over their people, than that of the Gospel”.⁴⁵² All three of these examples show clearly how their authors place great significance on the political messages found in Scripture; they are clear imperatives that dictate how one is to act in the 'earthly kingdom'. Of course, this is not a novel idea, but shows the same concerns as thinkers throughout Christian history, and echoes closely the position of earlier Protestants, namely John Calvin. In his *Institutes*, for instance, Calvin makes clear that civil government is both necessary and ordained by God, and that Scripture commands obedience and reverence, even to unjust rulers.⁴⁵³

In exploring the notion that there was a specific divinely-ordained social order, many ministers provided discussions on the relationship between ruler and ruled, and delved into issues of legitimacy, engaging with notions of divine-right monarchy and absolutism. Being a subject, after all, was more than just inhabiting the land of a given sovereign; rather, there was an awareness, a conscientiousness, and a devotion that marked the condition. So, as Jean Daillé explains it in a

451Jean Maximilian De l'Angle, *Sermon Fait a Quevilly, le 28 Aoust 1636...* ([Quevilly?], 1636), 15.

452Herault, *Le Pacifique Royal en Dueil*, 123.

453Calvin, *Institutes*, vol.2, 1485-1513. Calvin did, however, note that God could send someone to remove a tyrant from power; so, while Calvin counselled against tyrannicide, since unjust kings are a punishment from God, tyrannicide itself existed as a manifestation of God's providence, providing a measure of ambiguity and a link to Monarchomach writers who insisted that only magistrates (and not regular subjects) could dispose of tyrants.

sermon on Titus 2:15-3:1,

[t]he Apostle wants Christians [...] to subject themselves to superior powers; which is to say, to submit themselves to their authority not as bad subjects, under duress, and by the irresistible violence of their power, but by their proper judgement, because they know that that is the will and order of God.⁴⁵⁴

Du Bosc describes the same necessity when he says that “it is the doctrine of St. Paul that one must subject themselves to Princes not only due to a fear of their anger, but principally according to the motivation of their conscience”.⁴⁵⁵ As with Daillé’s interpretation, Du Bosc emphasizes the fact that a subject’s deference to his sovereign, while containing a fearful respect, should be defined primarily by a reverential respect, which is their Christian obligation.

In other sermons, preachers approach the subject-sovereign relationship by making use of familiar pre-modern metaphors, such as corporal and familial models of society. Jean Daillé simply refers to kings as “the fathers of their people”,⁴⁵⁶ and Charles Drelincourt, in a sermon celebrating the birth of Louis XIV’s first child, *le Grand Dauphin*, appropriately employs a paternal image of a king, explaining that “our obedience ought not to be servile, like that which slaves render to their masters and in which they fear the harshness; but it must be filial, like that which good children render to their father, who they love tenderly”.⁴⁵⁷ This example also shows how an important political event could open the door for a discussion of other political concerns as well, whereby the birth of the *dauphin* inspired a discussion of monarchical devotion and Huguenot reverence for their

⁴⁵⁴Jean Daillé, *Exposition de l'Epistre de S. Paul a Tite, en Dix-Huit Sermons* (Paris, 1655), 391.

⁴⁵⁵Du Bosc, *Sermons sur Divers Textes*, 117.

⁴⁵⁶Daillé, *Exposition de la Premiere Epitre...Timothée, vol.1*, 354.

⁴⁵⁷Drelincourt, *Recueil de Sermons vol.3*, 463.

king.

In another one of his sermons (the sermon dedicated to Turenne), Drelincourt chooses to employ a corporal metaphor, a commonplace for describing an ordered and hierarchical society, defining the king as the head, while the body is composed of “*tous les bons François*” who share in the glory of the head.⁴⁵⁸ In this analogy, significantly, there is no bodily distinction between Huguenot and Catholic members. Du Bosc, too, uses this image, stating with regard to the functioning of a kingdom, comparing it to how “a body is nothing but a head presiding over all the parts, conducting them in their diverse movements”.⁴⁵⁹ What all of these examples show, then, is a profound conviction of an asymmetrical reciprocity, and one based not on fear but on esteem, and on an understanding that they were participating in a natural social order. As Du Bosc puts it, “to put it in a few words, the honour due to Sovereigns extends to all that we can imagine of esteem, affection, submission and service”.⁴⁶⁰ Such discussions provided the biblical foundation upon which Huguenots defined their devotion to – and relationship with – the king, voicing conventional ideas about their place within the established hierarchy.

In many ways, this hierarchical order – the chain of being – was a cultural given in Early Modern France; Huguenot ministers were nonetheless thorough in providing a biblical basis for social difference and deference, along with the legitimacy of monarchy.⁴⁶¹ Hierarchy, in the analysis of the Huguenot pastorate,

⁴⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 242-243.

⁴⁵⁹Du Bosc, *Sermons sur Divers Textes*, 107.

⁴⁶⁰*Ibid.*, 120.

⁴⁶¹Chapter five also offers a detailed discussion of how Huguenot ministers used notions of

was both God-given and evident in the world around them. As such, Louis Herault explains that “[a]ll Superiority infers necessarily an inferior and an inferiority”, and that the Bible clearly places magistrates and princes in a superior position.⁴⁶² Daillé, too, explains that kings and magistrates are superior to others, since: “God has elevated certain people in their dignity above us”.⁴⁶³ What this passage from Daillé also points out quite plainly, if it was not already evident, is the central role that God has in establishing this order, and in placing some people above others. The divine origin of this cosmology serves as a means to legitimize, or reinforce, the divine-right ideology underlining the French monarchy. These images are consistent with other political theory of the time, echoing in many areas their contemporary Jean Domat both in a corporal view of society and in the power of the sovereign.⁴⁶⁴ In that way, these sermons described Huguenot political ideology in broad strokes, and ones that cohered with other understandings of the French monarchy.

Elaborations on this system are seen in other sermons, where the divine role in political sovereignty is further displayed. For instance, a theme that is present in a number of ministers' sermons (De l'Angle, Du Bosc, and Herault, for instance) and at the heart of divine-right absolutism is the concept of two related authorities governing the lives of people, as epitomized by the phrase *Craignez Dieu, Honorez le Roi*. The two requirements are necessarily co-existent in a proper

hierarchy and difference to explore the superiority of kings and the duty of his subjects to obey him.

⁴⁶²Herault, *Le Pacifique Royal en Duel*, 127.

⁴⁶³Daillé, *Exposition de la Première Epître...Timothée*, vol. I, 334.

⁴⁶⁴Jean Domat, *Le Droit Public suite des loix civiles dans leur ordre naturel* (Paris, 1745), 1-2.

society, as the former gives authority to the latter, and together they promote obedience and a properly ordered body politic. This conception allows Drelincourt to explain to his audience that “sovereign Kings and Princes are the living images of the God that we adore. The power that they have over their subjects represents the Empire of this great living God over all his creatures”.⁴⁶⁵ Du Bosc, echoing contemporary epithets for Louis XIV, points out the significance of the name “Dieudonné” by stating that he must, indeed, be regarded as a gift from God;⁴⁶⁶ and Herault, using a familiar formulation, states that kings are the “vicars and lieutenants of God, from whom alone they hold their power”.⁴⁶⁷ In this way, the power and sovereignty of kings is both derived from God and equated with God's own sovereignty, providing a firm foundation for monarchical authority, and showing how the divine understanding that Huguenots held of political authority meant that they belonged ideologically to the kingdom.

Touching on another aspect of 'political theology' current at the time, Paul Ferry, a minister at Metz for over half a century until his death in 1669, invoked the notion of the king's 'two bodies'.⁴⁶⁸ In his sermon on the death of Louis XIII, explains that, although the king is dead, “thanks to God, our State is unchanged [...] And what is more, THE KING LIVES, because in France he never dies”.⁴⁶⁹ Explaining the king and kingdom embodied that way, Ferry is also insinuating

465Drelincourt, *Recueil de Sermons*, vol.3, 462.

466Du Bosc, *Sermons sur Divers Textes*, 110.

467Herault, *Le Pacifique Royal en Joye*, 207.

468See Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957).

469Paul Ferry, *Quatre Sermons, Prononcez en Divers Lieux, et sur Differens Sujets* (Paris, 1646), 165.

Huguenots within the body of the realm, employing an established notion of French political theology. Such discussions show Huguenots promoting divine-right absolutism while placing themselves within a long tradition of thought that accentuated the sacrality of the king. Sounding more like Jean Bodin than a monarchomach, the ministers here reflects what is the evident norm in seventeenth-century Huguenot sermons – an abiding profession firmly in favour of a strong sovereign monarch, while rebutting accusations that Huguenots were seditious republicans. At the same time, they were contributing to a discourse about the king's authority, assuming for themselves a legitimate place in such discussions.

Up until now, the examples have shown Huguenot monarchism to be deeply rooted in a Christian cosmology where the world is ordered hierarchically according to God's design, and where kings' authority on earth is a reflection of – and a medium for – God's universal sovereignty. However, while this divine-right understanding of kingship was integral to Huguenot political theory, it was not alone in informing the notions of monarchism and social order found in Huguenot sermons. Rather, Huguenot ministers also drew on pagan political thinkers as a way to supplement their discussions. The use of such political theory is most marked in the sermons of Louis Herault and Jean Daillé, where echoes of Plato and Aristotle inform their discussions of political order, revealing a humanist influence. Such references prove, in Daillé's case, to be a useful way to announce to his audience a politically-themed sermon where, in one case he notes that “man

is a political creature”,⁴⁷⁰ and in another that “families and states are the two principle societies, where humankind resides and upon which happiness depends”.⁴⁷¹ In these two introductions Daillé appeals to simple reason and observation, telling his audience to recognize how natural and beneficial it is to form into societies, and how there is an order and hierarchy innate to societies.

For Herault, the debt to classical political philosophy is, instead, in comparing different political systems. In one sermon, on top of the aforementioned discussions about political imperatives found in the Gospel, Herault also compares different political systems, exploring the relative strengths and weaknesses of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. Naturally touched by the collective memory of the Wars of Religion and the English Civil War, order and stability are high on Herault's list of characteristics of good government. So, citing the problems of factionalism, self-interest, and jealousy, among other issues more present in democracies and aristocracies, Herault explains that monarchy is the best form of government (despite the possible problems stemming from succession issues or unjust rulers). He concludes, therefore, that

Monarchy is without difficulty more excellent and advantageous than Aristocracy or Democracy. It has its inconveniences, some of which are large, but those of other governments are larger still. Sedition and civil war is more frequent [in those other systems], and the tyranny of a Prince is to be less feared than the confusion of an unbridled mob, or the inordinate insolence of a hundred or fifty tyrants. It is also the most natural form of government.⁴⁷²

Herault, then, draws on classical political categories as well as contemporary

470Daillé, *Mélange de Sermons*, 491-492.

471Daillé, *Exposition de l'Epistre de S. Paul a Tite*, 372.

472Herault, *Le Pacifique Royal en Dueil*, 115.

perceptions, asserting that the order that comes from a monarchy is the best for state and society. In the process, the references for the sermon come from sources uncommon to Huguenot sermons since they are neither biblical nor patristic: Suetonius, Seneca, and Gregory of Tours, among other classical and medieval writers. In that way, Herault's sermon reflects a unique secular flavour that permeates many politically-themed sermons. Nonetheless, they are still sermons, and Herault's concludes with a flurry of biblical references – six in his final two paragraphs. This illustrates an important point – Herault, despite a long digression about different forms of government, has as his task an exposition on the passage “*Que toute personne soit sujette aux Puissances Superieures*”, and this is made clear at the end of the sermon, where he repeats how clearly the Bible calls for people to subject themselves to political superiors,⁴⁷³ and that the only *liberté* provided by Scripture is freedom from sin and not the right to rebel against magistrates.

This affirmation of the established order, and the vocal advocacy of a strong monarchy especially, is an important part of these Huguenot sermons, as well as integral part of their message to both their direct Huguenot audiences, and the king and his ministers. For the sake of group identity and public image, these sermons prescribe – and portray – a strong monarchist sympathy, rooted in social order, public good, natural hierarchy, and scriptural instruction. Significantly, insofar as these examples show, this message of political deference was more or less constant over time, from the relative calm of the later years of Louis XIII's

⁴⁷³See note 31.

reign, which made up part of the careers of Daillé, Drelincourt, and Mestrezat, to the difficult years of Louis XIV's personal rule, during which Du Bosc preached. As the sermons make clear, the Bible has clearly told Christians to be good subjects to the leaders that rule over them; after all, they represent and exercise God's sovereignty, and were chosen by him to do so. These sermons, then, offer a vision of Huguenots as thoroughly monarchical and ideologically compatible with the crown, religious faith aside, providing a foundation to arguments that Huguenots were a legitimate and valuable part of France.

Providing more depth to Huguenot monarchical devotion, many sermons state that it is not sufficient to fear your king, but one must also esteem him; moreover, this had to be demonstrated through active and positive participation in civil society. Importantly, too, they were not concerned just with touting the merits of monarchy in the abstract, but with articulating fidelity to the king (and kingdom) of France specifically. Thus Daillé can tell his audience to pray “not just in general for Kings, or Governors, or Judges, but also specifically and by name those particular ones that God has raised in dignity above us”.⁴⁷⁴ As will be seen, many sermons demonstrate a concern with communicating how to be good subjects and good Christians 'of the world', and many sermons also closely cite the Huguenot experience in France – either significant political events or historic documents – appealing to precedents, and contributing to collective memory and identity. The result is a specifically Huguenot political philosophy, one where being a loyal subject of the French crown was an integral part of Huguenot

⁴⁷⁴Daillé, *Exposition de la Premiere Epitre...Timothée*, vol. I, 334.

identity, and one that shows the Huguenot community closely tied to its past and contemporary conditions.

CIVICS AND HUGUENOT POLITICAL HISTORY

In a certain way, Huguenots were given conflicting information about their participation in broader society. On the one hand, they were told that they were God's chosen *petit troupeau* and ought to avoid too much contact with the negative influences of the world around them. That would have to mean avoiding socializing with the Catholic majority in France. In reality, that was impractical, if not impossible. Moreover, Huguenot ministers also proposed that it was a Christian duty to participate in civil society which, in seventeenth-century France, meant participating in a Catholic-majority kingdom. As a result, they focused on civic engagement and on showing that they were good Frenchmen, just like any other, but also that they participated politically *as Huguenots*.

Providing broad ideas about the nature of society, Jean Daillé describes it as a state where people “live under the same laws and in the same government for mutual conservation and convenience”,⁴⁷⁵ and Jean Mestrezat asserts that “although man sometimes acts like a wolf towards others, man nonetheless cannot live without man, that is, he cannot have all the conveniences and necessities of life without living in a society”.⁴⁷⁶ There were also discussions about more specifically Christian concerns, with the ministers telling their audiences how to

⁴⁷⁵Daillé, *Mélange*, 492.

⁴⁷⁶Mestrezat et al., *Sermons Faits au Jour du Jusne*, 22. This is also an interesting rebranding of the wolf metaphor that, in other contexts, is used to decry the actions of Catholics.

balance the religious and secular aspects of their lives. Commenting on the need to contribute to both church and state, Nicolas Vignier counsels against immoderate devotion to one or the other:

In all ages there are always too many men who are only concerned with the State, because their honours, their greatness, and their commodities depend on it. They do not care at all about God's poor Church, and they have no interest in it. There are others who are all for the Church; they hold, if not in their hearts at least in their mouths, that the Church [...] ought to engulf all the Kingdoms of the world, and that all the affairs of state ought to pass through the Counsel of their inquisition. But in one there is no religion, and in the other there is neither religion nor civil prudence.⁴⁷⁷

Looking at the same arrangement from another perspective, Pierre Du Bosc states that:

we are not born solely and uniquely for Heaven; we must have some consideration for this world. We must not just have the qualities of Christian and Faithful, but also those of citizen, subject, and members of a State. If the Kingdom of Heaven has its rights over us, the Kingdoms of this world also have theirs; and if we render unto God all that is God's, we must at the same time render unto Caesar that which belongs to Caesar.⁴⁷⁸

Both of these passages contain significant messages for their audiences. Not only do they discuss the balance between spiritual and secular obligations, but they do so in a way that speaks to specific aspects of the Huguenot situation. In the first place, there is a warning against withdrawing from society on account of religion, while also decrying the temporal ambitions of the Catholic Church. Du Bosc's passage especially also reinforces the imperative that good Christians subject themselves to their secular lord.

However, it is not enough simply to discuss the qualities of proper

⁴⁷⁷Vignier, *Pratique de Repentance*, 300.

⁴⁷⁸Du Bosc, *Sermons sur Divers Textes*, 104-105.

Christian civics, but also to encourage actual participation, as other ministers do. In his sermon dedicated to Turenne, Charles Drelincourt states that “those who are in a State and part of a society, ordinarily participate in all the good and the bad that arrives; and the good citizens never seek the salvation of only some”,⁴⁷⁹ thus demanding not only civic involvement but an inclusive understanding of France as well, one where Catholics are not to be excluded from the hopes and concerns of the Huguenots. Keeping in mind the patron, it is also as if Drelincourt is pointing out the value of *Turenne* to the whole of France as well.

For his part, Jean Daillé, in a sermon on Psalm 133:1-3, tells his audience: “retain as much peace and concord as is in us in the state and in the Church; in the state, focus faithfully on service to the King and his Officers in all occasions”.⁴⁸⁰ So, although none of the examples provide much by way of specific illustrations of participation (something that will be discussed later), they all clearly propose an active role in French society. In their schemes, to be a good christian means to be engaged socially; or, put another way, being a good Christian and a good citizen are co-terminous. This is an important message to convey to a king who might be wary of the presence an insular and exclusive minority group within his territory as well as for the sake of countering the Catholic polemics that characterized Huguenots as inimical to absolutism.⁴⁸¹ It is also a significant set of instructions for a religious minority that sees itself as distinct from the majority around them. With that in mind, it also raises the question about the competing messages found in

⁴⁷⁹Drelincourt, *Recueil de Sermons*, vol.3, 228.

⁴⁸⁰Daillé, *Quinze Sermons*, 190.

⁴⁸¹Such portrayals are discussed in Arthur Herman's “The Huguenot Republic and Antirepublicanism,” 250-251.

sermons for Huguenots to be both 'apart' and 'a part' in France. To reconcile these messages, it is perhaps best to think of them instilling a sense of difference rather than of separation. After all, while Huguenots were acutely aware of themselves as a distinct group, they were also insistent on being part of the Kingdom of France, together forming the essence of Huguenot identity and political strategy.

Whether through reference to the past or engagement with the present, numerous Huguenot sermons discuss the many forms of Huguenot Frenchness by way of invoking collective histories. References to the past are centred on major events and documents that define the Huguenot experience in France, and they depict a particular interpretation of that history to emphasize the positive aspects. Concerning the Wars of Religion, Drelincourt, in his sermon on Lamentations 3:22-24, talks about the “imprudent zeal” of the “war which had Religion as a pretext”.⁴⁸² Though this could be seen as ignoring the 'official amnesia' concerning the Wars of Religion, he is, at least, downplaying the religious component of it, and it shows the historical awareness present in many sermons. Others prefer to invoke more recent events, especially the Fronde. Discussing that “civil war”, Paul Ferry describes the blood that was spilled, and then the victory of the king, while describing the “glorious Peace” that came out of it.⁴⁸³ By implication, the Huguenots partake in that 'glorious peace' because they were on the right side of the conflict, and in that way this statement is an assertion of their monarchical sympathies.

⁴⁸²Drelincourt, *Recueil de Sermons*, vol.3, 580.

⁴⁸³Ferry, *Quatre Sermons*, 158.

Pierre Mussard, too, alludes to civil war, comparing those subjects who “rise against their Sovereign” and those who “remain in obedience”,⁴⁸⁴ reminding audiences of the Huguenots' fidelity to the crown during the Fronde. The benefits of obedience are also described by Daillé at the beginning of his sermon on Psalm 122:6, where, taking an historical perspective, he says Huguenots must be thankful that: “for many years we have been given and continue to have the liberty to assemble here [the Temple at Charenton] under the favour of the Powers that govern this State”.⁴⁸⁵ Later in the same sermon he returns to that same theme when he says: “our Sovereigns have, according to their goodness and justice, accorded this happy freedom to our Religion that we have peacefully enjoyed for many years in the lands under their authority”.⁴⁸⁶ Not only is he praising that liberty and its source, though; for, by simply stating its past and continued existence, he is also claiming a precedent for the Huguenot Church's freedom of worship. Through these examples Huguenot ministers were reminding their co-religionists and the crown about the legal framework that linked those audiences and that outlined the presence of religious pluralism as a political reality.

In similar examples, other ministers are more explicit in establishing the legal basis for that freedom the precedent for freedom of worship. In the introduction to his sermon on Psalm 130:1-4, Mestrezat instructs his audience to thank God for having made the crown favourable to: “the peace of our Churches, and to their subsistence under the authority of the Edicts of the King”;⁴⁸⁷ as this

⁴⁸⁴Mussard, *Sermons sur Divers Textes*, 364.

⁴⁸⁵Daillé, *Mélange*, 204.

⁴⁸⁶*Ibid.*, 222.

⁴⁸⁷Mestrezat, *Vingt Sermons*, 524-525.

sermon was preached in 1645, he also mentions how he sees good evidence to believe that his will continue during – and beyond – the current regency. For his part, Drelincourt describes the conditions of the edicts, without calling them as such when he explains how French kings: “provided liberty of conscience throughout their entire Empire, and in many places they allowed the public exercise of our Religion. They even [...] for a time gave our fathers fortified cities against the violence of their persecutors”.⁴⁸⁸ In this last case, Drelincourt is even portraying *lost* rights in the best possible light, emphasizing that Huguenots once held them rather than on the fact that they had since been rescinded.

With the sermon preached being in celebration of the Treaty of the Pyrenees, Drelincourt also has high hopes for the ensuing settlement, for both Huguenots and the French kingdom more broadly, while also paying lip service to the past:

[t]hat this peace may also be as useful and profitable to poor people as it is glorious for the King and his Minister; and that under the shade of this Peace we may peacefully possess our souls, and enjoy the precious liberty that is accorded us by the Edicts of past Kings of glorious memory, and by his Majesty who is today on the throne.⁴⁸⁹

As is evidently clear in the passage from Drelincourt, these appeals to past precedents do not just look longingly into the past but are also drawn into the present and ongoing situation. This continuity is important for the maintenance of the liberties that Huguenots enjoy, and it is done in a way that can serve as a deferential reminder to the *Puissances superieures*. Important to Huguenot identity,

⁴⁸⁸Drelincourt, *Recueil de Sermons*, vol.3, 577.

⁴⁸⁹*Ibid*, 282.

such components of the ministers' expositions are useful for identifying and emphasizing the central symbols of the Huguenot collective memory and identity. In this case, the edicts – especially the Edict of Nantes – exist as foundational documents that define and contour Huguenot existence, and are symbols that help sustain a shared past; they also appear in sermons as a way to acknowledge the legal legitimacy of Huguenots in France. These expressions of gratefulness are framed not just as a way to link past and present, but also statements planted firmly in the present-tense, such as when Daillé exclaims: “[t]hese assemblies, this liberty to hear the heavenly word, to receive sacraments, to feast our souls on the truth of the Gospel, to nourish and carefully raise our children and families, all of this goodness is bestowed from this Monarch [Louis XIV]”,⁴⁹⁰ showing that as much as Huguenot ministers had a keen grasp of the past, they also had a close eye on the present. Moreover, not only are they clearly aware of their dependence on the king's *bon plaisir*, but they are acknowledging it for him and making their congregations appreciative of it too, further reinforcing the royalist dimension of the Huguenot identity.

As Daillé's passage shows, Huguenot pastors could be quite enthusiastic in their appreciation for the environment in which they found themselves ministering, which is fair considering that this particular sermon was preached at a time – 1655 – soon after the Fronde when the Huguenots were being praised for their loyalty.⁴⁹¹ The enthusiasm shown in these sermons displays a strong patriotism and

⁴⁹⁰Daillé, *Exposition de la Première Epître...Timothée*, vol. 1, 355.

⁴⁹¹As Pierre Du Bosc's sermon demonstrate, though, optimistic conditions were not necessary for such enthusiasm.

monarchism, and a concerted effort to instill a specific political perspective in their audiences. Charles Drelincourt, for instance, ask rhetorically: “if the Apostles commended Christians of their time to obey and pray for monsters like Nero, how much more must Christians today render fidelity and obedience to the legitimate Kings and Princes under whose domination it has pleased God to have them born?”⁴⁹² Although 'better than Nero' is not glowing praise, this still echoes the earlier discussion about monarchical legitimacy, reinforcing the need to be obedient to the current king of France while also asking his Huguenot audience to appreciate the comparative quality of their political situation. In another sermon in the same collection, Drelincourt does a better job of praising Louis XIV, calling him “the most powerful Prince in Christendom,” and his Crown as “the finest and most brilliant of all”.⁴⁹³ A few pages later he adds: “[t]he power of Kings of the world is not always to the advantage of their subjects. But we have all that we enjoy on account of the force and divine virtue of our sovereign Monarch”.⁴⁹⁴ To demonstrate the extent to which a Huguenot sermon could contain praises to the king, however, one must turn to Pierre Du Bosc and his description of Louis XIV:

[t]hat we are happy, my Brothers, to live under a Prince to whose service our inclinations and duties are in such agreement, and in whom we find an eminent degree of that gives honour to Monarchs. He is a Hero, but a Hero of the first order; in peace, in war, in cabinet, in all the qualities that make great men and great Princes. Wise and judicious in counsel, penetrating and clear in his affairs; indefatigable in work; invincible in combat; knowledgeable in all the fine arts; acting by himself in all things; joining in his person the courage of the most famous Captains, the goodness of the most celebrated Conquerors, the prudence of the most consummate

⁴⁹²Drelincourt, *Recueil de Sermons*, vol.3, 232.

⁴⁹³*Ibid.*, 488.

⁴⁹⁴*Ibid.*, 502.

Politician, the sufficiency of the greatest masters in every profession worthy of him.⁴⁹⁵

Here, Drelincourt and Du Bosc are both preaching under the reign of Louis XIV, although on either side of the advent of Louis' personal rule, which marked an increase in efforts by the crown to limit Huguenot worship and encourage their conversion. The similarity in their messages, then, shows that, regardless of the changing political climate, a strong monarchism was essential to the Huguenot sense of their place in France, while the increased tenor of Du Bosc's message is perhaps evidence of greater desperation.

These monarchical sentiments, which come in many forms, are also extended to patriotic ones, such as Gaches' use of the vocative to exclaim: “and you, O France, our dear homeland!”⁴⁹⁶ Such a sentiment perhaps also reflects the desire held by the monarchy to emphasize national allegiances over local ones. These sentiments could even extend down to the municipal level, with the ministers of Charenton praising the virtues of Paris. Jean Daillé, for instance, extends the metaphorical use of Jerusalem to Paris, calling it “another” Jerusalem, in addition to the church, which is the first use of the metaphor.⁴⁹⁷ He goes on to say that, beyond the usual attachments that people naturally feel towards the city of their birth, Paris also possesses many superlative qualities worth mentioning: it is a large city, rich and full of people, magnificent in all things, and the centre of arts and letters; it is the capital city, and the seat of the noblest and most ancient

⁴⁹⁵Du Bosc, *Sermons sur Divers Textes*, 122-123.

⁴⁹⁶Gaches, *Action de Graces*, 26.

⁴⁹⁷Daillé, *Mélange*, 220-222.

Christian monarchy; God's church is located there, and even if the majority of the inhabitants are of a different faith, they recognize the Huguenots as cohabitants. In that sense, even civic pride is tied to a program of national or royal affiliation. This shaped the audiences' understanding of the contemporary atmosphere, and often through biblical allusions, employing Huguenot political theology to explore – or debate – the place of Huguenots in France. Moreover, they also reveal an understanding of a Huguenot *habitus*,⁴⁹⁸ an engendered sense of naturally belonging in France.

Apart from internal problems such as the Fronde and tax riots, there were many foreign events of note, such as wars; and, in these foreign wars, most notably the wars against the Spanish Hapsburgs, Huguenots could easily find common cause with their French Catholic neighbours. In these cases, rather than trying to distinguish or separate the Huguenots as a group, the message serves to assimilate them, at least in a political and patriotic respect. One such theme that draws French people of both faiths together in the imaginings of these Huguenot pastors is a sense of shared suffering. Thus Drelincourt can ask: “[d]o we not suffer along with other French people from the great ruin and discomfort that this long and arduous war has brought to all subjects of this and the other Crown?”⁴⁹⁹ And he continues: “all French people, as much those of the other faith as us, are they not our Brothers and compatriots, and should we not be significantly touched by their misery?”⁵⁰⁰ In good times, the shared experience is also true, according to

498Wells, *Law and Citizenship*, 5-6.

499Drelincourt, *Revueil de Sermons*, vol.3, 245-246.

500*Ibid.*, 248.

another of Drelincourt's sermons; in this case, news of the Treaty of the Pyrenees, which has brought a: “peace that fills us with joy along with the whole kingdom”.⁵⁰¹ When things are going well in the kingdom, Huguenots should hope to share in the happiness and benefit while, during the difficult times, Huguenots are told to keep their fellow citizens in mind, regardless of religious affiliation, and this includes keeping them in their prayers.

In that spirit of shared suffering, Louis Herault hopes for God's benediction for “the head and members, the prince and his subjects, for the whole Body of the State”,⁵⁰² while Jean Daillé provides a lesson along those same lines about prayers:

[e]veryone recognizes well enough that they must pray and give thanks for ourselves, according to the state in which we find ourselves [...].But there are few who do not find that they must also pray for strangers. What do we have to do with outsiders? Is it not enough to take care of our brothers? Above all it seems hard and unreasonable to pray for those who curse us, and to hope for good for those who have done all possible mean things to us.⁵⁰³

He concludes that, nonetheless, this is the proper thing to do according to Christian charity. As these examples point out, both confessions were seen to be suffering from the warfare, while the Huguenots made it clear that, in victory and peace, they were just as proud and joyful as any other group in France. Again, though perhaps a result of conditions imposed by the conflict, there are elements of inclusiveness vocalized in these examples that are not seen elsewhere. Indeed, elsewhere suffering is taken as a sign that distinguishes the Huguenots as a unique group as opposed to something that unites them with the rest of the kingdom. Yet

⁵⁰¹*Ibid.*, 278.

⁵⁰²Herault, *Le Pacifique Royal en Dueil*, 253.

⁵⁰³Daillé, *Exposition de la Premiere Epitre...Timothée*, vol.1, 333. The role of prayer in political practice plays a significant role for Huguenots as suggested by sermons examined below.

far from stemming from any irenic impulse, these commiserations seem rather to come from more practical or worldly considerations, an acceptance of toleration in the seventeenth-century sense of the term, and they aimed to show that Huguenots felt profoundly and intimately for their kingdom in good and bad.

This ability to find basic similarities between faiths is also articulated by Pierre Du Bosc. After beginning his sermon on I Peter 2:17 by lamenting how terrible but necessary are the constant disputes with their Catholic compatriots, he explains that the following sermon is on a point of agreement:

now we undertake to cover a doctrine where there is no disagreement between the two Churches, since they both have fear for God and honour for the King. Here, my Brothers, we see the difference disappear between Religions. Here we find ourselves in accord. Here one does not speak of Catholic or Protestant...as Christians we all profess to fear God, and as Frenchmen we all have the same intent to honour the King.⁵⁰⁴

Had this not been prefaced by mentioning the “unfortunate necessity to combat” Catholicism in other points of doctrine, it would indeed sound quite ecumenical. As it stands, however, in this sermon it is more concerned with political similarities. This clearly agrees, however, with Brain Strayer's assertion that Catholics and Protestants were “politically indistinguishable” by mid-century, a point that is further stressed in Du Bosc's sermon when, speaking to Louis XIV, he says: “do not distinguish us at all from others. We are largely like the rest of our Compatriots, since we are all equally subject to this remarkable Monarch, and equally driven to honour and serve him”.⁵⁰⁵

Du Bosc's sermon, then, along with the others, show a clear desire to instill

⁵⁰⁴Du Bosc, *Sermons sur Divers Textes*, 91.

⁵⁰⁵*Ibid.*, 124.

in their Huguenot audience – and prove to their royal audience – the fact that Huguenots were good and loyal subjects of the king of France, and integral members of his kingdom. They did this by appealing to the scriptural injunctions to honour the sovereign that God has placed over people. In addition, the Bible told people to participate positively in the secular world, to balance their obligations to church and state. To encourage such a position, these sermons feature numerous references to past and contemporary events effecting Huguenot political and social existence, such as their obedience during the Fronde, and the numerous edicts shaping their freedoms in France. The result here is both the appeal to various precedents contouring the Huguenot experience, and also the source of specific reasons for the deep gratitude that is frequently given to the French kings. In essence, Huguenot ministers were describing a form of divine-right absolutism that included a place for Huguenots in a kingdom ruled by a Catholic monarch.

However, beyond the scenario where Huguenot ministers were simply committed proponents of a strong, divinely-appointed monarch, and therefore trying to further inculcate this political disposition among their parishioners, there are evident pragmatic considerations that must also be brought into the equation. As Elisabeth Labrousse points out, it would have been foolhardy, if not counter-productive or even suicidal, to profess any political doctrine other than what the king wanted to hear, on account of the fact that the continued existence of Huguenots in France was due solely to the *bon plaisir* of the king.⁵⁰⁶ This practical

⁵⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 75.

consideration is hinted at in some sermons too, showing that self-preservation could be at least a muted theme in these expositions. Charles Drelincourt says that service and devotion to the king will “oblige His Majesty to continue his Royal protection for us, and keep us in the freedom accorded by the Edicts”,⁵⁰⁷ and Pierre Du Bosc tells the king: “God gives evidence to us that if we wish for repose for our Churches and the conservation of our temples, it is by continuing our prayers for your august person”.⁵⁰⁸ Elsewhere, Du Bosc says that:

if all French people are subject to wishing for the conservation of such an admirable Prince, we must do so even more particularly, My Brothers; he is great, he is just, he is good for all of France, but he is *necessary* for us, who hold him, after God, for all our security and all our peace. He alone is our Force, he alone is our Citadel.⁵⁰⁹

Beyond locating in the king's protection the defences of which the Huguenots were deprived under the Peace of Alès, this passage shows an understanding of the dependency that the Huguenots had toward the king. These admissions mean that the praises of divine-right absolutism must be read with an eye to the fact that they were catering to the political situation at the time, in a sense justifying a *status quo* that was beyond their control. This does not mean that Huguenot ministers and, consequently, their parishioners did not sincerely view the system in France as the best possible political arrangement, since doing so put aligned them with Calvin's own writings and with prevailing political thought; but outward signs of loyalty were also a practical necessity for their continued religious freedom.⁵¹⁰ Moreover,

507 Drelincourt, *Recueil de Sermons*, 250.

508 Du Bosc, *Sermons sur Divers Textes*, 123.

509 Pierre Du Bosc, *Les Estoiles du Ciel de l'Eglise* (Geneva, 1664), 68-69 [emphasis added].

510 As chapter six explores, the specific form of government was not as important to Huguenots as were other characteristics; instead, Huguenots could show devotion to sovereigns that provided good order and freedom of worship.

although the *status quo* may have been beyond their control, that did not mean that Huguenot ministers accepted it passively; after all, every aspect of these sermons reveals a political engagement where they were actively trying to define the place of their confessional community within the kingdom, defining the kingdom in the process. Further, in addition to recognizing the extent to which their preservation was dependent on the king, decades of warfare and social disruption meant that the preference for tyranny over anarchy was more than just lip service to the idea of a powerful monarch, it was also borne of the desire for order and stability.

Of course, in many ways the propositions found in these sermons are defensive in nature; that is, they are aimed, in part, at refuting the image of Huguenots as seditious republicans, or the notion that that they are not as thoroughly French as their Catholic counterparts, and antithetical to a strong monarchy and prosperous kingdom. In the process, this often meant downplaying the difference between confessions. However, there are also instances of what can be called a more offensive strategy, where, rather than arguing that Huguenots are good French subjects *despite* their confessional faith, they argue that they are good French subjects *because* of their religion, emphasizing rather than minimizing their confessional difference.

UNIQUELY HUGUENOT APPROACHES TO BEING A FRENCH SUBJECT

As much as Du Bosc's sentiment of similitude may have been useful in some circumstances, Huguenot sermons were still thoroughly informed by a

message of confessional difference. Politically, that meant positing a specifically Huguenot position. In some cases, like that of Du Bosc's sermon, the difference between faiths in the political realm is minimized; in other cases, though, that difference – that sense of being Huguenot – is the source of their political or civic distinction. Emphasizing their difference is, in these sermons, consistently predicated on their confessional identity, both in terms of religiosity and organization. An illustration of this is when Pierre Du Bosc notes that someone without religious faith and devotion threatens to be disobedient to their king, asking “why would one honour their earthly Father when they insolently outrage their heavenly Father?”⁵¹¹ He responds to that requirement later in the sermon when he notes the irreproachable way in which Huguenots serve their king since their churches in particular “follow Scripture as the perfect rule for their faith”, and Scripture so strongly recommends obedience to sovereigns.⁵¹²

Appealing to confessional difference was done even more directly elsewhere, though. For instance, in Paul Ferry's sermon on the death of Louis XIII, he discusses the fidelity of the Huguenots to the crown in both defensive and offensive terms: he says, first, that Huguenots must continue to “outdo our compatriots in all kinds of respect and obedience” to convince the doubters; then he concludes by noting that having the king and Jesus reigning together in their hearts without any conflict of allegiance, Huguenots were both the “best French and the best Christians”.⁵¹³ Indicating what those conflicts of allegiance could

511 Du Bosc, *Sermons sur Divers Textes*, 94.

512 *Ibid.*, 121.

513 Ferry, *Quatre Sermons*, 170-171.

entail, Daillé provides an example-laden history of church-state relations in which he highlights the pretensions of the Catholic Church and how the popes have tried to “put Kings and Emperors under their feet and despoil them of their states”.⁵¹⁴

The moral of the story, of course, is that the Catholic Church is a threat and a challenge to a powerful monarchy because of their temporal ambition, whereas the Huguenot Church is happy to, as he says later in the sermon, “leave the affairs of the state to those who God has put in charge”.⁵¹⁵

The portrayal so far of Huguenot political awareness shows a clear sense of their position in relation to the king, with effusive language to encourage a strong sense of devotion. Interpreting that message, however, meant reconciling calls to both stand out and blend in on account of their monarchical fidelity. On the rhetorical level, this implies a careful construction of Huguenot engagement; and, on the practical level, Huguenot ministers in fact focused on a fairly consistent formula for political participation. This *via hugonottorum* combines the philosophical and theological concepts already discussed with a providential view of history and politics to provide Huguenots with their own unique way of taking an active role in their kingdom while demonstrating to its leaders how involved and invested they were. All together, this meant positing a particular vision of the French kingdom and the absolutism that informed its organization, one where Huguenots held an important place.

The providential view of Huguenot history, as was seen in the last chapter,

⁵¹⁴Daillé, *Exposition de l'Epistre de S. Paul a Tite*, 398.

⁵¹⁵*Ibid.*, 404.

formed an important part of how ministers interpreted their position in France, thereby asking their audience to take solace – and even pride – in their afflictions. It became, in that way, an integral part of the Huguenot sense of identity. Importantly, this same view of God's providence also assumed a role in sermons concerning Huguenot political sensibilities and civic participation. Thus Jean Daillé says that “the success of a person's work, whether for the good of their family, or for the conservation and growth of their State depends entirely on the providence of God”;⁵¹⁶ and Charles Drelincourt notes that “all the ills and all the afflictions that occur in the World and Church are guided by divine Providence”⁵¹⁷ As demonstrated in sermons examined earlier, providence was not just something to be observed and acknowledged; rather, it existed as a dialogue between God and Christians. It, therefore, held lessons, and needed interpretation and response, something that, in the political context, meant giving sin and piety a civic dimension. In that way, Raymond Gaches says that: “both war and peace serve equally to make us miserable if we live in sin; and both war and peace serve equally towards our happiness if we love God and are faithful to him”.⁵¹⁸ Similarly, Jean Mestrezat exclaims to his audience: “We must plainly condemn ourselves, and recognize ourselves as guilty, saying that the Eternal is just in all judgement. He afflicts us with war, so have we not caused it by our sins?”⁵¹⁹ These passages express the same concern with divine providence seen elsewhere; but, found in a sermon about political exigencies, it also points tellingly to a central point in

⁵¹⁶Daillé, *Mélange*, 509.

⁵¹⁷Drelincourt, *Recueil de Sermons*, 229-230.

⁵¹⁸Gaches, *Deus Sermons sur la Paix*, 7.

⁵¹⁹Mestrezat et al, *Sermons Faits au Jour du Jusne*, 54.

which politics and religion intersected in these sermons. The reality of God's providential hand working in the world, along with the demand placed upon the Huguenot laity to lead especially moral lives provided a meaningful way for Huguenots to participate in the direction and condition of their kingdom.

The link between sin and temporal condition, and notions of collective salvation, has a long tradition within Christianity. In the time leading up to the period studied here, it informed the ideas of social pollution that marked religious violence, and was vital to Savonarola's preaching and interpretations of the Black Death; it also plays a central role in Bernd Moeller's interpretations of the Reformation that focus on civic and communal responsibilities before God.⁵²⁰ In that way, Huguenot ministers were part of a well-established and active Christian tradition, but one that they applied to their own situation. It was a way to insist upon greater moral behaviour, while also contributing to a Huguenot self-perception where they saw themselves as participating in the kingdom; it was an adapted Huguenot *corpus mysticum* in France, an intersection of their religious and political identities, and something that described a uniquely Huguenot engagement with the kingdom.

These political responsibilities that the Huguenots were given by their pastors existed in many situations, both domestically and publicly, as individuals and as communities. The best organized and large-scale example can be found in the many fasts that were arranged in response to particular political and military

⁵²⁰Bernd Moeller, *Imperial Cities and the Reformation: Three Essays* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972), 41-115.

events.⁵²¹ These fasts, organized by a specific church or a synod, demonstrate in a very visible way the Huguenot Church as a community engaging with their political potential, both through the fast itself and through the printed sermons that commemorate it. As was explained earlier, Huguenot fasts were exceptional occasions not tied to a liturgical calendar, were called in times of particular crisis or joy, and involved intense preaching and praying. Using the occasion to contemplate his audience's temporal condition, Jean Mestrezat's sermon on Psalm 130:1-4, preached on a fast day in 1645, tells his audience to give thanks to God for touching the hearts of the French monarchy and inspiring them to provide freedom for Huguenot worship.⁵²² An important purpose, then, is to inculcate a sense of thankfulness and direct it in a way to ritually define the congregation as both a unique community and part of the larger kingdom.

An even more remarkable instance of a fast of the sort with political overtones is one mentioned in the introduction, which took place on 21 August, 1636. In the temple at Charenton, Jean Mestrezat, Charles Drelincourt, and Jean Dailé preached back-to-back sermons with prayers to aid the French troops that were to face a Spanish army. Meanwhile, in the temple at Quevilly, outside of Rouen, Jean Maximilian De l'Angle preached a sermon for the same purpose. All four sermons were then published together in a single collection.⁵²³ Such a focusing of resources shows the seriousness in which the ministers understood their task, and the gravity of the situation that needed to be expressed to laity. For

⁵²¹Mentzer, "Fasting, Piety, and Religious Anxiety," 342.

⁵²²Mestrezat, *Vingt Sermons*, 524-525.

⁵²³Mestrezat et al, *Sermons Faits au Jour du Jusne*.

the Huguenots of Paris especially, having three of their ministers – and three of the most celebrated ministers in the kingdom – preaching back-to-back on one day must have shown unmistakably how important the act, and how critical the desired outcome, was to those involved. It was also a form of political action that defined them as both a distinct community and as French subjects, acting out their particular vision of the French polity. As was mentioned, the decision for these sermons to be published together shows that there was also a desire for commemoration and publicity; and, considering that they were published the next year, after Corbie had been retaken from the Spanish, this publication is also a way to associate the fasting and prayer of the Huguenots with the success of France. As will be seen below, a focus on prayer and piety, and a concern with the efficacy of these acts, are key to this sort of Huguenot political participation.

Politicizing sin, prayer, suffering, and peace meant that the moral comportment of Huguenots was drawn into the context of the national well-being; and it meant, therefore, that regular Huguenots (and their ministers) had an effect on the fortunes of their realm. For their part, the ministers did not miss this opportunity to reinforce the expectations of godliness that they held for their parishioners, linking it in this way to their sense of being French and belonging to the body of the kingdom. The relationship between sin and national well-being is seen clearly in Pierre Du Moulin's sermon on Romans 1:16, which was actually preached before James I of England, where he says that “the safety of the King's life is the piety and the innocence of his subjects”,⁵²⁴ meaning that pious subjects

⁵²⁴Du Moulin, *Sermons sur Quelques Textes*, 131.

would correlate to a safe and prosperous king.

A useful sermon for understanding the political role of prayer, moreover, is Drelincourt's contribution to his and Gaches' *Deus Sermons sur la Paix entre les Deux Couronnes*. In this sermon urging peace between France and Spain, he provides both explanatory and imperative discussions about prayer, along with specific examples of its importance. Drelincourt tells his audience that prayer is important to Christian worship and, putting his discussion of prayer into the context at hand, notes that: “while the King's Ministers search a way to end the fire of this long and disastrous war, we must raise our hands and hearts to Heaven with incredible zeal for this most important subject”.⁵²⁵ Then, echoing ideas seen above, Drelincourt says that one must regard princes as the “living images” of God, and that praying for them and the prosperity of their states is “one of the most sacred duties of the Christian Religion”.⁵²⁶ He concludes the sermon by telling his audience: “[p]ray to God with a good heart for Peace; pray to God that he gives it with goodness and in benediction... [and] that it is glorious for the King, and salutary to all his Subjects”,⁵²⁷ before moving into the prayer itself.

These same elements of civic piety are evident in other sermons too. For instance, in the next sermon in Drelincourt's *Recueil*, which celebrates the peace between France and Spain for which the last sermon had been praying (and also the marriage between Louis XIV and Maria Teresa), there are many similar expectations about prayer discussed, while the subject matter also serves as good

⁵²⁵ Drelincourt, *Recueil de Sermons*, 211-214.

⁵²⁶ *Ibid.*, 231.

⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*, 253.

balance to the earlier one, since together they book-end the Treaty of the Pyrenees.

In fact, Drelincourt discusses the earlier sermon to introduce the second one:

[i]t has now been a few months since we gathered in this temple to pray to God for Peace between the two Crowns. And we continued to ask for his divine Goodness with all the affection and ardour that we are capable of... [and] we waited impatiently for news of ratification. It is now very just and reasonable to give God our praise and thanks as solemnly as possible. It is for that reason that you are assembled here today under extraordinary circumstances, and that two of your Pastors will climb the pulpit one after the other.⁵²⁸

The reason for this is that Drelincourt warns against the tendency for people to become complacent after a deliverance, whereas he wants to be certain – for the sake of his church and kingdom – that the proper thanks is given to God.

Moreover, since the treaty also included the marriage of Louis and Maria Teresa, this sermon also provides a prayer in that regard, hoping that the marriage is joyful and prosperous, since “Kings do not only marry for themselves, but also for their people, and that their Subjects have a part in the good and the bad that arrives”; therefore he tells his congregation to pray that God “makes this august marriage good for France”.⁵²⁹ Through this sermon, Drelincourt is not only keeping his congregation (and reading audience) aware of important political developments but also encouraging within his congregation an intimate connection to the crown and kingdom. He is, moreover, showing Huguenots to be aligned with crown policy while also placing them rhetorically within a whole France.

In sermons of other pastors, similar messages are also found. In Jean Daillé's sermon on I Timothy 2:1-3, he begins by declaring that “prayer is the most

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*, 265-266.

⁵²⁹ *Ibid.*, 283.

excellent and the most necessary of all pious exercises”, and also that “it is no less necessary than it is excellent”.⁵³⁰ He then goes on to explain the importance of praying for the king who provides freedom to worship, and praying for the prosperity of the kingdom in general. In Raymond Gaches' sermon that accompanies Drelincourt's in the published *Deus Sermons*, he reinforces the essential role that collective prayer plays as an act of civic piety, when he exclaims: “[t]hrow ourselves again at the feet of our God, redouble our prayers so that our peace lies with the peace of the State, and that we can lead a tranquil life under the peaceful sceptre of our King”.⁵³¹ In the prayer that follows, Gaches provides an impassioned and patriotic prayer, asking for God's benediction for “France in general and for his Church in particular”.⁵³² He continues the prayer by saying: “You shook the walls of enemy fortresses, and with your help France triumphed everywhere”; after naming various theatres of war – Italy, Germany, Lorraine, Flanders, and Artois – he says that: “even Spain herself trembled at the sight of our armies”.⁵³³ Gaches finishes the prayer asking God again to keep France, the king, and the church safe, along with the royal family, princes of the blood, and crown officers.

These occasions provided a way for Huguenots to be actively incorporated into national politics, creating a unique means of inclusion through which they could conceive of themselves as belonging to – and participating in – their kingdom. That participation, moreover, was made especially clear through prayer,

⁵³⁰ Daillé, *Exposition de la Première Epître... Timothée*, vol.1, 321-323.

⁵³¹ Gaches, *Deus Sermons sur la Paix*, 47.

⁵³² *Ibid.*, 53.

⁵³³ *Ibid.*, 55.

both as a form of personal piety and collective responsibility. Through these political acts, Huguenots were not only participating in their kingdom, but participating in defining it and their place within it. In their understanding of God's providence, prayers were temporally useful and important, and that made Huguenots useful and important too. Being shaped around the temple and the congregation, these occasions of prayer and fasting were done as Huguenots and as French, reinforcing both.

To further strengthen the role of prayer and thanksgiving in this context, ministers also provided much in the way of support for the efficacy and value of those actions. In the sermons examined here, an essential component of championing a civic role for prayer and piety is asserting its efficacy and value to the community. Not only does this provide the enterprise with a sense of gravity and conviction, but also with significance and legitimacy. In the opening to his sermon to celebrate peace between England and the Dutch Provinces, Raymond Gaches exclaims: “[f]inally the Divine goodness has listened favourably to our wishes”,⁵³⁴ claiming a role in the settlement for Huguenot prayers. Jean Mestrezat also explains the consequences of piety by noting, first, the hope that sins of the Huguenots do not “come before God and trouble [their] peace”, and then later telling his audience: “my Brothers, we obtain God's benediction for the King, the Queen, and the State by our humility”.⁵³⁵ In both of these sermons the potential value of prayer and piety is clearly evidenced, as both pastors note the ability for

⁵³⁴ Gaches, *Action de Graces*, 7.

⁵³⁵ Mestrezat, *Vingt Sermons*, 525.

these acts to affect the course of temporal affairs.

That expectation of efficacy is also demonstrated when prayer fails to generate the hoped-for result, such as when Paul Ferry, in his sermon on the death of Louis XIII, explains that the prayers that were said during Louis' illness were frustrated by divine providence. He therefore says to his congregation: “dear Brothers, it must be said that, since God willed it this way, our prayers were not answered”.⁵³⁶ Again, though, the latent expectation that underlies Ferry's lament shows that, as with the other examples, there was a profound belief in the power of prayer; and in these examples, that belief provides a means for Huguenot ministers to bring their congregations into a sense of civic participation and to connect them to the broader events engaging the kingdom. In that way, the individual parishioners are linked with a civic purpose to each other, to the Huguenot Church more broadly, and to king and kingdom. And, as with other components of the Huguenot political sense of self, this idea of effective participation can be for the consumption of the crown as much as for Huguenots themselves.

Thinking in terms of providing a positive image of the political inclinations of Huguenots that would appeal to parties beyond the Huguenot faith, there are numerous passages that can be taken as key statements for the crown's consumption. Talking about the Huguenot duty to pray for the king, Charles Drelincourt insists to his audience that: “every time that the occasion presents itself, we can present [prayers] to God in favour of our Kings”.⁵³⁷ He then goes on

⁵³⁶ Ferry, *Quatre Sermons*, 141.

⁵³⁷ Drelincourt, *Recueil de Sermons*, 466.

to describe the extent to which this has been, and continues to be, the case:

[y]ou, my Brothers, who are long-time members of this Church, know that this is a Prince [Louis XIV] on whose behalf we have never ceased to call on God through our most ardent prayers over the space of twelve full years. And you cannot ignore that those same prayers have also been presented to God in all the Reformed Churches of this Kingdom; and this by express ordinance of one of our National Synods.⁵³⁸

The depth and breadth of prayer expressed in these passages bear witness to the devotion that Huguenots must render for their king, providing for him the benefits of being godly subjects. As such, this is both a way to instill or reinforce such notions among the Huguenot population, and to claim the central place that these concerns occupy for the sake of outside audiences. These examples, along with other ones already cited, describe a situation where the Huguenot Church takes seriously its civic duties, asserts a real efficacy to those actions, and vocalizes it in many ways. In all, these were also ways in which Huguenots participated in the affairs and direction of their kingdom, carving out a form of participation that displayed their devotion.

Furthering this sense of participating alongside their fellow subjects, there are also instances where the ministers equated their collective 'civic prayers' with other acts of civic engagement, creating a sense of contributing to the kingdom in their own way. Although there were Huguenot soldiers, and great military leaders such as Turenne, certain passages still betray a perceived need to demonstrate a Huguenot contribution to the conflicts in which France was involved. As has been seen, Huguenots were instructed – and lead – by their ministers to pray for victory

538 *Ibid.*, 486-487.

and peace. Understanding that such prayer, along with other forms of devotion, held effective power, such forms of piety could also be seen as real contributions to the kingdom. Thus Drelincourt, in 1636, reasons that: “the arms that we demand of you today are your prayers and your tears, your strained hearts, your broken consciences, and your truly repentant souls”.⁵³⁹ Then, towards the end of the sermon, he returns to this concept when he warns: “[w]hile the King and the Princes and the Army Generals are in the field, and our brothers are in combat, do not lose yourselves to comforts or delights of the flesh”.⁵⁴⁰ Drelincourt, therefore, provides a means for his Huguenot audience to contribute to the conflicts in which France was engaged, and reassures them that their contributions are useful so long as they remain diligent in their lives. Explaining the same notion with greater thoroughness, Jean Maximilien De l'Angle tells his audience in a long explanation:

[y]our piety, as much as their powerful arms, will protect the our King's Crown[...]. It will guarantee his Sacred person...It will be an impenetrable wall against foreign invasions[...]. It will make our armies victorious[...]. So, the admirable deliverance that God will give to the King and to his Country will be ascribed in part to the Benediction of your prayers and to the purity of your morals.⁵⁴¹

Like Drelincourt, De l'Angle describes prayer and piety as a legitimate and effective contribution to the war effort; and, interpreted more abstractly, this was also a call to *feel* a sense of contribution. That is, beyond a call for non-military assistance for the defence of the kingdom, these passages are asking their audiences to understand their pious prayers as a form of collective participation

⁵³⁹ Mestrezat et al, *Sermons Faits au Jour du Jusne*, 68-69.

⁵⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 135.

⁵⁴¹ De l'Angle, *Sermon Fait a Quevilly*, 101-103.

helping the war effort on the home front. In that sense of collective action, these passages fit with many of the others so far discussed, since they are centred around the temple, and focused on a sermon and a church service – sometimes an extraordinary one – in which the pastor leads a prayer. In that way they are contributing to the well-being of the kingdom, but in a specifically Huguenot manner. As a result, they are also contributing to a unique Huguenot confessional identity, and arguing for a particular political order in France that legitimized Huguenot participation.

Prayers during church worship, however, were not the extent of the expectations placed upon Huguenots. For, just as other forms of religiosity were not supposed to cease once outside the temple doors, so too with the demands for 'civic piety'; rather, there were many ways in which ministers expressed the need to carry those acts and convictions into more private spheres of life as well. As the discussions on political theory note, family is an integral part of discussions about society.⁵⁴² The *oeconomia* provided structure to the smallest social unit which was, as well, a building block – and metaphor – for broader society. The domestic sphere and the family were central concerns of Huguenot ministers, as they were the intended site of Bible reading, prayers, catechizing, and even the reading of printed sermons. Domestic life was also a site for these specifically civic forms of piety. Thus De l'Angle mentions gathering: “with all our families, to implore the mercies of God”.⁵⁴³ Taking it a step further, Daillé when he explains that “all

⁵⁴²The next two chapters look more closely at the ways in which discussions of family, marriage, and gender participated in the processes of defining Huguenot confessional identity and political engagement.

⁵⁴³ *Ibid.*, 7.

Christians must devote themselves to this holy exercise of prayer, whether they find themselves together in the solemn congregations of the Church, whether they are retired into their families, or all alone by themselves”.⁵⁴⁴ The duty to pray for the well-being of the king and kingdom – and the important devotional role of prayer in general – is not, therefore, something that exists solely through organized worship. For, although special prayers could be commanded for the church on a national level, there was also an obligation on the familial and personal level to continue these same prayers. This shows the fluidity of political and religious ideas along with private and public actions; these were not discrete and compartmentalized realms but rather contiguous and overlapping parts of a single world-view, and all manifestations of Huguenot identity, and how they conceived of their place in France.

To further encourage prayer and forms of outward devotion, Huguenot ministers could be precise and emphatic in their instructions. Pierre Du Bosc concludes his sermon on the passage “*Craignez Dieu, Honorez le Roi*” by exclaiming:

everyone according to their condition, their goods, and their estate, must give all the signs of a fiery zeal, an unwavering attachment, and a fidelity beyond all proof. And because the Prayer for Kings forms a principle part of the honour that we owe them, never forget [obsc] to devote ourselves to this duty toward our glorious Monarch. Pray without ceasing in public and in particular, in our temples and in our homes.⁵⁴⁵

In many ways more circumspect than Du Bosc but nonetheless concerned with displays of fidelity, Drelincourt advises his audience to participate in the wider

⁵⁴⁴ Daillé, *Exposition de la Première Epître...Timothée*, vol.1, 330.

⁵⁴⁵ Du Bosc, *Sermons sur Divers Textes*, 126-127.

celebrations taking place in Paris when he says:

[t]o render a public testimony of the joy that you ought to have for the Peace between France and Spain, you are commanded to light fires in front of your houses; and I am sure that you would not fail to do so. For, since there is nothing in it against God and against our consciences, one must obey religiously all the things that are commanded on the part of the King and Magistrates.⁵⁴⁶

Indeed, Drelincourt's reminder sounds almost like a nervous warning, reminding his Parisian audience that, unlike other public displays that might be founded on Catholic superstition, this is an instance where it is both prudent and necessary to not let their darkened houses lead people to believe that Huguenots are not proud and joyous in response to the recently proclaimed peace.

In carving out a niche for Huguenot participation and recognition in political and civic matters, the pastors examined many facets of action and belief in their sermons. Reinforcing the scriptural basis of honouring sovereign monarchs and the divine-right theories popular at the time, Huguenot pastors also described a position that was tailored to the specific conditions in which they and their congregations found themselves. In the end, this meant emphasizing their uniqueness from their Catholic neighbours in some aspects, while also noting the many ways in which the Huguenots transcended such divisions in the context of national affairs. This meant a uniquely Huguenot political strategy, a way of participating *as Huguenots* within France in a way that could support their legitimacy; and by providing a framework for the Huguenot faithful to see themselves as belonging to an exclusive church while also contributing faithfully

⁵⁴⁶ Drelincourt, *Recueil de Sermons*, 287.

to their kingdom, these sermons were also discussing the nature of the French polity, telling the monarchy that an absolutist kingdom with Huguenots as a religious minority was perfectly reasonable.

CONCLUSION:

Explicit political discussions did not appear with great frequency in Huguenot sermons, but did feature on occasion and particularly in conjunction with fasts. Such fasts highlight the political role of religious worship and how such rituals provided an image of Huguenots as a distinct but integral and loyal part of France. Such sermons served to carve out a uniquely Huguenot perspective, echoing the prevailing notions of divine-right monarchy through the lens of legitimizing the Huguenot presence in France. Moreover, they were not just monarchists, but *French* monarchists, and many sermons spoke of their particular devotion to the French crown.

These sermons also participated in a broader political discussions about France, about the nature of absolutist monarchy. Huguenot sermons affirmed the king's sovereignty, and yet the Huguenot presence in France was incompatible with ideas about Catholic absolutism and kingship where simply being a Huguenot implied neglecting a duty to the king.⁵⁴⁷ In this context, the Huguenot pastorate was at once a mouthpiece for absolute monarchy, while also contesting certain elements of it by insisting upon the viability of specific manifestation of religious pluralism. These sermons instructed their Huguenot audience how to participate

⁵⁴⁷Wells, *Law and Citizenship*, 113-117.

politically while retaining their sense of confessional difference. In that context, they provided political direction supported by the Word of God and the ritual and repetition of the liturgy, furnishing the mental tools for their audiences to navigate the legal and social landscape under the Edict of Nantes; for Huguenots, this meant defining themselves as a distinct confessional community and defining for themselves a legitimate place within France.

CHAPTER FOUR
MARRIAGE AND CONFESSIONALIZATION, PART 1: SHAPING
HUGUENOT IDENTITY THROUGH SERMONS ON THE CONJUGAL UNIT

A clear sign of a fully formed and functional church is its ability to provide for the various religious and social needs of its members. For the French Reformed Church, the pivotal period of such development was the mid-sixteenth century, when they went from being an underground sect holding clandestine services in houses and fields to an institution holding national synods, possessing a confession of faith, a bureaucracy and specialized jobs, and legal recognition through the treaties of pacification. An important component of this was establishing the rules and liturgy for celebrating and regulating marriage.⁵⁴⁸ To do so, the Huguenot Church took inspiration from multiple fronts – from French law, from Calvinist Geneva and, more generally, from prevailing notions of marriage and gender that transcended confessional or national lines.

Of course, marriage was not a neutral administrative or liturgical event, but became an important site of confessional differentiation, closely entwined with the fashioning of Huguenot identity as a distinct community and as subjects of the crown. Marriage was a battleground of the Reformation and the focus of sustained attention by both Protestants and Catholics, as well as an increasing concern of secular authorities;⁵⁴⁹ and the following sermons shows that, under the Edict of Nantes, ministers were deeply concerned with marriage in a broad sense, insisting

548Greengrass, “The French Pastorate,” 179.

549Eric Josef Carlson, *Marriage and the English Reformation* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994), 3-8.

upon the importance of essential gender roles, the dangers of illicit sexuality, the social utility of marriage, and the perniciousness of mixed marriages. However, through the treatment of such themes, they also provided valuable commentary on confessional identity through a rich source of metaphors and practical lessons. As such, sermons about marriage and gender constitute an important contribution to the formation of a distinct Huguenot identity.

In that spirit, despite the many similarities that existed between Huguenot and Catholic conceptions of marriage and sexual morality, Huguenot ministers were often quick to identify the differences, marking marriage as another battleground of religious difference. So, not only were confessionally-mixed marriages condemned by Huguenot pastors, but they also made recourse to issues such as the sacramental nature of marriage or clerical celibacy to further reinforce the valley between Huguenot and Catholic theology that had elsewhere been established through lessons about justification and the Eucharist. In that way, sermons about marriage and gender proposed not only institutional, social, and moral differences as a basis of Huguenot particularism, but also belonged to the comprehensive discussions of doctrinal difference that dominated Huguenot sermons. Even the simple fact of marriage – both the event and the institution – served to ritually and socially define communities and shape group identity.⁵⁵⁰ All

⁵⁵⁰Sara McDougall, *Bigamy and Christian Identity in Late Medieval Champagne* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 1-5. McDougall explains how, in the Late Middle Ages, marriage became an increasingly important source of identity, and specifically *Christian* identity, creating a tangible means of belonging to a community both because of its sacramentality and because it provided entrance to a socio-religious 'order'. And although the situation in late-medieval Troyes is different in many ways than that faced by Huguenots – such as the sacramentality of marriage – the observation that marriage played an important role in defining religious identities is nonetheless useful to apply to the Huguenots. After all, in both

together, sermons on marital themes exist as part of the record of arguments, metaphors, and ideological persuasion which defined the Huguenot position relative to the crown and Catholic Church and which therefore supplied the mental tools to define Huguenot particularism and their place within the kingdom.

INFLUENCES ON HUGUENOT MARRIAGE

The Calvinist position on marriage offered, in some ways, a significant departure from the late-medieval Catholic Church; yet, both in theory and in practice, Calvinist marriage remained thoroughly similar to that of other confessions. The notable Calvinist innovations include: the desacralization and secularization of marriage, the acceptance of divorce in limited instances, the rejection of clerical celibacy, a greater emphasis on parental consent, and the prohibition of clandestine marriages. More controversially, Calvinists – and Protestants more generally – have been credited with promoting the modern concern with the *affectus coniugal*, or an affective marriage,⁵⁵¹ and with restoring a certain dignity or value to marriage that was absent during the Middle Ages. In response to the assertion that the net effect of such ideological change resulted in a Protestant 'rehabilitation' of marriage from its negative medieval status, historians such as D.L. D'Avray point out that such a conclusion posits a false dichotomy. He

cases, membership to both a specific parish and to a larger church was mediated by religious acts such as baptism and marriage, while these same rituals also helped to define the social community as well.

⁵⁵¹Pierre Bels, *Le Mariage des Protestants Français, jusqu'en 1685*, (Paris: Librairie Générale de Droit et de Jurisprudence, 1968), 92; James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 581-582.

notes that theologians and clerics of the Middle Ages stressed the goodness of marriage, and treated marriage positively in their pastoral duties;⁵⁵² he goes on to say, moreover, that the position of marriage as relatively inferior to celibacy and virginity meant it was a “lesser good, not a lesser evil”.⁵⁵³ Similarly, if Steven Ozment saw in late-medieval marriage a structural and doctrinal crisis, Sara McDougall sees a popular and dynamic institution that was important socially and spiritually.⁵⁵⁴ So, if Calvinists – and Protestants more generally – improved marriage's standing in relation to celibacy, they did not rescue marriage from a desperate medieval condition, nor did they need to.

Some of the innovations that Calvinists brought to marriage, moreover, were mirrored by ideas of humanists and Catholic reformers. Erasmus, for instance, questioned the special honour given to those who remained virgins and celibate;⁵⁵⁵ and *Tametsi*, the Tridentine canons related to marriage, reiterated strongly the church's prohibitions of clandestine marriage, and provided new regulations concerning the celebration and publicity of marriages, among other things.⁵⁵⁶ In addition, there was broad consensus about the purpose and utility of marriage, and, sacramental status aside, agreement between faiths about the

552D.L. D'Avray, “The Gospel of the Marriage Feast of Cana and Marriage Preaching in France,” in *Modern Questions About Medieval Sermons: Essays on Marriage, Death, History and Sanctity*, Nicole Bériou and David L. D'Avray eds. (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi Sull'alto Medioevo, 1994), 138. D'Avray, *Medieval Marriage Sermons*, 3.

553D'Avray, “The Gospel,” 143.

554Steven Ozment, *When Fathers Ruled: Family Life in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983); McDougall, *Bigamy and Christian Identity*.

555Desiderius Erasmus, *Institution of Christian Matrimony* trans. by Michael J. Heath, in *Collected Works of Erasmus, vol. 69: Spiritualia and Pastoralia* ed. by John. W. O'Malley and Louis A. Perraud (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999, 203-438), 225-235; Roland H. Bainton, *Erasmus of Christendom* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969), 181.

556*Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* trans. by H.J. Schroeder, O.P. (London and St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1941), 181-185.

religious dimension of conjugal relationships. D'Avray lists a number of *topoi* found in Catholic sermons on marriage from the thirteenth and the seventeenth centuries: marriage is good because it was instituted by God in Paradise, it was instituted before the Fall, it is for the sake of having children and avoiding fornication, and Jesus honoured it by his presence – and miracle – at Cana.⁵⁵⁷ These same themes, along with the marital imagery making the Church the bride of Jesus, will feature prominently in the Huguenot sermons examined here. The Bible also provides a common source of authority to explain the essential differences between the sexes, since Adam and Eve, as historical characters and religious commonplaces, served to reify the gender inequality that they symbolized, and that state was reinforced in many locations within Paul's letters. These scriptural examples served as the basis of medieval traditions, and the retention of all these ideas shows just how dependent Calvin and other Protestants were on the Middle Ages as a source of intellectual and ideological foundation.⁵⁵⁸

However, despite the many similarities, the divisive nature of the Reformation era meant that it was often the differences that were emphasized. So, although competing faiths all recognized each other's marriage rites as efficacious and binding, that did not stop them from decrying the practices and beliefs of their religious opponents. The papacy, for instance, declared anathema many Protestant beliefs in “Canons on the Sacrament of Matrimony” from Trent, calling them “heresies and errors”:

⁵⁵⁷D'Avray, “The Gospel,” 138-139.

⁵⁵⁸André Biéler, *L'Homme et Femme dans la Morale Calviniste: La doctrine réformée dur l'amour, le mariage, le célibat, le divorce, l'adultère et la prostitution, considéré dans son cadre historique* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1961), 147.

Canon I. If anyone says that matrimony is not truly and properly one of the seven sacraments of the evangelical law, instituted by Christ the Lord [...] let him be anathema [...]

Canon IX. If anyone says that clerics constituted in sacred orders or regulars who have made solemn profession of chastity can contract marriage [...] let him be anathema, since God does not refuse that gift to those who ask for it rightly [...] ⁵⁵⁹

And, as Huguenot sermons show, preaching about marriage offered a ready opportunity to identify Catholic errors; usually this meant an examination of Catholic views on marriage, but it could also lead to a discussion of Catholic error more generally. Moreover, even topics that constituted common ground could be framed in a way that emphasized Huguenot particularism.

Within France, the development of marital ideology and belief took on some of its own unique characteristics, both with respect to royal laws – which departed from canon law regarding details of validity⁵⁶⁰ – and with respect to the Huguenots. For the Huguenot churches, their marital regulations were most clearly enunciated in the *Discipline*. Following the Genevan example – found, for instance, in the edicts and ordinances of the church and city⁵⁶¹ – the *Discipline* provides a comprehensive list of regulations and prohibitions about minimum

⁵⁵⁹Canons and Decrees, 181-182.

⁵⁶⁰Works, such as André Burguière, *Le Mariage et l'amour en France, De la Renaissance à la Révolution* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2011) and McDougall, *Bigamy and Christian Identity*, discuss how the French crown was proactive in its attempts to regulate marriage, especially in its fight against clandestine marriages. Moreover, the crown refused to register *Tametsi*, the Tridentine rulings on marriage that closely resembled royal law. The crown, however, did not have to worry about issues of indissolubility and sacramentality in the same way that the Catholic Church did, and so could be more unequivocal in its proscriptions of clandestine marriage.

⁵⁶¹For example, the *Esdictz et Ordonnances faictes sur les mariages* of 1545 (in *Ioannis Calvini opera quae supersunt omnia* G. Baum, E. Cunitz, and E. Reuss eds., vol.10 (Brunswick, 1871, 33-44)), or *Ordonnances et reiglement nouveau de la Republique de Geneve concernant La Pieté. Jurements, Blasphemes, Habits, Nopces, Banquets, Etc.* of 1642 (Geneva, 1642).

ages, parental consent, consanguinity, the publication of banns, proper times for solemnization, and the offence of mixed marriage.⁵⁶² Borrowing again from Geneva, Huguenot congregations also had the aforementioned consistories, whose job included monitoring conjugal relationships, investigating any transgressions, and correcting the guilty parties where appropriate. Consistories dedicated a large proportion of their energies to those concerns of moral reform, and studies by Raymond Mentzer and Philippe Chareyre show that 'sexual misconduct' and 'difficulties pertaining to marriage' featured frequently in consistory meetings.⁵⁶³ An interesting instance of consistory activism, and how it adapted to conditions in France, concerns adultery and its results: while adultery was, naturally enough, illegal in France, the crown could not accept the Calvinist position which allowed divorce and remarriage for the innocent party; as a result, the Huguenot leaders could only counsel moving abroad to a parishioner who wanted to remarry under these circumstances.⁵⁶⁴ Promoting the idea of a harmonious domestic sphere under the control of the male head of household, Raymond Mentzer explains that, broadly speaking, Huguenot liturgy, ecclesiology, and devotion all helped to promote masculinity and male authority, such as in the case of the *culte domestique*, where the spiritual and paternal leadership roles of the husband or father were combined as he led forms of worship in the home.⁵⁶⁵ Such gendered

⁵⁶²D'Huisseau, *Discipline*, 190-215.

⁵⁶³Mentzer, "*Disciplina nervus ecclesiae*"; Philippe Chareyre, "The Great Difficulties One Must Bear to Follow Jesus Christ: Morality at Sixteenth-Century Nîmes," in *Sin and the Calvinists*.

⁵⁶⁴Bels, *Le Mariage*, 246.

⁵⁶⁵Raymond A. Mentzer, "Masculinity and the Reformed Tradition in France," in *Masculinity in the Reformation Era* eds. Scott H. Hendrix and Susan C. Karant-Nunn (Kirkville: Truman State University Press, 2008), 120-125.

principles provided important ideological rationale to the careful ordering of marriages and households.

As a means to regulate marriage, especially in extraordinary circumstances, the national synod was also an important force when it met. Apart from being the authors and editors of the *Discipline*, the national synods were also faced with the task of keeping the French Reformed Church abreast of changing conditions and of trying to reconcile regional differences. One of the most important general conditions related to how marriage was celebrated and regulated in the Huguenot Church was French law. As Bels points out, the crown largely left Huguenots alone in terms of specific legislation, but it was incumbent upon the Huguenots to conform with the laws that did exist; the right to celebrate marriages came with the freedom of worship more generally, while the crown was concerned mainly about rules of consanguinity and the marriage of apostate priests.⁵⁶⁶ In terms of royal law, the legal innovations came in ordinances and declarations, most notably the Ordinance of Blois from 1579 and the Declaration of St-Germain-en-Laye from 1639.⁵⁶⁷ Such legislation reformed rules prohibiting clandestine marriages, requiring parental consent, and insisting upon the publication of banns beforehand, showing some of the same concerns as the Catholic Church in *Tametsi* and Huguenots in their *Discipline*. These laws also define the proper words to use (present versus future words of promise) and how to have a proper solemn ceremony in front of a church, and they also proscribe *rapt* and *ravisement*, the

⁵⁶⁶*Ibid.*, 98.

⁵⁶⁷*Recueil Général*, vol.14, 280; vol.16, 520-524.

abduction of brides-to-be from their families.

In all of these cases, Huguenot regulations cohere with royal law, often of their own accord; and where there were inconsistencies, the national synods acted to rectify the situation. Thus the Synod of Privas, in 1612, changed the way in which the French Reformed Church understood the betrothal period, making words of future promise less indissoluble, in accordance with the “Laws [...] Customs, and Ordinances of the Kingdom”.⁵⁶⁸ Clarifying that change, then, fell to the next synod, who fielded concerns from local temples about variations on the betrothal process.⁵⁶⁹ These instances demonstrate that there was a broad agreement between the crown and the Huguenot Church on matters pertaining to marriage. The uniqueness of the need, in 1612, to realign to Huguenot position in light of the 'Laws of the Kingdom' shows how innately coherent the policies were with each other, thus Bels' observation of the close rapport between the two systems,⁵⁷⁰ and André Bourguière's assertion that there was a convergence between church and civil authorities regarding marriage as a means of discipline and order, even if some of their objectives differed.⁵⁷¹

Of course, this accord went deeper than an agreement about marriage ordinances; there was also a similar ideological view of marriage and its role in society. In this sense, the Catholic Church was a participant as well of what Bourguière identifies as the link between marital order, paternal authority, and absolutist monarchy, whereby all of these sources of power and order belonged to

⁵⁶⁸Aymon, *Tous les synodes*, 1, 402-403.

⁵⁶⁹*Ibid.*, 2, 10.

⁵⁷⁰Bels, *Le Mariage.*, 165.

⁵⁷¹Bourguière, *Le Mariage et l'amour en France*, 306-333.

the same purpose to promote a moral and obedient society.⁵⁷² This understanding is captured well in the preamble to the aforementioned Declaration of St-Germain-en-Laye from 1639, which begins:

[a]s marriages are the seeds of states, the source and origin of civil society, and the foundation of families, which make up republics, which serve to form their police, and in which the natural reverence that children have toward their parents, is the bond of the legitimate obedience of subjects toward their sovereign [...].⁵⁷³

A similar sentiment is often found in Huguenot sermons, positing marriage as a building block of society and as a way to inculcate an awareness of order and hierarchy. This reveals a recognition that marriage, while instituted by God and celebrated through the church, was a public institution, and a way in which people participated in – and contributed to – civil society. For Huguenots, this could be framed by their sense of belonging to France, while also reinforcing the value of order, both according to rank and gender; as the sermons show, there was a concern with promoting social order through discussions of marriage and sexuality. All together, then, sermons about marriage and gender intersected with many other themes, exploring issues of social and civic order, and confessional difference.

As evidence of just how important issues of marriage and gender were to the Huguenot church, many theologians were also the authors of diverse related tracts, while their apologetic and controversial nature demonstrate the very confessionally-charged atmosphere in which they were produced. Reaching back

⁵⁷²*Ibid.*, 149-150.

⁵⁷³*Recueil Général*, vol.16, 520.

to the sixteenth-century, Huguenot thinkers produced works on a variety of themes relating in some way to the regulation of sexuality and marriage. So, for instance, Lambert Daneau's *Traité des Danses* (1580) and the *Traité de l'enchantement* (1591) both deal with immodest and irreligious behaviour, while the latter is also concerned with what is seen as the superstitious practice of magical rituals accompanying the celebration of marriages.⁵⁷⁴ Published outside of France, there were also texts such as Girolamo Zanchi's *Excellent Traité de mariage spirituel*, translated into French by Simon Goulart, which examines in detail the spiritual marriage between Jesus and the church, and why such imagery is significant, imagery that will feature prominently in sermons studied here; there are also Theodore de Bèze's tracts *De repudiis et divortiis* and *De polygamia et divortiis*, which consider the biblical and historical ideas of divorce, separation, polygamy, and remarriage.⁵⁷⁵ Though not Huguenots (although de Bèze was born in France), both men were influential Reformed theologians whose ideas informed Huguenot thinkers. Similarly, John Calvin's writings, such as his *Institutes* and his abundant biblical commentaries, provided Huguenot ministers with insight and direction on various marital matters, whether on the importance of chastity or on the error of

⁵⁷⁴Lambert Daneau, *Traité des danses, Auquel est amplement resoluë la question, asavoir s'il est permis aux Chrestiens de danser, Seconde edition* (s.l., 1580); Hierosme Haultin (?), *Traité de l'enchantement qu'on appelle vulgairement le novement de l'Esguillette, en la celebration des mariages en l'Eglise reformee, & des remedes à l'encontre pour le soulagement des fideles* (La Rochelle, 1591).

⁵⁷⁵Hierome Zanchius, *Excellent Traité du mariage spirituel entre Jesus Christ et son eglise*, trans. Simon Goulart ([Geneva], 1594); Theodore de Bèze, *Tractatio de repudiis et devortiis, in qua pleraeque de causis matrimonialibus (quas vocant) incidentes controversiae ex Verbo Dei deciduntur* (Geneva, 1569); Theodore de Bèze, *Tractatio de polygamia et divortiis, in qua et Ochini apostae pro polygamia, et Montanistarum ac aliorum adversus repetitas nuptias argumenta refutantur* (Geneva, 1568).

clerical celibacy.⁵⁷⁶

Returning to within the French borders, under the reign of Henri IV and beyond a handful of titles emerged from Huguenot pens that dealt with a variety of issues related to marriage, and were framed in a more confessionally-aware manner than the earlier ones mentioned. That is, while the treatises on dancing and charms were more singularly focused on improving Huguenot morality, these following texts – which deal with mixed marriages and clerical marriages – present Reformed doctrine more explicitly in reference to Catholic practice. For instance, both Denis Haultin's *Discours sur les mariages contractez entre personnes des diverse religion* and the anonymous *Traitté des mariages entre personnes de Religion contraire* clearly spell out the dangers and prohibitions surrounding mixed marriages.⁵⁷⁷ In the latter, the argument is that Papists are infidels and that, therefore, it is forbidden to marry them, as the Gospel and Old Testament law clearly assert. It is not only prohibited but also spiritually dangerous, since such marriages compromise the institution that God ordained and are antithetical to the image of the spiritual marriage between Jesus and the church. The tract then goes on to dismantle other arguments permitting mixed marriages – such as promises for future conversion – as irresponsible, socially unsound, and doomed to fail. It is, in sum, a comprehensive argument defending a prohibition on mixed marriages, marriages which took place occasionally anyway.

⁵⁷⁶See, especially, Book 2, chapter 8, sections 41-44 and Book 4, chapter 19, sections 34-37 of his *Institutes*.

⁵⁷⁷Denis Haultin (?), *Discours sur les mariages contractez entre personnes des diverse religion* (Montauban, 1595); *Traitté de mariages entre personnes de Religion contraire, ensemble de la qualité des idolatries, & des gens mondains de ce temps, distingué en trois parties, escrit à un Jurisconsulte* (s.l., 1602).

Another text of interest is Jean Faucher's *La sainteté du mariage, Et particulièrement du mariage des Ecclesiastiques*.⁵⁷⁸ In this text Faucher defends the Protestant practice of clerical marriage with supporting evidence from the Bible and Christian history, and by identifying contradictions in the Catholic position. As an extension of this, Faucher's text also provides a broader criticism of Catholic belief, denying the special merit attributed to celibacy along with marriage's status as a sacrament. This text, then, while ostensibly concerned with the issue of clerical marriage, in fact makes a broader argument about the legitimacy of Huguenot marital doctrine in comparison to the Catholic position. This is, moreover, a tactic used in sermons too, where a single topic serves as an entry point to a more broad attack against Catholic doctrine. One final text is Moyse Amyraut's *Considerations sur les droits par lesquels la nature a réglé les mariages*.⁵⁷⁹ As the title suggests, Amyraut's text is concerned with uncovering what natural law and reason declare about properly ordered marriages and the purpose of marriage. Amyraut, obviously enough, concludes that natural law agrees with the Huguenot interpretation of divine law about the purpose and the goods of marriage, the just reasons for divorce, and the role that magistrates play in regulating marriage. As in the other treatises mentioned, apart from simply explaining or exploring the Huguenot position on a particular topic, Amyraut's *Considerations* also defends and distinguishes that Huguenot position in relation to Catholicism, while responding to Catholic attacks, such as the accusations that

⁵⁷⁸Jean Faucher, *Zacharie, ou de La sainteté du mariage, Et particulièrement du mariage des Ecclesiastiques* (Nîmes, 1627).

⁵⁷⁹Moyse Amyraut, *Considerations sur les droits par lesquels la nature a réglé les mariages* (Saumur, 1648).

Protestant-sanctioned divorce and remarriage constitutes bigamy.⁵⁸⁰ So, Amyraut's text, like Faucher's, is both an explication of doctrine for a Huguenot audience and a contribution to religious debate with Catholic writers.

What these treatises – along with the activities of the consistories and the synods – help to illustrate is the attention and concern that Huguenot ministers showed regarding marriage and sexuality. An important motivation for that was clearly the urge to reform (and re-form) society, and create more moral Huguenot communities. In that regard, the ministers were never satisfied with the progress made by their parishioners; but historians have found that slowly, and with moderate results, the messages did have an impact. So, for instance, Philippe Chareyre's assessment of Huguenot moral reform in Nîmes leads him to conclude that the consistory “met with success” in their attempts to induce a greater respect for marriage and the family,⁵⁸¹ and Philip Benedict observes that Huguenots had lower rates of illegitimate births and premarital conceptions than Catholics, and that Huguenots abandoned the Catholic seasonality of weddings (ie., no marriage celebrations during Lent),⁵⁸² both indications of the internalization of a Huguenot marital ethos and the rejection of a Catholic one. Importantly, both Benedict and

580As Sara McDougall makes evident in *Bigamy and Christian Identity*, the threat of bigamy cut right to the heart of Catholic beliefs about marriage, both actual marriages and the symbolic marriage between Jesus and the Church. In that way, bigamy was the most direct attack against monogamy, indissolubility, and sacramentality that defined the Catholic conception of marriage. This practical and symbolic focus on bigamy contrasts, in many ways, the Protestant focus on adultery; for, as will be seen in greater detail later, Huguenots were among the many Protestant faiths that viewed adultery, both actual and symbolic, as the most direct threat or rejection of marriage. As such, bigamy and adultery served as two competing ideological perspectives to frame marriage and its rupture, and as seen in Amyraut's text, they also served as a forum for confessional debate.

581Chareyre, “Morality at Sixteenth-Century Nîmes,” 95.

582Benedict, *Faith and Fortunes*, 96-113.

Gregory Hanlon note that the prohibitions against mixed marriages (a concern voiced by both sides of the confessional divide) also affected the choice of conjugal partner, calculating that the rates of mixed marriages were lower than they would have been had they not been proscribed; moreover, those rates decreased over time.⁵⁸³ Apart from the impulse of moral reform, these concerns with marriage and sexuality are also an important component of constructing and reinforcing a unique Huguenot identity. Benedict calls it a “sociological truism” that intermarriage is a useful tool to gauge the way in which different groups interact;⁵⁸⁴ marriage, then, needs to be understood as a significant influence on group identity, especially for minority groups, as a way to define the borders of the community. Reflecting that, sermons are an important medium in the process of shaping identity around marriage as they contain clear imperatives, explanations of the dangers of the Catholic system and, despite generally sharing a common moral code with their Catholic neighbours, their sexual and social morality was often framed in a way that distinguished them from their confessional rivals. Huguenot sermons, however, also bring attention to the many ways in which Huguenot belief and practice surrounding marriage cohered with royal policies. All together, they show how themes of marriage and sexuality helped to reinforce how Huguenots conceived of themselves under the Edict of Nantes.

⁵⁸³*Ibid.*, 320-321; Hanlon, *Confession and Community*, 102-113.

⁵⁸⁴Benedict, *Faith and Fortunes*, 320.

THE PURPOSE AND UTILITY OF MARRIAGE

The Huguenot position on marriage as it has so far been described was thoroughly conventional by the standards of pre-modern Europe. Apart from rejecting the sacramental notion of marriage and a celibate clergy, Huguenot doctrine was similar to both medieval and Tridentine Catholicism. Moreover, the Huguenot position was closely in line with that of the French crown, especially in terms of putting greater emphasis on parental consent, although this is not a topic that features prominently in the sermons examined here. As a result, it is no surprise that the authorities and commonplaces employed by Huguenot preachers are similar to those of their Catholic contemporaries and predecessors. Within those discussions, though, there were still attempts to carve out a specifically Huguenot niche, in part informed by the claims of greater doctrinal purity and perceived higher moral comportment that, as mentioned before, Huguenots employed to distinguish themselves from Catholics. In general, Huguenot preaching on marriage voices many of the same themes that D.L. D'Avray has found in French Catholic sermons from the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries, although they were often discussed by pastors as a means to reinforce confessional difference.

Beginning with the biblical construction of marriage, Huguenot ministers provided the common Christian explanation: that it was instituted by God in the Garden of Eden, and its honour was reconfirmed by Jesus at Cana. Thus Pierre Du Moulin introduces his sermon on Colossians 3:19 with a thorough explanation of

the origins of marriage. He notes that God created humans as social creatures, not solitary ones, hence he created marriage as the most intimate and straightforward of all societies.⁵⁸⁵ He continues by stating that God is the “first author” of marriage and initiated the first marriage by bringing Eve to Adam and, providing a list of commonplaces, that marriage is furthermore good because it is “older than sin, God instituted it in the earthly Paradise, [and] Jesus Christ attended the wedding at Cana in Galilee and honoured marriage by his presence”.⁵⁸⁶ In another sermon, on II Corinthians 11:2, Du Moulin explains that marriage is the only bond through which “two people are made one flesh”.⁵⁸⁷

In a sermon preached at the wedding of his son, Charles Drelincourt takes the text of the Marriage at Cana (John 2:1-11) and provides, like Du Moulin, a comprehensive account of the origins and purposes of marriage, referencing many of the most well-known *topoi*. Having travelled from Paris to Cognac for the occasion, Drelincourt opens his sermon, like Du Moulin, by invoking the “first marriage”, referring to its institution prior to sin, and calling marriage the “foundation of all society” and the “first, most sacred, and most indissoluble bond in the World”.⁵⁸⁸ As an institution, marriage is blessed, honoured, and sanctified by God;⁵⁸⁹ and, on account of this divine source, marriage was also described as “the most important and most necessary [institution] for human kind”.⁵⁹⁰ The central role that God plays in marriage is important because, although Huguenots denied

585 Pierre du Moulin, *Première Decade de Sermons* (Geneva, 1643), 116-117.

586 *Ibid.*, 118.

587 *Ibid.*, 213.

588 Drelincourt, *Recueil de Sermons*, vol. 2, 612-617.

589 *Ibid.*, 616.

590 Daillé, *Mélange de Sermons, 1e Partie*, 313.

any sacramental notion of marriage and emphasized its civil existence, it was nonetheless a profoundly religious institution, whose establishment came from God. So far, there is nothing remarkable about these discussions of marriage, as the ministers are just running through well-established tropes and authorities. However, they serve as a base from which to explore other themes, whether about confessional difference or Christian ethics.

In the case of Christian ethics, marriage was tied to living a proper Christian life and following God's ordinances, seen in explanations about the purposes and goods of marriage which provided both moral imperatives and practical advice for the conjugal couple. The traditional 'goods' of marriage that were promoted during the Middle Ages – to avoid fornication and to produce children – were retained by Huguenots and played an important role in their discussions of its purpose. Thus Jean Daillé, in a sermon on Psalm 122:6, tells his audience that the production of offspring is an important part of marriage and a sign of God's favour,⁵⁹¹ and Pierre Du Moulin explains the significance of this, perhaps with an eye to the confessional situation in France and the fears of being further overwhelmed by the Catholic population, when he says that “it is marriage that forms families, that populates cities, that fills the Church of God, so that the families in which God is served are the nurseries of the Church, and God uses marriage to fulfill the number of his elect”.⁵⁹² In Du Moulin, then, we see not only an affirmation of a purpose of marriage, but also an allusion to how marriage

⁵⁹¹Daillé, *Mélange de Sermons, 2e Partie*, 523.

⁵⁹²Du Moulin, *Première Decade de Sermons*, 117.

serves God's *petit troupeau*; there is perhaps even a parallel to the pronatalist policies that the crown would adopt.⁵⁹³

Related to procreation, avoiding illicit sexuality was another important purpose of marriage, and one that was often mentioned in sermons. Marriage was, in the equations of Huguenot ministers, the cure for *paillardise*, that is, a means to avoid promiscuity and lechery. As a result of this, many sermons that dealt with marriage were also an opportunity to announce the dangers of illicit sex while, at the same time, offering a relatively positive appraisal of conjugal sex. For instance, Jean Mestrezat declares simply that marriage is the recommended solution for illicit sexuality, since God hates all impurities, especially *paillardise*.⁵⁹⁴ In another sermon, Daillé provides a close hermeneutical reading of *paillardise* in a sermon on I Corinthians 10:8 when he states that it includes “all the species of this sin, that is to say all the faults of this nature, which are committed by any person, whether married or not, simple fornication as well as adultery”.⁵⁹⁵ This is part of a broader discussion that Daillé is having about comparing different sexual sins. He admits that adultery is worse than “simple fornication”, although both are grave sins.⁵⁹⁶ The difference in gravity, though, comes from that fact that while both adultery and fornication are sins, adultery is also an attack on – or a rejection of – that most holy and necessary institution of marriage.⁵⁹⁷ Throughout these examples, there are

593Leslie Tuttle, *Conceiving the Old Regime: Pronatalism and the Politics of Reproduction in Early Modern France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

594Jean Mestrezat, *Des fruits de la foy en Vertus Chrestiennes, ou sermons sur les chapitres XII et XIII de l'Epistre aux Hebreux* (Geneva, 1655), 483.

595Jean Daillé, *XXI sermons sur Le X Chapitre de la I Epitre de S. Paul aux Corinthiens* (Geneva, 1668), 172-173.

596*Ibid.*

597As quoted in John Witte Jr. and Robert M. Kingdon, *Sex, Marriage, and Family in John*

clear corollaries with what Philippe Chareyre has noted; namely, that the process of instilling a greater emphasis on the family unit was closely tied to an understanding of the nature and purpose of marriage and with trying to eradicate illicit sexuality, which undermines familial and marital order.⁵⁹⁸ That is, such observations are closely tied to the desire – held by Calvinists and others – for profound moral reform. Such reforms were of prime importance to Huguenot ministers, directing much of the energies. This meant not only setting moral standards, but also defining the boundaries of church membership.

Finding valuable lessons elsewhere in the Old Testament, David Eustache, a pastor for the church at Montpellier, looks to Sodom and Gomorrah as a useful warning. In his sermon on Jude 7, Eustache explains the danger of promiscuity and lechery by reminding his audience that entire cities were destroyed on account of *paillardise*.⁵⁹⁹ The implication here, by invoking these cities, is that *collective* salvation was at stake. However, while extramarital sexuality was harshly condemned by Huguenot preachers, conjugal sex was not a great focus, and definitely not something described negatively. It was, after all, a practical remedy to *paillardise*, as Daillé explains in a sermon on Colossians 3:18-19: “the Devil knows well that this holy institute of God is infinitely useful to men, both to guard against the temptations of incontinence, one of the greatest paths to hell, and to

Calvin's Geneva, vol. 1: Courtship, Engagement, and Marriage (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2005), 486, Calvin regarded adultery as the “worst abomination”, since “in one act the adulterer violates his or her covenant bonds spouse, God, and broader community”.

⁵⁹⁸Chareyre, “The Great Difficulties One Must Bear,” 67.

⁵⁹⁹David Eustache, *Neuf sermons: huict sur les sept premiers Versets de l'Epistre de S. Jude, et le dernier Sur le Chapitre XII de l'Apocalypse, Versets XIII & XIV* (Orange, 1655), 335.

soften the roughness of their nature with the tenderness of conjugal acts”.⁶⁰⁰

Michel Le Faucheur, also outlining the difference between *paillardise* and conjugal relations notes that God “forbids only copulation outside of marriage”.⁶⁰¹

So, unlike the Catholic Church, who had many regulations on sexuality within marriage, these Huguenot sermons display a more singular concern with extramarital sex, although Huguenots still emphasized chaste and restrained relations within marriage, or an “*amour pudique*”, as Jacques Gaillard, a long-time pastor and professor at Montauban until he was banished in 1662, puts it.⁶⁰²

Huguenots were no sexual libertines. Like others of their time, lustful and libidinous sex was sinful; however, normal sexual relations within marriage were legitimate and part of God's creation.

In general, then, Huguenot notions of marriage and sexuality as they were expressed in sermons are consistent with the prevailing ideas in Western Europe more broadly. Due to the similarities that Huguenots shared with their Catholic neighbours on these issues, there is perhaps little room for confessional difference to be established through these discussions. However, many of these mentions of sexual morality fed into the more generalized discussions of piety that took place by Huguenot ministers, in which Catholics served as the immoral foil to the Huguenot 'true church', and the perceived difference in moral standards, despite sharing the same moral code, played a role in creating a distinction between the

⁶⁰⁰Jean Daillé, *Sermons sur l'epistre de l'Apotre Saint Paul aux Colossiens, 3e Partie* (Geneva, 1662), 431.

⁶⁰¹Le Faucheur, *Sermons sur Divers Textes, 1e partie*, 616.

⁶⁰²Jacques Gaillard, *L'echole sainte des femmes, ou Sermon sur les paroles de l'Epitre de Saint Paul à Tite Chap.2 v.4* (Leyden, 1667).

two faiths.⁶⁰³ Moreover, as will be seen later, despite the many points on which Huguenots and French Catholics found agreement about marriage, the differences that did exist were nonetheless emphasized in Huguenot sermons. First, though, it is important to look at the Huguenot conception of gender. The differences between man and woman were both historical and biblical facts for them, and at the heart of how marriage was ordered. Such beliefs were fully consistent with their contemporaries, whether Protestant or Catholic, and place them also in line with the crown's desire for carefully ordered families.

GENDER AND THE ORDERING OF MARRIAGE

As with the ideological foundations of marriage, the Huguenot view of gender was highly conventional.⁶⁰⁴ Gender difference was seen as an innate part of God's creation, and it was an important part of what defined the social roles of men and women and their relationships with each other. In these discussions, gender provides the general framework and the theoretical basis for properly ordered marriages, while also a basis for the practical elements therein. As a result, Huguenot ministers often explored themes of gender as a means to inculcate the proper social, marital, and spiritual roles and responsibilities for their listeners, exploring the characteristics of a good Huguenot woman and good Huguenot man. Absent from these sermons is any discussion of whether women's roles differed

⁶⁰³This concept was discussed in chapter two, while the figurative use of Catholic sexual immorality will be examined in chapter five.

⁶⁰⁴See, for instance, Margaret R. Sommerville, *Sex and Subjection: Attitudes to Women in Early-Modern Society* (London: Arnold, 1995), 2.

between Huguenots and Catholics.⁶⁰⁵ Rather, the need to fulfil assigned gender roles was a theme that Huguenot ministers used more so to order their own communities without reference to confessional difference, with the exception of sexual morality, which was charged with both gendered and confessional significance.

Throughout all of the published Huguenot sermons, by far the most common term used by Huguenot preachers to address their audiences was “my brothers” – sometimes simply “*mes frères*”, and sometimes “*mes frères bien aimés*” or some other variant. So it is notable when, in the case of sermons by Jean Daillé and Jacques Gaillard, the phrase “*soeurs bien aimées*” is employed.⁶⁰⁶ What this shows is that while *mes frères* could be used as a general and inclusive address to the audience, *mes soeurs* was used to emphasize essential points of female piety, namely chastity and obedience. For, although salvation was a strictly non-gendered affair, the paths that led there had distinct emphases for men and women. This sentiment is seen in Daillé's dedication of four sermons (including the one addressed to his *soeurs bien aimées*) to Mme De La Ivrie, where he praises her for her: “goodness, purity, chastity, zeal, and the other duties that are recommended to people of your sex, examples of which your life furnishes daily”.⁶⁰⁷ As these peripheral elements demonstrate, explorations of gender were often a significant component of sermons, and in those instances, it was frequently for the sake of discussing the duties and expectations of women.

⁶⁰⁵For instance, the categories of difference seen in Natalie Zemon Davis' article “City Women and Religious Change”, in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France*, 65-95.

⁶⁰⁶Daillé, *Mélange de Sermons, 1e Partie*, 347; Gaillard, *L'escole saint, 5*.

⁶⁰⁷Daillé, *Mélange de Sermons, 1e Partie*, 311.

At the same time, though, gender roles often played a less conspicuous role in broader discussions of piety too. In a sermon concerned with the importance of repentance, therefore, Pierre Du Moulin identifies cosmetics and ornate dress – contemporary female issues – as antithetical to piety because they compromise modesty.⁶⁰⁸ In another sermon, Du Moulin uses Sarah and Jezebel as two Old Testament archetypes for the morality and sinfulness of women, precisely for the former's marital devotion and the latter's *paillardise*.⁶⁰⁹ These two examples of the casual use of gender shows how sexual propriety serves a synecdochal purpose for morality in general, especially for women. Nonetheless, for purposes here, it is the more sustained use of gender in sermons that allows the richness and variety of its implications to be better understood, revealing its bearing on the roles of men and women in marriage and in society.

As with their conception of marriage, the underlying principles that shaped the Huguenot understanding of gender can be found in the Garden of Eden. For seventeenth-century Europeans, Adam and Eve were an historical reality that clearly identified God's intended roles for men and women. As a result, those first two humans feature prominently in Huguenot sermons when discussing gender. Pierre Du Moulin, for instance, explores a debate about the reason for female subjection – it is clear that it derives from Eve, but there is disagreement as to whether it is natural or a punishment for her sin. Du Moulin concludes that the subjection is, indeed, a natural part of creation because,

⁶⁰⁸Du Moulin, *Sermons sur quelques textes*, 181.

⁶⁰⁹*Ibid.*, 64.

man was made first, and woman made from man; and because man was not created for woman, but woman for man[...]. Nature herself bears witness to this, having given man a larger stature, greater majesty in his face, more authority in his speech, more force in his body, and ordinarily more patience and greater firmness in his resolutions.⁶¹⁰

Relying on the same evidence, Jean Daillé concurs that Adam and Eve provide the necessary evidence to explain male superiority. In his sermon on I Peter 3:1-6, Daillé lists the reasons why, beginning with the fact that man was formed before woman, and that “the order of their creation determines that of their dignity”; he goes on to elaborate, noting that “where man and woman are of the same species, and both created in the Image of God, endowed with the same nature, and both capable of the same happiness, one cannot imagine any other reason for man to be created first, and then woman, except that he is to have authority”.⁶¹¹ Daillé then enumerates two more reasons for gender difference: the first is the *manner* of creation, since Eve was created *from* Adam; and the second is the *telos* of creation, in that Eve was created *for* Adam, and not the other way around.⁶¹² In the case of both Du Moulin and Daillé, the source of female subjection is rooted in the origins and creation of mankind and, therefore, is an essential part of God's plan.

As many Huguenot preachers make clear to their audiences, there were proper Christian roles that the faithful were supposed to adopt, roles that were determined by gender and conjugal state, and that reflected their essential qualities and duties to one another. The verses of I Peter 3:1-6 (which begin “*Semblablement que les femmes se rendent sujettes a leurs propres maris*”) allow

610Du Moulin, *Première Decade de Sermons*, 119-120.

611Daillé, *Mélange de Sermons, 1e Partie*, 319-320.

612*Ibid.*, 320-321.

Jean Daillé the opportunity to go into detail about the proper roles of women. First of all, he notes how useful the letters of Saint Paul are for instructing married people because he “desired that they acquit themselves exactly in their duties”.⁶¹³ After having established that, Daillé goes on to explain that “as for women, he first exhorted them to be subject to their husbands with all humility and chastity”.⁶¹⁴ Daillé concludes his sermon with a reminder that these admonitions for “purity, modesty and simplicity of married women” extend also to girls and widows, since they need to demonstrate just as much – if not more – that they live according to their Christian duties.⁶¹⁵ Throughout this sermon, Daillé provides an extended discussion about the necessity of female submission, linking it closely to the demands and designs of Scripture, and similar ideas are promoted in other sermons as well.

In another sermon by Daillé, on I Timothy 2:11-15, he highlights many of the same attributes of women and the resulting duties of each sex. Women are supposed to be silent and submissive, and wives must be faithful, chaste, modest, and humble; indeed, female modesty, for Daillé, is the “pleasing veil with which an honest woman must cover and dress all her other perfections”.⁶¹⁶ Significantly, this topic also provides Daillé an opportunity to explain that this submission extends beyond the conjugal relationship. Following the command that women ought to be silent, he explains that a woman's duties are not just in regard to her husband, but also to the church, and moreover, “not only to her husband, but to the

⁶¹³*Ibid.*, 315.

⁶¹⁴*Ibid.*, 316.

⁶¹⁵*Ibid.*, 348.

⁶¹⁶Daillé, *Exposition de la Première Epître...Timothée*, vol. I, 627-628.

whole male sex”.⁶¹⁷ In Jacques Gaillard's sermon on Titus 4:2 (which charges older women to teach young women to be modest and loving), the scriptural passage provides a clear enough message, so that Gaillard need simply expand upon the “commandment of Saint Paul”.⁶¹⁸ Linking this passage to the subjection of women that has existed since creation, Gaillard notes that their lack of authority prohibits women from teaching (and preaching) publicly, but that they have a duty to teach young women how to be proper wives.⁶¹⁹ Nonetheless, for Gaillard, the message is of more concern than the medium, and so most of the sermon is dedicated to expounding the qualities and duties that ought to be passed on in this manner, emphasizing especially domestic responsibilities, while showing that the community, as defined by a church congregation, has real responsibility to maintain its moral standards.⁶²⁰ As a consequence of this latter concern, moreover, such discussions about sexual morality would lead to considerations of group integrity.

In his sermon on Colossians 3:19, Pierre Du Moulin also reiterates the same notions of female inferiority and demands for modesty; however, he also discusses the correlating masculine duties. After all, in the cases of Ephesians 5:22-26, Colossians 3:18-19, and I Peter 3:1-7, the call of “women, submit to your husbands” is always followed by “husbands, love your wives”. So, whether in the same sermon or in consecutive sermons in a *lectio continua*, these topics were often considered together. After all, with a world-view strongly influenced by

⁶¹⁷*Ibid.*, 605.

⁶¹⁸Gaillard, *L'echole sainte des femmes*, 3.

⁶¹⁹*Ibid.*, 5-7.

⁶²⁰*Ibid.*, 4.

binaries, female-specific roles implied corresponding male roles. As was the case with the female side, male responsibilities were informed both by the example of Adam and Eve and by Pauline epistle. For Du Moulin, although the superiority of men over women is natural and instituted by God, it needs to be exercised as gently as possible.⁶²¹ To that effect, he says that “a wise and prudent man, to whom God has given a virtuous woman, should as much as possible reduce that subjection to the state that existed before sin”.⁶²² So, while there are caveats in Du Moulin's statement, the general spirit is that male dominance should not be exercised inordinately. That is, the subjection and the love that is commended means that “superiority should not turn to contempt, nor should authority be abused to the point of tyranny and cruelty”.⁶²³ In Du Moulin's discussion, then, the essential components of the Early Modern understanding of gender difference are present; in this sermon, thorough patriarchy is combined with admonitions, based on Scripture, to temper male authority when possible, a sentiment found among other Huguenot ministers, and perhaps reflecting the regard for reciprocity that some historians have noted in Calvinist marriage doctrine.⁶²⁴

An important edenic element that was used by Huguenot ministers to discuss the reciprocal relationship between men and women was the manner in which Eve was created. After all, they argued, it was no coincidence that Eve was

⁶²¹Du Moulin, *Première Decade de Sermons*, 120.

⁶²²*Ibid.*

⁶²³*Ibid.*, 121.

⁶²⁴For instance, Biéler, *L'Homme et Femme dans la Morale Calviniste*, 38-76; J.L. Thompson, *Calvin and the Daughters of Sarah: Women in Regular and Exceptional Roles in the Exegesis of Calvin, His Predecessors, and his Contemporaries* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1992), 7-16; and Witte and Kingdon, *Sex, Marriage, and Family*, 1-48.

created from Adam's rib. Du Moulin explains that “God wanted to give Adam a woman and a helpmate similar to himself” and did so very purposefully:

God did not want want to create woman from Adam's head, out of fear that she would assume domination over her husband, nor from his feet, fearing that her condition would then be abject and service, but from his side, close to his heart, to signify the cordial affection that woman must expect from her husband.⁶²⁵

This is seen in other sermons too. Charles Drelincourt, in the sermon preached at his son's wedding, provides the same conclusion as Du Moulin, stating that Eve was neither made from Adam's head nor foot, but from his side, “to teach him that she was given to him for companionship, and that he must love and cherish her as his own heart”.⁶²⁶ Meanwhile, the rest of the sermon preaches the same reciprocal obligations seen explained by Du Moulin, emphasizing love, respect, and subjection.⁶²⁷ In these examples, the case of Adam and Eve are again an important normative illustration of the divine intention of gender difference, and as with other themes, it is reinforced by the precepts provided by Paul. Together, such expositions highlight the sacred origins of hierarchy and the closely defined roles that both men and women had in relation to family, church, and society.

Jean Daillé's sermon on I Peter 3:7, coming immediately after his sermon on I Peter 3:1-6, complements the previous sermon's focus on female roles with an exposition on the proper characteristics of a good Christian husband. While reiterating the fact that there is an obligatory inequality within marriage, Daillé notes that the husband must not abuse his authority, and that “as much as a man

⁶²⁵Pierre Du Moulin, *Huictième decade de sermons* (Geneva, 1654), 52-53.

⁶²⁶Drelincourt, *Recueil de Sermons*, vol. 2, 612.

⁶²⁷*Ibid.*, 636.

must govern his wife, reason, discretion, and piety must govern the man”.⁶²⁸ Indeed, Daillé argues, if man has authority over woman on account of being more reasonable, he must govern with that reason to justify that authority.⁶²⁹ In Daillé's evaluation, then, a husband's actions must be defined by justness and care, and “must dominate his wife not like a master does his slave, but like the soul does the body; that is to say, not with a severe and forceful hand, but with gentleness, reason, and sympathy”.⁶³⁰ To treat a wife poorly is to become barbarous, inhumane, and unnatural.⁶³¹ In these sermons, then, the fundamental gender inequality that informed the Early Modern ideas of male and female serves as the backdrop for discussions about marriage and the roles within it. As normative ideals, they established expectations according to the reform of morals and closer supervision of family life that was desired by church leaders and the crown. As such, these sermons reflect and reinforce the attempts to carefully construct an identity rooted in internalizing a fervent piety.

Temporal gender inequality, though an important part of the Huguenot formulation of marriage, is only one in which which gender was discussed by Huguenot preachers. There was, in addition to that, the spiritual realm, a context in which there was much greater parity. Jean Daillé notes that, despite the innate inequality between genders, a woman is still “of the same nature as her husband, and also of the same condition”.⁶³² At heart, then, there is a fundamental similarity

⁶²⁸Daillé, *Mélange de Sermons, 1e Partie*, 352-353.

⁶²⁹*Ibid.*, 358.

⁶³⁰*Ibid.*, 359.

⁶³¹*Ibid.*, 373.

⁶³²Daillé, *Mélange de Sermons, 1e Partie*, 372.

between women and men, and this is seen most clearly when discussing the state of their souls. Daillé continues his sermon by addressing both the women and men in the audience in turn; he says first to the women: “your sex does not close any doors to that eternal sanctuary”; and then he turns to the men: “husbands, learn from this to never scorn those women who will one day be your companions in immortal happiness”.⁶³³ This, then, is a way to both extenuate and moderate the circumstances of the earthly hierarchy, asking for co-operation between husband and wife in their Christian duties. In practice, this meant that a couple's responsibilities to God ought to be a shared task, as Daillé explains: “a husband and wife must pray together [...] and acquit themselves together in all their pious duties”.⁶³⁴ This same sentiment is found in a sermon by Samuel Durant, Daillé's predecessor in Paris, using the idea of spiritual warfare: “[i]f age does not exempt anyone from the contest of this combat, even less so must sex; for both one sex and the other have been enrolled by Baptism, and women as well as men have a part in God's armour”.⁶³⁵ What these messages show is that, although piety was in many respects gendered (such as with the emphasis on female modesty), there was also a significant way in which godly behaviour transcended gender-specific categories, especially as far as soteriological relevance was concerned.

Looking once more at a sermon that has already been mentioned – Pierre Du Moulin's sermon on Colossians 3:19 – this same theme of spiritual equality is present again. As elsewhere, temporal inequality is stressed, with Du Moulin

⁶³³*Ibid.*, 384.

⁶³⁴*Ibid.*, 385.

⁶³⁵Durant, *Sept sermons*, 195.

asserting the innateness of female subjection and explaining that the superiority of the husband is for the sake of “nourishing concord”.⁶³⁶ He goes on to say, though, that there is a deeper equality between man and woman too, noting in familiar terms that “neither race, nor condition, nor sex excludes someone from God's alliance through Jesus Christ”.⁶³⁷ Appealing to history, Du Moulin goes on to recount how there were many female martyrs, and that it is often the case that women are more pious than men.⁶³⁸ Du Moulin also offers the advice that a wife should be chosen based on the beauty of her soul, not on her physical beauty, and that love is fostered by a shared fear of God.⁶³⁹ From that, it is clear that, for Huguenot ministers, piety and order were closely related to marriage and a proper respect for the roles within it, echoing an accepted truth of the time that transcended confessional lines.

In the discussions contained in these sermons, the Huguenot conception of gender is thoroughly consistent with the prevailing ideas of their time, whether Protestant or Catholic. Because of natural difference and, above all, God's plan, men were supposed to have authority over women, while women were expected to be humble and modest. In that way, female roles were more dependent on sexual morality than men's, whereas the men had to assume the role of the reasonable leader, part of the unassailable patriarchal division of authority, where men were in charge according to law, custom, and culture. Complementing this, though, was the understanding that salvation was blind to sex or station. This sort of

⁶³⁶Du Moulin, *Première Decade de Sermons*, 118.

⁶³⁷*Ibid.*, 122.

⁶³⁸*Ibid.*, 123-124.

⁶³⁹*Ibid.*, 132-133.

differentiated equality agrees closely with what André Biéler refers to in regard to Calvinist teachings on gender more generally as an “*égalité fondamentale, différence fonctionnelle*”.⁶⁴⁰

However, as Merry Wiesner points out, the concern with promoting the notion spiritual equality alongside temporal hierarchy is something that also concerned thinkers before the Reformation, especially Catholic Humanists.⁶⁴¹ Moreover, insofar as Huguenots championed a rigorous sense of gender difference and male authority, they were also participating in the renewed patriarchal impulse of the Early Modern period that has been noted by scholars such as André Burguière, James Farr, and Merry Wiesner.⁶⁴² That is, from the Late Middle Ages and into the Early Modern Period, there was a reassertion of the authority of the male head of household, with a corresponding loss of traditional rights for women. This was the case in legal and economic capacities, and involved closer scrutiny over – and division between – private and public spheres and a woman's place within them. Of course, there was still room for women to negotiate within the material and ideological conditions placed upon them, but there was evidently less latitude in the face of greater male authority being actualized. What this all demonstrates, then, is that Huguenots were not innovative in their views of gender. As with marriage, which was obviously closely related, Huguenot gender theory

⁶⁴⁰Biéler, *L'Homme et Femme*, 37.

⁶⁴¹Merry E. Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000), 21.

⁶⁴²For example, Burguière, *Le maraige*; James R. Farr, *Authority and Sexuality in Early Modern Burgundy (1550-1730)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); and Merry E. Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1986).

and practice was deeply indebted to what came before them, both in terms of immediate Protestant influences and in terms of the broader intellectual climate. Especially in terms of the latter, this means that there were profound similarities between Huguenots and their confessional rivals in France.

Nonetheless, despite the overwhelming similarities between Huguenots and Catholics in France in terms of marriage, gender, and sexuality, it was frequently the differences – whether regarding the sacramental nature of marriage, the relative merits of marriage and celibacy, or the right for clergy to marry – that became the focus of sermons. Moreover, the similarities could also be framed in a way to emphasize difference. As was mentioned, Huguenots shared a general moral code with their western European contemporaries. However, there were differences, as Raymond Mentzer notes, between emphases within the application and enforcement of morality as such.⁶⁴³ In addition, the sense of distinction could be even more pronounced on account of differences between perceived morality. For, although both Huguenots and French Catholics agreed on the illicit nature of premarital or extramarital sex and on the dangers of ornate or revealing dress, and although the Catholic Church was undertaking its own program of moral reform, Huguenot ministers held that their flocks, though sinful, led godlier lives than their Catholic neighbours. As a result, sexual morality, though based on the same principles and authorities, could nonetheless be used as a source of distinction and as a basis of Huguenot identity. As Mentzer says elsewhere, the process of moral reform was in part fuelled by a desire to “distinguish themselves unequivocally

⁶⁴³Mentzer, “*Disciplina nervus ecclesiae*”, 112.

from the 'papists'" ,⁶⁴⁴ and sexual morality was an important component of this. Within the sermon literature, then, assertions of moral superiority and points of doctrinal and liturgical difference provided the instances to assert differentiation based on marital and gender themes, and to portray themselves to the crown as a moral and law-abiding group. Because of this, marriage was an important component not only of the Huguenot 'reform of morals' but also in the formation of Huguenot confessional identity.

CLERICAL MARRIAGE, SACRAMENTAL STATUS, AND OTHER DIFFERENCES

Though there were few practical differences between Huguenot and Catholic forms of marriage, there were some meaningful theological and symbolic differences between the two faiths. The most prominent among the differences raised by Huguenot preachers were based on the Catholic Church's sacramental understanding of marriage, their prohibition against clerical marriage, and their belief in the superiority of celibacy over marriage. These were often seen as interrelated problems, and all manifestations of a Catholic attack on a divinely-ordained institution; moreover, they were also key illustrations of Catholic 'innovation', whereby the Gregorian Reforms began to introduce erroneous and unbiblical practices into the church. In addition, since the Calvinist position in favour of divorce and remarriage differed from royal law (which held that, since a properly contracted marriage was indissoluble, a remarriage in such cases would

⁶⁴⁴Mentzer, "Marking the Taboo," 97.

constitute an act of bigamy), divorce had a more complex and ambivalent existence for Huguenots than for Calvinists elsewhere. Nonetheless, when discussed, it allowed Huguenot ministers to establish another point of difference from the Catholic Church and, along with the other points, helped to reaffirm and provide depth to a Huguenot particularism within France.

Occasioned by the fact that clerical marriage was discussed in Pauline epistles, the legitimacy of married pastors was a topic that would have come up organically in *lectio continua* preaching. In the printed examples here, such occasions provided a time for apologetics, acknowledging a possible Catholic audience, but also indicating that despite the prevalence of the long-established Protestant practice, it was still deemed necessary to elaborate upon the position to their own faithful. These occasions also provided an opportunity to discuss marriage more generally. In this regard, the vast majority of ministers would also have served as living sermons, as they were married themselves and, as discussed in the first chapter, were expected to be examples of piety and proper conduct for their parishioners. The prevalence of married preachers is seen in Mark Greengrass' observation that Jean Bonafous, a seventeenth-century Huguenot minister, “was unusual among French pastors in that he never married”.⁶⁴⁵ Among the most prominent of the pastors studied here, all were married, and Jean Mestrezat comes the closest to being a marital anomaly, since he was married briefly, but became a widower for the last thirty years of his life.⁶⁴⁶ As married

⁶⁴⁵Greengrass, “The French Pastorate,” 190.

⁶⁴⁶See Appendix 1.

pastors, Huguenot ministers were not only presumed to be examples for their married parishioners, they were also a highly visible manifestation of difference from their Catholic counterparts simply by being married. So, both their own lives and their sermons provided the opportunity for marriage and sexuality to become an axis around which notions of difference could be examined.

As the Huguenot minister with the most published sermons, it is natural that the long-serving and indefatigable minister for Paris, Jean Daillé, would have multiple contributions to this topic. Being himself a married minister though also a widower for many years. For Daillé, as for other Huguenot preachers, Paul's prohibition against bishops having more than one wife was interpreted as latent permission for ministers to be married to just one wife. Thus, in a sermon on Titus 1:5-6, Daillé explains the full significance of these laws. He describes their historical context, noting that since both Pagans and Jews highly esteemed marriage, most of the worthy men who first converted to Christianity were married.⁶⁴⁷ In addition, most unmarried men were generally considered dissolute.⁶⁴⁸ Indeed, since marriage was so natural at the time, the discussions about celibacy that would later enter the church were not an issue in the apostolic era; marriage was the default position. Through this exposition, then, Daillé is able to show how married pastors were not only allowed, but they were the norm; and, further, that the debate in the Apostolic church was not whether a minister could marry, but that he could not have more than one wife and that he was a good

⁶⁴⁷Daillé, *Exposition de l'Épître de S. Paul a Tite*, 63-65.

⁶⁴⁸*Ibid.*

family man.

Similarly, Charles Drelincourt notes that most of the Apostles were themselves married, and they denounced prohibitions against it;⁶⁴⁹ and Jean Mestrezat explains simply that the Bible teaches that “marriage is honourable for *all people*, which means for all people for whom nature makes is possible”.⁶⁵⁰ Through these examples, the basis for clerical marriage is clearly set out, legitimizing a Huguenot practice and placing it within a Christian orthodoxy rooted in Apostolic tradition. However, as is the case with many other aspects of Huguenot practice and doctrine, the confessional context meant that the errors of the equivalent Catholic belief frequently also featured in the sermons. In terms of marriage, that meant that Catholic prohibitions against clerical marriage formed an important part of the Huguenot discussion about marriage. This is seen in the example just cited, where the exegetical conclusions necessarily imply Catholic error, but it was not limited to such specific points of disagreement.

Rather, such discussions easily led to a more explicit exposition about the differences between Huguenot and Catholic forms of marriage and sexuality. In Daillé's sermon on I Timothy 4:1-3, for instance, after having established the scriptural basis for clerical marriage, he goes on to describe the relevant Catholic errors. He calls it absurd that the papacy thinks that Paul's command is a “superfluous ordinance” when, in fact, it is “very necessary and full of profound wisdom for the honour of the ministry of the Gospel”.⁶⁵¹ He continues by

649 Drelincourt, *Recueil de Sermons*, vol.2, 673.

650 Mestrezat, *Des fruicts de la foy*, 487.

651 Daillé, *Exposition de la Premiere Epitre...Timothée*, vol.1, 671.

explaining that the Catholic position is “against the rights and usage of all the ministers of God under the Old Testament”, and that “this law of celibacy for ministers of the Church is not found anywhere in the books of the New Testament, that is the singular rule of Christianity; and it is not found either in true writings from the first three centuries”.⁶⁵² Through this explanation, the legitimacy of the Huguenot position is made more apparent in contrast to the perceived innovations of Catholicism.

Nine months later, Daillé returned to these issues in his sermon on I Timothy 4:1-3. Using stronger language this time, he calls the Catholic Church “false doctors” who teach hypocritical and “devilish doctrines” by forbidding clerics to marry.⁶⁵³ In another sermon, Daillé even declares the Catholic position on marriage unchristian, linking it to the notion that, ever since the early church, Satan has induced heretical groups to denigrate and renounce marriage.⁶⁵⁴ As elsewhere, the scriptural basis of Huguenot doctrine is framed by an impassioned description of the un-biblical origin of Catholic dogma; and, of course, this had a bearing not just on the inculcation of Huguenot doctrine, but on establishing and reinforcing a Huguenot identity that was defined in part by its opposition to Catholicism.

In a similar spirit of anti-papal rhetoric, Jean Mestrezat, in his sermon on Hebrews 13:4-6, attributes a profound absurdity to the Catholic Church on account of its prohibition of clerical marriage and the resulting instances of concubinage by

⁶⁵² *Ibid.*, 674.

⁶⁵³ Daillé, *Exposition de la Première Epître...Timothée*, vol.2, 5-6.

⁶⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 486.

telling his audience that Rome prefers *paillardise* to marriage for its ordained members.⁶⁵⁵ Here, the emphasis is not on doctrinal difference but, rather, on the results of that difference, with Mestrezat asserting that not only is the Catholic position false doctrinally but also false in achieving a greater standard of clerical piety as a result, invoking the classic anti-clerical trope of a dissolute Catholic clergy. Through such treatments, clerical marriage provided both a moral and a theological means to assert Huguenot particularism within France, with such sermons reinforcing the confessional difference that the institution itself made manifest.

If the issue of clerical marriage was a catalyst for highlighting doctrinal differences between Huguenots and Catholics, it did so not only through a narrow discussion of clerical marriage, but by exploring a variety of themes concerned with marriage and by identifying a variety of Catholic errors. In that way, treatments of clerical marriage also led easily to more comprehensive treatments of conjugal issues. So, for instance, Daillé dismisses the Catholic soteriological concern with married women needing to be mothers, explaining that it would be an “impious and brutal notion” to believe that women could not attain salvation without having children.⁶⁵⁶ Any biblical reference regarding motherhood and salvation means only that the suffering experienced by women (such as childbirth), when faced with firm faith, was conducive to salvation. Daillé contrasts this to what he calls the “strange fantasy” of the Catholic position that, beyond the

⁶⁵⁵ Mestrezat, *Les fruits de la foy*, 497-498.

⁶⁵⁶ Daillé, *Exposition de la Première Epître...Timothée*, vol.1, 624.

soteriological importance of motherhood in general, a mother's salvation can also be affected by whether her children are pious or not. In both these cases, the Huguenot ministers are removing sexual state from considerations of salvation.

Illicit sexuality, of course, was a barrier to Heaven, hence Michel Le Faucheur stating in a sermon on Ephesians 5:1-5 that *paillardise* excludes people from the Kingdom of God,⁶⁵⁷ a point emphasized throughout the sermon on I Corinthians 6:10 (“*ni les paillards, ni les idolatres, ni les adulteres [...]* *n'heriteront point le royaume de Dieu*”) by Josué Le Vasseur, a pastor at Sedan.⁶⁵⁸ But within the boundaries of proper sexual roles, there were no hierarchies or caveats to denote greater piety as such. Of course, a violent husband or an alcoholic mother were easily deemed immoral, but those were not conditions inherent to marriage or motherhood. Within the understanding of social order, then, marriage was the normative state since it was the expected state of the great majority of people.⁶⁵⁹ These ideas were important for ordering the community of faithful with marriage as a social building block, and these ideas, moreover, further identified points of divergent doctrine within a familiar institution, contributing to the sense of difference separating Huguenots and Catholics despite the fact that marriage was the normative state for majorities from both faiths.

An important point of difference between Protestant and Catholic positions that makes an appearance in Huguenot sermons is the sacramental status of

⁶⁵⁷ Le Faucheur, *Sermons sur divers textes*, vol.2, 632.

⁶⁵⁸ Josué Le Vasseur, *Deux sermons Sur la premiere aux Corinthiens Chap. VI. v.10 & sur le Pseaume LXXXV v.9* (Sedan, 1660), 1-5.

⁶⁵⁹Of course, this was true also of Catholics as well, as Sara McDougall in *Bigamy and Christian Identity* points out.

marriage. The sacramentality of marriage was, naturally, central to Catholic belief and practice, informing both its social and spiritual value and supporting other elements of the institution, such as its indissolubility; it was also an important focus for Protestant thinkers, not only within debates over the institution of marriage, but also in broader attacks against the Catholic sacramental system from the earliest stages of the Reformation. In the latter case, marriage provided a telling example of the illegitimacy of Catholic sacraments. In Martin Luther's *On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, where he took to task the Catholic sacramental system, the sixth chapter is dedicated to dismantling the Catholic notion of marriage, pointing out a lack of scriptural proof and logic for its designation as a sacrament, and declaring that marriage is inconsistent with the purpose and significance of what sacraments do. Luther then continues into a more comprehensive discussion of Catholic errors regarding marriage, showing that the sacramental classification was also part of a larger problem.⁶⁶⁰ Similarly, in John Calvin's *Institutes*, marriage is grouped with the “Five Other Ceremonies, Falsely Commonly Considered Sacraments” in a chapter in which he dismisses the Catholic view of the sacramentality of marriage, referring to it, among other things, as an innovation of the medieval papacy.⁶⁶¹

Even the Calvinist catechism, used in Geneva and France, included a lesson on the sacramentality of marriage – or lack thereof – as Section Forty-Eight is concerned with the number of sacraments in the Christian Church. This section,

⁶⁶⁰ Martin Luther, *On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, trans. A.T.W. Steinhäuser, F.C. Ahrens, and A.R. Wentz, in *Luther's Works: American Edition*, vol.36 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959), 92-106.

⁶⁶¹ Calvin, *Institutes*, 1448-1484.

beyond identifying the two sacraments celebrated by Calvinists – Baptism and the Lord's Supper – also exposes the five false sacraments of the Catholics, of which marriage is one. Following this outline, Jean Daillé's catechetical sermon on that section explains how marriage, as the catechism teaches, fails to actually constitute a true sacrament. To illustrate the Catholic error, Daillé describes with incredulity the scenario where a clandestine marriage could be considered a sacrament to show how unsound Catholic doctrine is.⁶⁶² In this instance, a discussion about false Catholic sacraments provided the setting for a brief examination about marriage as a sacrament, but Huguenot ministers did not always need such an invitation.⁶⁶³

In fact, the opposite was also true, where a sermon touching on one element of marriage could also lead, in turn, to a broader discussion of false sacraments and Catholic error. This exemplifies how the repetition of themes existed across sermons to highlight confessional difference in the process of religious instruction. In Jean Daillé's sermon on Titus 1:5-6, he directs his rejection of Catholic belief at Catholics themselves, exclaiming: “you, o adversaries, who yourselves hold that it is a sacrament”, before continuing with his explanation against sacramentality and against a prohibition on clerical marriage.⁶⁶⁴ Addressing that same sentiment, Drelincourt wonders how, in the Catholic system, marriage

⁶⁶² Daillé, *Sermons sur le Catechisme*, vol.3, 403.

⁶⁶³ Presumably, a sermon on Ephesians 5:28 – the passage used by the Catholic Church to buttress the sacramentality of marriage – would be a similarly inviting opportunity. Unfortunately, there are no printed Huguenot sermons on this biblical passage. It surely would have come up over the course of a long program of *lectio continua* preaching, and it undoubtedly would have been a valuable passage for Huguenot ministers to explicate, especially for the key Catholic mistake of confusing *sacramentum* and *mysterium*. Maddeningly, David Vignier's manuscript sermons, which contains his sermons on Ephesians, ends at Ephesians 4:9-10.

⁶⁶⁴ Daillé, *Exposition de l'Epistre de S. Paul a Tite*, 67. Of course, with Catholic monitors often in the audience, and with Catholic eyes evaluating the printed version, comments directed at a Catholic listener also exist as more than just a rhetorical device.

can be “a Sacrament for some, and a sacrilege for others”.⁶⁶⁵ In Drelincourt's statement especially, there is also a clear appeal to reason, positing the Catholic position as contradictory while demanding why a sacrament could be withheld from a segment of the population, especially those deemed most holy.

As a consequence of withdrawing the sacramental status of marriage, new debates about marriage could arise, especially regarding divorce with the ability to remarry. This was, of course, a theological *fait accompli* for seventeenth-century Huguenots, since the debates and resolutions had taken place under their Calvinist forebears in the sixteenth century. In Geneva, the process took place both judicially and doctrinally, as legal cases pursuing divorce tested and clarified the theological foundations that informed the proceedings.⁶⁶⁶ As Pierre Bels points out, the conclusions reached in Geneva were adopted by Huguenots in France, including, in principle, the possibility of divorce with the right to remarry.⁶⁶⁷ In practice, royal law prevented the full actualization of this Huguenot belief and Huguenot leaders obliged, counselling parishioners who wished to remarry to emigrate rather than to challenge the crown.⁶⁶⁸ Perhaps as a result of this, Huguenot sermons that engaged with these themes, though not common, appear as concerned with remarriage and bigamy as with the causes and justifications of divorce, addressing the heart of the Catholic conception of marriage and one of the

⁶⁶⁵ Drelincourt, *Recueil de Sermons*, vol.2, 674.

⁶⁶⁶ A useful study illustrating the unfolding of these instances of divorce is Robert M. Kingdon, *Adultery and Divorce in Calvin's Geneva* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), which gathers a series of microhistories demonstrating the outlines and limits of divorce proceedings in Geneva.

⁶⁶⁷ Bels, *Le Mariage*, 18-37.

⁶⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 246.

major Catholic oppositions to the Calvinist position on divorce. As in other cases, the greatest number of extant examples comes from Jean Daillé, especially those from his *lectio continua* series on Pauline epistles. In his sermon on I Timothy 3:1-3, Daillé explains that, as the Gospel states, divorce and remarriage for any reason other than adultery constitutes bigamy.⁶⁶⁹ Though severely limiting the legitimate causes that could lead to divorce and highlighting the danger of more frivolous reasons for separation and remarriage, Daillé also establishes the idea that under certain conditions such a radical settlement is warranted, itself a dissenting opinion within France at the time.

Elsewhere, Daillé is more subtle, focusing on scriptural allowances for remarriage. So, in a later sermon from the same collection (I Timothy 5:14-16), he tells his audience that “Paul approves of second marriages” in cases where the first marriage is lawfully terminated, such as through the death of one partner. In his sermon on Titus 1:5-6, Daillé again disputes the notion that a second licit marriage constitutes bigamy, since it “unites but two people, just as the first time, and he who remarries has but one wife”.⁶⁷⁰ These were important considerations, since it was a delicate topic. Bigamy was a dire sin for Huguenots as much as for Catholics – as Daillé states in a sermon, “there was but one Adam and one Eve”⁶⁷¹ – and Huguenots held firm to the belief that marriage was indissoluble,⁶⁷² however, something like adultery was a rupture of marriage, and itself a case of bigamy since at least one party was married, showing such contempt that the marriage was

669 Daillé, *Exposition de la Première Epître...Timothée*, vol.1, 668.

670 Daillé, *Exposition de l'Épître de S. Paul à Tite*, 73.

671 Daillé, *XXI sermons*, 176.

672 Daillé, *Mélange de Sermons, 1e Partie*, 314; Drelincourt, *Recueil de Sermons*, vol.2, 617.

essentially abrogated. That sentiment is captured in Jacques Gaillard's assertion about “abominable adulteresses who have corrupted marriage”, referring to their acts of adultery as “those voluntary divorces, those letters of repudiation”.⁶⁷³ Through these portrayals of the rupturing and re-forming of marriage, these Huguenot ministers are rejecting the Catholic view of indissolubility,⁶⁷⁴ and providing their own, which claims that an act of adultery effectively voids the indissolubility through its disregard for such a holy institution. So, despite marriage not being a sacrament, it was still obviously central to Huguenot spiritual life and social life, and important for populating and defining membership within the Huguenot Church.⁶⁷⁵ Such discussions, therefore, reinforced an important conceptual difference based on understandings of indissolubility and sacrality.

Differences in the sacramental understanding of marriage and the merits of celibacy were easily accessible themes on which to focus, but occasionally the critique of Catholicism went further, introducing other doctrinal differences that had little to do marriage or sexuality. In a number of sermons examined, the anti-Catholic component was not simply a rejection of their equivalent belief, but included a broader discussion of a variety of Catholic errors on marriage; and the most extensive of these explorations of Catholic doctrine could depart entirely from themes of marriage, sexuality, or gender, showing that a particular Catholic

⁶⁷³ Gaillard, *L'Eschole sainte des femmes*, 23-24.

⁶⁷⁴ McDougall, *Bigamy and Christian Identity*.

⁶⁷⁵ According to Kingdon, *Adultery and Divorce*, 175-184, and Witte And Kingdon, *Sex, Marriage, and Family*, 481-490, the limited use of divorce in Calvinist communities (outside of France), and the advocacy of divorce more generally shows a shift in the focus of the importance of marriage from an indissoluble sacrament to a social institution whose proper functioning was paramount.

belief could be an invitation to discuss Catholic error in general. For instance, towards the end of Jean Daillé's sermon on I Timothy 4:3-5, he comes to the often obligatory 'anti-papal' section. In this sermon about how marriage was instituted by God for everyone, the topic easily moves to Catholic clerical celibacy. Daillé duly accuses the Catholic Church of holding “false and dangerous doctrines that have introduced disciplines contrary to the liberty that the Lord gave to all people for the usage of marriage”.⁶⁷⁶ However, the discussion quickly extends to other Catholic doctrines. To support that idea that clerical celibacy is an innovation of the medieval church, Daillé mentions other aspects of Catholic worship, implying that clerical celibacy was, as another symptom of innovation, related to relics, transubstantiation, and “the adoration of the host, the strangest of all the errors”.⁶⁷⁷ By invoking these other Catholic errors, Daillé is establishing a pattern of novel Catholic beliefs into which he places their false doctrines about marriage and sexuality, showing it to be a symptom of a much larger problem.

As in Daillé's sermon, but to a greater extent, Charles Drelincourt also uses the medium of a marriage sermon to launch a broad attack against Catholic errors and, consequently, uses Catholic errors to emphasize key parts of Huguenot doctrine. In the sermon that he preached for his son's wedding, already cited extensively here, Drelincourt comprehensively discusses a range of topics related to marriage. He begins by explaining the edenic origins of marriage and their significance, and the many reasons, taken from throughout the Bible, to view

⁶⁷⁶ Daillé, *Exposition de la Première Epître...Timothée*, vol.2, 70.

⁶⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 72.

marriage as both essential and good. He continues by asserting the necessarily public nature of marriage, thus rejecting any sort of clandestine marriage. Finally, he discusses the importance of choosing an appropriate spouse, before finally concluding the longer-than-average sermon. Within this expansive sermon, though, there is a significant amount of space dedicated to condemning Catholic beliefs, and not just ones concerned with marriage. Drelincourt dismisses the sacramentality of marriage and the prohibition of clerical marriage; but, like Daillé, he offers a more thorough rejection of Catholic belief. Since the sermon topic is the Marriage at Cana, Drelincourt mentions and dismisses Catholic claims to possess the wine casks from that wedding as a way to reject the efficacy of relics and pilgrimages, while the miracle of Jesus turning water to wine provides him with the thematic opportunity to expose the errors of transubstantiation and the Mass.⁶⁷⁸ By the time Drelincourt finishes his treatment of Catholic practices, thirty pages have been filled from the first mention of relics. So, although Drelincourt's sermon is unique in the amount of space dedicated to discussing Catholic errors, it demonstrates clearly how important a Catholic opposition was to the definition of the Huguenot position. In these cases here, marriage offers a robust opportunity to both inculcate specific elements of Huguenot belief, and to reinforce a general sense of Huguenot particularism. Consequently, these sermons – and the theme of marriage – are important to establishing a firm Huguenot identity, both by reiterating doctrinal and moral principles and the community boundaries that they implied, and by promoting a clear and profound distinction

⁶⁷⁸ Drelincourt, *Recueil de Sermons*, vol.2, 644-665.

from the belief and practices of their Catholic neighbours. At the same time, tip-toeing around divorce and remarriage reveals a consideration of the legal atmosphere and a willingness to defer to royal law, thereby showing themselves to be good subjects to the crown.

THE DANGER OF MIXED MARRIAGES

In the preceding pages, Huguenot displays of difference from – and superiority to – Catholicism in the realm of marriage were founded on points of doctrinal conflict. However, within seventeenth-century France, an equally significant point of separation existed, one in which both faiths and the crown were in agreement – confessionally-mixed marriages. Both Catholic and Huguenot leaders condemned mixed marriages, and French law forbade them too. The royal *réglement* on the Huguenots from 1666 specifically barred mixed marriages, while an edict from 1680 appealed to “diverse church councils and canons” to condemn Catholic marriages to heretics as a “public scandal, and a profanation of a sacrament”; and, to better eliminate such unions, the law declared such marriages to be invalid and any offspring illegitimate.⁶⁷⁹ Many such marriages took place anyway, often in the grey area of a promised conversion by one party, but preventing them was a key concern of all parties. This concern with mixed marriage, based in large part on the fact that they undermined a socially-integral and sacred institution, appears in various sources, including sermons; and the laws and admonitions testify to the fact that confessional groups were not totalizing and

⁶⁷⁹ *Recueil Général*, vol. 18, 78; vol.19, 257-258.

that marital relations transgressed such boundaries. Nonetheless, despite the fact that mixed marriages showed confessional boundaries to be permeable, they also provided a vivid means for Huguenot ministers to preach about the importance of a well-defined and insular church to the majority who married within their religious community, and to show themselves aligned with royal law.

Even though Huguenots championed the idea that anybody was rightfully able to marry, that did not mean that they could therefore marry anybody that they wanted. For a Huguenot to marry a Catholic was a grave concern to the ministers. The tracts mentioned earlier that were published at the turn of the seventeenth century – *Discours sur les mariages* (1595) and *Traitté des mariages* (1602) – reflect this concern, and it was a concern that remained throughout the régime of the Edict of Nantes. Mixed marriages were an affront to God, but beyond the spiritual dangers, there was also a perceived demographic threat from mixed marriages. Mixed marriages, after all, made the religious homogeneity of the Huguenot community vulnerable, and threatened to erode its membership. Of course, by forbidding mixed marriages, Huguenot leaders were also simply following the demands of French law, although the spirit of the law was not intended to preserve a distinct Huguenot community.⁶⁸⁰ Within the medium of

680 Studies such as: Hanlon, *Confession and Community*; Benedict, *Faith and Fortunes*; and Bernard Dompnier, *Le venin de l'hérésie: Image du protestantisme et combat catholique au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Le Centurion, 1985), show that mixed marriages were a concern for all authorities in seventeenth-century France, and that, always in the minority, they decreased over the course of the seventeenth century. Benedict (320-235) notes that exact numbers are difficult to come by since, as mixed marriages were always illegal, couples had to obscure their confessional difference (often through a temporary conversion) and so there remains little extant evidence. However, on account of the necessity of those temporary conversions, Louis XIV's crackdown against (re)conversions to Protestantism in 1663 had the effect of further reducing the number of mixed marriages. In that way, confessionally-mixed marriages serve as a telling representation of confessional existence in France more generally, and the increasingly

sermons, then, the topic of mixed marriages could be used not only for its most obvious purpose of informing the Huguenot faithful about the dangers of such arrangements, but as a direct consequence of this, it reinforced the self-perception of the Huguenot community as a unique part of the French population and separate from the surrounding Catholics. In Huguenot sermons, such discussions could range from sustained pleas against interacting with Catholics to brief references about the dangers of 'malformed' marriages.

The most extensive discussion of mixed marriages comes from Jean Mestrezat's sermon, preached in 1654, on II Corinthians 6:11-15 (especially verse fourteen: "*Ne vous accouplez point avec les infideles*"). In this sermon, Mestrezat warns his audience about social ties to Catholics, especially that most intimate social link, marriage, and he provides numerous arguments to support his position. He mentions, first of all, that for the sake of salvation it is important to marry someone of the same faith.⁶⁸¹ This is the case not just because not to do so would be to contravene God's command, but it also hinders the growth of piety, turning attention instead to superstition.⁶⁸² Mestrezat also appeals to natural reason, telling his audience that contrary things cannot exist together, by likening mixed marriages to trying to combine fire and water.⁶⁸³ However, the important task for Mestrezat is not simply to establish the biblical provenance of this instruction, but also to insist upon its actual observance. He notes, to that effect, that when Paul told this to the Corinthians, he knew that it would cause difficulties, but insisted

firm divisions that developed over the course of the seventeenth century.

681 Mestrezat, *Vingt Sermons*, 634.

682 *Ibid.*, 636-643.

683 *Ibid.*, 653.

upon it despite the possible harm to “their worldly interests and their temporal peace”.⁶⁸⁴ As he nears the end of the sermon, Mestrezat turns more fully to the practical applications of the scriptural passage, and looks at the situation in France. After stating that two people can share the same kingdom but not the same spiritual heritage, he turns to the Huguenot experience. He ask rhetorically: “and as for the exhortation of the Apostle to not be yoked with unbelievers, how necessary is that in this age [...] where we see born the ruin of souls and irreligion”, and then: “how many of us here have bemoaned marriages contracted with people of the contrary Religion, in which the terrible effects are immediately seen?”⁶⁸⁵ Finally, after those more immediately tangible reasons, Mestrezat returns to Paul's motivation, reminding his audience that marriages contracted between the faithful are for the sake of improved morals, and serve to condemn the errors of their opponents.⁶⁸⁶ Mestrezat's sermon, then, provides a thorough explanation for the prohibition against mixed marriages. The prohibition is not only consistent with what the Bible demands of true Christians, but it is essential to the moral and social integrity of the community, and a powerful statement against the worldliness and falsity of the 'contrary religion'. At the same time, Mestrezat is affirming the state of religious pluralism in France, insinuating that the two faiths can co-exist as separate communities, and therefore arguing for the legitimacy of Huguenots as a religious minority in France.

Though not as comprehensive the above sermon by Jean Mestrezat, appeals

684 *Ibid.*, 625-626.

685 *Ibid.*, 662-663.

686 *Ibid.*, 663.

against improper marriages appear in other sermons as well. There are many allusions to the dangers of such marriages, such as in another of Mestrezat's sermons, where he calls them “marriages contrary to piety” and warns that they are a revolt against God,⁶⁸⁷ or when Charles Drelincourt says that there is nothing better than a marriage between two true and religious Christians and, on the contrary, “nothing more miserable than an ill-sorted marriage”.⁶⁸⁸ Finally, Jean Daillé provides a helpful explanation that truly captures the heart of the concern that ministers had with mixed marriages:

[b]ecause marriage is the closest of all human societies, the most tender and intimate of communions, which joins two people into one flesh, it is hoped that it would not be contracted but between the most equal of parties as possible; dissimilitude and contrariety lend themselves naturally to discord and misfortune. But there is nowhere where the concord between parties is more necessary than in religion, that thing most important to man, both in this world and the next. That is why the Apostle commands the faithful who want to enter into this condition to not marry except *in our Lord*, which is to say to a party that also serves Jesus Christ as we do.⁶⁸⁹

In a time when variables such as social rank and profession were central to marriage arrangements, religion, too, was added to the equation. For Daillé, in fact, it is the chief concern for achieving a harmonious and godly marriage, at least in this sermon, appealing for his Huguenot audience to see religion as a primary social determinant for marriage and, consequently, beyond marriage too, further entrenching confessional difference.

In seventeenth-century France, mixed marriage was at once a point of agreement and one of separation, as the two faiths both tried to exclude the other

687 *Ibid.*, 571-572.

688 Drelincourt, *Recueil de Sermons*, vol.2, 676.

689 Daillé, *Mélange de Sermons*, 1e Partie, 326-327.

along conjugal lines. Sermons about marriage and prohibitions against mixed marriage were a means to reinforce the boundaries of the Huguenot community through an important social and religious institution, and through plainly articulated moral exigencies. Ministers told their audiences to avoid relationships with their religious opponents, despite the social and material hardship that that could entail; and to reinforce this demand, the ministers appealed to images of order and pollution, associating mixed marriages with misfortune and irreligion. At the same time, any number of factors, from filial and commercial bonds to social status, from demographic necessity to simple love could work against the desire for religious endogamy. As such, mixed marriages encapsulate many dimensions of Huguenot identity under the Edict of Nantes, both through the hopes and fears about the maintenance of Huguenot particularism and through conformity with royal law, a departure point for discussions about the place of Huguenots in France, asserting for their Huguenot and royal audiences the validity of a separate religious community in France.

CONCLUSION:

The regulation of marriage and sexuality consumed an important pastoral function of Huguenot ministers. This is evidenced by the duties laid out for them, by consistory records, and by the sermons that they have left behind. Marriage was a prime vehicle for moral reform and a focus for demands for greater piety, but discussions of marriage were also an opportunity to reinforce Huguenot

particularism; for, despite the fact that Huguenots shared many assumptions with their confessional opponents, Huguenot ministers still found ample opportunity to stress the particular orthodoxy of the Huguenot position and the presumed greater moral demands that were incumbent upon the Huguenot faithful. These points of difference, articulated in sermons, also stood synechdochally for the many other doctrinal rifts that separated the faiths. Finally, discussions about mixed marriages lent themselves to encouraging a physical and social separation from Catholics, an endogamy that was deemed practical for the sake of conjugal concord, spiritual expediency, and the numerical survival of the church, and one that held important political ramifications as well. Importantly, mixed marriage allowed ministers to elaborate on the image of the French polity that they were promoting, where their co-religionists inhabited a legitimate place in France delineated by conjugal and familial relationships and by a firm regard for order and hierarchy.

Ultimately, then, these marital themes perform an important function in the creation and maintenance of a Huguenot identity. They reinforce the notion that Huguenots are a separate religious community but one within the divinely-ordained hierarchy as lawful subjects of the crown. Carrying the topics discussed here further, the next chapter examines how marriage, gender, and sexuality were explored in homiletics allegorically and figuratively; again, the ideas represented in these metaphors were often for the sake of asserting Huguenot confessional difference along with deference to the monarchy and social order, further reinforcing the same trends seen above.

CHAPTER FIVE
MARRIAGE AND CONFESSIONALIZATION, PART 2: SHAPING
HUGUENOT IDENTITY BEYOND THE COUPLE

In the last chapter the main focus was on marriage and the married couple, and how such themes within sermons were woven among concerns of Huguenot identity and their place within France. This was achieved by appealing to the social and religious importance of marriage and the requirements of a proper marriage, all within the context of differentiating Huguenot practice, doctrine, and valuation of marriage from that of their Catholic counterparts, and with reference to royal law. However, themes of marriage, sexuality, and gender often found their way into sermons beyond strictly prescribing the marital duties of men and women; they were important, too, as a source of imagery to explain the position of the Huguenot faithful within a properly ordered social hierarchy, and to contribute metaphors to the vocabulary of difference between Huguenots and Catholics. In brief, marriage and gender were not only important as literal and practical ways to order the Huguenot community, but also as more figurative and abstract ways too. These expositions contributed to the further refinement of Huguenot identity, providing their audiences with biblical lessons and the imagery of marriage and gender with which to frame their relationship with the crown and their distinction from the Catholic Church. The use of marriage symbolism to explore topics beyond the conjugal unit is not new, but has a long tradition in Christian thought;⁶⁹⁰ the use of marriage symbolism in *sermons*, however, is a legacy of the

⁶⁹⁰David D'Avray, *Medieval Marriage: Symbolism and Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 2-18.

thirteenth century and beyond.⁶⁹¹ Following that tradition, Huguenot ministers applied marital metaphors toward explaining a uniquely Huguenot sense of themselves and the world around them.

The broad reach of gendered thinking is familiar to historians, as over the last decades it has been an invaluable means to explore the pre-modern mental world. This has led to a better understanding of how men and women experienced the world and its events in unique ways, seen in classic studies such as Joan Kelly's "Did Women Have a Renaissance?", questioning the inviolability of traditional periodization, and Natalie Zemon Davis' "City Women and Religious Change", exploring how the Reformation could appeal to – and effect – men and women in different ways.⁶⁹² On top of that, this greater focus has also allowed scholars to better appreciate how notions of gender and gender difference informed the thought of Early Modern Europeans. That means not only, as Merry Wiesner puts it, an appreciation of the "gendered nature of both women's and men's experiences",⁶⁹³ but also a recognition that gendered notions reinforced the prevailing views of social order and hierarchy, as well as support for political authority and religious difference. Of course, ideas of gender were never static, but always in the process of being negotiated, challenged, and reinforced. This was the case during the early modern era, where male authority was being thoroughly reasserted,⁶⁹⁴ and where gender formed an essential component to constructions of

⁶⁹¹*Ibid.*, 200.

⁶⁹²Joan Kelly, *Women History, and Theory: The Essays of Joan Kelly* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), 19; Davis, *Society and Culture*, 65-95.

⁶⁹³Wiesner, *Women and Gender*, 3.

⁶⁹⁴Lyndal Roper, *The Holy Household: Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 5; Mentzer, "Masculinity and the Reformed Tradition," 120.

order, affinity, and difference.⁶⁹⁵

For instance, many studies show how the patriarchy around which a family was ordered influenced the public sphere.⁶⁹⁶ In what Sarah Hanley calls the 'Family-State compact', there was a judicial effort to regulate families and family formation according to patriarchal authority.⁶⁹⁷ In effect, this meant a reciprocal process of publicly and privately establishing order and authority along lines where power was clearly gendered. Hanley also points out the power of the metaphorical use of marriage and family, such as the king being the husband of the commonweal.⁶⁹⁸ In addition to this marital metaphor of royal authority, and along with the corporal analogy discussed earlier, there was also the familial view of the kingdom, where the king was seen as the father.⁶⁹⁹ This idea of the “father-king”, as Julie Hardwick terms it, contributed to the gendering of power and authority in general, whereby domestic patriarchy is informed by public political power hierarchies, and vice versa.⁷⁰⁰ What is clear from this is that gender and marriage were important in giving meaning to social structures and ideology, while also linking familial and political order, an ideological condition that informs numerous Huguenot sermons.

695In fact, as Jessica Munns and Penny Richards assert in the introduction to *Gender, Power, and Privilege in Early Modern Europe* (London: Pearson Education Ltd., 2003), for which they are the editors, “gender permeated every aspect of life” (3).

696Julie Hardwick, *The Practice of Patriarchy: Gender and the Politics of Household Authority in Early Modern France* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998); Sarah Hanley, “Engendering the State: Family Formation and State Building in Early Modern France,” *French Historical Studies* 16:1 (Spring, 1989): 4-27.

697Hanley, “Engendering the State,” 8.

698*Ibid.*, 26-27.

699See Sarah Hanley, *The Lit de Justice of the Kings of France: Constitutional Ideology in Legend, Ritual, and Discourse* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 26-27.

700Hardwick, *The Practice of Patriarchy*, x.

Similarly, James Farr's *Authority and Sexuality in Early Modern Burgundy* and André Burguière's *Le Mariage et l'amour* also portray a system where religious and secular authorities were in agreement about reinforcing traditional forms of hierarchy based upon a male head of household.⁷⁰¹ This is the environment of paternal authority, order, and hierarchy in which the discussions and debates about marriage last chapter took place. Farr's study reveals the profound way in which gendered thinking permeated political discourse, and in which differences were explained according to gendered notions, such as the disorderly female.⁷⁰² Looking beyond France, Frances Dolan's *Whores of Babylon* provides an example of how gender could be important to religious propaganda and ideas of confessional difference. Dolan explores how English Protestants described their Catholic counterparts in terms of the dangerous female, using gender and sexuality to mark a sense of difference and otherness.⁷⁰³ An important part of this gendered 'othering', moreover, was the dualism that underscored it which, like Dolan's title suggests, was borne of the angst and apocalyptic urgency of the Reformation era.⁷⁰⁴ In that way, religious urgency and gender difference reinforced each other, providing metaphors that were both familiar and powerful.

Such themes are found in various permutations throughout Huguenot sermons, performing the same reciprocal job of denoting order and difference while reinforcing gender inequality. In these sermons, the broader applications of

701Farr, *Authority and Sexuality*; Burguière, *Le Mariage*.

702Farr, *Authority and Sexuality*, 3-5.

703Dolan, *Whores of Babylon*, 6.

704Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon*. Christianson looks at how Protestants used apocalyptic and dualistic language to emphasize an 'us vs. them' sense of struggle in the Reformation, painting it in accessible and powerful imagery.

that marital paradigm are explored, looking at how a properly-formed family unit was an integral building block of civil society, and how notions of marriage, gender, and sexuality were abstracted to further define the Huguenot Church and its members as a unique community within France, distinct from the adherents of Roman Catholicism. Gender, after all, was not a discrete category,⁷⁰⁵ and so it is only natural that its influences and images bled into other discussions. In the sermons that follow, Huguenot preachers often used marital imagery to show their political loyalty, and their distinction from Roman Catholicism. In that way, such metaphorical uses helped to distinguish Huguenots from the Catholic majority but as legitimate subjects of the crown, reinforcing Huguenot confessional identity and providing another means for Huguenot ministers to link faith, action, and identity through sermons.

Finally, although Huguenot expository sermons were generally composed as literal-historical interpretations of Scripture, as the sermon moved from explanation to application it was often necessary to produce a lesson beyond what was strictly grammatically present. To use the language of the Catholic four-fold exegetical model, a moral-tropological or an allegorical component could, therefore, be necessary to uncover the full spiritual significance of a passage. This was plainly understood by Huguenot preachers, especially with the acknowledgement that Jesus himself often spoke in parables. In the introductions to their sermons on the Parable of the Wedding Feast (Matthew 22:1-14), both Jean Claude, a minister at Charenton, and Daniel De Barthe, a minister at Limoges,

⁷⁰⁵Munns and Richards, *Gender, Power, and Privilege*, 12.

discuss the utility of parables and metaphors. Claude notes that such metaphorical language is important since it combines simplicity and majesty, revealing the most profound of doctrines in the most familiar images, while De Barthe explains that “recourse to similitudes” can be valuable, as Jesus' ministry shows, since teachings that make use of familiar and ordinary examples and which appeal to the senses can be more effective than complex explanations.⁷⁰⁶ Interpreting and employing Scripture beyond its literal meaning was important, then, because Scripture itself used metaphorical language, a point made clear when discussing marriage and gender. So, whether explaining and employing biblical similitudes in their sermons or expounding the full import of a social order informed by essentialized gender difference, Huguenot preachers made sustained use of marital, sexual, and gender themes in their sermons, well beyond their bearing on the proper formation and expectations of the conjugal unit. Not only did these sermons broach topics of religious belief, practice, and social order, they also positioned the Huguenot Church as a loyal part of the kingdom, but as distinct from the Catholic majority, combining doctrinal pedagogy with lessons for Huguenot confessional identity.

HUSBANDS, LOVE YOUR WIVES, JUST AS CHRIST LOVED THE CHURCH⁷⁰⁷

The idea of the church as the Bride of Christ is as old as Christianity itself, and the significance of that image in relation to marriage and ecclesiology has

⁷⁰⁶Jean Claude, *Recueil de sermons sur divers textes de l'Ecriture Sainte* (Geneva, 1693) 3-6;

Daniel De Barthe, *Le loisir spirituel, ou Recueil de quelques Sermons prononcés en l'Eglise de Lymoges* (s.l., 1633), 5-6.

⁷⁰⁷Ephesians 5:25 (NIV)

been a frequent exegetical focus.⁷⁰⁸ It also played a central role in the Catholic formulation of marriage – it was a sacrament precisely because it represented, and was modelled after, the marriage between Christ and the church.⁷⁰⁹ For Huguenot ministers, it was, among other things, a concept that they employed to exhort their listeners to be good spouses to each other, and to be good spouses to Jesus.

Explaining that link, Jean Daillé notes, “in many places, the Gospel of Jesus Christ takes marriage as the symbol for the union that exists between himself and his Church”,⁷¹⁰ and David Vignier explains that in many verses Paul proposed to husbands the “example of love that Jesus Christ has for his Church”.⁷¹¹ However, as Raymond Gaches points out, this concept in fact predates the emergence of Christianity, since “God considered the Church of Israel as his Spouse” in the Old Testament.⁷¹² In any case, it featured frequently among the reasons enumerated to explain the honour and goodness of marriage, and informed the discussions of faith and piety as a model. The marriage between Jesus and the church was a potent symbol to inscribe both marriage and the relationship between Jesus and the church with a unique significance, and as such it appeared in various forms in Huguenot sermons.

As the last chapter showed, Huguenot ministers made full use of the well-established commonplaces that had traditionally been used to affirm the value and

708J. Paul Sampley, *'And the Two Shall Become One Flesh': A Study of Traditions in Ephesians 5:21-33*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 157.

709McDougall, *Bigamy and Christian Identity*, 20-48. The Huguenot use of this imagery, therefore, can be seen as an attempt to claim this contested imagery for themselves.

710Daillé, *Sermons sur...Colossiens*, 3e Partie, 421.

711Vignier, *Cent vint trois sermons*, (BPF Ms 883/1), n.p.

712Gaches, *Seize sermons*, 723.

spiritual goodness of marriage. However, one theme that was passed over last chapter yet frequently featured along with the others was that of Jesus' marriage to the church. In Jean Daillé's sermon on I Peter 3:1-6, between noting marriage's social necessity and listing the many Pauline Epistles that esteem it, he explains that God provided marriage with a great honour for having “taken it as the image of the sacred and eternal communion which exists between him and his Church”.⁷¹³ In Charles Drelincourt's sermon that he preached at his son's wedding, he explains that in the first marriage – between Adam and Eve – there must be seen a “rich figure of the spiritual marriage of Jesus Christ and the Church”.⁷¹⁴ Using even bolder language, Pierre Du Moulin, in his sermon on Colossians 3:19, tells his audience, after having listed several reasons already mentioned that “above all, Scripture honours marriage by comparing the alliance of Jesus Christ and his Church with a marriage, so that no one can despise marriage without despising God's alliance”.⁷¹⁵ In these examples, Jesus' spiritual marriage with the Church is one of a number of reasons to esteem marriage highly, along with the other scriptural affirmations, providing it with the ultimate analogical support.

Elsewhere, this image was used to reinforce the duties and expectations within marriage, whereby Jesus and the Church provided an example for spouses to emulate. Expounding on the command to husbands to love their wives like Jesus loved the church, Jean Daillé says: “to the Faithful that God has called to the estate of marriage, have always this example before your eyes. Form from it the love that

⁷¹³Daillé, *Mélange de Sermons, 1e Partie*, 313-314.

⁷¹⁴Drelincourt, *Recueil de Sermons, vol. 2*, 612.

⁷¹⁵Du Moulin, *Première Decade de Sermons*, 118.

you bring to your wives, and from it organize the duties that you are obligated to render”.⁷¹⁶ In his sermon on Colossians 3:19, Pierre Du Moulin offers a similar lesson, explaining that “husbands must remember that Jesus Christ is offered to them as an example, in which he loved his Church, who is his Spouse, more than his own life”.⁷¹⁷ So, just as the goods of marriage and the duties within marriage were both common issues for Huguenot sermons discussed last chapter, so too were they both related to the image of the marriage between Jesus and the Church.

Beyond these quick references to the spiritual marriage between Jesus and the Church, there were also sustained discussions about the full significance of that 'rich figure', as Drelincourt terms it, explaining why it was such an appropriate metaphor to employ in discussing actual marriages. In Daniel De Barthe's sermon on Matthew 22:12, for instance, he goes into a thorough analysis of what this analogy means for faithful Christians, explaining that just as how marriage brings two bodies together as one, so too is that the case when “Divinity marries humanity”.⁷¹⁸ He continues by telling his audience that since marriage is the closest of all bonds, then Christians are not just beside Jesus, or even “like members to the head, but the most intimate to Christ, and Christ the most intimate to us”.⁷¹⁹ He continues interpreting this metaphor throughout the sermon, finally concluding with the admonition to remain devoted Christians so as to “fulfil the most sacred mystery of this blissful Marriage in which the Prince of life and the Eternal Spouse invites his Host and calls his Brothers [...] for centuries and

⁷¹⁶Daillé, *Mélange de Sermons, 1e Partie*, 365.

⁷¹⁷Du Moulin, *Première Decade de Sermons*, 125.

⁷¹⁸De Barthe, *Le loisir spirituel*, 8-9.

⁷¹⁹*Ibid.*, 10.

centuries”.⁷²⁰

Looking at the same parable a few decades later, Jean Claude addresses some of the same ideas as De Barthe. For instance, he notes that marriage is a useful depiction of the relationship between Jesus and humanity because it implies such a direct intimacy, “not a simple relation of Prince to subject, or master and servant, or friend to friend, or brother to brother, but a communion of spouse to spouse, which is the most perfect one imaginable”.⁷²¹ Moreover, as frequently occurs in Huguenot sermons, Claude also takes the opportunity to castigate the Papacy. Since the parable takes place at a royal wedding, Claude emphasizes the difference between the Heavenly Kingdom – to which the parable alludes – and earthly kingdoms, and finds in it a “condemnation of the unjust idea of all those Christians who want to make Ecclesiastical government a temporal and worldly Empire”.⁷²² For both Claude and De Barthe, then, the Parable of the Wedding Feast provided the imagery to discuss many related themes, whether about marital duties, Christian piety, or Catholic error. Moreover, in his anti-Catholic component, Claude was even able to wade into a discussion of political concerns, accusing the Papacy of temporal ambitions.

In addition to being used to elaborate upon the essence of real-life marriages, the spiritual marriage between Jesus and the Church also used conjugal notions to explain the obligations owed between humanity and God, reciprocally reinforcing both in a variety of contexts. Frequently, this was framed as the need to

⁷²⁰*Ibid.*, 33.

⁷²¹Claude, *Recueil de sermons*, 23.

⁷²²*Ibid.*, 15.

be a good spouse to Jesus. Jean Daillé, in a catechetical sermon on the second commandment, uses a gendered marital metaphor to discuss Christian devotion as an elaboration on how to properly worship God. He says that, “from this illustration [of spiritual marriage], the duties of the faithful to God, the adoration, and the service are represented under the name of the duties of faith and respect that a wife owes to her husband, and their absence, similarly, under the name of conjugal infidelity”.⁷²³ Jean Mestrezat, too, uses the image of a good wife to describe Christian devotion, beginning his sermon on II Corinthians 6:11-15 by saying to his audience: “we are obliged to keep ourselves in complete chastity for this divine and celestial Spouse”.⁷²⁴ As these examples show, the spiritual marriage between Jesus and the Church was a valuable metaphor for Huguenot ministers, as it was applicable as a means to endow real-life marriages with additional spiritual gravity while marriage, as a familiar and quotidian institution with clearly prescribed roles, was also made available as a useful figure of Christian devotion.

Related imagery was also useful as a way to discuss the dangers of letting this spiritual marriage break down, even invoking the spectre of divorce. A telling example of this is found in Raymond Gaches' sermon which he preached after the end of the first Anglo-Dutch War, a sermon which was discussed earlier. In it, Gaches warns against the consequences of sinfulness, since it would “arouse against the church the anger of her Spouse and her King” and that it seems sometimes that he is ready to give her a “letter of divorce”.⁷²⁵ Jean Maximilien De

⁷²³Daillé, *Sermons sur le Catechisme*, vol.2, 205.

⁷²⁴Mestrezat, *Vingt Sermons*, 623.

⁷²⁵Gaches, *Action de Graces*, 20.

l'Angle, in his sermon preached in support of the French army, paints a similar image about “God giving the letter of divorce”.⁷²⁶ These examples demonstrate how, among the different marital metaphors, divorce could be a valuable image to illustrate the consequences of forsaking God. Moreover, the presence of such imagery in these more political sermons also testifies to the fact that in shaping Huguenot identity, not only was politics understood in religious terms, but issues of sin and morality, in turn, became politicized. This effectively demonstrates the interrelatedness of different sources of hierarchy and how they were understood to contribute to the same sense of order. As such, invoking the consequences of infidelity touched upon duties to God and king, and meant for Huguenots that these concerns were linked to their sense of place in France.

The use of divorce to discuss spiritual infidelity also appears in other sermons. Pierre Du Moulin, in a sermon on II Corinthians 11:2, explains that “idolatry is ordinarily considered a type of adultery for being a violation and a rupture of this conjugal bond” between Jesus and the Church.⁷²⁷ And Jean Claude concludes his sermon on Matthew 22:1-14 by imploring his audience to consecrate themselves to Jesus: “like a chaste and faithful Spouse, inducing more and more of his benevolence and benediction, and never giving him a reason to divorce us”.⁷²⁸ In these examples again, sinfulness is equated to rejecting God and thus to a rupture of that spiritual marriage, and Du Moulin explains how exactly that occurs by relating idolatry to a form of spiritual adultery. After all, since marriage was

⁷²⁶De l'Angle, *Sermon Fait a Quevilly*, 86.

⁷²⁷Du Moulin, *Première Decade de Sermons*, 209.

⁷²⁸Claude, *Recueil de sermons*, 51.

indissoluble, it took something fundamentally antithetical to marriage such as adultery to undo it; and, in the realm of spiritual marriage, Huguenot ministers used the same logic about rejecting marriage to warn against the dangers of impiety.

The spiritual marriage between Jesus and the Church provided Huguenot ministers with a flexible image with which to insist upon the sacredness of marriage, the duties and responsibilities within marriage, and the religious devotion required of good Christians. Intertwined among all this was the political element, the idea that such fidelity was important to their demonstrable devotion to the king. Invoking the image of spiritual marriage could take the form of intensive exposition, such as in the case of Daniel De Barthe's sermon on the Parable of the Wedding Feast, or brief mentions, such as Jean Maximilien De l'Angle's allusion to divorce.⁷²⁹ This all testifies to adaptability and familiarity of the symbolism, the latter especially important for a successful metaphor.

As with some of the other components of the Huguenot position on matters of marriage, gender, and sexuality, the symbolism of the spiritual marriage is a legacy common to Christianity.⁷³⁰ Yet, as with those other cases, there was still a way to frame the discussion within the Huguenot context. Namely, Jesus' spouse in the formulations of spiritual marriage here is, specifically, the Huguenot faithful; they are unique members of the church which is the Bride of Christ. Indeed, as it is

⁷²⁹ Or, in another case, the casual reference to Jesus as constant spouse of good Christians in the preface to sermons preached for the prosperity of the royal armies already cited, in Mestrezat et al., *Sermons Faits au Jour du Jusne*, n.p.

⁷³⁰ See, for instance, Carolyn Osiek, "The Bride of Christ (Ephesians 5:22-23): A Problematic Wedding," in *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 32 (Spring 2002): 29-39, which looks at the legacy of the Jesus-church marriage from a feminist perspective, or Sampley, *And the Two*.

sometimes employed, this conjugal image becomes shorthand for the Reformed Church in particular. This unique spiritual relationship privileges Huguenots since marriage is an exclusive partnership. Moreover, as the following section shows, this imagery was also used explicitly to distinguish Huguenots from Catholics, painting the Papacy in opposition to the devoted spouse that was the Huguenot Church.

LE PETIT TROUPEAU VS. LA GRANDE PAILLARDE

Employing the image of conjugal fidelity went beyond a minister imploring his audience to lead more righteous lives; by distilling its elements to produce a clear binary, marriage allowed him to define his church as a faithful spouse in stark contrast to his religious opponents. The explanation of idolatry as spiritual adultery, in that capacity, was used as an indictment of the Papacy, and the theme of divorce was employed to show the Catholic Church to have ruptured the conjugal link with Jesus on account of their improprieties. In that manner, metaphors of sexual impropriety were used to reinforce Huguenot particularism by providing further detail about the dangers of the Catholic 'other'.

Similar to the cases examined by James Farr and Frances Dolan, the gendered depictions of groups that Huguenot ministers used in their sermons were a powerful way to imply danger, disorder, and difference. For Farr, the prominent use of “gendered imagery” is a way to access the 'female' characteristics of “disorder and sexual wantonness” and, in his case, to apply those well-known

stereotypes to the *ligueurs* who finally submitted to Henri IV in 1595.⁷³¹ For Dolan, Catholics in England are given the same treatment. In her analysis, using gendered imagery was one of the “strategies for conceptualizing difference”, and was, in fact, the “most fully developed and consistently, if unevenly, deployed system” for asserting the difference of Catholics.⁷³² In both cases, gender and sexuality were integral to asserting an inherent and unequal difference between groups, using such imagery to establish a clear 'other'. In Huguenot sermons, this is seen as ministers carried discussions about conjugal duties and illicit sexuality into the realm of confessional difference, using that imagery to define the dangers of the Papacy.

In the first place, the scriptural link between idolatry and illicit sexuality created a straightforward means to frame discussions of Catholic error in terms of sexual impropriety. A sermon by Josué Le Vasseur preached in Sedan in 1660 makes that connection, expounding on the verse I Corinthians 6:10 - “*ni les paillards, ni les idolatres, ni les adulteres...n'heriteront point le royaume de Dieu*”. He explores not only the category of vice to which they both *paillardise* and *idolatrie* belong, but also the relationship between them, as sins against both self and church, and hence the body of Jesus.⁷³³ Similarly, in one of his catechetical sermons, Jean Dailé provides a thorough treatment of this link between idolatry and adultery as he elaborates on the idea of the church as the Bride of Christ. He explains that,

731Farr, *Authority and Sexuality*, 4.

732Dolan, *Whores of Babylon*, 6.

733Le Vasseur, *Deux sermons*, 26.

from this figure, the duties of the faithful to God, the adoration and the service are represented under the names of the duties of faith and respect that a wife owes to her husband, and their absence, at the same time, under the name of conjugal infidelity; Idolatry in particular [...] is perpetually compared to adultery, the final and most central of all the infidelities of marriage.⁷³⁴

From these examples, not only is the relationship between God and humanity explained in conjugal and gendered terms, but also according to notions of sexual chastity, reinforcing for Huguenots what their religious devotion should look like.

Above, we saw how Huguenot ministers used the image of the spiritual marriage between the church and Jesus to explain that the church should be like a good wife – humble, faithful, and pure. Providing the opposite to that is the idolatrous-adulterous spouse who ruptures the conjugal bond through their *paillardise spirituelle*; and, while ministers could use the fear of a spiritual divorce to insist that their congregations live up to the expectations of being a good wife to Jesus, the same imagery could be used to emphasize a sense of difference between themselves and the Catholic faithful. After all, for Huguenot ministers, the Catholic Church had broken the bonds of spiritual marriage, or lay outside of its reach. This was due in large part to the conflation of idolatry and adultery seen in the preceding references, where illicit sexuality was not just a category of sin, but synechdocally symbolized sinfulness more generally. In confessional terms, idolatry was a common and effective accusation to level against Catholic belief, whether as a general claim or as a specific grievance, such as against the Mass. But by exploiting the scriptural link between idolatry and *paillardise*, Huguenot

⁷³⁴Daillé, *Sermons sur le Catechisme*, vol.2, 205.

ministers could also employ terms of gender and sexual difference to highlight both the error of Catholic belief and the consequences of that error. At the same time, these dualistic and gendered ways of explaining religious difference were rooted in the apocalyptic images – such as the Whore of Babylon from Revelations – that had gained currency in the Reformation era.⁷³⁵ The result was a finely tuned ideological framework that offered a multi-faceted way to define Huguenot religious particularism.

The use of this spiritual-allegorical notion of *paillardise* to accentuate the differences between Protestants and Catholics appears in various forms in Huguenot sermons. A telling example is in Michel Le Faucheur's sermon on Psalm 2:1-2 in his explanation of the Huguenot Church as God's *petit troupeau*. About the Church he says:

it is called *un petit troupeau* by the Sovereign Pastor, caught among idolators and infidels, and as a consequence, neither multitudes nor temporal prosperity form marks of assurance for the Church, as they do for our adversaries, for those are more so the marks of *la grande Paillarde*, for whom it was predicted in Revelations would *sit by many waters*, which is to say, be dominant over many people.⁷³⁶

In this analogy, *petit troupeau* and *grande Paillarde* are contrasted through the language of size difference, whereby Huguenots interpreted their numerical disadvantage in positive and providential terms.⁷³⁷ In addition, though, the Huguenot Church is defined in opposition to the Whore of Babylon, invoking notions of danger and otherness through this gendered depiction of a ruptured

⁷³⁵Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon*; Dolan, *Whores of Babylon*.

⁷³⁶Le Faucheur, *Sermons sur Divers Textes, 1e partie*, 52-53.

⁷³⁷See the discussion on this theme in chapter two.

relationship with God.

Though not as explicit as this example from Le Faucheur, other Huguenot preachers also used notions of conjugal exclusivity to define the Huguenot Church. Pierre Du Moulin, in a sermon on I Corinthians 12:27, concludes his discussion about spiritual marriage by telling his audience: “[y]ou see, My Brothers, in what consists our union in one body, and the communion of Saints, which is talked of as a symbol of the Apostles. But the Roman Church has invented a new communion”.⁷³⁸ In this conclusion, then, Du Moulin is asserting that the spiritual marriage that exists between the Church and Jesus specifically excludes the Catholic communion, or rather, that they have excluded themselves. Similarly, Nicolas Vignier says that: “if we employ ourselves carefully and religiously [...] the Lord Jesus, our immortal Spouse, will watch from our Heavenly Jerusalem over this *petit troupeau*, this Church assembled here before him”.⁷³⁹ Like Le Faucheur, Vignier here combines metaphors by describing the Huguenot Church in terms of both being God's spouse and his *petit troupeau*. In addition, by emphasizing “*this* Church assembled here”, Vignier also implies confessional delineation, specifically excluding the Catholic Church. In both of these cases, the metaphor of the spiritual marriage is combined with other forms of imagery used to define the Huguenot Church and its boundaries, and to do so in a way that marks the Huguenot Church as a unique and exclusive community.

It is a return to more highly charged confessional language, then, with Jean

⁷³⁸Pierre Du Moulin, *Dixieme Decade de Sermons* (Geneva, 1654), 64.

⁷³⁹Nicolas Vignier, *Pratique de repentance*, 328.

Mestrezat's sermon on II Corinthians 6:11-15 (which is titled “*De la defence faite aux Fideles de s'accoupler avec les infideles*”). In it he begins with a discussion about spiritual marriage, and how:

the more that the marriage is to our advantage and our glory, the more we are obliged to keep ourselves in complete chastity for this divine and celestial Spouse, and to avoid with all possible care from engaging in superstitions and the false services of the world, which are the things that holy Scripture calls a *paillardise spirituelle*.⁷⁴⁰

Mestrezat continues by expanding on this *paillardise spirituelle*, associating it with the “false Doctors” and the “infidels and idolators” that the faithful are expected to avoid.⁷⁴¹ So, intertwined with a discussion about the dangers of mixed-marriages, and reinforcing its demands for separation between Protestants and Catholics, Mestrezat employs the metaphorical use of marriage to further support the differences between the two faiths. That is, while the main focus of the sermon is on explaining the reasons to avoid marriage (and other forms of social connection) with those outside of the church, the elaborations on that central point include metaphorical uses of marriage and sexual immorality to further reinforce the point of social and spiritual exclusivity. We saw earlier how Huguenot ministers warned their parishioners in their sermons about being 'bad wives' to Jesus through their sinfulness; here, that same sense of conjugal fidelity is applied to emphasize danger and difference in the Catholic Church, providing a target for the dualistic symbolism of chastity and adultery, and giving meaning to other invocations of *paillardise spirituelle*.

⁷⁴⁰Mestrezat, *Vingt Sermons*, 623-624.

⁷⁴¹*Ibid.*, 624.

Apart from these references to a gendered understanding of belonging to the true church, related examples from biblical history were used to reinforce these positions looking both to the Old Testament and to the Apostolic Church. Jacques Gaillard notes that the church at Corinth resisted grave idolatries; in that case, “the true Church and faithful spouse of Our Lord Jesus Christ never fell into that spiritual adultery”, providing his audience with a useful historical example.⁷⁴² A more potent example, though, comes from the important story of Sodom and Gomorrah. As an extension of emphasizing the collective nature of God's justice, this example was also a way to define belonging to the true church through allusions to sexual morality. It is in that context, then, that David Eustache describes Sodom, Gomorrah, and the surrounding cities in terms of the “*paillardise spirituelle* with which they tainted themselves and separated themselves from God”.⁷⁴³ In these instances, the biblical examples that were used to lend authority to notions of Huguenot particularism are infused with the imagery of marriage and gender. As a result, the differences between the Huguenots and their Catholic neighbours are cast according to opposing types – the Huguenot Church is defined by chastity and fidelity and is set in contrast to the idolatry and allegorical adultery that marks the *paillardise spirituelle* of the Papacy – providing the Huguenot faithful with readily available images through which to interpret their position and experiences in France.

The themes of marriage and gender were significant and versatile means

⁷⁴²Gaillard, *L'echole sainte des femmes*, 10.

⁷⁴³Eustache, *Neuf sermons*, 343.

through which to insist upon Huguenot particularism. Such discussions focused on order and stressed the importance of the characteristics of chastity and obedience both literally and figuratively. Such discussions were also a site for disparate images to be combined, such as identifying the Huguenot *petit troupeau* as the Bride of Christ. In that way, the spiritual marriage of the *petit troupeau* was contrasted to the *paillardise spirituelle* of the Papacy which had ruptured the bonds of that marriage. Through these expositions, Huguenot identity was articulated through familiar images with which to construct ideas about their religious particularism. In these cases, both confessions were cast in female archetypes in this configuration – the good wife and the adulteress – and so difference along gendered lines was not established in these instances according to a male-female gender dichotomy. Nonetheless, commonplaces of marriage, gender, and sexuality were still instrumental in how they saw themselves in relation to God and how they conceived of themselves as a distinct community within France.

OBEYING HUSBANDS AND KINGS:

The figurative uses of marriage and gender examined here provided a variety of ways of conceptualizing Huguenot particularism to their audiences. However, just as that particularism co-existed with a profound sense of belonging within French, so too were marital metaphors used to inculcate – or demonstrate – enthusiasm and obedience towards the monarchy. This was an additional avenue to

pursue the Huguenot political position of existing as a legitimate but separate community within France, and drew on links between the conjugal-family unit and civil society according to organizational principles that dominated both, namely order and subjection. As has been mentioned, there was broad agreement between the crown and Huguenot leaders (and the Catholic Church, for that matter) about the value of a firm social order shaped by strong patriarchal authority, both within families and within the state more broadly. Though largely a social given of the era, this position had very practical applications – as André Burguière points out, the desire of religious leaders to control sexual morality and the desire of the crown and ministers to regulate family formation and inheritance both converged on this same promotion of paternal discipline.⁷⁴⁴ This was also in addition to the broader forms of gendering and patriarchy that informed ideas of society and kingship. As a result, a gendered understanding of order more generally also informed the nature and basis of hierarchy. That is, gender inequality not only defined actual social order, with women being subordinated to men, but also symbolized the innate and necessary forms of subordination that existed and gave them ideological support – gender inequality both participated in and represented natural social hierarchy. As James Farr notes, it was a process of dialectical negotiation, of “regularizing or ordering”, and these representations acted as “cultural devices used to attempt to 'fix' social reality”.⁷⁴⁵ Within Huguenot sermons, the language of gender, order, and subordination allowed ministers to

⁷⁴⁴Burguière, *Le Mariage et L'Amour*, 306-333.

⁷⁴⁵Farr, *Authority and Sexuality*, 5.

discuss marital duty and civic obedience as related and mutually supportive responsibilities, explaining how Huguenots were to be proper subjects of the French crown.

In terms of emphasizing order, Jean Daillé was a frequent proponent of the idea that every person had their place in a hierarchically organized society, invoking notions reminiscent of the Chain of Being. For instance, he begins a sermon on I Peter 3:7, whose focus is on marital duties, by explaining the essential existence of order and hierarchy, saying:

Dear Brothers, just as the parts with which Nature has composed the bodies of animals are not all of the same order, but some the principal parts which govern, and the others subjects and dependent; so too is it the case in the diverse sorts of societies which exist in the human race, and so each one is like an artificial body formed by the union of people joined together. Their parts are also different and unequal, some the superiors who govern, the others the inferiors who obey.⁷⁴⁶

After this introduction, Daillé goes on to explore this relationship within marriage and the state, noting that in both cases there are clear hierarchies which must be obeyed, whether headed by the husband or the magistrate. Similarly, in the sermon that appears immediately before in the collection (on I Peter 3:1-6), Daillé notes that “in every society there must necessarily be some order, some distinction between Superior and inferior”.⁷⁴⁷ Again, occurring within the context of a sermon about marriage, this statement has the clear purpose of promoting strong patriarchal authority within the family unit; but by linking it to society more generally, it also serves the purpose of asserting the necessity of rulers and ruled in

⁷⁴⁶Daillé, *Mélange de Sermons, 1e Partie*, 350.

⁷⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 322.

the political realm.

Beginning another sermon with familiar terms already seen, Daillé begins his exposition on I Timothy 2:11-15 by saying:

Dear Brothers, Order is the great secret for the perfection of things, and which provides them with beauty and utility [...] This is seen clearly in all human societies, which are so many images and imitations of natural bodies. There is nothing more villainous for form, nor more incommodious for use than a mass of confused men and women that have among them neither law, nor magistrates, nor common and great people, nor families. Provide them with order and nothing else [...] and that order will make a city or a state, one perfect and commodious body all together.⁷⁴⁸

Next, Daillé goes on to explain the importance of order and hierarchy within families, within the church, and within civil society, linking the male leadership in all cases and insisting upon the necessity of obedience. For his Huguenot audience he is reaffirming the order and behaviour expected of them as good Christians and as good Huguenot subjects, and for his royal audience, he is asserting that there exists an orderly Huguenot Church that is a loyal and humble part of the kingdom.

Turning briefly away from Jean Daillé, the same concern with order is seen in an earlier sermon by Pierre Du Moulin on Colossians 3:19. In this example, the sermon begins by introducing themes of order and hierarchy and a discussion of political philosophy, with Du Moulin stating that “[m]an is a social animal”, before declaring marriage to be not only the first and most intimate of societies, but a building block of society too.⁷⁴⁹ Immediately after that, Du Moulin explains the necessity of inequality for the sake of concord, both within marriage and in the broader society. He says that:

⁷⁴⁸Daillé, *Exposition de la Première Epître...Timothée*, vol.1, 592-595.

⁷⁴⁹Du Moulin, *Première Decade de Sermons*, 116-117.

a body of people composed of people of equal condition cannot move without great inconvenience; it is this inequality that maintains the society of Republics, since the great need the service of the little people, and the little people need the support of the great, and to be directed by the prudence of their superiors. Everywhere that God has established order, he has imposed some superiority; he established the Archangels over the Angels, and Princes over their people; he wanted children to obey their fathers and mothers, servants their masters, and women their husbands; and the soul commands the body.⁷⁵⁰

Including the reference to the King Bee that follows thereafter, Du Moulin offers a long list of examples detailing the hierarchy in which God has ordered the world, and the themes of gender and rank that organize heaven, nature, and human society. This makes it abundantly clear that hierarchy is a natural and fundamental part of nature and God's plan, reminding his audience to see order all around them and recognize their part within it, whether as husbands and wives or as subjects of the king. By noting the reciprocity that exists in these examples, unequal as it is, Du Moulin also shows that the individuals in each case are bound to each other by virtue of the established order of God's design. The fact that this discussion by Du Moulin comes from a sermon about marriage also shows how a connection was conceived between order within marriage and order within the political realm, linking the two symbolically and allowing for ideas of political organization to be explained in normative and imperative terms that were derived from the domestic lives of the Huguenot faithful.

Asserting the universality of order and hierarchy, however, was only one part of the political discussion. There was also the need to explain the consequent subjection, and the duties that come along with it. Again, Jean Daillé provides a

⁷⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 118-119.

useful exploration of this in his sermon on I Peter 3:1-6. Moving from the structure to the duties of unequal relationships, Daillé mentions Peter's concern with this in this letter stating that Peter

implored the Faithful to render complete obedience and submission to their Superiors, subjects to their Magistrates, and servants to their masters, and to accept patiently all difficulties that might come from this servitude. Then he continues, passing to marriage, forming as well the morals of people who belong to that estate; and because in that society the woman is the subject party he begins with her duties, and then ordains to the husband how he must conduct himself.⁷⁵¹

After this, Daillé expands upon the nature of that servitude, emphasizing the key qualities of a wife – fidelity and obedience – as applicable to all unequal relationships, linking through shared imagery conjugal and civic duties.

Beyond this, other conjugal and domestic imagery is also used to elucidate political obedience. For instance, Jacques Gaillard evokes a paternalistic image of the king as he “exhorts Magistrates to be the Fathers of their people, the people to honour their Magistrates, husbands to love their wives, and wives to revere their husbands”.⁷⁵² Beyond the image of the king that emerges from this – a conventional one for the time – Gaillard also links the different forms of obedience and reciprocal duty, showing that they are structurally linked, but also connected by their symbolism. Looking at an instance of dynastic politics and when two different sources of authority – political and familial – come into conflict, Charles Drelincourt mentions how “as soon as Kings reach their Majority, they are no longer subject to their mothers; and on the contrary, their mothers are said to be

⁷⁵¹Daillé, *Mélange de Sermons, 1e Partie*, 315-316.

⁷⁵²Gaillard, *L'echole sainte des femmes*, 41.

their subjects”⁷⁵³ This is, perhaps, a comment on contemporary events, since although Louis XIV had already reached the age of majority by April 1657 when the sermon was preached, Anne of Austria was still a powerful figure at court. However, it can also be read as a statement about royal authority more broadly, asserting its primacy over other forms of hierarchy, in this case superseding the parental authority that the king's mother would have over him.

Finally, turning to Pierre Du Bosc's analogy of a chaste woman and a debauched woman who fear their husbands for opposing reasons, we see the metaphor extended so that the 'chaste fear' of the exemplary wife typifies the obedience owed to kings.⁷⁵⁴ This use of the notion of 'chaste fear' that Du Bosc employs draws on a discourse about marriage to illustrate an important lesson about how subjects must properly subject themselves to their monarch. At the same time, these metaphors also define the Huguenots as an obedient element within France, belonging to a relationship with their king that shared characteristics with that of husband and wife, or father and child. In that way, they are both an announcement to the crown about the nature of Huguenot loyalty, and a lesson to Huguenots on how to conceive of their relationship to the crown.

An interesting aspect of these examples most recently cited is that the sermons from which they are taken have different areas of focus, and yet they all make use of the same imagery, venturing into the common ground between hierarchies found in nature, the family, and the state, and showing the universality

⁷⁵³Drelincourt, *Recueil de Sermons*, vol. 2, 637.

⁷⁵⁴Du Bosc, *Sermons sur Divers Textes*, Tome 4e, 98-99.

of the duties that they entail. This is true, too, of one final example, a sermon by Louis Herault on Romans 13:1, which also uses gendered marital imagery to discuss the Huguenots as loyal and obedient subjects of the crown in a sermon concerned with expounding on political order. Linking various forms of obedience, Herault explains that,

the subjection and the obedience that we owe to superior powers follows that which we first owe to God [...] The woman owes this to her husband, the child to his father, where subjection is natural; the valet to his master, where the subjection is voluntary; the friend to his friend where it is reciprocal; the subject to his Lord and his Prince and his Sovereign Magistrate, where it is Civil.⁷⁵⁵

Importantly, this links the different sources of obedience, and roots them in God's design. However, Herault here also asserts the pre-eminence of the obedience owed to God, placing supreme importance on freedom of religious conscience and claiming that to infringe upon God's sovereignty this way is an abuse and only leads to the creation of hypocrites.⁷⁵⁶ In this scheme, then, religious conscience is the one area not bound under some form of secular authority, but apart from that, a king or magistrate has absolute and irrevocable sovereignty, an equation that speaks both to the situation of Huguenots under the Edict of Nantes and the legacy of their history in France.

To make that sovereignty and its permanence clear, Herault turns once again to a marital metaphor. Hinting at a contractual origin but unassailable present of the king's authority, Herault explains in the next sermon in the series that,

⁷⁵⁵Herault, *Le Pacifique Royal en Dueil*, 145-146.

⁷⁵⁶*Ibid.*, 146-147.

the establishment [of a Prince by the people] is in the beginning voluntary on the part of the people, but following that it is not necessary to depend on the will of the people: in the same way as a woman, who in the beginning subjects herself voluntarily and of her own free will to a husband, cannot without injustice remove her subjection and obedience to him.⁷⁵⁷

So again, the gender inequality within marriage helps to illustrate the nature of political obedience, providing a readily familiar example of order and subjection within society. Such discussions also bring the marital concept of indissolubility into a treatment of political relationships, asserting a strong and permanent devotion to the king, while perhaps also arguing that the king was therefore also bound to continue regarding Huguenots as his subjects.

As evidenced here, the pervasive use of gendered imagery could play an important role in describing the political obligations that Huguenots needed to subscribe to within France. It was used to explain the nature and universality of the hierarchy around which the kingdom was ordered, and it helped to illustrate the obedience that Huguenots owed to their king. Such allusions could also have normative power in reinforcing the influence of patriarchy in society and in the domestic sphere by situating it within God's plan for order in the universe. In relation to the Huguenot sense of themselves within France, these sermons highlight the universality of order and subjection according to God's plan, and what that meant to Huguenots as true Christians and as good Frenchmen and Frenchwomen.

⁷⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 231.

CONCLUSION:

Both in terms of promoting a sense of Huguenot particularism and of demonstrating their loyalty to the kingdom, marriage and gender provided a useful vocabulary of metaphors and images with which to elaborate upon those elements of Huguenot identity. This was done, on the one hand, by identifying the Huguenot Church as the Bride of Christ, using the bond of marriage to describe the relationship between the Huguenot faithful and God. This was not only an inducement for the audience to be chaste and loyal to their spiritual spouse, but it also established a privileged relationship between the Huguenot Church and God; the Catholic Church, meanwhile, was the adulteress in contrast to the Huguenot pious wife, the *paillarde spirituelle* who had ruptured their relationship with God on account of their idolatry. Similar imagery was used with regard to their position within France. Ministers drew parallels between the order and obedience within marriage and that within the political realm, providing familiar images to promote an understanding of Huguenot confessional identity and their relationship to the king.

Sermons were an accessible and authoritative source of information for audiences, one that was a potent ideological force for religious and political issues. Here, not only did Huguenot ministers provide the crown with a series of images depicting the devotion and loyalty of their church, but they also furnished the Huguenot faithful with explanations for their position in France based on metaphors of marriage and gender, further contributing to the mental tools

available to them as Huguenot confessional identity was negotiated and lived. As a result, these sermons must be seen not only in their capacity to explicate concerns of marriage and sexual morality, but also in their commentaries on confessional difference and political thought. From that perspective, these themes contributed useful imagery to defining the Huguenot community as a distinct and legitimate part of France. Huguenot particularism was most powerfully discussed by linking the notion of *petit troupeau* to that of the Bride of Christ. At the same time, the Huguenot community was linked to their king through a marital bond, one that specified the nature of obedience that they owed their monarch, but also one that implied a certain indissolubility. In that way, such imagery helped to assert the legitimacy of Huguenots as a unique component of the French polity, reflecting the broader confessional and political strategies for which sermons played a central part.

CHAPTER SIX

AN EPILOGUE, or: HUGUENOT IDENTITY BEYOND THE REVOCATION, FAMILIAR IMAGERY AND HUGUENOT HISTORY IN REFUGEE SERMONS

When the Edict of Fontainebleau revoked the Edict of Nantes in 1685 and ended the legal toleration of Protestantism in France, it brought an abrupt end to the paradigm under which Huguenots had operated for four generations. In a sense, then, the Revocation brought a close to Huguenot program of defining their place within the kingdom since their status as a separate community had been rescinded. At the same time, though, the legacy of the Edict of Nantes lasted well beyond 1685, both in terms of Huguenot identity and French politics. In fact, the Revocation provides a useful lens through which to view the preceding years, not only in terms of French history in general, but also in terms of Huguenot sermons and their role in shaping confessional identity and political strategy. That is, all of the strategies of action taken in response to the Revocation, whether fleeing France or remaining, all reflect in some way the ideas and tensions that were developed under the Edict of Nantes. The Edict of Fontainebleau, then, as an important rupturing event in Huguenot history, provides a useful point to look both backwards and forwards, and so a reading of post-revocation refugee sermons helps to show pre-revocation elements in clear relief, while also illuminating some of the legacies and transformations of Huguenot confessional and political identity.

TOWARDS THE REVOCATION AND BEYOND

The trajectory of Huguenot political history under the Edict of Nantes has been discussed elsewhere already,⁷⁵⁸ but it is useful to return once again to the period from the beginning of Louis XIV's personal reign to the Revocation for the sake of better envisaging the context that led to the Revocation itself. During the time of the royal ministers Richelieu and Mazarin, the Edict of Nantes was reaffirmed on many occasions, and although there were numerous disagreements and crises, the Huguenots remained a tolerated minority; and, as acute fears of sedition passed, Huguenots were noted for their loyalty in trying situations. These reaffirmations of the Huguenots' legal existence was a symbolic reward for that loyalty, but as Brian Strayer notes, it was also a subtle means to undermine its status as “perpetual and irrevocable”.⁷⁵⁹ That is, the very act of reaffirming the edicts of toleration hinted at the notion that they existed because the king chose to maintain them and not because they were irrevocable. Naturally, the Catholic Church continued to press for an end to the Protestant presence in France. Moreover, as ideas of absolutist monarchy developed, Huguenots were seen as undermining the symbolic unity of the kingdom, and as antithetical to the French notion of *'une foy, une loy, un roy'*.

With the death of Mazarin, an end to the hostilities with the Hapsburgs, and an increase in spiritual devotion, Louis XIV's personal reign became marked by a greater religious intolerance and, for the Huguenots, an increasingly narrow

⁷⁵⁸See, for instance, both the introduction and chapter three above.

⁷⁵⁹Strayer, *Huguenots and Camisards*, 92.

interpretation of the Edict of Nantes. Already before the start of his personal reign in 1661, there were new laws restricting certain Huguenot liberties, but an important turning point came with a *réglement* from 1666 which contained fifty-nine articles concerning a variety of aspects of Huguenot worship.⁷⁶⁰ It limited the movement of pastors, forbade mixed marriages and psalm-singing (again), curtailed the Huguenot printing industry, and sought an increased presence of crown supervision at Huguenots services and gatherings. In addition, Huguenot temples that had trouble establishing their provenance from the sixteenth century began to be destroyed. This legislation was also involved with family matters – such as the ability for Huguenot parents to send children abroad to study, or to encourage the conversion of relatives – presaging later laws that allowed for the forced conversions of young Huguenot children. These measures represent the increasingly narrow constraints that were placed upon Huguenots, a development that was applauded by the Catholic Church through the Assembly of the French Clergy – who had been petitioning the king for such measures – but protested by the Huguenot pastorate.

In addition to the legal and religious constraints placed upon the Huguenots through this interpretation of the Edict of Nantes *à la rigueur*, there were also other means of inducing the Huguenots to join the majority Catholic faith. There were numerous financial and professional incentives: a fund was created to which converts had access; and better positions, ones that were barred to Huguenots, became available to Catholic converts. This was not just true of the urban elite, but

⁷⁶⁰*Recueil Général*, vol.18, 77-85.

also of the Huguenot nobility. Within the military, for instance, Huguenot officers were often offered promotions for converting, and many rose through the ranks this way.⁷⁶¹

For the non-elite Huguenots, the infamous *dragonnades* proved to be a powerful inducement to convert. Beginning in 1681, troop billeting was directed at Huguenot households. This was in the form of dragoons, notably unruly soldiers who were systematically placed with Protestant families. Their coercive activity was based upon being an ill-disciplined and harassing burden on the household and by focusing violence on person and property. Only those who had converted to Catholicism could safely avoid their presence. Both as a potential threat and as an actual force of intimidation, the *dragonnades* were an important aspect of the attempts to rid France of Protestants; they also became a vivid symbol of that stage in the relationship between Huguenots and the crown and quickly found a spot in Huguenot collective memory.

Together, these conditions created a situation where, by the 1680s, the image of the Huguenots as an afflicted minority became increasingly appropriate. Many Huguenot ministers pleaded with the crown to reverse the harsh measures, while many of their parishioners began to emigrate or convert. Even some ministers began to leave France at this time, fearing for their safety in light of increased persecution. Pierre Jurieu, for instance, the grandson of Pierre Du Moulin and an outspoken minister and professor at Sedan, fled to Rotterdam in 1681 when the academy was closed and before a work criticizing the current

⁷⁶¹Strayer, *Huguenots and Camisards*, 82-91.

treatment of Huguenots – his *La politique du clergé de France* – appeared in print.⁷⁶² At this time, most Huguenots still remained in France, and most Huguenots would remain in France beyond the Revocation. Leading up to the Edict of Fontainebleau, many still hoped for a change of fortunes despite the emigrations; but, when it was issued in October 1685, the edict accelerated the flow of the 200,000 or more French Protestants who would emigrate under Louis XIV.

The Edict of Fontainebleau legally undid the Edict of Nantes, making it illegal to be openly Protestant and worship outside of the Catholic Church.⁷⁶³ Revoked ostensibly because it had served its purpose and was no longer necessary, the Edict of Nantes was erased through royal authority by the “perpetual and irrevocable” Edict of Fontainebleau.⁷⁶⁴ It banned all Huguenot worship, even in private homes and on seigneurial land, and closed all Huguenot temples and schools; and, while it required pastors to leave the kingdom, it forbade their parishioners from doing so, and it even offered an amnesty to Huguenots who had left prior to the edict, giving them four months to return as Catholics before their property would be confiscated.

The majority of Huguenots followed the dictates of the edict and becoming *nouveaux convertis*, although Janine Garrisson calls them superficial converts and “mediocre papists”.⁷⁶⁵ They went to Mass and had their children baptized by

⁷⁶²Pierre Jurieu, *La politique du clergé de France* (La Haye, 1681). [Another edition of the text was published before this *sine loco*]

⁷⁶³*Recueil Général*, vol. 19, 530-534.

⁷⁶⁴*Ibid.*, 531.

⁷⁶⁵Garrisson, *L'Edit de Nantes et sa Révocation*, 273.

priests, but many were otherwise unenthusiastic about their new religion and continued to worship privately at home according to Reformed practices. Resistance was most marked in the traditional Huguenot strongholds of the Midi, especially in regions such as the Dauphiné and the Cévennes. In the latter region, the Camisard revolts, which began in 1702 and continued for more than a decade, are a forceful reminder of this. There were also secret services and assemblies of what came to be known as the *Église du Désert*, at first scattered and unstructured, but soon given more direction by ministers such as Antoine Court within France and through the published work and correspondence of ministers abroad, notably Pierre Jurieu. Within France, then, Huguenots responded to the Edict of Fontainebleau in various ways, whether by conforming to Catholic practice, or worshipping secretly in houses and fields, and often both. Moreover, while the stories of violence and terror dominated the Huguenot narrative, Christie Sample Wilson offers an example of “coexistence and accommodation” in the Dauphinois town of Loriol, whose Protestant majority avoided the worst excesses associated with the Revocation by modulating their behaviour and reaching a new settlement with the Catholic community of which they had ostensibly become a part.⁷⁶⁶ This study shows that, despite the distress that clearly resulted from the Revocation, over generalizing about the Huguenot experience can be problematic.

For Huguenots who chose to leave France, they had varied fates as well, determined in part by where they decided to go. Emigrating to French-speaking

⁷⁶⁶Christie Sample Wilson, *Beyond Belief: Surviving the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in France* (Bethlehem PA: Lehigh University Press, 2011), 6-8.

areas in Switzerland or the Netherlands – such as Geneva, Lausanne, or to a city with a large Walloon population like Rotterdam – meant that both the language and the religion were remarkably similar to what Huguenots had experienced in France. Elsewhere, such as in Berlin or London, Huguenots had to establish or join French-language churches, and often also had to negotiate acceptable liturgical practices with the secular authorities. However, these were still Protestant nations, so in the case of England there was, in Elisabeth Labrousse's words, a “basic solidarity that stemmed from a common and deep hostility to Roman Catholics”, a factor that was established well before the Revocation.⁷⁶⁷ Moreover, the tension that had existed for Huguenots by being Protestants under a Catholic king was resolved in England, despite the religious compromise that it entailed – as Labrousse notes, “harmony could now reign between the two loyalties”,⁷⁶⁸ that is, between the political and religious affinities of the Huguenot population. In whatever the particular circumstances of exile, then, the Huguenots formed a community that was separate to varying degrees, defined by its language, confession, and collective memory of France under the Edict of Nantes, but also a community that engaged with its new land in different ways.

There is a rich collection of scholarship dedicated to examining the Huguenot population after the Revocation, for those who remained in France and for those who settled in areas beyond the kingdom's borders. For the latter, beyond just aiming to establish an account of their diaspora, or an assessment of their

⁷⁶⁷Elisabeth Labrousse, “Great Britain as Envisaged by Huguenots,” in *Huguenots in Britain and their French Background, 1550-1800* Irene Scouloudi ed. (Totowa, NJ: Barnes and Noble Books, 1987, 143-157), 144.

⁷⁶⁸*Ibid.*, 150.

impact on their adopted countries, much scholarship over the previous three decades have been concerned with aspects of identity and assimilation among the Huguenot refugees.⁷⁶⁹ The varied experiences among the refugees has led Myriam Yardeni to explain that identity evolved according to different “rhythms” but that, even during assimilation, Huguenot exiles retained links to France.⁷⁷⁰ Moreover, just as certain institutions helped to reinforce Huguenot particularism under the Edict of Nantes, so too were schools, churches, and endogamous marriages signs – and instruments – of distinct Huguenot communities abroad. In England, these institutions were, in the words of Fabienne Chamayou, “*lieux de sociabilité*”, helping to give meaning and definition to the Huguenot communities within their adopted countries.⁷⁷¹ She also notes that, for the Huguenot emigrants, conformity to a French translation of Anglican liturgy was eventually equated with loyalism to their new kings.⁷⁷² The result is something of a new hybridity, a demonstration of political loyalty while retaining elements of a unique heritage.

The ambiguous sense of identity is noted by others too. Horton Davies and Marie-Hélène Davies note the paradox that faced the Huguenots of having to fit in

⁷⁶⁹This list includes: Abraham D. Lavender, *French Huguenots: From Mediterranean Catholics to White Anglo-Saxon Protestants* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 1990); Horton Davies and Marie-Hélène Davies, *French Huguenots in English-Speaking Lands* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 2000); Myriam Yardeni, *Le Refuge huguenot: Assimilation et culture* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002); Raymond Hylton, *Ireland's Huguenots and their Refuge, 1662-1745: An Unlikely Haven* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2005); as well as the collection *La Diaspora des Huguenots*, Eckart Birnstiel and Chrystel Bernat eds. (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2001); and the relevant essays in *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and Colonial America, 1550-1750* Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton eds. (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2001).

⁷⁷⁰Yardeni, *Le Refuge huguenot*, 20.

⁷⁷¹Fabienne Chamayou, “Le Refuge dans les îles Britanniques,” in *La Diaspora des Huguenots* (43-62), 53.

⁷⁷²*Ibid.*, 56.

to their new social surroundings while remaining true to their faith; it was, after all, the desire to remain true to their faith that led them to the situation in the first place.⁷⁷³ The same sense of paradox is discussed by Raymond Hylton in reference to Huguenot refugees in Ireland, exploring how assimilation can be measured according to signs such as the ability to speak fluent French, or the anglicization of given names.⁷⁷⁴ In the case of Ireland, too, elements of assimilation intermingled with the maintenance of unique Huguenot elements, whether cultural or religious. What all of these studies reveal, through their analyses of different Huguenot trajectories, is that the hybridized religious and national components of Huguenot identity that developed under the Edict of Nantes remained at the heart of their sense of self beyond 1685, although in different permutations. That is, that essential idea of being a distinct but loyal minority remained present in Huguenot identity and Huguenot sermons in the aftermath of the Revocation, reflected in the initial settlements, in the different 'rhythms' of assimilation, and in the further synthesis that Huguenot identity underwent.

It is not just in social structures and liturgy, however, that the influence of Huguenot identity and its renegotiation can be found, but also in the imagery and memories that they used to define themselves, evidence that can be found in their sermons. As Yardeni and Hubert Bost both observe, the Old Testament imagery that had played an important role in Huguenot identity under the Edict of Nantes remained so beyond 1685, providing a filter through which to interpret a new set

⁷⁷³Davies and Davies, *French Huguenots*, 125.

⁷⁷⁴Hylton, *Ireland's Huguenots*, 176-177.

of afflictions.⁷⁷⁵ Bost especially brings attention to the parallels drawn between the Huguenots of the *Désert* and France as a “new Egypt”; similarly, the plight of the Huguenots was easily portrayed as another Babylonian exile. Moreover, as Bost points out, these were not simply allegorical lessons, but real examples from history, making the role of God's providence much more immediate. Invocations of Egypt and Babylon are found in the sermons of exiled ministers alongside allusions to Huguenot history and their contemporary situation, making the relationship between imagery and history plainly evident. The following examples, taken from refugee pastors from Continental Europe and Britain, show that the Huguenot experience was indelibly marked on their homiletics. Their sermons show the same concern with negotiating a distinct religious and political identity as their predecessors' did, adapting an established vocabulary of lessons and metaphors to new circumstances, and demonstrating an abiding belief in the confessional and political value of sermons as a preached and printed medium.

THE NETHERLANDS

Because of religious and geographical reasons, it was logical for Huguenots leaving France to seek out French-speaking areas in the Dutch territories. Often, as was the case for Rotterdam, a French-speaking Reformed church was already in existence for the Walloon population, allowing Huguenots to incorporate themselves into an established religious community. This was true

⁷⁷⁵Myriam Yardeni, “La France protestante et le Refuge huguenot,” in *La Diaspora des Huguenots* (27-42), 28; Bost, *Ces Messieurs de la RPR*, 251-284.

both of the laity and of the pastorate, and a case in point is Pierre Jurieu. As mentioned already, Jurieu fled France in 1681, and took up a position at the Walloon church in Rotterdam. However, while ministering to the needs of that congregation, he kept his native France in mind too, writing his *Lettres pastorales* for those, as the full title indicates, who “groan under the Babylonian captivity”.⁷⁷⁶ These letters were aimed at consoling the Huguenots in France and with disputing the Catholic narrative of the Revocation. However, his sermons, too, were aimed at a French audience – both the refugees in his new congregation who heard the preached sermon, and those who remained in France and accessed the sermon through the printing press. This dual Huguenot audience indicates a broad possible influence since printed sermons were not just for the devotional reading of exiles, but also used by clandestine ministers in the *Désert*,⁷⁷⁷ an application that some sermon collections readily demonstrate. For Jurieu, then, it is to these two audiences (in addition to Walloon members of his congregation as well as political authorities) that his sermons were directed, two audiences for whom Huguenot imagery and history would have been familiar. And, importantly, his sermons demonstrate continuity of collective identity and how it featured in Huguenot sermons.

In the same year as his *Lettres pastorales*, Pierre Jurieu also published a collection of two sermons, a collection whose title shared imagery with his *Lettres*. Titled *La voix du ciel au peuple de Dieu captif en Babylon*, the collection features

⁷⁷⁶Pierre Jurieu, *Lettres pastorales adressées aux fidèles de France qui gémissent sous la captivité de Babylon* (Rotterdam, 1686).

⁷⁷⁷Yardeni, “La France Protestante,” 38.

two sermons preached on Revelations 18:4, both of which therefore invoke the Whore of Babylon. In both of them, a variety of familiar themes are presented to discuss the current plight of Huguenots. The exegesis on the passage (which states “Come out of her, my people, so that you do not share in her sins or receive her plagues”), works on two levels – in the first place, as a general admonition to reject sinfulness, but also as a specific injunction to the Huguenots in France to separate themselves from Catholic idolatry. In both sermons, the focus is on separation from the Catholic Church, a topic that featured frequently in Huguenot sermons from before the Revocation, but one that had more urgency now that Huguenots were no longer legally tolerated in France.

Jurieu's two sermons also share many themes and images with those earlier sermons, invoking the same sense of Huguenot particularism, despite the new circumstances. For instance, Jurieu employs the same gendered and apocalyptic notion of difference that was seen in chapter five. He describes the Reformed Church as a “*Vierge chaste* who holds to one Husband”, while calling Rome “*une impudique, une maîtresse paillarde*”.⁷⁷⁸ In the following sermon, Jurieu returns to these images, referring to the Reformed Church again as the spouse of Jesus, while accusing the Catholic Church of being like a “debauched women”.⁷⁷⁹ Later, he warns his audience not to become members of “that *Paillarde*”.⁷⁸⁰ Following that theme, the need for separation is linked to a depiction of Rome as Babylon, which Jurieu explains was precisely John's purpose in Revelations.⁷⁸¹ Building on that

⁷⁷⁸Pierre Jurieu, *La voix du ciel au peuple de Dieu captif en Babylon* (Amsterdam, 1686), 38.

⁷⁷⁹*Ibid.*, 80.

⁷⁸⁰*Ibid.*, 124.

⁷⁸¹*Ibid.*, 6-8.

relationship, Jurieu then expands upon the biblical imagery, defining the Huguenots according to Old Testament examples like his forebears had done. Evoking both the despair and the hope in the situation that the Huguenots were facing, Jurieu says: “And you Jerusalem, poor Jerusalem, you remained standing in a great Kingdom where today there remains not a single stone that has not been demolished”, before likening the tribulations of the Huguenots to the time that the ancient Jews spent in Egypt.⁷⁸² This Egyptian reference, of course, gained extra significance at this time, since the Huguenots remaining in France would be called the *Église du Désert*. In that capacity, the introduction to Jurieu's second sermon would also have carried added symbolism, recognizing the “difficulties of the desert” that the ancient Jews faced.⁷⁸³

However, this demand for separation appealed to something more than a timeless struggle against sinfulness, or about a long-standing dispute with Rome. Rather, Jurieu speaks to specific events and to specific audiences. He concludes his first sermon by speaking directly to one specific audience by stating: “you, dear refugees, who escaped miraculously from the cruelty of the *beast*”, before decrying the violence with which Rome has desolated France.⁷⁸⁴ In the second sermon, he says: “Consider again [...] the cruel persecution that the Church suffers today in France, despite the many irrevocable Edicts and Declarations that were supposed to assure our goods and our liberties”, before asserting that the cruelties faced by the Huguenots are worse than that under the “Inquisition and Crusades

⁷⁸²*Ibid.*, 50-53.

⁷⁸³*Ibid.*, 77.

⁷⁸⁴*Ibid.*, 70-71.

against the Vaudois”.⁷⁸⁵ With such references, Jurieu is engaging closely with contemporary issues, offering commentary on conditions in France through a very politicized sermon.

Adding rhetorically to the immediacy of the message, Jurieu discusses the situation using the first-person, placing himself squarely as a witness and a victim of the persecution suffered by the Huguenots. Beyond that, though, it is also clear that, in his address to a splintered Huguenot audience, Jurieu makes use of several themes that had featured in earlier Huguenot sermons. The dynamics of separation had changed with the Revocation, but ways of talking about it were familiar to notions of Huguenot particularism. Using the gendered symbolism of sexual impropriety to explain the differences between the two confessions and the consequences thereof, and portraying a Huguenot Jerusalem in contrast to the Roman Whore of Babylon, Jurieu emphasized the difference between Huguenots and Catholics according to well-known tropes and biblical authority. Bearing in mind his audiences, moreover, these sermons are at once pastoral, polemical, and political, re-affirming a specific understanding of Huguenot identity that maintained a sense of continuity despite changing circumstances.

Sharing the duties in Rotterdam with Pierre Jurieu was another influential Huguenot minister that had been at the forefront of confessional issues in France leading up to the Revocation – Pierre Du Bosc. Du Bosc, whose earlier sermons have featured here already, was a vocal proponent of the Huguenots in France, especially during the final years of the Edict of Nantes. He argued against the

⁷⁸⁵*Ibid.*, 90-91.

increased persecution, warned the crown about the harm that mass emigration would bring, and even had a personal audience with Louis XIV about the suppression of the *Chambres de l'Édit*. But as with the other Huguenot ministers, Du Bosc was forced to leave France in 1685, settling in Rotterdam after having been a minister at Caen for forty years.

In a sermon preached a little more than a month after the Revocation, Du Bosc, like Jurieu, relies heavily on the apocalyptic imagery of Jerusalem and Babylon to make sense of the situation that has befallen the Huguenot population. He begins a sermon entitled “*La journée de Jerusalem*” on Luke 19:42 with a retelling of the destruction of Jerusalem and the exile of the ancient Jews to Babylon.⁷⁸⁶ Du Bosc then goes on to compare Jerusalem, which he has Jesus call his “dear and beloved Zion”, to the “impure Babylon” and “idolatrous Rome”.⁷⁸⁷ Finally, bringing the exposition into a discussion of contemporary conditions, Du Bosc turns to: “our poor Jerusalem”, to which he “applies the language that Jesus used for [the Jerusalem] of his time”.⁷⁸⁸ He says that the comparison speaks for itself, and can be seen right down to the very stones of destroyed temples, before going into a long lamentation about the contempt in which he now finds his church.⁷⁸⁹ Like Jurieu, Du Bosc employs the first-person possessive when talking about 'his Jerusalem', the Reformed Church in France, putting himself and his audience in the midst of the experience. In addition, this sermon shares with earlier

⁷⁸⁶Pierre Du Bosc, *Sermons sur divers Textes de l'Écriture Sainte, Tome 1e* (Rotterdam, 1692), 389-392.

⁷⁸⁷*Ibid.*, 401-402.

⁷⁸⁸*Ibid.*, 425.

⁷⁸⁹*Ibid.*, 426-428.

uses of the Babylonian exile the conviction that the catastrophe was brought about by the church's own sinfulness. So, as before, the king is not at fault; and, though the Catholic Church is at the heart of the persecution, the ultimate reason is nonetheless God's justice in response to Huguenot sinfulness.

Reinforcing the connection to recent memory, another sermon preached by Du Bosc a few months later, in March 1686, speaks to his congregation in Rotterdam, addressing both recent refugees and longer-established members of the community. He begins that sermon on Matthew 12:41 by asking his audience:

those poor churches in France, who were just recently abandoned to the ferocity of their enemies, and who were thrown into dreadful ruin, were they not a part of you as well? These were members of the same body. Their Doctrine, their Discipline, their Reformation was the same as yours. And if their climate was different, if their air and their earth were dissimilar, their religion was the same that you profess, without a single difference.⁷⁹⁰

Alternating between pan-Calvinist sentiments and appeals to uniquely Huguenot experiences, Du Bosc shows how some of the same qualities of inclusions and particularism were retained by the Huguenot refugees, employed in the process of renegotiating their existence and identity, aided by the lessons and imagery in sermons.

As evidenced in this brief sample from two noted pastors, the period immediately following the Edict of Fontainebleau was a tumultuous one for the Huguenot population. Outrage and grief were combined with the need to make sense of the situation. Throughout this, the established components of Huguenot identity remained important, although their context and inflection may have

⁷⁹⁰*Ibid.*, 487.

changed. They were still defined by their collective history, although now the Revocation and the persecution leading up to it had become part of the narrative alongside events such as the St-Bartholomew's Day Massacre. Moreover, Huguenots still identified with the ancient Jews of the Old Testament, as an afflicted minority but also as God's chosen people. However, the changing circumstances allowed new variations on their significance. Huguenots in France found themselves in a new kind of Babylonian Captivity, while Huguenot refugees had been exiled from their Jerusalem. All the while, their Catholic opponents continued to be defined by their idolatry, superstition, and the injustices that they have afflicted on the True Church, and this was done along the lines of explanations and accusations that had been drawn during the seventeenth century and earlier. There also remains a clear political purpose to the sermons, whether by decrying the act of revocation, or by continuing to insist upon the civic piety that had informed Huguenot political engagement under the Edict of Nantes, holding out hope still for a reversal of fortunes.

Although it is impossible to infer trends from just a few sermons, an interesting theme that appears in some early eighteenth-century Huguenot sermons is a greater emphasis on God's providence. This passage of time also marks a move away from the events and effects of the Revocation appearing in such immediate terms, or a move away from what Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck calls a “homiletics of crisis”.⁷⁹¹ Perhaps needing to explain why there was no quick

⁷⁹¹ Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck, “Présentation,” in *Refuge et Désert: L'évolution théologique des huguenots de la Révocation à la Révolution française* Hubert Bost and Claude Lauriol eds. (Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 2003), 13.

restoration of the Reformed faith in France, the mysteries of God's providence became a means to retain hope and to draw lessons from the experience. Such an emphasis can be seen in sermons by Jacques Saurin and Daniel De Superville, two more Huguenot ministers who took up residence in Holland after the Revocation. Jacques Saurin fled to Geneva at the time of the Revocation while just a young boy. He studied in Geneva and became a minister in London before settling in The Hague. Daniel De Superville, meanwhile, was briefly a minister in Loudun before the Revocation forced him to flee, first to Maastricht and later to Rotterdam. In both of these ministers' sermons, a strong focus on providence is found in conjunction with many other components reinforcing Huguenot identity to establish a narrative in line with Huguenot collective history.

Before looking at the sermons, though, De Superville's publication also provides a valuable look at how refugee ministers helped to sustain the *Église du Désert*: the inclusion of prayers for “the faithful who want to celebrate the Lord's day in secret Assemblies”.⁷⁹² These prayers provide insight into how the secret services in France were conducted since they amount to a rudimentary liturgy, and show how Huguenots abroad provided the *Église du Désert* with material needed for continuing Huguenot forms of worship. The first prayer that De Superville includes is meant to come after a confession of sins and before reading the Word of God, while the second prayer is intended for immediately before the sermon is read. That second prayer, speaking from the perspective of Huguenots still in

⁷⁹²Daniel De Superville, *Sermons sur divers textes de l'Écriture sainte, Tome 1e* (Rotterdam, 1717), 3.

France, explains that though they once had pastors, those pastors had been taken from them, and that they were now like lost sheep. It then asks God to return the pastors to them but that, until that time: “we will edify ourselves with their Writings in the absence of their voices. We will read one of the sermons that they have consecrated to the edification of the Church”.⁷⁹³ This reveals both the importance to organized worship that pastors had, even remotely, and the importance attributed to sermons as a medium for the Word of God and as a means to maintain the church.

The next prayer is intended for after the sermon and to close the service. Once again, it asks for a return of pastors and open worship, noting that: “there is but little Manna left in our Desert”, and that “among us there are young people and children who have never seen a happy time in which our flocks have flourished”.⁷⁹⁴ It concludes by imploring:

charitable Father, do not forget this country in which we live still. Remember all of the Faithful captives, prisoners, wandering, hidden, deprived like us of the liberty of our holy Exercises, and often more maltreated and exposed than us to all manner of suffering. Remember the blood of our Fathers, and the alliance that you have made with us. Remember this Reformation that you established so gloriously in this Kingdom.⁷⁹⁵

And showing themselves to be still loyal to the crown, the prayer ends by saying:

[b]less particularly the sacred Person of our King. Establish his Throne upon justice and equity. Make it so that his ears and his heart are open to our groans and pleas, and that in return for always rendering him dutifully our obedience, he will permit us to live according to the light of our conscience. Preserve the entire Royal Family, and bless all of those that

⁷⁹³*Ibid.*, 6-7.

⁷⁹⁴*Ibid.*, 9-10.

⁷⁹⁵*Ibid.*, 11-12.

you have established over us in Authority and Dignity.⁷⁹⁶

This prayer is followed by another meant specifically for services involving the Lord's Supper, but already, a clear image emerges. These prayers point to the structure of worship for the *Église du Désert* which, in addition to a rudimentary liturgy and despite the general absence of ministers, included connections to foreign churches and presses and links to the clandestine book trade.⁷⁹⁷ Moreover, there are aspects of these prayers that, beyond imploring God for a return to better times, appeal to elements of Huguenot identity, whether through the use of Old Testament imagery, or by providing a ritual remembrance of their collective history, or by voicing a continuing devotion to the monarchy.

Naturally, such ideological concerns are not limited to the prayers, but are present in the sermons as well, in conjunction with the emphasis on explaining God's plan that was mentioned earlier. In Jacques Saurin's sermon on Isaiah 55:6, therefore, the overall purpose is to expound upon God's providence, its mystery, and its proofs, all for the purpose of making sense of the situation in which Huguenots found themselves.⁷⁹⁸ To do so, Saurin relies not only on an explanation of providence, but also on familiar and relevant examples from the past, such as the history of Jerusalem. To make it reverberate better with his audience, Saurin also links it to contemporary events, noting that “what happened to ancient Jerusalem is seen as well by modern Jerusalem”,⁷⁹⁹ in the process painting the

⁷⁹⁶*Ibid.*, 13.

⁷⁹⁷It was from 1715, under the guidance of Antoine Court, that more permanent ecclesiastical and clerical structures were put back in place for Huguenots in France.

⁷⁹⁸Jacques Saurin, *Sermons sur divers textes de l'Écriture sainte, Tome 1e* (La Haye, 1715), 146-148.

⁷⁹⁹*Ibid.*, 150.

Huguenot Church with the experiences and symbolism of ancient Jerusalem. To make this clear, Saurin immediately pauses his exposition on the links between the troubles that Jerusalem encountered and those faced the Huguenots to address his audience directly, saying:

Brothers, to whom am I preaching? To whom have I shown this sad truth? Who is this Audience composed of? Who are those *brands plucked from the fire* and those who escaped *from the great tribulation*? By what stroke of Providence does this mass of people from so many Provinces appear before my eyes? Where are you from? In which land were you born? Ah, my Brothers, you know well about the the truth of which I speak! [...] Are you not all witnesses from experience? [...] Come, look, let us go to the ruins of our Temples, let us see the ashes of our sanctuaries, let us see our convicts in irons.⁸⁰⁰

Out of this vivid rhetoric and these emphatic questions comes a strong connection made between the plight of ancient Israel and that of the Huguenots, accessing and reinforcing the Old Testament imagery that Huguenots used to define themselves. At the same time, though, this was also a powerful way to assert a collective memory and a shared history, an impassioned appeal to unite Huguenot refugees from disparate places in France as a unique community by virtue of a shared past and common present that marked them indelibly as a unique community of faithful. Memory, in fact, features prominently in Saurin's conclusion;⁸⁰¹ after all, it is through memory that the community maintains its identity and, as Saurin points out, through memory that a proper perspective on God's providence is found. A sustained memory of central elements of Huguenot identity under the Edict of Nantes also informs Saurin's exposition, demonstrating the embeddedness and

⁸⁰⁰*Ibid.*, 151.

⁸⁰¹*Ibid.*, 163.

continued value of those stories and images.

In De Superville's sermon, titled “The Profundities of Providence” and on Isaiah 45:15, many of the same themes are encountered, and bearing in mind the prayers that precede the sermon, it is clear that the message was intended for his audience in Rotterdam, his audience in the *Désert*, as well as more indirectly the French crown. Like Saurin, the broad purpose is to explain the mysteries of God's providence in a way that dispels concerns over recent history, to engender “humble and wise patience, consolation and hope, which are necessary for the state in which the Church finds itself today”.⁸⁰² He explains that God's providence is often unknowable, and that God often seems hidden from the church. He describes this as the Church being “like a vessel drifting upon a river”, at the mercy of providence.⁸⁰³ What that metaphor reveals for Du Superville is that the church must recognize that it will reach its destination eventually, and not plead or worry about getting there faster.

Turning to frequently used Old Testament images, De Superville reminds his audience that God “brought Israel out of Egypt” and “retrieved [Israel] from the Babylonian captivity”.⁸⁰⁴ Beyond reinforcing the Huguenot identification with ancient Israel, this is to reaffirm the fact that the Bible provides the proof of God's providence at work and, therefore, that Du Superville's audience must “wait for God the Redeemer with confidence”.⁸⁰⁵ Acknowledging that the legal reintroduction of Calvinism to France is taking longer than expected, finally, Du

⁸⁰²De Superville, *Sermons sur divers textes, Tome 1e*, 339.

⁸⁰³*Ibid.*, 351.

⁸⁰⁴*Ibid.*, 361-362.

⁸⁰⁵*Ibid.*, 362.

Superville revisits once more the themes of providence and patience, as he ends the sermon by asking rhetorically: “[a]nd if our short life passes without seeing all of our desires accomplished, will our posterity not one day see the fall of Babylon?”⁸⁰⁶ With that, De Superville adapts certain commonplaces of Huguenot sermons and Huguenot identity to the post-revocation context, providing continuity and reinforcement for their sense of self. By interpreting the Huguenot situation through examples from ancient Israel, both De Superville and Saurin were appealing to the Huguenot self-perception as God's chosen people, while insisting upon the need to not lose hope that deliverance would eventually arrive, which, itself, meant resistance to a new status quo. The result is a reaffirmation of Huguenot particularism, based on the same essential concepts but adapted to a new situation. These refugee ministers were forming their sermons from a new perspective, but employed many pre-revocation tools in doing so. Huguenot confessional identity was still based upon being God's *petit troupeau* and rejecting the Papacy, and the sermons remained politically engaged, voicing the hope for a return to legal existence in France in deferential terms. As such, these examples help to illuminate some of the most deeply entrenched aspects of the sermons preached under the Edict of Nantes by revealing major points of continuity.

BRANDENBURG AND BRITAIN:

The ministers so far examined all sought refuge in the Netherlands, although Jacques Saurin did also spend time in London. However, this Dutch

⁸⁰⁶*Ibid.*, 380.

contingent is only part of the story since Huguenot refugees settled in many more places beyond the Low Countries. To acknowledge this, the final three ministers to be mentioned found themselves further afield, in Berlin, London, and Dublin respectively. Jacques Abbadie, like Jurieu, left France before the Edict of Fontainebleau, and was minister to a congregation of French Protestants in Berlin from 1680-1688. After that, he was a pastor in London and finally Killaloe, Ireland. The other two ministers included here travelled less – Charles Bertheau, who was briefly at Charenton before the Revocation brought him to London; and Gaspar Caillard, who was a minister for the Huguenot communities in Dublin and then Portarlington, Ireland, throughout the middle of the eighteenth century. For all three of them, regardless of their final location or itinerary, they retained important elements reflective of Huguenot identity in their sermons, whether in their forms of imagery or in their evocations of Huguenot history, and they follow the same forms of political engagement and negotiation. The result allows for both continuity and adaptation in Huguenot identity, and allows for that identity to be a source of mediation and an interpretive lens as Huguenot refugees settled in communities beyond France.

In Jacques Abbadie's sermon on John 4:24, he is concerned with establishing what makes someone a true Christian, which leads him to identify defining aspects of the Huguenot Church while also emphasizing key differences between Protestants and Catholics. Abbadie sets up a binary between spirit and sense, and then places religion with the former and superstition with the latter.⁸⁰⁷

⁸⁰⁷Jacques Abbadie, *Les caracteres du Chrestien, Et du Christianisme, Marqués dans trois*

From there, he connects the Catholic Church to that superstition, because it offers a “bodily representation of a spiritual God”, before concluding that “the Roman Religion has attached man to the senses, [but] the Reformation recalls them from the sense to spirit”.⁸⁰⁸ However, if Abbadie is using 'Reformation' as an inclusive term for a Berlin audience, he also includes specific references to the situation of French Protestants, using examples of Catholic violence against Huguenots to reinforce the need for confessional separation.⁸⁰⁹ He reminds his audience that their religion, which unites them with God:

unites us in spirit as well to our brothers, transporting us in our thoughts to all those places where pain and sadness reign, where our brothers grieve, where hearts groan, and where the severity of God allows such strange and awful desolation. Here is seen still the sad ruins of our demolished temples, which had been watered by the tears of so many faithful, and there is heard the voice of a preacher in tears who takes a sad leave from a flock that he sees no more.⁸¹⁰

He continues with his evocative language of post-revocation France, describing the forced exile, the “cruel and rigorous inquisition”, the “crimes of state”, the insults, and the pain of being subject to the “ministers of superstition”, before painting a desperate picture where,

wandering the earth or sailing the sea, there are fugitive families seeking exile but finding none, and faithful who are shipwrecked on the water after having escaped a more doleful wreck; children who are unable to be baptized on land, who must find a kind of baptism on the waves of the sea, and women who, married at the beginning of their voyage, are widows by the end [...] There are houses that are either deserted and abandoned or filled with ruthless dragoons and faithful languishing in hunger, cold, sleeplessness, mocking, and wounds [...] There our baneful and miserable

sermons (La Haye, 1686), 63.

⁸⁰⁸*Ibid.*, 64-65.

⁸⁰⁹Of course, the legacy of the Thirty Years' War means that Germans were not unaffected by confessional violence either.

⁸¹⁰*Ibid.*, 72-73.

patrie has all the characteristics of being abandoned and cursed by God; it has become a Sodom, from where the just Lot could not escape, a cruel Egypt that held the people of God despite him, a Babylon where the faithful remain in captivity.⁸¹¹

In this emotive description, Abbadie explains vividly the plight of the Huguenots, and compares it to earlier examples of the trying experiences faced by God's chosen people; and, as with other refugee pastors, he uses the first-person plural possessive when referring to France. By doing this, he not only articulates the opposition of Protestants to Catholicism and Catholic tyranny, but also ties his audience to a unique and particular heritage that contributes to Huguenot identity through the maintenance of collective memory. Finally, making the connection even stronger, Abbadie concludes his sermon by asking his audience to take a vow “promising to never forget our brothers”, and to assist them with the goods, charity, and prayers that can be devoted to them.⁸¹² In this way, Abbadie is creating a symbolic, emotional, and material link between Huguenot refugees and the situation in the *patrie* that they fled, helping to maintain a unique sense of identity based on a shared heritage and sense of being God's chosen people, shared not only among the refugees but with those Huguenots still in France as well. Moreover, Abbadie's exposition shows that, if the Revocation was the catalyst for the current state of affairs, the response to its impact was deeply rooted in Huguenot identity as it had developed under the Edict of Nantes.

As with Abbadie, sermons by Gaspar Caillard and Charles Bertheau display the same dynamic of Huguenot imagery in a new context. In many

⁸¹¹*Ibid.*, 74-76.

⁸¹²*Ibid.*, 90.

sermons, descriptions of Huguenot history play an important role, as does the depiction of an idolatrous and tyrannical Catholicism – a trope already common to English sensibility, with its own well-established idea of a dangerous Papist 'other'.⁸¹³ However, there is also a more prominent place for political discussions than has been seen in other post-Revocation sermons. In Ireland, the Huguenots may have found themselves in familiar territory, being part of a Protestant minority, although that minority was increasingly powerful. In London, French Protestants were a long-established community, with a French church that had been founded in the sixteenth century. In both cases, there were significant political accommodations (such as the use of an Anglican liturgy), but the French language and the commemoration of a shared Huguenot past helped to retain a sense of uniqueness, aspects that were maintained with the help of sermons. In these situations, the politically-engaged role that sermons had played in France again becomes evident.

In November 1723, Gaspar Caillard preached a sermon 'Against Intolerance', on Luke 14:23, and this was followed a little while later by a sermon 'On the just limits of Tolerance', on the same passage. The former decried the unjust and irrational intolerance that characterized the Catholic Church's position, while the latter established the extent to which tolerance should be promoted so as

⁸¹³The apocalyptic-ideological dimension of this is explored in Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon* as well as many other works, such as the examination of anti-papal sentiment in England's approach to other powers in Steven Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the Making of English Foreign Policy, 1650-1688* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), or the importance that anti-papism had in shaping English nationhood as seen in John Guy, *Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988). Together, these studies and others demonstrate clearly the central role that the Papacy played in British ideological conceptions.

to avoid the spread of heresy and irreligion. The first sermon turns on the Catholic misinterpretation of the phrase “compel them to come in” from Luke 14:23, a misinterpretation that leads Catholics to use physical force to spread their faith. Caillard includes examples like the Inquisition to illustrate “the torments, the cruelties, the barbaric acts” that define the practices of Rome.⁸¹⁴ Bringing Huguenot history into the discussion while also recognizing his transplanted context in the British Isles, Caillard turns to more examples of Catholic cruelty in his conclusion, asking his audience:

[d]o I need to remind you of that horrible day of *St-Bartholemew*, reddened by the blood of your Ancestors? Do I need to tell you about the awful Gunpowder Plot, that dark and execrable plan woven against the State and Religion of England, and which would have brought this flourishing Kingdom to an inevitable ruin [...] and have you yourselves never been in part the object of, or witness to, the furious excesses of the cruelty of Papism?⁸¹⁵

Here Caillard brings together the shared anti-Papal sentiments of French and English Protestants, linking his audience's sense of their own situation to their ancestral link to the Huguenots in France, while conflating it with a famous English episode of Papal perfidy the ongoing fears about the threat of Catholicism.

In the follow-up sermon, Caillard responds to fears that his first sermon had opened to door to permitting heresy or irreligion to spread by explaining when tolerance is the legitimate response and when a firmer stance is required. In the process, he once again explains the dangers of Catholicism while defining the role of the magistrate in terms that closely resembles the regime of the Edict of Nantes.

⁸¹⁴Gaspar Caillard, *Sermons sur divers textes de l'Écriture sainte, Tome 1e* (Amsterdam, 1738), 2.
⁸¹⁵*Ibid.*, 28-29.

After enumerating a series of natural laws by which all societies are bound, Caillard concludes that a state must prevent the spread of sects that threaten its own existence but must tolerate more innocuous groups that nonetheless differ from the established faith.⁸¹⁶ In one sense, Caillard offers a progressive view of a tolerant and pluralistic society. At the same time, though, his tolerance is not extended to all faiths – Catholics, for instance, are a dangerous element because they refuse to submit to the fundamental laws of a country, which is a necessary condition.⁸¹⁷ Essentially, then, he is promoting the idea that different Protestant sects can co-exist in a state, perhaps intimating that Huguenots can be a loyal part of Britain without being incorporated into the Anglican faith, and thus arguing that, as they insisted under the Edict of Nantes, Huguenots can form a loyal but distinct minority within a larger population.

Interestingly, the role of the government in Caillard's analysis, and the extent of the liberties that it must extend to other faiths, closely mirrors the situation that Huguenots experienced under the Edict of Nantes before Louis XIV began to interpret it *à la rigueur*. Without making this explicit, Caillard provides many examples that sound strikingly familiar. The sovereign cannot: “punish corporally those of a false religion, [...] use any compulsion to force them to embrace the true religion, [...] he cannot legally force them into any exterior act contrary to their conscience, [...] he must permit them the free exercise of their Religion”.⁸¹⁸ On the other hand, the sovereign is permitted to:

⁸¹⁶*Ibid.*, 41-44.

⁸¹⁷*Ibid.*, 51.

⁸¹⁸*Ibid.*, 52.

regulate the time, location, manner, and number of their Assemblies, because these things are but accessories to Religion, and do not contain any of its Essence. For the same reason, he can refuse them from having their Temples and Ministers supported by state funds [...]. Finally, he can exclude them from public Charges, or at least those for which they do not have access by right of fundamental Laws of the State or by some particular Treaty, in which case it would be an injustice to deprive them of a privilege to which they belong.⁸¹⁹

In the formula that Caillard offers, then, he incorporates the Huguenot experience in important ways. The anti-Papal element is quite clear, and Catholics are depicted as dangerous and subversive, which adds further depth to their characterization as tyrannical in the previous sermon. However, Huguenot history also informs his treatment of tolerance, in that the Edict of Nantes seemingly serves as an example of the 'just limits' to which religious tolerance can extend. In that way, Caillard is appealing to some of the ideological elements of Huguenot particularism while also following a similar political strategy of asserting a specific form of religious pluralism.

Finally, looking at Charles Bertheau, there are some interesting similarities between his sermon on Psalm 33:12 and the two sermons by Caillard, especially with respect to the discussion of politics and religion and to the portrayal of the Catholic Church. However, there are also differences. In Bertheau's sermon, the civic emphasis is on the need for subjects to be unified by their faith for the good of the government, while also stressing the importance of obedience and respect for laws.⁸²⁰ Telling parts of his discussion, however, point to his exiled Huguenot

⁸¹⁹*Ibid.*, 53.

⁸²⁰Charles Bertheau, *Sermons sur divers textes de l'Écriture sainte, Tome second* (Amsterdam, 1730), 3-22.

audience. Bertheau addresses the idea of being God's chosen people and *petit troupeau*, stating that God's Nation was: “a People that he untangled from the faults of other People” and “the smallest People of the World”.⁸²¹ Moreover, perhaps accounting for the exilic legacy of his audience, he prefaces this by stating that although God is exclusive, this is not based on geography – there is a “singularity of the Communion of God”, but it is not “attached to particular Locations”.⁸²² Conversely, introducing his present location into the exposition, Bertheau also appeals to the recent troubles in London – citing civil wars, plague, the London Fire, and the near return of Catholicism that would have “reversed Religion and Liberty”.⁸²³ Together, Bertheau's allusions show elements of continuity with a Huguenot heritage – by invoking the idea of being God's *petit troupeau* and the consequent need to balance the possibility of religious exclusion and social inclusion – while also incorporating pieces from his adopted land – such as symbolic moments of British political history – and, finally, the presence of the shared anti-Papal rhetoric. Like the sermons by Caillard, Bertheau's sermon shows qualities of maintaining and reinforcing key components of Huguenot identity while adapting – or assimilating – to the needs of their new lands. And in that way, both Caillard and Bertheau, along with the other ministers cited here, make use of what Susanne Lachenicht identifies as the Huguenot trope of being loyal subjects at the same time as being part of an exclusive faith,⁸²⁴ a trope that stretches back to

⁸²¹*Ibid.*, 15-16.

⁸²²*Ibid.*, 6.

⁸²³*Ibid.*, 40-43.

⁸²⁴Susanne Lachenicht, “Huguenot Immigrants and the Formation of National Identities, 1548-1787,” in *The Historical Journal* 50:2 (2007), 322.

the first half of the seventeenth century. Indeed, reading these post-revocation sermons with an eye to their pre-revocation forebears helps to show that this trope, which formed an important part of the political and religious strategies of exile communities, is a legacy of negotiating the place of Huguenots under the Edict of Nantes.

CONCLUSION:

From this brief sample of refugee sermons, it is clear that core elements of Huguenot identity remained important sources of imagery and interpretation in sermons beyond the Edict of Fontainebleau, and continued to define Huguenots and their political engagement in adopted lands. For instance, just as had been the case under the Edict of Nantes, refugee pastors identified their congregations – and Huguenots more generally – as God's *petit troupeau*, and drew imagery and support for that notion from the plight of ancient Israel. Such imagery found resonance in the difficulties that Huguenots faced leading up to 1685, and it may have resonated even more strongly afterwards. Moreover, by linking their condition to God's providence, as earlier Huguenot ministers had also done, the difficulties that Huguenots faced could be interpreted more positively and be supplemented by calls for constance and patience, while also fostering an understanding of a shared experience that defined an exclusive group. The anti-Papal component that had occurred so frequently in Huguenot sermons under the Edict of Nantes continued to find sympathetic ears beyond the Revocation, not

only among the Huguenot refugees for whom Rome was a central reason for their current plight, but also among their adopted nations. Ultimately, these few sermons show that the heritage of the Huguenot identity that had been established over the course of the seventeenth century and earlier continued to play a role in how Huguenot communities saw themselves, whether exiled or forced underground after the Edict of Fontainebleau.

In that way, the Revocation was something of a litmus test for Huguenot confessional identity, compelling strategies of action where both religious particularism and political loyalty were crucial. The paths taken in response to the Revocation were, therefore, intertwined with group identity, and a unique sense of being Huguenot also remained a legacy well beyond 1685. As Lachenicht states, sermons were essential to creating narratives of identity,⁸²⁵ and this is true whether they were establishing a particular Huguenot identity in the decades leading up to the Revocation, or whether they were adapting Huguenot identity to new conditions in the aftermath of 1685. Through sermons, Huguenot refugees brought with them – and had fostered within them – an identity that was based on a hybridization of political loyalty and confessional difference. They expressed loyalty to magistrates who accepted their presence as a distinct minority and they continued to define themselves as God's *petit troupeau*, together exhibiting an adaptation of the political strategies that had been cultivated under the Edict of Nantes.

⁸²⁵Lachenicht, "Huguenot Immigrants," 311.

CONCLUSION

In the practice of their vocation, Huguenot ministers served in various ways to shape and direct their communities, whether morally, politically, or according to group identity. This was on account of their religious and social authority, and their access to forms of influence and instruction. Chief among these was the sermon – preaching the Word of God was the main task of their office and printed sermons were a significant aspect of their literary output. Through their sermons, Huguenot ministers not only spoke to their parishioners but also to the crown and to their opponents in the Catholic Church. With respect to those audiences, their sermons were a dialogue, as Huguenot ministers constructed their sermons according to the expectations and qualities of their readers and listeners, appealing to their mindsets and attempting to effect an impact in their beliefs and actions.⁸²⁶ As a result, sermons are not just a record of the ministers' religious program but also of the mental world that they occupied and shared with their audience members. In that way, sermons offer a unique and valuable access point into Huguenot *mentalités* under the Edict of Nantes, particularly in terms of how they constructed their confessional identity, and the way in which they defined themselves in France as a religious community in relation to the crown and in opposition to the Catholic Church. And, although sermons cannot, on their own, explain everything about how Huguenots sought to define themselves within France – and, in turn, define

⁸²⁶Wirts, *From the Pulpit to the People*. Wirts shows throughout her study the varied and sustained ways in which Huguenot ministers employed specific arguments and imagery in order to appeal to the Huguenot faithful, whether employing evocative animal metaphors or drawing from the experiences of urban artisans.

France – they are a vital window into those shared *mentalités* through the arguments and imagery employed. In other words, sermons are a record of how Huguenot identity was ideologically created and how, through that construct, Huguenot ministers aimed to define a legitimate place for themselves and their coreligionists in absolutist France.

The essence of Huguenot identity was a hybrid of religious particularism and political loyalism, and was manifested in a variety of ways in their beliefs, writings, and behaviour. In sermons, this was expressed in diverse biblical imagery, depicting the Huguenot Church as God's *petit troupeau* and as sharing in the heritage of the apostolic church and ancient Israel, providing a positive interpretation of their status as an afflicted minority. In addition, there was a strong emphasis on God's providence and on the idea that the Huguenots' tribulations were tests from God; in both cases, the lesson was that God paid special attention to the Huguenot Church, thereby providing a means to embrace their condition under the Edict of Nantes and reconcile it with their status as God's elect. This was then contrasted to the errors and dangers that marked the Catholic Church, reinforced through depictions of the Papacy as the *Grande Paillarde* that combined apocalyptic and gendered images to insist upon the need for confessional separation. All together, these discussions painted the picture of an exclusive church, and provided Huguenots with the mental tools to interpret their situation under the Edict of Nantes in a way that reinforced the importance of being a distinct community and saw their hardships in positive terms. In doing so,

these sermons offered the position that the Huguenot community was an ingrained and legitimate part of France, but that they were necessarily distinct and separate from the Roman Catholic Church.

Along with the exhortations to maintain a distinct religious identity and as an extension of it, Huguenot sermons also contained frequent discussions about their political place in France and the required devotion to their kings. Relying on biblical imperatives scattered with other sources of political philosophy and references to contemporary events, Huguenot ministers explained to their parishioners – and to the crown – that it was the duty of all faithful Huguenots to submit willingly and sincerely to the authority of the king. It was clearly commanded in the Bible, the pastors explained, that the faithful must be subject to superior powers, and this was true whether they were tyrants or great rulers like the Bourbon kings. Moreover, under the Edict of Nantes and comprehensively after the Peace of Alès, Huguenots embraced absolutism, explaining that it was not only the most Christian form of government but also the most conducive to good order and prosperity. Together with the insistence upon religious particularism, these political discussions provided the foundations for Huguenot identity, whereby they were a distinct religious minority within a Catholic kingdom but faithfully devoted to the king. As an extension of that, the assertion of a specific Huguenot identity also meant expressing a unique position on the French polity – an absolutist kingdom that included a legitimate place for the French Reformed Church. And through that position, Huguenots were supporting the development of

Bourbon absolutism while also subtly challenging it through their own formulation, encouraging national allegiances over local sympathies while also challenging the idea that that nation is composed of only one faith.

Such as position is found in a variety of sermons, and not only in ones that are immediately evident in their concern over religious particularism or political loyalty. In the case of sermons about marriage, sexuality, and gender, Huguenot ministers elaborated upon the importance of being both a distinct religious community and loyal to the French crown through their treatment of actual marriage practices and through their use of marital metaphors. Marriage was a way to describe and regulate membership to the Huguenot community and define its morality, and it was a way to demonstrate conformity to God's law and royal law at the same time. Marriage and gender imagery was also an important means of distinguishing Huguenots from Catholics and of describing the dangers of the Papacy, and it was also a way to elaborate upon the natural order of the world and the resulting obedience that was owed to the king. In those ways, although Huguenot identity was not explicitly the primary focus of the expositions, it was still intimately tied to the impact of sermons, whether by adopting the imagery of a sermon topic or by extending its significance into notions of being Huguenot.

Finally, by following key elements of Huguenot homiletic rhetoric beyond the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, aspects of the nature of the Huguenot position in the half century leading up to it are thrown into relief. The impact of how Huguenots conceived of themselves in France shaped their response to the

Revocation and beyond, continuing to inform their religious and political dispositions in the following decades as well. For instance, both religious particularism and the influence of French culture and history were carried beyond the borders of France, as was the willingness to be a religious minority under a political régime granting them toleration. That last quality was, of course, far from uniform, since they emigrated to places where different forms of Protestantism were dominant and where different forms of government were in place. In all cases, however, Huguenots brought with them a political loyalty to the sovereign that was allowing them to practice their religion (if still hoping for a reversal of trends within France). Such a position reveals a profound continuation of what developed under the Edict of Nantes, where Huguenots were a distinct minority in a state of religious pluralism. This notion of pluralism, which was integral to Huguenot existence, was not an early manifestation of an argument for modern pluralistic societies; rather, it was a product of Huguenot history and soteriology, and a reflection of their status as God's elect. In that way, the political activism that was a part of Huguenot worship was forged through defining a place for the Huguenot faithful in France, but its legacy remained even after the Revocation marked the defeat for their idea of a bi-confessional France.

In all of these sermons, the effect of the sermons was rooted, in part, on the authority of the Word of God, and, in part, on the metaphorical power of the expositions. In the analysis of Caroline Walker Bynum, metaphors reveal the mental world of the culture that employs them;⁸²⁷ and, in the case of Huguenot

⁸²⁷Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body*, 7-13.

sermons, the metaphors that the ministers used are a window into the mental world that they shared with their audiences. Because of that, the imagery, mythology, and historical examples found in sermons are instrumental in exploring how Huguenots thought of themselves, how they conceived of their place in the world, and how they sought to legitimize their place in absolutist France. The particular situation of the Huguenots was defined by the unique inflection of the metaphors employed in the ministers' sermons, shaping them to the Huguenot cause; but the source of the imagery – and the imagery itself – remained more universal, familiar and accessible to audiences beyond the Huguenot Church.

Using Peter Matheson's nomenclature for the ideological efficacy of metaphors, Huguenot imagery can be considered “re-jigged”, but it was generally not “new”.⁸²⁸ That is, Huguenot ministers adapted existing metaphors – whether from the Bible, the natural world, or elsewhere – that were familiar to generations of earlier Christians as well as to contemporaries, but employed them in a way that spoke specifically to the Huguenot condition.⁸²⁹ An example of this is how the Huguenot use of the spiritual marriage between Christ and the Church differed from and undermined the Catholic use.⁸³⁰ This shows how Huguenots inhabited the

⁸²⁸Peter Matheson, *The Imaginative World of the Reformation* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000), 6-7. Matheson explains that the efficacy of an ideological movement is in many ways related to its novelty.

⁸²⁹Such as observation is also made by Denis Crouzet in *Guerriers de Dieu* when he shows how both Catholics and Protestants shared the same discursive world but reached different conclusions within it, or Carl Goldstein in *Print Culture in Early Modern France: Abraham Bosse and the Purposes of Print* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 85-90, how the Huguenot printer Bosse made use of images that transcended confessional divisions.

⁸³⁰Whereas the Catholic Church used the imagery of the spiritual marriage to emphasize the indissolubility of marriage (see McDougall, *Bigamy and Christian Identity*), Huguenots introduced the idea that sinfulness could lead to spiritual divorce (and, hence, actual divorce) while also asserting an exclusive marriage by painting the Papacy with the term *paillardise spirituelle*. Of course, for both Catholics and Huguenots, the imagery of the spiritual marriage

same mental world as their Catholic neighbours, but within their own distinct corner. It also means, moreover, that descriptions of Huguenot identity were perfectly intelligible to Catholic audiences; in speaking to the crown or challenging Catholic leaders, Huguenot ministers used common symbols, appropriated and 're-jigged', and effective toward a variety of audiences. In combination with the imagery identified by Kristine Wirts, which appealed to Huguenots according to their social dynamics, Huguenot ministers also used universal biblical metaphors that, while framed to specifically support the French Reformed Church, spoke to a broad audience regardless of confessional allegiance.⁸³¹ In those ways, Huguenot sermons spoke to the specific condition of Huguenots under the Edict of Nantes, shaping their confessional identity by repeatedly appealing to images that emphasized difference from the Catholic Church and loyalty to the French crown, but they did so with a vocabulary that could equally define the Huguenot position for their Catholic and royal audiences, in effect engaging those audiences in a dialogue about the place of Huguenots in France and, as a result, about the nature of the kingdom itself.

This way of speaking to multiple audiences also reveals the confessional dimension to the construction of Huguenot identity. In both their preached and printed forms, Huguenot sermons were primarily directed at their own co-religionists; however, the presence of monitors at church services and the system of censorship in place for printed works meant that the government and the

was also used to reinforce hierarchical gender difference.

⁸³¹Naturally, the themes identified by Wirts would have been understood by Catholics as well as Huguenots.

Catholic Church were inevitable – and often intentional – recipients of the Huguenot message. Ideologically, there were also a number of parallels between Huguenots and the crown. Therefore, the development of the Huguenot Church took place in conversation with – and sometimes in concert with – the French crown. At the same time, though, the Huguenot Church remained at odds with the Catholic majority in France, and with the Catholicity of the crown; because of this, the Huguenot Church largely existed in opposition to Roman Catholicism, embracing their position as a distinct religious minority, and defining themselves in relation to a Catholic 'other'.

Based on these latter characteristics, in terms of theories of confessionalization, the Huguenot experience related in the sermons fits well with what Philip Benedict and others have defined as the 'weak theory' of confessionalization. That is, it was characterized by a “process of rivalry” that proceeded from the church itself.⁸³² However, elements of the 'strong theory', namely the related themes of social disciplining and state building, also bear a similarity to the Huguenot situation. For, while the Huguenot Church and the crown were far from being close allies in a comprehensive attempt to reform society, their common messages about monarchical power, family order, and moral behaviour, for instance, mean that cooperation cannot be dismissed out of hand. They were not close partners as in the case of national churches, but they were also not always working against each other nor, in certain ways, independent of each other; so, insofar as their interests intersected with those of the monarchy, the

⁸³²Benedict, *Faith and Fortunes*, 313.

nature of Huguenot confessionalization makes for a unique process, an example of 'weak theory' confessionalization with some caveats, and a useful example that highlights the nuance involved in the fashioning of religious identities.

Finally, the specific manifestation of Huguenot confessionalization is also central to their political agency, and vice versa. For, in both cases, the legitimacy of the Huguenot Church as a distinct community in France was at the heart of their program. That is, the continued existence of the French Reformed Church was an essential component of their religious identity and their political ideology. For Huguenot group identity, this meant reinforcing the distinct and particular nature of the community of faithful as compared to the Catholic majority around them. In terms of their political program, meanwhile, this meant positing the legitimacy and benefit of the Huguenot population in France, adapting Calvinist political theory to French absolutism. This meant vociferously exclaiming Huguenot devotion to the monarchy, depicting them as the most loyal of subjects. However, expressing such as position meant undermining the catholicity and unity implied in absolutism. For, while Huguenot sermons reinforced royal sovereignty, divinely-imposed hierarchy, and the civic importance of piety, they also challenged the image of the kingdom as unified politically and legally before the king; in fact, that image was challenged simply by virtue of Huguenot existence and status. By maintaining this position, Huguenot confessional identity became inextricably linked to their political strategy, whereby both held Huguenots to be necessarily a distinct faith and necessarily part of France. In that way, Huguenot ministers provided a form of

political activism through their sermons and offered a unique political theory to their seventeenth-century audiences, one that both championed and challenged French absolutism by aiming to carve out a legitimate place for Huguenots within the kingdom.

To conclude, the process of influence and transmission that forms the basis of this paper can perhaps be best summarized by tracing the many potential trajectories of Jean Daillé's sermons. He was raised and educated in the Loire Valley, including his time at the Saumur Academy. His pastoral training at Saumur was an important part of his intellectual and social formation, shaping his theology and his world view, and introducing him to many other soon-to-be Huguenot ministers. The networks that were created at Saumur were maintained through correspondence and attendance at synods, while those networks helped to maintain a unity of purpose and message. Soon after his time in Saumur, which included a brief stint as a minister, Daillé was called to Paris to become one of the ministers responsible for the temple at Charenton. Here, in front of Huguenot bourgeois and nobility – and monitors sent by the crown – Daillé made his way through books of the Bible, preaching on doctrine and morals, along with the importance of being a distinct church and being devoted to the king. To do so, Daillé relied on imagery taken from Scripture and the world around them, and examples from recent history. Daillé's messages was designed to resonate with his Huguenot audience, and provide them with the mental tools to interpret their place within France. As a minister with privileged access to the Word of God, his statements also carried

great authority. At the same time, Daillé's sermons spoke a language that the crown and the Catholic Church also understood, engaging them, too, in a debate about the place of Huguenots in France.

As Daillé was among the most pre-eminent Huguenot ministers, his sermons were then collected and published, more than twenty volumes and six hundred sermons in total. This allowed his message to be broadcast even further. It first came before royal censors and then, with their consent, was broadcast to a broader reading public. The contents of Daillé's sermons were repeated through private devotional reading, through 'domestic' worship, and through the sermons of other ministers, as his volumes entered the libraries of pastors and temples. Through their public nature and the censorship régime in place, Daillé's published sermons were also repeated for audiences outside of the Huguenot community, attacking the Papacy and responding to Catholic portrayals of Huguenots, and providing the crown with the image of a kingdom in which Huguenots held a legitimate spot, countering the increasingly intense attempts at conversion and providing an alternative to a strictly Catholic French kingdom.

Ambling through the circuit of Jean Daillé's sermons in this way, the multiplication of their influence is clear. He is an extraordinary example from among the Huguenot pastorate, but his case also sheds light on the broader influence of Huguenot ministers in shaping confessional identity and participating in political dialogue, and not just because his sermons served as inspiration for other pastors. Rather, he shared with other Huguenot ministers under the Edict of

Nantes a common formation at Huguenot academies, a common relationship with the Word of God, a common medium in the sermon, and a common repertoire of metaphors and stories. This shared purpose and mentality was constantly reinforced through synods, travel, correspondence, and marriage alliances.

Because of this, Jean Daillé – and the other ministers cited throughout this paper – provides an invaluable perspective on the Huguenot condition in the seventeenth century, revealing the mental tools through which Huguenot confessional identity was negotiated and the political strategies through which the Huguenot Church asserted their claims on a legitimate place in absolutist France.

APPENDIX: BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION FOR PASTORS CITED⁸³³

Abbadie, Jacques (ca.1654-1727) Born in Nay. Died in Marleybone. He studied at both Saumur and Sedan. He was a minister in Berlin from 1680-1688, then in London, and finally dean at Killaloe.

Allix, Pierre (1641-1717) Born in Alençon. Died in London. He studied at both Saumur and Sedan. Pastor at St-Agobile (Champagne), Rouen, then Charenton in 1670, taking over from Jean Daillé. After the Revocation he moved to London. His father (Pierre Allix) was also a minister at Alençon. He was the father of three children, and his son Pierre became a chaplain.

Amyraut, Moyse (1596-1664) Born in Bourgueil. Died in Saumur. He studied at Saumur. Replaced Jean Daillé as the pastor at Saumur when he left for Charenton. He taught at Saumur until his death. He was involved in long debate about predestination (with Pierre Du Moulin as the key opponent). Meant for a law career, but abandoned that for theology.

de Barthe, Daniel (fl. 1630s, †1653) He was a minister at Limoges and Rochechouart. He also served as a deputy at synods.

⁸³³All of the biographical information is based on the entries from Eugène Haag & Émile Haag, *La France Protestante*, 10 vols. (Paris, 1846-1858). Additional information was gleaned from: Old, *The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures: Volume 4*, 411-446; Pannier, *L'Église Réformée de Paris*, 262-285; and Vinet, *Histoire de la Prédication*, 9-471.

De Baux, Jean Maximilien de Langle (1590-1674) Born in Évreux. Died in Rouen.

He became a minister at 25 years old at Rouen. He attended national synods on behalf of Normandy, and represented the French Reformed Church at the royal court. He was married before 1619 to Marie Bochart, the daughter of minister René Bochart and sister of minister Samuel Bochart. His son Samuel became a theologian.

Bertheau, Charles (1660-1732) Born in Montpellier. He studied in both France and Holland. He was a pastor at Charenton from 1681 until the Revocation. At that point he fled to England and became minister in London for the next four decades.

Bertheau, René (1625-ca.1695) A pastor whose two printed sermons appeared in the 1670s, likely published at Paris/Charenton.

Caillard, Gaspar (fl.1720s-1767) Pastor at Dublin and Portarlinton to Huguenot refugee communities after the Revocation.

Claude, Jean (1619-1687) Born in La Sauvetat. Died in The Hague. He was a pastor at La Treyne, St-Afrique, Nîmes, and Montauban, until finally coming to Charenton in 1666. He was an informal instructor at Academy of Nîmes and became a frequent opponent of Bossuet. After the Revocation he went to The Hague. His father, François, was a minister at Monbazillac and then La Sauvetat.

Daillé, Jean (1594-1670) Born in Châtellerault. Died in Paris. He became a tutor for grandchildren of Philippe Duplessis-Mornay, and travelled widely with them. He studied at Saumur. He became a minister at Saumur 1625, but then quickly moved to Charenton where he was a pastor from 1626 until his death. He shared the Charenton ministry with: Le Faucheur, Mestrezat, Claude, Drelincourt, Gaches, Edmé Aubertin. In many ways he took over from Du Moulin as most powerful champion of Calvinism in France. He produced over 700 printed sermons in 20 volumes.

De Goyon, Simon (fl. 1650s) He was a pastor for the Huguenots of Bordeaux at the temple at Beigle.

De Superville, Daniel (1657-1728) Born in Saumur. Died in Rotterdam. He studied in both Saumur and Geneva. He became a pastor at Loudun in 1683, but at the Revocation he fled to Holland (Maastricht) and then became minister at Rotterdam until his death. He was succeeded in that post by his son Daniel.

Drelincourt, Charles (1595-1669) Born in Sedan. Died in Charenton. He studied at Sedan. He became a minister at Langres (church founded without king's authorization) in 1618. In 1620 he then became a minister at Charenton, taking over for Du Moulin, and remained a pastor there until his death. He was married in 1623 with Mestrezat as his witness. His son, Laurent, also became a minister.

Du Bosc, Pierre (Thomines) (1623-1692) Born in Bayeux. Died in Rotterdam. His father was an *advocat* in the Parlement of Rouen. He was esteemed by Pierre Bayle. He studied at Montauban, and then at Saumur. He became a pastor at Caen 1645. Charenton wanted him, but he stayed at Caen. He had an audience with Louis XIV about the suppression of the *Chambres de l'Edit*. After the Revocation he went to Rotterdam. He married twice: in 1650 to Marie Moisant; and in 1657 to Anne de Cahaignes.

Du Moulin, Pierre (1568-1658) Born in Buhy. Died in Sedan. He was the son of Joachim, a pastor at Sedan. He was the first minister for the temple erected at Charenton for Parisian Huguenots. He studied at Sedan, as well as in England (studying at Cambridge with William Perkins). He taught Greek and logic at Leiden. He was chaplain to Catherine de Bourbon upon his return to France in 1599 until she died in 1604, then he was just a minister. He remained at Charenton until returning to Sedan in 1621 to teach and preach after being forced to leave Paris.

Durant, Samuel (?-1626) He arrived in Paris in 1609 to begin his ministry there, but he also travelled a lot. He was a minister at Charenton until his death. He attended many synods on behalf of Parisian Huguenots and the Charenton church. His cousin was the Reformed theologian Friedrich Spanheim.

Eustache, David (fl. 1640s-1660s) He was a pastor at Corps, and then later was installed at Montpellier. He participated in many synods.

Ferry, Paul (1591-1669) Born and Died in Metz. He was a pastor in Metz from 1612 until his death. He studied first in Germany, and then at academy of Montauban.

Gaches, Raymond (1615-1668) Born in Castres. Died in Paris. He became a minister at Castres in 1649, and then at Charenton from 1654-1668. According to Vinet, he was less theologically rigorous than his co-ministers, but had an imaginative and poetic form of preaching.

Gaillard, Jacques (1620-?) Born in Montauban. He was both a minister and professor of theology at Montauban. He was banished from Montauban during a period of re-Catholicization in 1662; he went to Bois-le-Duc, and then Leyden as pastor and theology professor at French college. He published into the 1680s and lived to an advanced age.

Guillebert, Jean (?-1692) He studied at Sedan. He was a pastor at Caen until the Revocation, at which point he fled to Holland. He assumed a position as pastor at Haarlem until his death.

Herault, Louis (fl.1631-1660s) He studied at Sedan. He became a pastor at Alençon beginning in 1631. He also spent time in London as minister to a French-speaking Reformed congregation.

Jurieu, Pierre (1637-1713) Born in Mer. Died in Rotterdam. He was the grandson of Pierre Du Moulin. He studied at Saumur and Sedan, as well as in Holland and England. He was first a pastor at Mer and then became a pastor and professor at Sedan. He fled France in 1681 and became a pastor at Rotterdam until his death.

Le Blanc, Louis (sieur de Beaulieu) (1614-1675) Born in Plessis-Marly. Died in Sedan. He taught at Sedan, and was a pastor there too. He came from a distinguished family. He was married in 1644, but never had children. His wife lived past the Revocation but she refused to convert, so she was jailed until later being banished.

Le Faucheur, Michel (1585-1657) Born in Geneva. Died in Paris. He was first a minister at Annonay beginning in 1607 (Dijon, Paris, Sedan, and Grenoble wanted him too, along with Geneva), and then at Montpellier in 1631; finally, he was called to Paris and became a minister at Charenton by 1637. The academy of Lausanne offered him a position, but he refused that as well.

Le Vasseur, Josué (1620-1672) Born and died in Sedan. His father was secretary to the Duke of Bouillon. He was a gifted scholar with languages, and taught Hebrew at Sedan. He was a pastor at Givonne briefly. In addition to being a pastor and Hebrew professor at Sedan, he also became a Greek professor in 1651, and theology professor in 1658.

Mestrezat, Jean (1592-1657) Born in Geneva. Died in Paris. He studied at Saumur and became a philosophy professor at there at only eighteen years old. Du Moulin ordained him at Charenton in 1614. He married in 1624, but his wife (a widow) died within a few years, leaving him a widower for the final thirty years of his life. He was often a deputy for Île-de-France at synods, and the 1623 synod sent him to the royal court as a representative. He was highly esteemed by Pierre Bayle.

Murat, François (fl.1620s-1630s) He was a pastor at Grenoble.

Mussard, Pierre (1627-?) Born in Geneva. He studied at Geneva. In 1653 he went to serve the church in Lyon.

Rivet, André (1572-1651) Born in St-Maixent. Died in Bréda (Holland). His father, Jean Rivet, was a notable merchant. He studied at Orthez. He was a pastor (and chaplain to the Duc de la Trémoille) at Thouars. The academy of Sedan wanted him as a professor. Instead, he left France to teach at Leiden in 1621. His

second wife was Marie, Pierre du Moulin's sister. Later, he moved to Bréda and taught at College d'Orange.

Saurin, Jacques (1677-1730) Born in Nîmes. Died in The Hague. He fled to Geneva at Revocation when he was young, and he later studied at the Academy of Geneva. He became pastor at London, and later at The Hague, where he remained until his death.

Vignier, David (ca.1606-1681) He was a pastor at Réalmont and Montauban.

Vignier, Nicolas, fils (1575-1645) Born in Germany. Died in Blois. He studied at Geneva. He became a pastor at Blois after 1619. He participated in provincial and national synods. His son became an Oratorian.

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