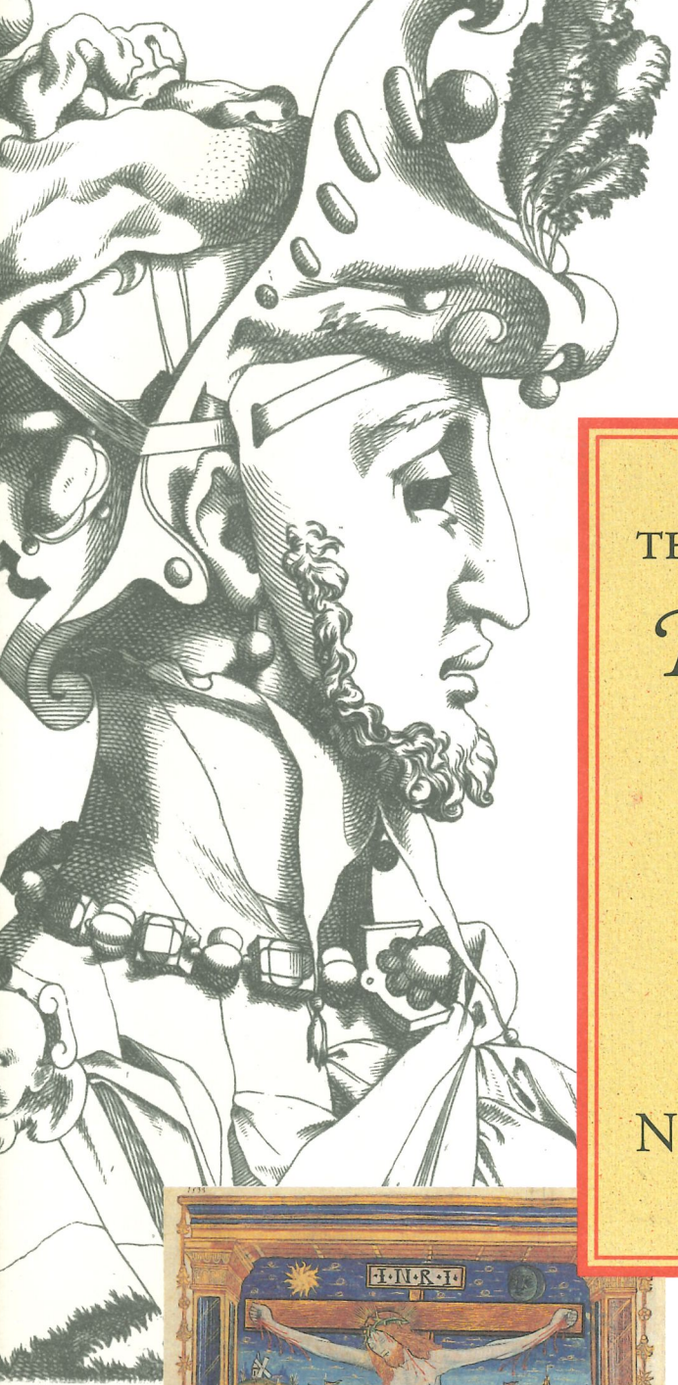
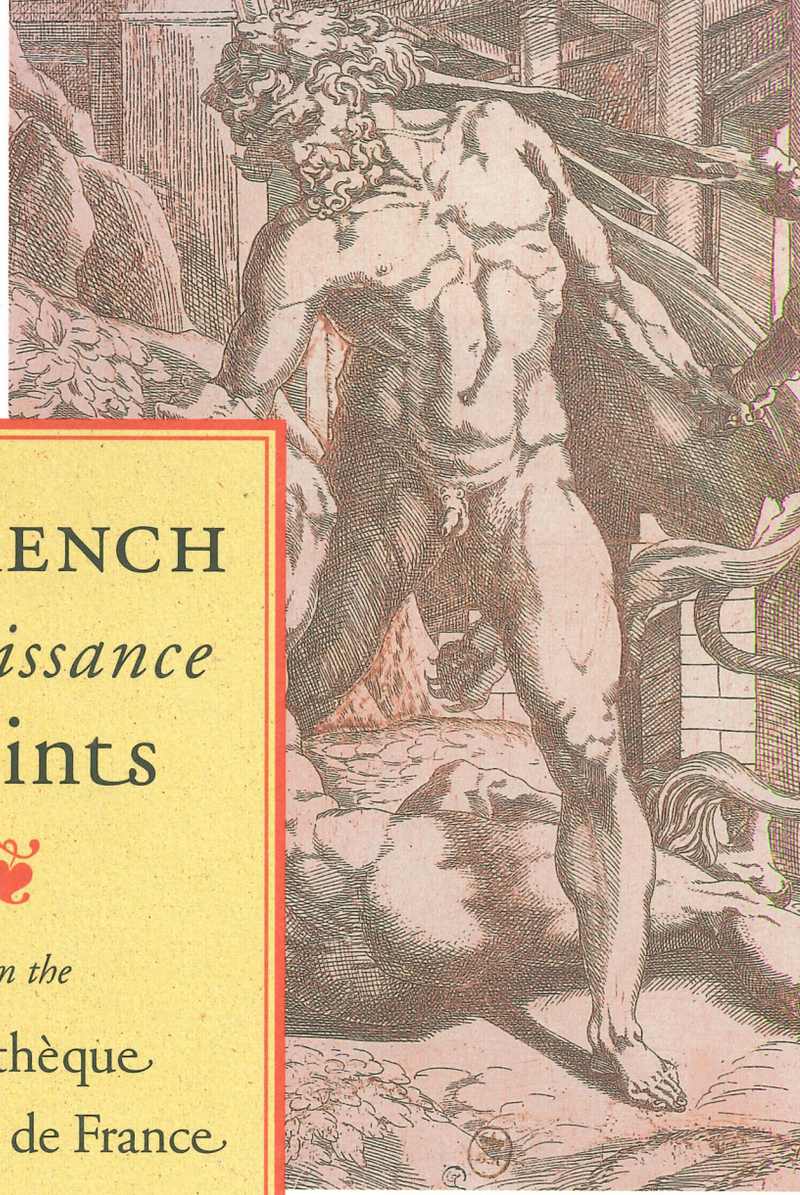
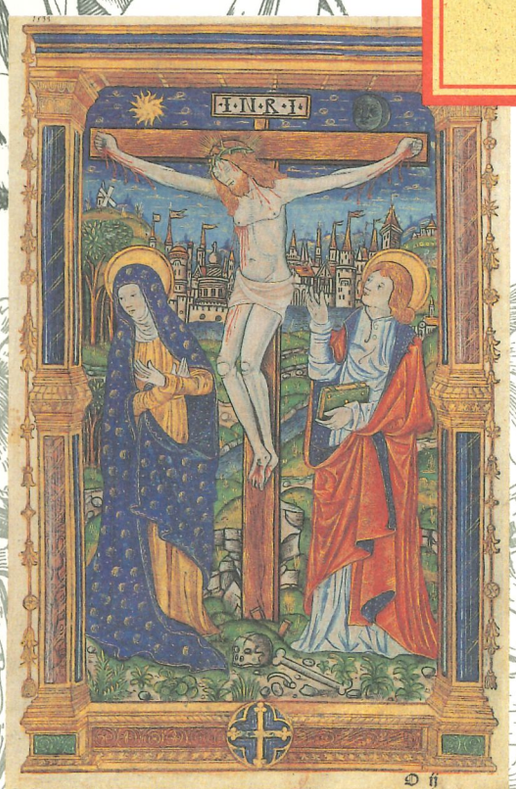




THE FRENCH *Renaissance* in Prints

from the

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES



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Of Marmites and Martyrs

Images and Polemics in the Wars of Religion[1]

Philip Benedict

Throughout France's Wars of Religion (1562–98) visual and verbal polemicists fought a running battle over which party was a marmite, or stewpot. A brief narration of this battle offers an excellent starting point for a survey of the use of polemical prints in the religio-political struggles of this troubled era, for it reveals many of the characteristics of the "littérature de combat" of the time and shows how visual imagery helped shape the language of partisan conflict.[2]

"Marmite" might seem an unlikely epithet, but the image of a large cooking vessel—usually with a cover, handles, and feet to hold it above a fire—was a good vehicle for insult in sixteenth-century France. As common household objects of the time, large kettles had important lexical and symbolic associations. People who provided for their families "kept the marmite boiling." If a family fell on hard times, "the marmite had tipped over." Since one could not see the contents of a covered marmite, the word came to signify a hypocrite.[3]

The battle began early in 1562, just as the great wave of Calvinist expansion in France was cresting. For decades Protestant ideas had circulated clandestinely within the kingdom, and from 1555 on, people attracted to such ideas had begun to organize churches of their own, with John Calvin's approval and often under the direction of ministers dispatched from Geneva. The number of such churches quickly multiplied, profiting especially from the power vacuum created by the death in 1559 of King Henri II. Henri was succeeded first by the sickly, teenaged Francis II, whose close ties to the powerful house of Guise provoked dismay and opposition from that family's many long-standing rivals among the other aristocratic lines of the realm, then a year later by the still-younger Charles IX, for whom a regency government had to be established under the direction of the queen mother, Catherine de Medici. Desperate for the support of all groups within the kingdom, Catherine pursued a policy of attempted religious conciliation, which finally led her, in January 1562, to promulgate an edict granting Protestants the legal right to assemble for worship in the suburbs of all French towns. During these years works of edification and propaganda flowed from the Genevan presses in unprece-

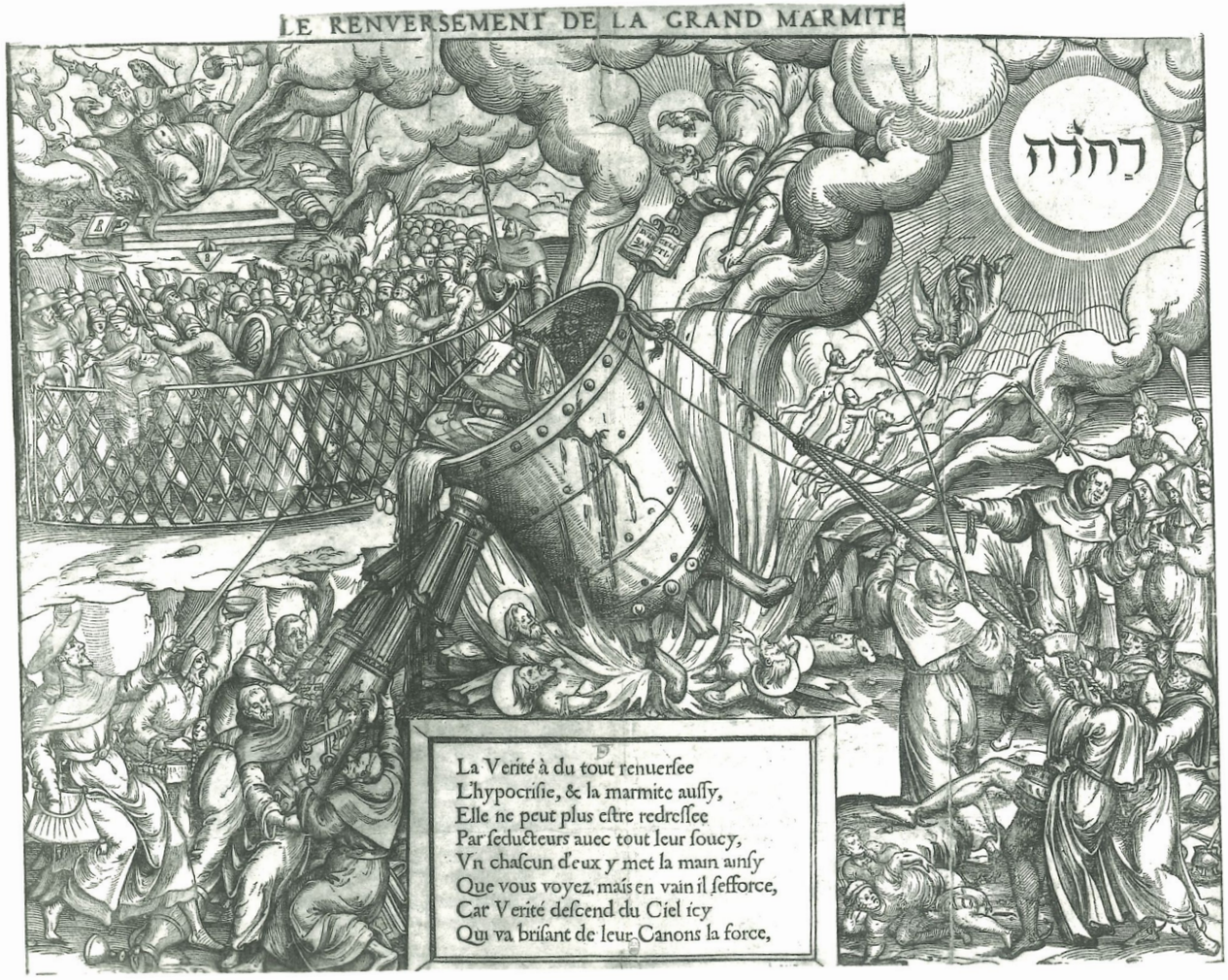


Fig. 27. Anonymous, Le renversement de la grande marmite, *c. 1562 (cat. no. 157).*

dented numbers for distribution to the ever-multiplying ranks of the faithful in France. In response Catholic theologians redoubled their efforts to rebut these works and to urge the crown to uphold its duty, as they saw it, of defending the faith and repressing heresy.

In the wake of the Edict of January, Protestant books circulated openly as never before. During this period, according to a contemporary memoir, peddlers (*portepanniers*) hawked Calvinist works in the streets of Laon crying, "The papal marmite overturned!" while mercers sold paintings at the city fair depicting a marmite toppling over despite the efforts of several religious orders to hold it up.[4] From the description of these paintings, we can be confident that they were similar to—indeed, probably copies of—the hand-colored woodcut *Le renversement de la grande marmite* (The overturning of the big marmite; cat. no. 157, fig. 27).[5] If the work was sold in this middling cathedral town in Picardy, which was a center of neither printing nor artistic activity, it was probably sold in many other towns as well.

The anonymous artist who composed the woodcut succeeded remarkably in compressing into a single image many themes of contemporary Protestant propaganda, while simultaneously representing the confidence felt by so many converts at this moment that their cause was destined for imminent triumph. At the center of the print is the cracked and toppling marmite, spilling its broth of Catholic vestments and papal bulls. Two forces have helped to overturn it. From the upper right a female figure identified by the caption as Truth, backed by the dove of the Holy Spirit, descends from heaven to push it over with the sword of the Bible. At the same time a fire beneath it consumes the bodies of three martyrs for the true faith; the smoke rising from the flames presses against the kettle to help overturn it, while the souls of the saints rise up toward heaven, where they are greeted by an angel bearing a laurel wreath. In the foreground monks and theologians strain vainly to keep the pot from tipping over. Those on the left try to support it with cannons decorated with the papal arms, but these crack under its weight. Those on the right tug on ropes, although one turns away from the job to caress a visibly pregnant nun. To the far left a cardinal stuffs his purse and fishes another hat from the kettle while he can. Next to him an old woman brandishes an empty bowl; the sons of the church may get rich, but charity goes begging. In the background two other cardinals keep the laity blindfolded and fenced off from the divine light, a sun emblazoned with the (slightly mislettered) Hebrew consonants that compose the proper name of God. Behind them the pope, whose elongated tiara resembles a wizard's hat, falls from his throne as the insignia of his earthly and heavenly power are snatched from him. As the legend explains:

> The truth has overthrown
> Hypocrisy, and the kettle,
> It cannot be put back up
> By seducers despite all their effort,

All of them put their hand to this
As you see, but in vain
For truth descends from the heavens
To shatter the force of their canons.

In a single image the artist glorifies the sacrifice of martyrdom, lampoons clerical corruption, suggests that the Catholic church deliberately kept believers in the dark to profit from their ignorance, and asserts that the papacy's days are numbered now that the power of truth is loose in the world.

The print and its painted copies clearly touched a nerve. In a Lenten sermon of the same year, the Carmelite friar and then student in theology Thomas Beauxamis responded to them and to unnamed written works in which the "too enormous name" of marmite was applied to the Catholic church. His sermon was published later in the same year by permission of the Sorbonne under the title *Resolution sur certains pourtraictz & libelles, intitulez du nom de marmite, faulsement imposé contre le clergé de l'Eglise de Dieu. Par laquelle est prouvé par le descours de l'escripture saincte, & l'expresse parolle de dieu, le nom de marmite enflambée estre propre a la nouvelle eglise* (Resolution concerning certain portraits and lampoons entitled with the name marmite, falsely imputed to the clergy of the Church of God. In which is proven by the language of holy scripture and the express word of God that the name of flaming marmite belongs to the new church).[6]

Since the leaders of the "church that calls itself reformed" boasted that their doctrine was based entirely on the Bible, Beauxamis responded by assembling scriptural passages that refer to kettles or fleshpots and arguing that these could be linked far more convincingly to the "new church" than to the Church of Rome. In this effort he relied amply on the allegorical mode of interpretation favored by so many medieval exegetes but frowned upon by the reformers. Thus in Exodus (16.1–3) the Israelites murmured against Moses as they passed through the wilderness of Sin and longed for the fleshpots of Egypt. What does Egypt signify in this passage, Beauxamis asks in his treatise, if not man removed from God? What is the Red Sea crossed by the Israelites if not the passage from darkness to light? And are not those who longed to be back among the fleshpots of Egypt just like those "murmurers of this age" who cannot abide abstinence imposed on them for a holy cause but long to give free rein to their gluttony, lechery, and other passions? Have not these murmurers thrown aside the fast days and rules of celibacy of the Roman church to live "like Epicureans and people who have no concern beyond this world"? In a similar fashion he likens the sea that the behemoth's tail makes boil like a pot in the book of Job (41.31) to the sedition and violence stirred up by the "libertine and Satanic church." He uses the image of the seething pot seen by Jeremiah (1.13) to suggest that the Huguenots burn with such intense concupiscence because their denial of free will and the value of good works leads them to give free rein to their lusts. His fullest exegesis focuses on the pot that God commanded Ezekiel (24.1–11) to use as a parable for the rebellious house, a pot that should be filled

with the choicest morsels but would finally be melted down. This, he suggests, indicates that someday soon God, acting through his anointed agent the king, would do away with the new church.

In the course of his extended discussion of these passages, Beauxamis alludes to the nocturnal orgies, nude worship, and sharing of women said to have been practiced by earlier heretical groups, implying that the current heresy could lead to the same type of conduct. He also asserts that Geneva had grown rich and populous because Calvin invited all banished criminals from neighboring countries to settle there. Here again many of the themes of contemporary religious polemic were compressed into a single work: Calvinism was not the restoration of the purity of the early church that its adherents claimed it to be, but a new and dangerous sect; its rejection of the doctrine of merit and of church rules on fasting and clerical celibacy represented the abandonment of all moral constraints; the faith appealed to criminals, to whom it gave free rein to practice their vices; it provoked sedition and violence; earlier heresies had led to shocking sexual practices, and this one probably would as well.[7]

By the time Beauxamis's sermon was printed in the autumn of 1562, open civil war was under way, lending foundation to his charge that the new faith brought upheaval in its wake. The immediate precipitants of this first civil war were the actions taken by the leading Catholic nobles to bring the young king under their protection and the subsequent Huguenot mobilization and seizure of many cities. The underlying cause was the emergence of the profoundly different outlooks represented by the two works so far examined. Huguenots, convinced that the Gospel's force would sweep away an abysmally corrupt church order, were eager to hasten the day. Papists, certain that a new doctrine of satanic origin threatened the foundations of morality, sought to wipe it out. These differences of outlook emerged just when a royal minority had weakened central authority, and they soon became intertwined with rivalries among leading aristocratic families.

Beauxamis's efforts to demonstrate that the "new church" was the true marmite failed to wrest control of this apparently powerful insult from the Protestants, as is made clear by several literary works published between 1562 and 1564 in Lyon, a Huguenot stronghold during the first civil war. In a song from 1562 entitled "La desolation des frères de la robe grise, pour la perte de la marmite, qu'est renversé" (The dismay of the gray-robed friars at the loss of the marmite, which has tipped over), the Franciscans lament that knees no longer bend before their hypocritical faces, that they can no longer fill their begging sacks with sausages, and that they will have to find another calling.[8] A brief farce from 1563, *La polymachie des marmitons; ou, La gendarmerie du pape* (The polymachy of the scullery boys; or, The pope's infantry), depicts Lucifer raising an army of clergymen of all ranks and religious orders to set his marmite aright. All who wish to enroll are asked to present themselves at Madame Idolatry's house, at the sign of the abuse on False Religion Street. A boisterous legion responds, bringing croziers and censers as weapons; their whores and children round out the "tail" of camp followers that was part of any sixteenth-century army. The army's passwords, in Latin of course, are "snatch, get, grab—words pleasing to the pope." The farce concludes with Lucifer

proudly commenting on the brave troop he has raised, although he also consoles the pope with the thought that should they fail to keep the marmite from spilling, they can return to hell, from whence they came.[9] Still another Lyon pamphlet from 1563, now apparently lost, bears the title *L'extrême-onction de la marmite papale* (Extreme unction for the papal marmite).[10] Finally Antoine du Pinet's publication in 1564 of the list of tariffs charged by the Roman curia for absolutions and indulgences, a work whose anti-Roman polemical intent is made clear by its ironic title, *Taxe des parties casuelles de la boutique du pape* (Prices of the goods sold in the pope's shop), concludes its denunciation of the remission of penalties in exchange for money with this passionate exclamation: "And what becomes of such treasures, if not to maintain that Antichrist in majesty, the better to make war on Christ through his minions who also live from this marmite, such as Dataries, Vice-Chancellors, . . . Protonotaries, Officers, the holy college of Cardinals . . . that entire rabble of men who make my gorge rise when I think of them, so great is the wickedness among them, O woe!"[11] The image of the marmite had clearly come to inflect how militant Protestants thought of the Catholic church.

While the farces and songs written in Protestant-controlled Lyon suggest the truth of A. N. Galpern's observation about these years that "the Reformers intended to laugh Roman Catholicism to its death," the Catholics got the last, and cruelest, laugh in most such cities.[12] The civil war that broke out in 1562, like those that would follow at irregular intervals for the next two decades, lasted only briefly before it was brought to an end both by the crown's inability to field an army for long and by its desire to spare the country the horrors of prolonged war. While the fighting lasted, however, it unleashed a full measure of iconoclasm, pillage, and persecution. The bitter memories thus accumulated only added to the mistrust and hatred between hard-line partisans on both sides, making it difficult to enforce the regime of toleration that the edict of pacification ending the war sought to establish. Incidents of violence between members of the two faiths continued. Further full-scale civil wars followed in 1567 and 1568. Catholic antipathy to Protestantism reached its culmination on August 24, 1572, Saint Bartholomew's eve, when a royal order to strike down a number of leading Protestant noblemen gathered in Paris inaugurated a season of killing that stretched into early October. Thousands of Huguenots were brutally slaughtered in Paris and a dozen provincial cities, including Lyon. In the wake of the violence thousands more returned in panic to the Catholic church, swearing humiliating oaths of abjuration. Others fled abroad, and for a while it seemed, to the delight of some and the despair of others, that the religion might be wiped out.

At this juncture Beauxamis published an expanded version of his 1562 tract under the gloating title *La marmite renversee et fondue, de laquelle nostre dieu parle par les saincts prophetes* (The marmite overturned and melted, by which our lord speaks through the holy prophets).[13] This was just one of several pamphlets that Catholic authors published at the time out of an impulse both to celebrate and to justify the massacre.[14] In this new version Beauxamis reorganized his argument that the biblical images of kettles referred to the Calvinist heresy and added a brief history of events in France since

Théodore de Bèze first sent his "ministers and advance scouts for the Antichrist" into the country to stir up trouble. Both the first and second civil wars began with the Huguenots seizing control of a number of leading cities, and the outbreak of the second conflict also involved an attempt to take control of the person of the king, something that a group of Protestant nobles had earlier tried in the Conspiracy of Amboise of 1560. In the eyes of those involved, these measures were necessary to protect the faith against the threat of Catholic violence and to remove the king from the pernicious influence of his evil counselors. As viewed by Beauxamis, they were naked acts of aggression and treason, whose aim was nothing less than the destruction and plunder of all France's Christian churches and the extermination of the entire royal family. His narrative of Protestant aggression includes extensive discussion of the "inestimable cruelties" said to have accompanied it. During the first civil war, for instance (to cite only a few of the alleged atrocities), the Protestants made necklaces with the severed ears of priests, tore out and roasted clerics' hearts, and taught their horses to trample clergymen. No mention is made of any Catholic violence. At the end of the first civil war the king clemently pardoned the Protestants' many crimes, but they only plotted new enterprises with the aid of their allies in Germany and, during the second and third civil wars, invited "cruel and barbarous" German mercenaries into the country to pillage. "Such acts require vengeance from the heavens," Beauxamis concluded, citing Ezekiel's vision of the marmite melted on the coals and a flurry of other prophetic passages to suggest that God willed the elimination of those who had so offended against His church.

But the Protestant marmite had not been melted down by the fire of the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew; it rose like a phoenix from the ashes. Following the massacre, the inhabitants of several Huguenot strongholds expelled their royal governors or refused admission to royal troops, then mounted a successful resistance that forced the crown anew to grant the faith rights of worship and to permit its reestablishment in many of the localities where Protestant churches had ceased meeting after 1572. Over the subsequent decade the country moved toward a measure of equilibrium, although this was still upset periodically by regionalized fighting between Protestants and Catholics and the often obscure ambitions of certain noblemen. Then, in 1584, an alarming prospect suddenly revealed itself to the country's Catholic majority. The last of King Henri III's brothers, the duc d'Alençon, died. The king himself was childless, and although the issue was contestable, the strongest legal claim to the royal succession now appeared to belong to the king's distant Protestant cousin, Henri of Navarre.

Faced with the threat of a Protestant king, zealous Catholics revived a sworn association known as the Sainte-Union, or Catholic League, vowing to defend the principle that the monarch must be of the Roman faith. Additional factors also fueled the growth of the movement: the resentment of great noble families who felt that they had been deprived of their rightful influence at court by Henri III's reliance on a few favorites of less exalted birth; popular discontent at rising taxation and the spread of venal officeholding; and the doubloons of Philip II of Spain, who was always eager to

see his French rival weakened. Under the direction of Henri, duc de Guise, the movement quickly became powerful. So great was its ability to dictate policy to Henri III by 1588 that the king decided he could regain control of his kingdom only by having the duke and the duke's brother, the cardinal of Guise, summarily slain. But the killing of these Catholic champions prompted a vehement backlash. The doctors of the Sorbonne declared Henri a tyrant and the population absolved of its obligations of obedience. Many cities rose in revolt, with Paris in the vanguard. Henri sought to regain control of his rebellious capital by allying with Navarre and besieging it, but during the siege a Dominican friar, Jacques Clément, visited the king in his camp, drew a knife from his robe, and stabbed him fatally. The act was hailed by the League as a work of divine inspiration; Henri of Navarre was forced to fall back from Paris; and a struggle for the succession began between the "Béarnais" and his cousin the cardinal of Bourbon, recognized by the League as King Charles X.



Fig. 28. Nicolas le Roy and François Gence, LA MARMITE RENVERSÉE DES HUGUENOTS, POLITIQUES, ATHEISTES, ESPERNONISTES, LIBERTINS. *Woodcut. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.*

Seventeen years after its last use, the image of the marmite was still alive in the memory of polemicists. It was now employed again in a woodcut by Nicolas le Roy and François Gence of the rue Montorgueil, *La marmite renversée des huguenots, politiques, atheistes, Espernonistes, libertins, avec la complainte des ministres et predicans du royaume de France* (The overturned marmite of the Huguenots, politiques, atheists, Epernonists, and libertines, with the lament of the ministers and preachers of the kingdom of France; fig. 28).[15] One of the numerous polemical broadsides in text and image produced in the capital after Henri III's assassination, this engraving is less rich in symbols than *Le renversement de la grande marmite,* but it nonetheless appropriates the earlier print's key image to figure important themes of League propaganda. Once again a toppling kettle appears at the center of the composition. This one contains human heads, presumably of Catholics whose stewing suggests both how Henri's policies sacrificed the church's cause and the sufferings that those of the faith would have to endure if his efforts to ensure Navarre's succession bore fruit. On the right Jean-Louis de Nogaret de La Valette, duc d'Epernon, encourages the cooking fire with a bellows—an instrument that also appears in a contemporaneous print to represent the false counsel that he whispered into the king's ear. Epernon was Henri's chief adviser, and his accumulation of an unprecedented collection of titles and commands had made him the focus of resentment against the king's bestowing of gratifica-

tions and charges on a few favorites, or *mignons.*[16] Around the marmite stand Henri III, Henri of Navarre, and other supporters, who help the king try to keep the pot upright, while still others view the proceedings from behind or aid them by carrying fuel for the fire. But to the left Clément kneels before the king, holding a petition in one hand while plunging a dagger into the sovereign's stomach with the other. The pot is about to topple with the king.

Just as *Le renversement de la grande marmite* suggests that in 1562 many Protestants felt confident that the Roman church's days were numbered in France, this *Marmite renversée* reflects the sense of relief and triumph that many Parisian Leaguers felt after the king's assassination and their hope that their various enemies had been dealt a mortal blow. The verses below the image predict an imminent exile for Navarre and the king's parvenu favorites:

> Alas! Prince of the Navarrese, you break your back in vain
> If you think you can keep our poor Marmite aright,
> For our good king, who was its support
> Has been put to death by a Dominican friar,
> I think we'd better go to England,
> Since we won't be able to return to your country.
>
> You, traitor d'Epernon, you can jolly well blow,
> The wood you are having brought won't catch fire,
> The rumor is spreading that you built it,
> For which you'll be banished and sent elsewhere
> Along with Biron, d'Aumont, and d'O, your companions
> Who popped up from the ground overnight like mushrooms.[17]

This print appears to be the last polemic of the Wars of Religion to adopt the image of the marmite.

Several lessons can be drawn from this story of dueling propagandists recurrently employing the same metaphor. First, it shows the impact that certain images had on contemporaries' imaginations. Not only did the Protestant visual satire of the overturned marmite touch off an immediate Catholic response and diffuse an image that was quickly incorporated into Huguenot songs and farces, but the same theme was recalled and recycled twenty-seven years after it was first employed. Second, the fact that *Le renversement de la grande marmite* was reproduced and sold as a painting as well as a woodcut suggests that, despite the invention in previous centuries of technologies permitting the fabrication of, to use William Ivins's classic phrase, "exactly repeatable pictorial statements," this newer technology had not yet fully displaced in France older means for reproducing and circulating visual works commenting upon current affairs, i.e., the hasty manual copying of paintings in oil or tempera. Third, the various contributions to this one small part of the propaganda battles of the time

express how certain participants in France's recurring civil wars viewed the political situation before them at specific moments in the conflicts and reveal many of the themes that were central to the larger visions that the parties to the conflict held of each other. Their tendencies to vilify, defame, and demonize their opponents at once contributed to and justified the violence of the period. Finally the two images of the marmite come from the two periods of most intense ideological mobilization, when politically engaged works of all sorts, from pamphlets to topical songs to farces, were at their most abundant. These periods were the years of Protestantism's rapid growth and peak strength around 1562, and the years of the League, especially just before and after the assassination of Henri III.

Yet a single image or theme can never encapsulate the entire language of ideological division in a complex society over several generations. The tale of the marmite, rich as it is, still reveals only part of the larger story of the use of prints in the religious and political struggles of the time. The volume and character of the printmaker's contribution in fact changed significantly between the two great periods of ideological mobilization. In contrast to the situation in Germany, where the early Reformation gave rise to numerous illustrated *Flugschriften* (pamphlets) and single-sheet woodcuts amid a vast outpouring of occasional writings, in France the publication wars of the early Reformation and the initial phases of the Wars of Religion drew only sparingly upon the skills of the *imagier.* Furthermore *Le renversement de la grande marmite* was atypical of the visual works produced in this period in being a single-sheet woodcut apparently designed to be hawked, and perhaps even displayed, publicly. Very few such works have survived, while illustrated books were more numerous. A larger volume of visual propaganda was produced during the era of the League, however, and more of these works were single-sheet prints or illustrated placards. *La marmite renversée des huguenots, politiques, atheistes, Espernonistes, libertins* is not perfectly representative of the imagery of combat from this period, however, for it uses allegory to convey a relatively abstract political message. As Denis Pallier has acutely observed, most of the League's visual propaganda sought to arouse the viewer's pity and anger through the purportedly factual reportage of current events.[18] It relied heavily on an imagery of martyrdom that had become familiar from the reporting of such events in preceding years.

From the time that the Reformation first triumphed in the early 1530s in Neuchâtel and Geneva, these French-speaking cities just beyond the border were the leading centers for the publication of Protestant works aimed at a French readership. Among the very first books to issue from the earliest Protestant printing house in this region, Pierre de Vingle's press in Neuchâtel, was a reworking of one of the most successful and frequently reprinted German visual satires against Rome, Lucas Cranach's 1521 *Passional Christi und Antichristi* (The passional of Christ and the Antichrist). The German original juxtaposes the behavior and life-style of the Roman pontiff with that of Christ through thirteen pairs of woodcuts on facing pages, accompanied by brief commentaries by Luther's great Wittenberg colleague Philipp Melanchthon. One image, for instance, shows Christ laboring to carry his cross,

while on the facing page the pope is borne aloft on a splendid litter. In another pair Christ washes the feet of his disciples, while the pope has his courtiers kiss his feet. R. W. Scribner, who analyzed this work at length in his fine study of visual propaganda for the German Reformation, emphasizes how many themes resonate within it: an exaltation of humility, simplicity, and peace in opposition to splendor, magnificence, and war; the contrast between true and false religion; an attack on the pretensions of the clergy to immunity from taxation and secular authority; and an equation of the papacy with the Antichrist.[19]

The French edition added several new pairs of prints that heightened the attack on a clergy that sheared the flock it was supposed to protect by selling pardons, indulgences, and access to the sacraments. The denigration of the Roman church's "false" forms of worship as a set of confidence tricks designed to make money for an overgrown clerical estate would always be a particularly prominent theme in French Reformation propaganda. Also added were two woodcuts contrasting a proper evangelical eucharistic celebration with the Catholic mass, supported by a text that denied the real presence of Christ in the elements of the eucharist, a point of theology on which the Swiss parted company from Luther. The revised work proved nearly as successful with its French audience as the Cranach-Melanchthon original had been in Germany. Geneva's presses followed the first Neuchâtel edition with five more French and four Latin editions, all in small formats ideal for easy concealment, hand-to-hand circulation, and private reading. The illustrations were redone by Pierre Eskrich, an artist and engraver who worked in both Lyon and Geneva, and the accompanying text was written in verse by Simon Du Rosier.[20]

Despite the success of this work, surprisingly few other examples of German Reformation visual propaganda were remade into French versions. *Allegory of the Old and New Testaments,* formerly attributed to Geoffroy Tory (cat. no. 5), duplicates and indeed enriches a family of German images within which a woodcut and several paintings by Cranach are the most famous works. These represent possibly the most successful effort to render visually one of the central positive teachings of early Protestant theology: Luther's starkly drawn opposition within Scripture between the law, which brings the recognition of sin, and the gospel, which announces the promise of redemption through Christ.[21] The Genevan printer and martyrologist Jean Crespin also published in 1557 a translation of a short illustrated pamphlet that first appeared in Wittenberg in 1523 and depicted two remarkable hybrid beasts, an "ass-pope" said to have been found in Rome and a "calf-monk" from Freiburg. The accompanying texts by Luther and Melanchthon explain that these strange creatures are prodigies of nature whose features reveal symbolically the false pretensions of the papacy to secular and ecclesiastical authority, the burdens its erroneous teachings place on tender consciences, and the blindness and folly of the religious orders. This example of the literature of wondrous signs and prodigies did not make a successful transition from German to French, receiving just a single printing in Geneva as opposed to eighteen in the Holy Roman Empire.[22] These are the only known surviving French

reworkings of German Reformation propaganda other than the numerous editions of the French version of the *Passional Christi und Antichristi.*

The surviving corpus of original topical or doctrinal works by French printmakers during this period is scarcely larger. The most ambitious such work was unquestionably the *Mappe-monde nouvelle papistique* (Map of the new papal world), probably by Eskrich, printed in Geneva in 1566 in sixteen folio sheets that could be joined together to form one huge print.[23] The map traces the contours of an imaginary land said to have been created by the pope's diligence over the centuries. The artist locates it inside the mouth of a fanged monster, divides it into numerous regions, such as the kingdom of good works and the province of monkery, and peoples it with so vast an array of figures and scenes that a 190-page book had to be published simultaneously to explain all the details.[24]

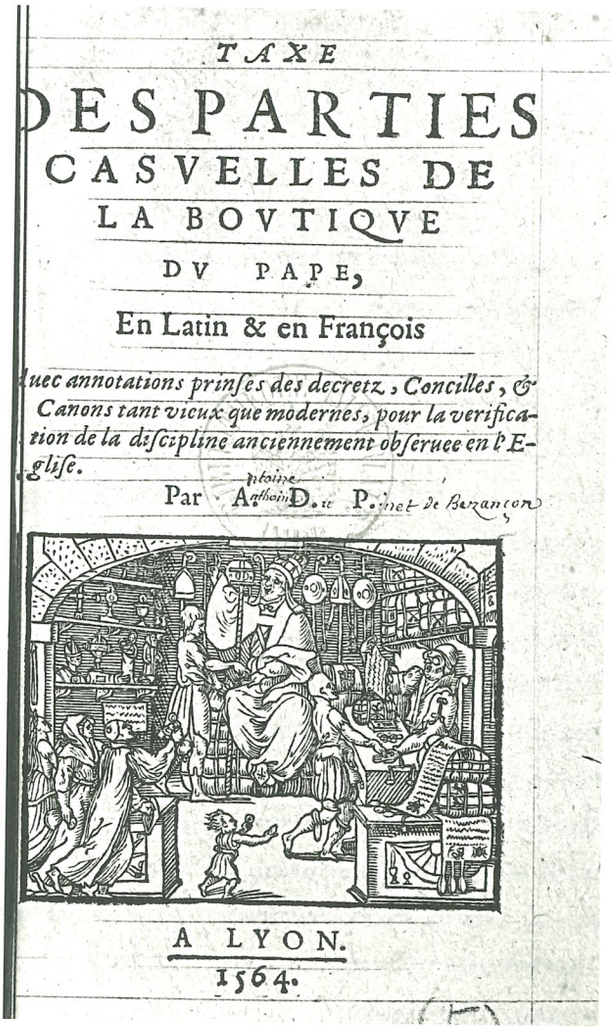

TAXE
DES PARTIES
CASVELLES DE
LA BOVTIQVE
DV PAPE,
En Latin & en François
auec annotations prinſes des decretz, Concilles, & Canons tant vieux que modernes, pour la verification de la diſcipline anciennement obſeruee en l'Egliſe.
Par Antoine D. P. de Besançon
A LYON.
1564.

Fig. 29 Frontispiece to Antoine du Pinet's TAXE DES PARTIES CASUELLES DE LA BOUTIQUE DU PAPE, *1564. Woodcut. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.*

On a smaller scale the proliferation of unnecessary categories of clerics, false forms of worship, and the remission of sins for money are all attacked in the single-sheet *Celuy qui en Satan se fie james nen a que tronperie* (Those who trust in Satan never get anything but fraud) by Jacques Le Chaleux, a Norman artist known to have worked successively in Rouen, Geneva, and Lyon, where he was one of the victims of the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew.[25] This responds to a woodcut used to illustrate several of the works of the important Catholic polemicist of the 1550s and 1560s Artus Désiré, depicting the family tree of heresy. Where the Catholic woodcut shows the various ancient and modern heresies as branches of a tree growing from the body of Satan, Le Chaleux presents as branches of a tree growing from the body of the pope an assortment of monks, nuns, pardoners, and high-ranking Catholic prelates, variously begging, fingering rosaries, clutching images, or hawking pardons and indulgences. Satan prepares to chop down this tree, while the accompanying text cites the biblical verses (Matthew 3.10, 7.19; Luke 3.9) in which Christ states that every tree that does not bear good fruit is cut down and

thrown into the fire; once again the Catholic church is presented as being on the verge of destruction. The sale of indulgences and exemptions is also attacked in a woodcut frontispiece to du Pinet's *Taxe des parties casuelles de la boutique du pape* (fig. 29), which shows the pope and a bespectacled assistant in a merchant's shop peddling bulls, ecclesiastical offices, and relics.[26]

While these works directed their fire against the Roman church, a final piece of Protestant visual propaganda from the short reign of Francis II (1559–60) offered topical commentary on the political situation of the moment. This was a painting entitled *Guillot le songeur* (Billy the dreamer), known to us from a description in the *Mémoires de Condé.* The opponents of the Guises argued that Francis was too young to rule without benefit of a regency government and hoped that Anthony of Navarre, as the first prince of the blood, might press a claim to lead such a government. Anthony, who for a while appeared to be inclined toward the Protestant cause, hesitated to do so. The painting showed Anthony snoozing against a tree despite the best efforts of his Protestant wife and the leading anti-Guise noblemen of the realm to wake him. The cardinal of Lorraine was painted keeping Francis II tucked snugly in his purse and wearing the crown himself. In a surviving woodcut based upon this painting, these figures have been transformed into fantastic animals. No explanation is offered, making the print impossible to decipher as a political satire without knowledge of the original, if indeed any of its satirical content remains.[27] This case offers additional evidence that painting was a medium used for topical commentary at this time. It also raises puzzling questions about the purposes of and audience for the woodcut copy.

The Catholic literature dedicated to combatting the spread of heresy also relied sparingly on the printmaker's skills through the first three quarters of the century, a fact that suggests that the far smaller volume of polemical prints generated by the Reformation in France in comparison with Germany arose less from Calvinist antipathy toward the use of images or the absence of a resident engraver or illustrator in Geneva (many artists of all sorts were drawn to Protestantism in this period, and one would surely have settled in Geneva and dedicated himself to printmaking had there been enough work to make it worthwhile), than from broader causes that affected the production of Catholic and Protestant propaganda alike. Through the greater part of the sixteenth century, the technology of printmaking was simply less highly developed and was exploited for a narrower variety of purposes in France than in Germany. Furthermore the German evangelical movement developed rapidly in a context of tumultuous and relatively unfettered public debate that encouraged the appeal to popular opinion through all available media, while its French counterpart percolated slowly underground in the face of severe restrictions on the circulation of its propaganda.

The most complex and theologically sophisticated print from this period defending the Catholic cause is the anonymous, undated engraving *Le pressoir de Nostre Sauveur Jesus Christ* (The winepress of our Savior Jesus Christ).[28] As Emile Mâle has shown, this draws upon the theme of the mystic winepress that was introduced into the stained-glass decoration of French churches in the fif-

teenth century and, through a series of analogies with the stages involved in making wine, transforms it into a statement of the holy church's privileged role as the storehouse and dispenser of the merit accumulated through Christ's sacrifice. The patriarchs of the Old Testament are first shown planting vines under the watchful eye of God. The grapes are harvested by Saint Peter, the first pope. Christ's body is placed in the winepress, and the blood-wine pressed from him is collected into barrels by the church fathers, who, with the assistance of kings, store it in a cellar. Additional details of an individual confessing to a priest and of a clergyman consecrating the communion wine drive home the point that the church's rituals are the conduit through which the stockpiled benefits of Christ's sacrifice are subsequently conveyed to the faithful. The extended analogy between Christ's blood and the process of making wine also asserts the Catholic view that the consecrated communion wine was literally Christ's blood, while the assignment of the task of storing the wine to kings as well as prelates underscores the role of secular rulers as defenders of Christ's holy church.[29]

The other surviving examples of French prints from this period directed against the challenge of Protestantism are not statements of Catholic doctrine, but images of the dangers of heresy. A symbolic figure of heresy adorns the long poem of 1524 enumerating and condemning the enemies of orthodoxy from Simon Magus to Luther, *Le blazon des heretiques* (The blazon of heretics), by the *rhétoriqueur* poet and author of mystery plays Pierre Gringore. In this frontispiece a man bearing a spade, a hoe, and a lance gives off acrid flames from his chest, while rats gnaw at his body.[30] As has already been mentioned, several of Désiré's anti-Protestant polemics were illustrated with woodcuts. Aside from the family tree of heresy, the only other of these to be immediately topical in character depicts ancient and modern heretics laying siege to the city of God, which is protected by the walls of chastity and patience. The themes here, of the diabolical origins of heresy and its hostility to traditional Christian virtues, are ones we have already encountered in the verbal polemics of the period.[31]

Finally three woodcuts illustrate one of the most disturbing polemical works to appear in the year of the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew, Gabriel de Saconay's *Geneologie et la fin des huguenaux* (The genealogy and end of the Huguenots). Like Beauxamis's *La marmite renversee et fondue,* this is a chronicle of Huguenot plots and atrocities and a justification of the royal use of the sternest possible measures to destroy heresy, to which Saconay adds allegorical comparisons to the animal world that draw chilling lessons from the biological wisdom of the day. The Huguenots, Saconay asserts, are not Frenchmen, "but true followers of Satan, who have (by God's permission) transformed themselves into monkeys," an identification that he develops at length by alleging many similarities of behavior between the Protestants and simians and by an etymology that derives the word *Huguenot* from *guenon* (in French, a variety of monkey).[32] In similar fashion he likens the king to a lion and observes on the authority of several ancient authors that monkey's blood is the best medicine for a sick lion. The woodcut illustrations accompanying the work exploit the obvious caricatural potential of the equation of the Protestants with monkeys. Two depict grinning simians engaged in various activities:

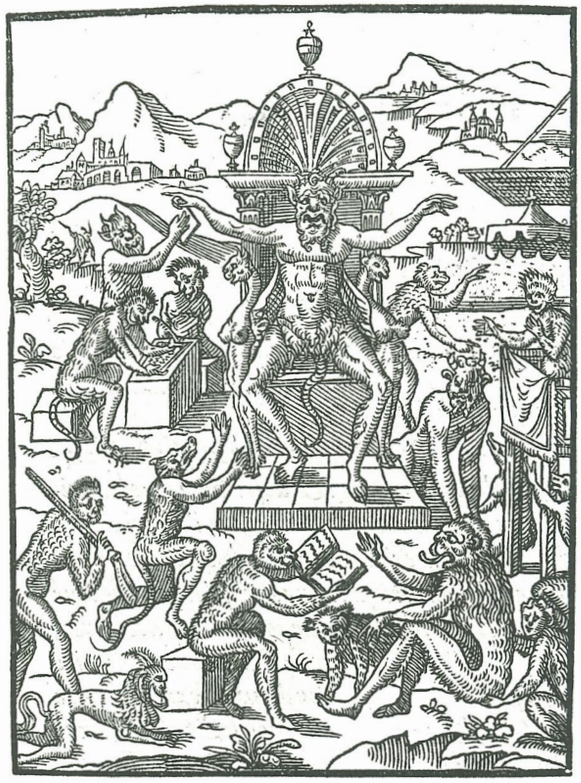


Fig. 30. Gabriel de Saconay, MALHEUR SUR LA TERRE ET LA MER, *from* GENEOLOGIE ET LA FIN DES HUGUENAUX, *1572. Woodcut. Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine. Photo: Jean Loup Charmet, Paris*

worshiping an enthroned devil; pretending to preach, read, and write; attacking statues of the crucified Christ; and tormenting a lion (see fig. 30). A third shows the lion turning on the monkeys and devouring one, while the accompanying caption from Saint Ambrose commends the application of a similar remedy to human problems: "The beasts know their cures. The sick lion seeks the monkey to devour to find relief. Are you ignorant, man, of your cure?"

While all of the prints mentioned so far seek through a variety of allegorical means to convey sacred doctrine, ridicule the practices of the rival church, or comment upon the politico-religious situation of the moment, a second category of images also emerged, growing in volume and importance as the civil wars proceeded. This consisted of prints offering an allegedly factual depiction of important contemporary events. Good critical studies have yet to identify the sources on which these works were based and to assess their reliability, making it impossible to determine the extent to which they made good on the claim that accompanied many of them that they offered a "true portrait" of what they depicted. Many were clearly shaped by partisan purposes and as such merit inclusion in a discussion of images and polemics during the Wars of Religion. At the same time they played an important role in conveying information about contemporary affairs and served to mold the memory of the recent past.

From early on, French-speaking Protestants drawn to the Genevan cause displayed particular concern for recording and documenting the history of their movement. This often involved memorializing those who had given their lives for the faith, an impulse that found its classic expression in Crespin's martyrology, which went through numerous editions following its first publication in 1554 and became one of the building blocks of Huguenot identity. But it was not simply the movement's sacred history that the Protestants sought to chronicle. From the early 1560s onward, they also assembled a series of important document collections and wrote accounts of recent political history.[33]



Fig. 31. Jean Perrissin and Jacques Tortorel, The Massacre at Tours in the Month of July 1562, *1570. Woodcut. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.*

It would seem to be primarily in the spirit of this latter impulse that in 1569 two Walloon entrepreneurs in Geneva signed a series of contracts with the Lyon artist Jean Perrissin and two collaborators to engrave, first on wood and then on copper, what was vaguely described in the contract as "the entire history furnished them." The forty scenes of "wars, massacres, and unrest that have occurred in France these past years" which they subsequently produced form perhaps the best-known visual record of the first decade of the Wars of Religion and are the source of countless illustrations for books about the period (see cat. nos. 154–56). Among them are four plates depicting mob killings of Huguenots which replicate visually the martyrologists' and historians' technique of accumulating precise details about the identities of individual victims and the circumstances of their deaths to produce a compelling record of the cruelties visited upon the faithful (see fig. 31). The numerous scenes of massacres drawn from Appian's Roman history which were painted or engraved in France between

1555 and 1566 also provided important precedents for the techniques of visual presentation employed in these densely packed scenes of martyrdom.[34] While these four scenes would in turn help shape the broader genre of depictions of contemporary cruelties and martyrdoms that would subsequently develop, the great majority of prints in this series represent the major public events and battles that occurred in France between 1559 and 1570. The series includes a depiction of the most notorious Protestant massacre of Catholics, the "Michelade" of Nîmes, where perhaps a hundred people were hurled down the well of the episcopal palace. While there are no representations of the acts of iconoclasm or attacks on Catholic religious houses that figure so prominently in histories of this period written by clerical authors such as Beauxamis, the inclusion of this scene nonetheless reveals a willingness to recognize and document the participation of both sides in crowd violence.[35] Precedents for the desire to create a visual record of contemporary history survive in the form of single-sheet woodcuts preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale depicting important events from the period just prior to the Wars of Religion, such as the 1557 battle of Metz or the 1561 meeting of the Estates-General.[36]

Another ambitious illustrated publishing project of a historical character emanated from Geneva a decade later: Théodore de Bèze's 1580 *Icones,* or, as the title page of the French version that appeared the following year has it, "The exact portrait of those men famous for their piety and doctrine whose labors God has used in recent times to restore the true Religion in diverse lands of Christendom."[37] A portrait gallery of Protestant worthies, mostly divines, accompanied by brief accounts of their deeds in God's service, this work can be linked to a broader vogue in these years for books of portraits of famous people. Like Perrissin's historical engravings, it also formed part of the enterprise of forging a collective Protestant consciousness and proposing models for future generations to emulate.

In this effort one might expect that an artist's skills would have been applied to the many episodes in Crespin's martyrology that lend themselves to vivid illustration. Surprisingly this was not done. Only a 1565 edition of the work is known to have contained so much as a single illustration; it depicts a bevy of ecclesiastical judges headed by the pope presiding over the trial and execution of a group of believers.[38] In England, by contrast, successive editions of John Foxe's celebrated martyrology contained a steadily growing volume of increasingly lurid woodcuts showing the sufferings of those who had made the ultimate sacrifice for the faith. This in turn proved a second source for the development of a polemical imagery of martyrdom in France, for in response it engendered a comparable Catholic iconography stimulated by the efforts of English Catholics to publicize the sufferings of their coreligionists. This spread across much of the Continent in the 1580s, soon reaching France.

The 1580s were a time of intensified persecution for the Catholic church in England; the dispatch of Jesuit missionaries to the island in 1580 provoked greater severity in the treatment of the country's Recusants, and new laws extended the definition of treason so broadly that anybody reconciled to the Church of Rome could be charged with the offense. A number of English Catholics were forced to flee, and they did their best, in the manner of exiles everywhere, to keep the sufferings of

their brethren at home in the public eye. Their efforts quickly enlisted the resources of the visual arts. Editions of Robert Persons's and William Allen's accounts of persecution in England which were published in Italy in 1582 and 1583 contained illustrations that mirror the scenes found in Foxe. These in turn helped inspire the murals of the new Jesuit church of San Tommaso di Canterbury in Rome.[39]

With the death of the duc d'Alençon in 1584, the persecution of English Catholics took on heightened significance in France as an object lesson of the potential dangers of a Protestant king. League spokesmen seized upon the tales of suffering and injustice spread by the English Catholics as they sought to rally the population to their cause; the most important manifesto of the movement in its first years was Louis d'Orléans's significantly titled *Warning of the English Catholics to the French Catholics,* which often alludes to events in England as it urges that the gangrene of heresy be removed from France. The cries of alarm redoubled with the decapitation in February 1587 of Mary, Queen of Scots. The news of this event set off a miniature war of Parisian sermons and printed accounts proffering rival explanations for her execution, the majority of them depicting her as a devout, guileless woman murdered by her illegitimate, debauched half-sister, the "English Jezebel."[40] Many of the surviving contemporary French portraits of Mary date from this period. The texts accompanying them often allude to her death or call her a martyr.[41]

The utility of visual propaganda in the battle to arouse public opinion was vividly revealed when, several months later, a painting was set up in the Paris cloister of Saint-Severin showing how Catholics in England were tried and punished. According to the English ambassador, the effect was electric: "Since I came into France, I never saw a thing done with that fury nor with that danger of a great emotion . . . ; for I think not so few as five thousand people a day come to see it, and some English knave priests that be there, they point with a rod and show every thing; affirm it to be true and aggravate it."[42] After vigorously protesting that the painting was a libel against the English crown, the ambassador succeeded in having it removed. This had to be done at night for fear of touching off violence.[43]

Scarcely had this painting been removed when graphic depictions of similar scenes went on sale in the capital, thanks to the importation from Antwerp of Richard Verstegan's *Theatrum crudelitatum haereticorum nostri temporis* (Theater of cruelties of the heretics of our time).[44] Verstegan was an Oxford-educated scholar and artist who had fled to Paris in 1582 to escape punishment for his role in organizing the clandestine publication of Catholic works in England. While in Paris he published two important sets of engravings related to contemporary religious conflicts. A large print dedicated to the duc de Guise which appeared in 1585 contrasted the characteristics of the Catholic church with those of the "heretical congregation." Perhaps the most dignified example of anti-Protestant visual propaganda from the period, the work juxtaposes symmetrically images representing the antiquity, universality, unbroken apostolic succession, and concord of Catholicism with ones symbolizing the novelty, particularism, and discord of heresy.[45] Verstegan also completed a collection of five



Fig. 32. Richard Verstegan, plate from THEATRUM CRUDELITATUM HAERETICORUM NOSTRI TEMPORIS, *1587. Engraving, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Compressing several episodes into a single image, this illustration displays, as a key explains: (a) a Huguenot captain wearing a necklace of priests' ears, (b) one of several priests whose noses and ears were cut off, (c) a priest whose body was cut open and whose entrails were mixed with oats for the consumption of horses, and (d) the Catholics of Nîmes being thrown down the bishop's well during the Michelade.*

copper plates in late 1583 or early 1584, based upon illustrations for the Italian editions of Persons, entitled Briefve description des diverses cruautés que les catholiques endurent en Angleterre pour la foy (Brief description of the various cruelties endured by the Catholics in England for their faith). When the English ambassador in Paris got wind that this series was in press, he moved swiftly but, as it turned out, a bit belatedly to halt its publication; a single copy survives.[46] His complaints did get Verstegan thrown in prison, although the intervention of the papal nuncio subsequently got him released.[47] It was presumably this experience that led Verstegan to publish his *Theatrum crudelitatum* not in Paris but in Antwerp, reconquered by the Spanish in 1585 after a period of Calvinist domination.

The *Theatrum crudelitatum* expands the scope of the earlier English martyrological literature, cataloguing Protestant atrocities in the British Isles, France, and the Low Countries in twenty-nine powerful engravings, each accompanied by a facing-page text keyed to the print that explains in detail the place and circumstances of the depicted mistreatment (see fig. 32). The French scenes involve cruelties very similar, although only occasionally identical, to those recounted by Beauxamis. Monks are disemboweled, shod like horses, hitched to plows and whipped to death, and castrated and forced to eat their penises. Women are burned with hot irons and killed by Protestant soldiers who stuff gunpowder into their vaginas. In many cases the victims are identified by name in the accompanying text, which also indicates where each incident occurred—details that add to the impression of historical veracity, although the text also undercuts this by omitting dates.[48] Since twelve of the scenes depict the "horrible cruelties of the Huguenots in France," the *Theatrum crudelitatum* would have represented for a French audience not only a warning of the potential dangers of a Protestant king but also a reminder of the worst crimes committed against them by their Calvinist neighbors. This summa of sixteenth-century atrocity propaganda was quickly translated from Latin into French and would subsequently be reprinted five more times by 1607.[49]

The engravings that Verstegan published in Paris are the first prints of a topical or polemical nature known to have been produced in the French capital in the 1580s. In conjunction with the

powerful effect that the depictions of Protestant cruelties displayed in 1587 appear to have had on Parisian opinion, they may have suggested to the woodcut specialists of the rue Montorgueil, who were losing many of their traditional markets to copperplate engravers arriving from Flanders, the potential value of their skills in rallying the population to a political cause. When royal authority broke down in 1588 and when, against a backdrop of barricades and political assassinations, the entire Parisian printing industry began to produce unprecedented quantities of topical pamphlets and accounts of current events (see table 1), these artists turned to producing works of this sort. More than thirty different prints or sets of prints reporting and commenting on current events have survived from the period following the assassination of the duke and cardinal of Guise in December 1588.[50]

TABLE 1

Pamphlets Published in Paris, 1585–93

1585	17	1588	157	1591	48
1586	21	1589	362	1592	26
1587	78	1590	98	1593	49

Source: Denis Pallier, *Recherches sur l'imprimerie à Paris pendant la Ligue (1585–1594)* (Geneva: Droz, 1976), p. 55.

The vituperation that rained down upon Henri III following the assassination of the Guises has few parallels in the history of the French monarchy. Although foreign visitors throughout the ancien régime were surprised by the degree of liberty allowed gossip and clandestine verses disrespectful of the ruling family, and although we know that poems critical of Henri were passed from hand to hand or strewn at court by unknown parties during much of his reign, the all-but-universal theme in the printed literature prior to 1588, even that of the League, was that the king was a good prince who was misled by the wicked favorites around him.[51] (This was the classic illusion, or professed illusion, of those dissatisfied with the course of royal policy throughout the later Middle Ages and early modern period.) This changed dramatically with the slaying of the Guises. Now textual and visual attacks bored in on the king himself, although the duc d'Epernon remained a target of criticism as well.

Following the classic logic of libel in all periods, much of the iconography of vituperation directed against the king drew upon his own behavior and interpreted it in the worst possible light. Thus Henri's affection for his mignons and his encouragement of elaborate styles of dress at court bred charges of effeminacy and homosexuality. His patronage of a court academy in which arcane forms of neo-Platonic "natural magic" were cultivated bred charges of sorcery. In light of his killing of the Guises and his willingness to recognize Navarre's right to the succession, his highly visible participation in the new forms of Catholic devotional activity that spread through France in his reign and his patronage of penitent brotherhoods could only be hypocrisy. Prints from the era depict



Fig. 33. Anonymous, Le faux mufle decouvert du grand hypocrite de la France. *Woodcut. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.*

Henri as a sorcerer, a hermaphrodite, a monster, a demon, and a man in league with the devil.[52] A defamatory illustrated history entitled *La vie et faits notables de Henry de Valois* (The life and notable deeds of Henri of Valois)—the phrase "Henri of Valois" is significant, for it indicates that the king was to be thought of not as a monarch, but simply as a private individual—includes scenes of a nun being seized at prayer to satisfy Henri's lust, of decapitated bodies said to have been victims of his tyranny, and of Henri erecting a rail around his throne, a significant offense in light of prevailing political ideas that stressed the importance of access to the king, especially for the nobility.[53]

Le faux mufle decouvert du grand hypocrite de la France (The false hood of the great hypocrite of France uncovered; fig. 33) not only attacks the king as a demon but also warns of the larger danger of hypocrisy and false appearances.[54] Dressed in the garb of a penitent and holding a rosary, the king stands over the slain duc de Guise, but with his hood removed, the viewer can see that the man masquerading as a pious Catholic is in fact the devil. The attack on dissimulation in all of its forms was central to much League propaganda of this period, for in contrast to earlier phases of the Wars of Religion, when Huguenots who proclaimed their faith openly formed the great enemy of the Catholic church, the chief opponents of the League were now practicing Catholics who believed that the rules of dynastic succession and the imperatives of maintaining peace in France were more important than eliminating heresy—the "politiques, atheists, and libertines" of the title of the 1589 *Marmite renversée.* But how could one know just who these false Catholics were? Leading citizens were imprisoned on suspicion of favoring Navarre "in their hearts," and enormous energy was devoted in League-controlled cities to organizing works of mortification and penitential processions that can be seen as attempts to induce all of the city's inhabitants to give visible manifestation to the depth and sincerity of their commitment to the Catholic cause, thereby exorcising the threat of secret enemies within.[55]

As has already been indicated, however, the majority of the propaganda prints produced at this time were not allegorical commentaries or attacks on Henri III. Instead they were depictions of the killing first of the Guises and then of the king, represented in a manner that sought at once to inform viewers about these events and to move them to sympathy with the victims of Henri's tyranny, to anger against the ruler, and to rejoicing at his death. Two iconographic elements found in *Le faux mufle decouvert* which echo conventional depictions of the martyrdom of Saint Sebastian—the duc de

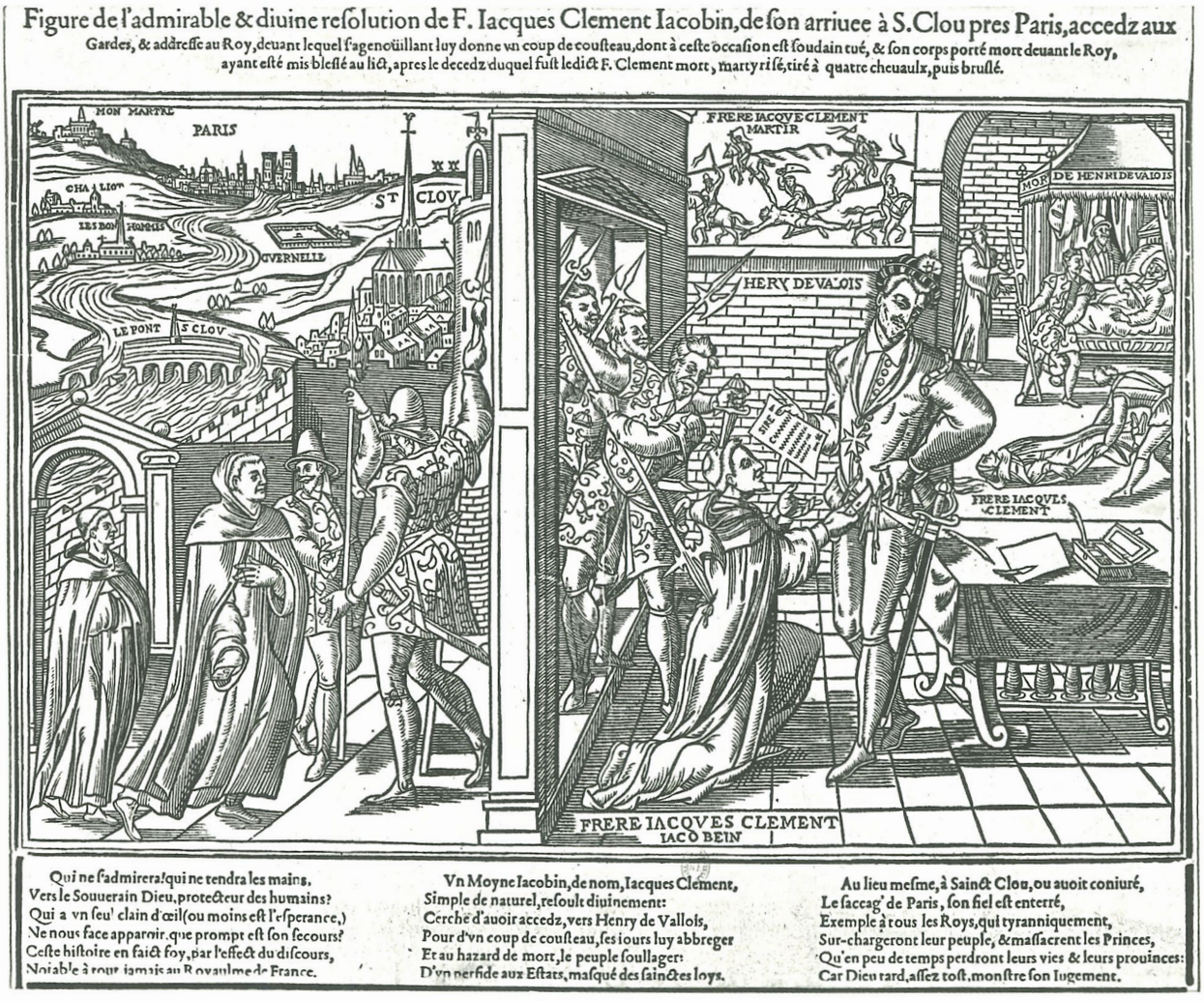


Fig. 34. Anonymous, Figure de l'admirable et divine resolution de Jacques Clement.
Woodcut. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.

Guise pierced by swords and his brother being killed by the king's guards—reappear with only minor variations in other broadsheets and pamphlets (see cat. no. 164).[56] Still other engravings depict Henri turning a deaf ear to the plea of the brothers' mother that she be allowed to give them a proper Christian burial and instead ordering the bodies to be burned, as was done to prevent them from becoming objects of a League cult.[57] The explanatory texts that accompany many of the prints stress the piety of the Guises and the perfidy of the king. Clément's assassination of Henri gave rise to at least a half dozen depictions of this "admirable and divine" deed and of the Dominican's subsequent "martyrdom" by the king's "heretical" guards (see fig. 34).[58] As is evident from phrases in the texts accompanying certain of these prints which invite passers-by to stop and contemplate them, many of these works were intended for posting in public, where they could be read aloud by bystanders to that frac-

tion of the urban population that was not literate. As such, they were instruments to rally the broad mass of the urban population to the League cause.

The degree of support that the League was able to summon nearly deprived Henri of Navarre of the royal succession. The majority of important cities swore their attachment to the League, and although only a minority of the noblemen who chose sides did so, its greatest noble champions commanded such power in certain provinces that they controlled large parts of the kingdom virtually unchallenged. But the man whose right to the throne the League upheld, the cardinal of Bourbon, was imprisoned when the Guises were killed. (The men behind bars in *Le faux mufle decouvert* allude to this.) He never escaped and died a year later. On the battlefield Navarre defeated the Leaguers at Arques (September 1589) and Ivry (March 1590), victories that confirmed not only his reputation as a commander of genius but also the legitimacy of his claim to the throne in an era when people were quick to see God's hand in events. His subsequent attempt to retake Paris failed after a long siege, accompanied by fearsome deprivation within the capital, when the Spanish diverted troops from the Low Countries to relieve the city.

The League, however, became riven with divisions among the various figures who sought the throne following the cardinal of Bourbon's death, as well as between its aristocratic and urban supporters. An Estates-General convoked by the movement could not overcome these divisions and broke up without reaching agreement on a successor. As fighting dragged on without any sign of resolution, the people of several regions began to agitate for peace, and when Henri announced in 1593 that he intended to take instruction in Catholicism and return to that faith, many Catholics who had not previously been able to support him came to believe that he was the person best suited to restore that peace. Over the next several years he was able to negotiate his recognition by the League strongmen who controlled different provinces and to win over the cities that were formerly loyal to the cause, although a minority of Frenchmen continued bitterly to deny the legitimacy of his claim to the throne, as evidenced by a series of assassination attempts. In 1594 he entered Paris; in 1598 the last League-controlled provinces were reduced to obedience. The Edict of Nantes specified the terms of a stable religious settlement, and a peace treaty was signed with Spain, whose military support of the League had grown in scale and overtness.

The turning of the tide in Navarre's favor was accompanied by a final spate of illustrated pamphlets, broadsides, and satires, most of which seem to date from the years 1594 and 1595. Many of these, strikingly, return to the techniques of allegory and are characterized by a heavy reliance on classical allusions and Latin verses, suggesting that they were intended for hand-to-hand circulation among the lettered elite in the manner of the Latin poems commenting on current affairs that are so numerous in Pierre de l'Estoile's *Mémoires-Journaux.* Thus *Le prix d'outrecuidance, et los de l'Union* (Audacity's reward, and los Leaguers; fig. 35) uses the image of the family tree that we have encountered in earlier prints in a particularly complex manner. The Valois and Bourbon genealogies are

shown as two branches emerging from the body of Saint Louis. They are drawn together by the rope of divine love and by the fraternal affection of Henri III and Henri IV. The Greek athletic hero Milo of Croton, who died when he became stuck in the cleft of a tree that he was trying to split and was devoured by a band of wolves, symbolizes the fate of those who sought to disrupt the legitimate line of succession, such as Clément and Jean Chastel, the author of an assassination attempt against Henri IV in 1594. Much of the abundant explicative text is in Latin.[59] In a similarly allegorical manner *La délivrance de la France par le Persée françois* (France's deliverance by the French Perseus) shows Navarre as Perseus rescuing France-Andromeda from a sea monster representing the League, while *La pauvreté et lamentation de la Ligue* (The poverty and lamentation of the League) depicts the League as a woman in rags trying to pull down the crown with the ropes of ambition, but vainly, for it is held in place by cables labeled divine will, legitimate right, magnanimity, and the French nobility.[60]

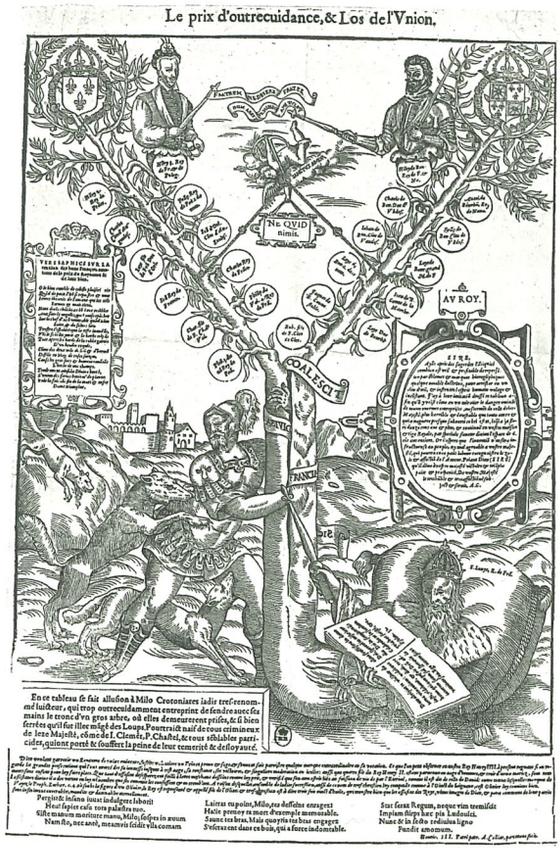


Fig. 35. Anonymous, LE PRIX D'OUTRECUIDANCE, ET LOS DE L'UNION. *Woodcut. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.*

A broader audience appears to have been sought by a woodcut of the failed Estates-General of 1593 as a deliberative assembly of monkeys gathered under the portrait of the Spanish infanta. This satire, we know, hit its mark, for a pamphlet that included it went through four editions by 1596, and three copies of the work survive in the form of single-sheet prints.[61] Still other prints from this period depict Henri IV looking on and smiling as the Spanish troops march out of Paris (see cat. no. 166) and portray the League as a Medusa-like fury or a multiheaded monster emerging from the depths of hell to set cities aflame and sow death.[62] A copy of one of these works, the *Pourtrait de la Ligue infernalle* (Portrait of the infernal League) was publicly burned in Laon as part of the ceremonies celebrating the signing of the peace between France and Spain in 1598.[63] The cumulative message of these engravings is clear: Henri IV was the proper ruler of the country, legitimated by both dynastic succession and God's will, and its savior from the horrors of ambition and civil war. The Estates-General called by the League was not a genuine forum for the expression of the kingdom's political will, but a risible imitation. Once again the vices afflicting the country were diabolical

in origin. A strong element of French patriotism is also evident in the frequent association of the League with the cause of Spain.

The era of the League thus appears to have been an important moment in the development of political commentary in France through the medium of the print. Although *Le revers du jeu des suisses* (The hidden side of the Swiss game; cat. no. 1) shows that direct ancestors of the modern political cartoon were produced in France as early as the reign of Louis XII, the number of works of this sort remained small for the first eight decades of the century. French propaganda for and against the Reformation relied far less upon the printed image, whether in the form of the illustrated book or the single-sheet print, than did German. Only when a combination of circumstances led the imagiers of the rue Montorgueil to lend their skills to the League's efforts to inform and mobilize the faithful did prints designed to comment upon contemporary events and to rally people to a cause become more numerous. They would continue to be used in growing, although still modest, numbers for such purposes in subsequent political crises, as during the pamphlet wars that surrounded the regency of Marie de Medici or at the time of the Fronde.[64]

But the fascination of those prints that comment upon the religious and political issues dividing France in the later sixteenth century ultimately derives less from their place in the development of reproducible forms of visual propaganda than from their status as documents that shaped and reflected the outlook of the different parties in the struggles of the age. In the works surveyed here, the dominant thrust of early Protestant propaganda in France emerges as the assault upon the Roman church as an institution, depicted as a giant shop of horrors, and upon the clergy who staffed it, a corrupt, hypocritical, and overly numerous class of people, grown rich and improperly privileged on the proceeds of their false sacraments and pardons in direct contradiction of Christ's example. Catholic responses painted Protestantism as a seditious novelty that appealed to criminals because it denied basic principles of Christian morality. When, during the final crisis of the Wars of Religion, an ostensibly Catholic sovereign failed to act forcefully enough to exterminate this danger and instead had those noblemen who most vigorously defended the church killed, prints promoting the League pilloried the king as a sanguinary, demonic, hypocritical, effeminate, and depraved tyrant. To those who supported Henri of Navarre's claim to the throne, however, the Leaguers' profession to defend the Catholic church was merely a mask for a personal ambition that loosed such discord on the realm that it could only be repaired by the kingdom's heroic, legitimate, and divinely anointed monarch. Much of this propaganda literally demonized and dehumanized those of the other party—this in an age when the charge of being a child of the devil carried far more weight than it does today. To view the topical prints of this period is thus to open a window onto the ideologies and perceptions of an unusually discordant era. Those prints that depict events of the time, with particular attention devoted to recording the cruelties visited upon innocent members of the faith, also reveal some of the bloody consequences of such divergent and hostile outlooks.

NOTES

1. I would like to thank numerous people for invaluable assistance in the preparation of this essay: the Grunwald Center's research assistants in Paris, Anastasia Easterday and John Richardson; Judith Benedict, Keith Luria, Jeffrey Muller, and especially Mary Sheriff and Karen Jacobson for extremely helpful stylistic and substantive observations on earlier drafts; John Beldon Scott, Mary Sheriff, Jeffrey Muller, and Keith Luria for pointing out details that I had overlooked in certain prints; and my colleagues in the class of 1993–94 at the National Humanities Center, so many of whom responded patiently and helpfully when asked to help me unravel one or another of the numerous problems outside the bounds of my expertise that the study of these prints led me to encounter. Financial support from the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Eliza Gardner Howard Foundation is gratefully acknowledged.

2. The purview of this essay will extend to both single-sheet prints and book illustrations produced in France during the sixteenth century that report and comment upon the conflicts arising out of the Reformation. Since certain topical woodcuts and engravings were both used as book illustrations and printed separately, to draw a sharp line between prints and book illustrations is anachronistic, especially as many of those woodcuts and engravings that were originally produced as single-sheet works included accompanying lines of text that raise the same problems of the relationship between word and image as do book illustrations. I have excluded from consideration the many surviving German prints reporting and commenting upon the events in France.

3. *Trésor de la langue française* (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1985), vol. 11, pp. 410–11.

4. Antoine Richart, *Mémoires sur la Ligue dans le Laonnois* (Laon, 1869), pp. 493–94.

5. Copies of this work were also made in other media, as is shown by a contemporary drawing by an anonymous artist in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Rouen, Fonds Leber.

6. Thomas Beauxamis, *Resolution Sur Certains Pourtraictz & libelles, intitulez du nom de Marmite, faulsement imposé contre le Clergé de l'Eglise de Dieu. Par laquelle est prouvé par le descours de l'escripture saincte, & l'expresse parolle de Dieu, le nom de Marmite enflambée estre propre a la nouvelle Eglise* (Paris: Hierosme de Marnef, 1562). A copy of this pamphlet can be found at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (shelf mark D 21999). The history of this text is explained in the introduction to Beauxamis's subsequent *La Marmite Renversee et Fondue, de Laquelle Nostre Dieu Parle Par les saincts Prophetes* (Paris: Guillaume Chaudiere, 1572). Beauxamis went on to become one of the more important theologians and controversialists of his generation (Alfred Baudrillart, *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* [Paris: Letouzey 1912–], vol. 7, pp. 320–22).

7. The prevalence of these themes within the broader corpus of Catholic anti-Protestant polemics of this period is shown by G. Wylie Sypher, "'Faisant ce qu'il leur vient à plaisir': The Image of Protestantism in French Catholic Polemic on the Eve of the Religious Wars," *The Sixteenth-Century Journal* 11 (Summer 1980): 68–72.

8. "La desolation des frères de la robe grise, pour la perte de la marmite, qu'est renversé," in Anatole de Montaiglon, ed., *Recueil de poésies françoises des XV^e^ et XVI^e^ siècles,* vol. 7 (Paris: P. Jannet, 1857), pp. 140–47. The precise moment when this work was written is uncertain. It may have appeared prior to the outbreak of the civil war and be one of the *libelles* to which Beauxamis's sermon was a response.

9. "La Polymachie des Marmitons, ou la gendarmerie du Pape. En laquelle est amplement descrite l'ordre que le Pape veut tenir en l'armée qu'il veut mettre sus pour l'eslevement de sa marmite. Avec le nombre des capitaines et soldats qu'il veut armer pour mettre en campagne," ibid., pp. 51–65.

10. Joachim de Cholard, *L'Extrême-Onction de la marmite papale,* mentioned in André Blum, *L'estampe satirique en France pendant les Guerres de Religion: Essai sur les origines de la caricature politique* (Paris: M. Giard et E. Brière, [1916]), p. 218, n. 2.

11. Antoine Du Pinet, *Taxe des Parties Casuelles de la Boutique du Pape* (Lyon, 1564), p. 172 (B.N. shelf mark D^2^ 4231[5]). The citation or publication of one of several versions of the *Taxae Cancellariae & Poenitentiariae Apostolicae* would have a long life in Protestant polemics against Rome. Du Pinet appears to have derived the version that he published from the *Gravamina* drawn up by the Protestant princes of Germany to explain their refusal to accept the Council of Trent as an authentic church council. This and other versions of this price list would continue to be reprinted or cited by Protestant polemicists into the eighteenth century; see Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (Amsterdam: P. Brunel, 1730), vol. 1, pp. 437–38, vol. 3, pp. 728–29, vol. 4, p. 405; Prosper Marchand, *Diction-*

naire historique; ou, Mémoires critiques et littéraires (The Hague: Pierre de Hondt, 1758), pp. 270–83.

12. A. N. Galpern, *The Religions of the People in Sixteenth-Century Champagne* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), p. 156.

13. *La Marmite Renversee et Fondue, de laquelle nostre Dieu parle par les saincts Prophetes; Ou est prouvé que la secte Calvinique est la vraye Marmitte & est comprins un brief sommaire des desseins & conjurations sanguinaires d'icelle, cause de son entiere ruine* (Paris: Guillaume Chaudiere, 1572) (B.N. shelf mark D 84670).

14. Gabriel de Saconay, *Geneologie et la fin des Huguenaux et decouverts du Calvinism* (Lyon, 1572) (Bibliothèque Mazarine shelf mark 35267); *Le coq a l'asne des huguenots, tués et massacrés à Paris le vingt-quatrieme-jour d'aoust* (Lyon: Rigaud, 1572); *Les dits magnifiques et gaillardes, touchant les causes de la mort de Gaspard de Coligny et ses complices* (Lyon: Rigaud, 1572); both cited in Ernest Jaime, *Musée de la caricature; ou, Recueil des caricatures les plus remarquables publiées en France depuis le quatorzième siècle jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: Delloye, 1838), vol. 1, p. 3.

15. This print appears to have been both sold separately and used as an illustration for the pamphlet *Graces et louanges deues à Dieu, pour la justice faite du cruel tyran et ennemy capital de la France* (Paris: Antoine Le Riche, 1589).

16. The duc de Joyeuse had been an equally richly rewarded favorite for much of Henri's reign, but his death in 1587 brought Epernon still more commands and left him to bear the full brunt of the opprobrium against the mignons. For the best general discussion of the mignons, especially the many posts accumulated by Epernon, see Arlette Jouanna, "Faveur et favoris: L'exemple des mignons de Henri III," in *Henri III et son temps,* ed. Robert Sauzet, Actes du Colloque international du Centre de la Renaissance de Tours (Paris: Librairie philosophique J. Vrin, 1992), p. 158 and passim.

17. On this print, see also Keith Cameron, *Henri III—a Maligned or Malignant King? Aspects of the Satirical Iconography of Henri de Valois* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1978), pp. 86–88; Denis Pallier, *Recherches sur l'imprimerie à Paris pendant la Ligue (1585–1594)* (Geneva: Droz, 1976), p. 334; *La tragédie de Blois: Quatre siècles de polémique autour de l'assassinat du duc de Guise,* exh. cat. (Blois: Conservation du château et des musées, 1988), no. 133.

18. Pallier, *Imprimerie à Paris pendant la Ligue,* pp. 163–64.

19. R. W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 149–57.

20. On the genealogy and editions of the French version of this work, variously titled *Les faicts de Jesus Christ et du pape* and *Antithèse des faicts de Jesus Christ et du pape,* see Paul Chaix, "Un pamphlet genevois du XVIe siècle: l'*Antithèse* de S. Du Rosier: Recherche iconographique," in *Mélanges offerts à M. Paul-E. Martin* (Geneva: Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Genève, 1961), pp. 467–82. Chaix lists Latin editions from 1557, 1558, and 1578, and French from 1560, 1561, 1578, 1584, and 1600. A copy of the 1561 edition (listed in Chaix with no place of publication) exists in the Houghton Library of Harvard University with a colophon that matches the 1560 edition and shows that it too was printed in Geneva. Evidence of a second Latin edition of 1558 from Geneva and a French edition of 1620 of unknown place of publication may be found in *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe, Abteilung Werke* (Weimar: H. Boehlaus, 1883–), vol. 9, pp. 696–97. On Pierre Eskrich, also known as Pierre Cruche or Pierre Vase, see Natalis Rondot, *Graveurs sur bois à Lyon au seizième siècle* (Paris: G. Rapilly, 1898), pp. 24–109; *Schweizerisches Künstler Lexikon* (Frauenfeld: Huber, 1905–17), s.v. "Cruche, Pierre." Eleven editions of the *Passional* are known to have been published in Germany in the century after its first appearance.

21. This family of images is also discussed in Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk,* pp. 216–19.

22. Martin Luther and Philipp Melanchthon, *De Deux Monstres Prodigieux; a savoir d'un Asne-Pape, qui fut trouvé à Rome en la riviere du Tibre, l'an M.CCCC.XCVI et D'un Veau-moine nay à Friberg en Misne, l'an M.D.XXVIII* (Geneva: Jean Crespin, 1557); Champfleury [Jules Fleury], *Histoire de la caricature sous la Réforme et la Ligue—Louis XIII à Louis XVI* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1889), pp. 59–67; for the number of editions, see Ralph Keen, *A Checklist of Melanchthon Imprints through 1560* (Saint Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1988), pp. 40–41; Paul Chaix, Alain Dufour, and Gustave Moeckli, *Les livres imprimés à Genève de 1550 à 1600* (Geneva: Droz, 1966).

23. Surviving copies of sheets for this map are known to be in the British Library, London; the Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Geneva; and the Staatsbibliothek and Staatliche Museen, Berlin. The work is described in detail in Rondot, *Graveurs sur bois à Lyon,* pp. 88–101.

24. Frangidelphe Escorche-Messes [Jean-Baptiste Trento], *Histoire de la mappe-monde papistique, en laquelle est declaire tout ce qui est contenu & pourtraict en la grande table, ou carte de la mappe-monde* ("Luce Nouvelle" [Geneva], 1566). A second edition of this work appeared the following year.

25. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett inv. no. 703–59. On Le Chaleux, see Rondot, *Graveurs sur bois à Lyon,* pp. 18–19.

26. Du Pinet, *Taxe des Parties Casuelles de la Boutique du Pape.*

27. B.N., Collection Hennin no. 330; Blum, *L'estampe satirique,* pp. 241–42.

28. B.N., Estampes Ed 5g réserve.

29. Emile Mâle, *Religious Art in France: The Late Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Iconography and Its Sources* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 111–15. I owe this reference to the kindness of Mack Holt.

30. Pierre Gringore, *Le Blazon des Heretiques de la Court* (Paris, 1524; Paris: Techener, 1832).

31. Artus Désiré, *La Description de la Cite de Dieu, assiegee des Heretiques* (Rouen: Du Gort, 1550), fols. 12r, 24v (B.N., Réserve Ye 228 [2]); *Les Batailles et Victoires du Chevalier Celeste* (Paris: Jehan Ruelle, 1560), fols. 144r, 154r (B.N., Réserve Ye 326). Many less distinctively topical woodcuts, primarily biblical scenes, also adorn Désiré's works; Frank S. Giese, *Artus Désiré, Priest and Pamphleteer of the Sixteenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1973), pp. 37–73, offers a full bibliography.

32. Saconay, *Geneologie et la fin des Huguenaux,* p. 5ff.

33. Among the major such works that one might note were the *Mémoires de Condé* (London, 1740), based on document collections made and published over the course of the 1560s; Pierre de la Place, *Commentaires de l'Estat de la Religion et Republique soubs les rois Henry et Francois seconds et Charles neufieme* (published in five different cities in 1565); Jean de Serres, *Commentaires de l'estat de la religion et republique* (Geneva, 1570); and Simon Goulart, *Mémoires de l'Estat de France sous Charles neufiesme* (Geneva, 1576).

34. Jean Ehrmann, *Antoine Caron: Peintre des fêtes et des massacres* (Paris: Flammarion, 1986), pp. 21–25, 221–22.

35. For the full content and history of this series of prints, see Alfred Franklin, ed., *Les grandes scènes historiques du XVI^e siècle: Reproduction fac-similé du recueil de J. Tortorel et J. Perrissin* (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1886); Eugène and Emile Haag, *La France protestante,* 2d ed. (Paris: Librairie Sandoz et Fischbacher, 1876–87), vol. 3, pp. 451–67. Although the former work provides some historical background about each of the prints in the series, a genuinely critical study of the works, their sources in the histories of the period, and the significance of scenes chosen for inclusion is still lacking, as it was when Henri Hauser offered some preliminary remarks and made this same observation in *Les sources de l'histoire de France: XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Alphonse Picard et fils, 1906–15), vol. 3, pp. 66–67.

36. Jean Adhémar, *Inventaire du fonds français: Graveurs du seizième siècle,* vol. 2 (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1938), pp. 187, 195.

37. Theodore de Bèze, *Les vrais pourtraits des hommes illustres en piete et doctrine, du travail desquels Dieu s'est servi en ces derniers temps, pour remettre sus la vraye Religion en divers pays de la Chrestienté. Avec les Descriptions de leur vie & de leurs faits plus memorables* (Geneva: Jean de Laon, 1581).

38. Robert Brun, *Le livre français illustré de la Renaissance: Etude suivie du catalogue des principaux livres à figures du XVI^e siècle,* rev. ed.(Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1969), p. 106.

39. A. G. Petti, "Richard Verstegan and Catholic Martyrologies of the Later Elizabethan Period," *Recusant History* 5 (April 1959): 65; Thomas Buser, "Jerome Nadal and Early Jesuit Art in Rome," *Art Bulletin* 58 (September 1976): 427–30. I owe the latter reference to the kindness of Jeffrey Muller.

40. Pierre de l'Estoile, *Mémoires-Journaux* (Paris: Librairie des bibliophiles, 1875–96), vol. 3, pp. 11–37; James Emerson Phillips, *Images of a Queen: Mary Stuart in Sixteenth-Century Literature* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1964), pp. 143–70; Keith Cameron, "La polémique, la mort de Marie Stuart et l'assassinat de Henri III," in Sauzet, *Henri III et son temps,* pp. 187–91.

41. See also the portrait by Thomas de Leu (RD 457).

42. *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth* (London: Longmans, 1813–1950), vol. 21, pt. 1, p. 316.

43. L'Estoile, *Mémoires-Journaux,* vol. 3, pp. 53–55.

44. *Theatrum Crudelitatum Haereticorum Nostri Temporis* (Antwerp: Adrian Hubert, 1587). On its rapid importation into France, see Pallier, *Imprimerie à Paris sous la Ligue,* p. 67.

45. *Typus Ecclesie Catholicae / Typus Heretice Synagoge* (B.N., Qb4)

46. B.N., Réserve des Imprimés La[256].

47. On these events, as well as for further biographical details about Verstegan, see Petti, "Verstegan," pp. 66–80.

48. The question of the actual historical veracity of the episodes depicted by Verstegan cannot be answered at present. The sources on which he relied for the tales of Huguenot cruelty have yet to be fully identified, and there are no good studies of religious violence in the localities where the incidents that he depicts are said to have occurred (primarily the vicinity of Angoulême). Henri Hauser's identification of André Thevet's *Cosmographie universelle* as a source for Verstegan's work is unconvincing, for Thevet's accounts of Huguenot violence in the vicinity of Angoulême lack the copious details found in the *Theatrum Crudelitatum* (*Sources de l'histoire de France,* vol. 3, pp. 51–52).

49. The work even became enough of a staple of Catholic polemical historiography to be deemed worthy of reissue by religious publishers on several occasions in the nineteenth century (*The National Union Catalogue: Pre-1956 Imprints* [London, 1968], vol. 635, p. 90).

50. The survival of so many prints and illustrated broadsheets can be partially attributed to the fact that an inquisitive Parisian legist and memoirist, Pierre de l'Estoile, collected as much of the occasional literature of the period as possible and held on to it despite a decree ordering its destruction in the wake of the movement's demise. L'Estoile's album in the Bibliothèque Nationale remains to this day the richest source for the visual propaganda of this period. But even if all of the works known to us only through their survival in l'Estoile's album are disregarded, the number of surviving topical prints from this period still substantially exceeds that from earlier years. On the developments in the printmaking trades that help to account for the turn to political commentary by the woodcut artists of the rue Montorgueil, see Marianne Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe à Paris au XVIIe siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 1986), pp. 42–46.

51. James R. Smither, "The Myth and Reality of Kingship during the French Wars of Religion," Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1988, chaps. 7–9. For just one example of a positive assessment of the king, see Richard Verstegan, *Theatre des Cruautez des Hereticques de nostre temps* (Antwerp: Adrien Hubert, 1588), Bi, where he is described as "a very good prince . . . surrounded by vermin." In the copy of this work at the Folger Library in Washington, D.C., the positive words for Henri have been crossed out by a sixteenth-century annotator, an illustration, one presumes, of how attitudes toward the king changed after the killing of the Guises. On the broader traditions of criticism of the monarchy, see John Lough, *France Observed in the Seventeenth Century by British Travellers* (Stocksfield, Northumberland: Oriel Press, 1984), p. 125; Robert M. Isherwood, *Farce and Fantasy: Popular Entertainment in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 7–15; for verses critical of Henri, see l'Estoile, *Mémoires-Journaux,* vol. 1, pp. 60, 93–94, 333–48, 377, vol. 2, pp. 113–21.

52. Cameron, *Henri III,* pls. 7, 8, 13, 18–20, 24; *La tragédie de Blois,* pp. 53–54, 136–40.

53. Cameron, *Henri III,* pls. 1–5; *La tragédie de Blois,* pp. 46-53.

54. Cameron, *Henri III,* pl. 24; *La tragédie de Blois,* pp. 121–22.

55. Denis Crouzet, *Les guerriers de Dieu: La violence au temps des troubles de religion, vers 1525–vers 1610* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 1990), vol. 2, pp. 379–94, 427–50; David A. Bell, "Unmasking a King: The Political Use of Popular Literature under the French Catholic League, 1588–89," *The Sixteenth-Century Journal* 20 (Fall 1989): 371–86; l'Estoile, *Mémoires-Journaux,* vol. 3, p. 303.

56. For other examples, see Cameron, *Henri III,* pls. 22, 25, 26; *Tragédie de Blois,* p. 61ff.

57. Cameron, *Henri III,* pls. 28, 29; *Tragédie de Blois,* pp. 124–25.

58. Cameron, *Henri III,* pls. 10–12; *Tragédie de Blois,* pp. 92-93; l'Estoile, *Mémoires-Journaux,* vol. 4, pp. 97, 103, 113–14; Brun, *Livre français illustré,* p. 273.

59. L'Estoile, *Mémoires-Journaux,* vol. 4, p. 296; Cameron, *Henri III,* p. 114; *Tragédie de Blois,* pp. 159–61. L'Estoile's *Recueil* contains a copy of the same print with the title *La maintenue des roys, contre les assassins endiablez.* This work is based on a very similar German engraving of 1590.

60. L'Estoile, *Mémoires-Journaux,* vol. 4, pp. 291–92; *Tragédie de Blois,* p. 165.

61. *Tragédie de Blois,* pp. 97–100.

62. B.N., Collection Hennin no. 1064; l'Estoile, *Mémoires-Journaux,* vol. 4, p. 299; *Tragédie de Blois,* pp. 164–65; Champfleury, *Histoire de la caricature,* pp. 147–50; Charles

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63. Richart, *Mémoires,* facing p. 70.

64. Jeffrey K. Sawyer, *Printed Poison: Pamphlet Propaganda, Faction Politics, and the Public Sphere in Early Seventeenth-Century France* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), p. 48; Hubert Carrier, *La presse de la Fronde (1648–1653): Les Mazarinades* (Geneva: Droz, 1989–91), vol. 1, pp. 413–20, vol. 2, pp. 198–200, 248–58.